

ONS



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ONS News

UK meetings

Two meetings have been arranged for 2011. The first will be at the Ashmolean Museum, Beaumont Street, Oxford OX1 2PH on Saturday, 16 April 2011. We shall meet in the Museum Cafe downstairs at 10.00 a.m., have coffee and then move to the study room at 11.00 a.m. to start the proceedings. The theme will be a collection of Indian coins held in the museum including coins of the East India Company, Mughals and Sultanates, with four-five papers followed by an hour of showing some of the coins. For further information contact Peter Smith at psmith755@aol.com or Shailendra Bhandare at shailen10@hotmail.com.

The second meeting will be a "show and tell" at the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3DG at 11.00 am on Saturday, 18 June 2011. Any members who would like to give a presentation (short or long) on any subject should contact Robert Bracey at [REDACTED]

ONS meeting Blaubeuren

This year's ONS meeting on Islamic numismatics organised by FINT in Tübingen will take place at the Heinrich-Fabri-Institut in D-89143 Blaubeuren, Auf dem Rücken 35, on 7 and 8 May 2011. Any members planning to attend, especially if they would like to give a paper, or who have any enquiries about the meeting, are asked to contact Lutz Ilisch [REDACTED]@ [REDACTED]. Accommodation (B&B) is available at the following rates:

One night: 48 euros for a single room; 40 euros each in a double room

Two nights: 44 euros per night in a single room; 37 euros each in a double room

Cologne Meeting

This recent meeting took place on 13 November 2010 at the usual venue of the Römisch-Germanisches Museum.

Proceedings began with a talk by Nikolaus Ganske on the treaty area of Kiautschou (China), which, despite belonging to Germany for only 17 years, experienced a level of economic development that is still being felt today. The reason for this, in the speaker's opinion, was that this 552 square kilometre area was not a colony answerable to the Colonial Office, but a naval and trading base answerable to the Navy. Because of this, the harbour of Tsingtau (nowadays, Qingdao) was developed in an exemplary way such that, in 1913, no fewer than 936 ships of all nations docked there. Only a third of these ships were German. The speaker had a personal connection to this area as his grandfather had worked for the railway in the treaty area. He went on to talk about the currencies that circulated in the area (Mexican pesos, Chinese taels, German cents) and made some observations about the railway, too. The latter not only served to transport coal

for the shipping but resulted in the economic development of Shantung province.

Jan Lingen then gave a presentation of 74 of his finest coins. These included examples of the earliest Indian coinage, coins of the successors of Alexander the Great, and other ancient Indian coins with their various scripts, depictions of gods and goddesses, rulers and animals. A halt for lunch was made, whereupon the presentation continued with examples of later coinages including that of the Dutch colonies in India.

The next meeting is scheduled to take place on 12 November 2011 at the same venue. For additional information please contact Nikolaus Ganske, info@ra-ganske.de

ONS Meeting New York

The North American branch of the ONS held its annual meeting on 8 January 2011 at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York City in conjunction with the International Numismatic Convention. The meeting was organised by Michael Bates and Judith Kolbas with the theme of 'New Developments in Central Asian Numismatics'. Approximately twenty people attended with some good discussion after the papers given below. Later, a group went to the Bukharan Oasis restaurant for a superb dinner and more camaraderie.

The Central Asian Numismatic Institute: a New Resource

Judith Kolbas introduced a new resource for the study of oriental coinage, the Central Asian Numismatic Institute. As a Mongolist, she had worked mainly on Mongol material from Greater Iran but in order to expand and understand the full picture, she needed to know what had happened in the other khanates. Unfortunately, there was almost no information so, after some careful consideration, she had established a research body. She had started with the group that gathered in London for the Kazakh Study Day in 2008 hosted by the British Museum. A roundtable at the Royal Asiatic Society had also been held involving visiting specialists from Kazakhstan. She had led the roundtable and mentioned that she planned to establish a numismatic institute. At the end of the day, Montu Saxena had offered his Central Asia Forum at the University of Cambridge as an umbrella organisation. As a completely independent affiliate of the Central Asia Forum, the Central Asian Numismatic Institute had its own constitution, governing body and separate activities. However, both organisations had common goals and shared structural support like the website, charity status and building. Membership had expanded slowly with dedicated people, an essential quality in order to prepare a long-lasting foundation. There was a group in the UK representing the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, the British Museum, the Royal Asiatic Society and a former keeper of the National Museum in Teheran. From mainland Europe, there was a representative from the National Museum of the Czech Republic and an independent scholar from the Netherlands. From Russia, there was a remarkable person in St Petersburg who had

set up the Oriental Coin Database. Another great source of inspiration was the director of Oriental Written Sources at the Moscow Academy of Sciences. People with similar experience came from Pakistan, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The search continued for representatives from Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Mongolia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and Xinjiang. In the US, there were two members thus far, and Dr Kolbas was the unpaid director. There were two official languages, English and Russian; and there were several projects at the planning stage. These included a Russian-English glossary of numismatic terms and a proper map for mints and geographic locations. One of the main objects was to digitise collections, both public and private, in Central Asia in order to put them on the website for free access. In addition, a library at the headquarters was proposed with copies of articles and books published in Central Asia, material almost completely absent from Western libraries. Also there were long-term plans to translate or at least to produce abstracts in English and Russian of major articles and to compile a specialised bibliography. Ultimately, there should be a significant increase in personal communication and better research in the field. The Oriental Numismatic Society had blazoned a trail by its meetings and publishing quite a number of articles on the subject, an excellent activity that the Institute intended to expand upon.

The Kushan Coins Project

Robert Bracey reported on the Kushan Coins Project (KCP), which was a development of the work of Joe Cribb in his time at the department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. During that time Joe had been actively involved in publishing articles on Kushan coins over the previous thirty years and also in supporting others working on the subject. Much of what he had shared and presented over the years remained, unfortunately, unpublished. The principle outcome of the KCP would be a new catalogue of the Kushan-related coins in the British Museum. This was being prepared at the moment and would be completed in 2011. The catalogue would include a discussion of the history of the Kushan period for which the coins were so important. There would also be digital images of all the BM coins made available for researchers. The research had already yielded important results, including:

- A new understanding of the reduction in weight standards under Kujula;
- Typologies of late Kushan copper to the end of the dynasty under Shaka and Kipunadha, which had a potentially enormous benefit for future archaeological work from central Asia to northern India;
- Some resolution of the chronological problems of the dynasty, the now infamous 'date of Kanishka';
- More precise understandings of the meaning of reverse types and the procedures of the mints.

The series had proved sufficiently interesting that some of the die-study techniques were of interest to other numismatic fields. Recently a presentation on the application of these to Judean coinage had been given in London. Analysis of the coins had also shown that the mint exercised an unusually high degree of control over the gold content of the coins, a result which was important in understanding the purpose of the coinage.

Progress report: The ANS Collection of Kushan Coins

David Jongeward (University of Toronto) kindly submitted a written report on the cataloguing project of the Kushan coins at the American Numismatic Society. Coinage of the Kushan empire that had thrived from the 1st to 4th century AD in a vast area of central Asia and northern India was known to numismatics and collectors primarily from two catalogues by Robert Göbl (1984, 1993). In 2005 David had initiated a plan to catalogue the American Numismatic Society collection of Kushan coins in collaboration with Joe Cribb. Their intention was to present an updated, reorganised catalogue based on numismatic findings of the last twenty years, including die analysis at the British Museum. In

2005, it was believed the ANS collection numbered about 600 coins. That count had expanded to nearly 1400 coins, thanks in large part to Peter Donovan's efforts in tracking down, recording, and arranging for photography of every Kushan coin he had been able to find distributed among several ANS cabinets, including a number of boxes and trays with unsorted contents. Over 200 of the coins were gold, a few were silver, the remainder were copper. In addition to coinage of the Kushan kings, the catalogue would include Kushano-Sasanian coinage, as well as coins of the Kidarite Kushan. Appendices would highlight the varieties of gold coin portraits of Huvishka as found on ANS coins, another would feature the Kushan pantheon of deities. The project had endured a number of starts and stops due to other publishing commitments for both authors. During the previous year, however, he had worked at length again with Joe Cribb in London and Peter Donovan at the ANS. He estimated that the ANS Kushan catalogue was already 85% complete. Sections of the catalogue that included coinage of the first three kings would be submitted to the ANS in January 2011. If all went well, the catalogue should be submitted in full by the summer of that year.

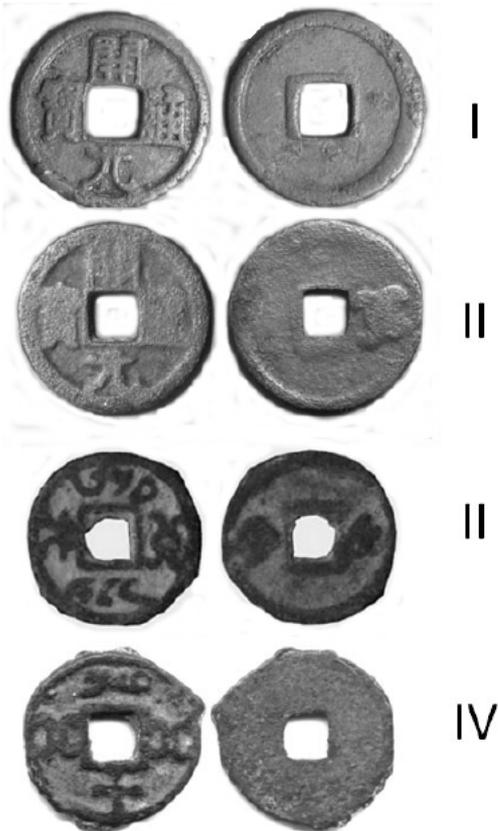
A Christian Principality in the Seventh Century Bukharan Oasis

Aleksandr Naymark (Hofstra University) discussed a series of relatively rare non-epigraphic coins carrying, on one side, an image of an animal (four types have a lion and one a deer) and, on the other, an equilateral broadfooted cross.



All but one coin of this series had been found in the Bukharan oasis. As no single specimen had come from a hoard or a clear "archaeological" context, the series could be dated only on the basis of comparative analysis. Struck on cast blanks, lion/cross coins were very similar to the third and fourth types of the Bukharan camel coinage (second quarter of the 7th century), which were also characterised by severely succinct design and iconography. The date of the lion/cross coins, given that there were five types, fell into the second and third quarters of the seventh century. Yet these coins were not the issues of Bukhara itself - they found no place in the main sequence of coin series issued by the Bukharan mint and thus obviously represented a coinage of a different polity. The most plausible candidate for such a role was the principality of Vardana in the northern part of the Bukharan oasis, which in Chinese sources was sometimes called Lesser Bukhara (An).

Around the middle of the seventh century, the Bukharan mint had switched to the Chinese cash model and started casting coins: the first were simple imitations of Kaiyuan Tongbao, but then the Bukharan tamgha had been added on the reverse, and, after that, two types had been issued carrying Sogdian inscriptions, the Bukharan tamgha and a sign of a cross.



While the legends did not mention the mint, the presence of the Bukharan tamgha made it clear that these coins were also the issues of Bukhara itself. On the other hand, the position given to the cross on types III and IV left no doubt that it also served as a badge of a realm. In other words, the coin language implied that the principality which had earlier minted coins with the cross was now united with Bukhara under the sway of one ruler. Indeed, written sources plainly stated that power in Bukhara had at that time been seized by Vardan Khuda, who had pushed aside the legitimate heir, usurped the throne and occupied it for twenty years until Qutaiba b. Muslim had expelled him in 708/9.

The last question considered was the meaning of the cross symbol.



While it obviously served as the badge of a realm, its shape suggested a completely different origin: all central Asian tamghas without a single exception were composed of plain lines – a heritage of the times when they were brands burnt onto the skin of animals; meanwhile, the cross on the Vardana coins was broad-footed. In fact, both distinct shapes in which it appeared on Vardana coins corresponded perfectly to the two most common shapes of cross worn and depicted by the Nestorian Christians of Central Asia. There was no need to remind the reader that symbols in heraldry were commonly polysemantic and the cross, as could be asserted by the materials of both European and Middle Eastern numismatics, was not an exception. In other words, it was likely that Vardana had been ruled by a Christian dynasty and that Vardan Khuda, who had seized control over the entire Bukharan oasis shortly before the Arab conquest and the subsequent Islamisation of Sogdiana, had been a Christian.

The Coinage of Shash under the Caliphate

Michael L. Bates, Curator Emeritus of Islamic Coins at the American Numismatic Society reported on the early Islamic coinage of Tashkent or Shash. Three principal conclusions

emerged from a study of the history of al-Shash and Ilaq coinage during the Abbasid caliphate:

1. The earliest issue, a copper fals, is dated 149 (766), and the next one, represented by a unique coin, 184 (802). These few coins suggested that, although Muslims had first come to al-Shash many decades earlier, there was no established Muslim government there in the eighth century. Regular minting had begun in 189 (804) but was soon interrupted. It was not until 204 (819-20), after the end of the war that brought al-Ma'mun to the caliphate, that some evidence of Muslim government appeared in the form of a general fals issue at the mints of al-Shash, Ilaq, and other provinces of Mawara' al-Nahr.

2. The mint of al-Shash was the source for the first dirham coinage of the province, dated 189-90 (804-06), brought to an end by the revolt of Rafi' b. al-Layth. Attempts had been made to resume coinage from the mine, but it was not until 217 (832-33) that the mine again was the location of a regular mint, one of only two dirham mints in Ma wara' al-Nahr. From that time onward, al-Shash province had produced silver coinage continuously for about two centuries, as well as frequent copper issues and occasional bursts of gold coinage. The Shash mining complex had had a huge economic impact.

3. In 205 (820-21) the first Muslim coinage had been produced by the province of Ilaq, from a mint clearly identified as *Nawkat Zakariyya*. The first part of the name, *Nawkat*, was a mint name on coins from time to time until the eleventh century. The name was not *Tunkat*, as it had often been read; the first Tunkat issue was dated 401 (1010-11). The fals resolved an ambiguity in the Arabic geographical texts, which named both *Nawkat* and *Tunkat* as capital of Ilaq. The site of the capital had been located, but thanks to the coins we knew that its name was *Nawkat*, "New Town," suggesting that the capital had been constructed about the time of the minting of its first coin, and possibly that the province of Ilaq, which was not mentioned earlier by Chinese or Arabic sources, had been created at the same time, perhaps to better control the mine of al-Shash which was actually in Ilaq.

Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table – conference to be held at Corpus Christi College Oxford, 10-11 September 2011.

The Seventh Century Numismatic Round Table was started by a small group of ONS members in 1992 with the aim of generating debate between numismatists, historians and archaeologists interested both in Arab-Byzantine coinage and in the more general aspects of the transition from Byzantium to Islam in the 7th c. Near East. To date 12 conferences have been held and considerable progress has been made with a number of new discoveries having been first reported and discussed at the conferences.

The next conference will be held at Corpus Christi College Oxford over the weekend of 10-11 September 2011. It is expected that about 10 to 12 papers will be given, but the conference will be informal and there will be plenty of opportunity for discussion. Anyone interested in giving a paper, participating in the discussions or just coming to listen should contact Tony Goodwin at a.goodwin2@btopenworld.com. Conference fees including refreshments are likely to be less than £30.

The Round Table aims to publish papers whenever possible and the Proceedings of the 2009 conference are now available (see "New and Recent Publications" below, p.4).

New Members

European Region

1990	[REDACTED]
	[REDACTED]
	[REDACTED];
	[REDACTED]
	[REDACTED]-9th cent. AD), Islamic
	[REDACTED]

1991	[REDACTED]
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North American Region

1989	[REDACTED]
1988	[REDACTED]
1431	[REDACTED]

Members' revised addresses

Europe Region

1739	[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

Members' News

A new book on the coins of the Bengal Presidency, by Paul Stevens, is nearing completion. Paul writes:

"The work started with an idea to update Pridmore's catalogue of British India with a list of those coins that had been newly identified since the catalogue was written, and came from Ken Wiggins. Ken enlisted Bob Puddester and, later, myself to help compile the new catalogue. It soon became apparent that the work presented an opportunity to add more than just a list of new coins, and that we could use it to explore some of the areas where new information had come to light about certain coinages and mints, or where a new interpretation could be made from existing knowledge.

Ken's untimely death, shortly after the completion of the first draft of Madras, in July 2000, threw us into some confusion. Ken's vast knowledge, in particular of the Mughal-style issues, left a great gap in our ability to continue. Bob eventually decided, after much thought and due to pressure of other projects, that he could not continue, and so it was left to me to try to find a way forwards and, at least, to preserve the work that we had done already.

From that point forwards my interest in other areas of numismatics began to grow and distracted me from the original purpose. Eventually my desire to publish at least the British Indian information and the arrival of electronic means to achieve this end, led to the creation of a website. From there I have added even more information, mainly from my researches in the British Library, but much information and encouragement has come from my numismatic friends and acquaintances who viewed the website.

The purpose of the present book is not only to update the catalogue of the coins of Bengal, but also to add much information from the records of the East India Company, held in the British Library in London. Whilst Pridmore must have drawn on these records, he failed to provide any references, which has meant that checking his sources has been very difficult. In addition, there seems to be areas in the records that he overlooked.

The book has been structured into ten chapters, and each chapter into a summary followed by a detailed review of background information, then a catalogue of the coins discussed, and finally the references. There are extensive quotes from the records so that much of the work is the actual primary source material, and this is combined with the information provided by the coins themselves. In some places the data has been interpreted to draw particular conclusions. Whether these are correct or not, is left to the reader to judge. The book will run to about 550 pages."

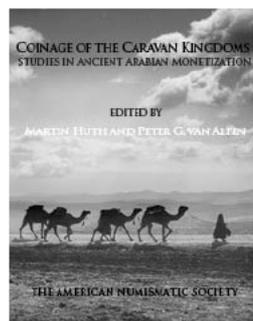
The ten chapter headings are as follows:

- Chapter 1: Calcutta Mint, Early Years, 1757 to 1760
- Chapter 2: Calcutta Mint, 1761 to 1790
- Chapter 3: Pulta Mint 1780-1786
- Chapter 4: Calcutta Mint, 1790 to c1802
- Chapter 5: Other mints in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Includes Murshidabad, Patna, Dacca, Monghyr and Cuttack, also Tripura & Garhwal
- Chapter 6: Calcutta Mint, c1800 to c1830
- Chapter 7: Benares Mint 1775-1830
- Chapter 8: Mints in the Ceded & Conquered Provinces. Includes Ajmir, Agra, Allahabad, Bareilly, Dehli, Farrukhabad, Gwalior, Hathras, Najibabad, Saharanpur, Saugor and Sohagpur
- Chapter 9: Calcutta Mint, c1818 to 1835
- Chapter 10: Soho Mint

Lists Received

1. [REDACTED] list 11 of mainly oriental coins (autumn 2010).
3. [REDACTED] & [REDACTED] - [REDACTED]

New and Recent Publications



Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms - Studies in Ancient Arabian Monetization by Martin Huth and Peter G. van Alfen (Numismatic Studies No. 25, 2010), published by the American Numismatic Society; hardback, ISBN-13: 978-0-89722-312-6. List price: \$185; price to ANS members: \$129.50.

"This volume represents the first comprehensive look at ancient Arabian coinage in toto since George

Hill's 1922 British Museum catalogue. In addition to a catalogue and updated typologies of Philistian, Nabataean, Minaean, Qatabanian, Sabaeen, Himyarite, and Gerrhean coinages, among others, and die studies of the owl and Alexander imitations, this volume features essays written by numismatists, archaeologists, and epigraphists that place the coins within their political, social, and economic contexts. As these studies demonstrate, the beginnings of coinage in Arabia followed two very distinct traditions, the first along a line running roughly from Gaza on the Mediterranean coast to the Hadhramawt on the Arabian Sea; the other in eastern Arabia, running along the Persian Gulf coast from the mouth of the Euphrates to the Oman peninsula."

The book can be obtained from the American Numismatic Society: <http://www.numismatics.org/Store/CCK>

Coinage and History in the Seventh Century Near East 2, edited by Andrew Oddy, Archetype Publications, pp. 121. ISBN: 978-1904982-62-3

This volume contains papers by historians and numismatists delivered at the Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table conference held at Gonville and Gaius College, Cambridge 2009. An introductory paper by historian, James Howard-Johnston, deals with the rise of Islam and Byzantium's response. The remaining twelve papers are mainly numismatic in content; they include two papers on Byzantine coinage and ten on various aspects of Arab-Byzantine coinage. All articles are well illustrated

and most contain details of new discoveries and previously unpublished coins.

The volume is available at a special price to ONS members of £21 plus postage and packing at cost; interested members should contact Andrew Oddy at waoddy@googlemail.com.

The second book of the Ottoman Empire Coins Series, by Kaan Uslu, M. Fatih Beyazit & Tuncay Kara, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Madeni Paraları – Ottoman Empire Coins 1687-1839 (AH 1099-1255)* has been published. This volume covers the reigns of Suleyman II to Mahmud II.

Sample pages can be seen at:

http://issuu.com/kaanuslu/docs/ottoman_empire_coins

The price of the book is US\$ 60 (including postage) and can be purchased on Ebay or directly from the authors by Paypal to kaan@uslu.net

Indian Numismatics and its Cultural Aspects, by A. K. Bhattacharyya, Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi 2010.

ISBN 978-81-8090-232-1 Hardback, pp. 214, Rs 2000.

A collection of essays, some reprinted and some original, covering the full range of Indian numismatics but focusing principally on Islamic coinage. The chapters are:

Indian coins – a succinct survey

Bilingual coins of Mahmud of Ghazni – a re-study

Studies on some individual coins and their contribution to history

The coin collection of the Indian Museum – its history and importance

Notes on some ancient coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta

Hindu elements in early Muslim coinage in India

Art in Islamic Numismatics of India

Poems as coin legends in India

Coins and their issuers in Muslim numismatics of India

A study of the history of the Yadavas and their coins

Coinage of Central India: with Special Reference to Early Coins from the Narmada Valley, by R K Sharma, Aryan Books International, New Delhi, 2010.

ISBN 978-81-7305-406-8 Hardback, pp.237, Rs 2950.

From the dust-jacket: "The present work is a systematic account of the tradition of coinage in Central India. The book also presents a descriptive bibliographic data of the numismatic source material of the region. The author having made an in-depth study of the early coinage of the Narmada valley, the book seeks to justify the view that the numismatic wealth of the region is almost unparalleled in the country."

Auction News



At Spink London auction 206, held on 1 December 2010, a splendid 5 mohur coin of Akbar, struck at Agra in AH 971, was sold for a hammer price of £125,000 (£150,000, including buyer's premium). Very few such coins are known to survive and this one may well be the only one in private hands. There are various reports about large gold coins of up to 1000 mohurs being produced by the early Mughal rulers as a means of storing precious metal and for presenting to visiting ambassadors, nobles and other people whom the rulers wished to impress with their munificence. Anyone interested in finding out more on this should read the excellent article by S. H. Hodivala in *Historical Studies in*

Mughal Numismatics, published by the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay, 1976.



At the New York Sale, Auction XXV, held by Baldwin's, Dmitry Markov and M&M Numismatics Ltd, on 5 January 2011, this remarkable 10 rupee coin of the Nawabs of Surat was sold for the hammer price of \$160,000. The coin was struck in the name of the Mughal emperor, Shah 'Alam II and is dated 1185 year 6. The reason for the mismatching of Hijri date and regnal year is not known. It is very difficult to find ordinary rupees of the Nawab issues with both clear Hijri and regnal years, primarily because the former was engraved at the top of the obverse and is rarely visible on the coins, which tend to be of dumpy fabric. If AH 1185 was, indeed, the date of issue of this large piece then it would have been issued during the rule of Nawab Hafizuddin Ahmad Khan.

On 4 April 2011, Morton & Eden, London, will be holding a specialist auction of Important Coins of the Islamic World. The sale, which will coincide with Sotheby's Islamic Week, will include a select group of between 70 and 100 coins chosen for their rarity and historical importance. Highlights already consigned include important Arab-Sasanian drachms, two Umayyad dinars from the 'Mine of the Commander of the Faithful', dated AH 92 and 105, rare Umayyad dirhams including unpublished dates and a previously unrecorded mint; no fewer than five Abbasid dirhams from Mecca, an Abbasid dirham from Oman, and an unpublished Rum Seljuq dinar featuring the classic lion-and-sun device.

For all enquiries please contact Stephen Lloyd or Tom Eden (+44 20 7493 5344, info@mortonandeden.com).

Other News

Boris Kochnev Memorial Seminar on Iranian and Central Asian Numismatics

On Sunday, 10 April 2011, the Middle Eastern and Central Asian Program at Hofstra University will hold the Third Seminar on Iranian and Central Asian Numismatics in Memoriam Boris Kochnev (1940-2002).

Any ONS member interested in presenting a paper is asked to send the organisers the title of the talk by 10 February. It is planned to form the program by 1 March. By 15 March brief abstracts of papers will be expected for pre-publication. Themes of presentations can range from the Caucasus to Xinjiang, and from the earliest times to the late Middle Ages. Late additions will probably be admitted. For more information please contact: Aleksandr.Naymark@hofstra.edu.

During the two previous seminars, the speakers were: Michael Bates (American Numismatic Society, New York), Stefan Heidemann (Jena University, Germany), Judith Kolbas (Central Asian Numismatic Institute, Cambridge University/Miami University, Ohio), Konstantin Kravtsov (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia), Dmitry Markov (Markov Coins and Medals, New York), Aleksandr Naymark (Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York), and Luke Treadwell (Oxford University, England). Among seminar attendees were international guests such as Ahmad Ghouchani (Tehran, Iran), Nicholas Sims-Williams (Cambridge, England), Li Tiesheng (Beijing, China), and other scholars and collectors from the New York area.

Congratulations to numismatist, Mohammed Younis, for passing his doctoral defence with the highest possible mark in a four hour session recently before a committee at Cairo University. The topic of Mohammed's thesis was "Monetary circulation in Shiraz between the beginning of the Salghurids and the end of the Muzaffarids". In the style of a mint corpus, he collected all relevant material and discussed it using appropriate literary sources; in so doing he made a number of notable new additions to our picture of the history of Shiraz. He spent two years working and studying at the Oriental Coin Cabinet at Jena University and also profited a lot from the expertise and advice of Lutz Ilisch and the collection at Tübingen University. The committee recommended the publishing of the thesis and it is hoped to see the reworked version in due course. (Information thanks to Stefan Heidemann).

Congratulations, also, to Aram Vardanyan for obtaining his doctorate at Tübingen University in December.

3rd Simone Assemani symposium on Islamic coinage

This symposium will take place at the Sapienza University of Rome, 23-25 September 2011. The proposed topic is *Umayyad Coinage in Context: from the Byzantine and late Sasanian time to the early 'Abbasid period (7th - 8th century)*.

Possible themes that could be tackled are:

- Coinage during transitional periods (late Umayyad - early 'Abbasid issues);
- Arab-Byzantine and Arab-Sasanian coinages: chronology and iconography;
- Contacts between Umayyad coinage and mediaeval Europe, Central Asia and the Orient;
- Coin production and circulation (study of coin hoards, analysis of the output of one or more mints, etc);
- Literary sources related to the Umayyad coinage system;
- Palaeography of coin inscriptions.

Presentations can be in English, French, German and Italian and should not exceed 20/25 minutes in most circumstances.

Anyone wishing to participate in the symposium should contact wither Bruno Callegher or Arianna D'Ottone for additional information. Their e-mail addresses are: bcallegher@units.it; arianna.dottone@uniroma1.it

Review

Gold Coins in the Collection of the Asiatic Society (by the late Rita Devi Sharma), edited by Sutapa Sinha. pp.xiv,138. The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, April 2010, Price Rs.2500 (USD 250).

The collection of coins in The Asiatic Society in Kolkata does not rank highly among collections of coins in the sub-continent, but none of the coins in it have previously been made available to scholars. The Society is the oldest of the various societies in the world devoted to Asian Studies, having been established by Sir William Jones in 1783, a full fifty years before the Royal Asiatic Society in London. It has a Museum and Library which is truly remarkable, and which has been built up over more than two centuries. Although the Society has received numerous valuable coins by way of donation over the years, most of these have been transferred to the Indian Museum, also in Kolkata, in and after 1866, and are not included in this slim volume. How and why the 121 objects that are described here have remained in the custody of the Society is not known, and all records associated with their acquisition have apparently been lost. In view of the obvious value of the gold coins, and the lack of any record of their existence, it was decided in 1997 that it was important to publish a catalogue of these coins, partly to make the data available to scholars, and partly to enhance security. Dr Rita Sharma of the National Museum in Delhi was entrusted with this task. She had produced a draft catalogue by 2007, but her tragic death in a train crash delayed the publication even further. After that, Sutapa Sinha of Kolkata, who specialises in the coins of the Sultans of Bengal, took on the role of writing an introduction and bringing the

publication to completion. This she has now done, and the results have been published to a high standard by the Asiatic Society, although it is surprising that the late Rita Sharma is not mentioned as the main author.

The slim volume contains fine photographs and vital statistics of one hundred and twenty one golden objects, including eighteen which are unidentified bullion items and probably not coins at all. The coins are not sequentially numbered, but can be referenced by accession no. and page, although it is not explained what the logic behind the accession numbers is. Of the coins, there are 2 Kushan staters, and the remainder are mainly south Indian fanams, curiously called here 'panams', since that is apparently closer to the Sanskrit word. It is clear from the descriptions that neither the late Rita Sharma, nor Sutapa Sinha are experts on south Indian coins, and the descriptions and attributions should not be accepted uncritically. For example, Accn No.4/13, described as "South Indian Ruler (unidentified)" is actually a coin of King Śivasimha of Nepal, datable to c. AD 1100. Coins of this type are quite often found in Bihar, as well as in Nepal, but as far as this reviewer is aware, they have never been found in South India. Other misattributions should have picked up by the editor, such as Acc.No.3/21 on p.108 is of Shah 'Alam Bahadur (AD 1707-12), not Shah 'Alam II (AD 1759-1806) and Acc.No.3/13 is too heavy and crude to be a genuine mohur of Akbar, and must be one of the numerous copies that are found. Also Acc.No.3/2 on p.52 appears to be a south Indian coin rather than a Rajput coin, as described. Among the foreign gold coins there are five Ottoman sequins, all of the mint of Misr (Egypt) and it would have been interesting to have the find spot of these pieces, which have rarely been published with an Indian provenance. There are also three apparently genuine Venetian sequins and three coins described as "Malay". It is mentioned in the introduction that these Malay coins come from the Aceh province of northern Sumatra, which has been part of Indonesia since defeat by the Dutch in the 1870s. Interestingly, the first of these, in the name of a Sultan Muhammad, is actually of the rulers of Pasai, and has traditionally been dated to the period AD 1290s-1326, although it is only in a forthcoming article that a 15th century date is to be proposed by the present reviewer, the date given by Rita Sharma.

In conclusion, although it is nice to know about the gold coins that are preserved in the museum of the Asiatic Society, the paucity of their holdings is a disappointment. It is not mentioned whether the collection also extends to silver and base metal coins, but unless there are some surprises, it is doubtful if a catalogue is warranted. Few scholars will derive any benefit from the information in this present volume, and the price of US \$250 is presumably designed to ensure that the costs of production are recouped by the minimal international sales that may be expected.

Articles

TWO SELEUCID COPPERS FROM THE BUKHARAN OASIS

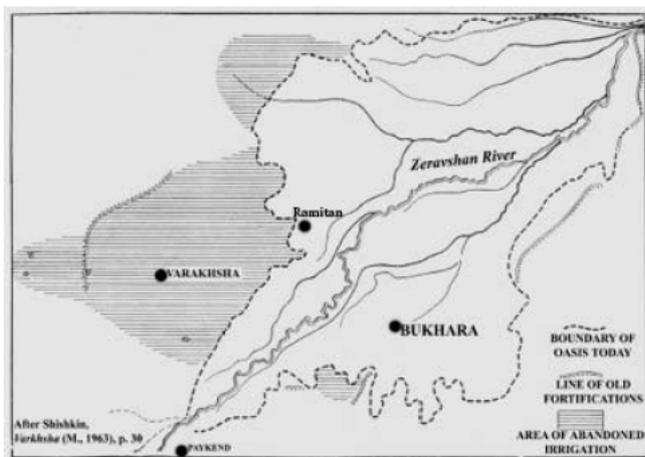
By Aleksandr Naymark (New York) & Aleksei Yakovlev (Moscow)

The extreme paucity of information about Hellenistic Transoxiana has made coin finds the principal source of information about the historical geography of the region. The most precious for us are coppers: the lack of intrinsic value confined their circulation to the territories of the issuing states [Zeimal' 1975, 58; Zeimal' 1978, 193] so that the limits of their geographic dispersion mark political boundaries. Unfortunately, there is one thing that is in short supply: documented finds of Hellenistic coins are rare instances in Sogdiana. Relatively weak by themselves, Hellenistic archaeological strata of this country are commonly covered with much more significant cultural deposits of later periods. Aside from fortification structures, which are, of course, not a good source of coin finds, only one building of Hellenistic period has

undergone regular excavations on the entire territory of Sogdiana – a garrison granary at Afrasiab [Baratin and Martinez-Seve 2010, 33]; in all other cases the strata of Hellenistic period were reached only by test trenches, which explored very limited areas, usually under 100 square feet. Thus practically all we can operate with are chance finds, and even these are not very numerous.

Indeed, after considering each and every report about the finds of Hellenistic coins in Sogdiana from 1821 to 2001, one of the authors of this article published a list of all veritable finds [Naymark 2005, 129-136], which, with the few additions of the early 2000s [Naymark 2008, 56, footnote 4], consists of only 22 stray finds and three hoards. That is why our publication of two documented finds of Seleucid coppers appears to be a necessity: coming from the Varakhsha zone of ancient irrigation in the western part of the Bukharan oasis they contribute to the ongoing scholarly discussion about the geographic extent and the chronology of Greek rule in central Asia. Also, these are the first finds of Hellenistic copper in the Bukharan oasis.

According to the finder, both specimens were lifted from the surface of a low mound situated several kilometers north of the site of Varakhsha in the direction of Ramitan (see map, below).



It is impossible to locate this mound on the map now – low elevations like this do not usually have individual names and for the most part are not recorded in the archaeological surveys of the region. Yet it is precisely on such a low mound that one could anticipate finds of Hellenistic coins in the area west of Bukhara – natural elevations are rare on the alluvial plain in the lower reaches of the Zarafshan river and no large accumulations of early cultural strata can be expected there until later epochs, because local sedentary culture was still in its incipient phases.



1. Antiochus II

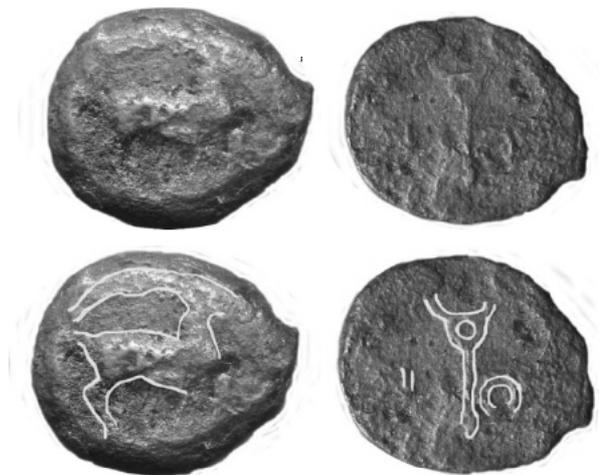
Obv.: head of Apollo three quarters right (obliterated and barely visible);

Rev.: winged Nike right erecting trophy; a triangular monogram between her figure and the trophy.

W: 2.7 g; D: 15.5 x 16 mm; Axis - 12 (?)

While this coin is the first of its kind among Sogdian finds, it belongs to a well-known type [Newell 1978, Pl. XIV, 13, Pl. XV, 3-7 and 10-11], which in Ai-Khanoum is represented by three varieties: (1) with a delta monogram at the foot of the trophy; (2) with a delta monogram to the right of an ANTIOXOY inscription behind the Nike figure; and (3) without any visible monogram [Bernard 1985, 42-43, Pl. 2; Krit 1996, 25-26]. Zeimal' lists three

coins of this type in Central Asian museums; on all of them a monogram is either absent or obliterated [Zeimal' 1983b, 67, nos. 18-20]. There seems to be no recorded finds of our variety with a monogram between the Nike and the trophy, but there is such a specimen of unknown provenance in the collection of Brian Krit [Houghton and Lorber 2002, Part I, vol. I, 158, no. 456 (2); vol. II, plate 75, no. 456.2].



2. Antiochus I, or Antiochus II, or, possibly, Diodotus I

Obv.: stag walking to right;

Rev.: vertically positioned caduceus; illegible monograms (?) on the left and right

W: 3.3 g; D: 17.5 x 12.5 mm; Axis 12

When first published, this type was attributed to Antiochus I [Bernard, Guillaume 1980, p. 31-2, Pl. I, A; Zeimal' 1983a, 32, no. 21; Zeimal' 1983b, 67, no. 17 and 22], but was then reassigned to Antiochus II [Bernard 1985, 54], and, most recently, Krit interpreted it as a Diodotid issue [Krit 2001, 36]. Houghton and Lorber listed this coin under Antiochus II, but remarked that "the types symbolise Artemis and Hermes respectively, both of whom appeared on early bronzes in the name of Diodotus [Houghton and Lorber 2002, Part I, vol. I, 216, no. 621; vol. II, plate 79, no.621].

One specimen of this type was earlier found during the archaeological excavations to the east of Afrasiab, the site of ancient Samarqand. Unfortunately, the coin itself is now lost. The initial description of this specimen, which besides the preliminary newspaper publications, appears in Eranzarova's synopsis of Ph.D. Thesis [1971, 16], incorrectly identified the image on the poorly preserved obverse as a horse. There is, however, no "horse" type with caduceus and "encircled delta" monogram on the reverse. It was Zeimal', who recognised in this specimen the type with the stag on the obverse [Zeimal' 1983b, 32, n. 21; Zeimal' 1983a, 67, no. 17, n. 22] after receiving from Shishkina and Buriakov a good sketch made from the original coin [Shishkina 1975, 69, fig. 9, no. 4]. It is noteworthy, that there are two specimens of this type in Central Asian museums, one in Tashkent and another in Samarqand [Zeimal' 1983b, 67, nos. 15 and 16].

To sum up, both Seleucid coppers presented here belong to well-known types which have been recorded previously in central Asia, and, in the case of the stag/caduceus coin, even in Soghd, itself. On the other hand, as mentioned above, the scarcity of currently available material turns these two coins into an important addition to the list of documented finds of Hellenistic coins from the territory of Soghd – only six stray finds of Hellenistic copper coins of the 3rd century BC have previously been registered in Sogdiana [Naymark 2005, 129-131, nos. 3, 6, 7, 9-11]. There are two more cases of finds of early Hellenistic coins in Sogdiana which are reliable, but which could not be formally "catalogued" because of vague attributions and because their find place could not be identified with sufficient precision. One is a Seleucid chalkos, possibly of Antiochus I, which, according to Michael Masson, was found on the site of Kurgan-tepe in Samarqand province [Rtveladze 2002, 164]. Unfortunately, there were several

sites with this name in eastern Soghd. The second case comprises “two copper coins of Alexander the Great” which the Russian popular magazine “Vsemirnaia Illustratsiia” [no. 260, p. 477] reported in 1873 as having been found “near Samarqand.” The striking “modesty” of this “sensational information” – just two copper coins – appears very prosaic against the background of the usual, highly exaggerated “reports” and thus makes this information quite credible. In other words, altogether 11 early Hellenistic coppers have been registered in Sogdiana. For the period from Alexander to 200 BC, Sogdian soil has yielded 8 silver coins. While these figures are not very significant, they become very telling, if we compare them to the numbers of the 2nd century BC, where we know only 6 silver coins, three hoards of silver and no single copper specimen. It is clear that the Greeks lost control over Sogdiana some time prior to 200 BC.

Given the small number of coins at our disposal, further conclusions are less firm, but there are nevertheless some indications as to when this could happen. With a single exception of one poorly documented find of Euthydemus’ coin from Afrasiab in 1928 [Masson 1950, 158], coppers of the 3rd century BC represent Seleucid and early Diodotid coinage. It is likely that, after a half a century of Seleucid rule, Sogdiana was inherited by Diodotus, who seceded from the Empire in the middle of the 3rd century, but that it never passed to Euthydemus.

Such an early date for the collapse of Greek power is supported by independent considerations: imitative coinages, which started in Samarqand (Antiochus imitations) and South Sogdiana (imitations of types of Alexander) following the collapse of Greek power, accepted Seleucid rather than Graeco-Bactrian types for their models, which could happen only if Seleucid coins remained the most authoritative “currency” on the market.

The same logic is applicable to the case of Euthydemus imitations minted in the Bukharan oasis except that, of course, the reason for the abundance of Euthydemus’ tetradrachms on the Bukharan market was quite different – as with later coins of Varahran V, Peroz, and Kawad, which led to the appearance of long imitational series. This was indemnity money paid by the ruler of a sedentary empire to its nomadic neighbours. We should, however, leave this discussion for another article.

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A COIN OF KAYKHUSRAW B. MARZUBĀN, THE FORGOTTEN SALLĀRID

By Farbod Mosaneft (Tehran)*

The coinage of the Sallārids has been catalogued in recent years thanks to the work of A. Vardanyan.¹ To add to his latest work, I would like to publish a unique coin, discovered this year, of Kaykhusraw b. Marzubān, whose coins were previously unknown.

This silver coin (Fig. 1, below) weighs 4.50 g and has a diameter of 29 mm. The inscriptions on the coin are as follows:

Obverse:

لا إله إلا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
المطيع لله
رکن الدولة ابو علی
بویه

*I would like to thank Alexander Akopyan and Said Soleymani for their kind help during the work on this paper.

¹ A. Vardanyan. *On the coinage of the Sallārids and contemporary military generals in Iranian Adharbayjān in the tenth century AH* // JONS. No. 191. 2007. P. 8–19.

[There is no god but / Allāh he is alone / There is no partner to Him / al-Muṭī^c li-llāh / Rukn al-Dawla Abū^c Alī / Buwayh].

Obverse inner margin:

[بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبَ هَذَا] الدَّرْهَمُ بَارِدْبِيلِ سَنَةِ (سَبْعِ ؟)
[وِ خَمْسِينَ وَ ثَلَاثَمِائَةَ]

[In the name of Allāh was struck this] dirham in Ardabīl the year of (seven?) {and fifty and three hundred}].

Reverse:

لله
محمد
رسول الله
السلار المنصور
ابراهيم بن المرزبان
كيخسرو بن المرزبان

[Of God / Muḥammad / the Messenger of Allāh / al-Sallār al-Manṣūr / Ibrāhīm bin al-Marzubān / Kaykhusraw bin al-Marzubān].

Reverse inner margin: illegible.



Fig. 1

As most of the marginal legend on this coin is illegible some preliminary historical notes need to be given to understand when this coin was struck.

In Ramaḍān of AH 346, the Sallārid, Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Muzaffar, passed away, because of illness, in Adharbayjān. Before his death, he willed that his brother, Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad, should take his place. But, secretly, he ordered his commanders to give all the castles to his sons: firstly to Justān b. Marzubān; then, if he died, they should be given to Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān and, if he too died, to Nāṣir b. Marzubān. Only if all of his sons died, should power be given to his brother, Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad. In addition to these three listed sons, Marzubān b. Muḥammad had a son named Kaykhusraw, who was not mentioned in his last will because he was a child.²

After the death of Marzubān, Wahsūdān went to take control of the castles, but faced opposition. The guards refuse to cooperate with him. Wahsūdān found out that everything had changed, and came back to Tarom³ with intense hatred for his nephews' and his brother's conspiracy. After these events, Justān was crowned as the new ruler and was recognised by his brothers. Justān chose Abū^c Abdallāh Nāymī as his vizier, and all commanders and sardars accepted his rule except Justān b. Sharmazan, the governor of Arminīya.

After a short time, Justān b. Marzubān arrested his vizier, who was the father-in-law of^c Ubaydallāh b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh, the vizier of Justān b. Sharmazan. This action motivated^c Ubaydallāh to encourage Justān b. Sharmazan to engage in trickery, the aim being to invite Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān from Arminīya to Urmiya with the promise of help to crown him in place of his brother, Justān.

When Justān b. Marzubān was in Barda^ca, Ibrāhīm, in cooperation with Justān b. Sharmazan, captured Marāgha.

Justān b. Marzubān, in order to control this rebellion, promised to free his vizier, Nāymī, and accept the offers of the rebels. At this, Justān b. Sharmazan and Muḥammad b. Ḥamdawayh abandoned Ibrāhīm and came back to Urmiya to complete the walls of the city. Ibrāhīm, thus abandoned by his allies, sought and obtained forgiveness. Meanwhile, Nāymī had been released (or had run away) and went to Mughān, where he heard that somebody in Gilān had named himself al-Mustajir bi-Allāh b. Muqtafī and declared himself the true Abbasid Caliph.⁴

Nāymī invited al-Mustajir and Justān b. Sharmazan and united them. The war between al-Mustajir and his allies against the troops of Ibrāhīm and Justān b. Marzubān took place in AH 349. Al-Mustajir lost the war and was arrested by Justān b. Marzubān.

Justān b. Sharmazan and his vizier fled towards Urmiya, while al-Mustajir was executed or died in prison.

On the other hand, Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad attempted to forge a conspiracy amongst Marzubān's sons. His efforts had no effect on Ibrāhīm but, in due course, he managed to encourage Nāṣir to rebel against his brother's rule.

Justān, who had lost all of his money and many of his troops in the war against al-Mustajir bi-Allāh and Justān b. Sharmazan, had no choice but to leave Ardabīl and hurry to the castle of Niyār.⁵ After some time, Nāṣir became aware of his uncle Wahsūdān's plotting and was ashamed about what he had done. He apologized to his brother and they returned to Ardabīl. Unfortunately, they had lost all of their treasure because of the civil war and they were not able to pay the army. At this juncture, they thought the best way to solve their problems was to seek help from Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad. Once they felt sufficiently confident about their uncle Wahsūdān, Justān and Nāṣir accepted his invitation, and went to meet him with their mother.

Wahsūdān broke his promise. He arrested them and put them in prison. Wahsūdān then appointed his son, Isma^cīl, as commander of Shemirān castle,⁶ and sent his commander, Abū'l-Qāsim Sharmazan b. Mishakī, to Ardabīl, where he captured the city. Ibrāhīm was in Arminīya when he heard of what had happened to his brothers and his mother, and moved his army towards Ardabīl. Wahsūdān ordered his nephews and their mother to be killed, and he sent Sharmazan b. Mishakī and Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad b. Rawwād to help Isma^cīl. They defeat Ibrāhīm, and he was forced to flee to Arminīya. Thereupon, Marāgha, too, was captured by Justān b. Sharmazan.

Despite what had happened, in AH 350 the caliph recognised Ibrāhīm as governor of Adharbayjān.⁷ Once again, Ibrāhīm, as he had done in Arminīya, began to prepare himself to do battle with Wahsūdān.

The death of Isma^cīl b. Wahsūdān encouraged Ibrāhīm to attack Ardabīl. He captured the city and then attacked Tarom. This was in AH 354 or 355. Wahsūdān, on this occasion, avoided battle with his nephew.

In AH 355 Wahsūdān sent Sharmazan b. Mishakī towards Ardabīl to wage war on Ibrāhīm. Ibrāhīm was defeated, lost all his army and fled alone to Rayy.

The Buwayhid ruler, Rukn al-Dawla (AH 335–366), was the husband of Ibrāhīm's sister, so Ibrāhīm received a warm welcome in Rayy. Rukn al-Dawla sent his vizier, Ibn Amīd, along with Ibrāhīm, with a large army to capture Adharbayjān and reinstate him there as ruler. Ibn Amīd captured Adharbayjān for him and forced every one, even Justān b. Sharmazan, to obey Ibrāhīm. But, at the same time, Ibn Amīd, in a letter to Rukn al-Dawla, informed him and warned him about the future of Ibrāhīm, that after the evacuation of the Buwayhid army, Ibrāhīm would lose control of Adharbayjān. According to Ibn Miskawayh, Ibn Amīd's prediction

⁴ Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* P. 11.

⁵ According to Ibn Miskawayh, this was a castle near Ardabīl. Nowadays, it is a village near Ardabīl with the same name

⁶ Shamirān was a castle in Tarom, cf.: Ḥamdallah Mostowfī. *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*. Tehrān, 1381. P. 107.

⁷ Ibn Miskawayh. P. 226–228

² Ibn Miskawayh. *Tajārab al-'umam*. Tehrān, SH 1376. Vol. IV. P. 212.

³ Tarom is an area between Qazvīn and Gilān, cf.: Ya'qūt Hamawī. *Mu'jam al-buldān*. Tehrān, 1380. Vol I. P. 697.

came true. After the Buwayhid army left Azerbaijan, Ibrāhīm lost control of his kingdom. He was arrested and sent to a castle as prisoner (maybe with Wahsūdān ibn Muḥammad or Justān ibn Sharmazan). The subsequent events of AH 356–361 are described in detail in Vardanyan’s article.⁸

According to numismatic data, no Sallarid coins cite the name of any Buwayhid, as overlord, until AH 355⁹.

From that year, as mentioned above, Ibrāhīm took control of Azerbaijan with the support of Rukn al-Dawla Abū ‘Alī Buwayhid, and we have coinage of Ibrāhīm with the name of Rukn al-Dawla until 356¹⁰.

In AH 357¹¹ we have a coin that was struck in Ardabīl in the names of Wahsūdān b. Muḥammad and Sharmazan b. Mishkī, and without the name of Rukn al-Dawla. It would appear that, in this year, Ibrahim was defeated and arrested; we have no evidence of his rule after this date.

For the dating of our coin, the first clue is the regnal period of caliph al-Muṭṭi‘ li-llāh, AH 334–363. On our coin there are the names of Sallār al-Manṣūr Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān, Kaykhusraw b. Marzubān and of Rukn al-Dawla Abū ‘Alī. The last name was cited on the other coins of Ibrāhīm in AH 355–356, so this coin should be dated to the same period (the period of Buwayhid influence in Adharbayjān). It is more possible that the present coin was struck in AH 356–357 (perhaps in AH 357, as there is a trace of what could be the number ‘7’). It seems that Ibrāhīm removed Wahsūdān’s name from his coins and added his younger brother’s name in late 356 or the beginning of 357. This action might be a consequence of Sharmazan being sent against Ibrāhīm and capturing Ardabīl in AH 357.¹²

About Kaykhusraw there is only one other mention in *Mu‘jam al-Ādabā’*,¹³ at the description of the events after the death of Fakhr al-Dawla Buwayhid (AH 359–387). Here Kaykhusraw b. Marzubān b. Sallār is named among his relatives, Justān b. Nūh b. Wahsūdān and Ḥaydar b. Wahsūdān and some others, as amirs and governors of Fakhr al-Dawla. Thus, Kaykhusraw was alive until AH 387 and was one of the amirs of Fakhr al-Dawla.

A NEW DINAR FROM SANA‘A

By Yahya Jafar

This article introduces a new Yemeni dinar from the mint of Sana‘a

An apparently unpublished Zaidi dinar from the mint of Sana‘a dated 400h bearing the name al-Imām Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusain al-Zaidī fills another of the many gaps in the numismatic history of Sana‘a. Although this dinar could possibly be classified as a Rassid coin, it should, as mentioned, be classified as a Zaidi dinar. It is probably the only dinar in which the full name of the ruler is given on its reverse, with his title as “al-Zaidī”.

The first promoter of the Zaidi sect of Islamic Shi‘ism, whose concepts are related to Imām Zaid b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, was al-Imām al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who was the cousin and husband of Profit Muḥammad’s daughter, Fāṭima. Al-Qāsim carried the *laqab* al-Rassī because he started from Jebal al-Rass in Arabia. Thus Al-Qāsim al-Rassī started his vocation, first in Egypt then moved to al-Kūfa; ultimately, he returned and died in his homeland at Jebal al-Rass in 246h. Thereafter, it was al-Imām al-Ḥādī ilā al-Ḥaq who continued his mission of promoting the Zaidi concept in Yemen in 283h.

Although many Imams ruled various parts of Yemen during the first period of Zaidi rule, 284–444h, their coinage is usually referred to as “Rassid” despite the fact that not all are directly related to al-Qāsim al-Rassī. It is worth noting that, although, all the Zaidi and Rassi rulers are related in that they are all descendants of Imām ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, they represent different branches on the family tree and were often in disagreement and conflict with each other. For instance, al-Qāsim al-Rassī and his descendant, al-Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim al-Ayyānī (389–393h), were descendants of Imām al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, whereas, al-Ḥādī ilā al-Ḥaq Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain was a descendant of ‘Omar b. ‘Alī b. Imām Ḥusain b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Further, Imām Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim, whose name is on this dinar, was a direct descendant of Imām Zaid b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

The history of Yemen, in general, and Sana‘a, in particular, at the turn of the fifth century, is vague and quite complex. Yūsuf al-Da‘i (368–403h) was the generally acknowledged Imam who briefly occupied Sana‘a. In 389h, al-Imām al-Manṣūr al-Qāsim al-Ayyānī (389–393) rose in defiance of Yūsuf. He appointed al-Sharīf al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusain al-Zaidī to represent him in Sana‘a. Al-Qāsim al-Zaidī quickly grew in strength, rebelled against al-Ayyānī and sought independence. However, he was killed in 394h and was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad, in Thammār. Muḥammad was then invited to rule in Sana‘a and it was reported that he arrived there in 401h¹⁴. This coin, however, which was ordered by this Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusain al-Zaidī, shows that he was in Sana‘a one year earlier, in 400h. Reportedly, he was only able to stay there for one and a half months¹⁵ when it was reported that he was subsequently killed in 403h in the vicinity of the city.

Muḥammad al-Zaidī’s full *nasab* is Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ḥusain b. Zaid¹⁶ b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
محمد رسول الله

امر به الامام
محمد بن القاسم
بن الحسين الزيدي
بن رسول الله

الله الامر من قبل و من

بسم الله ضرب هذا

جاء الحق و زهق الباطل

This dinar is 19 mm in diameter and weighs 2.11g. On the obverse, it adheres to the norm of such coinage in that it carries the *Kalima* in the centre of the obverse with Sura 9:33 of the *Qur‘an* in the margin. However, the reverse centre shows that it was issued by order of Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥusain al-Zaidī, designated as the Imam and stated to be the son of the Messenger of God, thereby boasting of his lineage to the profit Muḥammad. Moreover, the margin is *Surat al-Israa* 17:81 of the *Qur‘an*,

⁸ Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* P. 16.

⁹ Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* Types 8, 9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19

¹⁰ Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* Types 20,21.

¹¹ Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* Types 22

¹² Vardanyan. *Op. cit.* Type 22.

¹³ *Mu‘jam al-Ādabā’*. Vol. VI. P. 75. Cited by A. Kasravī Tabrizī. *Shāhriyārān-e gonnām*. Tehrān, SH 1385. P. 123.

¹⁴ Mohammed b. Mohammed b. Yahya b. Zubara, *Tarikh al-Zaidiya*, Cairo 1998 (in Arabic)

¹⁵ Mohammed Yahya al-Haddad, *General History of Yemen*, 2nd Vol., Sana 2004 (Arabic)

¹⁶ The founder of the Zaidi sect.

whereby it is announced that “*Truth has come and falsehood has perished. Lo! Falsehood is ever bound to vanish*”, which usually appears on the coinage of the ‘Alids.

A NEW COIN TYPE OF THE SAYYID, ABŪ AL-FAḌL JA‘FAR III B. ‘ALĪ, JA‘FARĪD EMIR OF TIFLĪS

By Irakli Paghava and Severian Turkia

In 2008 we had the pleasure of discovering the previously unknown coinage of Ja‘far III b. ‘Alī, Ja‘farid Emir of Tiflīs (represented by two specimens of different coin types). In that same year we had the honour of publishing our findings in the *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*¹⁷.

However, as it turns out, the research of the monetary history of Ja‘far III b. ‘Alī’s rule had been far from complete. Two years later, we happened to discover yet another (the third, for the moment¹⁸) coin type of this 11th century Ja‘farid Emir, bearing noteworthy legends.

The new coin type is represented by a single specimen which was found in Tbilisi (formerly Tiflīs, the centre of the Tiflīs Emirate), Georgia, on the Mtkvari (Kura) riverbed, in 2010¹⁹.



Fig. 1

The coin description is as follows (Fig. 1) (NB: legends are underlined if hardly legible and put into square brackets if reconstructed by us; rendered with ellipsis if neither legible nor amenable to reconstruction for the moment. In reproducing the legends we attempted to imitate their distribution on the coin surface):

Obverse:

[لا شريك له
القائم بامر [الله]
He has no associate
Al-Qā’im bi-Amr [Allāh]

Marginal legends, if any, off-flan.

Reverse:

السيد المظفر
الفضل جهفر
...
the sayyid the victorious (al-muzaffar)
al-Faḍl Ja‘far

Marginal legends, if any, off-flan.

Both dies used were much larger than the flan (the obverse seems to have been struck off-centre, with the upper part of the inscription off the flan.)

Æ? (*de visu*, no alloy composition analysis could be performed); weight: 3.97 g²⁰; dimensions: 16.2-17.8 mm; thickness: more or less uniform, maximum 2.3 mm; die axis: 10 o’clock.

Attribution

We have no doubt that this is an issue of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī, Emir of Tiflīs; the arguments are as follows:

1. The name *Ja‘far* is indicated on the coin, i.e. the name which is highly characteristic of the representatives of *Ja‘farids*, the late dynasty ruling the Tiflīs Emirate, but not the other dynasties of the region;
2. Qaṭrān Tabrizī, the contemporary Persian panegyrist, praised Ja‘far b. ‘Alī in one of his odes, designating him as *the emir the sayyid Abū al-Faḍl Ja‘far b. ‘Alī*²¹; this coin also bears this honorific title, i.e. *the sayyid* (apparently also the laqab *al-muzaffar*, this being quite typical for the Ja‘farid coinage of the 11th c.²²); furthermore, and quite importantly, in addition to *Ja‘far*, the extant legend also reads *al-faḍl* (to the right, i.e. before *Ja‘far*), which we can interpret as nothing else but the fragment of Ja‘far’s (evidently, Ja‘far b. ‘Alī’s) kunya *Abū’l-Faḍl*;
3. This coin type seems to be more or less identical in terms of alloy (Æ, perhaps with a minimum admixture of silver) to the other coin types of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī²³; (the debasement of the originally silver Kufic dirham coinage was asynchronous in different states on the territory of the Caucasus²⁴, but when it relates to the coinage of the same polity, the Tiflīs Emirate in this case, the alloy/silver standard of some undated coin may perhaps serve as a useful chronological clue²⁵);
4. In addition to the silver standard (0%?) of this new coin type (as judged by the single specimen²⁶) we also have an additional and quite explicit chronological indication: the name of al-Qā’im bi-Amr Allāh is indicated on the obverse. He was caliph in 1031-1075 (AH 422-467), while Ja‘far b. ‘Alī was emir of Tiflīs at least from 1030 and died in 1045-1046²⁷;
4. The calligraphy of the legends on this particular coin is quite similar to that on the type I coin of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī²⁸ (Fig. 2) (but not identical - note the difference in the shape of م on these two coins; however, the style is definitely the same);
5. The location where this coin was found (Tbilisi, former Tiflīs, Georgia) also points, albeit indirectly, to its local provenance (It is remarkable that the other types of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī, as well as some of the coin types of ‘Alī b. Ja‘far were discovered when studying the finds also from the Mtkvari riverbed²⁹.)

This is a new coin type (type III) of Ja‘far b. ‘Alī, varying from the previous two that we published back in 2008³⁰. It differs from type

²⁰ The coin was not cleaned, but had no substantial incrustations either.

²¹ Qaṭrān Tabrizī 1954:45-46, 284-286; Beradze 2008:213.

²² Japaridze 1991, 1997, 1998; Paghava-Turkia 2009; Turkia-Paghava 2008.

²³ *Ibid.*:5-8.

²⁴ The coinage of the 11th c. Shaddādīd Emirs Faḍl I (AH 375-422 / 986-1031) and Shāwūr (AH 441-459 / 1049-1067) contained about 50% silver [Lebedev-Markov-Koyfman 2006:85-89, 99-104]. The West-Georgian kingdom managed to issue an apparently silver coinage even later on, at least through the reign of King Davit IV (1089-1125), including that of Bagrat IV (1027-1072), a junior contemporary of Ja‘far III [Pakhomov 1970:57-74].

²⁵ Cf. Turkia-Paghava 2008:8. The temporary recovery of the silver standard of the 11th c. Ja‘farid coins at some point is perhaps possible, but less probable if we take into consideration the dire state (military and political, but not economical?) of the emirate in that epoch (cf. *Ibid.*:8-9).

²⁶ However, we do not think that this particular specimen constitutes an exclusion in terms of the alloy.

²⁷ *Ibid.*:6.

²⁸ *Ibid.*:5, Fig. 1.

²⁹ *Ibid.*:9; Japaridze 1991:147, 149; 1997:214-215; 1998:104-105.

³⁰ Turkia-Paghava 2008. We already mentioned back in 2008, that the type I and II coins are similar, but still differ from each other [*Ibid.*:10]: The obverse and reverse legends could be the same (the fragments that have

¹⁷ Turkia-Paghava 2008.

¹⁸ We cannot exclude the possibility of more coin types surfacing in the future.

¹⁹ It is now preserved in a private collection in Georgia.

I (fig. 2) by having the emir's *kunya* to the right of *ja'far* instead of the border fragment, and from type II by having some word/s (?) instead of a cartouche (?) below *ja'far* (fig. 3). Moreover, at least on the type II coin (probably also on the type I too) the *kunya* is above the name of the emir, and follows *al-mansūr* in the same line³¹.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Reconstruction of the coin type

Unfortunately, so far we know this new coin type from just this one specimen with only fragmentary legends visible on the flan. Nevertheless, we have some grounds for attempting the reconstruction of the missing *central* legends (it is unclear, whether there were any *marginal* legends at all; however, in our opinion, this is not improbable).

The obverse bears the name of the Caliph and the last part of the *Shahada* above it. We think that the die had to bear the initial part of the *Shahada* farther upwards, arranged in 1 or 2 lines³²:

لا اله الا الله وحده

As for the reverse, we are firmly convinced that the missing fragments had to contain *Ja'far's nasab* - *b. 'Alī* (بن علي), as well as *the emir* (الامير). According to the surviving fragment of the die imprint, the coin bore the epithet *victorious* (*al-muẓaffar*) and not *triumphant* (*al-mansūr*), but the presence of the latter (المنصور) cannot be excluded either: some of the coin types of 'Alī b. *Ja'far*, *Ja'far III b. 'Alī's* father, bore both epithets³³. The reverse would probably also have featured the formula acknowledging the Prophet Muhammad, which is present on all 7 coin types of 'Alī b. *Ja'far* and at least on one (out of two, probably on both) known types of *Manšūr b. Ja'far*³⁴, respectively father and son (predecessor and successor) of *Ja'far III b. 'Alī*. (We do not see it on the other two coin types of *Ja'far III b. 'Alī*³⁵, but it is perhaps to be expected there):

محمد رسول الله

The reconstructed coin might read in our opinion as follows (the reconstructed legends are placed within square brackets – their distribution among the lines may vary):

Obverse:

[لا اله الا الله وحده]

لا شريك له

القايم بامر الله

Any marginal legends? Possibly, none?

survived do not exclude this possibility), but the legends on the type II coin seem to be within a cartouche on both sides of the coin, and the calligraphy is more slipshod [*Ibid.*:5-6, 9-10, *Figs. 1-2*].

³¹ Cf. *Ibid.*:5-6, 10, *Figs. 1-2*.

³² Cf. *Ibid.*:10.

³³ *Ibid.*:7.

³⁴ *Japaridze 1991, 1997, 1998; Paghava-Turkia 2009; Mayer 2005:110-111, ##1005-1006.*

³⁵ *Turkia-Paghava 2008:5-6, Figs. 1-2.*

Reverse:

[محمد رسول الله ؟]

[الامير] السيد المظفر [المنصور ؟]

[ابو] الفضل جعفر [بن علي]

... ؟ ...

Any marginal legends? Possibly, none?

It is hoped that future finds of more specimens of this type would yield more light on this matter.

Minting chronology

It is virtually impossible to establish when exactly this new coin type was issued. The extant fragments of the legends do not contain any indication; the date could possibly be stated in one of the marginal legends, if there were any. Therefore, we have to time its issue to any historical moment during the entire reign of *Ja'far III b. 'Alī*, who was the Emir of Tiflis at least from 1030 and died in 1045-1046³⁶. The calligraphy on this new coin type is, in our opinion, closer to that on coin type I, rather than that on coin type II, providing some chronological reference mark. However, coin type I is also undated³⁷.

Historical significance

This coin type is quite remarkable from the standpoint of fully corroborating the quote by *Qaṭrān Tabrīzī*, the 11th c. Persian poet, who designated the Emir of Tiflis as *the Emir the Sayyid Abū al-Faḍl Ja'far b. 'Alī*³⁸. Moreover, while we use *Qaṭrān Tabrīzī's* verse for identifying this coin as having been issued by *Ja'far III b. 'Alī*, there are other arguments in favour of attributing this coin to *Ja'far III* (*vide supra*); therefore, one can still consider the legend reading *the Sayyid [Abū] al-Faḍl Ja'far* on this coin as a numismatic confirmation of *Qaṭrān Tabrīzī's* data. Actually, this is a very striking example of how different historical sources (i.e. literary and numismatic in this case) can supplement each other, providing an opportunity to recover at least fragments of the past.

The significance of this *Ja'farid* emir having the title *the sayyid* (according to *Qaṭrān Tabrīzī*), was noted by *A. Kasravi*³⁹, who conjectured that the *Ja'farids* might have been of *'Alīd* origin⁴⁰. Later on, this matter was placed in a more specific context by *G. Beradze*, who presented a multitude of data illustrating the prominent position that Tiflis enjoyed in the Shiah tradition⁴¹. It was also established, *inter alia*, that some *'Alīds* resided in Tiflis in the 9th-10th centuries⁴². As to the *Ja'farid* dynasty and their orientation, it seems to be noteworthy that *Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Bundār al-Tiflīsī*, the ardent Shiah and man of letters of the turn of the 10th-11th centuries, author of numerous *qasidas* of questionable quality, appears to have devoted one of his treatises to *'Alī b. Ja'far*, the father of *Ja'far III b. 'Alī*⁴³. The frequent occurrence of names like *'Alī*, *Ja'far* and *Ḥasan* among the representatives of the *Ja'farid* dynasty merits consideration as well⁴⁴. As far as we know, *Beradze* was also the first to study⁴⁵ from this standpoint the appearance of the title *the sayyid* on the recently discovered coins of *Manšūr b. Ja'far*⁴⁶, son (and successor) of *Ja'far III b. 'Alī*. Now, this finding is further corroborated by the newly discovered coin type of *Ja'far III b. 'Alī* himself, featuring this very title.

It is apposite to note here that the honorific title *the sayyid* was relatively common on the contemporary (11th c.) coinage of not only the *Ja'farids*, but also their neighbours, the *Shaddādids* of

³⁶ *Ibid.*:6.

³⁷ *Ibid.*:9.

³⁸ *Qaṭrān Tabrīzī 1954:45-46, 284-286; Beradze 2008:213.*

³⁹ *Kasravi 1976:271-272, 277-280; Beradze 2008:213.*

⁴⁰ *Kasravi 1976:277; Beradze 2008:213.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Japaridze 1989:82-84.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*:85-86; *Beradze 2008:212-213.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*:212.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*:213.

⁴⁶ *Mayer 2005:110-111, ## 1005-1006.* For the available data on *Manšūr b. Ja'far's* life cf. *Turkia-Paghava 2008:9.*

Ganjah: *the sayyid* was present on the coins of Faḍl I (AH 375-422 / 985-1031) and ‘Alī al-Lashkarī II (AH 425-441 / 1034-1049)⁴⁷; the title *sayyid* was also present in the inscription on the iron gates of Ganja, featuring Shāwūr (AH 441-459 / 1049⁴⁸-1067)⁴⁹, which were later removed to Georgia by King Demetre I (1125-1155, 1155-1156) as a military trophy⁵⁰. Does this mean that the Shaddādids may have been (may have *considered* themselves) of ‘Alīd origin as well? What is interesting and, so far, unexplained is that not all of the coin types of either the Ja‘farid or Shaddādīd rulers bore the title *the sayyid* in their legends (for instance, the 7 so far known coin types of ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, the father of Ja‘far III b. ‘Alī did not bear it⁵¹, whereas some coins of Faḍl I and ‘Alī al-Lashkarī II featured it and some did not⁵²). On the other hand, Qaṭrān Tabrīzī named only Ja‘far III b. ‘Alī *the sayyid*, but not any Shaddādīd rulers⁵³. Last but not least, according to the numismatic data, the Shirvānshāhs expressed ‘Alīdophile sentiments too, at least at a slightly earlier period (AH 373, i.e. 982/3)⁵⁴.

Acknowledgments

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⁴⁷ Lebedev-Markov-Koifman 2006:17-40, 71.

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⁴⁹ In contrast to the authors’ statement [*Lebedev-Markov-Koifman 2006:72*], we did not manage to find this on the illustrated coins of Shāwūr or in the legends on his coins copied out by the authors (Cf. *Ibid.:46-53*).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.:9*. There is an extensive literature on this topic; its review is not within the scope of this work.

⁵¹ Japaridze 1991, 1997, 1998; Paghava-Turkia 2009.

⁵² Lebedev-Markov-Koifman 2006:17-40, 71.

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INFLUENCE OF KANNADA IN THE GOLD COINS OF THE ELURU HOARD

By Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor



Overview

In the year 2009, a hoard of gold coins of the Chalukyās of Vengi, Nagas of Chakrakuta and Matsyas of Oddadi were found (approximately 70 in number, of which only 70 were witnessed) in Eluru, West Godavari district, Andhra Pradesh. The bulk of the gold punch-marked coins were of the Nagas of Chakrakuta. In the hoard only four coins were of the Vengi Chalukyās and one was of the Matsyas. The hoard was found by chance when the land was being ploughed.

The Nagas were independent for most of their reign. It is not understood how, when and why these coins came to the capital city of the Vengi rulers. Perhaps the hoard was a possession of the royal family, where currencies of more than one king were always common, due to trade or allegiances. Perhaps the former is more likely as the Nagas were independent for most of the time, except for their allegiance to the Chalukyās of Badami in the beginning. This paper sets out to explain the dynastic history and the significance of the coins in this hoard.

Shown below is part of a modern political map of South India with the area of focus. The locations of Eluru, Vaddadi (the old name is Oddadi) and Jagdalpur (Chakrakuta Mandala) are shown in the map using bulb symbols. The presence of coins of three dynasties in a single hoard is, as we have already suggested,

perhaps due to strong trading relations. This paper introduces, for the first time, the coins of the Matsyas, which were previously totally unknown to the numismatic world. Except for the "Rajabhushana" type PMC, the other coins displayed in the article are additions to numismatic knowledge.

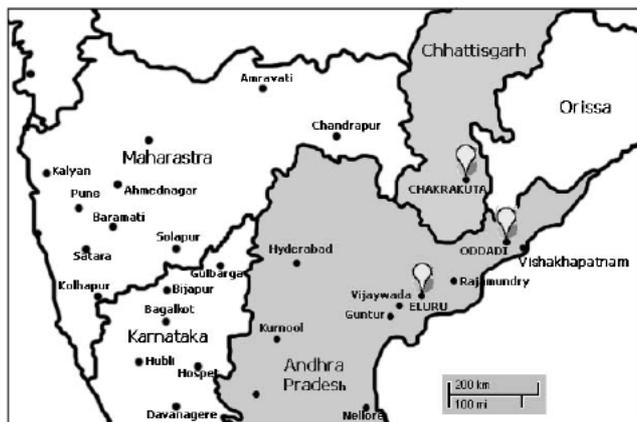


Fig 1: The geographical location of the capital cities of the three dynasties

The Nagas of Chakrakuta



Fig 2: The Vyagra-Savatsa Dhenu Lanchana

The Chindaka Nagas founded their kingdom along the basin of the Godavari – Indravathi, which was called Chakrakota. The region encompassed Bastar, Jagdalpur (Jagdalpur is a district headquarters of modern Bastar district) and Dantewada, which are now the southernmost districts of Chattisgarh state. The Vengi Chalukyas were their southern neighbours and the Kalinga Gangas were their eastern neighbours. The Chakrakota kingdom soon expanded east and westward and came to be known as Chakrakuta Mandala. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence proves that they ruled that region for more than 500 years between the 8th and 14th centuries AD. The dynasty linked their lineage to Nagavamsa. They were devoted Shaivites and belonged to Kasyapa Gotra. They had a snake-banner and their emblem was a tiger with calf. It is widely believed that they were migrants from Karnataka. The dynasty declined after a defeat at the hands of Kakatiya Prola, who was a Chalukya-Chola feudatory. Though there are a few inscriptions of later Naga rulers, not much detail is available other than the ruler's name and the grants.

D.C. Sircar suggested that the term Chindaka is a variant of Sindaka or Sinda. Like the Nagas, the Sindas (AD 750), too, claimed to be the Lord of Bhogavati, the mythical capital of the Nagas and had a snake-banner. Interestingly, the eponymous progenitor of the Sinda dynasty was a long-armed Sinda, who was born to a snake and was reared by a tiger at Ahichchatra near the river Sindhu. Their epigraphs mentioned that they were Nagavamsis. The Sindas ruled north Karnataka and the Chindaka Nagas were believed to be the other branch of the Sindas, who migrated northward towards Bastar. Yet another view claims that the Chindaka Nagas may have finally settled at Jagdalpur after their brief stay at Jabalpur soon after their defeat at the hands of

the Guptas in the north. Nothing can be firmly concluded about the Nagas' origin; one can only speculate about it until further data become available.



Fig 3: Geographical location of Chakrakuta Mandala

Interestingly, one can see heavy usage of Kannada script on their coins and also in their Telugu inscriptions. From the coins known so far, one can see a "tiger and calf" depiction in the centre. A good number of stone inscriptions, literary evidence and a copper plate exist for the Chindaka Nagas and the reconstruction of the history of this small dynastic house is thus made possible to some extent.

History of the Nagas

The first known pointer to this dynasty is on a copper plate found at Upet village near Chitrakuta. The inscription is dated to AD 760 and records the ruler, Vallabharaja. The second, earlier inscription known of this dynasty is of the 9th century AD and this inscription mentions the ruler, Rajamalla. Yet another inscription of the same period mentions the ruler, Vankhaditya, who was perhaps a successor to Rajamalla. The Paramara record reveals yet another name, Shankhapala, which is also known from the historical Kavya Navasahasankacharita. The poetry mentions the help sought by the Nagas from Sindhuraja, who, in turn, was accompanied by the Vidhyadharas (perhaps the Silaharas of Konkan). This leads one to believe that there was a clear association between them and the Sindas of Karnataka. Thereafter, there are ample records of this dynasty and the chronology would seem to be quite clear except for a brief period when the Kakatiyas overthrew them.

The Errakot (10 miles from Jagdalpur) inscription, dated to AD 1023, belongs to king Nripathibhushana. There is another, fragmentary inscription of this ruler, which is unfortunately illegible. Dharavarsha, the successor of Nripathibhushana, left four inscriptions in his name. The Barsur (55 miles west of Jagdalpur, Bastar state) inscription⁵⁵, dated to AD 1060, refers to the ruler by the title of Maharaja Jagadekabhushana. The Narayanpur record refers to Mahadevi, the chief queen of the Maharaja Dharavarsha, the mother of Someshvaradeva. The Narayanpur mentioned in the inscription is the current place name, Narayanpal. In this record, the dynasty claimed its lineage from Nagavamsa and also mentioned that the dynasty belonged to Kasyapa Gotra. There is a mention that the dynastic crest was a tiger with a calf and that they called themselves the lords of Bhogavati⁵⁶. The inscriptions of Dharavarsha are scattered over a 100 km radius from Jagdalpur.

⁵⁵ EI Vol-X

⁵⁶ EI Vol-IX, p311 ff, pp 161-162

The Rajapura plates⁵⁷ dated to AD 1065, and in the name of Madurantakadeva are about the compensation to be paid for human sacrifice victims. The Madurantakadeva mentioned in the epigraph is perhaps the ruler of Chola. The record refers to the capital as Bhramarakotya Mandala, which is the other name of Chakrakuta Mandala⁵⁸. The record mentions the grant of Rajapura village along with 70 Gadyanaka, perhaps a compensation given to the family of the human sacrifice. Human sacrifice to Danteswari of Danteshwara, Bastar, was common even in the recent past, perhaps a ritualistic belief followed since the days of the Naga kings. Human sacrifice is celebrated as a public oblation or whenever any natural disasters or diseases, death by tigers or wild beasts increases. The Vengi Chalukyas were relatively weak, so that they had to live in alliance with and under the protection of the Cholas. Dharavarsha was a vassal of Someshvara I of the Western Chalukyas. To counter an attack by the Cholas, Someshvara I sought the help of Dharavarsha and the Eastern Ganga ruler, Vajrahasta III. Chalukya records mention that Virarajendra defeated the mighty Chalukya forces near the banks of the Tungabhadra. Madurantaka mentioned in the above records must be a title of Virarajendra.

The next in line, Someshvaradeva, is known through his several inscriptions. The Gadia (20 miles from Jagdalpur) inscription of this king records a grant of land to the same god. The record also mentions the continuation of dancing girls and is dated to AD 1065. After 1054, the next known record is the Kuruspal inscription, dated to AD 1069. This is the second one that records his name. The record mentions that he killed Madhurantaka in battle. With this war, the five years occupation by the Cholas ended in victory for the Nagas. The Kuruspal village (22 miles from Jagdalpur) inscription mentions the grant given to the village by Someshvaradeva. It is mentioned that he had a tiger crest and snake banner and acquired the sovereignty of Chakrakuta through the favour of the Goddess, Vindhyaasini. His father was Dharavarsha, whose grandson was Kanharadeva. The record states that Someshvara burnt Vengi, subjugated Bhadrappattana and Vajra and took 6 lakhs 96 villages of the Kosala country. The Vengi and the Chakrakuta (Bastar) kings appear to have always been feuding with each other and to have burnt each other's towns when the opportunity arose. As regards the taking of 6 lakhs of Kosala villages, there is no doubt it is an exaggeration. The Kosala referred to in the record must be taken as Mahakosala or the Chhattisgarh country. The political success of the king is apparently evident from the discovery of gold coins at Sonasari in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh. The other inscription found on the tank slab is of Dharana Mahadevi, the queen of Someshvara, and mentions the grant of land to the god, Kamesvara. The record is dated to AD 1069.

Kuruspal has yielded two more inscriptions of Someshvaradeva. One of them is dated to AD 1097. This record mentions the dedication of a lamp to the god, Lokeshvara, with a subscription of 11 Gadyanaka⁵⁹. Yet another inscription of his queen, dated to 1108, records the gift of a village to two temples. The younger sister's name, Masakadevi, is known from the Gadia inscription. Dantewada Masakadevi's notification stone mentions that she is the sister of Rajabhushana Maharaja, the jewel in the crown of the Chindaka Nagas. The record calls some of the corrupt tax-collecting officers traitors for having collected taxes in advance. The village people raised coins for that purpose. An inscription dated to AD 1109 mentions Mahadevi, the wife of Someshvaradeva. It also records that king Someshvara belonged to the Nagavamsha and that his capital was Bhogavati⁶⁰. An inscription found 23 miles northwest of Jagdalpur mentions the queen's name as Ganga Mahadevi. It records the grant of the village to Lord Narayana⁶¹. Most historians believe that the ruler mentioned in the above inscriptions is Someshvara II. It does not

seem to me to be Someshvara II; rather it is the same Someshvara who killed Madurantaka. The battle with Madurantaka may have taken place when the king was at a very young age, and thus he could have reigned for a long time.

In the year AD 1158, the Kakatiya king Prola II, the feudatory of the Chalukyas of Kalyana, defeated the Nagas, as is known from his record. Henceforth, there exist very few records on the Chindaka Nagas. It is hard to know what status they held for their continuation and survival. What is known of the successors is stated in the next paragraph.

The Jatanpal (a village 40 miles from Dantewada) inscription⁶² dated to AD 1218, mentions a grant of land by king Narasimhadeva. The Dantewada pillar inscription⁶³ dated to AD 1224, also records the name of Jagdekabhushana Maharaja Narasimhadeva. There is yet another inscription belonging to the same king, which mentions the gift given in the same year. The Sunarpal (10 miles from Narayanpal) inscription⁶⁴ records the gift given by the queen of Jayasimhadeva. The inscription also mentions the dynastic crest, the tiger with a calf. The queen's name is given as Lakamhadevi and the great queen's name is known as Sasanadevi. The Temara (near Kuruspal) inscription⁶⁵ dated to AD 1324, records the immolation of a wife of an officer of king Harischandradeva. Nothing is known about the Naga dynasty thereafter.

Chronology of the Nagas

The chronology of the Nagas of Chakrakuta is shown in the table below, along with the inscription dates known for each ruler.

Ruler's name	Inscription date (AD)
Vallabharaja	760
Rajamalla	9 th Century
Vankhaditya	9 th Century
Shankhapala	10 th Century
Nripathibhushana	1023
Jagadekabhushana Dharavarsha	1061, 1062, 1065
Madhurantakadeva (Chola rule and control)	1065-1069
Rajabhushana Maharaja Someshvaradeva	1065, 1069, 1097, 1108
Kanharadeva I	1111
Prola-II (Kakatiya)	1158
Jagadekabhushana Narasimhadeva	1218, 1224
Kanharadeva II	1242
Jayasimhadeva	Undated
Harischandradeva	1324

Table 1: Chronology of the Nagas

Coinage of the Nagas

The older numismatic records refer to two discoveries of gold coins of the Nagas, one found at Sonasari in the Bilaspur district of Madhya Pradesh and the other found in the Dumadei Reserve Forest area, that comes under the Kodinga Police station in the Koraput district of Orissa, in 1957. Other than these two, no major hoards were known for this dynasty. The Orissa hoard is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum in Bhubaneswar. Twenty-

⁵⁷ EI Vol-IX, p311

⁵⁸ EI Vol-IX, p174

⁵⁹ EI Vol-X, pp 37-38, p35 ff

⁶⁰ EI Vol-3, P164

⁶¹ EI Vol-IX, P162

⁶² EI Vol-X, p40

⁶³ EI Vol-X, p40

⁶⁴ EI Vol-X, pp35-36

⁶⁵ EI-Vol-X p39-40

seven of the coins read Rajabhushana⁶⁶ and one reads Papratiganda Bhairava. A few more such coins have been discovered in the Khammam district of Andhra Pradesh, but they may be stray finds.

The next known hoard of gold coins of the Nagas, was found in 2007. It is estimated that there were about 8 coins of Rajabhushana-type. At least four of them featured in UK and USA auctions, while the remaining specimens are probably in private collections. Three of the coins are known to the author.

In 2009, a hoard containing approximately 70 coins of the Vengi Chalukyas, Matsyas and Nagas, was found in Eluru, Andhra Pradesh. As mentioned earlier, only four of the coins were of the Vengi Chalukyas, one was of the Matsyas and rest of them were Naga coins. Only nine unique varieties of punch-marked gold coins are known to the author from this hoard. The majority of the coins were of Anana Singama and Rajabhushana legend types.

Based on the inscriptions of the Matsyas and Nagas, these gold coins are known by the name Gadyanaka. An interesting fact to be observed on these coins is that they are deeply struck punch-marked coins in the shape of a bowl imitating a lotus flower. In the south, these were known as Padmatanka due to their very shape. On the periphery, there are eight punches of Chalukya-style Kannada legends. The central, larger punch shows the tiger and calf crest along with sun and moon symbols in the case of the Nagas; a boar on the Chalukya coins and a fish on the coins of the Matsyas. The legend is perhaps the title of the king who issued them. With eight peripheral punches and one central punch, the coin resembles a lotus flower, which, in turn, is a representation of goddess, Lakshmi. Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, is seen, on most ancient coins, either with a lotus symbol or in the form of a lotus-shaped coin or with the legend "Sri". The details of the coins, the history of the issuer and the coinage is explained below

The Chalukyas of Vengi

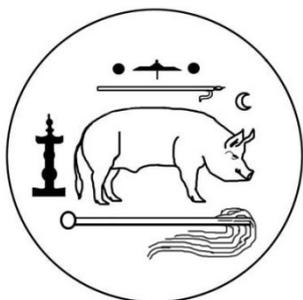


Fig 3: The Varaha Lanchana

The dynasty of the Chalukyas of Vengi, also known as the Eastern Chalukyas, came originally from Kannada stock. The dynasty ruled their kingdom for about 450 years with Vengi as their capital. The rule of the Vengi Chalukyas was not straightforward and could be described in three phases. Their kingdom was located in modern-day Andhra Pradesh. Vengi, near Eluru of the Western Godavari district, was their initial capital. The capital was later moved to Rajamahendravaram (Rajamundry). Vengi is situated between the Godavari and the Krishna rivers. In the first phase of their rule, the dynasty was closely related to the Badami Chalukyas. Kubja Vishnuvardhana, with permission from his elder brother, founded this kingdom, where the Vengi Chalukya court was fundamentally a republic of Badami in terms of administration, script and culture. As time passed, local factors gained importance and it developed its own features.

History of the Chalukyas

The period covering most of the reigns of Vishnuvardhana I and Vishnuvardhana II (from AD 624 to 755) was totally peaceful until

the rise of the Rashtrakutas, who overthrew the Badami Chalukyas and started interfering in the political affairs of the Chalukyas of Vengi. Dhanarnava (AD 970-973) was the last ruler of the second phase. His reign was totally chaotic due to the Rashtrakuta dominance and frequent invasion of other neighbours. With the murder of Dhanarnava by the Jata Choda king of Telugu Choda, the Vengi kingdom was lost to the Cholas for the next 25 years. In the third phase, with the help of the Cholas, Saktivarman I and Vimaladitya, the Chalukya rulers, restored the kingdom. It was virtually an alliance with the Cholas and the dynasty came to be known as the Chalukya-Chola. The prince of the Vengi Chalukyas, Rajendra II, occupied the Chola throne in AD 1070 under the name of Kulottunga I. Nevertheless, Vijayaditya VII, the cousin of Rajaraja, continued to rule over Vengi till his death in 1076 when the Vengi Chalukya dynasty came to an end. The last ruler, Rajendra, united with the Cholas, ruled until AD 1118.

Chronology of the Chalukyas

Shown below are the rulers in each of the phases of the dynasty.

First phase	AD 624 – 755
Kubja Vishnuvardhana	624 – 641
Jayasimha I	641 – 673
Indra Bhattaraka	673
Vishnuvardhana II	673 – 682
Mangi Yuvaraja	682 – 706
Jayasimha II	706 – 708
Vishnuvardhana II	719 – 755
Second phase	AD 755–973
Vijayaditya I	755 – 772
Vishnuvardhana IV	772 – 708
Vijayaditya II	808 – 847
Vishnuvardhana V	847 – 849
Gunaga Vijayaditya III	849 – 892
Chalukya Bhima I	892 – 921
Vijayaditya IV	921
Taila I	927
Vikramaditya II	927 – 928
Yuddhamalla II	928 – 935
Amma I	921 – 927
Bhima II	935 – 947
Ammaraja	947 – 970
Dhanar Nava	970 – 973
Third phase	AD 999–1069-1118
Saktivarman I	1000 – 1011
Vimaladitya	1011 – 1018
Rajaraja Narendra	1019 – 1061
Saktivarman II	1062
Vijayaditya VII	1063 – 1076 ⁶⁷
Rajendra II (Kulottunga)	1070 – 1118

Table 2: Chronology of the Vengi Chalukyas

⁶⁶ Snigdha Tripathy, *Early and Mediaeval Coins and Currency Systems of Orissa*, pp. 106-7, pl. L

⁶⁷ The last six years of his reign as regent for Prince Rajendra II

The Matsyas of Oddadi

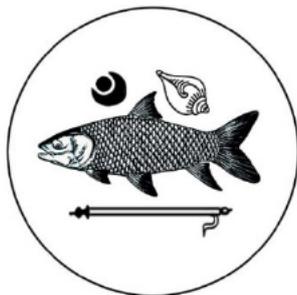


Fig 4: The Matsya Lanchana

The Matsyas were an important dynasty in South Kalinga, who ruled over the Matsyadesha, i.e., Oddadirajya Vishaya. Oddadi, the capital, is 16 km from Anakapalle in Visakhapatnam district, Andhra Pradesh. With the decline of Kalinga Ganga power, the Matsyas arose at Oddadi at the end of the 12th century AD and ruled the territory, which more or less comprised the modern Vishakhapatnam district of Andhra Pradesh. The place Oddadi is now known as Vaddadi. Matsya was their crest. The dynasty has left many inscriptions, mostly in stone and one in copper (Dibbida copper plate). The name of this ruling house dates back to the 7th century AD but there is no early epigraphic evidence. Perhaps they served as feudatory to the Gangas of Kalinga in their later stage. The dynasty resurfaced at the end of the 12th century AD in allegiance with the Chalukya Cholas.

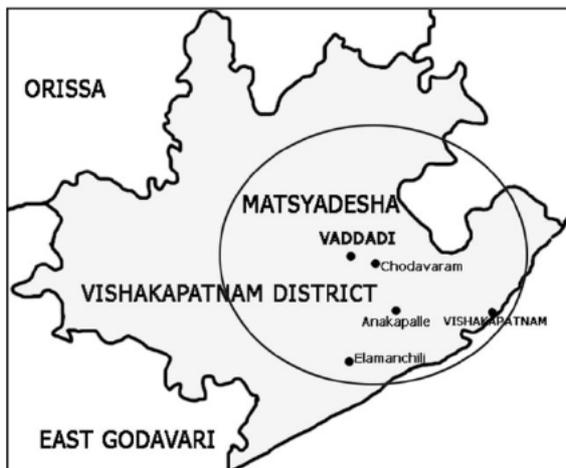


Fig 5: The geographical location of Matsyadesha

History of the Matsyas

According to the mythical ancestry of the Matsyas, Naranga was the son of Kasyapa and the grandson of Atri. While Naranga was engaged in penance on the bank of the river Matsya, Lord Indra sent Manjughosha to disturb Naranga. After realising the folly, Naranga became angry and, with a curse, he turned Manjughosha into a fish. Their son, Satyamartanda Jayantasena, was soon betrothed to the daughter of the king of Utkala. Thus, a new kingdom originated on the bank of the Oddadi, which came to be known as Matsyadesha. The Chirupalle copper plate of the Vengi Chalukya king, Vishnuvardhana I (AD 632), refers to the Matsya family. The Matsyas seem to have been the vassals of the Vengi Chalukyas in their early phase, and again came to prominence after the decline of the Kalinga Gangas as a vassal of the Cholas.

The Matsya army is recorded as being excellent, with skilled generals.

The Matsya fanams with two fish on the obverse are known from the inscriptions as well. The Matsya emblem is found in many records. The seal of the Dibbida plates bear two fish in relief. The epigraph is flanked by the figures of fish with an

elephant goad beneath and a parasol above. The Chodavaram record mentions the grant to Gollapakkam (a settlement of shepherds) by king Vallabha.

The Dibbida copper plate mentions the village artisans, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, barber etc, and also refers to taxation and trade. A tax of two *dandi* was levied on every *gadyanaka*-worth of salt sold by the salt merchants of Chodavaram at Oddadi. The blacksmiths were charged two *duggadi* per day for the trade they carried out and they were allowed to use any of the four entry points. *Viss* or *vise* was the lowest of the currency denominations.

Chronology of the Matsyas

Since the chronology of the early Matsyas is obscure, the chronology of only the later Matsyas is shown in the following table.

Mankaditya	AD 1150
Jayantaraaju	AD 1200
Arjuna I	AD 1252 - 1282
Jayanta II and Jayantikaraju	AD 1292 – 1356
Arjuna II and Virarjuna	AD 1356 – 1399
Vanamarajulu	AD 1399 – 1415
Arjuna III	AD 1416 – 1427

Table 3: Chronology of the Later Matsyas

Coins - Eturu Hoard

The coins issued by the dynasties of the Chalukyas of Vengi, the Nagas of Chakrakota and the Matsyas of Oddadi are unique in the way they were minted. The flans are broad and malleable with trimmed edges. The punches are typically nine in number and eight such punches are placed around the periphery, with some exceptions. The central punch always focuses on the dynastic emblem.

On the Vengi Chalukya coins, the dynastic emblem of a Varaha is quite impressively designed and punch-marked. In the tiger and calf punch of the Naga coins, there is a tiny, hard-to-recognise image of a calf standing near the tiger. The Matsyas focused on their emblem rather than on the titles and, hence, the fish punches are not only seen in the centre, but also at the periphery.

The coins of all these three dynasties have one thing in common: they all bear numerals along with the letter *Sa*. The letter *Sa* in conjunction with the numeral may stand for “Saka”. Just as the Vikrama era was used in Malava and the Chedi era in Dahala, so the Saka era was employed by the Chakrakuta Nagas.

The following table gives details of the 70 coins inspected

Dynasty	
Chalukyas of Vengi	4
Matsyas of Oddadi	3
Nagas of Chakrakuta	63
Total	70
Rulers	
Jagadekabhushana Dharavarsha	3 (two types)
Rajabhushana Someshvaradeva	60 (two types)
Unknown Matsya rulers	3 (three types)
Rajaraja Narendra	2 (Same type)
Rajendra II (Kulottunga)	2 (Same type)

Table 4: Distribution of coins in the hoard

The coins are typically as broad as the previously known Rajaraja, Chalukya Narayana and Suvarna type of coins⁶⁸. It can be said only that the Rajaraja type with a Varaha punch is an earlier issue than the two Vengi Chalukya coins of this hoard. Except for the Rajabhushana type, the assignment to a particular ruler has been done on the basis of palaeography and the quantitative analysis of the coins from this hoard. There is scope for further refinement. The coins carrying the legend “Sri Rajabhushana” are assigned to Someshvaradeva based on this title being used by this king. The title means “precious among the kings”. The “Anana Singama” coin has been assigned to the same ruler based on the meaning “as fierce as a lion”. King Someshvaradeva had not only aggressively defeated the Cholas but also salvaged the pride of the Chalukyas and Gangas.

The Kesari titles were common among the Vengi Chalukyas. The Vengi Chalukya specimen in the British museum has the legend *Rajaraja* and a central punch of a “boar, the Varaha” with an initial “Vi” in Kannada script beneath the leg of the boar. It was issued by the Chalukya-Chola king, Rajaraja Narendra (AD 1019 - 1061), perhaps while Vimaladitya was in power. The Vengi Chalukya coins seen in the Eluru hoard are of two types: one with the title “Komaragana Kesari” and the other one with the title “Yaduti Kesari”. Two coins of the “Komaragana Kesari” type are much more worn than the “Yaduti Kesari” type. The style of the legend places the issue of these specimens into an earlier period. Also taking the reigning period of Dharavarsha and Someshvaradeva of the Nagas, the coins could be dated approximately to between AD 1060 and 1108. The coins with the “Komaragana Kesari” legend could be attributed to Rajaraja Narendra because of the above observations regarding legend type and wear. The “Yaduti Kesari” type fits in well with the subsequent ruler, Rajendra II. Both these titles are new to Indian history. Komaragana in Sanskrit means – Army of soldiers or perhaps a group of Komara people. Yaduti may be another group of people, who belonged to Valmiki Maharshi Gothram.

It is surprising to know that all the known coins of the Nagas were found outside the territory of Chakrakuta Mandala, namely, Bilaspur in Madhya Pradesh, the Koraput district of Orissa, the Khammam district and West Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. As examples of the Matsya coinage, the author has two coin specimens of lower denominations, namely a fanam and a visa. They show a fish on the obverse and a Saka year on the reverse, similar to that of the Kalinga Gangas.

Catalogue

Nagas of Chakrakuta

1



Ruler: Jagadekabhushana Dharavarsha

Date: AD 1045 - 1065

Obv: 8 Kannada legend punches on the periphery: “Sri Sri, Pra ri, va ja, chha ra, va ja, ja sha, bhu, ma ja”; 1 central punch with the tiger-calf emblem, and with sun and moon symbols above.

Gold Gadyanaka, 3.8g, 39mm

Total known : 1

2



Ruler: Jagadekabhushana Dharavarsha

Date: AD 1045 - 1065

Obv: 8 Kannada legend punches on the periphery “Sri ma Aa ga de bha ra ha”; 1 central punch with the tiger-calf emblem, and with sun and moon symbols above.

Gold Gadyanaka, 3.8g, 40mm

Alternative reading: Sri Maha Ganda Bhairava

Total known : 2

3



Ruler: Someshvaradeva

Date: AD 1069-1108

Obv: 8 Kannada legend punches on the periphery “Sri Sri Aanana Singama”; 1 central punch with the tiger-calf crest, and with sun and moon symbols above.

Gold Gadyanaka, 3.75 g, 41 mm

Total known : 56

4



Ruler: Someshvaradeva

Date: AD 1069- 1108

Obv: 8 Kannada legend punches on the periphery “Sri Sri Rajabhushana”; 1 central punch with the tiger-calf emblem, and with sun and moon symbols above.

Gold Gadyanaka, 3.78 g, 40 mm

Total known: Eluru hoard: 4, Sonasari hoard: 27,

Anonymous hoard : 8, Stray find: 2

Chalukyas of Vengi

8



Ruler: Rajaraja Narendra

Date: AD 1019 – 1061

Obv: “Sri Komaragana Kesari Sa-40”, in 6 Kannada legend punches on the periphery; 1 central punch with a

⁶⁸ The Coinage and History of South India, Part 1, Karnataka-Andhra, Michael Mitchiner

boar facing right, parasol above, lamp to the left, sun and moon symbols above.

Gold Gadyanaka, 3.8 g, 39 mm

Total known: 2

9



Ruler: Rajendra II (Kulottungs-I)

Date: AD 1070 – 1108

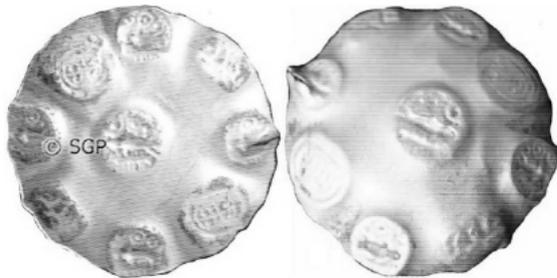
Obv: “Sri Yaduti Kesari Sa-11”, in 6 Kannada legend punches on the periphery; 1 central punch with a boar facing right, parasol above, goad beneath, sun and moon symbols.

Gold Gadyanaka, 3.78 g, 38 mm

Total known: 2

Matsyas of Oddadi

5



Ruler: Unknown

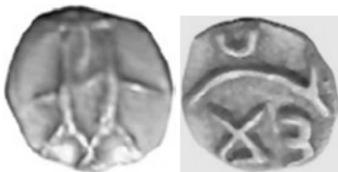
Date: 11th century AD

Obv: 2 “Sri Sri” punches; 5 punches of a horizontal fish, with sun, moon and conch symbols above, and an elephant goad beneath; 2 illegible Kannada legend punches, that read something like “nana”

Gold Gadyanaka, 3.8 g, 36 mm

Total known: 1

6



Ruler: Unknown

Date: 11th century AD

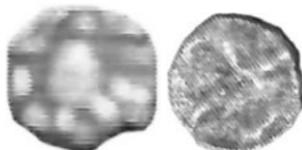
Obv: Two fish shown upright, beneath a ceremonial umbrella

Rev: Moon, elephant goad, numeral 42

Gold Fanam, 0.38g, 6mm

Total known: 1

7



Ruler: Unknown

Date: 11th century AD

Obv: Fish

Rev: Year 14

Gold Quarter Fanam (Haga), 0.095 g, 3.5 mm

Total known: 1

References

For this article, the present author has drawn liberally on the references shown below and those in the footnotes and would like to express his gratitude to all the authors in question.

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A NEW TITLE OF SULTAN SHAMS AL-DĪN ĪLTUTMISH ON HIS COINS ISSUED FROM BENGAL

By S.M. Iftekhar Alam

Bengal coins of the great Sultan of Dehli, Shams al-Dīn Īltutmish, were issued by his Bengal governors between AH 613¹ and 633. In his titles on these coins his *kunya* is ابو المظفر (*abū'l muẓaffar*) and only in one type of coin issued in the joint names of Īltutmish and Daulat Shāh bin Maudūd, is the *kunya* of Īltutmish found as ابو الفتح (*abū'l fatḥ*)². Another, different *kunya* was used on his horseman-type coins issued by Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ, his governor for Bengal. These coins belong to types B19, B20, B21 and B22 of *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates* by Goron and Goenka, pp.148 & 149. Unfortunately, on none of these coins could the *kunya* be read satisfactorily.

However, some horseman-type coins (all full tankas) - about 20 pieces of Īltutmish along with 4 pieces of 'Alī Mardān - were discovered in the northern part of Bangladesh in early 2010. Among these, three specimens of Īltutmish's coins, numbered K/2, K/3 & K/5, have his *kunya* as ابو الحارث (*abū'l ḥārith*).

Particularly, in coin number K/5, the *kunya* can be read without any doubt as it is written clearly along with the necessary *nuqtas*. So, the reverse legend of K/5 can be read as:

السلطان المعظم شمس

الدنيا و الدين ابو الحارث التمش القطبي ناصر (امير) المؤمنين

In Arabic, “*ḥārith*” means ploughmen, that is, farmers. So, “*abū'l ḥārith*” means “father of the farmers”. Why 'Iwaḍ used this *kunya* for Īltutmish is not known for certain. But it is assumed that Īltutmish did a lot for the betterment of the farmers, among other people of his empire, as is mentioned by Minhaj in his *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*. Minhaj states, “Towards men of various sorts and degrees, Kazis, Imams, Muftis, and the like, and to darweshes and monks, land-owners and farmers, traders, strangers and travellers from great cities, his benefactions were universal.”³

Another meaning of “*abū'l ḥārith*” is “lion”. Again, why this *kunya* was used for Īltutmish is difficult to say. If lion is the intended meaning of *abū'l ḥārith* then Ghiyāth al-Dīn 'Iwaḍ might have been referring to those days of Īltutmish when he (Īltutmish) fought with great valour against his enemies on different occasions. Īltutmish's boldness and valour are described by Minhaj in Section XXI of his *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*.⁴

Whether the title, *abū'l hārith* is intended to be “father of the farmers” or a “lion” may be left up to the historians to decide, but we now have the satisfaction of knowing that the *kunya* of Īltutmish in coin types B19 – B22 of Goron & Goenka can now be read satisfactorily.



K/2



K/3



K/5

Notes

1. Previously known Bengal issues of Īltutmish's coins are dated starting from AH 614. However, in the obverse legend of coin K/2 the date is written as - ثلاث عشرو ستمائة That is, the date of K/2 is AH 613. So, it is now clear that Bengal issues of Īltutmish's coins started before AH 614.
2. *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates* by Stan Goron and JP Goenka, p. 152.
3. *Tabakat-i-Nasiri* by Maulana Minhaj-ud-din Abu-Umar-I-Uzman, translated by Major H.G. Raverty, Part-2, Vol 1, London 1881, p. 598.
4. *Idem*, section XXI.

A SPECULATIVE CATALOGUE OF SOME RATLAM COINS.

By Barry Tabor

Some notes on the ‘theories of ‘Kachcha-ness’’ and a brief historical survey of Ratlam State appeared in JONS 205, and what follows is the second part of the latter – a speculative catalogue of the coins of three rulers of Ratlam, based on one of the theories introduced in the notes.

A Catalogue of the Coins of Padam Singh, AD 1773 to 1800, AH 1186/87 to 1214/15.

Dr Bhatt illustrates what is still the earliest reported Ratlam coin – a Mughal-style paisa in the name of Shah ‘Alam II, similar to KM.1 but without the *ra’ij* in cartouche. It is dated AH 1192 and has the mint name ‘Ratlam’ clearly visible in the normal place at the bottom of the reverse face. Year 1192 fell mainly in RY 20 of Shah ‘Alam II (AD 1178/79). The first “*ra’ij* in round cartouche” coin (KM1) reported either by Dr Bhatt or since has the RY 24 (plate V coin 3 of his book). Coins with a square cartouche that

did not include the word *ra’ij* were first struck no later than RY 20, and must have been the inspiration for type KM1. One is illustrated below on page 21.

A number of coins found in the area have a small, round, undecorated countermark *ra’ij* stamped onto them. Some of these are Ratlam coins similar to the AH 1192 coin mentioned above, but there are also much later coins from neighbouring states such as Gwalior (Ujjain) and Indore, and *kachcha* copies of them. The *ra’ij* counterstamp was apparently added to Ratlam coins once they were over a year old, to reassure the users that they remained current in the state. Some coins of other states found with this same countermark were probably so marked to allow them to pass current in Ratlam, but it seems certain that other states were also using very similar counterstamps, and so some confusion is unavoidable.

After AH 1197/24 the familiar round cartouche with the word *ra’ij* became a fixture on all Ratlam coins until the first closure of the mint in or soon after AD 1835 (or 1830 as discussed in the first part of this article) albeit in increasingly degraded forms. This would have avoided the tedious necessity of counterstamping all Ratlam coins as soon as they were over a year old, and the consequent saving of labour and expense was presumably the reason for this change to the dies.

Several stages in the degeneration of the word *ra’ij* are recognisable. They may help to distinguish between coins of different reigns or periods, or they may have been applied to distinguish between issues from different workshops or mints, or the degeneration may be incidental.

We also find many similar coins weighing less than they should, which have the legends or *ra’ij* engraved wholly or partly retrograde, and with the mint name replaced by meaningless pseudo-legends, many of which must be *kachcha* pice. When the mint reopened under Ranjit Singh in about 1864, the cartouche was dropped in favour of entirely new (non-Mughal) types, in conformity with the wishes of the British Indian Government, following the deposition of the last Mughal Emperor in 1858, and it did not reappear on any of the later coins of Ratlam. However, old coins bearing that mark, both *pukkah* and *kachcha*, apparently remained in circulation until near the end of the 19th century in rural areas.

There are a number of coin types and varieties of essentially Mughal pattern attributable to the reigns of both Padam Singh (regnal years of Shah ‘Alam II up to 43) and Parbat Singh (regnal years of Shah ‘Alam II after 43). Perhaps some bore Muhammad Akbar II regnal years or legends, but if so, they have not yet been noticed.

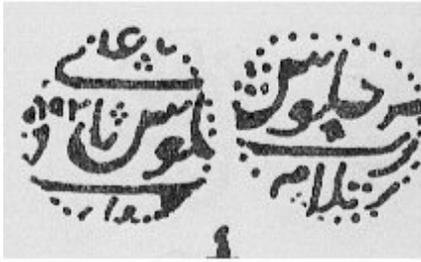
Symbols began to appear on the coins almost immediately. These symbols are thought to be ‘differentiating marks,’ as yet imperfectly documented, but especially on later series they may be merely ‘decorative elements’ of the designs. Some later series had designs consisting mainly of symbols.

The early types – those of Padam Singh's reign and the first issues of Parbat Singh's reign - have neat and accurately engraved Persian calligraphy and cartouches of round, hexagonal and square shapes, and appear to be of properly controlled weight. The square cartouches never contain the word *ra’ij*. Instead, they display upright cross shapes, sometimes with a dot in each quadrant, from which they have earned the local nickname ‘window frame paisas.’ The last coins of this series have regnal years in the 50s but the second digit is usually off the flan, and only RY 59 has been read with any degree of certainty. These are posthumous years of Shah ‘Alam II, which fall after the end of Padam Singh's reign, and those coins must be the earliest issues of Parbat Singh. All known coins of Padam Singh's reign have readable Shah ‘Alam II legends, and the mint name, if present, is ‘Ratlam’.

When the relevant part of the die is on the coin, there is an extraneous Persian ‘R’ to the right (i.e. before) the ‘*falū*’ of *falus* on all these coins (first documented by Dr Bhatt). The significance of this is not known. A ‘fern-like frond was added early on, depending from the upper divider line, between the ‘*falū*’ and ‘*s*’ of ‘*falus*.’

Coins of Padam Singh.

Below is a copy of the illustration of the earliest reported coin of Ratlam, a 'half falus' (6.2g. approx) taken from Dr Bhatt's book.
Date : 1192 / (24?)



Bhatt 1 (copied from Dr Bhatt's plate, with thanks.)



KM. 1 with mint name 'Ratlam.' These coins usually have regnal years of Shah 'Alam II in the 20s and up to 34 (1778 – 1791) which places them in the reign of Padam Singh. (1773 – 1800)
Wt. 13.7g. 17 mm. dia. Bhatt 10 and others.



This one has a hexagonal cartouche and a symbol added to the obverse between 'falu' and 's' – again a fern-like frond. The regnal year is probably 30. Wt. 13.0g. 18 mm dia. Similar to Bhatt plate III coin H.



Similar type, but with a square cartouche without 'ra'ij'
RY is 28. Wt 13.1g. 18 – 19 mm. dia. --
Similar to Bhatt plate III coin A.

Similar coins with hexagonal and square cartouches (see 3rd and 4th coins in table above) are dated from RY 20 of Shah 'Alam II. Hijra dates have not been noted.

In later coins of Padam Singh, and especially during the next two reigns, the fern-like frond gives way to a progressively wider variety of symbols. The table below shows two of a limited number that are found on coins of Padam Singh, and on some *kachcha* examples. The 'fern-like frond' is used again in the centre part of the first design shown, which occurs in a number of distinct but essentially similar (die?) varieties. This example appears to be retrograde, as the frond is the reverse way round from those shown on the above coins. However, without any legends to assist, retrograde dies cannot always be positively identified. The second example has a very similar scimitar to those found on some coins from the Sindhia mint at Ujjain and a

few from Holkar's mint at Indore. It is also found on scarce, essentially identical coins of approximately half paisa weight, around 5.9 g, like the lower coin in the table.

The hexagonal and square cartouches seem to have disappeared from the coinage before or at the end of Padam Singh's reign, but a complete date list has not been attempted for either, as examples with both digits of the regnal year are scarce. For this reason, most coins of this type are offered on the market as 'RY2' and 'RY3'. They are actually RY 2x and 3x, probably all between RY 24 and 38.

Two other symbols found on Padam Singh's coins.



Top: Bhatt 54 and 59 obverses.
Bottom: Bhatt 59 half paisa. Dr Bhatt attributes this coin to Pratapgarh, but this appears to be an error.

Coins of Krause type KM5 have the mint name at the bottom of the reverse, but dates do not appear to have been recorded. Specimens of this type were sought during this study, but none were seen, so no further comment is possible.

The multiplication of symbols on Ratlam coins continues into the next two reigns.

A digression concerning 'ra'ij' countermarks.

'Lion facing left,' 'lion and leopard' and 'lion and leaf / palm frond' coins come in a bewildering number of varieties with several different legends and pseudo-legends that are clearly the products of more than one mint, struck over a protracted period. The original 'lion paisa' coins are scarce issues of Mehidpur (Holkar) mint, but they are vastly outnumbered by obvious copies and imitations, very often with bungled (frequently retrograde) legends, mostly without mint names, and often underweight. Clearly the majority are '*kachcha*' pice. A few have crudely engraved mint names, some of which have been read as 'Deogarh' and 'Deogarh?' by Dr Bhatt. If that reading proves to be correct, the coins so read may be Pratapgarh state coins, as Dr Bhatt suggests, but a number of authorities have expressed strong doubts about that attribution. It is not immediately obvious where such coins would fit into the Pratapgarh corpus, but only time and more research will clarify this point.

'Lion copper,' counterstruck 'ra'ij'.



Some of the lion coppers, like the one pictured above, are found with a *ra'ij* countermark, identical to those applied at Ratlam, but they could have been stamped onto the flan anywhere in the area. The origin and age of the host coins is not knowable unless the type is clear or the mint name and / or date can be read – which they usually cannot. Many other countermarks are found on a wide variety of coins in the area, most of which have not been attributed to any particular polity, but a number have been tentatively attributed to Tonk State. Only round *ra'ij* stamps are known with certainty to have been applied by the Ratlam state, but probably not by Ratlam alone.

The coin shown here has a *ra'ij* countermark of the Ratlam type on an unattributable *kachcha* 'lion facing left' paisa, itself struck over a Banswara paisa. Some of the legend of the original Banswara coin is visible on one side, while the lion is fairly distinct on the side with the countermark.

The other side has additionally been stamped with a countermark die bearing what looks like a Roman capital 'P' whose significance and origin are unknown, but it was obviously applied before the *ra'ij*. A similar stamp is visible on Bhatt plate III P. The Banswara host coin type has been attributed to Lakshman Singh, whose reign began in AD 1844 and the Mehidpur 'lion and leaf or leopard' coins, from which the second-struck die was copied, date from even later than that.

The *ra'ij* countermarks identified by Dr Bhatt as having been applied in Ratlam obviously pre-dated the coins with *ra'ij* in cartouche as part of the die, which were a direct replacement for them. The earliest coins with round *ra'ij* cartouches appear to have been introduced in or about RY 24 of Shah 'Alam II, which began in March, 1782.

It is, therefore, certain that identical marks were placed on coins, including *kachcha* pice, over a long period of time, because the coin illustrated cannot be one of the early countermarked coins of Ratlam described by Dr Bhatt. As we have repeatedly been reminded, not everything is as it seems.

Coins of Parbat Singh, AD 1800 to 1824, AH 1214/15 to 1239/40, MFE 1209/10 to 1233/34).

The dates AD 1800 to 1824 are equivalent to the period between regnal year 43 of Shah 'Alam II and year 20 of Muhammad Akbar II (AH 1215/16 to 1239/40). The coins listed and illustrated here appear to be Ratlam coins, and are dated during Parbat Singh's reign, but as they do not show recognisable parts of the mintname 'Ratlam', a number of students have rightly stated that a firm attribution to Ratlam state cannot be fully substantiated. Others would tentatively support such an attribution, pending discovery of evidence to the contrary.

Series 1 – Paisas with Persian Shah 'Alam II legends and regnal years in the 50s (the only regnal year read so far is 59).

Assuming the regnal years to be true dates, all coins with Shah 'Alam II legends and posthumous regnal years in the 50s were struck during this reign. Dr Bhatt illustrates a coin of this type on which the year is 59 is readable (just), and attributes it to Ratlam state. No other fully readable regnal years in the 50s are known to me, but may well exist. Some have a dot to the right of the '5' but unless the part of the die to the right of the dot can also be seen, we cannot be certain whether the dot is meant as a Persian '0' or is merely decorative.

We have seen that a start was made to the addition of symbols to the obverse of the Ratlam paisas during the previous reign. First the fern-like frond was added, which is seen on coins with all three shapes of cartouche, and then came the scimitar, found only on coins with round cartouches. Neither of these designs survived into Parbat Singh's reign and neither did hexagonal or square cartouches.

The first new symbols of this reign include a floral symbol that is found in a number of varieties (often referred to as a lily), one that incorporates an Indore-type sun-face symbol, and a battle-axe: all three are illustrated below. The legends and the regnal year on these coins are engraved in good Persian script, but only small

parts of them ever appear on the flans, most of which are taken up by the symbols and cartouches. No dates have been seen.

It is probably reasonable to regard the *ra'ij* in cartouche as the Ratlam mint mark. However, its presence on many essentially similar *kachcha* coins makes it perhaps a somewhat unreliable one

Series 1. - Early Coins of Parbat Singh.



Not unlike Padam Singh's coins, but with somewhat degraded legends and different symbols. The first is sometimes described as a lily, the second is a sunface copied from Indore coins and the third is a battleaxe. The regnal year is often (perhaps always) posthumous RY 59 of Shah 'Alam II (AD 1816, AH.1231). Wt. 13.9 and 11.2g. 19 – 20 and 18mm. dia. Bhatt 56 and 58 (second coin photo kindly provided by Amit Mehta, Ahmadabad)

Series 2 – Broad flan paisas without readable legends, with artistic designs consisting largely of symbols and images, and MFE or Hijra dates in Nagari numerals.

Parbat Singh's second series are of a completely new design and these also cannot be proven to be Ratlam coins. The legends are so mangled as to be merely geometric and decorative patterns and are combined with images mainly taken from nature, with very little that can be described as Persian script. A few scraps, probably intended to imitate legends (there is what might represent a Persian 'as' or a retrograde 'sa' at about 10 o'clock on the obverse of the middle coin in the table) often appear to be retrograde or upside-down.

The lack of Persian legends should not surprise us. Few people in Malwa would have been capable of reading, or even recognising Persian script. Not many more, especially among the poor, uneducated users of copper coins, would even have been capable of reading vernacular languages. Those used to handling, counting and changing money would, of course, be fully numerate, and would certainly have understood figures and dates, and dates are the only parts of the legends that remain both accurately engraved and fully readable. The figures are Nagari, not Persian.

We have seen that the first coins of Parbat Singh's reign were a continuation of the regular Mughal types of his predecessor, Padam Singh. However, now that the Marathas, mortal enemies of the Mughals, were in the ascendancy in Malwa, any possibility of appeasing them might be of value to a small state with a tiny military capability, and this may have included the striking of more recognisably 'Indian' coins. This 'Indianisation' of the coinage is seen on the output from many other mints of similar vintage.

Known Series 2 coins have dates between 1219 and 1233. Dr Bhatt interpreted the dates as Hijra, but these coins may be dated in the Malwi Fasli Era, as this is a wholly agricultural area, and it has already been noted (see first part of this piece) that Fasli Eras, using solar calendars, were introduced to make life a little easier for agricultural communities and their rulers. If they are Hijra dates, they are equivalent to AD 1804 to 1818, and if they are Malwi Fasli dates, they equate to AD 1811 to 1824 or 25. In either case, the known dates probably all fall within the reign of Parbat Singh (1800 to 1824).

The only clearly illustrated and dated example of these broad-flan coins in Dr Bhatt's book is number 36 on Plate VI, which appears to be the same as the middle coin shown here, and incidentally bears the same date. The *ra'ij* cartouche, when it can be seen on these coins, is somewhat degenerate. Regnal years have not been seen but if they are on the dies, they would probably be found to the right of the cartouche. It is not there on the bottom coin, so regnal years are probably absent from this series. No mint name is readable on any of the coins illustrated, and since all pseudo-script appears very degenerate, any claimed readings should, perhaps, be viewed with healthy suspicion.

Broad flan coins of Parbat Singh. - Series 2



Top coin is dated Malwi Fasli Era (?) 1219, the second coin (Bhatt 56) is dated 1232 and the bottom coin, 1233 (1811, 1824 and 1825).

Wts 9.0, 12.5 and 13.2 g. Dias: 25 -27., 28 and 31 - 34 mm. dia.

The design - especially of the top coin - is artistic, and all three are engraved in tolerably fine style. It seems unlikely that makers of *kachcha* pice would be prepared to go to the trouble and expense of preparing the kind of dies used here, or such broad, thin flans, and even add a readable date, so these coins appear almost certainly to be 'official' coins of the Ratlam durbar mint, struck for Parbat Singh.

The weight difference - a gain(!) of about 40%) - may be considered rather excessive for *pukkah* coins struck only 13 years apart at the same mint, and while weights generally were on the decrease. On the other hand, if ALL coins of this mint in this reign are to be considered as *kachcha* pice, as some numismatists believe, disparate weights would not be an important issue. The suggestion that they represent different denominations seems hardly credible.

Balwant Singh, AD 1824 to 29 Aug. 1857; AH 1239/40 - 1274; MFE 1233 / 34 to 1266/67

Similar 'caveats' apply to attempts to attribute coins to this reign as to the previous one, only more so. Some coins are clearly dated and are certainly attributable to the period of Balwant Singh's reign, but again, the lack of a mint name precludes us from unequivocally declaring them to be 'certainly from Ratlam,' or 'certainly *pukkah*.' Because of a lack of any dating evidence whatsoever, this uncertainty is greater in the case of later series. As long as we can be permitted to regard the '*ra'ij* in cartouche' as the mint mark of Ratlam State, matters appear a little clearer than would otherwise be the case.

The preponderance of finds of all these types in the Ratlam and Sailana areas tends to indicate a local origin, and 'family resemblances' - especially the degenerate *ra'ij* in cartouche and the pseudo-legends of later series - support their attribution to Ratlam as a group.

Proliferation of symbols is taken much further in this reign, but 'family resemblances' between coins allocated to all series remain very strong. All coins still bear a cartouche, but the *ra'ij* is even more degraded, and the dots round their edges are becoming larger and fewer, giving them a cruder appearance.

Series 1. Narrower flans, MFE or Hijra dates with Nagari numerals, trefoil symbol in loop of a Persian 'S'

These coins are as scarce as we would expect from the mint of a small state. Narrower, thicker flans are the rule for this reign, though there is considerable variation.

From appearance alone, the first series could belong to this reign or the previous one, although it 'fits' better in this. The second coin (dated 1234) would belong to Parbat Singh if the date is Hijra (AH 1234 is AD 1818/19) and perhaps Balwant Singh if it is MFE (MFE 1234 is AD 1824/25). If they do indeed belong to Balwant Singh's reign, the date would have to be MFE, or perhaps an error. It is also possible, of course, that this coin continued to be struck a little past the end of Parbat Singh's reign.

All three coins considered here bear a trefoil symbol exactly similar to that on the Indore ('Uncertain mint') half anna dated AH 1228 (AD 1813) given number KM.91 in the Krause catalogues. Indeed, it could have been copied from that type, which predates this type by several years.

Coins of Balwant Singh - series 1.



Because it is usually impossible to be certain if the very narrow flan coins (top illustration) were struck from dated dies, it is only possible to firmly attribute these coins to the correct reign and series if the date, or part of the date can be seen on a coin of the same type, but struck on a broader flan.

In this case, the middle illustration shows a dated coin of the same type. The date is MFE or AH 1234 in exergue. The top coin has a very dumpy flan, which would be sufficient to explain why a date in that position on the die, has fallen off the flan. Both coins have the trefoil symbol lying within the loop of a Persian 'S' and with a Gujarati or Nagari numeral '5' to the top left, on the obverse. To the right of the Nagari or Gujarati '5' the top portion of the loop of the 'S' appears to have been changed into a Nagari '1' in some specimens, making it '51' but this is not always clear. There is no mint name present.

The lowest coin in the table is essentially similar to the top two, but the '5' does not appear on this coin. More importantly, neither does the loop of the 'S'. Unfortunately, there is no date visible on this example so, although it is intermediate in some ways between the top two coins and those of series 2 below, it cannot be proved, and should not be presumed to be intermediate date-wise between the two series. But it might be. The reverse of all three coins has a degenerate *ra'ij* in cartouche and the legends are now merely a series of neatly executed but meaningless curved lines, apparently identical on these three coins, and on the series that follow.

Series 2. Loop of Persian 'S' no longer present, Gujarati '35' instead of '5' to left of symbol

In coins of series 2, the Persian 'S' around the symbol has gone, like the last coin tentatively placed in series 1 above.

Mint names are not present on the Series 2 coins illustrated. For this reason, attribution of these coins to Balwant Singh's reign must again be regarded as tentative, but is strengthened by the probability that the mint was inoperative for the whole of his successor's reign - and their attribution to Ratlam because of their very close resemblance to other coins already so attributed.

These are rarely found in better than 'very good' and 'fine' condition, and so were probably either weakly struck, or much-circulated. From the history of the state during that reign (at least up to AD 1819-21) evidence of a lack of attention to minting procedures and quality of output are not at all unexpected.

Coins of Balwant Singh - Series 2.



*Bhatt 100 (lower coin) Upper coin is similar, but the jhar is differently engraved.
Wt. 12.3 and 10.9g. 23.0 and 21.0 mm. diameter*

The first coin is dated AH or MFE 1235 (AD 1825/26 or 1819 /20) and the date of the other is off the flan. The symbol is a kind of jhar, differently shaped on each. The '5' is clearly seen to be part of '35' on these coins, but because the area of the coin to the left of the '5' is not usually visible in coins of series 1, we do not yet know if that would be true for those coins as well. If the dies could be examined, much that is now doubtful would become straightforward. In this case, the '35' agrees with the date on the coin - 1235, but that must be a coincidence, because on similar

coins in Dr Bhatt's book, such as Bhatt 81 and 79, the date and this number do not agree.

They are struck on moderately broad flans. The *ra'ij* is now so degraded as to resemble a Gujarati '9' turned 90 degrees to the left. The 'legends' are again represented by a series of curves, which are, to all intents and purposes, identical in shape and layout with those on series three coins below, on which they can be more clearly seen, and series 1 coins, where they are less clearly seen. This is part of what I referred to as 'family likeness' above.

Series 3. Dated in Nagari characters in the 1240s, but most flans too narrow to show the date

Series 3 has been divided into two sub-series, designated 3a and 3b, which differ in ways that might or might not prove to be significant - again, sight of more specimens will, we can hope, clarify matters so that relationships between the sub-series (if such they are) can be studied in more detail.

Sub-Series 3a

The factor that places these three coins together in the first place is the main symbol - identical on all three.

The dies from which these coins were struck are probably all dated, but most of the flans are narrow and show little or no part of the date. The diameter varies from under 17 mm to nearly 23 mm. and they weigh mostly between 10 and 12 grams, for those handled in this study. The sub-series 3b coins weigh and measure roughly the same. Lightweight ones probably include *kachcha pice* copied from sub-series 3a *pukkah* coins.

Sub-series 3a paisas

Fully dated and undated coins of Balwant Singh.

*1, 2 and 3. Spear and flower. Bhatt 88 and sim.
Bottom coin has a spear to the left of the flower.*



*Bhatt 88. Dates 1244, (1)244 and (12)44
Max dia. 18.0, 18.0 and 22.0 mm. Wts 9.5, 9.6 and 9.5 g.*

Even on some of the coins with narrow flans, a portion of the date, such as '24' and '124' is often visible, which must be part of '124x.' Dr Bhatt shows similar coins with dates in the 1240s, the latest of which is 1245, and no date later than that was found on any coin of this series during this study. MFE 1245 is 1835/36, and AH 1245 is equivalent to AD 1829 /30 - all known reported coins of this series are therefore dated within the reign of Balwant Singh, whichever dating system was used. However, if the coins are dated in the MFE, Dr Bhatt's date for the first closure of the Ratlam

mint – AD 1830 - is rendered doubtful. It could only be correct if the date is Hijra. To put it another way, if the closure date 1830 is confirmed by documentary evidence, the dates on these coins must be AH. And if that is true for this series, it is probably true for them all.

All three coins of sub-series 3a illustrated above are dated 1244. What appears to be a Nagari '2' (looking more like a Persian 2 tilted 20 degrees to the left on sub-series 3a coins) is found to the right of the symbol on the same side of all series 3 coins. This could be the remnant of the first digit of regnal years in the 20s of the reign of Muhammad Akbar II, which would place these coins between AD 1824 and 1833.

Sub-Series 3b

Coins of Series 3b may or may not have identical layouts to those of Sub-series 3a. No dates have been seen on them, and dates are also absent from similar coins illustrated in Dr Bhatt's books and articles



A range of types of Sub-series 3b coins

1. Ferny frond and katar, Bhatt 121.
 2. 7-petalled flower, Bhatt 45 under Dhar state.
 3. Horse. Bhatt 96.
 4. Cup. Bhatt 91.
 5. Leaf and dagger. Not in Dr Bhatt's book.
 6. Sword and trishul. Bhatt 134 sim.
 7. Jhar. Bhatt 133 sim.
- W'ts: 9.6, 8.1, 11.55., 10.1, 9.3, 10.2 and 12.8 grams.

Possibly there are no dates on the dies from which any of them were struck, and if this proves to be the case, that fact would place them in a separate type or variety from those of Sub-series 3a. Since all other parts of the design are pretty-well identical to those on the coins shown as Sub-series 3a above, this would not be a safe assumption to make at this stage.

On the obverse, these coins have a wide range of symbols, many of which also occur on examples of several other series of Indian coins of a similar vintage from a number of mints, some local. The plagiaristic character of the average *kachcha pice* of the Malwa mints, already discussed, encourages the view that these coins may all be of that class. However, the presence of meaningful dates, if later research shows them to be present, and generally careful engraving of dies do not. Neither does the very close agreement of the greater parts of the design of these coins, both among themselves and to that on the dated coins of Series 3a above. This includes the identical curves and the Gujarati '2' that form the pseudo-legends.

Overall, the designs are far less random or crude than those usually seen on *kachcha pice*. The 'legends' (pseudo-legends) are again represented by curved lines (almost identical for all coins of this series) that cannot reasonably be interpreted as attempts to represent proper Persian words or letters. Again, no mint names are present.

Possibly none of them are *kachcha pice*, but official Ratlam coins produced during a period when strong commercial pressures were in force, pushing standards and costs in all coin-producing workshops as low as possible. The weights remain reasonably constant for these coins, again suggesting that they are 'standard' or *pukkah* coins

Series 4. Similar to series 3, but with redesigned obverse



These two coins weigh 12.3 and 12.9 grams and have diameters of 17.0 and 18.0 mm. The ra'ij and cartouche are degraded but the dies were neatly engraved.

The overall appearance of coins of Series 4 is of a tidier, simplified layout, more carefully engraved designs and again without any dates. However, the Nagari '2' to the right of the

symbol has not disappeared (it has been seen on a similar coin in the possession of Amit Mehta of Ahmedabad) and there are other detail differences. Dr Bhatt does not appear to have recorded these coins. The symbols noted so far are a comb, a highly decorative six-petalled flower, and another, similar flower without the dots in and between the petals. It is, of course, speculation to attribute these coins as the last series of this reign, because they bear, or appear to bear no dating information whatsoever. This speculative attribution is based on the perceived notion that the 'evolution' of the Ratlam paisa over time, after the Mughal types ceased to be struck, appears to be gravitating towards simplification of design, and the removal of dates and script. Once again the 'family resemblance' of these coins to the other series is called to bear witness. The pseudo-legends seen on these coins almost exactly match those on the previous two series, suggesting that, like them, they are 'official' Ratlam coins and the weights tend to confirm this assumption.

Bhairon Singh (Bhairon Singh): 1857 to 1864.

No Ratlam coins have been reported with dates in the reign of Bhairon Singh (1857 to 1864). If they exist, they will be dated between MFE 1267 and 1274 or AH 1273 to 1281, or possibly equivalent dates in the Vikrama Samvat (vs) Era. The mint was reportedly closed (date probably 1830 or 1835 or soon thereafter – see above) and was not re-opened in 1845 despite attempts to have this done. It was later re-opened for the striking of Ranjit Singh's coins from 1864 onwards.

By that time, the production of *kachcha pice* had reached its maximum extent and was declining rapidly in Malwa. No *kachcha* versions of Ranjit Singh's coins have been noticed.

Kachcha pice based on Ratlam ra'ij coins.

As a rule of thumb, copper coins of Malwa of standard weight and with legible dates and / or mint names usually have most other parts of the legend engraved properly. Such coins are overwhelmingly likely to be standard or *pukkah pice*. Crudely made, often lightweight coins and those with engraving errors are most often *kachcha pice*. 'Ra'ij in cartouche' coins of both classes are found in large numbers, even though Ratlam was a small state.

A *kachcha pice*, based on the Ratlam ra'ij coppers.



Copy of Bhatt 45, 62 or 63. Weight 9.6 grams.
Note especially the 'mint name'

The coin above, weighing only 9.6g. was struck from reasonably well engraved dies, and has readable legends and a neatly engraved symbol, probably copied from Bhatt 45, 62 or 63. However, the mint name has been rendered as one curved line and some vertical strokes. It is an attractive, well-made coin, but is certainly a *kachcha pice* from an unknown mint, possibly in Ratlam state, and probably made quite early in the process of 'kachcha-isation.'

General comments

Coins of the reign of Padam Singh and the first part of that of Parbat Singh are basically of standard Mughal pattern, except for the addition of symbols. They all appear to have been struck in the name of the Mughal Emperor, Shah 'Alam II, and earlier examples certainly bear the mint name 'Ratlam.' Aside from the cartouche, these coins have a normal Mughal-style reverse with the regnal year, and the dates were placed on the obverse.

However, on the later coins of Parbat Singh, and all the known coins of Balwant Singh, the date, when present, has moved to the cartouche side, in exergue. There is only one visible digit - a Nagari '2' – that may be part of the regnal year. The 'ra'ij', where it can be seen clearly, has become degenerate. The terms 'obverse' and 'reverse' have little meaning in relation to these later series. On most flans, only small parts of the legends are visible, and they are incomplete and unreadable.

The coins of Parbat Singh and the early coins of Balwant Singh appear usually to be dated, and the engraving of the dies is reasonably clear and of good quality. The fabric of the coins of both reigns is of acceptably fine style, and most can reasonably be described as aesthetically pleasing. The later, narrower flan coins of Balwant Singh have attractive, well-engraved symbols, but the visible bits of the pseudo-legends appear not to be as complex as those on Parbat Singh's coins. All or most of the latter series are without dates, readable legends and mint names.

The British records (above cited) state that, before its closure, the mint at Ratlam had been a prolific producer of *kachcha pice*. They included copies and imitations of coins of many states in Malwa, Rajasthan and Gujarat. The records make no distinction between the mint (or mints) making *kachcha pice* and that (or those) making *pukkah pice* at Ratlam. This implied connection suggests, but does not prove that the coins were all struck at the same mint complex. From their appearance and weights, the Ratlam corpus, taken as a whole, could reasonably be interpreted as including coins of both 'standard' and 'false,' *pukkah* and *kachcha* character, and becoming more *kachcha* with the passing years, and this coincides with 'Theory 1' of the first part of this article (JONS 205).

There is also a connection between the *kachcha pice* ('false coin') mints of Ratlam and the later ones at Sailana, as reported in the same British records. Both mints (or groups of mints) apparently struck both *pukkah* and *kachcha pice*, even if the two classes of coin were not produced in the same buildings and by the same establishments. Accidental swapping and mixing of the dies could have occurred, and firm evidence of this would cast more light on the operation of these shadowy places. It is entirely likely that *kachcha pice* based on the standard Ratlam ra'ij coins, were made later at Sailana, after the closure of the Ratlam facilities, as those coins reportedly remained in circulation in large numbers in rural areas until near the end of the 19th century.

We are on safe ground in attributing coins to Ratlam and to a particular ruler only when we can see the mintname and dates that confirm our attribution. We are clearly not in that position with regard to most of the series described above.

Attribution of some ra'ij in cartouche coppers to Pratapgarh state

Dr Bhatt attributes his numbers 45, 51, 56, 58, 59 and 63 to Pratapgarh because he has read the mint name as 'Deogarh' on them, and a number of others because he read the mint name as doubtful 'Deogarh?' However, it now appears that in the opinion of most people working with 'ra'ij in cartouche' coins today, none show remnants of the mint name 'Deogarh.' and on coins like numbers 45, 59 and 63 in particular, the mintname could more easily be restored as 'Ratlam'. For the purposes of this study, they are all retained in the Ratlam corpus, because that is where they seem to fit best. The attribution of any of the 'ra'ij in cartouche' coins to Pratapgarh state therefore appears very doubtful, and recent attempts to attribute some of them to Banswara are even more suspect.

It appears reasonable to regard the ra'ij in cartouche in all its forms as the mint mark of Ratlam, and probably the only non-Ratlam coin with that mark will be found to be *kachcha* coins, which may or may not have been struck at the unofficial *kachcha pice* mint(s) in Ratlam state, discussed above.

References

1. *A Memoir of Central India Including Malwa*, by Sir John Malcolm, Sagar Publications, Delhi, 1970.
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3. 'The *kachcha pice* of late 18th and 19th Century Malwa' by B Tabor, *JONS* 203 p.16.
4. 'Theories of Kachcha' *JONS* 205
5. *Indian States*, by Playne, Solomon, Bond and Wright, Asian Educational Services, Delhi, 2006. p.492
6. *Hind Rajasthan*, p.595 et seq.
7. *The Coinage of Native States of central India*, by Dr S K Bhatt. Indore 1985, a bound reprint of articles previously published in the *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography*. (Plate V coin 1.)**
8. Ditto, p. 12.

**N.B. This book has recently been published in a new, revised form, but I had not yet seen that work before this article went to press.

COINS OF THE SIKHS: THE NANAKSHAHI COUPLET

By Gurprit Singh Dora (Gurprit Gujral)

Two distinctly different couplets with slight variations on coins of different mints and types were used on the obverse of the coins of the Sikhs. Basically, both the legends attribute the minting of the coins to the Almighty with the blessings of the Gurus of the Sikhs, from Guru Nanak - the first Guru and founder of the Sikh religion - to Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru of the Sikhs - the founder of the Khalsa - the pure one.

Of these 2 couplets, one has been termed the "Nanakshahi" couplet and the other the "Gobindshahi" couplet. Although Dr Surinder Singh (in *Coins of the Sikhs: Symbols of sovereignty*) is of the opinion that such a distinction has no ideological basis, it has nonetheless been used, for numismatic convenience, to categorise coins into two main types: those with the "Nanakshahi" couplet are called "Nanakshahi" coins and those with the "Gobindshahi" couplet, "Gobindshahi" coins.

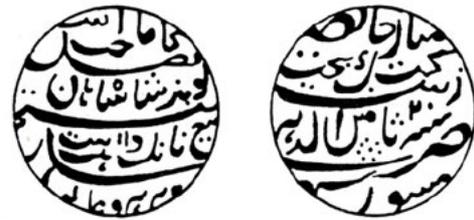
The "Nanakshahi" couplet is known to have first appeared on the initial coinage of the Sikhs, also popularly known as "Khalsa" coins. These coins were originally thought to have been struck by Banda Bahadur, the first Sikh warrior to take on the might of the Mughal Empire. This attribution, however, was refuted by Hans Herrli in his article entitled "The rupees of Bandā Bahādūr: a comedy of errors" in *JONS* 202, where he argued that these coins were most likely minted at Amritsar.

A number of academics, historians and numismatists of repute have put forward various explanations and meanings for the "Nanakshahi" couplet. So far, all these proposals have remained somewhat speculative. The non-Sikh historians and numismatists, being unaware of the religious characteristics of the couplet, went into the literal meaning of the couplet. On the other hand, Sikh historians and numismatists have also tended to base their arguments on the explanations provided by the non-Sikh historians and failed to go into the fundamental religious context that appears to provide the correct meaning to this couplet.

Despite a detailed study of the "Nanakshāh" couplet by Dr Surinder Singh in his book previously referred to, he also appears to have overlooked a minor characteristic used in explaining the religious hymns of Sikh scriptures, as I explain below.

The "Nanakshahi" Couplet

Of the initial Sikh coinage, coins of only years 2 and 3 have been noticed so far.



Khalsa Coin of Year 2
(Drawing courtesy "Coins of the Sikhs": Hans Herrli)



Khalsa Rupee of Year 2
Diameter: 28 mm, Weight: 11.96 g
(Saran Singh Collection)

According to Surinder Singh, the following couplet appears on the obverse of the Khalsa coins of year 2:

سيکه زد بر بر دو عالم تیغ نانک وحب است
فتح گویندشاه شاہن فضل سچا صاحب است

sikka zad bar har do 'ālam, tegh-é-nānak wāḥib ast,
fateḥ gobind shāh shāhān, faḏl sachchā ṣāḥib ast

The arrangement of the same couplet has been shown in a slightly different manner by Hans Herrli (*Coins of the Sikhs*) and the parts "faḏl sachchā ṣāḥib ast" and "tegh-é-nānak wāḥib ast" of the couplet (shown in bold) have thus changed places:

سيکه زد بر بر دو عالم فضل سچا صاحب است
فتح گویندشاه شاہن تیغ نانک وحب است

sikka zad bar har do 'ālam, faḏl sachchā ṣāḥib ast,
fateḥ gobind shāh shāhān tegh-é -nānak wāḥib ast



Khalsa Rupee Year 3⁶⁹



Khalsa Rupee Year 3
Diameter: 23 mm, Weight: 11.84 g
(Saran Singh Collection)

⁶⁹ I am grateful to Kulwant Singh Bahra for providing the image of this coin.

On the Khalsa coins of year 3, according to Surinder Singh, the couplet on the obverse has remained the same except that “*singh*” has been added to “*gobind*”. However, as he himself admitted that he could not get access to the other coin of year 3 from the collection of Mrs Norma J. Puddester, he may have missed seeing the part of “*gūr(r)*” which can be seen in the illustration in the second edition of Mr Herrli’s book “Coins of the Sikhs”. In the course of compiling this article, I have also had the privilege of receiving the images of the actual coins of years 2 and 3 from S. Saran Singh. It is clear from the image of the actual rupee of year 3 that “*gūr(ū)*” has, indeed, been added to “*gobind*” in addition to “*singh*” and the couplet is apparently as follows:

سيکه زد بر هر دو عالم
فضل سچا صاحب است
فتح گورگوبندسنگ
شاه شاهن تيغ نانک وحب است

*sikka zad bar har do ‘ālam, faḥl sachchā ṣāhib ast,
fateḥ gūr(ū) gobind singh shāh shāhān, tegh-é-nānak wāhib ast*

In his book, Herrli translated the couplet as:

*Coin struck through both the worlds by the grace of the true Lord.
Victory of Guru Gobind Singh, King of Kings, Nānak’s sword is
the provider.*

In his article in the JONS 202, he made a slight amendment to the meaning of the couplet as follows:

*Coin Struck for each of the two Worlds by the grace of the True
Lord,
Of the Conquest won by Guru Gobind’s Sword, King Nanak is the
Provider.*

On the other hand, the translation provided by Surinder Singh in his book “Sikh Coins: Symbol of Sovereignty” is:

*The coin has been struck in both the worlds herein and after. With
the guarantee of Guru Nānak’s double-edged sword or guaranteed
by Guru Nānak under the strength of his sword. The victory of
Guru Gobind Singh, King of Kings, has been achieved with the
grace of Sachchā Sāhib, the God Almighty.*

The term “*do ‘ālam*” means two worlds. The idea of “two worlds”, which has extensively been discussed in the past, refers to the “the spiritual and secular worlds”. This idea of the two worlds has always been acceptable to the Sikh ethos. However, the meaning of “*zad bar har do ‘ālam*” as “Struck in both the worlds herein and after” as rendered by Surinder Singh would sound as though the same coin were struck at two places (herein and after) simultaneously. Possibly, Surinder Singh has philosophical or religious reasons for this, but no matter how philosophical the idea could be, the meaning does not appear to come out properly.

Hans Herrli who previously gave the meaning of the same words as “struck through both the worlds” has improved upon his interpretation of the same in his JONS 202 article as “struck for each of the two worlds”. This would imply that the coin was struck for “the secular world” (i.e. for commercial purpose) as well as for “the spiritual world” (i.e., for offering in Gurdwaras etc. and for religious purposes). This would fit well with the Sikh ethos.

The “*faḥl sachchā ṣāhib ast*” part of the couplet, which is shown to mean “By the grace of the Almighty”, has been associated differently in the above two translations. Whereas in the translations provided by Hans Herrli the attribution of the “*minting of the coin*” is by the grace of the Almighty (*sachchā ṣāhib*), in the translation provided by Surinder Singh, the “*achievement of*

victory of Guru Gobind Singh” has been shown to be by the grace of the Almighty (*sachchā ṣāhib*). In effect, the meaning of “*faḥl sachchā ṣāhib ast*” remains the same in both the translations.

However, when it comes to the second line, Guru Nanak, the first Guru of the Sikhs and the founder of the Sikh religion, is not known to have ever wielded a sword. Could it be possible that the word “*tegh*” (a double-edged sword) is associated with Guru Gobind and the second line of the couplet in fact should be read as “*fateḥ tegh-i gūr(ū) gobind singh*”? Without distorting the meaning of any part of the couplet, it would then mean “Victory of the double-edged sword of Guru Gobind Singh, King of Kings” etc. This would then fit well with the spirit of the warrior Guru, who infused the fighting quality within the Khalsa to oppose all kind of oppression.

It is a well-known fact that the die makers took some liberty in arranging the legends on the coins according to their convenience and to suit the décor of the coin. Hence, there is a possibility that the couplet might have been misread on account of its arrangement.

In my opinion, the couplet should read:

سيکه زد بر هر دو عالم
فضل سچا صاحب است
فتح تيغ گورگوبندسنگ
شاه شاهن نانک وحب است

*sikka zad bar har do ‘ālam, faḥl sachchā ṣāhib ast,
fateḥ tegh-é-gūr(ū) gobind singh shāh shāhān, nānak wāhib ast*

The opinion offered by me finds strength in the fact that on almost all the “Nanakshahi” coins of Amritsar mint, “*fateḥ*” and “*tegh*” appear in the same order as depicted above by me. Hans Herrli also depicted the couplet in the same manner in his article in JONS 202.

Moreover, since Guru Nānak never claimed divinity and attributed all occurrences to Almighty God, and all through the religious hymns in the Guru Granth Sāhib, the holy book of the Sikhs treated as the embodiment of the Almighty, wherever an occurrence associated with the word Nānak has appeared, Nānak has attributed the occurrence to God Almighty. For example, “*nānak tera āsra*” does not mean “O Nānak, we are at your mercy” but means, “Nānak submits: Almighty, we are at your mercy”. Similarly, “*nānak nām jahāz hai, charhe so utare pār*” does not mean “(constant recitation of) Nānak’s name is the vessel that ferries us to salvation”. In fact it means, “Nānak states that (the constant recitation of) HIS name (the name of the Almighty - Sachchā Sāhib) is the vessel that ferries us to salvation”. As such, in my opinion, “*nānak wāhib ast*” should actually mean “Nānak states that the Almighty is the Provider”. Beyond this, I leave it to the judgment of those more learned than me. Hence, the couplet, in my opinion, should actually mean:

*Coin struck for the two worlds by the grace of the true Lord.
Victory of the double-edged sword of the King of Kings Guru
Gobind Singh,*

Nānak submits that the Almighty is the provider.

Hans Herrli, in his article “The rupees of Bandā Bahādur: A Comedy of Errors”, on page 39 of JONS 202, correctly attributed the sword (*tegh-é*) to Guru Gobind. However, being unaware of the characteristics of the religious ethos of the Sikhs, he still translated it as “Nanak is the provider”.

To recapitulate, the above couplet has been termed the “Nanakshahi” couplet and the same couplet with minor variations was used on the obverse of the coins of the Sikhs that have been categorised as “Nanakshahi” coins.

THE 'NUO SHREE SICCA' – A MARATHA RUPEE

By Shailendra Bhandare

A memorandum by John Clunes, submitted on 14 August 1829, on coins current in the city of Pune and its vicinity, was published verbatim in 'Indian Numismatic Chronicle', in its combined issue of vol. III part II and vol. IV, part I, 1964-65 (ed. S V Sohoni, published by the Bihar Research Society, Patna) with the following note added at its beginning by P L Gupta:

"This article is a reproduction of a memorandum submitted in a printed form to the East India Company... by the author who was probably some employee of the Company at Poona. A copy of this memorandum is now available in the India Office Library, where it is bound in volume 48 of the tracts. Dr P M Joshi drew my attention to this tract and I obtained a photo-stat copy of it during my visit to London in 1962. This tract contains valuable information about the Maratha coins that were current at Poona in the early nineteenth century. The title given to the memorandum by the author runs into several lines as – List of Rupees most current in Poona, with relative value of each percentum at this date, to the Poona Halli Sicca or Standard Rupee of Account among the Sahooars; shewing also by who the Rupees were struck, the period, place and purpose as well as the standard rate of alloy as determined previous to coining".

The data published by Clunes in his memorandum was not corroborated with numismatic evidence until K K Maheshwari and K W Wiggins made some use of it in their monograph '*Maratha Mints and Coinage*' (Nasik, 1989) and illustrated a page from the manuscript on p. 15. Although the memorandum contains important information about coin circulation in and around Pune, Maheshwari & Wiggins employed it essentially in a 'numismatic' sense - to identify mint towns such as Chambhargonda, Tembhurni, Belapur etc which feature in it as places where mints had been in operation, and to attribute coins using clues afforded by Clunes, such as in the case of their discussion about the 'Ankushi' Rupees. Here we find a chart compiled from Clunes' information (p. 22-23) and then a remark "this may be the Wai Sikka Dooboondkee" for a rupee, listed as T5 wherein two dots feature in the reverse design, referring to an attributive term used by Clunes.

A word may be said here about who John Clunes was. P L Gupta, in his introductory remarks seems to dismiss him as 'some employee of the Company'. John Clunes appears to have begun his career in the Bombay Army - in vol. X of the 'Asiatic Annual Register' we find his name in the list of 'Bombay military promotions' in 1807-8, when he was made an ensign. In 1822, he was a lieutenant and took action against a party of Bheels, as indicated in India Office Records file IOR/F/4/628/17112(2). Just before the 'memorandum' was submitted, he was a captain in the army and also the postmaster at Pune – in vol. 26 of the 'Asiatic Journal and Monthly Miscellany', July-December 1828, we find references to him with these two job titles and also the information that he conceived a 'new plan for facilitating travelling'. Under this scheme, 'Hamalls' or manual labourers, who facilitated movements of goods while in transit, were to be given land and encouraged to settle in villages which adjoined the main routes of transit between Bombay and Pune. Their services were to be requested by applying to 'the postmaster at Poona' whereby they could be requisitioned to perform duty at cardinal junctures en route. In this report, Clunes' efficiency is applauded by the following remark: - "Knowing, as we do, how zealous Capt. Clunes uniformly is in prosecuting every measure he undertakes, we hope to see a system soon perfected here...".

Transport and thoroughfare were subjects of Clunes' interest as a postmaster, as evidenced by a book that he published in 1826, entitled '*Itinerary and Directory for Western India*' which lists routes 'through the Deccan, Konkan, Carnatic, Khandesh, Gujerat, Cutch and Malwa' to which an appendix was added in 1828. He eventually retired as a lieutenant-colonel and authored two other books – '*Origins of the Pinadries*' (written anonymously in 1818) and '*An Historical Sketch of the Princes of India*' (1833). These references indicate that John Clunes was an important second-level officer in the East India Company's activities in the Deccan in the second decade of the 19th century.

Apart from its original publication by Gupta in 1965 and scant use by Maheshwari & Wiggins, the memorandum submitted by John Clunes virtually slipped into numismatic oblivion. It was, therefore, a matter of delight that a coin was recently spotted in 'Oswal Auctions' (no. 18, lot 80, Pune, 4 December 2010) that can be attributed using clues provided by Clunes. The coin was acquired by Mr K V Pandit of Pune and is published here with his kind permission. It is illustrated here as fig. 1 and described as follows:



Fig. 1

Fig. 2

Obv: Legend in three lines - (*sikka mubārak/ bā*)d shāh gh(āzī/ sh)āh 'ālam with date 1(20?X?) above the 'h' of shāh.

Rev: Partially visible formulaic '*julūs*' legend in three lines. A prominent '*shri*' (श्री), with a retrograde 'comma' above, is placed within the 's' of *julūs*. To its left, '*zarb*' and below it an 'S'-like curve which is the 'shosha' of the letter '*kāf*', forming part of the mint name inscribed below the horizontal line.

On page 4 of the memorandum, Clunes mentions a coin named 'Nuo Shree Sicca', with a value of 110 (corresponding to 100 Poona Halli Siccas, or 'Standard Rupees of Account') and a standard alloy of 8.523 and 8.807. These presumably are the alloy figures for two rupees that were tested when the memorandum was being compiled. Further to these details, Clunes adds, "This rupee was coined by Amrut Rao during the six months of 1802-03 during which he enacted Pageant Peshwa during the ascendancy of Holkar; it has the figure '9' upon it in addition to the श्री to distinguish it from the other Shree Sicca coins; hence Nuo Shree Sicca".

It is evident that the retrograde 'comma'-like device appearing above the '*shri*' (see enlargement, fig. 2) on the reverse of this coin is nothing but the Devanagari (Marathi) numeral '9'. Therefore, it will be appropriate to identify this coin as the 'Nuo Shree Sicca' described by Clunes. 'Nuo' is an alternative spelling for 'Nau' (नऊ) meaning 'nine' in Marathi.

Clunes is clear about what this additional mark is and when it was added to the design, so as to distinguish the variety from 'other Shree Sicca coins', of which he describes two – one 'Shree Sicca' which was changed at the rate of 109 to 100 Poona Halli Siccas and the other, which passed at 112.8 to 100 Poona Halli Siccas. The description of the first coin is scant; Clunes only says that it is "supposed to have been struck by Madhoo Rao the great, and has श्री upon it". The second, according to Clunes, was "struck 25 years ago by Rastia at the village of Menwulee near Waee, and is inferior to Amrut Rao's Shree Sicca". He adds, "as intended, it passed current at the same rate as the Shree Sicca of Madhoo Rao, Peshwa, till discovered, when the mint ceased to work".

A bit of clarification is needed here with reference to the personalities that Clunes' mentions. 'Madhoo Rao, the great' ostensibly refers to Madhav Rao, the young and dynamic Peshwa who took the reins of his office in 1761 after the death of his father, Balaji Bajirao, alias Nanasaheb, following the great Maratha debacle at the 3rd battle of Panipat. The qualifier 'the great' presumably separates him from a homonymous Peshwa who succeeded him in 1774. Tuberculosis killed Madhav Rao in 1772, but during the eleven years of his reign he did a great deal to reinstate Maratha power by keeping in check the Nizam of Hyderabad and Haider Ali of Mysore. The Marathas also reached their former glory in north India when they successfully avenged their defeat at Panipat by annihilating the Rohilla chief, Najib ud-Daula in 1772. 'Rastia' refers to the family known by their Marathi surname 'Rastey', who were powerful bankers and landed aristocrats in the south Maharashtra – north Karnataka region and also relatives of the Peshwas (the mother of Madhav Rao was née Rastey). Wai, on the banks of the Krishna river in Satara district of present day Maharashtra State, was a stronghold of the Rasteys, but they also controlled mints at Bagalkot, Bijapur and Athni (vide Maheshwari & Wiggins, '*Maratha Mints and Coinage*', pp. 44-46, 51-52). The 'Shree Sicca' produced by the Rasteys was conceivably inferior to 'Madhoo Rao's' as well as 'Amrut Rao's' Shree Siccas and the mint was closed when the debasement was 'discovered'.

While the 'Shree Sicca' of the second variety was struck at 'Menwulee, near Wae' according to Clunes, there is no mention as to where 'Madhoo Rao's' or 'Amrut Rao's' coins were struck. G H Khare published some documents ('A Report on the Maratha Mints of the Peshwa Period located at Poona, Chakan and Chinchwad, both near Poona', *JNSI*, vol. 37, 1974, pp. 102-109) to indicate that 'Shree Sicca' rupees were coined at Chakan, located about 30 km northeast of Pune. According to Khare, the mint at Chakan was set up to alleviate the shortage of specie caused by the withdrawal of the Poona Halli Sicca, in turn precipitated by the influx of debased 'Chandwad'-type Rupees struck at Vaphgaon and the subsequent fall in the Poona rupee's value. The master of the new mint at Chakan was asked to produce coins comparable in value to the Chandwad rupees so that the currency market in Pune could have enough circulating specie and, thus, the Poona Halli Sicca could regain its value. Khare also found details of the mint's production of 'Shree Sicca' rupees (published as 'Shree Sikka Rupee', in *Bharata Itihas Samshodhana Mandala Quarterly*, vol. XIX, no.4, 1939) – 673,100 pieces were produced between 1793 and 1800, except 1796, when no coins were struck at Chakan.

Maheshwari & Wiggins ascribed coins in the name of Shah 'Alam II with 'shri' as a distinguishing mark on the reverse to Chakan and tentatively read the mint name as 'Mominabad Chakan', remarking upon the fact that the mint indicator 'zarb' was placed next to the 'jalūs' in the second line of the reverse inscription, because the "mint name was of such a length that it was impossible to position it in the usual place to the right of the word 'jalūs'". Following Khare and subsequently Maheshwari & Wiggins, the 'Shree Sicca' rupees are attributed to Chakan mint. Since the 'Nuo Shree Sicca' described here also bears a general resemblance to the coins listed by Maheshwari & Wiggins, it would be plausible that it bears the same mint name.

Clunes' description about the 'Shree Siccas' coined by 'Rastia' and 'Madhoo Rao, the great' are confusing to say the least. If, as Khare mentions, the mint at Chakan began functioning only in the last decade of the 18th century, its inception would be dated almost two decades after the death of Madhav Rao Peshwa, or 'Madhoo Rao, the Great'. Also, there is no numismatic evidence available to suggest that the 'Rastia' struck a 'Shree Sicca' coin at 'Wae'. Judging by Clunes' own ascription, there was a mint at Wai producing 'Ankushi' rupees known as 'Wae Sikka Dooboondkee'. One has to conclude, therefore, that Clunes' information here is either erroneous and/or based on inaccurate

data collected through his informants. This is not entirely surprising, because incongruence is noticed at other places in Clunes' memorandum. Clunes seems to be aware of some such instances – for example, at the end of his memorandum, he lists two rupees as 'Arkati' rupees, presumably struck at Arcot as judged from this appellation, but notes in comment that, in reality, one of them was struck at Allahabad and the other at Itawa. Conceivably, these were shown to Clunes as 'Arkati' rupees by his informants and Clunes was intelligent enough to make such a remark. On the other hand, his views on the origins of certain marks on Maratha coins, such as the 'Parshu' (battle axe) or 'Ankush' (elephant goad) reflect his credulousness at the information he was being fed with by his informants.

Clunes mentions that the 'Nuo Shree Sicca' was "coined by Amrut Rao during the six months of 1802-03, during which he enacted Pageant Peshwa during the ascendancy of Holkar". This brings us to the historical context regarding the issue of the 'Nuo Shree Sicca'. To understand who 'Amrut Rao' was and why he was a 'Pageant Peshwa' in 1802-3 requires an exposition about events, dates and personages involved in the history of fin-de-18^{me}-siècle Deccan.

Amrut Rao was the adopted son of Raghunath Rao, the uncle of Madhav Rao the elder, who made a bid for the Peshwa's office after the murder of Narayan Rao, the successor and younger brother of Madhav Rao, in 1773. Raghunath Rao was implicated in the murder and his bid was thwarted by a ministerial alliance of civil and military officers of the Maratha Confederacy, who installed as Peshwa the infant son of Narayan Rao as Madhav Rao II and outmanoeuvred Raghunath Rao, securing political moves and military victories. Raghunath Rao craved for a male heir and adopted a boy in 1768, but a son was later born to him in 1775. This son grew up to become Baji Rao II, the last Maratha Peshwa.

Raghunath Rao surrendered in 1783 to the ministerial combine, now headed by Nana Phadnees, the shrewd and astute minister, who imprisoned him along with his family at Kopargaon, where he died later in the same year. A third son was born to him posthumously. His name was Chimnaji, alias Appa. After Raghunath Rao's death, Amrut Rao continued living at Kopargaon till 1792. He lived at Anandwalli near Nasik between 1792 and 1794 and then till 1796 at the fort of Shivneri, near Junnar. In 1796, the forces of Daulat Rao Sindhia took charge of him and moved him to Jamgaon.

Events in 1795 marked the beginning of events which culminated in the downfall of the Peshwa's powers in 1818 – a course which elicited the historian James Grant Duff's famous remark "Never was an Empire so foolishly lost". The young Peshwa Madhav Rao II, died after falling from the balcony of his residence, the 'Shaniwar Wada' palace in Pune. The de facto ruler of the Maratha Confederacy at this time was Nana Phadnees. Since the Peshwa had died childless, the next in line to his office was Baji Rao, his cousin once removed, who was the son of Raghunath Rao, Nana's arch rival, whom he had successfully challenged, defeated and captured. Apart from the long-standing enmity between Raghunath Rao and his family and Nana, there was also a financial side to these politics. While in charge of the kingdom for the Peshwa, Nana had advanced huge sums of money to various people on his behalf. These loans would pass on to the legitimate male heir of the Peshwa, who was either born to him or adopted as his son. Baji Rao, not being the direct descendent of the late Peshwa, was under no obligation to fulfil such patrimonial commitments and there was every chance he would refuse to pay the loans (which he indeed did!), Nana being left with the burden.

The politics that resulted out of this mess plagued the Maratha Confederacy for the next five years. Baji Rao was an inept, suspicious and a volatile man. The Sindhia and the Holkar were other influential factors in the equation. They were once the trusted pillars of the confederacy, but during 1795-1800, their rivalry took a vicious turn. The Sindhia, 'old man' Mahadaji, died

in 1794, leaving his young and headstrong son, Daulat Rao, in charge of vast fortunes. Similarly, the Holkar, 'old man' Tukoji, died in 1797 and the Holkars' fortunes were inherited by Kashi Rao, his eldest son, who was an imbecile. But his three brothers, namely Malhar Rao, Yashwant Rao and Vithoji Rao, took the reins of the family's domains. Daulat Rao Sindhia, as equally inept as Baji Rao and fuelled by vengefulness, thought this was his moment to seize the Holkar tracts. He managed to raid the Holkars' base near Pune and kill Malhar Rao, while the rest of the kin fled. This caused a rift between the Holkar brothers, Yashwant Rao and Vithoji, and Daulat Rao Sindhia, that never healed. With Sindhia's attack, the Holkars' fortunes hit their lowest ebb. The Holkar brothers spent the next three years wandering in the Deccan and Malwa, gathering strength, leading a life of depredation and living off looting the Sindhia's territories.

Baji Rao finally succeeded in becoming the Peshwa at the end of 1796, but only after winning Daulat Rao Sindhia's support and promising him tenures and cash worth 2.5 million rupees. At this time, Amrut Rao was brought from Jamgaon to Pune by Sindhia's troops. Baji Rao's relations with Amrut Rao were cordial to begin with, and he appointed his adoptive brother his financial executor (*Diwan*). But suspicious as he was, he soon began to doubt Amrut Rao's intentions. Baji Rao could not pay the Sindhia his dues and, when the money he had promised to Sindhia could not be made available, Sindhia imposed fresh taxes on the rich inhabitants of Pune, and tortured them when they refused to pay up. The finances of the realm became a mess. As the *Diwan*, Amrut Rao resented these developments but could not do more than resign from his post and move to Junnar in July 1800.

In the meantime, the Holkar brothers went from strength to strength in their war against the Sindhias. While Yashwant Rao concentrated on Malwa, his brother Vithoji carried out a series of raids in the Deccan. As Baji Rao was the Sindhia's protégé, he came under the Holkars' flack as well. Removing Baji Rao and the Sindhia from political power became the sole aim of the Holkar brothers' activities.

Knowing the ineptitude of his adoptive brother and his Sindhia allies, Amrut Rao decided to side with the Holkars. He invited Yashwant Rao to the Deccan and promised him a sum of money for deposing Baji Rao from the Peshwa's office. Closer to home, Vithoji Holkar proclaimed himself as his agent and pursued the campaign against Baji Rao, staking the claims of the Peshwa's office for Amrut Rao.

In April 1801, Vithoji Holkar was captured in one of the skirmishes by Baji Rao's men and brought to Pune. Baji Rao had him killed by tying him to the feet of an elephant to be dragged around the palace courtyard. He and his cronies witnessed this cruel spectacle with great glee. When Yashwant Rao learnt about this uncouth act, he was incensed. He immediately moved south and appeared in the Deccan, inflicting defeat on the Sindhia's troops as he advanced. The fact that Sindhia's troops could not stop Holkar's advances sent Baji Rao into a panic and he fled from Pune. Yashwant Rao marched on Pune on Diwali day (25th October) in 1802 and set flame to the Peshwa's hapless capital. The Peshwa's palaces were looted and so were the houses of many of the rich inhabitants of the city, and the treasury was plundered.

After the city was sacked, Yashwant Rao invited Amrut Rao to become the Peshwa and brought him from Junnar to Pune. On 12 November 1802, Amrut Rao took the reins of the Peshwa's office; however he vacillated and did not officially declare himself as the Peshwa for fear of facing the charge of having deposed his adoptive brother. Yashwant Rao then proposed that Amrut Rao's son, Vinayak Rao, be adopted as the late Peshwa Madhav Rao's son and given the Peshwa's office. Amrut Rao agreed to this arrangement and Vinayak Rao was declared Peshwa on 22 December 1802.

In the meantime, Baji Rao, having fled from Pune, sought refuge with the British. Richard Wellesley, the Governor-General

could not have hoped for better. He took the opportunity to make Baji Rao agree to the infamous 'subsidiary alliance' treaty. This treaty was signed by Baji Rao on 31 December 1802 at Vasai near Bombay. Now the Peshwa was effectively a vassal of the British and they became his 'protectors'. As part of the deal, British troops under Arthur Wellesley's command escorted Baji Rao back to Pune.

Ominous as these developments were, Amrut Rao tried hard to form an alliance of all Maratha chiefs against the Baji Rao-British combine in the first quarter of 1803. However, sagacity and unity were not the forte of the Marathas, and Amrut Rao's efforts failed. Yashwant Rao Holkar left Pune in March 1803, having plundered the city for four months. Baji Rao arrived in Pune on 13 May 1803 with his British masters and ended the 'pageantry' of Amrut Rao's putative Peshwa-ship. He also annulled the adoption of his son, Vinayak Rao. Col. Wellesley then offered Amrut Rao a tenure worth 0.8 million rupees and, in return, successfully separated him from a possible Maratha coalition against the British. The deal was done on 14 August 1803. Amrut Rao left Pune for Nasik and eventually chose to retire to Benares, where he arrived at the end of 1805.

Amrut Rao spent his last days at Benares and died in September 1824. His son, Vinayak Rao, alias Bapusaheb, inherited his estate. In 1829, the family moved from Benares to Kerwee near Banda, which they had been assigned in tenure by the British in 1818. After the family moved to Kerwee, the estate of Chitrakoot was added to its tenure. The official titles of the family were 'Maharaja' and 'Rao of Kerwee'. After Vinayak Rao's death in 1853, the title of 'Maharaja' was withdrawn and his adoptive sons, Narayan Rao and Madhav Rao, were nominated his successors. During the insurrection of 1857-59, Kerwee was sacked by the armies of General Whitlock. Narayan Rao and Madhav Rao were accused of colluding with the rebels. Narayan Rao was stripped of his titles and sentenced to life imprisonment at Hazaribagh, where he died in 1860. Madhav Rao then became the 'Rao of Kerwee'. His descendants presently reside in Pune.

To conclude, we come back to the 'Nuo Shree Sicca' – it is evident that the issue of this coin was precipitated when Yashwant Rao Holkar plundered Pune and Amrut Rao was nominally in charge. Perhaps it was struck to alleviate a sudden necessity for cash to provide for the Holkar's troops. In all likelihood, the coins were struck at Chakan and brought to Pune, because Holkar's depredations would have rendered the mints at Pune defunct. It is equally possible that it was struck at a make-shift mint at Pune itself, even though it bears the mint-name Chakan. Perhaps the Chakan 'Shree Sicca' was chosen as a model because it fared better in exchange value over the more current Chandwad and 'Halli Sicca' rupees.

The only aspect of the coin that remains to be discussed is the trace of a date that it bears. From what is extant, it can be restored to 120X, but that creates a difficulty. If it is regarded as AH 1200-1209, it would correspond to AD 1785-94, which is more than a decade earlier than the Amrut Rao episode. There can be two explanations for this –

1. The date is to be reckoned not as AH but in a different calendar. There was a 'Sursan' ('Shuhur San') reckoning followed in Maharashtra, calculated on the basis of a 'harvest year'. Sursan 1203 fits 1802-03 so perhaps the date is 1203.
2. The date is to be reckoned as AH, but is a 'frozen date' inherited from the Chakan 'Shree Sicca' prototype. According to Khare, the mint at Chakan had begun functioning sometimes in the early 1790's. This fits well with the AH date being 1205-09. This would also explain why the mark of 'shrī' was modified with the figure of a '9' placed over it – the addition would help to render the date as a 'vestige' by effectively being a differentiating factor between the prototype and the issue which followed it.

UNDISCOVERED INDIAN COINS

By Hans Herrli

In the pre-modern Islamic countries and especially in India, *khutba* and *sikka* were the two most important public prerogatives of sovereignty. Whereas mentioning his name in the sermon at the Friday noon prayer in the congregational mosques meant accepting the sovereignty and suzerainty of a ruler, omitting his name from the sermon was an open declaration of rebellion and independence. The right to mint coins with his own name offered a ruler the added possibility to make his name known in a whole country, far beyond the cities and the congregations of their Friday mosques.

As the minting right was considered crucial in defining a ruler's standing, Indian historians tended to attribute coins to almost every pretender to a throne or to at least partially successful rebels. Their allegations can often be disregarded because the pretender clearly lacked the means or the facilities necessary for coining, but some instances reported in historical works are still highly plausible.

Coins issued by pretenders and rebels were normally silver coins used to pay troops and issued in fairly limited numbers. As Indian silver coins tended to end sooner or later in the melting pot, survivors from small coinages are rare, and, as they will usually be very similar to other contemporary coins, they are easily overlooked or their legends misread and misinterpreted by collectors and numismatists.⁷⁰ The few following examples of yet undiscovered coins may perhaps incite some collectors to have another look at dubious or unidentified pieces in their collections.

Mirza Yadgar Nasir Beg, half-cousin of the Mughal emperor, Humayun

Babur, the founder of the Indian Mughal dynasty, had advised his son and successor, Humayun, to treat his brothers, Kamran, Askari, and Hindal, generously, and Humayun took this as an excuse to pamper them and his cousin, Mirza Yadgar Nasir; to appoint them to high positions and to forgive them their repeated treacheries. In return his brothers, who all coveted the throne of Hindustan, and Yadgar Nasir hindered him at every step and betrayed him. For about 20 years there was hardly a time when not at least one of these close relatives was involved in a seditious act.⁷¹

After his conquest of Gujarat in 1535, Humayun gave Mirza Yadgar Nasir Nahrwala Patan in jagir, but 9 months later he lost it to the returning Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat. The Mirza then became the jagirdar of Kalpi, which he successfully defended against a son of the rising Afghan usurper, Sher Shah, but when Sher Shah Suri defeated Humayun in the battles of Chausa (1539) and Kanauj (17 May 1540) Yadgar Nasir fled with the Emperor and the rest of the Mughal army to Sind.

In Sind, Humayun expected aid from Husain Shah Arghun, the Amir residing at Tatta, who had been a nominal vassal of Babur, but for several reasons Husain Shah was not well disposed to the

Mughal Emperor. Babur had dispossessed the Arghuns from both Kabul and Qandahar, and Husain Shah knew very well that raising an army against Sher Shah would ultimately end in disaster. He, therefore, first tried to starve Humayun and his steadily shrinking army in order to force him to leave Sind, and when the Emperor tried unsuccessfully to take the strong fortresses of Bakkar and Sehwan,⁷² he offered to acknowledge Mirza Yadgar Nasir as emperor, to read the *khutba* in his name and to give him his daughter in marriage with the right of succession in Sind as her dowry. It was also reported that he had coins struck in Mirza Yadgar Nasir's name at Bakkar.

As neither Husain Shah nor Humayun were strong enough for a decisive victory, their war finally led to a stalemate. When Husain Shah offered him 300 camels and 2000 loads of grain, Humayun accepted and, on 11 July 1543, he crossed the Indus and left Sind on the way to Qandahar and the refuge offered by Shah Tahmasp in Iran.

The rift between Humayun and his cousin was never healed. When he was campaigning in the spring of the year 1546 in Badakhshan, Humayun ordered the governor of Kabul to strangle Yadgar Nasir, who, according to the emperor, had been tried and condemned to death for treachery.

Although Husain Shah's striking of coins in the name of Mirza Yadgar Nasir would have been a valid stratagem in his quarrel with Humayun, such coins have never yet been found. The fact that neither Husain Shah nor his father, Shah Beg Arghun, ever struck any coins in their own name and that the fortress of Bakkar had never yet been the seat of a mint tends to render the existence of the Yadgar Nasir coins questionable, but in AH 950 (AD 1543), the year in which Humayun left Sind, a series of rupees in the name of Sher Shah Suri and his successors began to be struck at Shergarh Bakkar. Husain Shah, who ruled Sind as a powerful and independent monarch, may well have established at Bakkar a mint that Sher Shah Suri then took over and that remained intermittently active until the coinage of the Amirs of Khairpur in the 1250s AH.

Mirza Muhammad Isa Tarkhan and Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan

From 1336 to its annexation by the Mughal Empire in 1591, Sind was ruled by 14 Jams of the Rajput Samma dynasty and by 5 Arghuns and Tarkhans, their successors. That we find in the *Coins of the Indian Sultanates*⁷³ only a few rare coins of three of these rulers may in part be due to the possibility that many of them never struck coins, but also to the fact that the coins of Sind are still not well known, researched or published. Of the chronicles of Sind only the *Tuhfat al-kiram* mentions coins of this period: "*Mirzā Janī Beg (AH 993-1001 / AD 1585-1591) now began to take some measures for the improvement of public affairs.... He encouraged commerce and made some important changes in weights and measures and coinage of money. It is said that before that time no gold coins were used except the ashrafis bearing the French mark or impression. Mirza 'Isa Tarkhan (AH 964-975 / AD 1556-1567) had invented some copper money, that was called Ísái. Mirza Janī Beg now reduced its value and called it Mírí. He caused similar reduction in the weights and measures, which however was considered a bad omen in the midst of so much happiness.*"⁷⁴

⁷⁰ A typical case was described in an article by J. Lingen and P. Stevens in JONS 201, 2009. The authors presented a rupee of Akbar 'Adil Shah, a grandson of Aurangzeb and an ephemeral puppet emperor created by Nawab Safdar Jang in AH 1753. The very rare coin was already known and published, but it had only been superficially studied and therefore incorrectly attributed.

⁷¹ Several websites (e.g. "Sindh rulers with coins") erroneously call Mirza Yadgar Nasir the uncle of Humayun. Humayun's uncle and Babur's half-brother was Mirza Nasir, like Babur a son of the Timurid 'Umar Shaikh Mirza Miranshahi and grandson of Abu Sa'id Mirza Miranshahi. He was born in 1487 and died before his son, Yadgar, was born. (The Persian word *Yadgar* [Remembrance] usually indicates its bearer's posthumous birth.) Contemporary writers often called both the father and the son Mirza Nasir and so laid the foundations of an ongoing confusion.

⁷² Bakkar is an island fortress between the towns of Rohri on the left and Sukkur on the right bank of the river Indus, about 20 kilometres northeast of Khairpur. Sehwan lies on the Indus 125 kilometres north of Hyderabad.

⁷³ Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka: *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi 2001, pp. 490/491.

⁷⁴ The *Tuhfat al-kiram* (Gift of the Generous) by Mir 'Ali Sher "Qani" Tattavi, a poet and historian born in 1727 at Tatta, is a general history in 3 volumes written in Persian and finished in 1767. The work has never been completely translated into a European language, but Mirza Kalichbeg Fredunbeg translated large parts of volume 3, a history of Sind, into English and quoted them in his: *A History of Sind, Volume 2*, Karachi

The assertion that *ashrafis* bearing a French mark were used in Sind is the consequence of an incorrect translation of the Persian word *farangi* by K.M. Fredunbeg. In an Indian context *farangi* does not mean *French* but *European* and the European *ashrafis* were then mostly genuine Venetian ducats or sequins, which reached Indian ports in quite large numbers, or their Indian imitations.

Although they certainly existed and were probably not even rare, neither coins of Mirza Muhammad Isa Tarkhan nor of Mirza Jani Beg Tarkhan have yet been published, but we happen to know the *isais* of Mirza Muhammad Baqi (1567-1585), the son of Mirza Muhammad Isa and the grandfather of his successor, Mirza Jani Beg. The copper coins with a diameter of c. 13 mm weighed 2.3-2.9 grams and show a peacock on one side and “*zarb fulus baldat Tattah*” and AH years from 979 to 987 on the other side.⁷⁵



The tomb of Mirza Jani Beg in the necropolis of Makli Hill (Tatta), taken by a photographer of the Archaeological Survey of India in the 1870s.

Muhammad Akbar, the 3rd son of the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb

After the death of Raja Jaswant Singh, the ruler of Jodhpur and a Mughal general in 1678, Aurangzeb not only annexed his state, Marwar, where he introduced *Sharia* law and reimposed the *Jaziya*, a tax upon non-Muslims, but he there also began to destroy Hindu temples and their idols. After previous revolts of the Marathas (1660), the Jats (1669) and the Sikhs (1675), the Rajputs of Jodhpur also now revolted, and, supported by the Rana of Mewar,⁷⁶ their cavalry defeated several divisions of the Mughal army and even attacked neighbouring Mughal provinces. In 1680 Aurangzeb, therefore, decided on a general offensive of which Niccolao Manucci, a Venetian gunner in the Emperor's service, wrote: “*for this campaign, Aurangzeb put in pledge the whole of his kingdom.*”⁷⁷ The emperor fixed his headquarters at Ajmer and sent three divisions of the Mughal army, commanded by the imperial princes, Sultan Muazzam (Shah 'Alam), A'zam Tara and Muhammad Akbar, against the Rana. The Rajputs incited the young and ambitious, but fairly inexperienced Muhammad

Akbar⁷⁸ to rebel against his father and offered him the support of their famous cavalry. The prince, who “*had his own father's example before his eyes, thought it was very easy to revolt, and as easy to maintain a revolt, against him.*”⁷⁹ On 1 January 1681 he declared himself Emperor and issued a manifesto deposing Aurangzeb. If Akbar had learnt from his father, along with the lesson of rebellion, that of not losing time, he would probably have made himself Emperor, but before marching towards Ajmer he lost some days preparing his coronation. This gave Aurangzeb, who had soon learned that Akbar had assumed the crown, and that coins had been struck in his name,⁸⁰ time to gather men for his defence and to convince by dint of threats and promises most of his son's troops to desert. Having lost almost his whole army in one night, Akbar fled to the Deccan, to Sambhaji, the Maratha prince, and later to Persia, where he intrigued unsuccessfully against his father and died in 1704 at Mashhad.

Coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar, most probably rupees dated AH 1091 / regnal year *ahd*, have never been published, but as they were mentioned by contemporaries and, as striking them would have been a normal act for the pretender, it seems fairly probable that they do exist.

Nawab Haidar 'Ali of Mysore

Mir Husain 'Ali Khan Kirmani, a courtier of Nawab Haidar 'Ali (c. 1720 - 1782), the Dalwai of Mysore⁸¹ and feared adversary of the British, and of his son, Tipu Sultan, wrote in his *Nishan-i-Haidari*⁸² about Haidar 'Ali's coinage: “*During the whole of his reign, the only innovations he made were in the impression of the Hun, or Pagoda, on one side of which was the [Arabic] letter He, and on the other dots; and in the half pence or copper coins, the currency of this country, on one side of which is impressed the figure of an elephant. The reason of this latter was, that Haidar's own elephant, called Pun Gaj, an extremely handsome animal in its form and proportions, and very steady in its paces, in so much that Haidar prized him above all his other elephants, died suddenly; and Haidar, being much grieved at his death, to perpetuate his memory had his figure stamped on his copper coinage.*”⁸³ He made no other change. About this time, however, being one day very angry with his *Ohdedars*, and *Howalehdars*, the civil officers of his working departments, who had spoiled some work committed to their charge, by chance the *Daroga* or master of the mint presented himself, and asked the Nawab what device he would have struck on his new copper coinage. Haidar, in a violent passion, told him to stamp an obscene figure on it; and he, agreeably to these orders, struck that day four or five thousand

⁷⁸ Muhammad Akbar was born in 1657.

⁷⁹ Aurangzeb had deposed his sick father, Shah Jahan, and confined him in the fort at Agra. The quote is from: Seid Gholam Hossein Khan: *Sair Mutaqherin* (Siyar-al-Mutakherin), Vol. 4, p.151. The work of Sayid Ghulam Husain Khan contains in Vol.4, Section XVIII not only a mention of Muhammad Akbar's coins but also a rather extensive narrative of the adventures of Prince Muhammad Akbar after his flight to the Deccan.

⁸⁰ The first mention of coins struck in the name of Prince Muhammad Akbar occurs in a Persian history of the Indian Timurids from 1519 to the 14th regnal year of Muhammad Shah, in Muhammad Hashim Khafi Khan's *Muntakhab al-lubab, Part 2* (Calcutta 1874, pp. 261-270). The chapter describing Muhammad Akbar's defection was translated by John Dowson and published in *The History of India as told by its own Historians* (Vol. VII, 298-304).

⁸¹ Mir Husain 'Ali Khan Kirmani completed his *Nishan-i-Haidari* (the Seal of Haidar), a history of Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan, in AH 1217 (AD 1802). The text quoted here occurs at the end of the 31st and last chapter of the 1st part (History of Haidar 'Ali). The *Nishan-i-Haidari* was translated by Colonel W. Miles into English and published in 2 parts: *The History of Hydur Naik*, London 1842 and *The History of the Reign of Tipu Sultan*, London 1864.

⁸² The Dalwai of Mysore was the chief minister, commander-in-chief and the de facto ruler of the kingdom.

⁸³ Haidar 'Ali probably just continued the coinage of the Kings of Mysore who had already issued copper coins showing an elephant.

1902. The text quoted in my paper is from chapter XIII, p. 103 of this work.

⁷⁵ In *ONS* 129, 1991 I published a small hoard of these coins and a few pieces are illustrated in *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, p.491. Though small coins of a local currency rarely travel far, I found my coins at Pokaran, 450 km northeast of Tatta.

⁷⁶ According to Niccolao Manucci (in *Storia do Mogor*, a History of India from 1653 to 1708, p. 236) Aurangzeb sent the Rana an ultimatum whose second point was: “*that he should no longer coin money in his own name, but in that of Aurangzeb. This was the same thing as saying that the Rana was not the king of his realm but a simple governor, since the money would be graven with Aurangzeb's name*”. Quotes from Manucci are from the 2nd volume of William Irvine's translation, published in London in 1907.

⁷⁷ *Storia do Mogor*, p. 240.

of these coins, and they passed among the currency for some time. At length, certain learned men made a representation to the Nawab on the subject, and the coins were called in, and melted down. The pence and half pence of the elephant are, however, still current.”

If several thousand of the obscene coins really circulated for some time it is highly improbable that Haidar 'Ali was able to call all of them in and melt them; quite a few must have survived as a curiosity at least for some time and perhaps until today. Haidar 'Ali's copper paisas struck at Seringapatam are anonymous and are usually identified by the elephant on the obverse and the mint name Patan or a date, either AH 1195 or 1196. As Kirmani's work was not well known, later numismatists would not have attributed obscene paisas to Haidar 'Ali, and until today not a single numismatic author has even mentioned them. Obscene figures are common in Indian art, but not on coins, and as far as I know no plausible candidate for Haidar 'Ali's obscene paisa has ever been published.



HYDER SHAH
alias
HYDER ALI KHAN BAHADUR

Sayid Ahmad Bareilvi

Born in 1786 at Rai Bareilly (near Lucknow), Sayid Ahmad joined, in 1812, the mercenary army of Nawab Amir Khan, who fought the British on behalf of the Marathas in central India, until it was disbanded in 1817 at the end of the Pindari Wars. From 1817 to 1821 Sayyid Ahmad travelled about North India as a Sufi missionary, and in 1821 he set out with seven hundred followers on a pilgrimage to Mecca. After spending one and a half years in Arabia, he returned to Delhi in May 1823 in order to wage a holy war (*Jihad*) against the Sikhs, Shias and other non-believers. In January 1826 he started with about 1000 Indian Mujahidins on a journey via Sindh, Beluchistan and Kabul to Charsadda (near Peshawar) where he planned to establish an Islamic state among the Pashtuns.

Because of some similarities with the ideology of the present-day Taliban, Sayid Ahmad is often falsely called a Wahabi or even

the founder of Wahabism in India. He gave himself the title *Amir al-Muminin*, declared the areas under his influence an Islamic state with strict enforcement of Islamic law, and, led by a *Khilafat-e-Khasa*, a spiritual super-authority regulating the affairs of the secular government, a system quite similar to the one actually existing in Iran. Though he must have learned about the teachings of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahab during his stay in Arabia, Sayid Ahmad, who never enunciated a really coherent ideology, in practice mainly followed the great Indian reformer Shah Waliullah (1703–1762).

In 1826 and 1827, Sayyid Ahmad and his followers clashed twice with Sikh troops near Akora without a decisive result, because Sayyid Ahmad proved unable to shape the Pashtun villagers, who preferred looting to fighting, into a disciplined and effective military force.

When Ahmad, who had proclaimed his caliphate on 11 January 1827 and had his name mentioned in the Friday sermons, attempted in 1830 to collect the Islamic tax of ten per cent of the crop yields, he antagonized the powerful tribal khans, who formed an alliance with Yar Muhammad Khan, the Barakzai ruler of Peshawar. The union was defeated, Yar Muhammad Khan killed and the Islamic reformers supported by 40,000 Pashtun *Ghazis* occupied Peshawar in November 1830 (AH 1246). But before the end of 1830 an uprising of the Pashtuns occurred, and the tax-collectors, judges and other agents of Sayyid Ahmad in Peshawar and in the villages, mostly Indians, were murdered and the surviving followers of Sayid Ahmad's *Tariqah-i Muhammadiyah* (the Way of Muhammad) were driven into the hills. A Sikh army sent by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and led by Prince Sher Singh and General Ventura occupied Peshawar and, on 6 May 1831, defeated and killed Sayid Ahmad, his lieutenant Shah Ismail, the grandson of Shah Waliullah, and more than 500 of his followers in a battle at Balakot.

Cunningham⁸⁴ reported that, during his short occupation of Peshawar, Sayid Ahmad struck coins with the legend: "*Ahmad the Just, the Defender of the Faith, the glitter of whose sword scatters destruction among the infidels.*"⁸⁵ Such coins, most probably rupees, have never yet been found, and surviving followers of the Sayid strenuously denied after his death that he had assumed the title of Khalif, bestowed Yusufzai maidens on his Indian followers or minted coins, in fact all of his acts that might have indicated that he was less than an ideal and humble reformer of Islam. These denials notwithstanding, Sayid Ahmad's history is quite well documented and as he acted undoubtedly not only as a religious leader but also as the head of an Islamic statelet, in which he had established a rudimentary administration with paid officials, his striking of coins and their alleged legend appear highly plausible. Peshawar had an active mint and 2 months would therefore have been time enough to issue a new coinage. After the fall of the Sayid, Maharaja Ranjit Singh's appointee as feudatory ruler at Peshawar, Sultan Muhammad Khan, would probably have tried to suppress the usurper's coinage, but a rupee in the name of the Khalif Ahmad, Amir al-muminin, struck at Peshawar in AH 1246 might still one day be discovered.

⁸⁴ In: Joseph Davey Cunningham (1812-1851): *A History of the Sikhs from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej*, London 1849. Cunningham, an officer in the Corps of Sappers and Miners in the Bengal Army, was appointed in 1837 assistant to Colonel Claude Wade, the Political Agent at Ludhiana in charge of British relations with Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Sikh Empire in the Panjab and the various Barakzai chiefs in Afghanistan; in 1845 he was appointed Political Agent in Bahawalpur. Though the author of the *History of the Sikhs* studied all the available sources in English, Persian and Panjabi with a scholar's meticulousness some dates in the history of Sayid Ahmad in his chapter VII (pp.168-172) differ from the ones in better sources which I have followed.

⁸⁵ Cunningham: p. 171.

THE BASIS OF THE ACHENE AND HINDU-JAVANESE COINAGE

By Hans Leyten

In 1992, Robert S. Wicks⁸⁶ published a work on markets and trade in early southeast Asia and the development of indigenous monetary systems. Most of his work is based on the Chinese trade and the Chinese weight system. In this book, Wicks writes that the standard for weights and measures for Java and Sumatra was based on the Indonesian Kati (on Java the Kati weights 615.2 grams⁸⁷).

On Java, the Kati or Catty of 601⁸⁸ grams was known from the trade with China. It was the VOC in the the Dutch East Indies who introduced the new Kati of 615.2 grams. The difference between the Dutch Kati and the Chinese Catty is due to the fact that the Dutch made the Kati equal to 1¼ Dutch pounds Troy of 492.2 grams.

Wicks goes on to state:⁸⁹

1 Kati = 16 (or 20⁹⁰) Suvarna
1 Suvarna = 16 Másha = 64 Kupang
1 Másha = 4 Kupang

Contrary to Wicks' statement, the Dutch Kati was actually divided into 16 Tael of 38.5 grams and not into 16 Suvarna. (The Chinese Catty was divided into 16 Tael of 37.6 grams⁹¹). Starting from the Kati, he derives (with an impossible precision for a weight based on natural seeds.):⁹²

1 Suvarna = 38.601 grams
1 Másha = 2.412 grams
1 Kupang = 0.603 grams

The Suvarna is the ultimate gold standard, which can be found in the Lilavati of Brahmagupta, who wrote his Algebra and Arithmetic about AD 600. Quoting from the "Algebra"⁹³, insofar as it relates to the weighing of gold:

*"A Gunjá (or seed of Abrus) is reckoned equal to two Barley-Corns (Yavas).
Half ten Gunjás are called a Mashá by such as are conversant with the use of the balance.
A Karsha contains sixteen of what are called Másha.
A Pala four Karshas.
A Karsha of gold is named Suvarna."*

If the "Barley-Grain" mentioned here is the "Grain Avoirdupois" of 0.0648 grams then the Gunjá or Ratti is 0.130 grams. This results in a Másha of 0.648 grams and a Suvarna of 10.37 grams.

Robert Tye, in his book "Early World Coins and Early Weight Standards"⁹⁴ gives weights for the Gunjá or Ratti of 0.107 grams⁹⁵ and 0.115 grams⁹⁶, resulting in a Suvarna of 8.56 grams and 9.20 grams. (If one follows the rule that 5 Gunjás make a Másha and 16 Máshas forms a Suvarna.) But he also mentions a weight standard

of 9.6 grams⁹⁷ for a Suvarna of 80 Rattis, a Másha of 0.6 grams and the Gunjá or Ratti of 0.120 grams.

Tavernier⁹⁸ writes: "The ordinary Rati varied from 1.75 to 1.84 grains troy." In the appendix is written:⁹⁹

"The ordinary Rati (the seed of the Abrus precatorius) varied from 1.75 up to 1.9375 grains troy, the mean of which is 1.843 grains troy."

Thus a Gunjá (Krisnala, or Ratti)¹⁰⁰ of 0.113 to 0.1256 grams gives an average Gunjá of 0.119 grams. This results in the weight of the Másha being between 0.565 and 0.628 grams (average 0.596 grams) and the Karsha (or Suvarna) between 9.04 and 10.05 grams (average 9.54 grams).

The Hindu Java gold coins of around AD 1200, form a series of 9.6 - 4.8 - 2.4 - 1.2 - 0.6 grams. The later (AD 1200-1700) Sumatra gold coins of Samudra-Pasai and Acheh form a series of 2.4 - 1.2 - 0.6 - 0.3 grams.

These series correspond rather well to a weight standard of 9.6 grams¹⁰¹ for a Suvarna of 80 Rattis, and hence a Másha of 0.6 grams and the Gunjá or Ratti of 0.120 grams.

The name for gold in old Java literature is "Su", short for Suvarna and corresponding to the heaviest coin. The dominant Sumatran coin of 0.6 grams was called a "Mas" in the adat-law.

So it seems to me very probable that the Suvarna on Java was equal to an Indian Karsha of 80 Gunjás (and not 1/16 of the Chinese or Dutch Kati) and weighed about 9.6 grams. Wicks' Suvarna of 38.601 grams in fact resembles more the Indian Pala, or the modern Chinese Tael. In effect, Wicks mistakes the Tale (or Tael) for the Suvarna.

Thus, the Suvarna is one quarter of what Wicks proposes, and his table would best be rounded off to read:

1 Suvarna = 9.6 grams
1 Másha = 0.6 grams
1 Kupang = 0.15 grams

I, therefore, contend that the coin of Samudra-Pasai and Acheh must be based on the Másha of approx. 0.6 grams as earlier published¹⁰², and to base it upon a Kupang of 0.6 grams¹⁰³ is misguided

Likewise, his statement that the gold and silver Hindu coins of Java, of 2.4 grams, are struck on the basis of the Másha¹⁰⁴ of 2.4 grams misleads because the Másha weighed 0.6 grams.

These coins are on the weight of the Sana, which is ¼ Suvarna or 20 Máshas.

But the most fundamental problem in Wicks' case is that of assuming that the Suvarna weighed 38.6 grams rather than 9.6 grams. The coins and weights fall much more readily into line with the well-known nomenclature and standards of traditional Hindu weight systems once this error is removed

⁸⁶ Wicks, Robert S. Money, *Markets and Trade in Early Southeast Asia. The Development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to AD 1400*, SEAP, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1992

⁸⁷ Doursther, *Dictionnaire universel des poids et mesures*, 1976. Page 93.

⁸⁸ The Chinese Catty was equal to 1600 Candarins. (Candarin = 0.3757 grams.)

⁸⁹ Page 252.

⁹⁰ Page 253.

⁹¹ The Chinese Tael was equal to 100 Candarins.

⁹² Page 253.

⁹³ Colebrooke, 1817.

⁹⁴ Robert Tye, *Early World Coins*, York, YO1 9RA, U.K., 2009, ISBN 0 9524144 3 0.

⁹⁵ Page 152.

⁹⁶ Page 154, for the Delhi Ratti.

⁹⁷ Page 154.

⁹⁸ Tavernier, 1676, Vol. II, in footnote on page 69.

⁹⁹ Tavernier, 1676, Vol. I, page 333.

¹⁰⁰ The Ratty or Gunjá are the red seeds, the Krisnala is the black seed, but of the same weight.

¹⁰¹ Page 154.

¹⁰² J. Leyten, *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 91, Amsterdam 2004.

¹⁰³ Page 236 and page 241.

¹⁰⁴ Page 249 and page 255.

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