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ONS News

UK Meetings

London

The Oriental Numismatic Society & Numismatic Society of India presented a seminar on 14 & 15 May 2010 in the Sackler Rooms of the British Museum. The seminar celebrated the centenary of the NSI. The programme was as follows:

Friday 14 May

Introductory Session (10.00 to 10.30)

Welcome & Introduction
N Rhodes (ONS), P N Singh (NSI), J Cribb (RNS)

Medal Distribution by the Numismatic Society of India and presentation of new publications.

Session 1 Ancient

S Suresh: Ancient India-Rome contacts: a numismatic perspective

Prashant Kulkarni: Early inscribed coins of Vidarbha

P.N. Singh: Report of a hoard of British Indian coins found in India

Session 2

Paul Stevens: Secret marks on the coins of the Bengal Presidency

Rob Tye: The fundamental Indian weight system and its derivatives

S.K. Bose: The Kumaraguri hoard and its curious coins

Saturday 15 May

Session 3 Indo-Greek/Scythian

Robert Bracey: Telling stories – the narrative logic of Indo-Greek history

Jez Stanley: Indo-Greek die studies

Pankaj Tandon: Coins of the Paratarajas

Session 4 – Satavahana/Ksatrap

D Raja Reddy: The contribution of coins to Satavahana history

Pankaj Tandon: A simple two-mint model for Western Kshatrapa coinage

Session 5 – Gupta (3.10 to 4.00)

Ellen Raven: Samudragupta's King and Queen coins and a new stylistic grouping

Girish Sharma: A unique coin of Chandragupta II

Ujjwal Saha: A new coin type in Post-Gupta coinage (image supplied, with comments by Joe Cribb)

Closing Session

We should like to thank the following for providing sponsorship for this event: A.H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd; Classical Numismatic Group; Simmons Gallery. It is hoped to publish at least a selection of the papers in a future issue of this Journal together with details of the presentation of medals and new NSI publications.

Oxford

The meeting at the Ashmolean Museum took place as planned on Saturday 17 April. Twenty-two people attended and we were particularly pleased to welcome Jan Lingen and Sid Satbhai from the Netherlands. Four talks were given at the meeting:

Robert Bracey on recent metallic analysis of Kushan coins and its implications;

Paul Stevens on his continuing work on the East India Coinage of the Bengal Presidency;

Shailendra Bhandare on re-assessing a mid-13th century interregnum in Goa based on new discoveries;

Barry Tabor on "Kachcha Paisa" of the early 19th century (see his paper on this subject on pp 16-37 of this issue).

After lunch, those attending were able to visit the recently renovated museum galleries. Our thanks to Dr Bhandare for organising the event.



Most of those attending the Oxford meeting



Robert Bracey, the Editor, Michael Mitchener and Barry Tabor

Kolkata workshop

Following an invitation from the Municipal Corporation of Kolkata to participate in their annual exhibition to promote heritage conservation, a four-day workshop was conducted under the banner of the ONS, from 12-15 Feb 2010 at the Tala Park Square Pavilion. The workshop included short talks and an exhibition of coins to promote and raise awareness of Numismatics as an important aspect of cultural heritage.

Some 500 visitors to the exhibition were shown the importance of numismatics as a science that helps us to reconstruct history, identify the kings that ruled different parts of India at particular times, connecting ourselves with the past and understanding our roots.

The importance of the study of coins and their preservation in collections helps us in many ways to obtain data in the spheres of politics and administration, and in geographical, social, religious and economic matters. Visitors were allowed to handle coins from different periods, including Gupta gold coins and other coins from different eras, from early punch-marked to British Indian, so as to give a better idea of what old coins really look and feel like. This was a first-time experience for most of the visitors and the interest exhibited made the workshop very worthwhile. Some technical points were discussed such as how hoards turn up, the importance of preserving both the coins and the context in which they have been found. It was pointed out how coins have, in the past, often been melted for the metal, destroying valuable historical and cultural information. Demonstration of early scripts attracted much interest with the user charts.

Most of the visitors were people with an interest in cultural heritage who had not had previous exposure to numismatics. It is hoped, therefore, that this activity has been a small step towards encouraging more influential people to realise the value of numismatics as an important aspect of cultural heritage.

Ujjwal Saha

New Members

UK Region

- 1980 Mr W J C Mearns, [REDACTED] Southampton SO19 2PB
Interests: chopped coins, bank notes and tokens of the Far East

Europe Region

- 1981 François Righetti, [REDACTED] 1201 GENEVE, Switzerland.
E-mail: [REDACTED]@bluewin.ch
Interests : Coinages of Central Asia and India, particularly Bactrian, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian & Kushan.
- 1982 Giorgi Gogava, [REDACTED] TBILISI 0194,

Republic of Georgia.

Interests: Georgian and Caucasian numismatics.

- 1983 Mr. Giorgi Mamaladze, [REDACTED] Ap. 30, TBILISI 0171, Republic of Georgia.
Interests: Georgian numismatics.
- 1984 Gocha Geradze, [REDACTED] TBILISI 0171, Republic of Georgia.
Interests: Ancient and Georgian numismatics.
- 1985 S. Satbhai, [REDACTED]-B, 2242 BS WASSENAAR, Netherlands.
E-mail: [REDACTED]@yahoo.com
Interests: Coinage of the British East India Company in India.
- 1986 Yevgen Lemberg, [REDACTED] 2nd floor, ODESSA 65125, Ukraine.
E-mail: [REDACTED]@yahoo.com
Interests : Period of AH 170-183 (time of Harun al-Rashid); Abbasid, Umayyads of Spain, Aghlabids, Idrisids, as well as various imitations of Islamic coinage, especially Khazars.
- 1987 Ludovic Lietard, France. E-mail: [REDACTED]@sfr.fr
Interests: Moroccan Dynasties : 'Alawi, Merinid, Murabitid (Almoravid), Muwahhid (Almohad), Sa'dian, Wattasid, Idrisid, Midrarid, etc. Islamic Spain, coinage of Morocco and North Africa (Hafsid, etc.)

North America

- 1988 Kirk Bennett, USA [REDACTED]@yahoo.com
Interests: Coinage of Georgia

Revised addresses, interests etc.

- 509 Dhr. H.J. Funke, [REDACTED] 1083 KC AMSTERDAM, Netherlands
- 859 J.C. Markies, APELDOORN, Netherlands.
E-mail: [REDACTED]@live.nl
- 1743 Jean-Pierre Righetti, Rte de Fribourg 54, 1724 FERPICLOZ, Switzerland
- 1900 Prof. Dr. med. Ekkehard Döhring, HAMMINKELN, Germany. E-mail: [REDACTED]@t-online.de
- 1933 Philipp Schwinghammer, Vienna, Austria.
E-mail: [REDACTED]@unet.univie.ac.at

Lists Received and Auction News

- Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 251 (Feb.. 2010), 252 (March 2010), 253.
- Tim Wilkes (PO Box 150, Battle, Sussex, TN33 0FA, UK; ++44 (0)1424 773352; tim@wilkescoins.com) list 8 of mainly oriental coins (spring 2010).
- Early World Coins (7 Clifford St, York, YO1 9RA, UK; +44 (0)845 4900 724; orders@earlyworldcoins.com; http://earlyworldcoins.com) list 48 of mainly oriental coins.

New and Recent Publications

The Numismatic Chronicle, vol. 169, published by the Royal Numismatic Society, London, 2009 (ISSN 0078-2696), includes the following articles and reviews of Oriental interest:

'Further light on the Pāratarājas: an absolute chronology of the Brāhmi and Kharoṣṭhī series' by Pankaj Tandon

'The Western Kshatrapa Dāmazada' by Pankaj Tandon

'The history of Iranian Adharbayjān and Armenia in the Rawwādid period (tenth century AD) according to narrative sources and coins' by Aram Vardanyan

'A donative dirham of the Shirwānshāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad' by Alexander Akopyan and Aram Vardanyan

'Qarākhānīd coins as a source for the history of Barskhān' by Michael Fedorov

'The typology of Xinjiang silver tenga and copper fulus of Yakub Beg (1820-77)' by T.D. Yih

'The 'Berlin' parcel of Sasanian drachms' by Susan Tyler-Smith

'A new specimen of a Georgian-Sasanian coin of Stephanos I' by Medea Tsotselia

François Thierry, *Amulettes de Chine. Catalogue*, reviewed by Helen Wang

Other News

Michael Bates has provided the following information:

Second Seminar

"Early Iranian and Central Asia Numismatics"

In Memoriam Boris Kochnev (1940-2002)

Hofstra University, New York, CV Starr Hall 109

Sunday, April 18, 11:00 am – 5:00 pm

Preliminary program

Session I

11:00 am – 12:30 pm

Michael Bates (American Numismatic Society, New York, USA)

'Surprises from Arab/Sasanian Fars, 640-710'

Stefan Heidemann (Jena University, Germany – Bard College Graduate Center, New York, USA)

'A New Iranian Mint for Drahm in Sasanian Style: Isbahan'

Konstantin Kravtsov (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

'Semidrachms of Farrukhan the Great in the Collection of the State Hermitage Museum'

Session II

13:30 am – 15:00 pm

Aleksandr Naymark (Hofstra University, New York, USA)

'Copper and Silver Coinage of Samarqand during the Arab Conquest'

Roman Kovalev (The College of New Jersey, Trenton, USA)

'Dirham Circulation in Khurasan and Transoxiana in the pre-Samanid Era'

Judith Kolbas (Miami University, Ohio, USA)

'Ogedai Khan's Census at Qaraqorum in 635/1237'

The papers were followed by a general discussion.

Congratulations to Philip Attwood for being appointment Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. Philip took over from Joe Cribb on 1 March, having worked in the department since 1979 and been Curator of Medals since 2002.



A one-tenth rupee of Ahmad Shah Durrani, struck at Dar al-Saltana Kabul, year 9; 1.11 g

Articles

THE STANDING CALIPH COINS OF AYLAH-FILASTIN

By Tareq Ramadan

The series of Arab-Byzantine Standing Caliph coins that are thought to contain the mint name *Aylah-Filastin* is perplexing to say the least. It is unquestionably apparent that both the *Iliya* (Jerusalem) and *Aylah* (Aqaba) types share more than just token commonalities. In fact, the resemblances are so striking that it is no coincidence some of the leading numismatists in the field refuse to believe *Aylah* had ever served as an Umayyad mint or that coins inscribed with "Aylah" can be attributed to the early Islamic town with any certainty. The standard obverse and reverse iconographies, the epigraphic styles of the inscriptions, and their physical attributes make the *Aylah* and *Iliya* coins inseparable. The only truly observable difference between the two coins, however, is the fact that one word on the obverse of the coin seemingly reads "Aylah" and not "Iliya."

With that said, the focus of this work is to provide some insight as well as some new perspectives into the historicity of these enigmatic coins and to argue that such types were, most likely, legitimate Umayyad numismatic products created for early Islamic *Aylah*.

Though *Aylah* can no longer be found on modern maps of the region, its ruins lay within the parameters of the southern Jordanian port city of *Al-Aqaba* at the northeastern edge of the Red Sea.¹ The tenth century Arab geographer, Shams al-Din Muqaddasi, after visiting *Aylah*, described it as a "*port of Palestine on the China Sea*", while additional historical sources paint *Aylah* as the gate to southern Palestine.² In Uri Avner and Jodi Magness's article "Early Islamic Settlement in the Southern Negev", *Aylah* is described as sitting "*at the northeastern end of the Gulf of Aqaba*" and being a "*center of economic activity*."³

According to Philip Mayerson's work on early Islamic incursions into southern Palestine, the Byzantine town of "*Aila*" (one of the Roman names for the town) surrendered to the Prophet Muhammad in AD 630 (AH 9).⁴ As a result, an arrangement was concluded that guaranteed security for the city's ships and caravans in exchange for an annual payment of three-hundred dinars, which was negotiated between the Prophet Muhammad and the Bishop of *Aila*, *Yuhanna Ibn Ru'bah*.⁵ Excavations in modern-day *Aqaba* at the site of ancient *Aila/Aylah*, even yielded one such "dinar" in the form of a gold solidus from the time of the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius (r. 610-641), whose "*reign is synonymous with the changeover from a Christian to a Muslim world in the Near East*."⁶

As such, for the Prophet Muhammad and the ensuing Muslim armies, neutralisation of the town of *Aila* meant that the door to southern Palestine was open, thus facilitating a quick takeover of most of *Filastin* (Palestine) by the Arab-Muslims within that same decade.⁷ Around AD 650, the Muslims began constructing their own urban settlement (referred to as "*Aylah*"), alongside the old

¹ Jordan: The Umayyads : The Rise of Islamic Art (Islamic Art in the Mediterranean) by Fawri Zayyadine, p. 183. Trans-Atlantic Publications, Inc. (April 2002)

² R.G.Khoury and D. Whitcomb. *Al Kutba Guides*. Amman. 1988, pp. 33-34

³ Uri Avner and Jodi Magness. Early Islamic Settlement in the Southern Negev. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, No. 310 (May, 1998), p. 39

⁴ The First Muslim Attacks on Southern Palestine (A.D. 633-634) by Philip Mayerson. *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 95 (1964), p. 171

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Zayyadine, pg 187. (The coin is a gold solidus depicting Heraclius and his two sons standing on the obverse with a cross potent on three steps, flanked by two monograms on the reverse. The coin sits in the *Aqaba Region Archaeological Museum* in Jordan)

⁷ Mayerson, p. 171

Byzantine town during the caliphate of *Uthman Ibn Affan*, the third of the four *Rashidun* (Rightly-Guided) caliphs.⁸

From its transformation from a primarily Christian town to a new Islamic settlement, Aylah would serve as a major stopover for Muslim pilgrims traveling towards Mecca for the annual *hajj* (pilgrimage).⁹ Ancient Aylah also had an abundant source of groundwater, making it a desirable place to live and work, and especially accommodating for visitors and the primarily Muslim travelers *en route* to the *Hejaz*.¹⁰ Thus, Aylah appears to have been a rather vibrant Palestinian port with ample water resources while having been situated on a strategic crossroads linking the people of *Bilad Al-Shamm* (Greater Syria) to the Arabian Peninsula and the Islamic heartland.

If we can accept that Aylah was economically active as a result of its privileged geographic position, we can assume that state-sanctioned currency may have been minted, at some point, to help facilitate Aylah's economy, especially considering its distance from other commercial centres and major towns in Palestine. Archaeological evidence indicates that there was, in fact, a functioning administration in early Islamic Aylah which included the "*Dar al-Imara, the place of the Amir, of the social leadership, and of the military*" and the "*Balat (a term deriving from Palatium), related to the Diwan, to the administrative apparatus, to the financial offices, the bureaucracy.*"¹¹ Donald Whitcomb, who has led a series of excavations in Aylah/Aqaba since 1986, also speculates that *Muawiyah Ibn Abu Sufyan* (r. 661-680), the first caliph of the Umayyads (661-750), even built a palace in Aylah around 680, based on his observations of some architectural remains unearthed there.¹² If this is true, then it is only further evidence of Umayyad administrative operations during a period that would roughly coincide with the minting and appearance of the Standing Caliph coins of Palestine.¹³

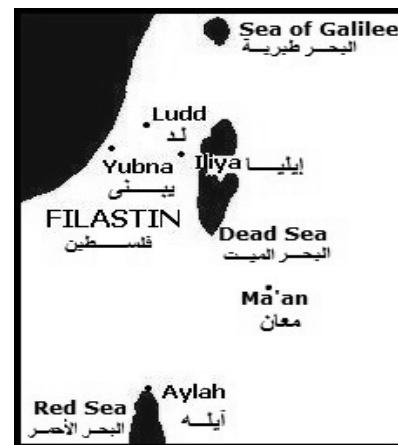
The Coins of Aylah

The following section will attempt to explore further this facet of early Islamic numismatic history and help to shed light on the seventh century Arab-Byzantine coins associated with Aylah. If, in fact, official, state-sanctioned currency was minted for Aylah, the series, itself, may have been short-lived or experimental given the very few surviving examples that have come down to us today. While it is doubtful that Aylah, itself, served as a mint during the Umayyad era, the most plausible explanation would be that the *Aylah-Filastin* coins were minted in Iliya for usage in Aylah similar to the way in which the town of *Wasit* (in Iraq) minted silver *darahim* for much of the eastern Umayyad state after 'Abd al-Malik's coin reform went into effect in the late 690's.¹⁴

Unfortunately, however, the Aylah coins have been mainly ignored and so there are very few references to them in the existing numismatic literature. Harry J. Bone, an expert on Arab-Byzantine coins reports that "*there is no evidence to suggest that coins were actually struck at Aylah during this period, and Iliya is easily garbled into Aylah.*"¹⁵ Likewise, Tony Goodwin, a prolific

author and well-known expert on Arab-Byzantine coins, asserts, "*Coins attributed to Aylah have appeared at auction (e.g., Elsen, 11 December 1999). The mint name is clearly written, but is only very slightly different from Iliya; furthermore, the distinctive style is absolutely typical of Iliya. A blundering or misspelling of the latter mint name therefore seems very likely.*"¹⁶

On the other side, renowned Israeli numismatist, Shraga Qedar, has stated that he favours the legitimacy of the Aylah coins and has posited that such types have provenances in southwestern Jordan between the areas of *Ma'an* and *Al-Aqaba*.¹⁷



Map of seventh-century AD Umayyad Palestine and surrounding areas

Furthermore, European auctions have yielded three Aylah coins, altogether, including the specimens from Bank Leu, May 7, 1985, lot number 473; Jean Elsen December 11 and 13, 1999, lot number 835; and Baldwin, May 7, 2003, lot number 18.¹⁸ One Aylah specimen appeared in Israel in a Robert Deutsch Auction, number 29 on April 21, 2003, lot number 83, and another example sits in the Fitzwilliam Museum, though it is listed as a "Jerusalem" type.

Continuing on, a visual inspection and comparison of four Aylah-Filastin specimens, below, reveals that a single die was probably used for striking the obverse and reverse of the ex-Baldwin, ex-Elsen and Fitzwilliam coins, though the obverse of the ex-Deutsch specimen may have been struck from a separate die as the caliph's headdress and shape, his width, as well as the direction of the scabbard appear slightly different from the remaining three specimens. Even the reverse of the ex-Deutsch specimen appears to be slightly different and depicts a more circular upwards crescent below the "m" as well as a slightly italicised rendering of "Aylah." The other three coins, though, appear to be the work of the same engraver using the same pair of dies. Below, the Standing Caliph coins of Aylah are laid out.



Ex-Baldwin Obverse¹⁹



Ex-Baldwin Reverse

⁸ The Aqaba Project 1995-1996 Annual Report (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). Donald S. Whitcomb.

⁹ The Aqaba Project 1996-1997 Annual Report (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). Donald S. Whitcomb.

¹⁰ Water and recent excavations at Aqaba (The Oriental Institute News and Notes, No. 141, Spring 1994) Donald S. Whitcomb

¹¹ The Aqaba Project 1997-1998 Annual Report (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). Donald S. Whitcomb

¹² The Aqaba Project 1997-1998 Annual Report (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago). Donald S. Whitcomb

¹³ Some numismatists (i.e. Qedar, Goodwin, and Foss) speculate that the Standing Caliph coins of Filastin were minted earlier than the rest of the Standing Caliph series. Qedar believes they were minted during the reign of *Muawiyah ibn Abu Sufyan* while Goodwin believes the starting date for the Iliya types was probably the mid to late 680's, around the start of 'Abd al-Malik's reign, pp. 91-92 (Studies in the Khalili Collection Volume IV 2005)

¹⁴ Historic cities of the Islamic World By Clifford Edmund Bosworth, p. 554 "Wasit."

¹⁵ Tony Goodwin. Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Volume 1: The Pre-reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 2002.

¹⁶ Harry J. Bone, The Administration of Umayyad Syria: The Evidence of the Copper Coins. Princeton University (2000). p. 117.

¹⁷ Shraga Qedar; via telephone conversation in late 2003 and again in early 2007

¹⁸ Tony Goodwin. Arab-Byzantine Coinage, Studies in the Khalili Collection, Volume IV, Endnote no. 17, p. 94 (2005)

¹⁹ Currently in the author's collection



Fitzwilliam Obverse



Fitzwilliam Reverse



Ex-Elsen Obverse



Ex-Elsen Reverse



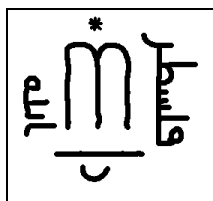
Ex-Deutsch Obverse



Ex-Deutsch Reverse

Style and Iconography

As stated earlier, the style, design, and iconography of the Aylah and Iliya coins are strikingly similar, but such coincidences are hardly enough to conclude that the Aylah coins were not legitimate products minted for Aylah, or that they were simply erroneous blunders on behalf of the die-engraver(s). Many coins appear very similar in style but may have different, and sometimes distant places of origin (e.g. more modern U.S. one cent pieces minted in Denver and Philadelphia); in other words, the coins appear identical but carry entirely different mint markings. As such, the fact that the coins look too alike is not sufficient to conclude that the "Aylah" coins were just Iliya blunders and nothing more. Below, certain aspects and elements of the Aylah coins will be discussed in relation to their Iliya counterparts.²⁰



Sketch of Aylah reverse

The above sketch represents the iconography and epigraphy on the reverse of the Aylah coins. In all four cases, a star is found above the miniscule "m" with an upwards crescent under the exergual line below the "m." To the left of the "m" reads the mint name "Aylah" and to the right reads the *jund* name of "Filastin" (فلسطين). Though it has been proposed that the word to the left of the "m" may, rather strangely, read "Allah", one is left to ponder over the point of including such a word on the reverse and why the engraver or the authorities in charge would tamper with the accepted reverse standard. If the inscribing of "Allah" was an intentional move by the engraver or the authorities in charge, would have it not been more reasonable to use it in the context of a religious formula to be completed on the other side of the "m"?

If it were a just a mistake, then one wonders how the rest of the coin was so meticulously and carefully crafted with immaculate iconography and epigraphy except for that one, small, but extremely important, part of the legend. Also, the possibility that one or two (or even more) dies may exist for these types would indicate the same mistake and error was recommitted by the engraver(s) despite the impeccable workmanship involved in creating all other aspects of the coins.²¹ This proposal seems rather unlikely given that the mint that produced the Iliya Standing Caliph types was probably the most efficient and consistent in Palestine at the time, employing literate and well-skilled workers.²² Not to mention, again, that Aylah was already a functioning urban centre and important port in Umayyad Palestine at the time such Standing Caliph coins were minted. Interestingly enough, from the great number of *Iliya-Filastin* Standing Caliph coins published, the stylistic details found on the Aylah coins such as the star above the "m" and the upwards crescent in the exergue, have only rarely appeared in this particular order, pattern, and arrangement on their Iliya counterparts. It is important to note too, that the four main Aylah coins (pictured above) are all nicely centered and epigraphically and stylistically uniform in appearance with matching iconographical layouts, which is indicative of the care taken to produce these particular specimens.

The images below present a visual comparison of the mint names of Aylah (top four images) and Iliya (bottom four images). Upon careful and close examination, it appears that the middle stroke in "Aylah" extends slightly higher than the vertical letter "ل" (*lam*) immediately preceding it, particularly in the photos A and C, while the number of vertical strokes needed to spell "Aylah" (آيَلة or آيَلة) is clearly fewer than the number of vertical strokes needed to spell "Iliya" (إيليا or إيليا). Had the die-engraver omitted the final letter "ا" (*alef*) and replaced it with a "هـ" (*ha-marbuta*), then a misspelling would seem more probable and convincing. But in the case of the Aylah coins, the spelling is clearly and distinctly "Aylah" and not "Iliya."



A. Ex-Deutsch



B. Ex-Elsen



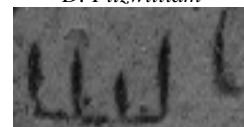
C. Ex-Baldwin



D. Fitzwilliam



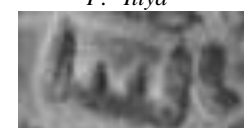
E. "Iliya"



F. "Iliya"



G. "Iliya"



H. "Iliya"

²¹ I am also unaware of any instance where a Standing Caliph coin of Iliya contains any type of religious inscription on the reverse. However, some Standing Caliph coins have surfaced that supposedly contain the name "Filastin" inscribed twice on the reverse with one of them being misspelled (missing the letter "lam"). The assumption is that they were minted in Iliya, but some, like Shraga Qedar, have suggested that the misspelled word actually reads "Qistayn" meaning "two parts", while even others have suggested it reads "Qastil", a town in Palestine overseeing the road from Jerusalem to Jaffah. At this point, the reading is uncertain and we do not know if this represents illiterate die engravers or if the word denotes another town that Iliya may have minted for.

²² Goodwin (2005) pgs. 89-91

²⁰ In regards to weight and size, the Aylah specimens generally measure about 19 mm in width with weights between 3.08 and 3.44 g according to the available information that accompanied each coin.

Additionally, on all of the Aylah obverses, the caliph is that of "Type 1" and appears somewhat short and wide, with very detailed features such as a distinctly large, flowing beard, deep eyes, stylised headwear, a vivid herringbone pattern on his robe, and three strings emanating from his 'girdle band'.²³ The surrounding legend is typical of all 'conventional' Standing Caliph coins of Palestine and reads "Muhammad Ra/sul Allah" (Muhammad, Messenger of God/محمد رسول الله).

An Aylah-Filastin Variant?

Interestingly, another Standing Caliph coin attributed to Aylah surfaced on an internet coin website around May of 2008 that appeared radically different from the other known specimens. It was minted on a poor, crudely cut flan and contains stylistic details not found on the other Aylah types. The coin measures 16.9 mm and weighs 1.88 g, which makes it very unusual for the mint that it is being attributed to.²⁴ The caliph is depicted as tall and slender, resembling the ones found on the Type 2 Standing Caliph coins of Iliya, while the reverse looks peculiar to say the least. The word to the left of the miniscule "m" seemingly reads "Aylah" (since there appears to be a ha-marbuta "ة" at the end of the word), and on the opposite side of the "m", all traces of "Filastin" appear to have completely faded. Under the "m", in the exergue, appears to be either a slightly blundered upwards crescent or just a short, wavy line like those found on some Imperial Image pseudo-Damascus types. If it is a slightly skewed upwards crescent then it is not unlike the rest of the known Aylah specimens in this respect, but it is unclear and the shape remains somewhat uncertain. Also, there is no apparent star above the "m" (but this may be due to the somewhat overall poor condition of the coin, itself). Below are some images of the newest and most intriguing coin attributed to Aylah, and if correctly identified, would make it the fifth recorded specimen to my knowledge.²⁵



Obverse

Reverse



Close-up of "Aylah" mint-mark

For comparative purposes, I have included some notes and images of a Standing Caliph type of Iliya in the Fitzwilliam Museum, in Britain. The coin appears to closely resemble those of Aylah from the depiction of the caliph on the obverse to the star above the "m" and the upwards crescent below the "m." However, the star appears rather large, in comparison, and contains eight points while the legends on the reverse (reading Iliya-Filastin) are completely retrograde (which occasionally occurs on these types). The coin is nicely centered, but the reverse inscription and iconography seems a bit uneven and slightly wavy. It is very possible, though, that this coin as well as at least three of the four uniform Aylah coins pictured earlier may have been products of the same die-engraver.

²³ Ibid. pgs. 88-89

²⁴ According to owner Glenn W. Woods VCOINS website

²⁵ There may be other noted or recorded specimens that I am unaware of. I have consulted with Tony Goodwin and Shraga Qedar on the number of known Aylah types and have done my best to document those which have been reported. I assume others exist that have either been misattributed or that remain in unpublished private collections and even museums.



*Fitzwilliam "Iliya"
Obverse*

*Fitzwilliam "Iliya"
Reverse*

Retrograde "Iliya-Filastin" Standing Caliph type (Fitzwilliam Museum)

Unfortunately, I was unable to gather information about the find-spots and general provenances of the Aylah coins, which is not, at all, surprising given that this issue plagues the entire world of ancient numismatics to some degree or another. Hopefully some future excavation reports from Jordanian or Israeli archaeologists will yield some relevant information about these peculiar Standing Caliph types and where they circulated precisely.

Nevertheless, the circumstantial and physical evidence referred to in this work suggests that the mint at Iliya also minted coins for its fellow Palestinian port at Aylah. Why there are only a handful of Aylah specimens known to exist complicates an already complex Arab-Byzantine numismatic picture, and we may be left to assume that the issuing of these coins may have been temporary, experimental, or minted for Aylah only to be retracted at some point by the Umayyad authorities for whatever reasons (including economic ones).²⁶ Given that the Iraqi town of Wasit, at various times, served as a regional Umayyad mint in the first half of the eighth century, it would not be unreasonable to assume that Iliya may have served in this same capacity in Palestine (which may have been administered differently than the other *ajnaad*) less than a half-century earlier. To reiterate, it is quite feasible that the *Aylah-Filastin* coins are, in fact, legitimate products of the Iliya mint, though produced for circulation in Aylah.²⁷ This would explain the strong similarities found between the two types.

All in all, though some progress has been made, it may very well take more time, research, and more finds before we will all be convinced of the historicity of Aylah's Umayyad numismatic legacy and that this is only the first of many steps in that direction. At this point, however, especially within the context of early Islamic numismatic studies, a broad range of theories concerning chronology, mint locations, and other related issues may be plausible given the very enigmatic and uncertain natures of Arab-Byzantine coins as a whole.

ON THE EARLIEST COINS STRUCK AT ARDABĪL IN THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

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

After the ʿAbbāsids came to power in AH 132, copper coinage already began to be struck in al-Jazīra the following year (coins of al-Mawṣil are known from AH 133),²⁸ but in the northern provinces of the Caliphate they began to be struck only after about ten years, during the AH 140's. There, the first coppers were struck

²⁶ Aylah's distance from major commercial centres and towns may have been an issue for the minting authorities in Iliya in terms of logistics/transporting of coins to the port city. Iliya, itself, was roughly 330 km from Aylah.

²⁷ Historic cities of the Islamic World by Clifford Edmund Bosworth, pg. 554 "Wasit."

²⁸ Lowick N., *Early ʿAbbāsid Coinage: A Type Corpus 132-218 H / AD 750-883*, ed. by E. Savage, London, 1996, pp. 328-329, nos. 292-294.

in Barda^a (from AH 142),²⁹ and later at the mint of Arrān (from AH 143),³⁰ the mint of Ādharbayjān (known only for AH 145),³¹ al-Bāb (from AH 153)³² and Dabīl (from AH 154).³³ This seems to reflect the general monetary policy of the Caliphate in these lands. The same policy also seems to apply for ʿAbbāsīd silver coinage. Thus, an issue of silver dirhams from the mint of Arminiya appears as early as AH 142,³⁴ while the other mints such as Arrān and Ādharbayjān produced silver coins from AH 145³⁵ and AH 165–169 respectively.³⁶

The ʿAbbāsīd copper coinage of Ardabīl so far remains unresearched. This short article deals with three copper coins minted in the AH 140's at Ardabīl that should be regarded as the earliest coins known for that city. It is worth noting that, apart from these coins and one contemporary fals of Ādharbayjān dated AH 145,³⁷ no coppers struck at the mint of Ādharbayjān are known for either the 'Umayyad or ʿAbbāsīd period.³⁸

One fals of the mint of Ardabīl with an illegible date was listed in the Lowick/Savage catalogue.³⁹ As a result of careful observation it became possible to date the coin as AH [1]4x.⁴⁰



Coin 1: Ardabīl, AH [1]4x

Coin 1: AE (2.85 g, 24.5 mm), pierced.⁴¹

Obverse: within a plain circle:

لا اله الا
الله

Obverse margin: Illegible.

Reverse:

محمد
رسول
الله

Reverse margin:

ضرب هذا الفلاس باردبيل ... [اربعين و مائة]

The style of the obverse inscriptions is very crude in contrast to the carefully engraved ones of the reverse. The word *Muḥammad* can be partially read in the obverse margin, while the remaining words in the same sequence are either illegible (or

perhaps written in mirror image) or merely represent an ornament. The description of this specimen was repeated in S. Shamma's catalogue.⁴² In 2009 another copper coin of Ardabīl dated AH 142 came to light.



Coin 2: Ardabīl, AH 142

Coin 2: AE (1.87 g, 20 mm).⁴³

Obverse:

و مائة
لا اله الا
الله

Obverse margin:

بسم الله ... ضرب باردبيل ثنتين و اربعين

A linear circle around.

Reverse:

محمد
رسول
الله

Reverse margin: A circle of joined annulets with a dot inside each. Around, there is a dotted circle.

The specimen of AH 142 has certain differences from the one described above. The mintname is in the obverse margin rather than the reverse margin. The final part of the date is placed in the top line of the obverse field. In the marginal legend of the obverse the word 'two' is engraved as *thanatin*, instead of *thanatīn*. It is also worth noting that the word *fals* was apparently omitted in the marginal legend. The same style of marginal pattern, decorated with dotted annulets, was also used on contemporary fulūs of the mints of Ardashīr Khurra of AH 134,⁴⁴ Ādharbayjān of AH 145,⁴⁵ and Jurjān AH 145.⁴⁶

In 2004 another fals of the mint of Ardabīl dated AH 147 (or 149) appeared in auction.



Coin 3: Ardabīl, AH 147 (or 149)

Coin 3: AE (4.74 g, 20 mm).⁴⁷

Obverse: within a plain circle:

لا اله الا

²⁹ Lowick, *op. cit.*, pp. 338–339, nos. 393–395; Shamma S., *A Catalogue of 'Abbasid Copper Coins*, London, 1998, p. 229.

³⁰ Zeno.Ru Oriental coins database, no. 68611.

³¹ Shamma *op. cit.*, p. 183.

³² Shamma, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

³³ Lowick, *op. cit.*, pp. 340–341, no. 405; Shamma, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

³⁴ Lowick, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–105, no. 656.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 112–113, no. 751.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 132–133, nos. 953–964.

³⁷ Tabātabā'i S. J. T., *Sekkehā-ye eslāmi-ye Īrān az āghāz ta ḥamle moghūl*, Tabriz, SH 1373/1994 AD, p. 151.

³⁸ It should be noted that Ādharbayjān was not a productive mint. Under the 'Umayyads the silver coins were minted there in AH 78–106. The mint of Ātūrpātākān (ATR) was also known as one that was still functioning in the Sasanian period.

³⁹ Lowick, *op. cit.*, p. 342–343, no. 424.

⁴⁰ We would like to express our gratitude to Dr François Thierry (Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris) for the excellent images that he kindly sent to us.

⁴¹ Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris), inv. no. BnF-MMA-1971.220.

⁴² Shamma S., *A Catalogue of 'Abbasid Copper Coins*, London, 1998, p. 184.

⁴³ Private collection (Iran).

⁴⁴ Baldwin's (London) Islamic Coin Auction 16 (2009), lot 192.

⁴⁵ Tabātabā'i, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁴⁶ Steven Album Rare Coins (Santa Rosa) Auction 7 (2009), lot 146.

⁴⁷ Dr. Busso Peus (Frankfurt a.M.) Auktion Katalog 378 (2004), lot 1238.

الله
...

Obverse margin:

... الأمير جعفر بن اس ...

Marginal inscription surrounded by two plain circles.

Reverse:

محمد
رسول
الله
...

Reverse margin:

... الفلاس باردبيل سنة تسع (سبع) و اربعين و مائة ...

... 000 ...

The marginal inscription is surrounded by a plain circle.

The entire series of copper coins struck in the province of Ādharbayjan in the AH 140's (at the mints of Ādharbayjan AH 145 and Ardabīl AH [1]4x, 142 and 147⁹) lacks consistency in both stylistic design and inscriptions. Whereas the Ardabīl coins have on them only *lā 'ilāhu 'illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh*, the coin of Ādharbayjan has *lā sharīk lahu* in addition. The copper coin of Ardabīl of AH 142 has the date on the obverse, with the word for 'a hundred' removed from the margin to the field. Moreover, the obverse of coin no. 1 shows an undecipherable marginal inscription, while on coin no. 2 there is a spelling error (however, frequent in the coinage of that time) in the marginal legend.

A few words on what we are told of the historical situation in Ādharbayjan in this period: at the time of the Arabic conquest of Ādharbayjan, Ardabīl was a residence of Sasanian *marzbāns*. Later, Ardabīl (in summer) alternated with Shīz (in winter) as the capital of Ādharbayjan. This situation existed under the 'Umayyads too, when Ardabīl alternated with Marāgha as the capital of Adharbayjan.⁴⁸

Ya'qubī wrote that, in AH 141, "*caliph al-Manṣūr chose Abū Ja'far Yazīd b. Usayd al-Sulamī [as the governor] for Arminīya, and Yazīd b. Ḥātim al-Mahlabī [as the governor] for Adharbayjan. He [Yazīd b. Ḥātim] moved some people from al-Yaman to this area, he settled down Rawwād b. Muthannā Azdī in the area between Tabrīz and Badhdh*".⁴⁹ It seems that, in the following year, Yazīd ibn Ḥātim was given control over the province of Ādharbayjan too, though we have no direct evidence proving this. The son of Rawwād b. Muthannā Azdī, Vajna b. Rawwād Azdī, was keen to be appointed governor of Arminīya and Adharbayjan but was not chosen by caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.⁵⁰

It is hard to ascertain whether we are dealing with the name Ja'far b. Is(ma'īl/ḥaq?) or Ibr(āhīm?) engraved on coin 3. In the narrative sources such as al-Balādhurī or al-Ṭabarī there are no passages regarding the history of Ardabīl in the AH 140's. On the contemporary copper coins struck in al-Mawṣil we meet a certain Ja'far whose name is normally given along with the inscription "Ja'far bin amīr al-mu'minīn" (AH 145⁵¹), "Ja'far bin ..." (AH 155⁵²) and "Ja'far bin amīr al-mu'minīn" (AH 157).⁵³ Could this person be identical with the one mentioned on the coin of Ardabīl? It is known that rulers of neighbouring provinces did often change their posts while serving in the northern districts of the Caliphate. Till now the following patronyms are known for al-Jazīra: "Ishaq" mentioned on the same coin of AH 157 from al-

Mawṣil with "Ja'far bin amīr al-mu'minīn", and "Ibrāhīm ibn..." mentioned on the coin of AH 157/62 from al-Rāfiqa.⁵⁴

In summary, it would appear that Ardabīl played an important role in the region during the period in question and could have been the residence of a local governor provided by the central authorities in Baghdād with the right of *sikka*.

A NEW MINTNAME, MALĀZKIRT, ON A COIN OF SHĀHRUKH TĪMŪRID

By A. Akopyan (Moscow) and F. Mosanef (Tehran)

The city of Manzikert (this is the Byzantine form of the placename *Arm. Manavazkert* > *Manazkert*, nowadays *Malazgirt* in eastern Turkey) lies near lake Van and was founded in the Urartian period, in the time of king Menua (810–785 BC). This Armenian city was well-known to medieval sources, who wrote: '*Malāzkird is a city in Armenia, with a castle facing the Romans [i.e. the Byzantines]; its people are warriors and it is a nice place with many goods*'⁵⁵ and with '*good weather*'.⁵⁶ This city became famous in world history thanks to the battle of AH 463/ AD 1071, when the army of Seljūq, Alp Arslān, defeated the Byzantine army under Romanus IV Diogenes, a result which opened the way to the Turk invasion of Armenia and Asia Minor.

After the Seljūq period, Manzikert became a small city and never regained its former fame.⁵⁷ From a numismatic point of view, medieval Manzikert was hitherto unknown as a mintplace. It should be noted that we consider as very doubtful the reading of the mint 'Malāzkird/Malāzkird' (ملازکرد / ملازکرد) on a single Qājār coin of AH 1282,⁵⁸ listed by E. von Zambaur⁵⁹ (and repeated by Ö. Diler).⁶⁰ Such a reading has not been confirmed by any other such coin.

Recently, the authors discovered a tanka with the mintname *Malāzkirt* in the name of the Tīmūrid ruler, Shāhrukh, (AH 807–850/ AD 1405–1477), dated AH 832/ AD 1428–1429. The multifarious and very productive Tīmūrid coinage still awaits proper cataloguing; each new mintplace provides important information on the nature and extent of monetary circulation in the Tīmūrid state.



Coin 1.

Coin 1: Tanka, AR (4,88 g, 22 mm).⁶¹

Obverse: Sunnī Kalimah in three lines:

لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول الله

⁴⁸ Bosworth C., *Ardabīl (History of Ardabīl)*, Encyclopædia Iranica Online (available at www.iranica.com).

⁴⁹ Al-Ya'qubī, *Tā'rikh al-Ya'qubī*, Tehrān, SH 1382, vol. II, pp. 342, 361–362. This place Badhdh became famous later, as the motherland of Bābek, leader of the Khurramites.

⁵⁰ Aḥmad b. Yaḥya al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, Tehrān, SH 1364, p. 88. See more about Rawwādid in: Vardanyan A., *The History of Iranian Adharbayjan and Armenia in the Rawwādid Period (Tenth Century AD) According to Narrative Sources and Coins*, *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 169 (2009), pp. 245–260.

⁵¹ Lowick, *op. cit.*, pp. 330–331, nos. 300–302.

⁵² *Ibid.*, no. 310.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, no. 311.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 332–333, no. 330.

⁵⁵ Hudūd al-'Ālam. "The regions of the world". A Persian Geography 372 A.H. – 982 A.D., trans. and expl. V. Minorsky, Oxford, 1937. p. 143; Abu Ishaq Ibrāhīm Iṣṭakhrī, *Al-masālik al-mamālik*, Tehrān, SH 1373. p. 192.

⁵⁶ Hamdullah Mustowfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, Tehrān, SH 1381. p. 155.

⁵⁷ See more about the history of Manzikert in: T. Kh. Hakobyan, St. T. Melik-Bakhshyan, H. Kh. Barsegyan, *Dictionary of Toponymy of Armenia and Adjacent Territories*, vol. 3, Yerevan, 1991. p. 679–680.

⁵⁸ This attribution was made in 1878 (Fr. Bayern, *Verkaufskatalog*, Berlin, 1887. No. 2479), and 1887 (J. Fonrobert, *Verzeichnis von Münzen und Denkmünzen der Fonrobertschen Sammlung*, Berlin, 1878. No. 4810).

⁵⁹ E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, Wiesbaden, 1968. p. 248.

⁶⁰ Ö. Diler, *Islamic Mints*, vol. 2, İstanbul, 2009. p. 1098.

⁶¹ In a private collection (Iran).

In the four marginal segments the names of the four *rāshidūn* are engraved: ([ابو بكر]) at the bottom, عمر on the right, عثمان on the top, علي on the left). The margin is enclosed within a circle

Reverse: In the central field, surrounded by a plain circle:

ضرب
كرة
ملاز
٨٣٢

Marginal inscription, bordered by plain and dotted circles:

السلطان الاعظم [شاه] [ه رح بهادر] خلد الله ملكه

By the style and weight, this coin belongs to the fifth coinage of Shāhrukh, struck in AH 827–850,⁶² type B.1.⁶³ The same reverse design, with the mintname within a central plain circle is known also for Astarābād (AH 830,⁶⁴ 834,⁶⁵ 836,⁶⁶ 841⁶⁷), Damghān (AH 832),⁶⁸ Kirmān (AH 830),⁶⁹ Nimrūz (no date),⁷⁰ Sabzevar (AH 833).⁷¹

According to Sharaf Khān Bidlistī⁷² and the Armenian historians, Arak'el Davrižec'i⁷³ and T'ovma Mecopec'i⁷⁴, in the beginning of AH 832 Shāhrukh marched from Khorasān to Adharbayjān. In that time the amīr of Ganja and Barda'a, Yār Aḥmad Qaramān, rebelled against Tīmūrid rule, but was soon pacified. Then Iskandar b. Qarā Yūsuf of the Qarā Qoyūnlū tribe defeated Qarā Yulūq of the Aq Qoyūnlū, crossed the river Araxes, ravaged Sultāniye and started to fight against the Tīmūrid army. In 878 of the Armenian era (AD 1429), near Salmās, Iskander was defeated by Shāhrukh and fled. Detachments under Shāhrukh's son, Jūkī, pursued him to Arzarūm and later ran riot in the region around lake Van. After this victory, Shāhrukh passed the winter in Arrān and in the following year, AH 833, he entrusted the government of Adharbayjān and associated regions to Mirza Sa'īd b. Qarā Yūsuf, and returned to Khorasān.

From the mints of Adharbayjān and adjacent regions for Shāhrukh's reign we only know coins of Ardabīl,⁷⁵ Tabrīz⁷⁶ and Shirvān⁷⁷ (coins of this mint were most likely struck by the local Shirvānshāhs in Shāhrukh's name). All of these are cities with a very long numismatic history. The newly discovered mint of Malāzkirt is the westernmost among the known mints of Shāhrukh. The city of Malāzkirt lies between the site of the battle of Salmās and Arzarūm, the goal of Jūkī's march. It would seem that a detachment of Jūkī's army passed the winter in Malāzkirt, and struck a small amount of coins there in Shāhrukh's name.

One very interesting peculiarity, that should be noted, is the unusual way of writing the city name as ملازكرة, with *tā' marbūta* at the end, a form not previously noted. There are some other variants of this placename known in Arabic – ملازجرد,⁷⁸ ملازجرد,⁷⁹

مناذگرد,⁸⁰ ملازگرد,⁸¹ ملازکرد,⁸² ملازکرد,⁸³ ملازگرد,⁸⁴ ملازگرد,⁸⁵ and, as transliterated by Le Strange, forms such as 'Malāzkird', 'Mināsjird', 'Manzikart' and 'Milāsgird'.⁸⁷ For the later period the variant ملازکرد became the only one used.⁸⁸

REVISION OF THE REGNAL YEARS OF DAMASENA (AD 222-237/8), RULER OF THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS IN GUJARAT

By Alexander Fishman

Since the publication of the last comprehensive catalogue of the coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas (also known as "Western Satraps") by Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor in 1994 ("Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas") many new types, varieties and dates have been identified. A number of newly discovered coins of a Western Kṣatrapa ruler, Damasena, are presented here. These new coins allow us to change the regnal years of this ruler and solve some of the problems concerning the span of his reign.

Figure 1: Regnal list of two generations of the known descendants of Western Kṣatrapa Rudrasimha I

Rudrasimha I son of Rudradaman

as Kṣatrapa (ca. SE 97-100; 110-112 / AD 175-178; AD 188-190)

as Mahakṣatrapa (SE 100-110; 112-119 / AD 178-188; 190-197)

Royal sons of Rudrasimha I:

1. Rudrasena I
as Kṣatrapa (SE 121-122; 124 / AD 199-200; 202)
as Mahakṣatrapa (SE 122-124; 124-144 / AD 200-202; 202-222)
2. Išvaradeva (as Kṣatrapa in SE 127 / AD 205)
3. Jivadaman II (as Kṣatrapa in SE 127 / AD 205)
4. Damasena
as Kṣatrapa (SE 144 / AD 222)
as Mahakṣatrapa (SE 144-160; AD 222-238)
5. Saṁghadāman (as Mahakṣatrapa in SE 149 / AD 227)

Sons of Rudrasena I and grandsons of Rudrasimha I:

1. Prthivisena (as Kṣatrapa in SE 144 / AD 222)
2. Damajadasri II (as Kṣatrapa in SE 154-155 / AD 232-233)

Sons of Damasena and grandsons of Rudrasimha I:

1. Viradaman (as Kṣatrapa in SE 156-160 / AD 234-238)
2. Yasodaman I
as Kṣatrapa (SE 160 / AD 238)
as Mahakṣatrapa (SE 160-161 / AD 238-239)
3. Vijayasena
as Kṣatrapa (SE 160-161 / AD 238-239)
as Mahakṣatrapa (SE 161-173 / AD 239-251)
4. Damajadasri III (as Mahakṣatrapa in SE 170-178 (?) / AD 248-256 (?))

⁷⁹ *Al-masālik al-mamālik*. P. 192.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* P. 192.

⁸¹ V. Minorosky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, London, 1953. P. 8. Based on a source of AH 1113 / AD 1702 that cites a source of ca. AH 500 / AD 1106; Maps based on al-Iṣṭakhrī, *Al-masālik al-mamālik* – MS copies dated AD 1173 (Leiden University Library, ref. OR.3101. P. 71), 1325 AD (Iran Bastan Museum, ref. MS.3515. F. 75b) and from the 14th c. (British Library, OIOC, ref. I. O. Islamic 1026. F. 49b); *Nuzhat al-qulūb*. P. 155.

⁸² On the map based on Mustowfī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb* – MS copy dated AD 1634, from original of AD 139/40 (British Library, MS ADD-23543. FF. 162v-163).

⁸³ *Hudūd al-'Ālam*. P. 143.; *Aḥsan al-taqāsim*. P. 173.

⁸⁴ *Al-masālik al-mamālik*. P. 192.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* P. 192.

⁸⁶ *Nuzhat al-qulūb*. P. 155.

⁸⁷ G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905. P. 115.

⁸⁸ N. Akbayar, *Osmanlı yer adları sözlüğü*, İstanbul, 2003. P. 112.

⁶² According to *S. Album*, A Checklist of Islamic Coins. Santa Rosa, 1998. p. 119.

⁶³ According to the classification of Dr. V. N. Nastich, published in <http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=5927>.

⁶⁴ Currently the most extensive listing of Tīmūrid coinage is the on-line Zeno.ru Oriental Coins database. This coin is under no. 27855.

⁶⁵ Zeno, no. 82966.

⁶⁶ Zeno, no. 82967.

⁶⁷ Zeno, no. 82968.

⁶⁸ Zeno, no. 48389.

⁶⁹ Zeno, no. 4074.

⁷⁰ Zeno, no. 39948.

⁷¹ Zeno, no. 53468.

⁷² Sharaf Khān Bidlistī, *Sharaf-nāme*, transl. by E. I. Vasil'eva, vol. 2, Moscow, 1976. pp. 110–111.

⁷³ Arak'el Davrižec'i, *Girk' patmut'eanc'*, transl. by L. A. Xanlaryan, Moscow, 1973. p. 483

⁷⁴ Foma Metsopkiy, *Istoriya Timur-Lanka i ego preemnikov*, transl. by T. Ter-Grigoryan and A. Bagramyan, Baku, 1957.

⁷⁵ Zeno, no. 39950.

⁷⁶ S. J. T. Ṭabāṭabā'i, S. Suleymānī, *Sikkehā-ye Kūrkānī ve šūrhāzrehā*, Tabrīz, SH 1386. p. 62.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* P. 56.

⁷⁸ A. A. Xačatryan, *Corpus of Arabic inscriptions of Armenia, 8th–16th cc.*, Yerevan, 1987. P. 152. This writing based on the source of AH 697/1298 AD.; *Hudūd al-'Ālam*. p. 143.

Damasena was a son of Rudrasimha and was the last of Rudrasimha's many sons to inherit the throne (Figure 1). Damasena also fathered four of the future Western Kṣatrapa rulers, continuing the Kardamaka dynasty. Not much is known about Damasena's long reign, but he issued copious silver coinage covering every year of his reign. However, there are significant problems and gaps in our knowledge concerning the beginning and the end of his reign.

Based on his coinage, the established dates for Damasena's reign as Mahākṣatrapa are Saka Era 145-158 (AD 223-236)⁸⁹ with every year of his reign accounted for on coins. His reign might have been briefly interrupted (or his kingdom may have been split for a brief period of time) in SE 149 (AD 227) by what is usually assumed to be a revolt of his brother, Saṃghadāman.

These dates were always somewhat problematic for a number of reasons. The previous Mahākṣatrapa (Damasena's brother) Rudrasena I died early in SE 144 (AD 222), judging from the rarity of his coins with that date. Prior to the findings presented here, it was not previously known who served as a Mahākṣatrapa for the remainder of that year.

An even bigger problem concerned the end of Damasena's reign – the last known coins dated to SE 158 (AD 236), followed by a two year period without a Mahākṣatrapa until the accession of Yasodaman I in SE 160 (AD 238). Even though no Mahākṣatrapa was previously known for the post-Damasena SE 158, the entire year SE 159 and for the early SE 160, there were reigning Kṣatrapas (junior rulers or successor-designates) during this period – first Damasena's son Viradaman (SE 156-160 / AD 234-238) and then Viradaman's brother, Yasodaman I (SE 160 / AD 238 as Kṣatrapa; SE 160-161 / AD 238-239 as Mahākṣatrapa). This very conspicuous absence of the Mahākṣatrapa, despite the continuous presence of Kṣatrapas, gave rise to various theories, most accepted of which used to be (though not anymore) that, during this period, the throne was occupied by the Abhira intruder, Mahākṣatrapa Īśvaradatta, who issued coins dated in his own regnal years and not in Saka years.⁹⁰

A number of recently discovered coins allow us to correct the years of Damasena's reign and close the two-year gap without the Mahākṣatrapa between SE 158 and 160.

Until recently it was thought that Damasena never served as a Kṣhatrapa, but some exceedingly rare coins where he is titled "Kṣatrapa", all dated to SE 144 (AD 222) were recently identified and published by Robert Senior.⁹¹ Judging from the rarity of the coins of this type, Damasena's reign as a Kṣatrapa (presumably under his older brother, Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasena I, following the death of his nephew, Kṣatrapa Prthivisena, earlier the same year) was probably very brief and lasted only for a short period of time in SE 144. Two minor varieties of this type are now known from a total of four examples, both shown below (coins 1 and 2).



(1) Silver karshapana of Damasena as Kṣatrapa, with "RājñāḤ" (the coin published in ISCH has this spelling)



(2) Silver karshapana of Damasena as Kṣatrapa, With "Rājñā" (previously unpublished)

Obv: Bust of Damasena right with collar showing, wearing a satrapal cap, date in Brahmi numerals behind, corrupt Greek inscription around.

Rev: Crescent on a three-arched hill over a wavy line, crescent in the left field and sun in the right field, hybrid Brahmi inscription around:



Brahmi inscription:

Rājñō MaHāKṣaTraPaSa RuDraSiHaSaPuTraSa Rājñā(Ḥ)
KṣaTraPaSa DāMaSeNaSa

English translation:

Raja Great Satrap Damasena, son of Raja Great Satrap
Rudrasimha

Date: Coin 1 ॐॐॐ (SE 144 / AD 222)
Coin 2 ॐॐॐ (SE 144 / AD 222)

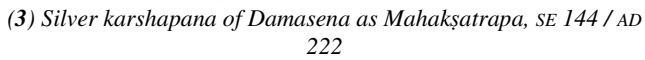
As was already mentioned, the beginning of Damasena's reign as a Mahākṣatrapa is placed in SE 145 (AD 223) in all relevant literature, but a recent discovery of a unique coin (dated to SE 144 or AD 222) in his name bearing the title of Mahākṣatrapa (coin 3) pushes the beginning of his reign one year back (I am indebted to Mr Farokh Todywalla of the Todywalla Auction House for allowing the use of this photograph). The absolute rarity of this type is perhaps because Damasena became a Mahākṣatrapa only late in SE 144. The coin is quite unusual, since the portrait of the coin is in the same style as the late coins of Rudrasena and of Prthivisena. This is not surprising since this is Damasena's earliest issue and it probably took the mint some time to switch to the new portrait. The reverse inscription begins at 11 o'clock, which is unusual for Damasena because the inscription on most of his coins begins between 1 and 2 o'clock.



⁸⁹ As they appear in Jha/Rajgor "Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas" (1994), in the related modern literature and on the internet.

⁹⁰ With a single exception of a unique coin dated to SE 164 and an uncertain regnal year (ISCH 352.1D; SCWK 533) which might be a mule of an obverse of Vijayasena and a reverse of Īśvaradatta

⁹¹ R.Senior, "Indo-Scythian Coins and History" (2004), #346.10D



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224-240), the founder of the Sasanian empire, and his successor, Shapur I (AD 240-272).⁹⁵



Figure 3: Detail of Figure 1 (left) and Figure 2 (right)

This interpretation is not adequate according to Nikolaus Schindel,⁹⁶ who put forward the view that Anahita is handing over a crown of investiture to Ardashir.

Furthermore, Nikolaus Schindel is convinced that a crown of the Kushan emperor, Huvishka, is shown in the centre of these coin reverses. Therefore, he came to the conclusion that the Kushan emperor, Huvishka, and the Kushano-Sasanian Ardashir ruled in the last quarter of the 3rd century AD and that, consequently, Year 1 of the Kanishka Era (KE) is to be placed at AD 227.⁹⁷

Whatever the correct interpretation of these coin reverses may be, in the author's view there is no evidence that the object between Ardashir and Anahita shows a Huvishka-type crown. The newly published example here (Figure 2) gives a clearer impression of the crown's design showing it is not of a Kushan type. Consequently these coins cannot provide a solid basis for Kushan chronology.

Acknowledgements

The author thanks Robert Bracey and Nikolaus Schindel for discussions and for valuable input.

⁹⁵ Michael Alram and Rika Gyselen, "Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum Vol. 1, Ardashir I. -Shapur I." (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 2003)

⁹⁶ Nikolaus Schindel, private communication Jan 20th, 2010: "(1) Daß auf der Münze auf Shapur I. angespielt werden würde, setzt das erst zu Beweisende als bereits bewiesen voraus. Es gibt m.E. gewichtige Argumente dagegen, dass die KS-Münzen schon unter Shapur I. geprägt wurden. 2) Die Mauerkrone gibt es schon in der Persis, unter Ardashir I., auf den Reliefs bei Ahura Mazda. Ein Bezug auf Shapur I. ist daher im vorliegenden Fall extrem unwahrscheinlich; bei Anahit kommt laut meinem Kollegen Fabrizio Sinisi die Mauerkrone daher, dass Elemente der griechischen Tyche in das iranische Bild eingeflossen sind. 3) Wer hier wem etwas übergibt, ist nach den Gesten und den Vergleichsbeispielen ganz eindeutig: Anahit übergibt die Krone an Ardashir, der eine Geste der Ehrbezeugung vollführt. Dass Ardashir der Übergebende sein soll, ist der iranischen Bildsprache m.E. ausgeschlossen, wodurch die Deutung an sich etwas schwer aufrechtzuerhalten sein dürfte."

⁹⁷ Nikolaus Schindel, "Ardashir II Kushanshah and Huvishka the Kushan: Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the Kushan King, Kanishka I", JONS 198, pp. 12-14 (Oriental Numismatic Society, London, Winter 2009)

TWO DATED COINS OF NASIR AL-DIN IBRAHIM, SULTAN OF BENGAL

By Dr Russel Haque

Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhīm was one of the sons of Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (700-716, 719-720). His coins have been published in *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates* by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka as B112, B113 and B114, and they belong to 2 broad categories-

1. Issue in his own name
2. Issue jointly with the Sultans of Delhi
 - a. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq
 - b. Muḥammad bin Tughluq

Unfortunately, none of the published coins had the mint or date visible. Recently, however, a couple of dated coins of this ruler have turned up. The coins in question are

Coin 1:



Obverse:

السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه السلطان
بن سلطان

al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam nāṣir al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar ibrahīm shāh al-sulṭān bin sulṭān

Reverse: الإمام المستعصم امير المؤمنين

al-imam al-muṣṭa'ṣim amīr al-mū'minīn

Margin:

ضرب هذه الفضة بخطة لکنوتی سنة اربع و عشرين و سبعمائة

ḍarb hadhah al-ḥiṭṭah ba-khiṭṭa lakhnauṭī sanah arba' wa 'ashrīn wa saba'miah.

The coin is dated AH 724, which is only partly visible on the coin, but enough of it is visible to be able to determine what it is. The mint is clearly Lakhnauṭī, which is also worth noting, as none of the previously published coins of this ruler had the mint visible. The style is also much finer. The coin now lies in a private collection.

Coin 2:



Obverse:

السلطان المعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه السلطان
سلطان

al-sulṭān al-mu'aẓẓam nāṣir al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar ibrahīm shāh al-sulṭān bin sulṭān

Reverse: السلطان الاعظم محمد شاه السلطان بن سلطان
al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam muḥammad shāh al-sulṭān bin sulṭān

Margin: سنة خمس
 ...sanah khams...

On this particular coin only *sanah* and the unit digit 5 is visible. So the date would be AH (72)5 without any doubt considering the reigns of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq, Muḥammad bin Tughluq and Ibrāhim himself. The coin is in my personal collection.

On the basis of the above mentioned coins, the sequence of historical events in Bengal at that time can be reconstructed. This appears to be slightly different from Ibn Battūta's account and confirms Baranī's account. It is known from Zīā al-Dīn Baranī, that 'certain chief men of Lakhnauti', who were victims of the injustice and high-handedness of their rulers, paid a visit to Sulṭān Tughluq Shāh, and apprised him of the affairs prevailing there, upon which the sultan decided to invade Lakhnauti. He called his son, the heir-apparent to the throne, from Warangal and put him in charge of administration, while he, himself, marched to Lakhnauti with a large army early in AH 724. When Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bahādur, the brother of Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhim, who was the then sultan of Bengal, heard of Tughluq's intent, he shifted from Lakhnauti to Ghiyāthpūr, in Mymensingh. Taking advantage of Bahādur's absence from the capital, his rival brother, Ibrāhim, occupied Lakhnauti early in AH 724, and immediately issued coins from Lakhnauti in his own name as sultan with the greater title *al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam*, as evidenced from Coin 1. This corroborates Baranī's account that Nāṣir al-Dīn had succeeded in establishing himself at least at Lakhnauti when Tughluq arrived at the frontiers of Bengal. However, Ibrāhim sensed he did not have the capability to face Tughluq's army and moved out to meet him. The meeting took place in Tirhut, where Ibrāhim submitted to Tughluq and pledged allegiance to him. From Tirhut, Ghiyāth al-dīn Tughluq sent Bahrām Khān, alias Tātār Khān, along with Ibrāhim to capture Bahādur Shāh. When Bahādur Shāh was defeated and imprisoned, Tughluq appointed Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhim as the governor of Lakhnauti at the end of AH 724. Ibrāhim issued coins in his name jointly with Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq as an expression of allegiance to him, where he adopts the lesser title *al-sulṭān al-mu'aẓẓam*. No dated coin of this particular type has yet come to light. When Muḥammad bin Tughluq came to the throne of Delhi in AH 725, Ibrāhim expressed his loyalty to the new sultan and issued coins jointly in their names. The date of issue of this type is AH 725 as evidenced from Coin 2 (the unit digit is enough to confirm this). In AH 726, Ibrāhim was called to Delhi, and charge of Lakhnauti was passed to Malik Pindar (known as Qadr Khān). Ibrāhim accompanied Muḥammad bin Tughluq in his expedition to Multān against Kishlū Khān in AH 728. Nothing is known about him thereafter.

References:

1. Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka: *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*
2. Syed Ejaz Hussain: *The Bengal Sultanate - Politics, Economy and Coins*
3. Md Mohar Ali: *History of the Muslims of Bengal*
4. The Rehla of Ibn Battuta - Ibn Battūta, trans. Mahdi Husain
 According to Ibn Battūta, Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhim, himself, went to Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq and complained of the state of affairs in Bengal and asked him to intervene. However, it appears now that Nāṣir al-Dīn Ibrāhim was in Lakhnauti and it was a few 'chief men' of Bengal who paid a visit to Tughluq, much in accordance with Baranī's account. When Bahādur fled, it gave Ibrāhim the opportunity to occupy the throne of Lakhnauti.
5. Zīā al-Dīn Baranī: *Tārīkh-i-Frūz Shāhī*

SOME COINS COUNTERMARKED IN TRIPURA

by Nicholas Rhodes

In past publications I have illustrated a coin of Megha Narayana of Kachar that had been countermarked with a lion's head, presumably in Tripura⁹⁸. Recently, five more coins have appeared with a similar countermark, and all six of the countermarked coins that are currently known are illustrated below:



1. Obv: Śrī Śrī Megha / Nārāyana/ Bhupālasya/ Śāke 1488
 in four lines.

Rev: Hara Gaurī / Charana Parā/yana Hāchenga/sā Vamśaja
 in four lines.

Diam. 26mm. Wt. 9.47g



2. Obv: Śrī Śrī Jasho / Nārāyana/ Bhupālasya/ Śāke 1505
 in four lines.

Rev: Hara Gaurī / Charana Parā/yana Hāchenga/sā Vamśaja
 in four lines.

Wt. 9.75g



3 & 4. Obv: al-sulṭān / al-'ādil vamar shāh / khallada allāh
 mulkahu/ wa sulṭānahu

⁹⁸ 'A Kachar Coin Countermarked in Tripura', *COIN, Annual Issue 2002*, Numismatic Society of Calcutta, pp.21-22. *The Coinage of Tripura*, by N.G.Rhodes & S.K.Bose, Library of Numismatic Studies, Kolkata 2002, p.22. *A History of the Dimasa-Kacharis*, by N.G.Rhodes & S.K.Bose, Library of Numismatic Studies, Kolkata and Guwahati, 2006, Coin No.13.1.

Rev: The Shahāda, uncertain date, perhaps 988 (?) below.
(G&G B1018⁹⁹)

Diam. 24 & 25mm. Wt. 9.91g & 9.86g



5. As last, but 'al-'ādil' on top line of obv. (G&G B1017)¹⁰⁰

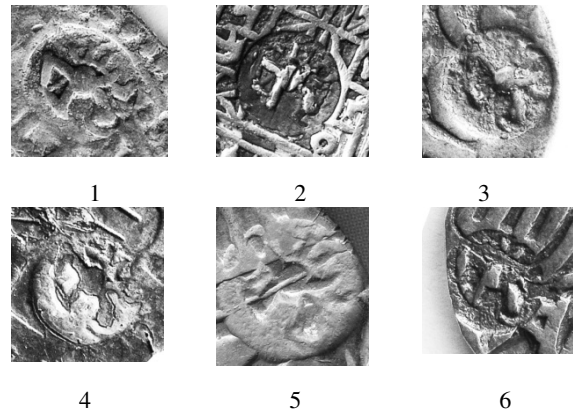


6. Obv: *al-sultān / sikandar shāh / khallada allāh mulkahu*
Rev: The Shahāda, uncertain date, perhaps 992 (?) below.
(G&G B1014 var.)
Diam. 25mm Wt. 9.78g.

Coins 1 & 2 are of the kings of the Dimasa-Kachari kingdom, the first of Megha Narayana (AD 1568-83) and the second of Yasho Narayana (AD 1583-1601).

The other four coins are all of Chittagong, and are sometimes called 'trade coins', as they may have been struck more under the control of traders, rather than specifically by the political authority¹⁰¹. Chittagong was an important port, and political control kept changing among three local powers, the sultans of Bengal, the kings of Tripura and the kings of Arakan, but the key people in Chittagong were the traders, and the political rulers did not want to upset them. Since they used coins as an important part of their trading activities, it was important to issue coins that would be accepted as currency by the people of Bengal. These particular coins were probably struck during a period of Arakanese domination of Chittagong, but the types are similar to coins struck in Bengal. Coins 3, 4 and 5 are all in the name of Vamar Shah, whose identity is uncertain, but who may have been an Arakanese governor of Chittagong, but it is not impossible that he may have been a local tribal leader. The date AH 988 may be meaningful, at least as the accession year of the governor, so the coin may have been struck in the years after AD 1580. Coin 6 is in the name of Sikandar Shah, which was the Arabic name of the Arakanese ruler, Min Palaung, who ruled from AH 980 - 1003 (AD 1571-93). Coin 6 is a very crude variety of G&G B1014, on which the date AH 992 (AD 1582) is sometimes visible, so it is possible that some of these pieces in the name of Sikandar Shah may have

post-dated those struck in the name of Vamar Shah, but the history of Chittagong at this period is very obscure¹⁰².



Looking at the lion countermarks in greater detail, it can be seen that they are very similar, and may even have been struck using the same punch. As can be seen, the coins that were countermarked were all circulating during the last two decades of the sixteenth century. I have previously stated that the lion's head bears a close similarity to the head of the lion on the coins of Amara Manikya of Tripura, but there is an even closer similarity with the coins of Rajadhara Manikya (AD 1586-99). Note the details of the lion's mane and the presence of a tongue between the teeth.



Tanka of Rajadhara Manikya



Detail of lion's head

Accordingly, it is likely that the coins were all countermarked at the same time, within a few years of c AD 1590. The next question to be addressed is why should they have been countermarked, and by whom?

I have previously suggested that the countermark may have been applied to coins acquired as a result of the capture of Sylhet by Tripura in Ś 1502 (AD 1580), in order to validate them for circulation in Tripura. The appearance of coin 2 above makes this theory very unlikely, as this piece was struck at least three years after this military conquest. I can think of three possible reasons as to where and why the countermark may have been applied:

1. Applied by the Tripura authorities, or by a private banker in Tripura, to validate the coins for circulation in Tripura.
2. Applied by the Tripura authorities to validate the coins for export from Tripura.

⁹⁹ This coin is misnumbered B1014 in error in G&G (*The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, by S.Goron and J.P.Goenka, New Delhi 2001, p.265).

¹⁰⁰ My thanks to Mr J.P.Goenka for permission to publish this coin in his possession. This coin came from the collection of Mr Jahar Acharjee of Tripura, and is the piece referred to in my 2002 article, as having a lion's head facing right. After an examination of the actual coin, it is now clear that my original memory of it was faulty and the lion's head does face left. Coins 1 to 4 and 6 are in the collection of the author.

¹⁰¹ For a description of these coins and the background to their issue, c.f. John Deyell, 'The Trade Coinage of Chittagong Region in the mid-Sixteenth Century', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, vol.40 no.2, December 1995, pp.207-235.

¹⁰² I am informed by Noman Nasir that coins of Sikandar are also known dated AH 989 and 991, but he has not seen any pieces of the style of this countermarked piece with a visible date.

3. Applied by a private banker in Chittagong or elsewhere in Bengal, as a 'shroff mark', to confirm that it had been accepted as a valid coin by that banker.

In the case of validation of the coins for circulation in Tripura, one would expect that the coins would have been found in Tripura territory, along with normal Tripura coins, but that does not seem to be the case. Private 'shroff marks', which were so widely used in Bengal until the early sixteenth century, were no longer applied in the 1580's, and I am not aware of any Chittagong trade coins bearing a shroff mark of any other type. On the other hand, the application of such a countermark to validate the coins for export is a serious possibility.

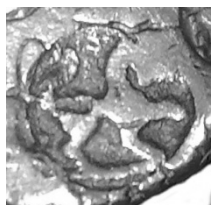
One purpose of the coinage of Tripura must have been as a method of raising revenue for the king. In common with other states, where the practice is documented¹⁰³, it is likely that traders were free to import silver bullion in any form, but could only export it in the form of Tripura coins. Traders would take to the mint any silver in other form that they wished to export, and would be charged whatever seignorage was demanded. This practice would have been resented by traders, because the Tripura coins probably only circulated outside Tripura at a discount compared with local coins, so they were effectively taxed twice. A compromise could have been offered by the Tripura mint, whereby foreign coins had a countermark applied, to validate them for export, but they could then be used by the traders in their home country at face value. The full seignorage might have been charged for applying the mark, so the Tripura king was not a loser, but the trader was only taxed once. While this practice might appear to be to the advantage of both parties, it would have been quite easy to counterfeit the countermark, so it is not surprising that if this is the correct explanation, the practice would not have lasted long, resulting in the rarity of surviving specimens.

Hoard evidence would help to determine the true explanation, and hoard evidence is very limited. Coins 3, 4 & 6 were found in a group of about 30 'trade coins', all the others being uncountermarked. Although this group had the appearance of being a hoard, we cannot be sure whether it was a collection rather than a hoard (although the presence of many duplicates suggest that it was not a recent collection), and if a hoard, whether other coins were found with them. No.5 was also first seen as the only countermarked coin in a group of about four 'trade coins'; although it was first seen in Tripura, it is probable that the group of coins was taken there from Bangladesh in the 1980's. No earlier provenance of the two countermarked Kachar coins is available, except to say that there is no evidence that they came from Tripura. Hence, although the evidence is very limited, I would like to suggest that the countermark was most likely applied by the Tripura authorities to validate the coins for export.

While writing this article, another coin of Bengal, countermarked with a lion, came to my attention¹⁰⁴.



Nusrat Shah Obv.



Detail

¹⁰³ For example in Nepal during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. c.f. *The Coinage of Nepal* by Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdetaro, Royal Numismatic Society, London, 1989.

¹⁰⁴ In a private collection in Bangladesh.



Dhanya Manikya

The host coin is a tanka of Nusrat Shah, of Barbakabad mint (G&G B802. This type is usually found dated between AH 926-930, that is AD 1520-1525, although this particular piece has no legible date. The lion countermark shows a complete lion walking to the right, with a line below, on a larger punch than is used for the other shroff marks that can also be seen on the coin. The lion is rather similar to the lions found on the coins of Dhanya Manikya of Tripura (AD 1490-1526), and it is tempting to think that this mark may also have been applied in Tripura for the same purpose as the other marks discussed above, but at an earlier date of c. AD 1530.

In conclusion, I would like to ask collectors of coins of the Sultans of Bengal to see whether they have any specimens with a countermark of a lion or a lion's head. In my experience, such marks appear to be rare, but it is possible that some collectors have dismissed them as normal 'shroff marks', applied by local bankers, rather than as countermarks applied by a political authority. Only after a thorough search for such items, can we be sure that the theory proposed here represents a likely explanation for their existence.

My thanks to Mr J.P. Goenka for permission to publish the coin in his collection, and to Mr Noman Nasir for several valuable ideas and for bringing to my attention the final coin illustrated above. All the other coins are in the collection of the author.

THE 'KACHCHA PICE' OF LATE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY MALWA

By Barry Tabor

"Cutcha Pice: generally means one of those amorphous coppers, current in up-country bazars at varying rates of value." 'Hobson-Jobson'. Yule, H. 1886, reprinted by Wordsworth Editions Ltd, Ware (UK) 1996, p. 287.

"Pucka Pice: a double copper coin formerly in use; also a proper pice (=1/4 anna) from the Government mints." Hobson-Jobson.

The Hindi word spelled 'cutcha' in Hobson-Jobson is nowadays more often and more accurately transliterated as 'Kachcha.' Its meaning is 'Not Pukkah,' a description familiar to and readily understood by speakers of most brands of the English language.

The background

It has frequently been remarked that a prolific copper currency consisting of often crudely made and under-weight coins is found all over central India, Malwa, and beyond. Much of the Malwa material is undated and bears little or nothing in the way of a mint name, date, or diagnostic - even readable legends. This currency mostly appears to have been struck during the period from the 1790s to towards the end of the 19th century, with the bulk of it being attributable probably to about the 1800s to the 1860s and trailing off by the 1880s.

This phenomenon was familiar to the noted historian, Frank Perlin, who discussed aspects of the nineteenth century west and central Indian economies in his 'Money Use in Late Mughal

India'¹. His work is very pertinent to our understanding of the 'deep monetisation' of the 'Rurban economies' of Malwa and we need to briefly review some remarks from that essay before we move on to the mints and the coins themselves.

The author explains the term 'rurban economies' (p. 273) as 'economies in which what are nowadays defined as principally urban functions were then much more generally dispersed within the small habitational clusters of the countryside'. In Malwa, probably more than anywhere else in India, this had become complicated by the splitting of states, and revenue rights within states by the activities of the Marathas, particularly the Sindhias and Holkars, and their subordinates. This resulted in villages and groups of villages needing to answer to a number of collectors for different fractions of the revenue, with all the opportunities for oppression, speculation and corruption this presented. This repeated division and subdivision resulted in '...the main residence and scattered possessions of one or more of the powerful family complexes, with their accumulations of rights spread through many villages and regions, but cohabiting with those of other greater and lesser holders of prebends and properties within the same villages and regions' (p. 272). Such rights varied from 'a fractional claim over the production of a field or over many villages, to the right of the whole taxation of a village, to lucrative offices, shares in those offices, to rights in market taxes and road tolls, and so forth.' This splitting of rights and functions over wide areas was also responsible for other complications, which we shall need to consider later.

The deep monetisation of Malwa that resulted from the production and circulation of huge quantities of cheap copper coins is discussed in some detail in that essay, from which some further short extracts will help shed light on the setting in which those coins were produced and used.

Perlin states that (in 1971, when he wrote his essay) this monetisation had not been properly researched (p.236) as a result of which the (historical) literature was almost silent about it (p. 237) despite the fact that 'in sheer bulk, [the use and circulation of] copper coinage ... must have assumed huge proportions.' On page 238, he mentions the Japanese copper bars that were being bought by Chinese traders and sold to the Dutch in the East Indies. The Dutch, in turn imported the copper into India, mainly for their own coin production but also as a trade commodity. Later, both British and Indian traders brought in Japanese copper, and further north, Nepalese copper was imported into India in considerable quantities. On p. 239, Perlin confirms that the imported copper was used mainly to make copper coins, the demand for which rapidly became too high for the existing state mints to service by their traditional labour- and skill-intensive methods of production. On p. 254, he explains that 'the mint solved its problems by systematic 'gimcrackry,' that is skimping on inputs of both labour-time and skill, so reducing the cost of making the coins.' They did not, in the early years of the process, make savings by reducing the weight of metal in them, because in India, copper coins passed at the value of metal they contained, so unilaterally reducing weight would necessarily have been accompanied by reduced exchange value. Perlin tells us that the same mints that had been accustomed to making good (*pukkah*) coins later branched out into 'gimcrackry,' and this is certainly true to some extent. However, it appears from available evidence that the bulk of 'gimcrack' coins, especially in the later years, were not from state durbar mints. Instead, most of those about which we have fragmentary documentary evidence probably came from *ateliers* set up specifically for their production by local rulers themselves, or by their servants or agents, or by farming out the rights to private individuals, and also by private mints assuming those rights on their own behalf.

He explains that this kind of activity 'can be seen in [various places worldwide] ... and in a host of astonishingly gimcrack and obscure coinages produced in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.' He puts the Indian experience into the context of '... private production of various token coinages [for instance in western Europe] and illegal gimcrack coppers for a cash-hungry population [in England]' which had its parallel in many places in

India at the time we are considering. We must add America, particularly California, to that list.

He then (p.291) further expounds on this phenomenon in India (particularly Malwa) stating that 'in central India, ... the increased activity in the textile and cotton trades, taken together with the pattern of small rurban courts (Durbars) producing gimcrack coins fuelling local markets and advance-payment systems' inevitably required and precipitated the deep monetisation with which we are here concerned. We must certainly add the opium trade to his list of agricultural and commercial activities demanding cash, particularly in respect of the enormous number of small-scale advanced payments, and payments required when the harvested, part-processed sap was sold, as we shall see.

On page 301, he echoes what has been noted by numismatists - that 'these coinages were mainly local in production and use, and were 'unlikely to meet in exchange with other coins of the same type.' (The word 'type' is here not used in the numismatic sense, and in an attempt to avoid confusion, I will be using the word 'class' of coins in this context.)

This assessment was shared by Major General (as he then was) Sir John Malcolm² when he tells us that, 'With respect to the copper coinage [in Malwa in the early 1820s] it hardly merits notice, being alike fluctuating in its value, and confined in its circulation. It consists of double pice, single pice and half pice. These are rudely cut pieces, with a show of stamp; but both this, its size, and established value, are continually changed by local officers, for the purpose of illicit profit. Excepting the Oojein, Indore, Kotah, and Bhopal pice [all of which were full-weight, 'official' durbar mint coins that circulated freely in Malwa] which have some character, the copper circulation of most places is confined to its own immediate district or town.'

He also tells us that the exchange rate of Indore (annas, mostly available as half-anna pieces) and Kotah (takkas) coppers was about 16 'pice' to the rupee, but that the Ratlam 'pice' (being paisas and double paisas) were smaller. At Mandsaur and 'in many other places' the value of the coin was 'changed every two or three months, and the character of the coin is so deteriorated, that it will not pass two or three miles from where it was coined.'

Not all coins of this period, by any means, were of the crude, cheap ('gimcrack') character here described, as Malcolm confirms; and Perlin stresses that 'it is important to focus on the strong and significant contrast distinguishing the high quality productions from the local poor and gimcrack coinages.' He also notes that 'virtually the same kind of coin was produced by several mints, scattered over the region through which the coins circulated. This suggests much copying or imitation of one mint's output by others. This coinage can best be understood, I think, as being a class of coins that could cross very local boundaries, because they made up a sort of monetary *lingua franca* that was 'recognised' over a restricted area, no matter that it had been struck five or ten miles or more away. In this respect, Malcolm's comment about 'two or three miles' may have been an exaggeration in respect of all but the very worst coins. The habit that grew up of striking 'hybrid' coins of this class must have helped in that respect, as it was surely intended to widen the area over which the coins would be 'recognised' and accepted. More about 'hybrid' coins anon. High quality coinages, of course, were accepted at much greater distances from their mint of origin, even if only by schroffs, money changers and small businessmen. The parallel with the 'Salim Shahi' rupee of Pratapgarh, which passed current in many Malwa states that struck no or very little silver coinage of their own, immediately strikes us (Dewas, Dhar, Sailana, Sitamau and Jhabua, for instance.)

Perlin tells us that the use of 'gimcrack' techniques was taken up even by mints that had been producing higher quality coins, 'by-passing more labour-intensive and craft-intensive parts of the production line, which had constituted bottlenecks in the process, thus leading to rapid expansion of capacity and cheapening of production.' Unfortunately for the satisfactory study of this phenomenon, to the extent that this happened it has blurred the boundaries between the classes of currency in circulation, and between the mints that struck them.

The result of this rush to make cheaper and cheaper specie was that the region's copper coinages became adapted to greatly and rapidly increasing demands, and to new kinds of markets for low value coins – thus leading to the deep monetisation that evidences itself hereabouts at this period in history.

A sizeable proportion of the new, cheap coins were copies and imitations of earlier and contemporaneous series struck in states nearby to where the copies and imitations appear to have circulated. It is those that have often been regarded as lower grade coins of durbar mints, and it appears from the foregoing that some of them were exactly that; but most seem to have emanated from the less 'official' workshops set up for the express purpose of meeting the demands for cheaply produced coins. Many appear to be the 'hybrids' mentioned above, having the two sides looking like coins struck in two adjacent or nearby territories, in order for these coins to appear familiar to, and encourage their acceptance by both populations. Dr S. K. Bhatt wrote about these coins³ in relation to Dhar and neighbouring states, but his interpretation of this phenomenon differs in detail and emphasis from that which is being advanced here. In particular, he did not recognise that any of his 'Dhar' coins, or any that appeared to be from other nearby states might, in fact, be products of out of state 'unofficial' mints like those we are about to discuss.

Because of the perceived 'defects' of being largely dateless and without meaningful legends, examples of this 'class' of coins, what I have chosen to call 'copies', 'imitations' and 'hybrids,' have been practically ignored by many students and cataloguers'. Most copies and imitations have been treated as poorly struck specimens of already catalogued Durbar Mint coins, and the hybrid types as forgeries, counterfeits and mis-strikes, or simply as unattributable. Find spots, when known, appear to indicate a mainly local circulation⁴ as we would expect, and as Perlin and Malcolm described.

Another group of cheap copper coins has been described by Dr Bhandare as being "the result of the very disturbed years of the 'Troubled Times' or '*Gardi ka Waqt*' precipitated by the Sindhias, the semi-independent barons of their courts, the Nawabs of Bhopal and various Pindari bands" and which is closely associated with Maratha activities in central India. The '*Gardi ka Waqt*' ended with the 'Pindari War' and Third Maratha War of 1817 /18, and Dr Bhandare has expressed the view, with which most students appear to agree, that the mountain of copper specie found in Malwa, and under consideration here, is largely associated with the period of the greatest activity of the Malwa opium trade, but there is clearly some overlap. As we have already noted, trades other than that in opium (especially cotton) and other factors are involved. As far as the opium trade itself is concerned, we shall see that huge numbers of copper coins were needed annually, from about November onwards. Firstly, many were required to fund expenditure on seed and the labour costs involved in sowing, manuring, irrigating and weeding the opium poppy crop, all of which activities are more expensive and labour-intensive for poppy growing than for any other kind of agricultural activity then practised in Malwa. Later in the farming year (typically from March to June) even greater quantities of cash money were needed for buying the harvested and partly processed poppy sap from the growers, by the first level of 'middle men.' At the higher (wholesale and bulk sales) levels of the opium and other trades, much more money was involved in far fewer individual transactions, and silver and gold coins, bills of exchange and hundis were the normal media for those transactions.

P. P. Kulkarni points out⁵ that there were also a large number of silver 'false coins'⁶ in circulation at this period, most of them considerably debased. These can, with confidence, be described as counterfeits or forgeries. They were called into existence not by a shortage of specie so much as by the desire for illicit profits by private individuals. Our concern in this study is only with the copper coins.

In other parts of India, coins of this class serviced the needs of the markets in general, because too frequently the required quantity of specie was not being supplied from the Durbar mints. This shortage of 'official' copper coins was noted in respect of British India up to about the 1830s⁷. The Presidency mints did not

strike the kind or quantity of copper coins that the markets in Awadh, ex-Rohilla and ex-Bangash territories demanded, and this local need did encourage the production of much 'false money.' This came about as a result of an entirely different set of circumstances from that in Malwa, which was discussed in depth in a paper by the late Kenneth W Wiggins.⁸



Opium production in Bengal and the Ganga valley region under the direct authority of the E.I.C.

The Indian Opium Trade involved both the Malwa and Bengal areas, as opium was an important and valuable export crop in both places. However, the lack of 'official' copper coins was not felt so acutely in Bengal, largely because the system used to finance the opium trade there did not require this kind of cash money in bulk. In relation to other trade, it is partly because Bengal's economy had always been based mainly on silver coins and cowries (small, hard, yellow seashells) and the people were not accustomed to having access to a plentiful supply of copper coins. The more opium-trade related reasons are discussed in greater detail below.

Despite the fiscal, economic and monetary differences between Malwa and Bengal affecting the opium growers and first buyers of their crops, we need to understand the Bengal system as part of the background to any study of what might reasonably be called the 'opium trade coinage' of Malwa.

A number of sources are available that describe these two systems. The two extracts below are adapted from a treatise by one Nathan Allen, an American missionary and Christian activist, which he wrote in support of a campaign to change the clearly unfair conditions imposed by the British Government of the Bengal Presidency upon its subject peoples. This particularly related to the conditions under which the cultivation of, and trade in opium within India, and from India into China⁹ took place. Americans, so soon after the American War of Independence (1776) that freed that country from the British colonial yoke, had a very pertinent interest in such matters, which they pursued in many parts of the world, much to the irritation and embarrassment of British colonial administrators. They were also, however, vulnerable to accusations of hypocrisy, because of American's own dependence on, and its people's defence of slavery in their own country. Both these factors tended to cause them take extreme positions at times, for which due allowance needs to be made when considering the material they wrote.

Specifically, in this case, the author's aim was to get conditions for the *ryots* in Bengal ameliorated, and ultimately to have the opium trade to China stopped altogether. For that reason, he has somewhat overstated the contrast between the two systems for maximum effect, but he makes his basic points well enough. I have paraphrased his long and somewhat rambling accounts so that what remains is an attempt fairly to represent both Mr Allen's views, and those presented in other available accounts.

Under the Bengal Presidency Government, poppy cultivation and opium manufacture and traffic were all subject to a monopoly, which 'John Company' exercised strictly, and quite successfully. Originally, this monopoly had belonged to the Mughal emperor, with local nawabs operating it on his behalf and sharing in the profits. It was lost to the British, along with much else, at the battles of Buxar in 1764 and Kora in 1765. To make the monopoly effective, the Company employed an extensive network of agents. Large sums of money were advanced in the form of small loans, many of which were probably book transactions involving little or no cash, extending credit to many thousands of *ryots*. This system, as we have seen, was needed to meet part or all of the cost of seed purchase and sowing, and of cultivating the poppy, which required expensive husbandry. Harvesting the sap was also labour-intensive and costly. The growers had to deliver the harvested sap to Government agents at a fixed price, decided on and imposed by Government. All processing was in the hands of Government agents. Everybody engaged in its cultivation and processing was paid a wage, commission or fee, so that the opium remained the property of Government throughout the process. The cultivation of opium was not a matter of choice on the part of the *ryots*, but the Government machine applied pressure 'that practically amounted to compulsion.'

The author, the aforementioned Mr Allen, quotes from an article dated February, 1837 in the Chinese Repository: *"The lands under cultivation are measured every year, and their boundaries fixed, in order to prevent collision [collusion? BT] among those to whom they are assigned. The government annually enters into an engagement with the cultivators, through an intermediate agency, constituted in the following manner: there is 1st, a collector, who is an European; 2d, there are gomastahs, a superior class of men, (native,) both in education and caste; 3d, sudder mattus, a respectable class of landholders; 4th, village mattus, the principal villagers, a little superior to the ryots; 5th, the ryots, the chief labourers in the cultivation of the poppies. The 'engagement' entered into with government is this: when the poppy is ripe and immediately before extracting the juice, the gomastah and his establishment make a circuit of the country, and form, 'by guess' a probable estimate of the produce of each field. He then makes the ryot enter into an engagement with him to deliver the quantity there estimated, and as much more as the field will yield, at the price previously fixed. If he fails to deliver the estimated quantity, and the collector has reason to suppose he has embezzled the deficiency, he is empowered by law to prosecute the ryot in the civil court, for damages. And should an individual undertake the cultivation, without having entered into engagements with the government to deliver the produce at the fixed rate, his property would be immediately attached, and the ryot compelled either to destroy his poppies, or give security for the faithful delivery of the product"*

He adds that *"There is also a most oppressive system of espionage ... established over the natives to prevent the cultivation of the poppy for private uses or sale. It is true the engagement is made only for one year, when the ryot may abandon its cultivation; but [if] he does, he [must leave his land and] the village, with no reasonable prospect of improving his situation. Besides, [the ryots] are from policy, kept constantly in debt to the government agents, [largely by the advances mentioned above, in the form of loans] and thus become so dependent upon them as absolutely to be obliged to do their bidding."* Mr Allen states that he confirmed the veracity of this information with government officials who lived in the opium districts, and were acquainted with its cultivation.

He tells us that each chest of opium produced in British India cost the government about 300 rupees. The greater part of the harvest was transported down the river Ganges to Calcutta, where it was sold at public auction to merchants. It was, therefore, the buyers, not the Company or the Presidency government, who were obliged to take the risk of exporting it to China, where (after 1799) it was an illegal import, and could be confiscated and destroyed if discovered. The price of opium varied with the season and demand. Generally, however, it appears to have

grossed from about 1000 to 1300 rupees per chest in Calcutta in the 1840s. In 1846 a reported 21,649 chests were sold, making a clear profit to the government of well over £2,000,000 sterling. In 1847, this apparently rose to nearer £3,000,000.

Opium production in Malwa, under the control of the native rulers and Maratha sardars.

Mr Allen then contrasts the foregoing account with the situation he says he found in Malwa, but the exact sources of his information are not given. Again, his account agrees tolerably well with others encountered, except as explained below.

He tells us that *"In Malwa, a province lying in the central part of India, the cultivation of the poppy and the manufacture of opium, are carried on under very different management. This province is subject in its government to native princes, and the cultivation of the soil is therefore entirely beyond the East India Company's control. Here, the poppy is cultivated, and opium is manufactured as freely as rice and wheat are cultivated, without any restraint or interference on the part of government agents. The question with the farmers, therefore, is simply one of profit, whether they will raise a crop of the poppy, or of rice or wheat. Here opium is bought and sold in all the market-places, just as grain and other productions are."*

Despite this seemingly more relaxed and benign system, it is incorrect to claim that the *ryots* were allowed to choose to grow or not to grow opium. "That they were subject to considerable extra-economic coercion in the matter of choice of crops to be cultivated is reinforced by some recent studies pertaining to late 19th century south-east Rajasthan which indicate that, if the peasants refused to cultivate high-value cash-crops, the other crops sown by them could be uprooted by *zamindars* or state officials."¹⁰ In addition, the rental costs of land planted with poppy seed and the enormous amount of corruption among the agents of the landlords meant that the actual cost to the *ryot* of production plus taxes and illegal cesses was much higher than official statistics imply – by some calculations it was more than double. There was also the extra expense of an additional process required of the growers in Malwa, as described below. Conversely, the *ryots* received much less net cash for their labour than official statistics imply, because so much of their pay was embezzled by the petty officials and their servants, on top of what they paid in legitimate taxes.¹⁴ p. 66 et seq. The actual cost of raising poppies and producing the raw opium crop in Malwa was, therefore, much higher than it was officially stated to be, and the net payments received by the *ryots* appear to have been as low, if not lower than in Bengal or Patna. Poverty and debt problems among *ryots* under both systems were almost universal.

In the two areas, the opium was prepared for export in slightly different ways. In Bengal the sap was merely exposed and inspissated by allowing the excess moisture to evaporate. This was the function of agents of the Company. In Malwa, however, the processing involved the *ryot* in the additional expense of treating the semi-solid sap with olive oil and allowing that oil to drain away. The growers, therefore, had to buy the olive oil, and to provide themselves with, and pay for space in drying sheds, similar to those used by the agents of the Company in Bengal.

After processing, the opium was packed as flat cakes (Malwa) or balls (Bengal) into crates known as 'chests' that each contained about 125lb to 140lb of the processed opium. It is shown above that the cost to the EIC was around Rs 300/= per chest, and that it could be sold for up to about four times that amount, giving a gross profit of about Rs 700 to 1000/=:, and more in a good year. It presumably cost the traders about the same to fill a chest in Malwa, and these could be expected to fetch more when sold in Bombay and China, because the quality of the Malwa product was universally declared superior. To get to the British controlled port of Bombay, the Malwa opium had to pass through territories held by the Bombay Presidency of the East India Company, whose government levied a swingeing "transit duty." For this payment, the owner or his agent received a passport that allowed the opium to be taken to Bombay and exported.

Mr Allen estimates that 7000 to 8000 chests of Malwa opium were annually consumed locally, but most was sent to Bombay,

about 400 miles away, for export. The transit tax, we are told, rose from Rs 200 to Rs 300/= per chest in just a few years in the 1820s and 1830s. It is immediately obvious that the indigenous traders would look for ways to bypass the British tax offices and thereby avoid this onerous expense, which at that time about doubled the cost of a chest of opium at the port. Smuggling routes were opened up that passed through parts of Rajasthan and Gujarat to ports in Sind (Karachi) and Kathiawar (Cambay, Bhaunagar, Jaffarabad and Lakhpat Bandar) still in the hands of Indian native rulers and port authorities (see map below). The added expense of a longer journey to a distant port was recouped several times over in avoiding payment of the transit tax. Naturally the English authorities did not sit back and watch their substantial tax income disappear across the Thar desert.

Sind was annexed by the Company in 1843 and the conquerors paid attention to choking off the smuggling routes during the remainder of the 1840s. In 1847, the transit tax was increased again to Rs 400/= per chest, and once the smuggling had virtually ceased, it rose inexorably. The law on this point was rigidly enforced, and all opium found within the bounds of the government's possessions, not covered by a passport, was confiscated, and so very few people were prepared to risk an attempt to avoid payment. In 1846, the revenue from about 25,000 chests of Malwa opium passing to the port at Bombay was over £1,000,000. From Bombay, as from Calcutta, the opium was exported to China, much against the Chinese government's wishes. Since 1799, it had prohibited the import of opium into China, and offenders were severely punished. The Chinese exchequer nevertheless benefited from taxation of this illegal traffic, and the hypocrisy of the Emperor and his high officials was evident to all.

From the 1820s to the mid 1840s, while smuggling routes were still open, the 'Company Bahadur' had tried to purchase Malwa opium at favourable prices, but this had not worked because attempts to get prices fixed in their favour made little headway in an obstinately free market. Attempts to steal a march by getting privileged access to auctions and favourable private deals were no more successful. Trying to get control of the transport and the ports by enacting new laws and persuading or bullying local rulers and port authorities to collaborate and prevent tax avoidance all failed. Nothing the British did to try to make the Malwa opium trade work unfairly in their favour succeeded, because as one route or system became compromised by British action, another was opened up.

In addition, the traditional rivalries between the Holkars and their favourite bankers and traders at Indore, and the Sindhias and their favourites at Ujjain grew in intensity during and after the settlements that followed the last Maratha War until it became bitterness and murderous hostility. By 1821, this unhealthy situation had ensnared the Company and its servants in extremely serious commercial difficulties in Malwa, involving both cotton and opium prices, as well as the availability and price of finance and credit. The British were, at times, effectively frozen out of both the opium and the cotton trades. There was a threat, not only to British commercial interests, but also to the safety and security of the whole province.¹¹ Since there was little separation between the English military, political and commercial establishments in the Indian provinces at that time, and the top officials in all three areas of operation tended to be from the same small (some would say 'incestuous') group of military or ex-military and ranking company administrative officers, what affected commerce also affected administrative, judicial and military matters. The poison generated therefore became systemic, and soured most aspects of inter-communal contact, to some extent, for many years.

The opium trade between India and China continued at a high level very late into the 19th and even the early 20th centuries to some extent, but from the 1850s until the early 1870s, British control over Malwa and its economy became much firmer and more direct, as it had been for over a century past in Bengal. The milestone years were 1818 to 1822 (settlements after the Maratha Wars), 1857 to 1860 (the so-called 'Indian Mutiny' and its aftermath) and 1872. The adjustments brought about by the British, culminating in fiscal measures taken in 1872, involved

legislation aimed, among other things, at demonetising most of the remaining Native States coinages, and the tightening of British legal and financial controls, all of which wrought tremendous changes to the internal trade and to much else in India. Among the systems affected was that for the support of the Malwa agricultural (particularly opium) trades, which, from the late 1840s was progressively based more on credit and book-keeping and less on cash, more closely paralleling the systems in Bengal.

Opium was, of course, also being exported from Turkey (much of whose production at first flowed westwards, not eastwards^{12, p. 52}) and a number of other countries, so that the drug trade¹² to China in its totality ultimately proved impossible for the British Government to monopolise, or even to properly control. Until the late 1840s, the energy and initiative of the endemic rulers, traders, carriers and port authorities were, for much of the time, well able to hide and protect the valuable commodity from the authorities. In the histories, we are presented with a picture of worried, hyperactive Company servants who appear at times to have been running around like headless chickens between Malwa, Rajasthan, Sind, Gujarat and Bombay trying to plug holes that would not remain still for long enough to get a grip on. All this came to an end as expanding British paramountcy turned the whole map of India pink.

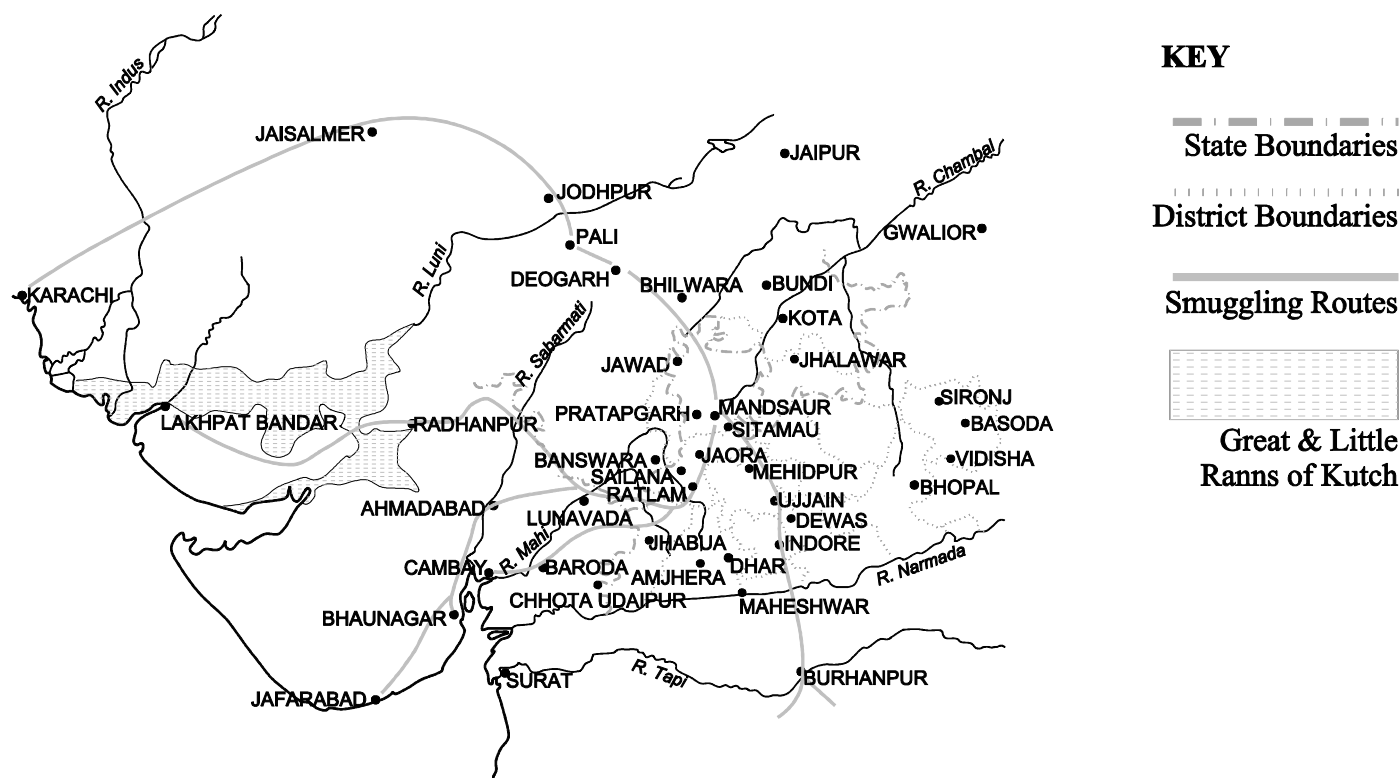
By then pressure was beginning to build to put an end to the pernicious opium trade that everybody could see was producing addiction and human misery on a massive scale. By 1880, the export trade had peaked and was waning, and continued to do so during the 1880s and '90s, at the same time as production of indigenous Chinese opium increased, following a change in the Chinese attitude towards the home-grown product. This, too, came to an end and by the turn of the century demand was falling rapidly. Thereafter, the trade in Indian opium to China became insignificant and had virtually ceased by the 1910s

The Deep Monetisation: coins of Malwa in numismatic literature

In an article about coins of three newly discovered Sindhia mints¹³ Dr Bhandare again mentions the 'deep monetisation' of Malwa predominantly associated with the opium trade. It became inevitable because by far the greatest number of transactions in this trade were necessarily among the lowest strata of participants - hundreds of thousands of small growers and an army of the lowest, most local levels of 'middle men' - local traders, village head men and their agents. Those transactions, says Dr Bhandare, happened 'in small quanta, involving only a 'small value' per transaction.' Such a large number of low-value transactions taking place over a relatively short period each year, obviously required that the buyers had access to cheap copper specie on a prolific scale. Expanding markets in other commodities also required to be monetised in a way and to an extent not known since the days of the Mughal emperor, Akbar, who had also found it necessary to open a large number of copper mints, some of which (Narnol and Bhairat, for instance) were extremely prolific in their output.

As Prof. Farooqui points out,¹⁴ in about October and November each year, some of the pre-harvest transactions, in Malwa as in Bengal, involved contracts and small-scale loans to buy seed and pay for labour, implements and so on, and such arrangements were sometimes, especially in later years, made 'through the books' rather than in cash. However, by far the greatest number of transactions took place a few weeks later, say in February and March (up to about June, if successive sowings of poppies had been successful), when a large number of *ryots* each sold small quantities of partially processed poppy sap, probably on several occasions each. These sales were mainly made to minor traders acting on behalf of larger trading companies, businessmen and local worthies. Many *ryots*, we are told, were able to maximise their income by selling some or all of their produce directly into the market at local bazaars. Both kinds of sale would have involved cash rather than credit. At this stage, the growers needed cash, not credit, in order to pay for their necessities in life.

MAP OF MALWA, SHOWING OPIUM SMUGGLING ROUTES AND MAJOR TOWNS



Map drawn by Ian Tabor, based on Professor Amar Farooqui's maps in "Smuggling as Subversion." using IMSI TurboCad 9

The traditional Durbar mints appear to have been taken at a disadvantage, and were unable (or unwilling) to provide the quantities of coinage required at an economically viable cost to themselves or to the market. The exact reasons for this failure will require further research, but such evidence as there is suggests that the private workshops that began to appear could provide the needed copper coins so cheaply that most of the Durbar mints were not in a position to compete with them, even if they had wanted to - except, of course, by lowering their own standards. One reason for this cost discrepancy was undoubtedly the very close proximity of the known new workshops to copper mines, thus enabling them to have ready access to the cheapest available raw material - sheets and ingots of locally mined and smelted copper. Another very substantial advantage, as pointed out by Perlin, would have been the lower cost of labour in these private establishments, which required a less skilled workforce because they were manufacturing cruder products. Producing lighter weight coins also provided extra profits by the simple expedient of saving on materials, but this only became possible after the process of deep monetisation had become established, leading to the increasing acceptance of 'gimcrack' and lighter and lighter coins to pass as current.

In India, whenever there is a perceived need and a profit to be made, someone will quickly step up to the plate, heedless of such petty considerations as strict legality or official disapproval, and will 'do the needful.' The requirement for vast quantities of cheap copper coins (like the need for caravans to move smuggled opium to distant ports) was, it is apparent, economically satisfied.

It is generally agreed *among numismatists* that the 'deep monetisation,' associated in Malwa largely with the opium trade, accounts for the enormous quantity of cheap, commonly underweight, locally produced copper coins apparently or definitely dating from the period from round about the 1790s to the 1870s, even now found all over Malwa. I stress 'among numismatists' because, as most students agree, most of the trade in Malwa opium was illegal, or at best semi-legal from the point of view of the British authorities¹³ and had to be hidden, as far as possible, from prying eyes.

The undoubtedly very low level of literacy among most participants in the opium trade at the lowest level would have combined with the secretive nature of the transactions to ensure that very few pieces of documentary evidence would have been produced at that level. Of these, almost none could be expected to survive very long after the harvest, or the end of the accounting year to which they related. Hence, although numismatists and coin collectors were and are well acquainted with the coins, historians relying on *documentary evidence* would find (indeed, have found) almost nothing to suggest a deep monetisation. Documentary evidence relating to the opium trade at its higher levels is, of course, abundant, and a number of historians have written a great deal of useful material concerning it. However, those same historians, having failed to notice the physical evidence of the copper coins, have assumed, almost to a man, that the opium trade in Malwa - as in Bengal - ran largely on credit, and that hard cash was little involved. So they continued to write about it as if it was carried on in the same way in both places. However, as Dr Bhandare rightly suggests - we can often profitably 'look to the coins for the evidence.'

Virtually the only historian who has written seriously about the abundance of these 'unofficial' or 'gimcrack coins,' and has tried to bring this phenomenon to the notice of his colleagues has been the aforementioned Frank Perlin¹ who proved to be a 'voice .. that crieth in the wilderness.'¹⁵ It is perhaps regrettable that, for historical reasons (no pun intended) historians have talked and listened mainly to other historians, and numismatists mainly to other numismatists. This has begun to change over the last number of years, and adherents of both disciplines have been broadening their contact with those of the other, using and assimilating more of their published and unpublished output, and this is especially so since the best numismatists have been accepted as academics at the highest levels. The much vaunted 'multi-disciplinary approach' has caught up with us. How many coin collectors have no history books alongside their coin catalogues?

Usable definitions

It is tempting to refer to the 'unofficial' series of the late 18th and 19th century Malwa copper coins as 'Opium Trade Coinage' as a kind of shorthand, but this is not strictly accurate. Neither should they all be denigrated as lower-quality coins from already identified and catalogued series.

The whole subject has been confounded over the years by the assumption that 'if it looks like a Sitamau (or a Ratlam, or a Banswara) coin, it is one.' For that reason, some types of very crude execution have been included as Durbar mint coins in the popular catalogues, and tenuous and specious arguments have sometimes been invented to justify these inclusions. Consequently, we have become accustomed to assuming that durbar mints (particularly in Malwa) struck a lot of bad coins, and that, *ipso facto* they were badly operated and badly controlled places. I do not believe this to have been the case, because if we follow the evidence, we find that most of the 'bad' coins were not struck at durbar mints at all.

Discussing this class of coin does, however, appear to require us to agree a whole new vocabulary, in order to avoid too much confusion between them and the 'official' coinages, and I have struggled to find suitable words for describing both the mints and the coins.

To formalise my approach to this problem, I decided to regard the coins in the same way that I believe their manufacturers and users would have regarded them. Although I am not entirely satisfied with all the terms I have used, I have, at least for this study, decided to refer to this class of coins as *kachha pice*, apparently the term used by both Indians and the British for those coins (see Hobson-Jobson definitions at the beginning of this article) to distinguish them from copper coins from government mints – or *pukkah pice*. 'False coins,' which is the term used by various British officers at the time, carries the incorrect connotation of being illegally produced and circulated – forged, if you will. I refer to the traditional class of coin as *Durbar mint coins*. Hence, the places where the traditional coins were struck are *Durbar mints*. This would include the kinds of contracted-out and farmed-out mints that were directly under the control of the ruler or his representative, usually a '*daroga*' and that, in theory, struck the same quality of specie. The purely private workshops are called *private mints* in this study, and as a group, the manufactories of *semi-official* and *unofficial coinage* are *semi-official* and *unofficial mints*. I want to stress that it is not my intention to suggest that the coin manufacturers were beyond the law, at least not beyond Indian law and established usage.

It would be easy to call all the *kachha pice* 'copies', and it is true that many of them are copies of existing durbar mint (*pukkah*) coins, but others are imitations (inspired by, but not copied from, other coins) and coins of *original stamp*. I have borrowed the latter expression from Malcolm's work referred to above. The term 'imitation' needs some explanation, and the easiest way is by example. The coin at the top of the table of hybrid coins below shows Hanuman on one side and apparently an altar on the other. The Hanuman design has not been copied from the original Barmawal coin – it is an imitation, because there are intentional differences, the most obvious of which is that Hanuman is not carrying Mount Abu in his hand, instead he has a *trishul*. The altar is likewise an imitation of the one on the Malharnagar mint coins where it is accompanied by a depiction of Nandi. No image of Nandi is present on this coin so it is not a copy of the original, but simply depicts an altar in imitation of it.

Dr Bhatt, in his work on Dhar coins, showed that some of these *kachha pice* bear imitations and copies of designs or types originally used on coins from two different states, usually adjacent geographically, and normally depicted one on each side of the new coin. Those coins are here referred to as *hybrids*.

None of these terms is, perhaps, ideal, and they are open to criticism from a number of points of view, not the least of which is the amount of overlap between the defined kinds of coins and mints. Since this blurring of boundaries is a function of the mints and coins themselves, I see no easy way out of this dilemma. This kind of research is not science, of course, but I have tried to approach it in a way that a scientist (a taxonomist) might. Dr

Bhandare describes this approach, perhaps rather deprecatingly as 'needing to have a pigeonhole for everything.' I do not argue with that characterisation. If there are no pigeonholes for a group of items needing to be separately stored, the most obvious solution is not to throw the items away or keep them in a big bag, but to make more pigeon holes, and this is my attempt to do that. And pigeonholes must have labels.

The coins as reported in numismatic literature.

Let us next turn from a consideration of the treatment of these coins by historians to that by numismatists – specifically the work of cataloguers. Before we venture into the strange and unfamiliar 'smoke and mirrors' world of the coin cataloguers, let us be clear about which states' coins we are discussing. The Malwa states that are known to have minted copper coins in the late 18th and 19th centuries are: Banswara, Dewas (Senior Branch only), Dhar, Jhabua, Jaora, The Rewa-Kantha states of Chhota Udaipur, Lunawada, Baria and Sunth (but not Rampur), Ratlam, Sailana, Sitamau, Pratapgarh, the Sindhia mints at Jawad, Mandsaur, Khachrod and Ujjain and the Holkar mints at Maheshwar, Mehidpur and Malharnagar.

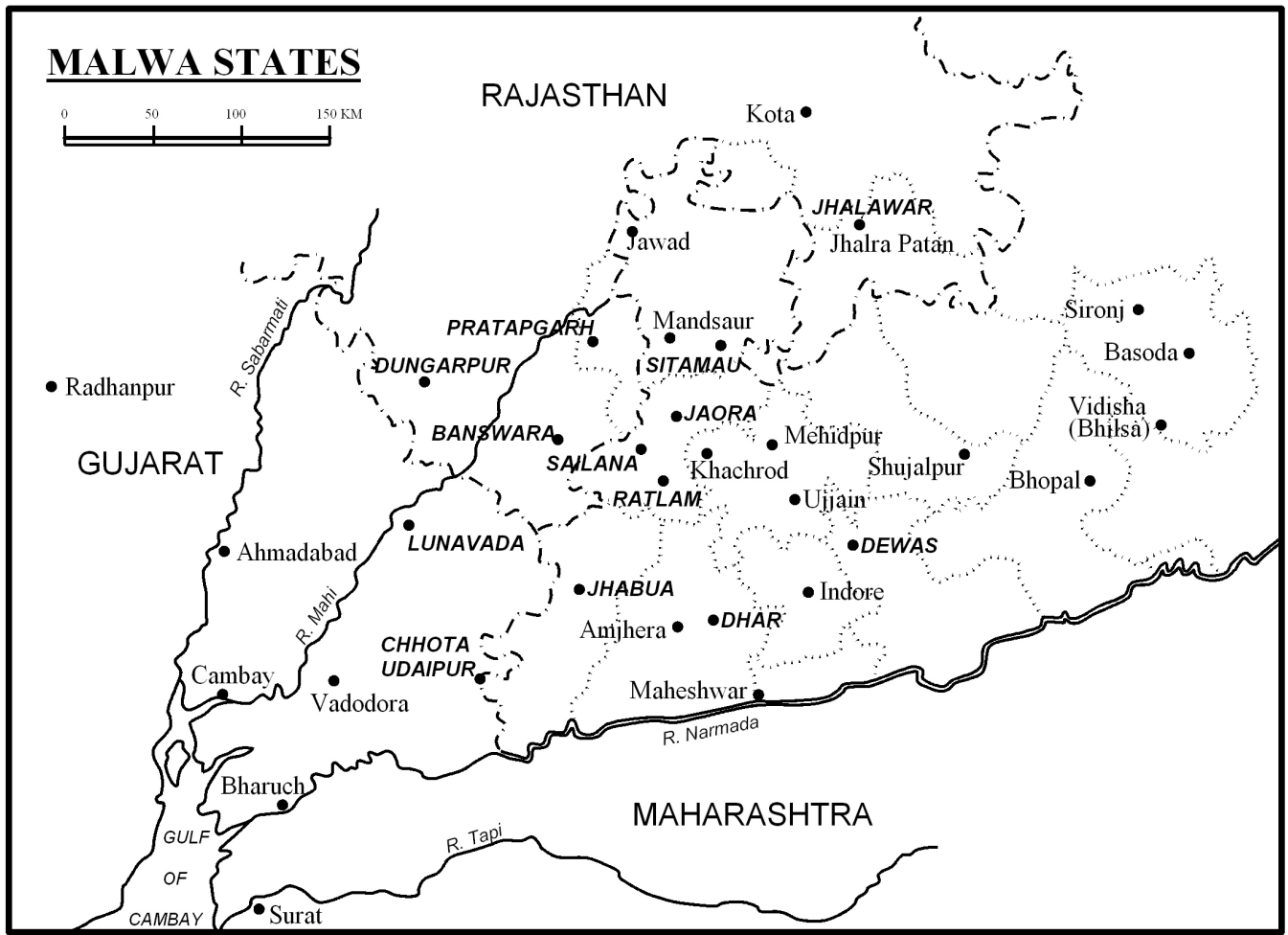
There were probably other coin-producing states and additional mints, the outputs of which have not yet been recognised. The coins of all these states have been studied and catalogued at least once, by specialist workers like Sethi, Bhatt and Holkar for the mints of the Holkar state (Indore), Lingen and Wiggins for the Sindhia mints and Dr S K Bhatt for Ratlam, Jhabua and Dhar. There have also been the generalist catalogues like those of Krause Publications^{17a} who took over, followed, copied and enlarged upon the well respected old catalogues of Craig^{17b} and Yeoman.^{17c} In addition, the late K W Wiggins was among the first to systematically tackle individual states like Dhar, Sitamau, Chhota Udaipur and the other Rewa-Kantha states¹⁸ and propose additions and corrections to, for instance, the documented coinage of Sitamau. Most recently, Dr Bhandare introduced us to a new Malwa Sindhia mint, namely Khachrod, near Ujjain.¹⁹ Complete or fairly complete catalogues of most of these places are therefore already available, albeit scattered among a number of sources. I shall, therefore, try to confine my comments as far as possible, commensurate with clarity, to matters that appear to me to require some reassessment in the light of this study.

If we accept that some of the coins of Malwa are of a different class from the usual – those that are here designated *kachha pice* – we will need to systematise what we know about them. They could be called counterfeits or forgeries, except that under the laws, rules and conditions governing copper coin production and circulation in the parts of 18th and 19th century India still under native rule, they were nothing of the sort. A few words about those rules and conditions will perhaps be appropriate, before we move on.

As has been true almost everywhere in the world under most polities throughout history, the striking of coins in precious metals was, in South Asia, almost universally a jealously guarded prerogative, and the sole right of the sovereign. He could and often did delegate that right as a privilege to one or more local rulers to exercise on his behalf within the confines of their fiefs. Those local rulers traditionally exercised that privilege under strictly prescribed terms and conditions and were potentially liable to severe penalties if they were found to have abused it. Such abuses would include debasing the metal, striking under-weight coins, 'sub-contracting' the privilege of striking coins without permission and making coins of unauthorised designs (such as bearing a name other than that of the rightful sovereign). There were exceptions, but not many.

Like the silver and gold coinage, Indian copper coinage was supposed to be made to specific, but more locally determined standards, and passed current at the value of the metal it contained, not at a pre-determined and unalterable rate against the silver or gold currency. The manufacture and circulation of copper specie operated in what was virtually a separate economy from that of the precious metal coinages.

MAP OF MALWA, SHOWING STATES AND MINT TOWNS



Map drawn by Ian Tabor, based on Professor Amar Farooqui's maps in "Smuggling as Subversion." using IMSI TurboCad 9

Unlike the striking of precious metal specie, where farming-out was comparatively uncommon, the manufacture of copper coins was often farmed and contracted out for a royalty or share of the profit, to petty local rulers and individuals like metalsmiths and bankers. It was this activity, carried on without sufficient control, which led to a gradual deterioration in the quality of the product in many places in late- and post-Mughal India. In order to increase profits, we have seen that the contractor might reduce the skill of his labour-force and make coins of cruder fabric, or weighing less than they should. In theory, anybody could be authorised to strike copper coins, and the level of control might be pathetically weak. In fact, in some areas, anybody with the necessary capital and local 'clout' might arrogate the right to himself, for private gain. So, in late 18th and 19th century India, after the central (Mughal) authority had atrophied almost everywhere, there was a large, ever-increasing but as yet undetermined number of copper mints operating. To recapitulate, they ranged from 'official' durbar mints of strong and stable governments, to contractors acting for those powers and under their firm control, to workshops run by local rajas, Thakurs, metalsmiths and businessmen for private profit. Almost all of them were under pressure to reduce costs and increase production. The output of these diverse manufactories could therefore be expected to range from well-engraved, well-designed coins of controlled weight and quality to crude, aesthetically unsatisfactory, light-weight, totally uncontrolled coins of unauthorised types with blundered or non-existent legends. The pressure on any given manufactory would almost always be driving costs and quality downwards. That, then, is the basis for our present predicament – we do not always know who struck what copper coins where, and when, under whose authority, and for whose profit. In some cases, we are not even sure in what state or area they were produced, or where they circulated. It is

also why we do not have a vocabulary of sufficient precision, or containing a sufficiency of varied nuances to adequately define the coins and mints that we are discussing. It is why it is not easy to determine which words would not only be most accurate, but would convey the correct understanding (not always the same thing).

A partial reappraisal of the Malwa Copper Coinage Consideration of a few specific states and coin types

The brief entries below describe and illustrate a selection of the *kachcha* pice that appear to have been manufactured in the unofficial mints in Malwa (the lower part of each table), and those from which they have been copied and imitated (the upper parts). Included among the former are probably some coins struck in Durbar mints, but under reduced control, to lower costs. With the evidence presently available, it appears likely that in many cases the places of manufacture were the groups of workshops mentioned in the Finance Department Proceedings memorandum cited and quoted below under the headings 'Sailana' and 'Ratlam' that first operated in Ratlam and then in Sailana states, but it is hardly credible that there were not others.

Sailana

Until 1730, when it became independent, Sailana had been a part of the Ratlam state. In terms of its official coinage, Sailana was never a major coin producing state, but workshops in its territory seem to have been a source of substantial quantities of *kachcha* pice - unofficial specie of many kinds, some of which were of deplorably low quality. Sailana is in the Malwa-Rajputana border region and in the copper belt of the southern Aravalli range, a part of India where it seems that counterfeiting went on in every small state. (data is from HH)

In the Financial Department Proceedings, January 1876, there is a memorandum dated 23 March 1870, in which it is stated, *inter alia*, that:

- i). Sailana "Has no coinage of its own, but generally stamps false copper coins of other States of less than the legal standard".
- ii). It (Sailana) "is the general resort of dealers in false copper coinage" and
- iii) "Owing to the Rutlam mint having for the last few years ceased to issue false coins, the outturn of this mint has greatly increased."

This memorandum is just a snapshot in time, and does not give us the whole story, but it does include the highly specific statements quoted above, which contain enough hard information to allow us to begin an investigation. It also demonstrates that the striking of 'false coinage' was not a temporary, emergency measure introduced to remedy a short-term shortage of small change, but a sizeable for-profit manufacturing industry of long-standing.

What can we learn and reasonably deduce from these three short extracts?

Durbar mint coins of Sailana state.



*Sailana paisa of dated type, pennant points left
Weight 9.8g 17–18 mm dia.*



*Sailana paisa with trident, pennant points right.
Weight 10.7g 19–20 mm dia.*

'Unofficial' copies.



*Copy of Sailana paisa, pennant points left
Weight 9.7g 17 mm dia.*



*Copy of Sailana paisa, pennant points right
Weight 5.0g 15–19 mm dia.*

A. In 1870, Sailana is officially described as 'having no coinage of its own.'

There is an anonymous, undated series described in Krause catalogues as 'copper paisas, double paisas and half paisas' attributed to the state of Sailana - KM. 4, 5 and 6. These are crudely made pieces demonstrating considerable variability,

commonly met with, particularly in the area around Sailana and Ratlam. They have a pennant on one side and a crude pseudo-legend with dot groups on the other. These coins have never, I believe, been found with dates, but are nevertheless described as having been 'struck to progressively lighter weights in later periods'. The weights of some specimens were noted and plotted graphically, but it was not clear from the small sample available whether or not the discontinuities between one group and the next can truly be characterised as representing three distinct denominations. They might represent a virtual continuum from about 4.8 to nearly 13 grams (close to the weights reported as the upper and lower limits in the Krause catalogues). If we accept the existence of three denominations, each one must have become lighter 'in succeeding years' until the weight of the paisa drew close to the original weight of the half, while the weight of the two-paisas became close to that of the earliest paisas. Alternatively, each denomination could have been struck with an unusually large weight range throughout the period.

If Sailana had 'no coinage of its own' in 1870, these coins must have been introduced in 1871 at the earliest. The first known coins of Dule Singh are dated vs1937 (KM. 11), which is AD 1883, and so the 25%+ and 35%+ deterioration in weight found must have occurred at most over the 12 to 13 years from 1871 to 1883, and possibly less. The reduction in the weight of a coin type by 35%+ over such a short period, accompanied by the maintenance in circulation of the older, heavier coins of that same type struck earlier in that period, followed by the sudden appearance of well-made coins of proper and well-controlled weight, might be thought to challenge our credulity.

A series of copies / imitations of the Barmawal Paisa.



The coin above is the normal Barmawal 'Hanuman' paisa.

Below are three copies or imitations.

Top: a copy or imitation of the Barmawal coin, retrograde (usually attributed to Dhar).

Middle and bottom: imitations of the flag side of the top coin, showing the jaripaika motif, coupled with two new reverses. The final version seems to be a copy of the second coin, with the addition of a four-petalled flower, and having a Dhar-type sword on the obverse.



Such series as this may well shed light on the kind of copying and imitating that was being perpetrated in the 'unofficial' mints in Malwa. According to Dr Bhatt's work, the three coins below should all be Dhar coins, but this cannot be known for certain with our present imperfect knowledge of how and where the copying was done, and how new designs came about. The top coin is probably from the (or one of the) Dhar durbar mints, and the other two are probably copies from the unofficial mints in Sailana or Ratlam. I would like to offer a possible alternative explanation for consideration:

The above memorandum tells us that there was no coinage of Sailana State in 1870, and so probably none before one was introduced by Dule Singh, in vs1937. Perhaps this newly-introduced coinage was badly copied and imitated in workshops making *kachcha* pice. It would be unusual among such coinage if the weights and designs were well controlled – hence the wide range of weights encountered among specimens of KM.4, 5 and 6, mostly well below that of the Dule Singh coins from which they had been copied. The weight 'reduction' found could then be explained in terms of a lack of proper control at an unofficial mint.

B. Sailana State 'stamps false copper coins of other states of less than the legal standard.'

Again, this refers to 1870 and before. If the above scenario is correct, there was no Sailana State coinage before about 1883. There was, however, a lot of coinage being struck in nearby states, such as Ratlam, Dhar, Jhabua and Indore. Cheap, under-weight copies, imitations and 'hybrids' of any or all of those could certainly have been made in Sailana, at one or more non-durbar unofficial and private mints. Coins of that description, which are clearly copies and imitations of those of a number of the surrounding states, are still commonly found in the area, and an incomplete list of the kinds most often offered for sale in recent months, as reported by a local dealer in cheap coins and scrap metal, are listed below:

Bhilwara-style 'takkas'

Jhabua-style 'paisas'

Nawanagar-style 'dokdos'

Indore-style 'paisas' and 'half annas', including and especially those copied from Mehidpur-type 'lion' coppers.

Ratlam 'Ra-ij' style coppers and derivatives, in large quantities and in a number of varieties including hybrids

'Hanuman' coins of various descriptions and weights

Odd looking paisas that could be cheap imitations of several other states, or of none ('original stamp', in Malcolm's words).

Crude Pratapgarh-style coppers.

C. The Ratlam mint had been making unspecified kinds of 'false coins' (as well as properly controlled coins of its own stamp) for a long time, but had ceased doing so 'for the last few years'.

Therefore, because the date of production of a particular type of *kachcha* pice is unlikely ever to be precisely known, it is improbable that we will be able to distinguish between those from the Ratlam mint or mints, and the Sailana private mints (see also under 'Ratlam' below). If we could assume that only then-current coins were being copied at both places, differentiation might be possible in some cases, but in view of what little we know about 'false coin' production elsewhere, where even the coinage of extinct states was being copied, that is not a likely scenario.

D. 'A few years' before 1870, the Ratlam facilities producing *kachcha* pice are reported to have closed, and at the same time the output of *kachcha* pice at Sailana increased.

Unfortunately, apart from the reported closure in 1830, reported by Dr Bhatt (see under Ratlam below) no other reference to this event has surfaced, and we do not even know why it happened.

We notice that the Sailana 'false coin' production is reported to have 'increased', not 'started' at the time. This further hampers separation of output from the two mints (or groups of mints) as the

two periods of operation must have overlapped. Also, artisans previously employed at Ratlam almost certainly migrated to bring their skills (and maybe some dies) needed at Sailana after the Ratlam facilities closed. At least some of the output from the two places must therefore be expected to look very similar.

Dr Bhatt suggested the operation of at least 5 or 6 mints within Dhar state, each supplying specie to a particular border area (see section on Dhar below). The coins he illustrated would also support the existence of a set-up consisting of several private mints proposed in this study, and I am indebted to Dr Bhatt for recording so carefully the details of those coins, which would fit both models.

The Sailana workshops were close to copper mines that had been in use for many years, where smelting facilities surely already existed. We would naturally expect that mints for the manufacture of cheap copper coins would be set up, all other things being equal, where the cheapest metal was readily available without the added expense and insecurity involved in its transport over long distances.

There is some hope that documentary material will be found to shed light on the problem. It is axiomatic that the *kachcha* pice had to be carried from their place of manufacture to the markets, no matter how close. Records of tolls, transit dues and other cesses along the roads (if they have been preserved) might cast some light on the Malwa situation, as they did in the case of the 'false coin' mints at Loharu and Khetri, discussed in a paper already referred to. This is especially likely to be the case in Malwa, where most states were split into a number of interlocking, detached, small sections, and where some whole states were less than five square miles in extent, so that a journey of even a few miles was likely to entail the crossing of a state border or two. At some of these places, customs and tollbooths must have stood, and such establishments created written records.

The Malwa *kachcha* pice manufacturing industry was, from the language used in the report cited, likely to have been a large, well-organised and lucrative business, as was the case at Loharu and Khetri, and several other documented cases of unofficial mints striking 'false coins' in a number of places in 19th century India.

Ratlam

The most numerous Ratlam coins found today, both in terms of type and numerically, are of the 'Ra-ij in cartouche' design struck in the reign of Padam Singh (1773 to 1800), and most of the copies and imitations of Ratlam types found are based on them. The only date information found on them are regnal years in the 20s and 30s of Shah Alam II, along with '*Badshah Ghazi*' legends. This would date them to about the last two decades of the 18th century, so the copies can have been made no earlier than that.

Ratlam Durbar mint coins of 'Ra-ij' in cartouche type, with round, square and hexagonal cartouches.



Ratlam 'Ra-ij' Paisa. 13.9 g 17 mm dia.



With square cartouche, cross replaces 'Ra-ij'



With hexagonal cartouche and 'Ra-ij'.

Crude copies (*kachcha pice*) showing three stages of degeneration of the 'Ra-ij' legend.



*A copy of a Ratlam 'Ra-ij' cartouche type coin. 9.7 g
18.0 to 19.0 mm dia.*



*Copy (hybrid) with degenerated 'Ra-ij' and Indore-type leaf.
Weight ca 8.9 g 20 to 22 mm dia.*



*Copy with degenerated 'Ra-ij' and 'original stamp' obverse.
Weight 12.0 g 18 mm dia.*

As well as the usual version of the official coin of Pardam Singh, the top part of the table shows one with a hexagonal cartouche with 'Ra-ij' engraved normally, and another with a square cartouche where 'Ra-ij' has been replaced by a cross, lending to this design the local nick-name of 'window frame paisa.' The regnal years on these two coins are 30 and 28 respectively, but it is normal for only one digit or none of the regnal year to be visible. The exact position in this series occupied by the hexagonal and square cartouche coins is not clear, but regnal years in the 20s and 30s are sometimes seen on both types. They mostly weigh between 12.5 and 13.5 g, and are almost certainly official issues. Additional symbols and marks are, however, found on the obverses.

Three specimens of the many copies and imitations of those coins, which exist in a wide range of weights are shown in the lower part of the table. These have variously degenerated 'Ra-ij' cartouches, and obverse designs copied from the original type (top), a motif borrowed from Indore (middle), and another of 'original stamp' (bottom). Regnal years are rarely, if ever, fully readable on coins of this kind, and they are never dated.

The cruder 'ra-ij' coins (copies and imitations, many hybrid) are so plentiful, and of such a range of design, weight and fabric that we may safely conclude that they were produced at more than one workshop, and over a long period of time. One numismatist known to the writer, working at Indore, has made a study of

Ratlam 'Ra-ij' copper coins, and has discerned at least seven stages in the degeneration of the words 'ra-ij' and the cartouche on what are probably official Ratlam coins, but may include some copies. These, he believes offer clues to the development of this coinage over time. A deeper study of this series is needed.

It is reported (see entry for Sailana above) that perhaps up to about the mid 19th century, prodigious numbers of 'false coins' of other states were being produced in Ratlam. The output of those facilities must have included the copies, imitations and hybrids of the 'Ra-ij' Pardam Singh types found thereabouts in great numbers, varieties of which may later have also been struck in the Sailana unofficial mints. The Ratlam durbar mint, according to Dr Bhatt, first ceased production about 1830, and attempts to get it reopened in 1845 failed, so it is possible that this is the closure referred to in the above report, and that both classes of coin were, before 1830, being struck at one and the same place. The Ratlam durbar mint did not recommence production until 1864, at which time it was apparently put under strict control – possibly for that very reason. Coins that are fully dated, and should, therefore, be durbar mint coins are reported to bear dates up to about 1832, so the exact position concerning which coins were struck where and when both before and after 1830 remains covered in confusion. There is little information regarding the coins of the three reigns between 1800 and 1864, or of any possible copies of them. A few coins of Parbat Singh (1800 – 1824) and Balwant Singh (1824 to 1857) are known, but copies have not yet been identified. No coins of Bhairon Singh (1857 – 1864) are known. The scarcity of *pukkah pice* for these reigns probably reflects the disturbed times through which Malwa was passing. Coins struck after 1864 appear not to have been much copied. This coinage between 1800 and 1864 is complex, and will require a separate paper at a later date to do it justice.

I have regarded the familiar and numerous coins with two or three concentric rings of dots as very degenerate imitations of the Ratlam coins with the 'Ra-ij' cartouche, but concede that this suggestion is not universally accepted. The inspiration for them could be the one- and two-eyed god (Mahadev) paisas of Pratapgarh of the reign of Udaya Singh (see illustration below). They are found in a wide range of sizes and weights, and with many obverse types, so perhaps they should be regarded as coins of 'original stamp,' which is the view of a respected colleague in America. It is, at present, unclear which of the stages in the degeneration of the cartouche are found only on official coins, or which of the later stages in that degeneration are restricted to unofficial strikes.

The very crude coins with circular mark with rings of dots

(top right) with perhaps the two most likely progenitors of the type – copies of the 'Ra-ij in cartouche' coins of Ratlam (top left) and the one- and two-eyed god (Mahadev) coins of Pratapgarh.



The last 'Ratlam' coin considered here is remarkable. It is a well-struck coin made from neatly engraved dies, apparently at a durbar mint. But one side is a copy *and* the coin is a hybrid. The mint name is correctly engraved ('Ratlam') and so is the reverse

legend, except that a small trefoil replaces the regnal year. The obverse is the Mehidpur 'lion and leopard' design, but the leopard has been partly 'morphed' into a leaf. This is the only example seen of what appears to be a hybrid durbar mint coin during this study. The two dies are very different in calligraphy and style, and the reverse is entirely typical of a Ratlam durbar mint die. The Mehidpur side, despite its high quality engraving, is a copy with an unreadable legend.. Perhaps part of the Ratlam durbar mint was being used to make copies of the Mehidpur paisas, and the dies became accidentally combined. But why was the regnal year removed from the Ratlam die? If anybody has any suggestions, I would be delighted to hear from them.

A durbar mint hybrid?



*A Mehidpur obverse and a Ratlam reverse; both have been struck from high-quality dies. Why? How? When?
Weight: about 12.8 g 21 – 22 mm dia.*

Bhilwara-type takkas

Among the coins listed above as being found in great numbers in the Sailana and Ratlam area are crude imitations of the Bhilwara takka, similar to those listed in the Krause catalogues as KM. 3.1 in the entry for the Bhilwara mint under Mewar State. There has been a question in many students' minds for a number of years, whether they can really have been Bhilwara issues, and I have not spoken to a single one who today believes that this kind of takka was struck anywhere in Mewar. Well, then – where?

Bhilwara paisas and some derivatives



The true Bhilwara paisa - top two, both about 17.7 g, and a probable copy of unknown provenance, weight about 16.2 g and similar to KM. 3.2



*Crude copies of the Bhilwara paisa, similar to KM. 3.1, frequently found near Sailana.
Weights about 16.3, 15.5 and 15.4 g*

Perhaps the answer is that they are yet more products of the Ratlam or Sailana group of private mint mints mentioned above, or another similar set-up. The coins of this type that I have handled are typically up to one and a half grams lighter than the genuine Bhilwara takkas, and much more numerous. I would place them among the *kuchcha* pice of Malwa, struck to appeal to the inhabitants of the border area between Malwa and Rajasthan, where the very popular Bhilwara takkas (themselves imitations of Jaipur takkas) originated and first circulated. Apparently, the copies became popular in the Sailana area as well, resulting in many of them being put into circulation locally, which would explain why great numbers are still found there today.

Sitamau

There are two distinct series of Sitamau coppers. The earlier had remained unattributed until Ken Wiggins studied and discussed them in a paper in 1997²⁰. His attribution, although regarded as correct by most collectors and numismatists that I have consulted, was never accepted into the most popular Native States coin catalogue, and so the coins still find their way onto dealers' lists described as issues of Makrai. It is true that one side displays a dagger (varieties of the dagger exist, although it is never a *katar*) usually within an elongated, six-sided border of lines or dots. The other side of the Sitamau coins usually has a trishul, sometimes accompanied by a spiral shape, dotted circle or a crude pseudo-Persian legend. On Makrai coins this side always shows a 'magic grid' with Nagari ciphers. The attribution of the Makrai coins to a later date than the Sitamau coins appears to be correct, and so the latter cannot be imitations of the former.

The early coins of Sitamau, often confused with the coins of Makrai, and (below) copies.



Early coin of Sitamau. Weight about 11.4 g



Spiral shape and circle with dots or eyebrow tattoo design, sometimes found with trident on obverse.



Probably a copy, weight about 10.5 g



Examples of fancy daggers found on reverse of some apparent copies.

These coins are generally attributed to Raj Singh who ruled from 1802 to 1867, so the considerable range of variation among them may be explained by their longevity. Some varieties could be unofficial copies, especially as a number have very exotic-looking daggers. However, since they are all quite crude, it would not be sensible to be dogmatic about this without more information than we presently possess. Weights of a large sample of these coins may present us with better evidence of the relationships between the varieties, but an early attempt to investigate this using a relatively small number of coins did not yield significant results.

A second series of coins of this state are attributed to a later period (1885 to 1900), and seem not to have been subject to copying, although execution of many examples is crude enough to suggest it.

Rewa-Kantha States

Ken Wiggins and M Culver¹⁸ were able to confirm that the mints of these tiny states were all 'official', and had been established and were operated 'with the permission' (Chhota Udaipur) or 'with the tacit permission' (Baria, Lunawada and Sunth) of the Political Agent. Output in all cases was reportedly low. Only copper coins were manufactured there.

Chhota Udaipur

This state struck only very crude coins described as double paisas. The mint may have been run by contractors, with the work licensed or farmed out by the rulers. Almost nothing is known about the Chhota Udaipur coinage or mint beyond the little that is in the paper cited above, and the coins are unfortunately not plentiful. Inspection of a number of coins suggests that the crudest are often the lightest and are frequently not attributable with certainty to any of the types reported and illustrated in that paper or anywhere else, and may therefore be copies and imitations.

Chhota Udaipur double paisa and an imitation.



Chhota Udaipur, Wiggins 5, two-paisa coin weighing about 13.9 g



Light (7.2 g) imitation of a Chhota Udaipur copper like a Wiggins 5, or perhaps a one-paisa coin.

Among the lightest coins are a few that are approximately half-weight, and may therefore be paisas. They are described as such, but not illustrated, in the Krause catalogues. Messrs Wiggins and Culver did not report the existence of that denomination except in relation to a later issue of very different type.

Lunawada, Sunth and Baria

The output from Baria must have been very small, and the coins were probably struck in the 1870s or 1880s. They are only known from a manuscript, produced by W H Valentine, now in the ANS library, a copy of which is shown in the aforementioned paper. They are crude, round and clearly very rare. Nothing is known about copies and imitations.

The other coin-producing Rewa-Kantha states, Lunawada and Sunth, are a special case, in that they did not appear to melt the metal used in their coins.

Since Wiggins and Culver first systematically investigated these coinages, very little useful additional material has been published. Coins purporting to be those of Rampur state have appeared in some catalogues, but this is an error. They are in fact from Sunth, whose capital town is Rampura, which name appears on some coins, and this has clearly caused confusion.

Almost all the coins of these states were struck on square or oblong flans cut from sheets of copper, apparently using chisels, and then adjusted for weight as necessary, by trimming corners from the resulting flans. It is probable that limited melting facilities existed to enable the reuse of the excised material. Especially when new, these coins must have presented a genuine risk of injury to the users.

A few unattributable coins of this same general design are illustrated in the paper cited, and it is not impossible that some of those may have been unofficial copies and imitations, but we must expect crude coins and their crude copies to look confusingly similar.

Some more-or-less round coins of both these states are found, which often display evidence of having been struck over old, often much-worn coins of other polities, including Bahmani specie. Lunawada half paisas weigh about 3.3 to 3.6 g, sometimes as much as 4.1g and paisas of both states weigh about 7.1 to 8.6 g. In Sunth the halves mostly weigh less – nearer to quarter paisa weight, at 1.8 to 2.3 g. Extremes beyond these ranges are found.

Dewas

Only Dewas Senior branch had its own coins during the 19th century.

Dewas – Senior Branch, Allote paisa and copy.



Dewas Allote paisa Weight 13.3 g 19 mm dia.



*Possible copy of Dewas Allote paisa. (retrograde)
Weight 10.8 g 16–18 mm dia.*

They consisted of the familiar 'Allote' paisas, which are not dated and have not been attributed to any particular ruler. The most likely is Krishnaji Rao, who ruled from 1860 to 1899, but it is quite possible that some were struck earlier than that. They vary considerably in weight and fineness of engraving, but not greatly in design. The less finely engraved dies are often retrograde, raising the possibility that they are copies of the finer products. They are also lighter on average (about 9.9 to 10.8 g compared with 10.3 to 13.3 g) and less regular in shape, which tends to confirm this supposition. There are a few crude Allote paisas with a different reverse design from the norm, and these are almost certainly unofficial imitations, most likely from an out-of-state mint.

In a paper in JONS 151, winter 1997²¹ p.17, Ken Wiggins brought to our attention some stamped copper 'lumps' that had been used in Dewas for coins, on which the stamp resembles a 'smiley face' ('Man-in-the-moon', as KW called it), which were apparently current at Allote and Gadgudha, in Dewas. It is said that the 'face' represents a garlanded lingam, with the 'eyes' standing for the garland. They are variable in weight, ranging from under 14 to over 18 g, and from their appearance may well have been cut from Japanese copper bars mentioned above, from which they seem to have been cut with chisels. The same method of manufacture is apparent in a number of other late 18th and early 19th century coins of a few central Indian states outside Malwa, including Tonk. Others have not yet been attributed, and may never be. Their standing is unclear, but they are believed to have been struck by and in the states or areas where they circulated, and are probably official coins.

Jaora

The Muhammad Ismail hammered coppers of Jaora fall into the period during which the last of the *kachcha* pice were being struck. The obverse has a pennant, similar to those on the Sailana coins of similar vintage. The reverse has the mint name and date, neither of which would have been copied accurately onto *kachcha* pice, so copies of the paisas of both states would probably look similar – very like KM.4, 5 and 6 attributed by the Krause catalogues to Sitamau, in fact. It is therefore entirely possible that those coins are imitations of the paisas of either state, or both. A somewhat less crude copy, certainly of a Jaora paisa (note the 'ball' below the flag) is shown in the illustration below.

Jaora paisa, and a copy found near Sailana.



Jaora paisa. Weight 12.9g 19–20 mm. dia.



*Copy of Jaora paisa, pennant points left
Weight 7.8g 16–18 mm. dia.*

The illustration in the 'hybrids' table, fifth down, shows a very strange coin that was sold in America as a Jaora paisa, but is probably a hybrid imitation of a Jaora coin, coupled with a Mughal-style (maybe Surat?) design. It weighs about 14.4 g and bears regnal year 22, presumably of Bahadur Shah, which began in February 1858. So it might have been a 'mutiny coin' from almost anywhere, but probably somewhere in Malwa. We have seen that there was no shortage of unofficial mint capacity in the area, and history records that during the 'Mutiny' several of the Malwa states demonstrated less than enthusiastic support for continued British paramountcy.

Jhabua

The coinage of Jhabua is particularly problematical. Most of what appear to be, and have been catalogued as coins of that state are crude to exceptionally crude, vary greatly in weight, and many display clear evidence of overstriking onto pre-existing coins of Jhabua and other states. In addition, the pairing of dies seems occasionally to have been somewhat random.

There is, however, a comparatively small group of well-made coins of Jhabua that seem to be good quality products of a properly controlled durbar mint. They include dated types and some with readable legends. Jhabua is a very small state to have struck so many of its own coins, and the logical conclusion might be that Jhabua durbar mint coins are well struck and well controlled pieces which became vastly outnumbered by a mass of crude copies, imitations and 'original stamp' *kachcha* pice in the same style, struck elsewhere.

The neatly made pieces are of paisa weight - between 9.5 and 11.2 g (mostly between 10 and 11 g). The cruder kind are found in a much wider spread of weights, mostly between about 6.8 and 11.0 g and the flans vary enormously in thickness, diameter and shape, suggesting and possibly reflecting a diversity of origins, often as pre-existing coins of several polities. Some are light enough to have been described as half paisas. Confusingly, some examples with dates and legends are among the crudest-looking coins.

Overstriking is very common among the cruder specimens, leading to entirely understandable confusion over what design is on the flan in many cases, and to an over-reporting of ill-defined 'types' in the most widely used catalogue of the Indian Native States coins. There is a good deal of doubt over some of the crudest and most 'abstract' coins that have received KM numbers in recent years, as some appear to be incomplete overstrikes of one design by one or more others. A number of them have never been illustrated, and we are entitled to ask 'Why not?' When this latter group of very poor coins are put to one side, those that we are left with seem to belong to a somewhat less 'gimcrack' group of copies and imitations, most with reasonably clear and definable designs. As with so much *kachcha* coinage, all we can say for certain is that more study is needed.

Jhabua durbar mint coins and a few of the many copies and imitations so common in Malwa.

The crudest examples have been omitted.



*Jhabua paisa – swastika / frond.
Weight 11.2 g 20 mm dia.*



*Jhabua paisa – katar / frond and bel leaf.
Weight 11.0 g 19-20 mm dia.*



*Jhabua paisa – Bel leaf / Eyebrow tattoo.
Weight 10.1g 18-19 mm*



*Jhabua paisa –katar / Bel leaf on base.
Weight 10.7 g 19-20 mm*



*Jhabua copy paisa – swastika / frond
Weight 7.2 g 18 mm dia.*



*Jhabua copy paisa – eyebrow tattoo / bel leaf
Weigh 9.8 g 20 mm dia.*



*Jhabua copy paisa – eyebrow / frond.
Weight 9.4 g 20 mm dia.*



*Jhabua copy paisa – poppy / bel leaf.
Weight 10.6 g 24 x 26 mm dia.*

Mandsaur (Mandasor) Sindhia mint

Known paisas of the Sindhia mint at Mandsaur are all of one basic design. They can be divided into the better-made pieces weighing about 7.5 to 7.7 g, and lighter, cruder pieces weighing not much more than 6.5 to 6.9 g on average. The better coins are likely to be official in nature, not only because of their quality, but also because they sometimes bear a date. Most specimens have parts of a readable legend.

Mandsaur paisa and copy.



The lighter pieces may have emanated from an unofficial mint where controls would have been less rigorous (retrograde and botched legends and dates are reported). There is some variation of legends and the shape of the *trishul* on these paisas, but especially on the lighter kind.

Jawad: Sindhia mint

At Jawad, another Sindhia mint, the situation is again not entirely straightforward. The dies are mostly well engraved, and the coins offered on the market appear to be generally well and boldly struck. This may be accounted for by the fact that the ones we usually see have been selected from a seemingly inexhaustible supply of these types by dealers looking for saleable specimens. However, when unsorted batches are examined, they are found to include a range of poorly struck, lighter coins, which must be rapidly disappearing to the metal dealers for melting. If those are included, weights range from below 7.0 g to 9.3 g or more, and the quality from good, attractive strikes to poor ones. The weight spread might be explainable in terms of the long period over which the coins were struck, but since the lightest coins do not always bear the latest designs, this impression may be illusory.

The broadest flans are often over 20 or about 21 mm and the narrowest below 17 mm diameter. There are far more types and varieties than have ever been catalogued, even when the crudest, lightest coins are set aside.

Types are artistically designed, and most dies have clearly been carefully engraved. Some designs include dates and other fully legible written marks such as the 'Shri', 'Ji' and 'Ma' used to distinguish between Sindhia rulers. Botched and retrograde versions of these marks and dates are most commonly found on the lighter, cruder specimens. Double struck and overstruck examples are commonly met with, and some of these are old Jawad coins, apparently overstruck at the Jawad mint with a newer type. Specimens countermarked with what looks like a Roman VI (6) or Persian 18 are sometimes found, but their significance is not known.

The most likely scenario that would fit the perceived reality is that the official Jawad coins were well struck at a properly controlled Sindhia mint, over a period of years, and that a good deal of copying took place at times and in places as yet uncertain, but possibly the group of mints round Sailana.

Ujjain: Sindhia mint.

From antiquity, the area around Ujjain has manufactured millions of square copper coins, and that tradition continued into the 19th century, in both the official coinage of the Sindhia mint and the places where unofficial copies were made.

Ujjain square paisa and copies.



There are a number of square Ujjain paisas such as the one illustrated above that circulated throughout the 19th century, and copies of them, like those below, are quite commonly met with.



All the silver coins and many of the coppers listed as being the output of the Ujjain mint are of a standard typical of a properly run Durbar mint of the period. Copies and imitations, as well as hybrid types of the copper coins are known, and many are underweight. The book by Lingen and Wiggins, already cited, has a section of 'miscellaneous and unattributed' coins, both copper and silver. A number of the coppers illustrated there have *trishuls*, and bear a strong resemblance to Ujjain types. Both round and square types are listed. Some or all of those could have been

imitations struck at a place or places outside Ujjain, as could a few of those listed as Ujjain coins by Krause.

Holkar mints at Maheshwar, Mehidpur, and Malharnagar

Most coins of the Holkar Durbar mints, like Sindhia issues, appear to have been of well controlled weight, and were properly struck. However, many cruder copies and imitations of some well-attested Holkar types are found. In some cases, such as those illustrated below, the imitations and copies vastly outnumber the originals. The 'lion facing left' type illustrated near the bottom of the table below are probably all *kachcha* pice because they all have meaningless legends - but the detailed and realistic engraving of the lion often belies that assumption.

The Malharnagar coppers all tend to be crude, and it would be difficult, without a good deal of strong evidence, to be confident about declaring any of them to be *kachcha* pice. Some have dates, better quality calligraphy, and more readable legends than others, and that is probably relevant. The weight range is rather broad. Again, more work is needed.

A 'lion and leopard' paisa of Mehidpur, with some imitations and copies.



*Mehidpur 'Lion and Leopard' paisa. Small legends.
Weight 14.1 g 21 – 22 mm dia.*

The 'lion and leopard' coin of the Indore state mint of Mehidpur illustrated above was a popular subject for copying and imitating. There are four distinct types illustrated below. The third exchanges the leopard for a leaf and the legend for a lingam. The fourth, with the highly decorative lion facing left and no leopard, may well be the product of a separate mint from the other three. It has sometimes been attributed to Dhar state. The quality of engraving is much superior to that on the general run of *kachcha* pice.

Below those four is yet another type of imitation, bearing the 'bhilva leaf' motif typical of the Malharnagar mint of the Indore state, and could thus be referred to as a hybrid type. The legend is completely meaningless, but the execution is of very good quality and this specimen may have come from a durbar mint that was separately manufacturing kachcha pice. Square coins of this type are unusual.



A copy of the Mehidpur 'Lion and Leopard' paisa with larger legends. Weight 14.1 g 21–22 m. dia.



A similar copy, but with retrograde reverse legends



A poorer quality imitation with a leaf in place of a leopard, and a linga on the reverse. The mint name and legend are series of lines. The presence of the linga suggests that this may be a 'hybrid' imitation of the issues of Mehidpur and Maheshwar.



An imitation with lion facing left, and no leopard. The reverse is a meaningless mint name with crude zarb and jalus.



A well made imitation of a Mehidpur 'Lion and Leopard' copper, with meaningless legends and no mint name

The hallmarks of the most obvious copies of the Mehidpur lion type coins include retrograde designs and illegible legends, missing or badly garbled mint names, and variability in fabric, weight, and the design of the lion and its accompanying symbols.

Imitations of some of the Indore (Maheshwar mint) coppers bearing the Holkar emblem of the Lingam, considered to be the mint mark of Maheshwar, are not uncommon. Again, meaningless legends and cruder execution separate them from the genuine Maheshwar products. They often weigh much less than the coins from which they were copied. One is illustrated below.

A 'lingam' copper of the Maheshwar mint, Indore state, and below, a crude imitation.



Like the 'Hanuman' coppers of Dhar, the Lion coppers of Mehidpur and Lingam coppers of Maheshwar appear to have been popular subjects for copying.

Dhar

The only published catalogue of the Dhar coinage is the work of Dr S.K. Bhatt, several times quoted in this study. He was a pioneer student of the coinages of Malwa and central India who published, alone and in collaboration with others, a great deal of data about them. In 1983, Ken Wiggins wrote two short papers for the ONS newsletters numbers 81 and 82 on the same subject.

Both Dr Bhatt and Ken Wiggins, relied on a list of Dhar coinage symbols published in Capt. C.E. Luard's 'Western States (Malwa) Gazetteer' (Bombay 1908), to identify a few Dhar coins. Dr Bhatt then looked for a similarity of style, fabric and the areas where they were found to allocate a number of additional coins to the Dhar state corpus, thereby enabling himself to add other symbols to Luard's list. From this enlarged list, he was able to extrapolate, and identify numbers of anonymous coins without legends, which he then listed as products of mints in the Dhar State. He proposed a complicated classification of this large body of coins based on a number of criteria.

We cannot be certain that Luard's original list is without errors - he incorrectly stated that Dhar struck no silver coins, so we cannot be sure how reliable his sources were. It is also clear that Dr Bhatt's approach, though legitimate in its way, would also pick up *kachcha* pice bearing those same symbols, and allocate them all to Dhar state. If the interpretations discussed in this study are correct, Dr Bhatt's corpus of Dhar state coinage must be substantially over-populated by the inclusion of many *kachcha* pice. How, then, can we go about obtaining a more accurate list of Dhar state coins?

Dhar – Fine style Hanuman copper of the late 18th century and three 19th century copies.

Dr Bhatt convincingly showed that the bulk of the voluminous 'Hanuman' series (like those in the lower group on the next page) dates from the 19th century. Dates found on 'Hanuman' coins like those in the upper group here are regnal years 25, 33, 34, 38 and 39, with Shah Alam II legends, placing them between about AH 1179 (AD 1782) and about AH 1212 (AD 1798).



Above:

Originally attributed to the mint of 'Kukureti – near Pannah' by James Prinsep²² this attractive coin was later attributed to the Dhar State mint of Amjhera. It is presumably the type on which the later 'Hanuman' paisas, were modelled. The lower image is the reverse turned though 180 degrees, to show 'Hanuman' more clearly.

Below:

The coins below are believed to be imitations of the above coin, on which 'Hanuman' has been moved to the obverse, and the legends engraved successively more crudely. Whether all the imitations came from the same mint, or group of mints, is a matter that has not been resolved. No mint name can be read on any of these coins.



Relative to the legends, Hanuman is sometimes upside-down (as on the original) and sometimes right way up. Often this cannot be determined, because the legends are absent or unreadable.

As an old Irishman once remarked, when asked for directions to a certain town, "If you want to go there, you should not be starting from here!" However, no other early description of Dhar's copper coins is known, so both Wiggins and Bhatt had no alternative to 'starting from here'. The difference between the two approaches is that Ken Wiggins stuck to Luard's list, not caring to step onto a quicksand, and begin a process of extrapolation that might lead a researcher very far from his original purpose.

I repeat Luard's list and Dr Bhatt's additions to it, in case any readers do not have access to the originals:

Luard's original list:- Hanuman, Swastik, *Khanda*, Leaf (bel leaf), sparrow, cannon, *pharara* (flag), *jaripatka* (Maratha-type pennant).

Dr Bhatt's additions:- *Trisul*, *Chakra*, *Chhatra*, flowers (including a generous smattering of four-petalled flowers), stars, battleaxe, *Chanwa*, *katar*.

Dr Bhatt found firm evidence in the Dhar state records that the minting of Dhar coins was farmed out, and that the contract was renewed every two to three years. Each new contractor is said to have used a different symbol on the dies, and that fact lends some support to his expansion of the list of symbols that he says are found on Dhar coins. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the coins listed may not all be issues of Dhar state.

In Pt. II of Dr Bhatt's study, he notes the hybrid nature (also discussed here) of many presumed Dhar coins. This phenomenon, he contends, resulted from coins being produced for four distinct border 'zones' of the state (Dhar - Ratlam zone, Dhar-Jhabua, Dhar - Gwalior, Dhar - Indore) and a fifth - Dhar Central. He appears to be suggesting the existence of five Durbar mints, each responsible for the coinage intended for use in a specific part of the state. However, as he has already shown that the coining of copper was farmed out by the Dhar government, we should, perhaps, think more in terms of an unknown number of unofficial and private mints striking 'semi-official' and 'unofficial' coins, much of it of a hybrid character. These could include sections of one or more of the Dhar durbar mints, or perhaps workshops outside the state struck most of the crudest coins on Dr Bhatt's list.

Hybrid coins, suggests Dr Bhatt, were struck to make them more acceptable to the population on both sides of a state border, and that statement must be correct. The Malwa states were, in

most places, broken down into a number of detached territories, some of them very small indeed. It is, therefore, certain that coins struck and circulating in any part of the area would need to be able to cross borders as a matter of course. Anything that could be done to assist their being more widely accepted and used would be helpful, not only to the users, but also to the manufacturers, as demand for their products would be higher. The existence of similar hybrid coins elsewhere in India is now fairly well attested, but not yet very well documented (Najibabad - Sikh, Jaipur - Sikh, Jat - Rajasthani, Doab - Jaipur and so on have been recognised). This phenomenon has occasionally led to some strange coins being struck, including a few that appear to bear two reverse or two obverse designs. Two of the better-known hybrid coins from outside Malwa are illustrated below, under the heading 'Hybrids.'

The first item on Luard's list of Dhar coin symbols is an image of the Hindu monkey-god Hanuman, which is a familiar icon found on innumerable coins, religious tokens, amulets and carvings encountered in central India. Most of the 'Hanuman' coins are quite crude, and they bear, on the opposite side, a range of legends, pseudo-legends and designs, some retrograde. There is, however, one among them that is very fine in its calligraphy, style and execution, which must surely have been the model on which a plethora of copies were based. It is illustrated towards the bottom of the previous page. The first record of this coin in numismatic literature is in the table of symbols among James Prinsep's 'Useful Tables'. Prinsep attributed this mark (and hence this coin) to a mint by the name of 'Kukureti - near Pannah' which has to be the reason why one particular style of Hanuman coin has always been attributed to Panna in the Krause catalogues, leading, lemming-like, to all Hanuman coins struck north of the Deccan being listed as Panna coins since the 1980s. The copies seem to have been generally well circulated, judging by their average much-worn condition, and the very popularity of the talismanic design (also used extensively on some tiny coins of south India) is probably responsible for its widespread copying.

Almost all of the symbols listed by both Luard and Dr Bhatt are found regularly (the sparrow and one or two others are scarce or rare) on examples of Malwa coins, the best of which could have come from properly controlled Dhar state mints. The cruder specimens, which include all the 'hybrid' types and many of the 'original stamp' coins without proper legends, may be assumed to be products of a number of less official and private mints. Again, in the absence of evidence for any others, we fall back on suggesting those around Sailana and Ratlam. When doing so, we need to be aware that similar workshops were probably operating at other places.

In one place, Dr Bhatt illustrates a selection of 56 such coins, including a Hanuman type. In another, he shows many other varieties of the Hanuman type. Space is not available to illustrate or discuss such a large number of coins, and interested readers are urged to refer to Dr Bhatt's work for a more complete idea of the range of types that he attributed to Dhar, many of which may well be the unofficial copper coins or *kachcha* pice 'of original stamp' to which Malcolm referred.

The regnal years occasionally found on the later Dhar coins are assumed, if they are not fictional, to be Mughal, and only a few actual dates have been read - AH 1241 and Malwi Fasli Era (2 years behind the normal Fasli era until AD 1900) 1266 and 1289, are recorded by Dr Bhatt, but others probably exist.

The only Dhar state mint mentioned by Luard is the one at the capital, which has the mint name 'Piran Dhar'. A mint also operated at Chandwad (Chandor) striking Maratha coins, and perhaps some Dhar coins may also have been struck there. Two other mints are known to have operated in the territory of the Dhar state, at Anandgarh and Amjhera, but details of their apparently small output are scant.

Nawanagar

Among the copies of the coins of nearby states found in great numbers in the Sailana area (and also Ratlam) are 'dokdos' of Nawanagar. From the appearance and weights of a few *kachcha*

pice picked up in that area by a local collector, it would appear that dhinglos were also copied (see table below) or perhaps the copiers never made the distinction. Nawanagar's coins or some other Gujarati design probably also provided the inspiration for a very imaginative imitation, illustrated at the bottom of the group below.

Two Nawanagar coppers
with two copies and a mysterious fabrication.



A Nawanagar dokdo



A Nawanagar dhinglo



A copy of a Nawanagar dokdo



*A copy of a Nawanagar dhinglo.
King's name retrograde and very crude.*



*An imitation of a Nawanagar or Kutch coin, possibly from
one of the Malwa unofficial mints.*

The amount of work required to produce the design and dies for the latter defies logic for a *kachcha* pice, and it may, perhaps, prove to be an example of the legitimate currency of yet another coin producing state in Gujarat or Malwa. Against this presumption are the facts that the 'legends' appear to be utterly meaningless and derivative, and there do not appear to be any dates on them.

Hybrid Coins

We frequently find *kachcha* pice of Malwa on which the designs or types on the two sides have been copied or imitated from coins of two or more distinct states, 'married' together, and a few are illustrated below. The hybrid coin is a phenomenon that is also a recognised feature of *kachcha* pice from other parts of India, as

already discussed, and two are illustrated below the Malwa examples.

Examples of 'Hybrid' coins of Malwa.

Hanuman of Rajod or Dhar / Indore style altar



Photograph kindly supplied by Abhay Agrawal, Gwalior, India

Jaipur-type jhar / Jhabua-style leaf.



*Bel-Leaf of Jhabua with Jhar typical of several other states,
which in turn had copied it from Jaipur*

Ratlam / Dhar



Degenerate copy of Ratlam KM 1 with Dhar(?) Bhatt 55

Jhabua / Dhar / Ratlam



*Jhabua 'eyebrow tattoos' round a degenerate Ratlam
cartouche, and Dhar Bhilva leaf
Wt. 10.35 g 22-23mm diameter*

Jaora / Surat?



*A strange kind of hybrid fabrication, possibly a fantasy piece of
the 'Mutiny' period.*

Indore (Maheshwar) / Dhar



Half paise, weight 5.3 g, with leaf of Indore and double-handled sword of Dhar.

Hybrid coins from outside Malwa.

Sikh legend / Awadh (Najibabad) upright fish



Sikh legends 'married to' a copy of the Awadh (Najibabad) upright fish and Najibabad mint name, first described by Hans Herrli as 17.01.11²³.

Doab horizontal fish / Jaipur



A Doab type of horizontal fish with a Jaipur design, also noted by Hans Herrli, but not published. This one is from a collection in Belgium, and is reported to have been found in the Jaipur state.

The development of the Malwa Kachcha Paisa

The first bit of information to be omitted from the copies and imitations we have been looking at was almost certainly the date and regnal year. A copy must post-date the thing from which it was copied, but apart from that truism, dating of *kachcha* pice must rely on circumstantial evidence, and will often be speculative. It appears that readable legends and mint names were dropped almost as soon as dates, and that legends, even when present, are usually meaningless. Legends soon became even more degenerate, after which the concept of obverse and reverse legends disappeared, along with the distinction between obverse and reverse faces. This seems to have been followed by the occasional combination of two obverse or two reverse designs on one flan. The last stage may have been the introduction of abstract coins bearing only patterns, which relate to no particular model – 'of original stamp.' Throughout this process there was a gradual reduction in the weight of the coins, perhaps accelerating as underweight and degenerate coins gained acceptance in the area. This is a subject of some complexity, and more study will be required before the stages, and the order in which they occurred, become entirely clear.

Summary

Several of the series of Malwa state coins listed in our most popular catalogues appear to include some 'deep monetisation' or 'opium trade' coppers – *kachcha* pice – most of which were not struck at state mints. Largely because of the difficulties involved in understanding and classifying the coinage of 19th century Malwa, a number of complete series of both durbar mint coins and

less official ones have been largely ignored or wrongly attributed. Coins from some series have been attributed to different states by the same and different authorities, and some have been 'moved' between states in succeeding editions of the same catalogue, often on doubtful evidence.

Relatively few of the thousands of unattributed and wrongly attributed Malwa copper coins have dates, mint names or any other recognised diagnostic features, so attribution will not be a simple matter of reading the dates, legends and rulers' names. On the other hand, many of them bear a wide range of symbols and marks, often shared by coins already correctly and firmly attributed to well-documented series from known states and mints. Frequently, newly recognised members of known series can only be attributed to them by their 'family likenesses' and such attributions have perforce to be regarded as tentative. For some 19th century coins and groups of coins of Malwa, that situation may never change, and most of them appear likely to be *kachcha* pice. The 'lion and leopard (or leaf, on some varieties)' coppers, originally struck at the Mehidpur mint, the familiar 'Hanuman' coppers of Dhar and the late 18th century 'Raj in cartouche' coins of Ratlam state, for example, have been copied and recopied by persons and in places as yet unknown, until what remains of the legends is gobbledygook. In the last analysis, for a good many coins, all we are clear about is **why** they were struck, and we may never know by whom, or where exactly.

The specifically 'opium cultivation' or 'opium trade' currency is of copper, and most of it is degraded for reasons already rehearsed, but it forms an inextricable part of the whole mass of *kachcha* pice manufactured at many places to answer a variety of needs (including, of course, greed). Precious metal false coins, of which many are known, can legitimately be described as counterfeits and forgeries, and were often made to the correct, or approximately correct weight despite utilising less silver, by adding more copper to the alloy or using a copper or brass core. To make an illicit profit from striking *kachcha* pice, firstly the labour and other costs were minimised, and then the actual coin weight was reduced, and non-standard weight coppers became increasingly integrated into the economy. In Malwa, as the years wore on, the preponderance of poorly produced copper coins of many non-standard weights eased the introduction into circulation of almost any kind of *kachcha* pice, apparently without arousing much resistance to their acceptance among their intended users.

Being underweight may be the first clue we notice that a coin might belong to one of the classes of *kachcha* (i.e. not *pukkah*) currency. Other indications of 'falsity' may include having the mint name omitted or blundered, or bearing a few curved lines of pseudo-Persian script in the place where we should expect the mint name and legend to be.

A considerable number of *kachcha* pice found in the Malwa area bear a 'four-petalled flower' symbol, and this seems to confirm that we are on the right track when we identify them with the 'opium trade,' because eye-catching four-petalled flowers are not common in nature or horticulture. On most species of *Cruciferae* and *Brassicaceae*, for instance, which families include the majority of genera having flowers of that form, the flowers themselves are insignificant, and go practically unnoticed except by insects and botanists. *Papaveraceae* (the Poppy family), including, of course, the opium poppy, *Papaver somniferum*, is one of very few families of plants with four-petalled flowers that are showy enough to recommend themselves as symbols suitable for putting onto coins. A poppy flower is self-evidently a very suitable icon to use on coins struck largely to facilitate the trade in raw and semi-processed poppy sap. As well as new designs among coins of 'original stamp' that have four-petalled flowers, there are a few clear cases of their having been added to designs copied and imitated from existing legitimate state coins, such as the Barmawal coin and its derivatives illustrated above. This is not restricted to the Malwa area. It is possible that other symbols found on coins from Malwa, Gujarat and central India should be identified with Poppy seed-pods, opium smoking pipes, *hookahs* or the tools of the trades involved in poppy growing, sap harvesting and enjoyment of the finished product, some of which

are distinctive. Symbols borrowed from other agricultural trades also seem to be represented on a few coins.

Malwa coin designs incorporating four-petalled flowers

The first two are probably 'official' and 'unofficial' Dhar coins, the others are copies and imitations.



No single criterion on its own should be regarded as diagnostic of this class of coin, but it would appear that certain attributes are indicative, especially when more than one of them occurs on a single specimen. I, therefore, offer below a tentative list of features or criteria that I believe point to specimens being of the class of copper currency known as *kachcha* pice, struck in Malwa in the late 18th to the late 19th century for private profit, and to monetise the trade in opium, among other commodities.

- a. Underweight.
- b. Unusually crude calligraphy.
- c. Meaningless and retrograde legends, often just curved lines.
- d. Mint name missing, garbled, or replaced by decorative lines and dot groups.
- e. Inclusion of four-petalled flower in design.
- f. Overstruck onto an old flan, often Bahmani.
- g. Find spots, when traceable, indicate a very restricted area of circulation.
- h. A substantial number of counterstruck and uniface coins are possibly of this class.
- i. Unusually wide variation in weight
- j. Hybrid coins struck in Malwa are probably all of this class.
- k. Found in large quantities around the Ratlam and Sailana area
- l. Undated.
- m. Type consists largely of a geometric pattern

The illustration below shows a uniface copper, and five coin faces displaying nothing beyond a geometric pattern, illustrating points 'h' and 'm' from the above list. Overstrikes of one of these types by another, such as the middle coin in the bottom line, may help to unravel the order, and maybe even the dates, when certain symbols superseded others. This could be helpful in relation to researching the changeover of contractors referred to under 'Dhar' above, in relation to Dr Bhatt's evidence, and Sir John Malcolm's statement that the designs of *kachcha* pice with which he was familiar, also did so. There is little doubt that Frank Perlin would have described these strikes as 'gimcrack.'

A few Malwa 'false coin' designs of 'original stamp'



One side only of each coin is shown. The first is uniface, and the others have all been attributed to Dhar state by Dr Bhatt. The contention here is that they probably all came from the false coin mints near Sailana.

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THE ENIGMA OF THE GOLD MOHURS OF CHHATRAPATI SHIVAJI

By Amol N. Bankar, Pune

Tulja Bhavani, the Goddess and her Significance

The goddess 'Tulja Bhavani' is considered one of the four most popular deities of Maharashtra (the other three being Mahalakshmi of Kolhapur, Malhari of Jejuri and Vitthala of Pandharpur). The image of goddess Tulja-Bhavani, is enshrined in the temple of Tuljapur, located 18.0°N 76.08°E, presently in the Osmanabad (Dharasiva) district of Maharashtra state. Though her name 'Bhavani' implies that she is the consort of Śiva (*bhava*), her image is of 'Mahishasuramardini', who is looked upon as an independent deity though emanating from 'parvati'.¹ Situated in the hilly country of Maharashtra known as the Balaghat, the knoll on which this temple is located is called 'Yamunachala'. The *Devi Bhagawata* counts it among the 51 'Shaktipeethas' (places of Shakti worship) in India. Dr R. C. Dhare traces the origin of the name (Yamunachala, Yamunadri) to a Sanskritisation of the Kannada name 'Yamman Gudd' (or Yamai Hill). It is common practice that the privilege of 'first worship' is accorded to the Goddess Matangi at the entrance to the temple.² 'Tulja-Bhavani' is worshipped amongst the Hindus of every class and castes of Maharashtra. Her 'naivedya' (ritual offerings) consists of vegetarian and non-vegetarian edibles, including wine. As the Goddess Bhavani is the patron deity of many people from Maharashtra, Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh they come walking during the Dasera Festival to worship her.³ The temple, enclosed within a small fortress, faces east and consists of spacious attributes of the *garbha-griha* (sanctum sanctorum), *sabhā-mandap* (assembly hall), etc. The enclosure wall has several small rooms built into it on the inside to house idols of *parivār-devata* (deities of patron-families).⁴ The *Gondhal* is a famous folk art form that has immense religious significance in Bhavani worship.⁵

There is one Marathi inscription dated Saka 1320 (= 15 Nov 1398 AD) mentioning a pilgrimage by a certain 'Parasarama Gosavi', who visited the goddess during the reign of Firozshah Bahmani. In 'Dharmamruta', the work of the Jain poet, 'Gunakirti', dated Saka 1514 (= AD 1592), Gunakirti condemned the pilgrimage to *kutirtha*'s like Pandharpur and Tulaja.⁶ Abul Fazl 'Allami, the author of the Ain-i-Akbari tells the story behind the origins of four Shaktipitha's and he also mentions 'Tulja or Turja Bhavani' as an important Shaktipitha near Bijapur (in the Deccan).⁷ Two inscriptions on water wells were found in the town of Tuljapur and they are discussed by Dr R.C. Dhare at length. Both apparently belong to the year AD 1785. Significantly, one of the two wells appears to have been commissioned by Ahilyabai Holkar, the dowager queen of Indore and a lady renowned for her religious charity.⁸



Google Earth Image of the fortification and temple of Tulja Bhavani in Tuljapur (marked by Black Square)

The goddess is also the *Kula-Devata* or *Kula-swamini* (clan-goddess or tutelary deity) of the Bhonsla / Bhonsle family, into which was born Shivaji, the pre-eminent Maratha Chhatrapati (r. 1674-1680). As such, Shivaji was her ardent worshipper and devotee. According to traditional historical narratives, the goddess appeared to him as his 'divine mentor and / or protector' giving him suggestions, commands and advice in many a critical episode of his life (see further).

The Enigma of Rupees and Mohurs of Shivaji

Recently a Marathi book on jewellery of the Maratha period was published by Dr Dipa Savale.⁹ In this book, she provided photographs of a necklace of mohurs which adorns the image of goddess Tulja-Bhavani (Figures 1, 2, 3, 4).

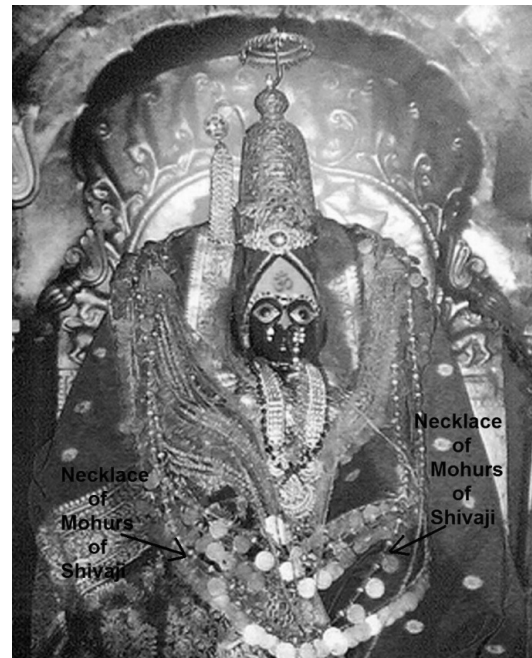


Fig 1: The image of Bhavani, adorned with temple jewellery amongst which the coin necklace can be seen

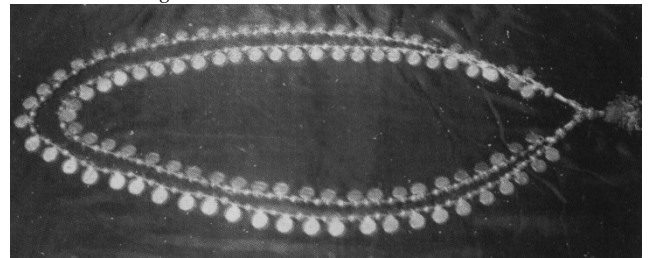


Fig. 2: The necklace of 'Shivaji' Mohurs





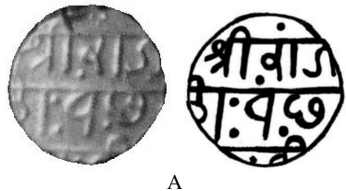
Fig 3 and 4: Details of coins in the necklace

Dr Savale identifies the necklace as a donation made by Shivaji in reverence to the goddess. However, she states that she obtained this attributive information from the priests of the temple. There is no documentary evidence to substantiate it – but most probably, the documents related to the donation of the necklace were destroyed in the past, when the temple became a target for raids conducted in the name of Islam. This necklace is placed in a separate box with some ornaments which are also said to have been donated by Shivaji.¹⁰

Legend has it that the mohurs strung in the necklace were struck by Shivaji specifically to make a donation to the goddess Tulja Bhavani. These mohurs have not been published in a numismatic sense. Also worthy of a investigation is their attribution to Shivaji ‘the Great’ as against other homonymous rulers who were his successors in the house of Bhonsle Chhatrapatis, which split into two branches, namely Satara and Kolhapur in the early 18th century. This paper hopes to address both these aspects to some extent.

‘Shivaji’ mohurs in the necklace

The necklace has 101 mohurs in total, strung in two rows of varying lengths. Conceivably, each row contains an unequal number of mohurs. Close-up photographs of some of the pendant Mohurs are given below (Figs 5 and 6, A and B respectively).

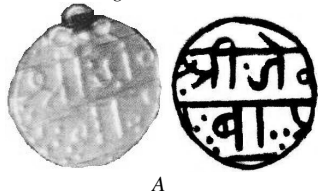


A



B

Fig 5: Obverse



A



B

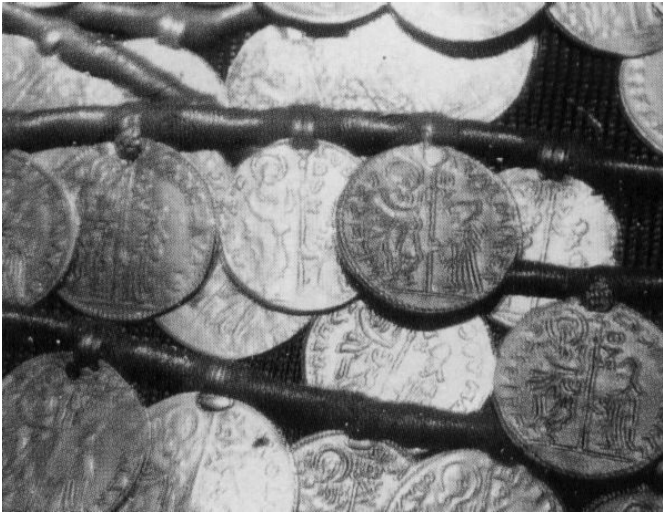
Fig 6: Reverse

Judging by these photographs, the mohurs have Devanagari inscriptions on the obverse and reverse, arranged in three lines each. The obverse inscription reads ‘*Shri Rājā / Shiva Chhatra / Patee*’, while on the reverse the legend is ‘*Shri Jega / Da(m)bā Pra / [Sana]*’. The obverse legend thus names the issuer, while the reverse legend is an invocation to the goddess, literally translating as ‘Illustrious Mother of the World, be propitiated’. ‘Jagadamba’ here is synonymous with Bhavani, the goddess at Tuljapur. Horizontal lines above the *Aksharas*, that give it the so-called ‘Washing on the Line’ appearance, form the dividers for the legends. Dots, both as single and in clusters of three or four are added in between the *Aksharas* to serve as additional adornments. No record of the weights of individual coins is available.

The temple’s register, which contains an inventory of jewels, jewellery and other precious gifts in the possession of the temple, has no accession details pertaining to any artefacts prior to 9 January 1963. Our necklace is described in the register as, ‘*Moherechi māl, sonyāchee, Shivaji mahārājānchyā thashāchee reshamāsah*’ (‘String of mohurs, of gold, bearing the stamp of Shivaji Maharaja, with silk’). ‘Silk’ refers to the band of silk threads, on which the mohurs are strung. The total weight (*bhār*) of the necklace is given as ‘135 *Tolās*’ and the weight of gold is ‘585.00 grams’ in the register.¹¹

If we take the *Tolā* to be equal to 11.66 g, the necklace should have weighed 1574.10 g - so there is large deviation in the weight recorded as *Tolās* and in grams. However, this seems to be the case for all other ornaments recorded in the register as well; from other entries in the register, it can be observed that the weights recorded in grams are usually lower than what they would be in *Tolās*. It is thus difficult to come to a decision regarding the weight of individual mohurs without actually weighing them. But, as we know, there are 101 mohurs in the necklace; if we take the weight in grams as the true weight of the necklace, it would transpire that the average weight of individual mohurs will be 5.79 g (i.e. 585 g divided by 101). Discounting the weight of the thread and also of the loops attached to the mohus, each coin would weigh a bit less than this amount. This brings it tantalisingly close to the weight of half a mohur, taking them to be struck on either of the prevalent standards, i.e. 10.8 or 11.66 g. So, if we were to trust the records for weight in grams then the pendants (or coins) could be classified as half mohurs. On the other hand, if we were to take the weight recorded in *Tolās* into account, it brings us to 15.58 g per individual coin. This weight seems a bit too heavy for a mohur even if we were to discount the weight of the silk thread and the loops attached to each coin, unless of course the coins are struck 25% heavier (i.e. 14.57 g), a multiple of 1.25 being an ‘auspicious’ addition to the normal weight of the mohur. It is thus likely that the coins strung in the necklace are either half mohurs or 1.25 mohurs. The necklace of ‘Shivaji mohurs’ is also mentioned in 18th century Marathi compositions of Ajapala.¹²

Some researchers have mentioned the mohur-necklace as ‘*Putlyanchi Mal*’ (necklace of *Putalis* bearing the name of Shivaji). But the reason behind this misunderstanding is another necklace of ‘*Putalis*’ which is kept in the same box with the necklace of Shivaji-mohurs and the view is that this was donated along with the necklace of Shivaji mohurs. Generally the Venetian ducat and its local imitations are referred to as *Putali* (or *Patli*) in Marathi, which literally means ‘effigy’ or ‘statuette’ (the coin type bears the effigies of St Mark handing over the Gonfalon or official flag to a kneeling doge, which indeed looks like two statuettes), ‘*Putalya*’ is plural of Marathi ‘*Putali*’. Generally the normal weight of a ‘Venetian ducat’ or ‘*Putali*’ is 3.50 g, but the pendants or coins bearing the name of Shivaji are distinctly heavier than these and, as they do not bear any effigy or ‘statuette’, cannot be classified as ‘*Putalis*’. The total weight of this necklace of *Putalis* (*bhar*) is 162 *Tolas* and the total weight of gold is 1296 grams. Based on a prima-facie examination of *Putali*’s, it is possible that the necklace is no earlier than the 18th century.



Photograph of necklace of 'Putalis or Venetian ducats (After Dr Savle).

The 'Jagadamba Prasanna' Rupee

Upon reading the description of the gold mohurs, numismatists interested in Maratha coinage will immediately recall the publication of a rupee which does not bear a date or a mint-name, but has almost exactly the same legends as the mohurs strung in the necklace. It was first published by Prashant Kulkarni from his own collection.¹³ It was subsequently included in 'Maratha Mints and Coinage', the seminal monograph on Maratha coins published by K.K. Maheshwari and K.W. Wiggins¹⁴. Although the Devanagari legends on the coin are truncated with regards certain details, Kulkarni made a reasonable reconstruction of them as 'Raja/ Shiva Chha / Trapati' in three lines on the obverse and 'Shri Ja / Gadamba Pra / Sanna' in three lines on the reverse. The coin is illustrated as Figure 6.



Fig 6: Silver Rupee bearing the same legends

It will be worthwhile to compare the gold and silver coins at this juncture. While all the mohurs in the necklace bearing the same inscription seem to have been struck from the same pair of dies, these dies are evidently different from those utilised in striking the silver coin. This is seen from two cursory observations – there is a cluster of three dots below the character 'Va' in the second line on the obverse of the rupee, while the mohurs have only a single dot at about the same place. Similarly, there is a cluster of two dots to the right of the character 'Da' on the reverse of the mohurs,

whereas it is absent on the rupee at the same place. Further, at least from a few mohurs it is evident that the reverse die might have suffered some damage while the coins were being struck. This is perhaps indicated by a lump of metal just on the character 'Ba' on the reverse on some of the mohurs. This is very clear in figure 6B illustrated above. The second character in the top line of the reverse legend was truncated on the rupee, but Kulkarni proposed to read it as 'Ja'. From the mohurs, it is evident that this character is a 'Je', making the name of the goddess 'Jégadambā' instead of 'Jagadamba'. This is an inscriptional peculiarity that can be easily overlooked. A similar instance of the addition of an 'é' interchangeably with an 'a' sound, at least in the case of coin legends is seen with the usage of the titles 'Chhatrapati' and 'Chhétrapati' on copper coins struck in the names of Shivaji and his successor, Shahu.

According to Kulkarni, the coin was struck by Shivaji 'the Great', [Shivaji I] the establisher of the Maratha 'Swaraj'. He furnished a series of arguments to substantiate the attribution. Maheshwari and Wiggins did not agree with Kulkarni *in toto*, but remarked that, if it were to be regarded as the issue of Shivaji the First, it was probably issued on the occasion of Shivaji's coronation in June AD 1674 and it is doubtful if it was ever a regular currency issue.¹⁵

Having said this, the knowledge of gold coins struck bearing the same legends brings us afresh to the question: were these or were these not the issues of Shivaji I? Recently G.B. Mehendale discussed the coin in great detail¹⁶ and, going over each of Kulkarni's arguments, vehemently refuted that this coin was an issue of Shivaji I. His arguments against Kulkarni's attribution can be summed up as follows:

1. Kulkarni mentions the similarity in execution of letters on the coin and Shivaji's seal. But as the inscriptions on the seal of Shivaji and the silver rupee are both in Devanagari script of the same milieu, it is not a matter of surprise if the palaeography of both the inscriptions is alike. This being so, palaeography cannot be used to substantiate the attribution of this coin as an issue of Shivaji I. In any case there are differences in the execution of some characters, such as the character 'va', between the rupee and Shivaji's seal, so Kulkarni's contention about the palaeography being the same is not entirely valid.¹⁷
2. Kulkarni's assertions that the name 'Jagadamba' is employed in the coin legends because it was particularly endearing to Shivaji, or that the name of Shivaji's famous sword followed suit are not adequate evidence to support the attribution because there is nothing to suggest and substantiate this statements in the first place.
3. Kulkarni notes the similarity between the palaeography of characters on the rupee and the characters in the documents of the period of Shivaji I. But these characters on the rupee are also identical with documents of the 18th century, thus it is not logical to ascribe this particular issue as an issue of Shivaji the Great.
4. There is no evidence in the documents relating to Shivaji I to support the fact that Shivaji minted any silver coins. Based on the mention of 200 Dabholi (Dabuli) larins in one letter addressed to some officers of Kharepatan, H.H. Wilson concluded that Shivaji and his successors issued silver larins. But there is no substantial proof available which support the account that Shivaji issued silver larins of any kind. The copper coins of Shivaji, i.e. Shivarai paisa, are mentioned in official documents of the early Maratha period. Although the hoans of Shivaji are not clearly mentioned in the official documents,¹⁸ they have been known for a long time and from authentic sources. On the other hand, it is not possible to accept that Shivaji issued any silver coins.
5. Prior to the coronation of Shivaji I, the currency system under his domains was based on the Adilshahi standard (*ruka*, *taka* as copper units and the *hoan* as a gold coin), hence it is possible that he issued coins on these standards. Also in Adilshahi Konkan, the larin was the only silver

currency that was current. Thus, Shivaji is more likely to have issued *larins* if he ever struck any silver coins but he would not have issued ‘Rupees’, based on the Mughal standard.

In addition to what Mehendale asserted in his rejection of Kulkarni’s attribution of the coins to Shivaji I, the gold coins under discussion afford us further clues in that direction.

1. The design of the silver as well as the gold coins is clearly derived from Mughal coin design, having the legends separated into uneven groups of characters separated by dividers. The number of divisions on each side is characteristically three, the same as seen on most Mughal coins. The addition of clusters of dots is an obvious imitation of *nuktas* and similar clusters of dots that also appear on most Mughal coins. Conceivably, therefore, the coins were struck after coins with Mughal designs had been common in circulation in Maharashtra. During Shivaji I’s time this had not been the case. From a number of contemporary records, it is evident that the currency in Shivaji’s domains was heavily based on gold *hoans* and copper *paisas* that carried the nomenclature ‘Shivara’ *paisas*. It was not until the prolonged presence of Aurangzeb’s armies in the Deccan (which happened after Shivaji’s death) that the essentially north Indian and/or Mughal currency system based on *mohurs* and *rupees* gained a foothold in everyday circulation.¹⁹
2. These circular pieces were hammered from a die of much larger size; hence many of the letters are truncated off the flan of the coin. However, the early copper and gold issues of Shivaji I and copper coins of Shambhu (Sambhaji I) are carefully struck with the die and flan agreeing in size.
3. As regards silver currency, we find documents from Shivaji I’s period making repeated reference to the ‘*larin*’ (Also spelt as *lari*, *lahiri*, *lahari*). The chronicle (*Bakhar*) of Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad²⁰ is one of the earliest known sources of history of the Shivaji period. It gives an inventory of different gold and silver coins in Shivaji’s treasury. Here we find mention of 4,000,000 *larins* of different kinds, viz. *Dabholi*, *Chuli* and *Basari*, the qualifiers in all probability suggesting places where these were minted, e.g. ‘*Dabuli*’ for *Dabhol*, ‘*Basari*’ for *Basra*, and ‘*Chuli*’ possibly for *Chaul*. The inventory also lists *rupees*, but unlike later mentions, they do not have any qualifier associated with them. Most importantly, we also observe that the quantity of *larins* is higher than that of *rupees* in Shivaji’s treasury.²¹ All these aspects point to the preponderance of *larins* over *rupees* during Shivaji I’s reign, the *larins* having been the silver currency of choice over *rupees*.²²
4. In AD 1719-20, in reward for the help given to Sayyid Husain Khan and his brother in deposing the emperor Farrukhsiyar, the Maratha Chhatrapati Shahu received two grants for levying *Chauth* (equivalent to one-fourth) and *Sardeshmukhi* (equivalent to ten per cent) from the revenues of six Deccan provinces. These included lands in addition to his home rule or *Swaraj* viz. *Khandesh*, *Berar*, *Bijapur*, *Bidar*, *Hyderabad* and *Karnataka*, including *Tanjore* and *Trichinapoly*. In 1724, Nizam ul-Mulk parted ways with his master, the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah, and established his own kingdom at *Hyderabad* in the Deccan. During much of the rest of the 18th century, these two successor states vied for political supremacy in the region, with the Marathas emerging supreme after a series of blows to the Nizam state in the late 1760s. It was during this time that the *rupee* became the ascendant silver currency in the region, as both authorities decided to regard the Mughal emperor as their nominal heads and began striking coins in the Mughal system bearing his name.
5. The metallic composition and fabric of the silver *rupee* is best compared to silver coins of mints located in the erstwhile ‘Southern Mahratta’ country, such as *Kolhapur*, *Belgaum* etc. It is worth noting here that all *rupees* known

so far of this type are said to have been found in this very tract.

These points indicate that, in all likelihood, the coins bearing the ‘Jagadamba’ legend are not the issues of Shivaji I. Further to the numismatic arguments provided, secondary historical evidence also points to the improbability of these coins being issues of Shivaji I. As the *rupees* and *mohurs* were struck from different sets of dies, we can safely reject the suggestion that the *rupees* might have been ‘trial-strikes’, struck with the same pair of dies before striking the *mohurs*. The purpose behind the issue of the ‘Jagadamba’ *rupees* remains an enigma. As they are not available in large numbers (up to now, only three specimens are known), it is conceivable that they were commemorative issues. We will now examine the secondary historical evidence. Also important is the question: if it was not Shivaji I, then who struck this series of coins? The examination will also lead us to suggest a possible contender for the issuer of these enigmatic coins.

Tulja Bhavani and Shivaji I

Jairam Pindye, a poet patronised by Shahji, the father of Shivaji, as well as Paramananda who composed the *Shivabharat* (a contemporary biography of Shivaji in Sanskrit verse), make special mention of Tulja Bhavani and the reverence the Bhosale’s had for their family goddess. There are six specific mentions in the *Sabhasad bakhar* of the general belief of the time that the goddess had ‘appeared in person’ for Shivaji in times of grievous crises precipitated by enemies of his fledgling state. One such instance was the invasion of the ‘Adil Shahi General, Afzal Khan, on Shivaji’s domains and his desecration of the shrine at Tuljapur, in AD 1659 . Afzal Khan started from Bijapur and, having crossed the river Krishna, arrived at Tuljapur. Here he camped with his army and, on learning that this temple was sacred in the eyes of the Marathas, the Bhavani of Tuljapur being indeed the guardian patroness of certain leading families of the Maratha nobility, which included Shivaji’s Bhonsle family, he desecrated the temple. The stone image of the goddess was considered the more sacred. The khan ordered his troops to break the stone image of Bhavani and had it pounded into dust in a hand-mill.²³ (*Tevhā avaghi fuj ekatra hovun auras chauras lashkar utaralē. Āni pudhe Tuljāpurās āle. Tēthē yēvun mukām Kēlā. Śrī Bhavāni Kuladevatā Mahārājāncee, tees phodun jātiyānt ghāloon, bharādoon peeth kēlē.*) The same story is corroborated in the Sanskrit work ‘*Shivabharata*’ of Paramananda²⁴ (*Avādhnyāyat Vai Devi Tulajāpurvāsini*) and the bardic epic (*powada*) of Adhnyanandas²⁵ (*Tethun Kuch Kele Katakālā. Abdul Fojene Chālālā. Majalivar Majalā. Abdul Tuljāpurā Ālālā. Phodili Tuljā. Varati Masudach Bāndhali. Masud Bāndhuni. Pudhe Gāy Jab Keli. Abdulkhān Phodi Devālā. Kānhi Ajmat Dāvā Malā.*).

As the shrine of Bhavani at Tuljapur was beyond the reach of Shivaji, it is said that Shivaji vowed to install and consecrate an image of that goddess within the battlements of Fort Pratapgad where he resided at the time.²⁶ The image was installed in a court on the topmost fortification at the summit of Fort Pratapgad and a beautiful temple was constructed for it. Provisions were made for the maintenance of daily rites and offerings such as the periodic feasts to Brahmins on specific auspicious days in the goddess’ calendar. In this, it was decreed that the calendar as practiced at Tuljapur was to be followed at the new shrine.

In AD 1674, Shivaji decided to hold his coronation. Prior to the event, he set out on a tour of the most famous shrines of the land. Chiplun was visited early in May 1674, and, after worshipping Parashuram in the great temple there, he returned to Raigad on the 12th. Four days afterwards he again set forth to worship the Bhavani goddess he had installed at Pratapgad, as the original shrine of Bhavani of Tuljapur was still beyond his reach. To this image he presented an umbrella of pure gold, weighing one and a quarter *maunds* and various other valuable gifts.

It is, thus, evident that the shrine of Bhavani at Tuljapur remained out of Shivaji’s reach throughout his career. There is no

One mistaken notion about Sambhaji I and Tulja Bhavani

लालितेलावल्यविनयमाननाज्याधिनाज्जीवांमुजाश्
 चत्रपतिनाविहितंयुग्मव्योमनसं दु संवलि तसमातिक्रान्तं
 न्यपञ्चाग्निवाहननक्षत्रादौ वक्ष्यन्तः सप्तमसित दशमी दु व
 सनसप्तमयनाज्यावाच्यनेहृत्प्रतिज्ञातचतुर्विंशतिहस्त
 लमितंयुद्धकलधोतघटितदशसहस्रैरव्याकमुपत्रा
 एण्यववाहापीणात्रामनाज्याग्निहृद्ध्यर्थात्रिमार्थसि
 व्यर्थगुरुपादुकाएज्जनपुनःस्वयंश्रीपादुकाएज्जननिमि
 त्तंसकलविपक्षस्यार्थमायुजानो ग्यैश्चर्यपुत्रपौत्राद्य
 त्रिदध्यर्थप्रत्यब्धंस्त्रीयस्वामीपुत्रपौत्रपापपर्वकमे
 पाचालनीयंउपशोक्तव्यंचसुंदनीमंदिनमंडनार्थानि
 दत्तसहजनिजकोशध्वकनएपुष्पताकुचनोपहसितैरा
 चेतप्रहस्यमत्तमातंगवल्युबलानविजितपवित्रधनुः
 गमालिवाजिनहाग्रगण्योद्धैश्रवससमानजातीय
 पंचाम्बसंगोपांगयाप्यमानप्रतिवर्षसंबंधितश्चनो
 ज्यसहितसपविजनसपविबापस्वामिबार्धिकमप्येत
 दंतर्गतमेवबोद्धव्येदस्यलंबितनपत्रपचनयाशुभमसु

Bhimsen Saxena, the author of 'Tarikh-e-Dilkusa' states that he was in the camp at Akkalkot when his cousin, Hardas, met him there and then went on a pilgrimage to Tuljapur. In the year 1688, during Aurangzeb's stay at Bijapur, a severe malaria epidemic broke out. Bhimsen Saxena, who was encamped at Naldurg witnessed this tragedy and mentioned that the situation at Naldurg had worsened due to the scarcity and rising costs of grain and that the poor suffered heavily; he (Bhimsen) left the city along with his relatives and took shelter in the holy city of Tuljapur.³⁶

There is one unpublished letter dated 6 March 1699 in the collection of priests (*Bhope*) of Tulja Bhavani. The letter (*Adhnyapatra*) was issued by Chhatrapati Rajaram. In this letter Rajaram expressed his appreciation to Manabai Bhopin and Bhutoji Kadam-Bhope for maintaining the temple fighting fit during the hard times.³⁷ On the death of Chhatrapati Rajaram I, Tarabai, his elder widow and mother of his eldest son Shivaji, installed the latter, who was a child of four years old on the throne, and assumed charge of the administration. Her position was a most difficult one, as, shortly after Rajaram's death, Aurangzeb personally moved against Kolhapur and besieged Panhala and Vishalgad. Aurangzeb, however, was called away by the state of his affairs towards Ahmednagar and the effects of his absence were soon perceived. The Marathas shortly after the Emperor's departure took Panhala by escalade, whereupon Tarabai took up her abode in it and the place was for many years the virtual capital of Kolhapur. After the release of Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, Tarabai affected to treat Shahu as an impostor. In a letter of 17 September 1707, Tarabai argues that the kingdom of Shivaji was destroyed in the days of Sambhaji and her husband, Rajaram, founded a new state to which Shahu, Sambhaji's son, had no right. She was supported in her resistance by the leading men of the Marathas, who led an army against Shahu. Shahu, however, managed to win over to his cause one of the ablest of the generals opposed to him, after which he defeated Tarabai's forces at Khed on the banks of the Bhima and, in 1708, he obtained possession of Satara, where he formally seated himself on the throne.³⁸

In AD 1720, Sambhaji II (the second son of Chhatrapati Rajaram) renewed a grant when he was staying on the banks of the river Garudganga in the Balaghat area. The earlier grant, on a single copperplate, was given by Shivaji II during his stay at the fort of Prasadhdagad. This grant consists of an annual endowment of 75 hoans to two Brahmins viz. 'Kushambhatt bin Manikbhatt' and 'Gadadharbhatt bin Trayambakbhatt' Prayag. The Prayag family still holds the post of '*Tirtha-Purohita*' for the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis and perform various sacred rites on behalf of the royal family.⁴³ From the above discussion it is quite possible that Shivaji II (through Tarabai) is one of the likely contenders behind the minting of the 'Jagadamba rupee and mohurs'.

The house of the Chhatrapatis divided into two branches in the 18th century – one based at Satara and the other at Kolhapur.

These two branches remained at loggerheads for much of the earlier half of the 18th century but they resolved their disputes and a cessation of hostilities between their domains was enshrined in the treaty of Warana signed in 1739. The area around Tuljapur remained under the control of the Nizams of Hyderabad until 1948. But by the mid-18th century, the political situation in the Deccan had changed considerably. After Nizam ul-Mulk's death in 1748, a war of succession erupted between his sons. The Marathas, for whom the decade of 1750-60 marked the apogee of their political ambitions, tried to intervene but it was only in 1760 that Nizam Ali Khan was able to put an end to the crisis. After the Maratha debacle at Panipat in 1761, Nizam Ali tried to make the most of their predicament but his efforts were thwarted after he received a severe blow at the battle of Rakshasbhuvan in 1768 at the hands of the Maratha Peshwa, Madhav Rao. Subsequent to this date, Nizam-Maratha relations remained cordial until 1795. It is conceivable that the Maratha nobility were able to make regular offerings at the shrine of Tuljapur in this period of cordiality that existed between the Nizam and the Marathas.

This period, however, could well be extended by a few years prior to the battle of Rakshasbhuvan, if we examined Maratha politics closely. In 1760, the ruling Chhatrapati of the Kolhapur branch, namely Sambhaji II, died. His successor was a Chhatrapati named 'Shivaji', known as Shivaji III and he ruled till 1812. The circumstances under which he was installed on the throne were chaotic. He was not a biological heir to Sambhaji II, who had died without a male successor. Shivaji III was adopted by the dowager queen, Jijabai, from a branch of the Bhonsle family. The Peshwa, Balaji Bajirao, alias Nanasaheb, who had become the de-facto ruler of the Maratha confederacy, had designs on Kolhapur – he intended to sack the kingdom and divide it between him and his loyal followers, the Brahmin barons of Miraj and Ichalkaranji.

Jijabai vehemently opposed the Peshwa's plans. The situation after Panipat favoured her as she found an ally in Nizam Ali Khan, an enemy of the Peshwa. By astute political manoeuvring, Jijabai managed to stave off the Peshwa's threat to her kingdom. Without going into the finer details, it would suffice here to say that her alliance with the Nizam during this period may have enabled her access to the shrine at Tuljapur even before 1768. Jijabai died in 1772, but the tussle between the Kolhapur rulers and the Peshwa and his barons continued well beyond that date, ultimately forcing Shivaji III to conclude a treaty of subsidiary alliance with the British in the early 19th century.

It is very likely that the donation of the necklace was made to the goddess at Tuljapur during the time when Jijabai was in charge of Kolhapur politics, ruling on behalf of her minor son, Shivaji III. Her closeness to the Nizam would have given her access to the shrine and it is possible that the donation was made to propitiate the goddess towards the success of her struggle against the Peshwas. She could not have made such a donation to the 'replica' shrine of the goddess consecrated by Shivaji I at Pratapgad, because it was (and still is) a property of the rival branch of the house ruling from Satara. Ostensibly, the coins would have been struck in the name of 'Shivaji', the minor ruler, and not in the name of the dowager queen. It would thus transpire that it was Shivaji III who struck the silver coins as well, and, judging by the numismatic arguments articulated above, this indeed seems the most plausible option.

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9. Dr Dipa Savale (2007): '*Marathekalin Alamkar aani Daddagine*' (Marathi), Kailash Publication, Aurangabad, Plate – III (Fig 2), XXIX (Fig 28), XXXIV (Fig 2). These mohurs are also mentioned in my previous article: A.N.Bankar (2008): Monetary history of the early Maratha period: the Marathas in Southern India, Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society (JONS) No 194, Winter 2008, London, Pp 32; At Tuljapur, all jewellery is kept at '*Jamdarkhana*' (treasury-room) and the keys of the treasury-room are in the custody of the person in charge of the '*Hamrojibuwa Math*'. The jewellery is handed over and taken over daily to the priests (for the adornment of goddess), in the presence of the head of the '*Hamrojibuwa Math*', who is responsible for the safekeeping of the same (Op cit 2, pp).
10. Op cit 9, p 59.
11. Op cit 9, pp 60-61.
12. Op cit 2, p 331.
13. Prashant P. Kulkarni (1988) : Coins of Maharaja Shivaji, *Khabarnama*, Vol VI, Mudra Bharati, Mumbai, Pp 3-7; Also see, Prashant P. Kulkarni (1990): 'Kulkarni Replies', Mudra, Vol. I, Coin Study Circle, Calcutta, pp 13-17.
14. K.K. Maheshwari and K.W. Wiggins (1989): Maratha Mints and Coinage, IIRNS Publications, Nasik, p 21.
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17. Also the palaeography of the character for e.g. '*Ra*' on the silver rupee is different from the conventional form seen on early copper and gold issues of Shivaji I (author).
18. The copper coins of Shivaji I i.e. Shivarai, are mentioned in one letter of Sambhaji (see op cit 16, Pp 351); another letter of Sambhaji mentions hoans weighing 24 ratti (= 2.80 g), which is the standard weight of hoans of Shivaji I (see op cit 26, pp 84-91).
19. The continued Mughal presence in the Deccan give rise to some Mughal mints for striking rupees there during the last years of the reign of Aurangzeb, viz. Pune-Muhiyabad (AH 1110 = AD 1698), Sangamner (AH 1116 = AD 1704), Parenda (AH 1116 = AD 1704), Karnatak (AH 1106 = AD 1694), Hukeri (AH 1119 = AD 1707), Phonda Goa (AH 1113 = AD 1701), Torgal (AH 1118 = AD 1706), Udgir (AH 1098 = AD 1686), Gingee (1109 AH = AD 1697), Bahadurgarh (AH 1083 = AD 1672), Sikakul (AH 1100 = AD 1688), Gutli (AH 1107 = AD 1695), Mahmud Bandar (AH 1119 = AD 1707), Chinnapattan (AH 1100 = AD 1688), Ahsanabad (AH 1112 = AD 1700), Azamnagar Gokak (AH 1110 = AD 1698), Katak (AH 1085 = AD 1674), Imtiyazgarh-Adoni (AH 1118 = AD 1706), Sholapur (AH 1081 = AD 1670), Hyderabad (AH 1098 = AD 1686), Nipani (undated) and so on. See Sanjay Godbole (1992): '*Kahi Mughal Tanksali*' (Marathi), Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal (BISM) Quarterly Vol 70, Pune, pp 34-48 for this list.
20. Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad (2002): Sabhasad Bakhar, Edited by Dr. R.V.Herwadkar, Venus Publications, Pune, p 118.
21. Though rupees are not mentioned by Sabhasad (Op cit 19, Pp 78) among the list of coin types (viz. *Mohur*, *Putalee* or Venetian Ducats, *Ibrahimi*, *Satalami*, *Asharafi*), it is quite possible that rupees were also collected in large quantity by Shivaji's troop during the sack of Surat and other expeditions in Mughal territories. Jarosav Strnad, based on hoard-analysis, has cogently shown that there is a noteworthy deficiency of Surat coins struck in the year 1662/63 and 1668/69 in various hoards, possibly caused by Shivaji's sacks of Surat in 1664 and 1670. See Jaroslav Strnad (2001): *Monetary History of Mughal India as reflected in silver coin hoards*, Harman Publishing House, New Delhi, pp 105,125.
22. For adetailed analysis of coins mentioned in Sabhasad Bakhar, please refer to Shailendra Bhandare (2001): 'An Evaluation of the Sabhasad Bakhar as a source of historical information: a numismatic perspective', paper presented at the 5th international colloquium at IIRNS, published as *Mediaeval Indian Coinages: A historical and economic perspectives* by IIRNS, Anjaneri Nasik, p 213.
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35. Op cit 2.
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40. P.B. Parasnis (1913): 'Sanads and Letter', published by Purushottam Mawjee, Pune, p 191 ;Marathi Transliteration of Letter is as follows: Swāstīśri Rājyābhishek Shake 32 Pārthivnām Samvatsare, Kārtik Bahul Panchamī, Guruvāsare Kṣatriya Kulāvātamsa Śrī Rājā Śiva Chhatrapati Yāni, Rājāśri Deshādīkārī va Kārkun Vartamān va Bhāvi, Prānt Parānde yānsi Adhnyā Keli Aiesije :- Śrīkṣetra Tukāi Tuljāpur he Swāminche Ārādhyā Daivat, Bahut Thor, Jāgrut Sthal Anādī, Yethil Pujā Utshāh Sāng Chālāvayākaritā Swāminni Mouje Brāmhani, Tarf Auvashe, Pargane Bāleghāt Inām Karun Dilhā Hotā. Aisi-Yāsi Sāmprat Mouje Majkur Lashkarāt Mokāsā Āhe, Yākaritā Suralit Chālat Nāhi Mhanun Vidit Kele. Tari Śrichā Utshāh Sāng Chālāvā He Swāmis Agatya Āhe. Yākaritā Swāminni Halli, Mouje Brāmhani Mokāsā Inām Dilhā Hotā To Due Karun, Navin Inām, Kulbāb, Kul Dekhil Hallipatti va Pestarpatti Zādāzādorā sahvartamān Kherij Ināmdār va Hakkdār Karun, Mouje Shelgāon, Tarf Rātānjan Deh 1(Ek) Rās Inām Śris Dilhā Āhe. Tari Tumhi Purva Maryādepramāne Chatu: Simā Gāv Śriche Swādhin Karun, Inām Śris Uttarottar Chālāvane. Sāl Darsāl Tāje Sanadechā Ujur na Karane. Yā Sanadechi Tālikh Lehen Gheun, Assal Sanad Śrichyā Pujāriyājavaal Paraton Dene Āni Inām Surakshit Chālvit Jane. Jānije Lekhanālamkār."
41. Op cit 1, p 179.
42. G.S. Sardesai (1990): *Marathi Riyasat* (Marathi), Vol IV, Popular Publications, Mumbai, pp 232-238; G.S. Sardesai pointed out that, owing to the political insecurity at Kolhapur, Ramraja, the grandson of Tarabai (and Rajaram), was kept at Tuljapur and he was looked after by Bhagavatibai Bhopin for some time. When Ramaraja acceded to the Satara throne as the new (adopted) Chhatrapati after the death of Shahu, the family of Bhagavatibai Bhopin was greatly honoured by the Chhatrapatis and they were awarded the title of 'Bhoperao'.
43. Op cit 2, pp 141-142; A small article was published by Shri K.B. Prayag on 'Kolhapur Chhatrapatinchi Bhavani-Upasana (Bhavani worship of the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur)' on the occasion of the 4th meeting of Maharashtra Itihas Parishad (January 1969). In this article, Shri Prayag briefly discussed the devotion of the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur to Tulajabhavani. There is a separate office maintained by the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur known as 'Sansthan' in the local language. The 'Sansthan' is attached to the temple and they provide *naivedya* (offerings) of five types, perfumes and scented oils, and *Panchamruta* for various worships performed daily.

A RARE ARAB-BYZANTINE HYBRID COIN OF DAMASCUS: AN INTRIGUING "MULE" BEARING A STANDING EMPEROR OBVERSE AND A SPHERE THROUGH POLE-ON-STEPS REVERSE

By Tareq Ramadan

Most numismatists in the field of Arab-Byzantine coinage would probably agree that Damascus was one of the most, if not the most, prolific of the early Arab-Umayyad mints. The argument can be made especially in the light of its rather large output of diverse types of Arab-Byzantine coinage during the latter half of the seventh century AD. In fact, Tony Goodwin describes the mint at the Umayyad capital as having issued a "bewildering variety of coin types" but with "no clear dividing line between the varieties" minted there, unlike its almost equally productive counterpart at Hims¹.

With that being said, it has come to my attention that, in my personal collection, there sits a rather peculiar and even "bewildering" Arab-Byzantine copper fil of Damascus that Mr Goodwin could have been alluding to in his 2005 publication. The coin, one of three known specimens according to him, bears a "standing emperor" obverse coupled with a reverse derived from that of the "standing caliph" type². The obverse figure is a "type-e" standing emperor holding a long cross and globus cruciger, while the reverse depicts a sphere and pole-on-steps, accompanied by the blundered mint name "Dimashq" ("دمشق") (Damascus; though missing the initial "dal") to the right of the pole.³ The reverse should contain the "R1" legend consisting of the Islamic shahada (لا إله إلا الله وحده محمد رسول الله) though it, too, appears to be somewhat blundered in the photo below⁴.



Obverse: Standing Emperor
Holding crosses



Reverse: Sphere
through pole-on-steps
with Arabic legend and mint

To the left of the sphere, on the reverse, there appears to be a small letter or symbol, but it is still unclear at this time as to what it actually is or pertains to. The coin weighs 3.4 g, measures 17 mm in diameter and combines an obverse and a reverse from two distinct and distinguishable series' of Arab-Byzantine coinage to make one unique "mule". Equally important is that the coin was found near the modern, northern Jordanian city of Irbid, historically situated at a border area where Jund Dimashq met Jund al-Urdun; not terribly far from the Umayyad capital⁵.

When and why such a coin was produced is up for debate, but considering its usage of the "sphere through pole-on-steps" reverse from the "standing caliph" series, it probably dates from around the time of 'Abd al-Malik's first monetary reform and the

introduction of the "standing caliph" coinage in the late 680's or early 690's. During this time, the "standing emperor" types were, more than likely, being gradually phased out in most areas to be replaced by the new "standing caliph" coins. As such, these hybrids may represent the last official (or unofficial) usage of this distinctly Christian, Byzantine obverse as 'Abd al-Malik began a campaign to Arabise and Islamise his state shortly after his ascension to the caliphate in AD 685⁶.

Could these hybrids reflect 'Abd al-Malik's first attempt at experimenting with a new type of Umayyad coinage by introducing a completely new reverse in addition to the already existing "standing emperor" obverse? If so, why would the Umayyads continue to use a coin depicting a "standing emperor" bearing Christian symbols while completely removing them from the new reverse? What if these coins pre-date 'Abd al-Malik's reign? Were these coins, maybe, intentionally struck by employees at the mint to satisfy some sort of personal curiosity or were they just an expression of artistic creativity? Were they minted by a Christian who may have been protesting against the political hegemony demonstrated by the new Arab-Muslim rulers? Were they minted by the member of an Islamic opposition group who refused to strike an obverse bearing the image of 'Abd al-Malik bin Marwan; maybe someone sympathetic to, or a member of, the Kharijites or the Zubayrids who continuously contested the legitimacy of Umayyad rule? Maybe they were minted, accidentally, on behalf of incorrect orders from the mint authorities or struck by a confused mint employee. Because only three examples have been recorded, all struck from the same pair of dies according to Tony Goodwin, then it is rather unlikely these coins were ever produced to serve in any real economic capacity. Given the shaky political circumstances surrounding the start of 'Abd al-Malik's rule, I would suggest the coins were produced by a mint employee who harboured anti-Umayyad views and who refused to accept or disagreed with the legitimacy of 'Abd al-Malik's caliphate⁷. By minting coins that contained "contradictory" politico-numismatic elements, the aim of whoever minted them may have been sheer political mockery.

Moving along, and for comparative purposes, I have provided images of two different "standing emperor" obverses from coins of Damascus and the pseudo-Damascus mint as well as the reverse from a "standing caliph" coin of Damascus, depicting the sphere through pole-on-steps. These images are placed next to the obverse and reverse images from the Dimashq hybrid coin (in the table below).



A1: Typical Standing Emperor Damascus obverse



B1: Standing Emperor Hybrid Damascus obverse



C1: Standing Emperor Pseudo-Damascus obverse



D1: Normal Damascus Standing Caliph reverse



B2: Reverse of Hybrid Damascus coin

Image A1 is that of a typical "standing emperor" obverse from a Damascus imperial image "ḍuriba dimashq ja'iz" (ضرب دمشق جائز) coin while image B1 (hybrid coin) depicts a similar, though not identical, imperial figure holding both a long cross and what looks like a globus cruciger. The obverses also clearly share other stylistic details (i.e. herringbone-pattern robe). Additionally, image C1 depicts a "standing emperor" (though with a different pattern and style of robe), bearing the same religious symbols and iconography as in A1 and B1, but comes from the obverse of a pseudo-Damascus coin.

Furthermore, image B2, the reverse of the hybrid coin, closely resembles image D1 which is the reverse of a very normal, standard "standing caliph" coin of Damascus (though it suffers from a die-crack). Additionally, both reverses are almost perfectly centered and the mint-names appear almost identical, both missing the initial "dal" (د) in "Dimashq" (دمشق); the norm for "standing caliph" coins from that mint. The surrounding legend on B2, though, appears more complete, but this might be due to the thick patina covering the reverse of D1. In terms of size and weight, coin D1, however, weighs only 2.6 g, and so it is lighter than its hybrid counterpart, though both measure 17 mm. By comparing the hybrid coin to both, "imperial image" and "standing caliph" types, it is clear that the hybrid fil was undoubtedly struck from the dies of two separate and distinct Damascus types circulating in and around the Umayyad capital during 'Abd al-Malik's reign (since the leading numismatists in the field believe he introduced the "standing caliph" coinage, altogether). Whether 'Abd al-Malik authorised the minting of such a strange and ambiguous copper fil is up for debate, as there are few known historical sources that describe the monetary situation in late seventh century Syria.

In closing, while many Arab-Byzantine coins from a multitude of mints arouse curiosity and intrigue, few are composed of two sides that are so politically polarising in terms of iconographic, cultural, and artistic expression as these Dimashq hybrids. Coins such as the one presented, and others of similar ambiguity and perplexity, propel us to continue to investigate the historical and religio-political contexts from which they emerged, in the hope of acquiring a firmer grasp of this important, formative period of Islamic history.

Notes

1. Tony Goodwin: *Arab-Byzantine Coinage: Studies in the Khalili Collection*, Volume IV. (The Nour Foundation 2005). pp. 20-21
2. Tony Goodwin has stated, citing the acquisition of one of these coins by a prominent British official stationed in the then Emirate of Transjordan, that the coins are legitimate and authentic and could not possibly be modern-day forgeries since the first known coin was acquired sometime in the 1930's or 1940's.
3. Ibid, pp. 14-16
4. Tony Goodwin: *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, Volume 1: *The Pre-reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*. Ashmolean Museum Oxford 2002, p. 94 (Standing Caliph Reverse Legends)
5. Clive Foss: *Arab-Byzantine Coins. An Introduction, With a Catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*. (Dumbarton Oaks, 2008). "Maps", pp. 158-160.
6. 'Abd al-Malik (Makers of the Muslim World) by Chase E. Robinson (OneWorld, Oxford 2005), pp. 66-80.
7. 'Abd al-Malik (Makers of the Muslim World) by Chase E. Robinson (OneWorld, Oxford 2005), pp. 31-48 (The Caliphate of Ibn Al-Zubayr)

AN ARAB-BYZANTINE IMPERIAL FIGURE COIN BEARING THE MINT NAME "LUDD" IN ARABIC: A "NEW" TYPE?

By Tareq Ramadan

Understanding "Imperial Image" Arab-Byzantine coinage of the early Muslim era has been a challenge for numismatists to say the least. The coins are undated, some lack mint-markings, and they are completely anonymous, citing no authority or ruler. Thus far, they have proven to be quite difficult to contextualise chronologically, historically, and geographically with any real precision. In the last few decades, though, serious progress has been made in the realm of early Islamic numismatics while interest in the study and collection of Arab-Byzantine coins has surged as a whole. As previously unrecorded and unpublished types continue to emerge and find their way to collectors and numismatists, alike, a broader and more comprehensive, albeit sometimes more confusing, picture begins to materialise. With every new find, though, we hope that the potential for solving the great puzzle that is Arab-Byzantine numismatics increases.

With that said, the aim of this particular piece is to provide a concise overview, as well as some notes, on an apparently "rare" and intriguing 'Imperial Image' coin of "Ludd" (لد) that carries its mint-name in Arabic. While it has already been established that Ludd minted pre-reform Arab-Byzantine "Imperial Image" coins bearing the mint-name "Diospolis" (ΔΙΟΣΠΟΛΙΣ), in Greek, and then later minting Standing Caliph coinage with Arabic inscriptions reading "Ludd-Filastin" (لد - فلسطين), there was thought to be no 'transitional' type that was issued between them¹. There are, however, "pseudo-Byzantine" and regular-issued Byzantine folles that contain the Arabic countermark of "Ludd" (لد) and "Bi-Ludd" (لدك)². The countermarks, though, were used to re-validate existing coins and so these types should not be treated as conventional Ludd issues³. Until a few years ago, it was thought that only the above-mentioned types were associated with or could be ascribed to this Palestinian town. However, a never-before-recorded, and seemingly unique, "new type" has apparently emerged that, if legitimate and authentic, will represent a new discovery in the field of Arab-Byzantine numismatics; one that could shed additional light on the not-very-well understood ancient monetary situation in Ludd. Below are images of this strange and possible new type of Ludd carrying its mint-name in Arabic:



Imperial figure holding cross/staff (obverse)⁴



Arabic "Ludd" in exergue (reverse)

As you can see, the "new" type depicts an imperial figure holding a long cross in one hand and a staff (or another long cross) in the other (though the top is not visible). The figure displays a cross on his crown and there appears to be a Greek, retrograde epsilon (ε) to the left. On the reverse, there is a cursive, miniscule "m" with, what Tony Goodwin suggests, a possibly-blundered Greek "A", which appears in this position on the reverses of other, similar square fulus. To the right, there is a thin line below the "m" and what appears to be the Arabic "Ludd" (لد) in the exergue. The copper coin resembles the square pre-reform Imperial Figure "Muhammad" (محمد) types and is similar to many of the other

Imperial Image square, Palestinian fulus with short Arabic or blundered, meaningless Greek legends⁵. Below are images of an Imperial Figure "Muhammad" type, minted on the same kind of square flan as the Ludd type, above. Both contain similar representations of a standing emperor holding a cross, but one bears a single Arabic word, "Ludd", while the other carries two words; "Muhammad" on the obverse left and a faded "ba'ad" (بعض /part of) in the exergue on the reverse. The Ludd type weighs 2.7grams and measures 17.7mm, while the "Muhammad" type weighs 3.5 grams and measures 19mm. These types appear to have circulated mainly in Jund Filastin, though sometimes they are found in Transjordan⁶.



Imperial figure "Muhammad" type obverse⁷



Reverse with faded "Ba'ad" in exergue

Initially, since none of the major numismatists had seen the seemingly new "Ludd" type before, there was some speculation that it may have been re-engraved or altered to make it appear to be of Ludd. While modern engraving and re-engraving of mint names have begun to plague Arab-Byzantine coins in particular, David Hendin, a well-known numismatist and author, stated through an e-mail correspondence, that "first, it looks to me like the coin is okay. There is no way that somebody could carve a new mintmark and have the surfaces look as they do⁸." He also explained that the coin was purchased from a long-time friend of his, in Israel, who had previously sold two similar examples some time earlier to an Islamic coins collector in London. However, Tony Goodwin, one of the foremost experts on Arab-Byzantine coinage, commented that "whilst the coin could well be genuine, it would be possible to create a coin like this by "countermarking" the lower half of the coin with a die with a straight top edge lined up with the exergual line, and then maybe building up the legend a little before re-patinating⁹." Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate photos of the other two examples, but other, equally, enigmatic square fulus bearing strange Arabic legends have turned up in other private collections and may be of some value in helping to confirm the legitimacy of the coin in question. The coin on the left (see table below), comes from the private collection of friend and fellow numismatist, Ingrid Schulze.



(Coin A) Rev. Uncertain Arabic legend in exergue.



(Coin B) Rev. Arabic "Ludd" in exergue.



(Coin C) Rev. Uncertain Arabic legend in exergue



Obv. Standing



Obv. Standing



Obv. Standing

With regards the table above, on Coin A, we see a very normal standing emperor obverse but the reverse legend is somewhat unclear. The coin weighs 3.12 g, so it is slightly heavier than its counterpart. I compared the Arabic inscription on the reverse exergue to some of the legends on the square fulus presented in Dr Nayef Goussouss's 2005 publication, but none seem to match. The only two letters visible in the exergue on Coin A appear to be the letters "ل-د" (lam-dal) which, strangely, seems to have been struck twice; what appears to be a messy "ل-د" beginning at the edge of the square coin around four o'clock on the reverse and the same word, repeated, to the left of it. Because of the bad positioning of the first word, maybe the engraver re-struck the letters to the left so that the word is more visible and distinct. In both instances, the two separate words could easily read "ل-د" (Ludd) but this is not certain and I am merely speculating.

Coin B, the centerpiece of this article, though slightly crude, is quite similar to Coin A in style and layout, but depicts a clearer reverse legend that unmistakably reads "Ludd" (see first section for description). Coin C, similarly, depicts a standing emperor holding a cross in one hand, but what may be a globus cruciger in the other (though the cross that would normally be situated directly on top of the globe is not visible in the image). To the lower left of the standing emperor there appear a number of horizontal lines that may represent traces of an inscription. The reverse consists of a thick "m", but with an undeciphered Arabic legend under the exergual line. While, as a whole, the word is difficult to interpret, the final two letters in the exergue are visibly and clearly "ل-د" (lam-dal). The preceding and initial letter, at first glance, appears to either be that of a "ق" (qaf) or "ف" (fa) due to what looks like a small circle/hole at the top, right of the letter. However, if the small circle is simply the result of wear or nicking, then it is possible, though unlikely, that the first letter could be the italicised vertical line from the letter "ب" (ba) so that the legend could read "ب-ل-د" or "Bi-Ludd" ([struck] in Ludd). I do not believe this interpretation to be very likely at this point and it is quite an interpretive stretch, to say the least, but other letter combinations do not appear to spell out a coherent word either and, ultimately, we are left with another unknown Arabic legend.

With that said, are any of the above examples related and are any of them truly products of Ludd? Does Coin A actually read "Ludd"? Is Coin B a legitimate and authentic coin or is it a modern-day forgery produced to fill a numismatic-historical gap between the Diospolis or Ludd countermarks and Standing Caliph types? What does the legend on Coin C really read? At the moment, we are uncertain about the answers to those questions, but if Ludd did mint such a type, then it is pertinent we find other specimens like it soon. If the Arabic "Ludd" coin at the center of this article is authentic, then we clearly have a new type of Arab-Byzantine coin from a city whose existing early Islamic coins are already quite rare and unique.

Notes

1. Tony Goodwin. *Arab-Byzantine Coinage: Studies in the Khalili Collection*, Volume IV. (The Nour Foundation 2005). pp. 154-155 (The Mint of Ludd: Diospolis)
2. Ibid
3. Ibid, pp. 153-154
4. Author's collection
5. See Nayef G. Goussous "Rare and Inedited Umayyad Copper Coins" (Jordan National Bank, 2004) pp. 284-287 for square *fulus* with varying iconographies and legends.
6. Clive Foss: *Arab-Byzantine Coins. An Introduction, With A Catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*. (Dumbarton Oaks, 2008). "The Early Caliphate", pp. 33-34
7. Coin from Tony Goodwin's Private Collection
8. From an e-mail reply from David Hendin after an inquiry about the Ludd coin.
9. From an e-mail reply from Tony Goodwin after an inquiry about the Ludd coin.

SOME COUNTERMARKED COINS OF ARAKAN

By Nicholas Rhodes

The tankas of the kings of Arakan are well-known thanks, initially, to the work of Michael Robinson and Lewis Shaw¹⁰⁵ and subsequently several other authors such as Michael Mitchiner¹⁰⁶ and Goron & Goenka¹⁰⁷ have added to the publications. No mention has, however, been made of any coins in the series being overstruck on other coins.

Some years ago, I noticed an Arakanese tanka in my own collection of Sanda Thudhamma that was clearly overstruck on an earlier trilingual Arakanese tanka (fig.2 below). Subsequently, after examining more Arakanese tankas, looking for overstrikes, I was able to acquire one other overstruck tanka, this time of the earlier king, Thado (fig.1 below), and in the trays of the British Museum, I noticed one further overstruck coin of Thado. The coins in my own collection are illustrated below:



Fig.1 Tanka of Thado (1645-52), dated BE 1007.
Diam.31mm. Wt. 10.28g. G&G.RA11



Fig. 2 Tanka of Sanda Thudhamma (1652-84), dated BE 1014.
Diam.33mm. Wt. 10.34g. G&G.RA12.

Both coins are clearly overstruck on trilingual Arakanese tankas, and, on close examination, Fig.2 is very clearly overstruck on a tanka of Tirithudhamma, illustrated below (Fig.3), with the bottom line of the Sanskrit legend clearly legible. While the precise undertype of Fig.1 is not so clear, it is certainly struck on a trilingual coin, as can be seen from the horizontal lines on the upper part of the obverse. The British Museum coin shows exactly similar signs of overstriking, with no more details visible.

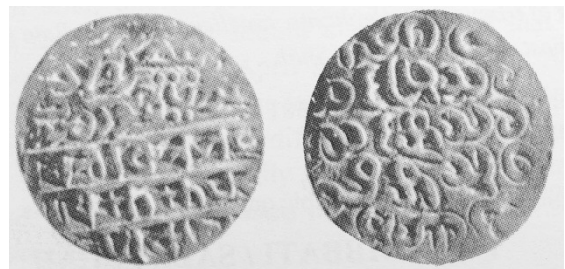


Fig. 3 Tanka of Thirithudhamma (1622-38).dated BE 984.
G&G RA7

¹⁰⁵ *The Coins and Banknotes of Burma*, Manchester 1980.

¹⁰⁶ *The Land of Water, Coinage and History of Bangladesh and Later Arakan*, London 2000.

¹⁰⁷ *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi 2001.

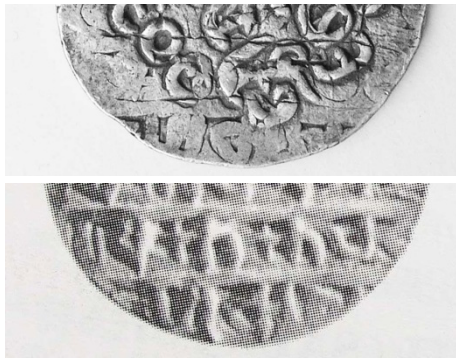


Fig. 4 Details of Coins 2 and 3

It is interesting to postulate why such overstriking may have taken place. The trilingual coins are relatively rare, and were struck at the port of Chittagong, using three languages to make the coins acceptable to the multicultural population of this great port. However, by the mid-16th century, Arakanese control over Chittagong was becoming more tenuous, and the mint was probably moved south to the Arakanese capital of Mrohaung, where coins with a purely Burmese inscription were not necessary.

Perhaps, during the reign of Thado and his successors, there was a conscious effort to withdraw the trilingual coins from circulation, accounting for their rarity today. On the other hand, my small survey indicates that only a modest percentage of the monolingual coins were overstruck on earlier trilingual coins. Perhaps such overstruck coins tend to have been rejected by later collectors, or perhaps only some of those trilingual coins that happened to travel south from Chittagong to Mrohaung were overstruck, while others were melted for their bullion value. In either case, these overstruck coins demonstrate that there was a conscious effort to withdraw the old trilingual coins within a very few decades of their original issue, but further research is required to determine the extent of such overstriking, and whether other types of trilingual coins were also overstruck by the later Arakanese rulers.

SOME DURRANI COINS FROM THE MINT OF DERA



A rupee of Dera in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani, with retrograde date AH 7711 = 1177. The style of this coin is very similar to the series of crudely engraved rupees with the minname Derajat, which raises the question as to whether this piece was struck at the same place and whether these crudely engraved coins were struck not at the official mints of Dera and Derajat but at some "up-country" mint.



A rupee of Derajat in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani dated AH 1181 similar in style to the Dera rupee



The usual type of Dera rupee in the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani, struck at this time; regnal year 15



Earlier "Mughal"-style rupee in the name of the same ruler; regnal year 6



Crudely engraved version of the "Mughal"-style type. No date or regnal year visible. Another "up-country" mint issue?



Rupee type struck in regnal years 8 and 9 at Dera and several other mints



Rupee in the name of Taimur Shah as Nizam, dated AH 1171 ahd (year 1)



Rupee in the name of Taimur Shah as king, dated AH 1196, year 10



Rupee in the name of Taimur Shah as king, dated AH 1201, year 16

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