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Editor: Robert Bracey,

ONS NEWS

The summer issue of the journal brings several important news items. After long service to the society our secretaries for both the general and the UK & Eire regions have stepped down. The society is grateful to both Robert Senior and Peter Smith for their long service to the society. Paul Stevens and Paramdip Khara have kindly agreed to replace them.

New Regional Secretary – General



Dr. Paul Stevens began his working career as a research scientist looking for new medicines. Later he became a senior manager within a multinational company before taking early retirement in 2008 to concentrate on his numismatic interests.

Paul started collecting coins as a boy, encouraged by his grandfather, who had formed a good collection of English coins. During the 1970s Paul's interest switched from English

to Indian coins, particularly those produced by the British for use in India. Later, this expanded to cover all 'Indian' coins, in the widest sense of the term, but mostly focusing on coins issued after the Islamic invasions.

Although primarily a collector, Paul has spent many hundreds of hours in the British Library exploring the history behind the coins, particularly that found in the archives of the East India Company.

New Regional Secretary – UK & Eire



Paramdip has worked in the department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum for over 6 years. Her numismatic interests include Sikh coins, Mughal coins and more generally Islamic coins covering South Asia and the Middle East. Until recently she has worked as a project curator: Islamic coins in the Coins and Medals department. Paramdip is

currently working with Dr. Elizabeth Errington on the Masson project; researching the Islamic coins in the India Office Loan Collection. She enjoys studying oriental numismatic collections and is looking forward to taking on the role of secretary for the ONS.

Report of the Indian Secretary

The Fourteenth Mumbai Coin Society's Annual Coins, Banknotes and Philately Exhibition was held at Mumbai's World Trade Centre between 23 and 25 September with a unique exhibition on the life and times of the recently beatified Saint Mother Teresa of Kolkata by ONS-SA Member, Pascal R. Lopes. The Exhibition retold the story of Mother Teresa, an iconic figure known for her philanthropic activities clad in her iconic white cotton saree with a blue border. Born to Albanian parents on 26 August 1910 as Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu in Skopje, Macedonia (then Yugoslavia), she joined the Sisters of Loreto Order at the age of eighteen which sent her to Calcutta, India which she made her home and in which she worked for the poor in its slums. She founded the Missionaries of Charity in 1950 to serve the poorest of poor. Mr. Lopes used the medium of Stamps, First Day postal covers, Information sheets and Coins issued in her honour by countries across the globe from his personal collection.

The other exhibits at the Exhibition included an exhibition of Indian Tea and Coffee Garden Tokens by ONS-SA member, Mr. Yatin Sawant who brought out the importance of this interesting Money object for other collectors at the MCS Coin Fair. The other attraction of the coin exhibition was a preview of the silver coinage of Awadh under its fourth Nawab, Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula by ONS-SA members, Mr. Dinesh Master and Mr. Mohit Kapoor. The display tried to exhibit the maximum number of coins from 14 different mints during Asaf-ud-Daula's twenty-two-year reign between 1775 and 1797 C.E.



Pascal Lopes (left) with Mr. Paul Abraham, COO, Indusind Bank with the Exhibition on Mother Theresa

The Mumbai Coin Society each year felicitates a noted numismatic scholar for his/her contribution to Indian Numismatics with an award called Bharat Mudra Ratna Puraskar. This year the award was given to Prof. Amiteshwar Jha, the Director of Indian Institute for Research in Numismatic Studies (IIRNS), Anjaneri, Nashik. Prof. Jha has had a long innings of research in ancient Indian

Rebecca Darley "Self, Other and the Use and Appropriation of Late Roman Coins in Peninsular India (4th to 7th centuries CE)", pp.60-86

Shailendra Bhandare "Space for Change: Evaluating the 'Paucity of Metallic Currency' in Medieval India", pp.159-202

Mamta Dwivedi "Colonial Imagination and Identity Attribution: Numismatic Cues for Defining Space", pp.203-235

Eurasian Studies

The title Eurasian Studies is used by a number of journals but this particular journal, which began in 2011, and is now publishing annually is published on behalf of the Center for Eurasian Studies, Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Sciences, Beijing. It is currently edited by Yu Taishan and Li Jinxiu, and is an English language companion for the Chinese language Journal of Eurasian Studies.

Four volumes have been published (in 2011, 2014, 2015, and 2016) and some of the articles may be of interest to JONS readers:

Duan Qing 'Pledge, collateral and loan in ancient Khotan' vol.II, pp.249-268

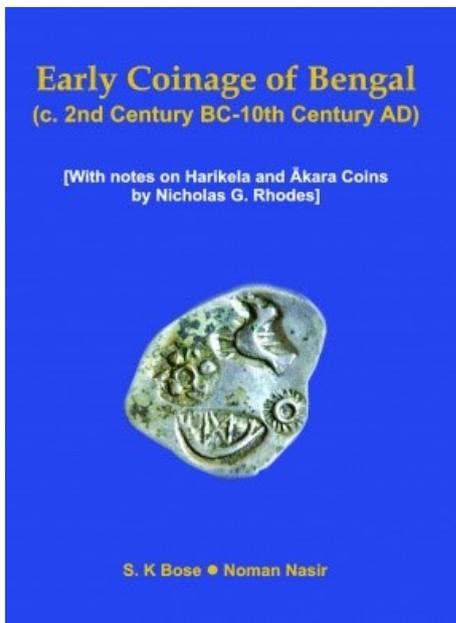
Yu Taishan "Alchono coins and the ethnicity of the Hephthalites" Vol.II, pp.38-57

Duan Qing "Deed, coins and king's title as revealed in a Sanskrit cloth document from the 6th Century", vol.IV, pp.265-283

The Early Coinage of Bengal

S K Bose, Noman Nasir, *Early Coinage of Bengal (c.2nd Century BC to 10th Century AD)*, Kolkata 2016; Rs900/\$40, ISBN 978-93-5196-740-8, 243 pp.

A well illustrated account of Bengal coinage, including an appendices with notes on Herikela and Ākara Coins by Nicholas Rhodes.



Articles

A NEW LEAD COIN OF PRATISHTHANA

By Devendra Handa

About a decade back, two lead coins, one square (19 x 20 mm, 4.62 g) and another round one (16 x 18 mm, 2.32 g), said to have been 'found somewhere in District Hisar of Haryana' seen with a collector of Jind (Haryana) were published by Prashant P. Kulkarni.¹ The square coin (fig.1) bears the early Brahmi legend *Pusamitasa* on the obverse and a wheel, club, Ujjayini symbol, plough and pestle on the reverse, the first three in the upper row and

the last two in the lower row, while the round piece bears a human figure and the legend *Patithana* in early Brahmi characters on the obverse and a tree in railing flanked by an arched hill symbol on left and *svastika* on right on the reverse counter struck on both sides²:

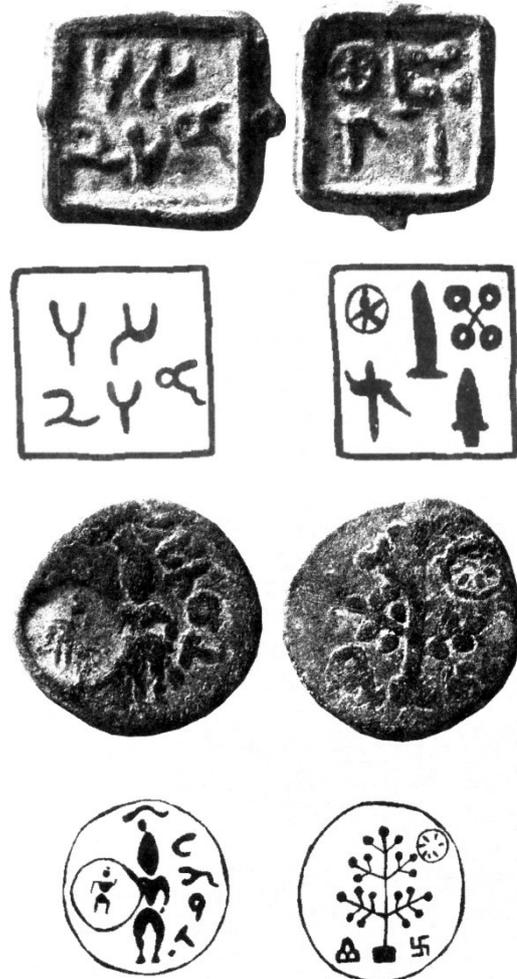


Figure 1 Lead coins of Pushyamitra and Pratishthana (after Prashant P. Kulkarni)

Wilfried Pieper too possesses a similar coin with the only differences that the countermark on the obverse is bigger and some indistinct device is visible above it and the wheel countermark is struck on the upper left branch of the tree on the reverse. The coin probably has the same provenance.



(Photo-courtesy: Dr. Wilfried Pieper)

Mr. Gulshan Bharadwaj of Jind, the original procurer of the lead coins published by Kulkarni, told me personally that these pieces were found from Uklana in district Hisar. I have seen similar lead coins in the collection of Shri Aggarwal who confirms the provenance of these coins to be Mughalpurā near Uklana in district Hisar.

The ancient site of Mughalpurā (29° 30' 994'' N / 75° 82' 88'' E) spread over about 60 acres and nearly 13 – 15 m high from the road level lies very close to the town of Uklana, almost adjoining it, nearly 50 km north-northeast of the district headquarters on Uklana-Sirsa road (Fig.2).

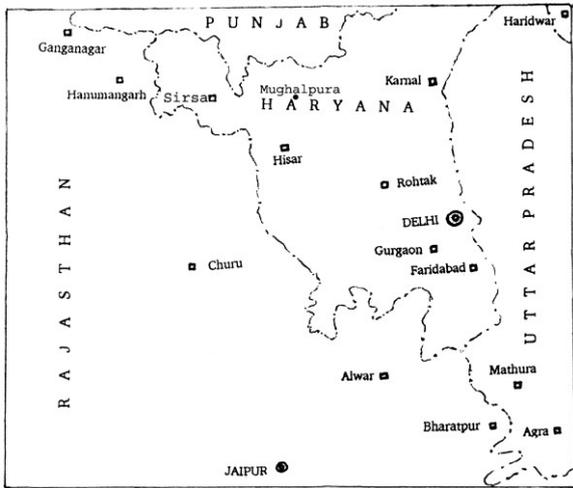


Fig.2. Map showing the location of Mughalpura

Dilip K. Chakrabarti and Sukhdev Saini picked up painted potsherds and goblet bases belonging to Late Harappan or Hakra ware besides brickbats strewn over the surface of the mound and have observed that “apart from Rakhigarhi and probably Nachar Khera and Bhirrana, this is the largest protohistoric mound of Haryana.”³ The site yields early historic and medieval relics also.⁴ A lead coin similar to that of Kulkarni’s piece bearing the legend *Patithana* and another second century BCE coin belonging to Bhavanandi obtained from Mughalpura are preserved in a private collection at Ambala.⁵ Recently a newer type of *Patithana* coin has been obtained from this site and is published here.



(Photo-courtesy: Shri R.K. Aggarwal)

Lead, 2.35 g, 16 mm

Obverse: A horse to left facing a vertically placed wavy line, Brahmi legend *Patithana* in characters of late third or early second century BCE above and *svastika* and taurine(?) below the horse. Reverse: Tree-in-railling on right, inverted taurine with an indistinct symbol above on left.

This thus is a new type of lead coin bearing the legend *Patithana* (Sanskrit *Pratishthana*) from Mughalpura. The weight indicates that it was of the same denomination as that of Kulkarni’s coin. In ancient times there were quite a few well-established towns bearing the name of *Pratishthana*.⁶ A town of this name on the Godavari river in district Aurangabad was the capital of the Satavahana rulers. Another town (present Jhusi opposite Prayaga or Allahabad) stood on the confluence of Ganga and Yamuna and was the capital of the kings of the lunar race. Pathankot on the Ravi in Punjab was also known as *Pratishthana* in ancient times. It was the capital of the Udumbaras. It is therefore no surprise if Mughalpura was also known as *Pratishthana* in the early historic period. The old mound spread over 60 hectares of land and rising to a height of about 50 feet bear witness to its being one of the very extensive and important places. The coins bearing the legend *Patithana* found from this place should be placed in the category of city issues like those of Ayodhya, Bhadravati, Bhagila, Bharukachchha, Bena(kataka), Erakina, Erikachchha, Hathodaka, Kausambi, Kurara (Kurarraya or Kuraghara), Kura-Purika, Madavika, Mahishmati, Nandinagara, Suktimati, Tripuri, Ujjayini, Varanasi, Vidisha, etc. After the decline of the Mauryan Empire it may have arisen as an independent trade centre and city-state with areas in its vicinity occupied by some republican tribes.

Notes and References

1. *Indian Coin Society Newsletter*, No. 38, Jan-March 2006, pp. 4-7.
2. *Ibid*; “Coinage of Pushyamitra Sunga”, *The Journal of Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography*, Indore, Vol. XXIII-XXIV (2009-2010), pp. 5-9 and “Recent discoveries in early inscribed coins of Vidarbha”, *Supplement to the Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, No. 205, pp. 4-15.
3. Dilip K. Chakrabarti and Sukhdev Saini (2009), *The Problem of the Sarasvati River and Notes on the Archaeological Geography of Haryana and Indian Panjab*, New Delhi: Aryan Books International, p. 73.
4. *Indian Archaeology – A Review*, 1980-81, p. 18.
5. *JONS*, 216 (2013), pp. 23-24. My thanks are due to Shri R.K. Agrawala for information, scans and details of the coins from Mughalpura in his collection.
6. Nundo Lal De (1971), *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, 3rd ed., New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, p. 159. Many of these sites have been mentioned in the Puranas, Jatakas, inscriptions and secular literature.

INDO-SCYTHIANS: SOME NEW VARIETIES, MISSING FRACTIONS AND RARE COINS PART I: MAUES C. 95/85 TO 60/57 BC

By Heinz Gawlik

Robert Senior predicted in his comprehensive standard work, “Indo-Scythians Coins and History” that it is only a question of time until more coins will surface to fill gaps in varieties and missing fractions of the Indo-Scythian coinage. The purpose of this paper is to add some new varieties, to close gaps with missing fractions or just to show some of the ‘rare’ Indo-Scythian coins mainly with reference to coins in my collection. The publication will follow the sequence of Indo-Scythian kings and numbering of coins introduced by Senior (2001 & 2006).

MAUES AR drachm Senior type 2.2

Fig. 1 shows a nice example of a rare AR drachm (Senior type 2.2). Obverse: radiated deity in a two-horsed chariot with charioteer galloping to right. Greek legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΜΑΥΟΥ. Reverse: Enthroned Zeus facing with torque in right hand and long sceptre over left shoulder. Monogram of North Chach on the left side. Kharosthi legend: *Rajadirajasa mahatasa Moasa*.



Fig. 1: Maues AR drachm Senior type 2.2 (1.94 g)

MAUES Æ unit Senior type 6 and S3.1

There are three varieties of Æ unit ‘Horse/Bow case’ (Senior type 6 and S3) with the monogram of Kohat and Taxila as illustrated in Fig. 2. In Senior 2001 (Vol. I, p. 170) the horse of type 6.1 and 6.2 is illustrated with an exergual line. Most coins of this type in different publications show an exergual line or traces of it at least.



Fig 2:Maues Æ unit Senior type 6.1, 6.2 and S3.1

Fig. 3 shows a variety of Senior Type 6.1. Obverse: Horse trotting to right with raised foreleg, Reverse: Quiver left. The exergual line of the horse is missing in this example. The arrangement and wording of the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΑΥΟΥ and Kharosthi legend *Maharajasa Moasa* as well as the monogram are same as on other coins of type 6.1.



Fig 3: Variety of Maues Æ unit Senior type 6.1 (20.3 x 19.0 mm, 3.58 g, 12h)

Fig. 4 shows a variety of type 6.2 with the monogram for Kohat. Differences in this coin are found in the king's name and the missing exergual line. The king's name reads in Kharosthi from bottom to top (r.) *Moasa*. The direction of his title *Maharajasa* (l.) remains unchanged and reads from top to bottom. On other coins of types 6.1, 6.2 and S3.1 the Kharosthi name of Maues reads from top to bottom always.



Fig. 4: Variety of Maues Æ unit Senior type 6.2 (19.1 x 18.9 mm, 3.26 g, 12h)

MAUES Æ unit Senior type S2.1

Æ coin Senior type S2.1: Obverse: Zeus facing holding trident in left hand and torque in outstretched right hand. Reverse: Horse trotting left with monogram of Kohat. A strange coin of this type with the name of Maues in Greek and the name of Azes in Kharosthi on reverse was published in JONS already (Gawlik 2015).

MAUES Æ unit Senior type 10

Two coins of Senior type 10.1 are illustrated in **Fig. 5**. Obverse: Zeus enthroned left holding Nike in outstretched right hand. Forepart of an elephant with trunk upraised before.



Fig 5:Maues Two Æ units Senior type 10.1 (26 x 23 mm, 23.3 x 23 mm, 10.96 g, 7.75 g, 12h)

Reverse: Hercules facing holding palm, club and lion-skin in left hand and right hand raised on his head. Monogram in lower left field. A significant difference is the design and size of the enthroned Zeus. The left coin is more compact in design and looks rather like a ½ unit but the weight with 7.75 g is on the higher side. The enthroned Zeus measures quite uniform 19 mm from head to feet on standard coins of this type. On the right compact coin the height of enthroned Zeus is 16 mm only.

MAUES Æ unit Senior type 11

The following example refers to two unpublished varieties of Æ unit Senior type 11. The coins (**Fig. 6**) show an Elephant walking right with lowered trunk and on reverse a bull standing right. The coins bear the monograms of Kohat (Senior type 11.1) and Taxila (Senior type 11.2).



Fig. 6: Maues Æ unit Senior type 11.1* and 11.2

This variety of Senior coin type 11.1 (**Fig. 7**) has the monogram of Kohat not before the lower right but it is below the hind legs of the bull. The Elephant appears slender with long legs compared to other Elephants of this type.



Fig. 7: Variety of Maues Æ unit Senior type 11.1
(23.5 x 22.5 mm, 7.78g, 12h)

This variety of Senior coin type 11.2 (Fig. 8) looks very similar to the coin shown above but with one exception. It is the exergual line below the Bull which I have not seen on other coins of this type.



Fig. 8: Variety of Maues Æ unit Senior type 11.2
(25.2 x 23.8 mm, 7.33 g, 12h)

MAUES Æ unit Senior type 14.1

Another Maues coin of the 'Elephant/Bull' series with an unpublished variety is the Æ unit of Senior type 14.1. The standard coin (Fig. 9) shows an Elephant walking right with a raised trunk holding a wreath within a bead and reel border. On many coins of this type the wreath is in a reduced style and sometimes not clearly visible. Reverse: Bull standing right with the monogram of Taxila.



Fig. 9: Maues Æ unit Senior type 14.1
(23.6 x 23.6, 8.80 g, 12h)

The variety of type 14.1 (Fig. 10) is slightly worn but the difference to the standard coin is that there isn't any trace of a bead and reel border around the Elephant. In addition to the missing border also the wreath is missing.



Fig. 10: Variety of Maues Æ unit Senior type 14.1
(24.7 x 24 mm, 7.51 g, 12h)

Fig. 11 shows an example of Senior type 14.1 with a well-crafted wreath in the raised trunk of the Elephant.



Fig. 11: Maues Æ unit Senior type 14.1
(27.0 mm, 9.23g, 12h) **

MAUES Æ unit Senior type 21.1

The Æ coin illustrated as Fig. 12 is shown because there are doubts whether it is a coin belonging to Senior type 21.1. The coin type 21.1 is not very clear in Senior 2001 and it is described as follows: "Obverse - Athena with a torque in outstretched right hand". In my opinion a part of the spear is visible as it is on coins described as type 179 by Mitchener (1975). Also the human figure on the coin (Fig. 11) looks like the description by Mitchener (1975) for type 719. "Reverse: Goddess standing right holding spear and shield." All other details of Senior type 21.1 and Mitchiner type 719 are similar as there are: legend in Greek and Kharosthi, monogram of Central Chach and additional field letters in Kharosthi *Da Mi* in right upper corner of reverse.



Fig. 12: Maues Æ unit Senior type 21.1? (8.26 g)

MAUES Æ unit Senior type 24.1

The rectangular Poseidon Æ unit of Senior type 24.1 is a scarce coin and rare in good quality (Fig. 13). Obverse: Poseidon facing with thunderbolt in raised hand and palm in outstretched left hand. Right foot on river god and small figure in right field. Reverse: Yakshi facing between vines holding vine in upraised left hand and grapes and brazier in outstretched right hand. Monogram of Taxila lower left.



Fig. 13: Maues Æ unit Senior type 24.1
(6.55 g and 7.36 g, 12h)

The standard weight of a full unit is 8.50 g but many coins are lighter. I got a unit of 4.89 g (Fig. 14) which is nearly half the standard weight but in size is it similar to a full unit. The question arises: Is it a half unit, just thin and light or is it a tooled coin only? I can't answer this question and leave it to the experts to come up

with a conclusion. Anyway the coin is interesting with almost all details of this type on the flan.



Fig. 14: *Maues* Æ ½ unit? Senior type 24.1 (25.0 x 23.6 mm, 4.89 g, 12h)

The coin illustrated in Fig. 15 looks like a combination of type 24 and 27. The obverse shows Poseidon as it is illustrated on type 24 but Yakshi on reverse has the right hand on vine stem as on type 27. The monogram is same as on type 24.



Fig. 15: *Maues* unpublished variety Æ unit Senior type 24 (23.8 x 21.5 mm, 5.72 g, 12h)

Acknowledgements

All illustration in this paper are not to scale.

* photo with permission of Indus Valley Coins (Vcoins)

** photo with permission of Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. – <http://www.cngcoins.com>

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INDO-SCYTHIANS: SOME NEW VARIETIES, MISSING FRACTIONS AND RARE COINS PART II: AZILISES (CA. 60 – 45/35 BC)

By Heinz Gawlik

With reference to the sequence of Indo-Scythian kings in Senior 2001 the paper will continue with coins of king Azilises..

AZILISES AR drachm Senior type 57.13

Fig. 1 shows the drachm of Senior type 57.13. The drachm of this type with the field letter Ma before horse and Ri above horse is missing in Senior 2001. Legends Greek: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ. Reverse: Kharosthi: *Mahrajasa Rajarajasa mahatasa Ayilishasa*.



Fig. 1: *Azilises* AR drachm Senior type 57.13D (16.0 mm, 1.65 g, 12h)

Fig. 2. Shows a set of four nominals (1, ½, ¼, ⅛) of Senior type 58.5. The ½ unit is a so far unpublished nominal. The ⅛ unit is published as S5.1 in the supplement of Senior 2006.



Fig 2: *Azilises* set of Æ units (1, ½, ¼, ⅛) Senior type 58.5



Fig 3: *Azilises* unpublished Æ ½ unit Senior type 58.5 (20.5 x 19.9 mm, 6.26 g, 12h)

Van't Haaff 2007 published a new variety of S5.1 (58.5) with the same monogram but without field letter *Si*. Shorter legends in Greek and Kharosthi are on three sides only and read: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ and *Mahrajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa*. Another difference is an exergual line below horse and bull. Fig. 4 shows three coins of this rare variety.



Fig. 4: Azilises variety Aε 1/8 unit of Senior type S5.1 (58.5) (12.2 x 11.9, 13.1 x 12.8, 12.0 x 12.09 mm, 1.58, 1.33, 1.09 g, 12h)

Fig 5 shows two coins of an unpublished variety of type S5.1. This new variety doesn't have any monogram or field letter above the bull. Both legends are on three sides same as on the variety shown in Fig. 4. An exergual line below the horse or bull is missing.



Fig. 5: Azilises unpublished variety Aε 1/8 unit of Senior type S5.1 (58.5); (12.6 x 12.0, 12.4 x 12.1 mm, 1.49, 1.28 g, 12h)

Senior (2001) has written that the 1 and 1/2 units of type 58.3 are often overstruck on Azes – King on Camel/Yak coins (Senior type 81). Fig. 6 shows a 1 and 1/2 unit overstruck on Azes coins of Senior type 81. The Greek legend of the Azes coin is visible on left side and top of the 1 unit. Also the outstretched arm with the battle axe can be seen in front of the king's head. The reverse shows quite clear the hind leg and tail of the Yak in front of the bull. The 1/2 unit has letters of the Greek legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ on the right side and traces of AZOY on top because the Azes coin was used bottom up. The two overstruck coins in Fig. 6 are good examples that overstruck coins become larger in dimension and more flat.



Fig. 6: Azilises overstruck Aε 1 and 1/2 unit of Senior type 58.3

(28.1 x 26.9, 27.8 x 25.0 mm, 11.99, 6.01 g, 12h) *

AZILISES Aε units Senior type 59.1/S6.1

A set of four nominals (1, 1/2, 1/4, 1/8) of Senior type 59.1/S6.1 is illustrated in Fig. 7. Coins of this type are of a lighter standard compared to coins of Senior type 58.5 illustrated above. The set is published to focus on 1/8 unit because this nominal was unknown when Senior published "Indo Scythian Coins and History" in 2001. All examples of type 59.1/S6.1 bear the Greek legend on four sides and the Kharosthi legend on three sides. The kharosthi legend reads *Mahrajasa Mahatasa Ayilishasa* without *Rajarajasa*. The Kharosthi legend is same as on above varieties of 1/8 unit type S5.1 (58.5) in Fig.4 & Fig.5.



Fig. 7: Azilises set of Aε units (1, 1/2, 1/4, 1/8) Senior type 59.1

Fig. 8 shows three example of 1/8 unit of Senior type S6.1 (59.1). The Greek legend is visible on four sides but Kharosthi legend is on 3 sides only. Senior 2006 wrote for type S6.1 that both legends are on four sides. It can't be proven by photos in Fig 8 but the arrangement of Kharosthi legend looks similar to the above illustrated varieties of Senior type S5.1 (58.5).



Fig. 8: Azilises Aε 1/8 unit of Senior type S6.1 (59.1) (12.0 x 11.7, 11.5 x 11.0, 11.1 x 10.0 mm, 0.68, 0.76, 0.66 g, 12h)

Senior 2001 states that coins of type 59.1 are commonly overstruck on coins of Indo-Scythian kings Spalirises or Spalagadames. Fig. 9 shows an excellent example of type 59.1 overstruck on a coin of Spalahores with Spalagadames of Senior type 69. The separating line is diagonal and goes on Obverse from left upper corner to right

lower corner. The king's upper part of body and legend of type 69 are visible partly: (C)ΠΑΛΥΠΙΟC ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. On Reverse the following is left of type 69 on the lower and the left side: head of Hercules with parts of the Kharosthi legend: (*Spa*)*lahoraputrasa Dhramia(sa)*.



Fig. 9: Azilises overstruck Æ unit of Senior type 59.1 on 69
(24.3 x 23.2 mm, 7.96 g, 12h)

AZILISES unpublished Æ 1/8 unit of Senior type 60.1



Fig. 10: Azilises unpublished Æ 1/8 unit of Senior type 60.1
(12.1 x 11.3 mm, 0.84 g, 12h)

The Æ 1/8 unit of Senior type 60.1 in Fig. 10 is a so far unpublished nominal. The coin shows all elements as it is found on the known 1, 1/2 and 1/4 nominals including legends, monogram and the field letter Si. The Greek legend of this type is on four sides and the Kharosthi legend is on three sides similar to coins of the above shown Senior type 59.1.

VONONES GROUP (ca. 85 – 65 BC)

VONONES with SPALAGADAMES Four drachm of Senior type 67.3D

FIG. 11 shows a silver plated drachm of Indo-Scythians Vonones with Spalagadames of Senior type 67.3. The coin is corroded on the left edge and in a small area lower right of Reverse. The base metal core (probably copper) is visible in this area. The coin is of good quality with a thick layer of silver. It seems to be a Fourree drachm.



Fig. 11: Vonones with Spalagadames Four drachm of Senior type 67.3 (15.7 -16.0 mm, 1.81 g, 12h)

Illustrations are not to scale.

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 van't Haaff, Anne, 2007, A new Variety of Azilises 1/8 unit, *JONS* 192: 21.

THE COINAGE OF SAMATATA

By Nicholas Rhodes (edited by Wolfgang Bertsch)

Editor's note: In July 2008 the late Nicholas Rhodes had sent the manuscript of this article to Jahar Acharjee. But only the coin pictures, arranged on two plates were published in: *History – Culture & Coinage of Samatata & Harikela*, Vol. 1 (Compiled and edited by J. Acharjee), Raj-Kusum Prakashani, Agartala, 2006, Plate A & B, p. 123-33.

According to information provided by S. K. Bose Rhodes' article was to be published in volume II of *History-Culture & Coinage of Samatata & Harikela*. This volume has not been published but Mr. Jahar Acharjee (deceased) had included the related plates in Vol. I under the caption 'Samatata Debased Gold Coins', Plate A & B, pp. 132-133. Unfortunately Rhodes' name was not mentioned. Therefore the editor thought it worthwhile to publish the text of the article along with the coin pictures which have been inserted in the text, rather than leaving only the two plates. The editing of the text consists only in correcting some spelling mistakes and in adding a bibliography.

As silver coins with the legend 'Samatata' have been discovered since the article was written, it would, perhaps, be more appropriate to change the title of the article to "The Gold Coinage of Samatata" but the original title as provided by the author is retained here (See Bose, S.K.: "Coins with the legend 'Samatata' ", *JONS*, no. 224, Summer 2015, pp. 30-31).

Wolfgang Bertsch, June 2016

This paper is based on a lecture delivered by Nicholas Rhodes at the Institute of Historical Studies, Kolkata, on 23rd August 2003, slightly updated to reflect the results of some additional research.

1. Introduction:

The purpose of this article is to set out the numismatic evidence that is available, and to suggest a few new ideas that can be used to shed light on the history of south eastern Bengal during the sixth and seventh centuries, a little known period in the history of Bengal. Since the publication of Prof. Mukherjee's pioneering books, a large number of new coins have surfaced, and I believe that some of Prof Mukherjee's interpretations should be re-examined. This article does not pretend to be the last word on the subject, only a small selection of the known coins are published, but I hope that I will give some food for thought to historians in general, and in particular to any historian or numismatist, who seeks to push forward the boundaries of knowledge in this neglected area.

In writing this article, I would like to acknowledge several scholars whose works I have consulted, and with whom I have discussed the issues. In Kolkata, discussions with Dr Susmita Basu-Majumdar have been particularly fruitful. Michael Mitchiner included this coinage in his two books on the coinage of Bangladesh, and after many errors and misconceptions in his 1998 edition, he completely revised, and significantly improved, his interpretations in the 2000 edition. Joe Cribb, Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum in London made an attempt at an arrangement in talks given in 1999 to the Oriental Society and the Royal Numismatic Society, both in London, and to the South Asian Archaeology Conference in Leiden. He is still working on the subject, but has not yet published his findings in written form. Although I have drawn extensively on the work of Prof. Mukherjee and on discussions with many scholars, the conclusions presented are my own. I should also like to thank Mr. J. P. Goenka and Mr. I. K. Kejriwal, the most prominent collectors in Kolkata, who have generously allowed me to study and to publish the coins in their collections.

2. Background:

After the fall of the Gupta Empire in the sixth century, Bengal entered into a dark period, with a political history that was fragmented and only dimly lit by a few copper plate land grants, a few other inscriptions, and the accounts of some Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. Three powerful rulers in the first half of the seventh

century, Sasanka in Bengal, Harsavardana to the west, and Bhaskaravarman to the east, have left their mark on the annals of Bengal, illuminated by the Harsacarita, and by the accounts of Chinese visitors, such as Hiuen Tsang (Xuan Zang)¹. Otherwise, the political situation is obscure, with petty rulers in different regions, such as Gaur (Karnasuvarna) and Varendra and Kamarupa in the north west and north east respectively, and Vanga (Tamralipti) and Samatata in the south west and south east respectively².

In recent years, an increasingly extensive gold coinage has been surfacing from an area around Comilla and southern Tripura, the area covered by ancient Samatata, and examples are present in several private collections in India, as well as in public collections in India and Bangladesh. Specimens have also been appearing in the international numismatic market in larger numbers than had previously been known³. B.N.Mukherjee was the first scholar to attribute these coins to the kingdom of Samatata, and made a most commendable effort to arrange and attribute the coinage, initially in his 1989 pamphlet entitled *Post-Gupta Coinages of Bengal*, published by the Coin Study Circle, Calcutta, and subsequently in his book *Coins and Currency Systems of Post-Gupta Bengal (c. AD 550-700)*, published in 1993. These coins represent by far the most numerous contemporary historical documents that can help historians interpret the history of Samatata, but so far only limited use has been made of the light they can shed on the past history of this south eastern region of Bengal⁴.

3. The Coinage of Samatata:

As can be seen on the attached photographs, most of the coins of Samatata have the standard design of a king standing on the obverse, holding a bow in his left hand, and an arrow in his right hand. Behind his right hand is a standard, normally topped by a conch shell, but occasionally by some other symbol. Some coins have an inscription, usually abbreviated, in the field. On the reverse is a standing goddess facing right, with what looks like a cloak or wings behind, and holding an object in her right hand. In front is what appears to be an inscription. The design essentially follows the Kushana and Gupta tradition, but shows distinct local features. As this basic design remained unchanged for the whole period of the coinage, a clear progression in the artistic treatment of details of the design can be traced, which allows one to place the coins in a chronological sequence.

Weight standard:

The coins are all of gold, more or less debased⁴, and most have a weight standard of about 5.7g, which has been interpreted by B. N. Mukherjee as 50 ratis, or half satamana.

4. Survey of the Coins of Samatata:

The first two coins illustrated are copied from Kushana or Gupta gold coins, and such pieces have been discovered in reasonable numbers from south eastern Bangladesh. No. 1 is closer to the original Kushana type, and no.2 has been attributed to a king "Vira Jadamarah" of the second or early third century⁵, but this seems very speculative. Prof. Mukherjee has condemned this same type as a modern forgery purely on the basis of the legend being illegible⁶. I feel that these grounds for condemnation are inadequate, particularly as the known pieces are struck from many different dies. Certainly, genuine Kushana gold coins are occasionally found in Bangladesh, but it is very likely that they circulated in the Samatata area well after they were struck, and perhaps as late as the post Gupta period during the sixth century. Hence, while I agree that the jury is still out regarding authenticity, I suggest that it is not impossible that these pieces may be early issues of Samatata, with intentionally illegible legends, struck for commercial reasons, rather than as a political statement. Because of the doubts that still persist over the authenticity of these particular coins, they should perhaps be ignored for the purpose of historical analysis.



No. 1



No. 2

For convenience, I will arrange the rest of the series into groups, in the following paragraphs, describing the main features of each group.

Group A - Of all the coins found in the region, the most competent artistic treatment is on a group of coins illustrated as nos. A1 and A2. These pieces have a conch shell on top of the standard on the obverse, but although other features are variable, the quality of artistic treatment is consistently fine. Coins of this type have been known for nearly two centuries, and the first publication I have noted is by H. H. Wilson (1841)⁷.



No. A1



No. A2

No. A1 has no inner circle, and may be the earlier variety, whereas A2 has an inner circle on the reverse, a feature present on all the coins I regard as later. The female deity on the reverse is clearly holding a round object with a pellet on top, of which the iconography is uncertain, but I feel that it could be a lotus bud, possibly identifying the deity as Lakshmi. The legend on the reverse is slightly reminiscent of the legend on no.1, but is, in my opinion, even less meaningful. It has been read variously and most recently by Prof. Mukherjee as *De(va) va(r)m(a)* or *Sri-Vasuva* (or *dha?)(r)m(a)*⁸, but I prefer to assume that the legend is intentionally meaningless. The artistry of the workmanship is so competent that, had the die engraver wished to make a meaningful legend, he could easily have done so. Accordingly, I suggest that there is no reason to attribute these coins to kings of the names proposed by Prof.

Mukherjee⁹. In any case, it would be rather irregular to show the king's name on the side of the coin depicting the deity, rather than the king. The goddess on the reverse has been interpreted as Durga or Sarvani, holding baby Ganesh. While this is an appealing interpretation, I feel that a close examination of many pieces shows that what was interpreted by Prof. Mukherjee as the trunk of baby Ganesh, is merely the last letter of the pseudo-legend, and that there is no reason to suspect that a different deity is represented. Some pieces, e.g. no. A2, have pairs of dots on the obverse border joined, so they look like an elongated rectangle. This feature is also found on the next three groups of coins, indicating a chronological connection, although the only reason I can suggest for this feature is that it may have been some control mark.



No. B1



No. B2

Group B – These coins are somewhat similar in artistic treatment, although the design is clearly copied from a Gupta, rather than a Kushana, prototype. The king sometimes has a halo over his head, such as on no. B2, which appears to be an early variety, possibly earlier than Group A. The artistic treatment gradually becomes more stylised. The letters in the field of some coins, for example Ma or Sa on no. B2, may represent the initial letter of the name of a king such as Samachara Deva, a known late sixth century post-Gupta ruler of Bengal.



No. C1



No. C2



No. C3

Group C - Nos. C1 to C3 represent a further artistic degradation, and interestingly there is a small horse in the lower field to the right of the king of no. C2. It is tempting to associate the image with a horse sacrifice (Asvamedha), or at least the horse may be symbolic of royal military prowess. Alternatively, the horse could be symbolic of a trade in horses from Tibet, which might have been the source of the wealth of Samatata. Nos. C2 and C3 have no horse, but are clearly of the same period, as the artistic treatment is identical. Again many of the coins of this group have letters in the obverse field, which may or may not be the initial letters of a name. No. C2 is particularly interesting, as it reads "Gopa", possibly indicating King Gopaladeva, a ruler known from a copper plate inscription.



No. D

Group D - represents one of the few fixed dates in the series. The reverse legend *Sri Sasanka* identifies these coins as being issues of the well-known king of Bengal, Sasanka, who ruled from c. 600-635¹⁰. The weight of c. 5.7g, and the find-spots in southern Tripura, of the type illustrated, confirms these coins as coins of the Samatata region. The artistic treatment also seems to place the coins roughly at this point in the series. Two pairs of dots in the margin of the obverse seem to be joined, and the figure of Lakshmi on the reverse is holding the same bud-like object that is held by the female deity on the other coins. The legend *Vija* on the obverse, below the image of Siva on his bull, probably refers to a victory, presumably over Samatata. Sasanka had his capital at Karnasuvarna, near Gaur, in northern Bengal, where he struck coins of somewhat similar design, though of heavier weight, lower gold content, and very different artistic treatment. The coins prove conclusively that Sasanka did extend his territory as far south and east as Samatata, and similarly provide some evidence that Harsha did not extend his rule this far east¹¹.



No. E1



No. E2

Group E - appear to be the next in chronological sequence. They revert to the normal design, but while no. E1 has rather a stocky king, E2 has a more graceful rendering. There is a four letter name to the right of the king, reading something like *Vara* (or *Vira*?) *Chandrah*. This is presumably the name of the king, although the reading is very uncertain, and may refer to the ruler of Arakan with this name. If so, this would provide important evidence of a temporary conquest of Samatata by the Chandra ruler of Arakan. The symbol on the standard on no. E2 is interesting, as it seems to be a sword in a halo of flames; the meaning is uncertain, but one might suggest a connection with the Khadga Dynasty.



No. H

Group H - No. H has the name, (*Sri*) *Jiva*, presumably referring to Jivadharanarata of the Rata Dynasty, who is recorded as having been defeated and killed in 663/4AD. Stylistically, the image of the king is similar to that on the previous issues, but the reverse is slightly cruder.



No. F

Group F - comes next in sequence, artistically. These coins have the legend *Sri Kumara* below the left arm of the king. The king is depicted in the same graceful way as no.E2, with a rather pointed head with flowing hair. The reverse is similar to the previous type, although slightly cruder on some examples. The standard reverts to a rather stylised conch shell on the top. To the left of the king's head on many pieces is a chakra or wheel, and it is interesting to speculate that this might be a Dharma-chakra, a symbol of Buddhism. The name *Sri Kumara* was the common name of the king of Kamarupa, Bhaskaravarman, and these coins support the theory that he was the paramount ruler of the whole of eastern Bengal after the defeat and death of Sasanka, until his death around 655 AD¹².



No. I

Group I - Jivadharanarata was succeeded by Sridharanarata, and the next group of coins, represented by no.I, have the legend *Sri Sri*, which may refer to this king. These are perhaps the most frequently encountered of all the Samatata coins, so the issue was either larger each year, or the reign lasted for a longer period.



No. G

Group G - is represented by a very rare coin that, stylistically, could be dated either before or after the *Sri Kumara* coins. Possibly a date earlier is slightly more likely, as the artistic treatment is of quite a high standard. On the obverse is the legend *Sri Chakra*, commencing top left, and finishing lower right. A wheel, presumably referring to the name of the king, but also possibly indicating his Buddhist faith, is on top of the standard. On the reverse is a figure of *Lakshmi*, similar to that on the *Sasanka* coins, but less finely and more artistically engraved.



No. J1

Group J - Judging from the style, the next coins have the name of *Sri Raja Bhata* on the obverse, which fits with the evidence of copper plates. The artistic treatment and calligraphy on no.J1 is quite fine, perhaps more similar to Group H, whereas the style and calligraphy of no.J2 is very poor, much worse than both the earlier and the following pieces, but the reverse still has the pseudo-letter that looks like a horseshoe, and the head of the deity still has traces of face and hair. The chronological order is, to some extent, confirmed by the Paglatek hoard, discovered near Guwahati in 1972¹³, which contained coins of Groups F, G, H and I, as well as several specimens of no. J2. No. J1 is extremely rare, and stylistically appears to be earlier than most coins of Group I, which may have some historical significance.



No. J2



No. K

Group K - Raja Bhata is recorded as being the father of Bala Bhata, whose name appears on the coins of Group K. The calligraphy of this type has improved considerably, but is also more “up to date” from the epigraphic point of view. The standard now has a small image of Nandi, the bull of Siva, indicating the religious preferences of the king. The reverse has become very stylised, with the head of the deity consisting merely of a vertical line. The pseudo-legend is different in detail, with no horse-shoe like symbol.



No. L

Group L - The next coins are similar to the Bala Bhata coins, but have the legend commencing with Sarva. Prof Mukherjee has completed the reading as *Sarvanada*, although I prefer to regard the reading of the second line as uncertain, perhaps *Bhata*.



No. M

Group M - is very crude, with apparently very little gold in the alloy, which now looks almost like silver. The legend seems to read Prithubala, with possibly an additional *Ja* between the legs of the king. The artistic treatment has reached a very low level, even worse than the Raja Bhata coins. This coin fits, artistically, comfortably at the end of the series, showing a final degree of degradation in a mint that did not deserve to last any longer. However, I cannot categorically state this type would not also fit after the Raja Bhata coins, and before the new die engraver responsible for the Bala Bhata coins arrived on the scene.



No. N

Group N - Finally I show a remarkable type, known from only a few specimens. The coin illustrated as no. N reads *Sri Jaya*

Balamriganka, and weighs 9.4g, it is heavier in weight than the normal half-satamana standard. Other coins of this Group have slight variations in design and legend, but they all appear to be struck of fine gold, but still have the border of large pellets so typical of the Samatata coins. The reverse has an image of Lakshmi, seated on a lotus. The artistic treatment and quality of striking of these pieces, is of a high standard. The calligraphy seems to be slightly later than that of the earlier pieces — c. f. the form of the letters *ja* and *ri* - so I believe that we can be certain that these pieces fit late in the series. I cannot rule out the possibility that they were struck in a different mint, but I know of no other kingdom in the region that may have struck gold coins at this period, so in my opinion it is most likely that these pieces are the final flourishing of the coinage of Samatata.¹⁴

Dating the Coins of Samatata:

As can be seen from the illustrations, the coins represent a relatively compact group of coins, which was probably struck over a period of decades, rather than centuries. Firm evidence over dating exists with the coins in the name of Sasanka, Sri Kumara, Jiva, and Rajabhata, which can certainly be dated to the seventh century. Since the coins of these groups cover a wide range of stylistic variation of the coinage, I feel that the whole coinage should not extend far beyond that century, possibly commencing in the last quarter of the sixth century, and finishing by about 700 AD. My suggested dates for the various groups described are as follows:

Kushana Copies —	c. 550 – 570 AD
Group A —	c. 570 – 585
Group B —	c. 585 - 600
Group C —	c. 600 - 625
Group D —	c. 625 - 635 Assuming Sasanka dies in c635
Group E —	c. 635 - 640
Group F —	c. 640 - 655 Sri Kumara dies in c655
Group G —	c. 655 or possibly c640
Group H —	c. 655 - 663 Jivadharanarata dies in 663/4
Group I —	c. 664 - 675 Sridharanarata succeeds in 663/4
Group J —	c. 675 - 680
	Rajabhata is mentioned by Seng-che well before 685
Group K —	c. 680 - 685 Balabhata is the son of Rajabhata
Group L —	c. 685 - 690
Group M —	c. 700

It is interesting to note that this date range is very similar to the date range for the Nepalese copper coins that I proposed in 1989,¹⁵ and which has now been generally accepted by scholars to be valid. These copper coins have some similarity in design to the gold coins of Samatata, such as the border of large dots, the treatment of the seated figure of Lakshmi, and in the calligraphy, so one can wonder whether there is any connection, most probably a trading connection, between the two states?

Historical Inferences that can be deduced from the Coins

The first conclusion that can be deduced from the coins is that the kingdom must have been relatively wealthy to be able to strike such a series of gold coins. Die identities seem virtually unknown, so the coinage must have been quite extensive, as many different dies were used. The gold was certainly not mined locally, so must have been acquired through trade. This would fit with the reduction in importance of the port to the west of the Ganges delta, Tamralipti, and the rise in importance of a port in eastern Bengal, perhaps Samandar, which was located in the Chittagong area¹⁶.

Judging from findspots of the coins, the Samatata kingdom was centred around Comilla, and extended west and east, towards Dacca and into southern Tripura. This would have meant that, even if Samatata did not control the port of Samandar, it certainly controlled the trade route between the sea and Kamarupa (Assam), and possibly the most viable trade route to the rest of India. The implication is that this trade flourished during the period of the coinage. Whether the gold from which the coins were struck came from gold washed from the rivers of Assam, or from Tibetan gold acquired as a result of trans-Himalayan trade, cannot be determined as yet.

The coins appear to confirm the Buddhist beliefs or sympathies in the middle of the seventh century, which confirms the account of Hiuen Tsang, who noted around 637 AD that there were many Buddhist Viharas, as well as “Deva” or Hindu Temples.

The discovery of the Paglatek Hoard in Assam shows that there was a flow of coins northwards, but whether this was as a result of a balance of trade, or a tribute from a subordinate ruler in Samatata to his overlord in Kamarupa, is a matter for future discussion. However, the fact that the coins tend to be debased, and that they are rarely found outside the territory ruled by the Samatata kings, might suggest the former reason as more likely.

The design similarities with the copper coins of Nepal, and the almost identical date span, probably indicates some connection between the two kingdoms, most probably a trading link. It is indeed very likely that significant transit trade flowed from Tibet to India and beyond, through Nepal, during the seventh century, during the time of the great Tibetan King Srong-tsen-Gampo and his successors. One can postulate whether any of this trade passed through Kamarupa, enriching Bhakaravarman and his kingdom.

Notes

1. *Si-Yu-Ki or Buddhist Records of the Western World* by Samuel Beal, 1884.
2. The Kingdom of Samatata is first mentioned as a boundary state of the Gupta Empire in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta (c350 AD), but that has no relevance to the period covered by this article, which ranges from the sixth to the eighth centuries.
3. For example, Baldwin’s Auctions, London, have had examples in many of their sales from 1999 until the present day.
4. The subject is also covered in *The Coinage of Assam, the Pre-Ahom Period*, by N. G. Rhodes & S. K. Bose, published 2003.
5. M. Mitchiner, *The History and Coinage of South-East Asia (until the Fifteenth Century)*, London, 1998, p.57 & *The Land of Water, Coinage and History of Bangladesh and Later Arakan (c300 BC to the present day)*, London 2000, p. 21.
6. *Coins and Currency Systems of Early Bengal (up to c. A. D. 300)*, Calcutta 2000, p.91.
7. H.H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 426, Pl. XVIII No. 20.
8. Although many of the early gold coins of Samatata are dark yellow in colour, and have the appearance of being fine gold, one example in the Indian Museum in Kolkata has been analysed as 68.7% fine (Mukherjee, 1993, p. 24).
9. B.N. Mukherjee, *Coins and Currency Systems of Post-Gupta Bengal (c. AD 550-700)*, p. 43.
10. I have followed the theory of Prof Mukherjee (1989, p. 14) who proposes a date of c. 635 AD for the death of Sasanka. D. Devahuti, *Harsha, A Political Study*, Oxford 1970, p. 45, suggests that Sasanka may have died as early as 620 AD.
11. i. e. contrary to the suggestion of Devahuti (op. cit. p. 91) that Harsha extended his rule of Samatata in the 620’s.
12. B. N. Mukherjee, ‘The Paglatek Hoard and the Relation between Kamarupa and Samatata’, *Sraddhanjali, Studies in Ancient Indian History, D. C. Sircar Commemoration Volume*, ed R. D. Chaudhury et al., New Delhi, 1988, pp. 281-86.
13. c. f. B. N. Mukherjee, op. cit. 1988. Other earlier publications have not described the coins in sufficient detail to enable identification.
14. Vangalamriganka is an epithet found on the seal of king Anandadeva shown on a copper plate. Hence these legends may not be the actual name of the king, but an epithet referring to the king. Anandadeva probably ruled around 700 AD (Mukherjee, 1993, p. 19).
15. *The Coinage of Nepal*, by Rhodes, Gabrisch & Valdetaro, 1989.
16. By contrast, Hiuen Tsang mentions that the people of Tamralipti “are in general very rich”, Beale op. cit. p. 201. For further information regarding the decline of the port of Tamralipti and the rise of the port of Samandar (near Chittagong), reference can be made to the articles by Himansu Bhusan Sarkar in JAS, Calcutta, Vols. XV & XVI (1973 & 1974).

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AN UNUSUAL “STANDING CALIPH” FALS

By Nikolaus Schindel

The coin discussed here (no. 1) is unusual since it combines what looks like a regular obverse from the military district (jund) Qinnasrin in Northern Syria with a basic reverse type attested only in jund Filastin (in present-day Israel). While this in itself is already quite strange, things become even more complicated because in the left reverse field one can clearly read the mint name قنسرین, “Qinnasrin”, in regular Kufic Arabic. Such a bizarre coin deserves some comment, even if it is neither perfectly struck nor preserved, and despite the fact that it is not strictly speaking unique. The piece weighs 4.08 g, has a diameter of 19 mm, and a die axis of 9 h (fig.1). The flan is square and irregular with raw edges. It is housed in a European private collection; the provenance is unknown, but according to the owner it came from a dealer who often offers coins from Northern Bilad al-Sham. The obverse shows the usual image of the facing caliph, placing his right hand on the scabbard of his sword pointing to the lower right. Of the legend, reasonably clear traces of the phrase لعبد الله are still visible between 1 h and 4 h, obviously the beginning of the standard legend.¹ The reverse features a minuscule m with a line above and below it. To its left, the word قنسرین is placed, written to the left outwards. This much information can be gained from just this coin; for reconstructing the complete reverse image, we have to turn to additional material. However, before doing so, the first question we have to ask ourselves is whether this is worthwhile at all; nowadays, forgeries of “standing caliph” fulus are known, so we have to make sure that this bizarre new coin is authentic. Modern concoctions differ greatly in style and technical peculiarities from authentic examples² and the present coin certainly does not belong in this well-known group of forgeries. I see no reason why it should represent another type of modern concoction. Its style, typology, as well as the mediocre state of preservation and the general appearance of the coin (which I could examine in original) indicate its authenticity.

Since this coin is no modern forgery, it seems legitimate to look for coins which can be compared with it. Surprisingly enough there are two coins which display basically the same bizarre typological combination: One is housed in the collection of the American Numismatic Society (1998.25.12; online at <http://numismatics.org/collection/1998.25.12>) (no. 2). It weighs 1.64 g and has a diameter of 20 mm. The second one is in the private collection of Tony Goodwin (no. 3, fig.2);³ it weighs 1.88 g and has a die axis of 11 h. According to its owner, it originates from Lebanon or Syria. These two coins share the same obverse die and

maybe also the reverse die.⁴ Our coin is from a markedly different obverse die, but appears to share the reverse die with the ANS (and probably also the Goodwin) coin. Because of the mediocre state of preservation, and since only parts of the die impression are visible on both specimens, the results of die comparisons are not always as certain as one might wish. Still, the typological similarity between our coin and the two other specimens permits a complete reconstruction of its reverse type: It bears in the right field the word *واف*, “just”, and shows a six-pointed star above the m as well as a crescent below it. Knowing this, one is able to make out faint traces of *واف* as well as of the star on no. 1 as well.



Fig 1: Coin No.1



Fig 2: Coin No.3

As already hinted at above, this is a very rare type in the “standing caliph” series. The m reverse is attested only from mints in jund Filastin, viz. Iliya Filastin (Jerusalem),⁵ Ludd Filastin⁶ and Yubna Filastin.⁷ None of these mints, however, employs the word *واف*. At those mints the provincial name *فلسطين* is placed on the reverses. Both the strokes above and below the m,⁸ as well as the combination of star and crescent above and below it⁹ have parallels on issues from Iliya Filastin. However, *واف* is typical for jund Qinnasrin; and it is found exclusively in this administrative unit, more precisely, in Qinnasrin,¹⁰ Halab,¹¹ Tanukh,¹² Manbij,¹³ and Qurus.¹⁴ Its presence or absence is dictated by length and arrangement of the various mint names. As for the obverse, I was not able to find an exact die match among coins from jund Qinnasrin. Perhaps the closest stylistic parallel is a specimen in Goodwin’s catalogue.¹⁵ Still, the stylistic features which are discernible strongly hint at a regular obverse die from this jund: The way the right hand is depicted is another strong argument for this hypothesis, as well as its rendering with several short parallel strokes. Also the treatment of the left arm in an ellipsoid form has parallels among coins from jund Qinnasrin. The other two coins cited above (cf. no. 3) differ greatly and show absolutely no stylistic links with regular issues from this area.

After these preliminary observations, let us see what interpretations of our coin are possible, bearing in mind that there are several different possibilities. If only the two coins in the ANS and Goodwin collections were known, one would hardly hesitate to label them as unofficial imitations because of the bizarre typological combination, as well as the irregular style of the rendering of the caliph’s figure. Our new coin, which is apparently struck from a regular jund Qinnasrin obverse die, changes this; the explanation for the existence of this group of coins obviously has to be more complex. Let us consider now the possibilities. First, one might claim that all these coins are the product of an unofficial mint where dies normally were manufactured by some more or less unskilled craftsmen, but which in one instance – maybe through theft – managed to get hold of an official die. The existence of irregular, imitative mints in the time frame of the “standing caliph”-coinage cannot be ruled out;¹⁶ and much in this respect is a matter of definition. Shall one label the workshop which produced the group of coins published some time ago by Goodwin¹⁷ as an unofficial, even illegal mint, or as a minor local minting place which was still part of the centrally or locally organized Umayyad coinage

system? Even the interpretation of larger, well-attested groups of coins can still be pretty controversial.¹⁸ In the case of our coin no. 1, the quality of the legends (despite their fragmentary condition) is in my opinion too good for claiming that unskilled personnel were at work here. We should also bear in mind that these coins were struck from 74 to 77 AH (AD 693–697),¹⁹ i.e. some two generations after the Islamic conquest, and that is unlikely that many blacksmiths with a perfect command of Arabic were available to man such clandestine mints.

A more promising approach is to see Early Islamic mints not as monolithic institutions. Die sharing is already attested in jund Qinnasrin;²⁰ thus, it might seem feasible that different craftsmen (even persons from a markedly different geographic background) sometimes worked in the same area. In the case of our no. 1, one has to assume that either a die cutter from Jerusalem travelled to jund Qinnasrin, or that a die from Iliya Filastin was sent to the North where it was coupled with a locally made obverse die. Since the mint name of Qinnasrin was intentionally inscribed on the reverse die, one would assume that all this happened in that very city. With this interpretation, the main problem lies in the existence of the two other coins which show neither stylistic links with other regular mints in jund Qinnasrin, nor with jund Filastin. As long as one does not want to link these ugly obverses with some of the products of the often also rather barbarous mint of Yubna.²¹ However, assuming that Iliya Filastin sent a reverse die to Qinnasrin, and that later Yubna transmitted an obverse die (or that an actual die cutter from each mint travelled to the North) seems rather unlikely to me. Since two of the three known specimens probably have a provenance from Northern Bilad al-Sham, while no such coins are known from the very rich numismatic collections or the coin trade in Israel, one can rule out that these pieces were produced in the Southern junds of Filastin or al-Urdunn.

Still, even if a localization of the production place of our coin in Northern Bilad al-Sham seems most likely, the problem remains why such degenerated obverses should have been employed in Qinnasrin, a fairly prolific mint, which is otherwise not known to have lacked skilled die cutters.²² Maybe the following explanation might work. For whatever reason, a die or a die-cutter from jund Filastin came to jund Qinnasrin. There, he continued to produce reverses with the type he was accustomed to, i.e. the m rather than the “transformed cross”. The legends, however, were adapted to local standards; we simply cannot tell if this was done by the same die-cutter, but since the m is a letter itself, there is no really convincing evidence for assuming two different hands in the reverse, as one might do if one craftsman was responsible for the image and another one for the inscriptions. At first, this took place in the mint of Qinnasrin itself. Later on, he (or at least the die(s) he had cut) and some other workmen were transferred temporarily to some other place, where they did not any longer have easy access to regular Qinnasrin obverse dies. Despite this dislocation, they failed to place the name of their new station on the coins, maybe because Qinnasrin could refer to the region as well as to the city. The habit of placing the provincial name is a typical feature of jund Filastin, even if on the “standing caliph” coins it is always employed together with the name of the actual mint town, e.g. Iliya Filastin. Only on some post-reform fulus from Tabariya and Jerusalem does the jund’s name actually replace the name of the city where the coins were struck.²³ The alternative idea that two different mints were active in the city of Qinnasrin more or less at the same time does not strike me as very attractive.²⁴ It might be added that apparently obverse dies also did travel from the North to the South: An equally bizarre coin with what I believe to be a regular Dimashq obverse die, coupled also with a normal reverse of this mint, is found in combination with an m reverse which bears a legend that is difficult to decipher.²⁵ However, the word to the right of the m seems to be “Filastin”, and the reverse might belong in the group published by Goodwin.²⁶ In this case, there can be little doubt that the actual production place was located in Southern Bilad al-Sham because of the preponderance there of the m reverses. Another parallel might be a fals with a regular obverse of Qinnasrin style, which seems to be bear instead of a mint name the word *الله* (“for

god”); this coin, too, might have been struck in a unknown local mint with dies produced in the jund’s capital.²⁷

Whichever of these possibilities one might choose, it is clear that our basic understanding of the actual patterns of coin production in Early Islamic times remains rather incomplete, and that even single coins such as the one discussed here can help, if not answer already existing questions, then at least to raise new ones which hopefully in the long run will result in a successful new synthesis. For this, obviously the publication of much more material, as well as conducting large-scale die analyses will be essential.

Notes

¹ Album/Goodwin 2002, p. 94.

² These coins were first discussed by Schulze 2007; I myself was the first to clearly condemn them as forgeries (Schindel 2008), and this was proved by Schulze 2012.

³ My best thanks are due to Tony Goodwin for providing me with a photo of this coin and the permission to publish it here, as well as for providing me with a draft version of his highly important catalogue of his collection of standing caliph coins, here referred to as “Goodwin (forthcoming)”.

⁴ Thus Tony Goodwin, owner of one of these coins.

⁵ Album/ Goodwin 2002, no. 730–731; Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 1–16.

⁶ Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 17.

⁷ Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 18–84; one might add the Southern mint place – whatever to make of its status – discussed in Goodwin 2004. Some fulus without mint name, usually attributed to Amman, bear a majuscule M on the reverse, e.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, no. 716; Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 163–166.

⁸ E.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, no. 730; Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 3, 6.

⁹ Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 2.

¹⁰ E.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, no. 657–671; Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 209–238.

¹¹ E.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, no. 608–638; Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 239–322.

¹² E.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, no. 656; Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 323–336.

¹³ E.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, no. 679–682; Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 371–385.

¹⁴ E.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, no. 672–673; Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 339–341. In addition to these well-known mints, also two more cases which are open to discussion should be mentioned, on the one hand the supposed mint of Sinjar (Goodwin 2012), on the other hand that of al-Raqqā (Schindel 2012). I consider neither Goodwin’s reading nor my own hypothesis as definite.

¹⁵ Goodwin (forthcoming), no. 224.

¹⁶ One clear candidate is the mint which struck stylistically inferior fulus among which a die link between specimens with the mint names Halab and Hims can be observed, Goodwin 2010, p. 39, example 3.

¹⁷ Goodwin 2004.

¹⁸ E.g. the discussion about the status of the low-quality-style issues with the garbled mint name of Dimashq between Schulze 2010 and Schindel 2013.

¹⁹ Album/Goodwin 2002, p. 91 f.

²⁰ E.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, p. 96 with note 71; in detail Goodwin 2010.

²¹ For a detailed study of this mint see Goodwin 2005, p. 103–146.

²² E.g. Album/Goodwin 2002, p. 96.

²³ Ilišch 1993, no. 18–22 (dated to the late 90ies AH) and 331–338 (dated to ca. 100 AH) respectively.

²⁴ This phenomenon has been assumed for Hims in the preceding “Umayyad Imperial Image” coinage, Album/Goodwin (as note 3), 85 f.

²⁵ Schulze 2010, p. 4, fig. 10, coin no. b (regular Dimashq), c (m reverse).

²⁶ Goodwin 2004.

²⁷ Goodwin 2013, p. 7, fig. 3; Goodwin himself favors the alternative explanation that the coin with ٱll was part of a special emission.

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A COIN FOR VICTORY

By Farbod Mosanef (Tehran)

Following the successful Abbasid revolt against the Umayyads, Saffah became the new caliph of the Islamic lands. After some time, however, especially after the death of Saffah in AH 136, an opposition movement arose between Alid groups who considered themselves to have a more rightful claim to the caliphate. One of the most powerful revolts against the Abbasids was the simultaneous rebellion of two Alid brothers in AH 145. These were Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and Ibrahim ibn ‘Abdullah ibn al-Hasan ibn al-Hasan ibn ‘Ali ibn Abi Talib, who had been involved in two rebellions, one in Hijaz and the other in southern Iraq.¹

Muhammad, on 1 Rajab AH 145, seized the cities of Medina and Mecca; Ibrahim announced his rebellion in Sha‘ban AH 145 and captured Basra and some parts of southern Iraq, Khuzistan and some parts of Fars.

In response, Abu Ja‘far ‘Abdallah ibn Muhammad al-Mansur (AH 95–158) divided his troops into two parts: he sent ‘Isa ibn Musa ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Ali ibn ‘Abdallah ibn al-‘Abbas with the first part of the Abbasid troops to Hijaz, and he stayed with the remaining troops in Kufah. This decision prevented another group of Shiites in Kufah from coming together and joining Ibrahim’s troops in Basra.

Isa ibn Musa attacked Muhammad al-Nafs al-Zakiyya and his followers. Despite the greater strength of Isa’s troops, Muhammad fought bravely but was killed in Ramadan of AH 145.

Mansur, who had retaken Hijaz and suppressed the Alids’ revolt there, ordered Isa ibn Musa to return quickly to Iraq, where he sent him with Abbasid troops to clamp down on Ibrahim’s rebellion. Ibrahim’s followers met the Abbasids at Bakhama near Kufah in Dhu’l Qa‘dah AH 145. The battle was going Ibrahim’s way but

suddenly he was struck by an arrow and killed. His head was sent to Mansur.

Ibrahim had had dirhams struck in Basra in AH 145, on which he had had engraved his ancestor, the prophet Muhammad's, motto at the battle of Tabuk "Allahu Aḥad Aḥad" instead of the usual phrase "Muḥammad Rasūl Allah" and he had had engraved verse 81 of Sura 17 (Al-Isra') instead of the usual verse 9:33 of the Qur'an as the marginal inscription.²

Mansur revelled in the glory of his victory, and, in AH 146, before moving his treasury to the newly-built Abbasid capital of "Madinat al-Salam Baghdad" had interesting fulus struck to mark this victory. On these coins, the marginal legend starts with "بسم الله الاحد" instead of "بسم الله" in response to Ibrahim's motto on his coins and continues with "لا اله الا الله الحمد لله والله اكبر" in the field to show his appreciation to God for this victory.³



Fals, al-Kufa, AH 146
Weight: 2.72 g; diameter: 19 mm
Obv:

لا اله الا
الله الحمد لله
والله اكبر

Rev:

صل الله
على محمد
النبي

Margin:

بسم الله الاحد ضرب بالكوفه سنة ست و اربعين و مائه

Notes

¹ General sources on the history of revolt of Ibrahim ibn Abdullah are as follows: Abu al-Faraj Isfahani, *Maghatil al-Talibiyin*, Tehran, pp295-357; Ahmad ibn Yahya al-Balazeri, *Futuh al-buldan* (bakhsh IRAN), 1364, 54-55; Muhammad ibn Jarir Tabari, *Tarikh Tabari* (Tarikh al-rusul va al-muluk), Vol XI, Tehran, 1385, pp4739-4914; Ahmad ibn Abi Yaghub, *Tarikh Yaghubi*, Vol. II, Tehran, 1382, pp368-370; Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn Husayn Masudi, Tehran, 1360, Vol I, pp298-300, Izz al-Din ibn Athir, *Al-Kamil*, Tehran, Vol. VIII.

² General sources on numismatic aspects are as follows: Stephen Album, *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, third edition, Santa Rosa, 2011, p51; Yahya Jafar, "Some Alid revolts", JONS199, spring 2009, pp3-5; Samir Shamma, *A Catalogue of Abbasid Copper Coins*, London, 1998, p57 (he read the date as 143); Seyyed Jamal Torabi Tabataba'i & Mansureh Vasigh, *Sekkehaye Islamiye Iran*, Tabriz, 1373, p145.

³ This coin was donated to the Museum of Astan Quds Razavi (Mashhad). I would like to thank Dr Suzanchi and Mr Yazdinizhad of that museum and Alexander Akopyan.

I would like to thank Stan Goron for his kindness in editing this article.

COINS OF THE NAGARKHANDA KADAMBAS

By Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor*

Introduction

Twelve years ago I saw a gold Gadyāna (Coin no.2) with a Bangalore coin dealer. It had a striding Garuda motif in a 'warrior pose'. The reverse legends were broad and of high-relief. The coin was unique when compared with any other known Gadyānas of Karnataka origin. The coin weighed 4.18g which was reasonable due to the fact that such a weight standard existed for Kadamba coins. These features, along with a kind of patina it had, increased

my doubt about its authenticity but I took a photo and made notes on its physical features.



After a long gap of about 10 years, I came across another coin with an obverse motif of Vishnu, and with the same reverse legends. This coin (Coin no.1) is with Mr Prabhu, a collector from Shimoga, who obtained it from a Tirthahalli jeweller about 30+ years ago and it is said to be from an old house Hundi. Unfortunately, I did not have a camera with me, but the owner, who is a retired civil servant, was kind enough to send me a black and white photocopy of the coin. To my surprise, last year (2015), a third coin (Coin no.3) with similar high-relief reverse legends was sent to me by a Bangalore based collector for authentication. It was said its source was a Shimoga dealer. The obverse had a standing Garuda with hands-folded in a prayer pose. Moreover, the weight of this coin was comparable to the former two. All the three coins had a common title "Nigalamka malla". My doubts about all three coins faded swiftly and led me to do some research on them. This article is the outcome of my findings.

During my research, I also came across a paper² on the second coin. It was like an attestation to my observation and findings. All three Gadyānas provided me with the impulse to sort out and attribute the fanams from my collection that had a comparable obverse and a matching provenance. The result of this work was to bring to light the hitherto unknown coinage of the Nāgarkhānda Kadamba dynasty. The title "Nigalamka malla" was invariably used by most of the rulers of this dynasty, from which we can glean that the title was dynastic than individualistic. The words 'Nigalamka malla' mean – a distinguished valour¹, the Sun of warrior. In the early days, such a title was granted by the overlord to a subordinate king for his war achievements and contribution, by presenting a badge of honour or anklet and in many cases through land grant. But over a period, it was merely assumed by many of the feudatories. The aim of this paper is to elucidate these fascinating Nāgarkhānda coins.

Political Background

The name 'Kadamba' is generally associated with Banavāsi as Kadambas of the 'main line' who ruled from Banavāsi are mentioned in the general history of India. But minor Kadamba dynasties flourished in and around Banavāsi a few centuries later. They traced their origin back to the Kadambas of Banavāsi. These minor kingdoms are little known, except for the Kadambas of Goa and Hāngal.

The Kadamba dynasty held a very important position in the history of Karnataka and India. Banavāsi was their capital and

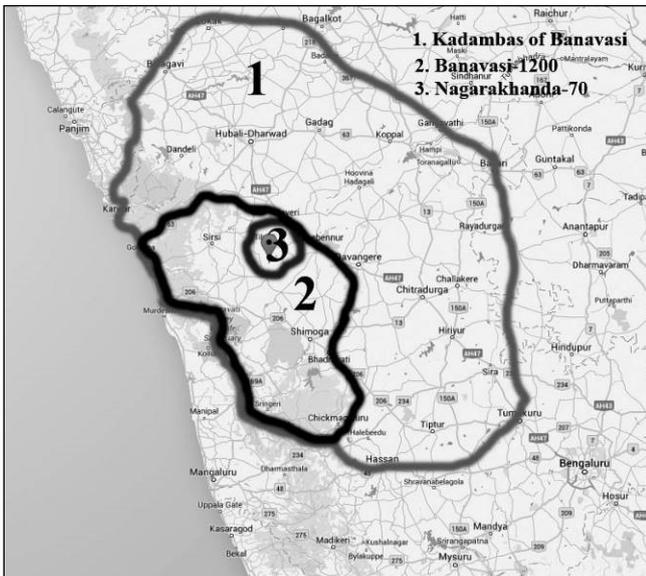
Vaijayanti was its original name. It is located in modern Sirsi in the district of Uttara Kannada, Karnataka state. Banavāsi is a lush green town amidst the Western Ghats with the Madhukeshwara temple at its Centre. The very temple is often mentioned in the invocation of most of the Kadamba epigraphs.

The Kadambas founded their dynasty in the year 345 CE. Unfortunately, the kingdom was divided between two siblings and broke into two branches. Later on, the Triparvata branch, headed by Krishna Varman, merged into the mainline Kadambas of Banavāsi and, from then onwards, Banavāsi remained the only capital till their rule ended around 545 CE.

The dynasty left its influence on all the subsequent dynasties of Karnataka, by conquering and ruling vast territories. The Chalukyas of Badami ruled next. Eventually, however, with the decline of the Chalukyas, there arose several petty dynasties that claimed their roots in the Kadambas of Banavāsi. Significant among the minor kingdoms of the Kadambas were the Kadambas of Goa, Hāngal, Bankāpur, Uchchangi, Nāgarkhānda, Nirumbada, Belur, and Kalinga. An easy way for them to declare the glory of the dynasty was to relate their humble origin to that of the greater powers of earlier times, such as the Kadambas. This was the practice of each and every dynasty that ruled Karnataka and was, indeed, needed to gain a royal status and recognition from the general public. The Kadambas of Nāgarkhānda are one such branch, which are only sparingly known due to the small number of epigraphs. With the discovery of their coins, an attempt can be made to bring to the limelight this petty yet powerful feudatory dynasty..

History, Territory & Chronology

An inscription of the Nāgarkhānda Kadambas connects themselves to the Nandas. The legendary tale in the inscription mentions that two brilliant sons were born in Kadamba Kula to king Nanda upon worshipping Lord Siva. Nanda was then instructed to guide his sons in using weapons to protect the land².



Map: Territory of the Kadambas of Nāgarkhānda

Nāgarkhānda-70² was a small kingdom with Bhandavapura, the modern Bandalike, as its capital. The region of Nāgarkhānda-70 was to the east of Banavāsi. It is not clear from any of the inscriptions if it was adjacent to Banavāsi-1200 or a part of the latter. The political map of the region is shown below. In the map, the Banavāsi kingdom is marked, without including the areas that were only indirectly ruled by the Banavāsi Kadambas.

The region, amid the forests of the Western Ghats was rich in and noted for its betel vines, and areca palms. The Kadambas of Nāgarkhānda claimed to be the descendants of the Kadamba king³, Mayura Varman. They called themselves “The Lords of Banavāsi-pura”. Their capital was Bhandavapura, now known as Bandalike. Their family god was Shiva.

Today, Bandalike is a ruined and deserted village north of Shikāripura. There are more than 30 inscriptions written in old

Kannada and Sanskrit ranging from 834 to 1369 CE. The inscriptions found there date back to many important dynasties associated with this place, viz. the Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Kalachuryas, Hoysalas, Yadavas and the Vijayanagara Empire. The oldest of the temples is Shantinatha Basadi, which has structures renovated during the reign of the Rashtrakuta king, Krishna-II. It was renovated again around 1200 CE by a merchant named Boppa Setti.

There are three prominent old temples, namely Sahasralinga, Someswara and Trimurthy. The Trimurthy temple was constructed by the Western Chalukya emperor, Tailappa-III (1151 – 1164 CE). Lord Vishnu and Siva’s idol are still found in the Trimurthy temple sanctum. The Someswara temple was built in 1274 CE and belongs to the Chalukya period. The Sahasralinga temple was constructed by Macchayya Dannayaka in 1063 CE. The Veerabhadra temple is later and dates from the 14th century CE. These temples are dedicated to Lord Siva.

Bammarasa (1111 CE) was the first king of this branch. From the inscription of his grandson, Soyi deva, he was related to the main branch of the Kadambas⁵. He enjoyed independent sovereignty as the records describe him as a “the sole ruler of the world”. His wife, Kalala Devi⁶, was described in the inscription as “an abode of learning”.

Boppa-deva alias Bopparasa (1112-1138 CE), the son and successor of Bammarasa, is known in one of the inscriptions as “Brave like Arjuna, liberal like Karna and pure like Bhishma”. A record of him refers to Tailapa-II of the Hangal Kadamba dynasty, as the overlord. Hence it is presumed that Boppa-deva was the feudatory to the Hangal Kadambas. The first mention of Boppa-deva’s son is in an inscription⁷ dated 1139 CE. His wife was Sิริya Devi.

Soyi-deva alias Soma deva (1159 – 1181 CE) was the son of Bopparasa and Sิริya Devi. He was an officer in charge of the Nāgarkhānda-70 under Madhukarasa of the Hangal Kadamba dynasty. The inscription of 1159 CE mentions Soyi-deva as subordinate to the Kalachurya kingdom. An inscription of 1160 CE tells us that the Banavāsi-1200 was under Soyi deva’s control. The joy of possessing Banavāsi-1200 did not last long as peace was concluded between the Hangal Kadambas and the Kalachurya king. From then on, Soyi deva was left with the Nāgarkhānda-70 province only and hence had to keep his loyalty to the Kalachuryas⁸ strong. He was a brave ruler and hence kept the neighbouring Sāntara king, Jaga deva, and the Changalva chief on his toes, on the orders of the Kalachurya king, Bijjala⁹. For his bravery he acquired the titles of *Kadambya Rudra*, *Gandara Dāvani*, *Māndalika Bhairava*, *Nigalamka-malla*, and *Satya-Patākā*¹⁰. With the death of the Gutta king, Malla-deva, the queen, Padumala Devi, became the regent of her son, Sampakarasa. She turned hostile towards Soyi-deva from time to time. Soyi-deva had two wives: one was Lichchala Devi whose son was Boppa-deva and the other was Malala Devi.

Boppa-deva II (1182 – 1201 CE), the son of Soyi deva and Lichchala Devi, succeeded the throne next. During his reign, the supremacy of the Kalachuryas was overthrown by the Hoysala king, Ballala II. The allegiance of the Kadambas of Nāgarkhānda transferred to the Hoysalas from then onwards. The inscription of Boppa refers to Ballala II as the overlord of the former¹¹. It says that Sankama-deva, the general of Boppa’s forces, marched away and joined king Ballala II. He had a title “**Nigalamka malla**” in an inscription¹² of 1204 CE.

Brahma-Bhupala alias Bomma-deva (1202 – 1223 CE), was the son and successor of Boppa deva, born to Lachhale Mahadevi. He was a feudatory of the Hoysala king, Vira-Ballala II as recorded in an inscription of 1204 CE. This inscription is found at Harihareshvara temple of Sāntena-halli at Hirekerur talk, Dharwad district. The inscription belonged to Bomma-deva and the title “**Nigalamka malla**” is attached to both Bomma-deva and his father Bomma deva.

An inscription dated 1207 CE concluded that the kingdom was deprived of its territories at about this period. The Hoysala king appointed a certain Malli-deva of the Kāsyapa gotra (clan) as the

governor of Nāgarkhānda-70 and he made the city of Bandhavapura his capital.

Soyi-deva II (1223-1235 CE): There is a mention of Bandalike Soyi-devarasa, in an inscription of the Yadava Singhana-deva period, at Sorab taluk. A Viragal (hero-stone) dated 1235 CE mentions that Soyi-devarasa fought a war in Ukkhadi. He is described as *Nigalamka malla*. The title suggests that he might have been a ruler. A grant of around 1235 CE mentions a king, the Kadamba raya, and it is probably Soyi-deva.

Yet another Viragal of Soraba Taluk dated 1307 CE, mentions the Kadamba-Chakravarti, Nigalamka-malla, Vira-Kava-devarasa. By order of the Maha-mandalika, he marched over Halaniga-nad Mangare Masi-deva's kingdom to crush his enemies.

For some time thereafter the Kadamba dynasty of Nāgarkhānda probably lost possession of this province. In 1412 CE, there is yet another reference, this time to Madhukanna (son of Kadamba Soyi devarasa of Bandalike), his son, Baicharasa, and son-in-law, Surappa, the latter two being slain in a battle. In all probability these were the last of the Nāgarkhānda Kadambas.

The chronology¹³ of the Nāgarkhānda Kadamba kings is shown below.

Bammarasa	(1111 CE)
Boppa-deva-I	(1112 – 1138 CE)
Soyi-deva-I	(1159 – 1181 CE)
Boppa-deva-II	(1182 – 1201 CE)
Brahma-bhupala	(1202 – 1223 CE)
Soyi-deva II	(1223 – 1235 CE)
Kāva-deva	(1307 CE)
Madhukanna	(1412 CE)

There is room for further correction of regnal period as and when more inscriptions and data are available.

The Coins

Three different varieties of the Gadyānas are known, and each of them is so far known from a single specimen. The obverse motifs on these coins are: 1. A striding Garuda as if in a warrior pose, facing right; a floral scroll surrounding the image and a Sun Moon symbol above, 2. Garuda standing, facing a pedestal lamp on the right, Shankh and Chakra above, lotus in front, and 3. Lord Vishnu standing, facing to the front, with Shankh, Chakra, Gada, Padma in four hands, lamp in the left field. The reverse of all three coins bear the legends “Sri Nigalamka malla” in three lines.

The Gadyānas weigh 4.18g, 4.15g, and 4.2g respectively. In terms of size, they measure 15mm in diameter. With regards to their weight, there is a perfect match between these and the Hangal Kadamba gold coins. The average weight of Hoysala coins is 4.1g and that of the Hangal Kadamba coins, 4.2g. Most importantly, the first two are known to have come from a jeweler of Shikāripura and Tirthahalli. The provenance of the last coin is not known, but it was sourced at Shimoga. Shikāripura and Tirthahalli are the taluks of modern Shimoga district.

Artistically, these coins remind us of Hoysala coins that we are more familiar with. This is more evident in the Hana, the 1/10th unit. These fractions of a Gadyāna carry similar reverse symbols to those of Hoysala Hana. An exception is the obverse which has the same Garuda motif found on the obverse of the above Gadyānas. The known reverse motifs are Brahma, Vishnu, Lakshmi, a conch, a discus, a lotus, temple bell, and various incarnations of Vishnu, such as Matsya, Koorma, Varaha, Narasimha, Vamana, Rama, Krishna and Buddha. To ascertain the basis of tagging these coins to the Nāgarkhānda Kadamba dynasties, the following observations were taken into consideration.

Prior to assigning a particular ruler for the given coin, it is important to know the right dynasty or ruler from the written records which carry the same title. The coins shown in the paper distinguishes themselves from the one known from Mudakavi due to remoteness. The coins have Garuda lanchana, which may have been the royal insignia of Kadambas of Nāgarkhānda. Other than coins, the inscriptions do not mention the royal insignia. The weight standard is the same as that of Hangal Kadamba coins. The provenance Shikāripur is the nearest trading town which is an hours

distance by road from Bandalike. Bandalike is quite close to Masur and Rattihalli, the ancient towns of Chalukya feudatory and Hoysala generals respectively.

There are few other inscriptions belonging to different dynasties with a similar title. In Uchchangi, Vijaya Pandya was governing the Nolamba province as a Hoysala governor¹⁴ and had the title “Nigalamka malla. The inscription dates 1167-8 CE. Changanvalva ruler, who ruled around 1037 CE, had the title “Nigalamka malla. The paleography of the coins in discussion is of later period

One of the coins¹⁵ displayed in the plates was earlier assigned to Bomma-deva¹⁶ based on the title Nigalamka malla but there is more than one ruler of this dynasty who shared the same title. The title “Nigalamka malla” seems more dynastic than individual. The coins seem to have been minted and circulated with the same title until the allegiance was shifted to the Hoysalas. During the Hoysala period, we encounter fanams with similar reverse; exception is the obverse motif, the Hoysala insignia. Hence, coins are tagged to the dynasty than any individual ruler unless further data supports the theory.

Nāgarkhānda Kadamba coins are very rare as the dynasty ruled effectively for less than a century, and the area they ruled was quite small. Coins were perhaps minted to demonstrate their supremacy and prestige and perhaps not for economic needs. They probably had peer pressure from the Kadambas of Hangal, who were powerful and their coins were abundant and well executed.

How are these different than the other known series of Nigalamka malla – Dandina-gova coins?

The Guchchina Hiremath stone slab inscription¹⁷ of Saka 1109 (1187-88 CE), refers to a feudatory king of Kalyani Chalukya, Barma Bhupala. He bore the status of Maha mandaleshwara and was the son of Bhuteya-deva, who was ruling Toragal.

The inscription describes his valor in killing the hostile king Panchala under the instruction of his overlord. The inscription introduces Barma Bhupala as the valiant Barma, Nigalamka malla, who dispersed the hostile kings with his own sword and achieved a warrior's distinction - Dandina gova. As a reward he obtained from his master, the region of Lokapura-12, HoLalugunda-30, Navilugunda-40 and Doddavada and KoLenuru-30. The inscription states the land grant to the temple of Suggaleshwara by his queen Suggaladevi with permission from Barma Bhupala.

There is also an inscription at Soraba taluk, dated 1441 CE, which mentions of Mayi deva Dhannayaka with similar titles Nigalamka malla and Dandina gova. So far, the Gadyānas with titles “Nigalamka malla” and “Dandina Gova” were seen in the hoard of coins found at Mudakavi near Toragal. Also, the other known such Warrior/Nigalamka malla coins are from the surrounding places of Ramdurg. In this case, the find spot of the coins has played an important role in assigning to the right ruler.

The aim of this article is to present all the known varieties of this dynasty's coins, in the hope of them receiving the attention they deserve from researchers and numismatists.

Observations

The following observations can be made regarding the Nāgarkhānda Kadamba coins.

1. All the denominations of coins are known. Gadyāna, Hana and Hāga are in gold and Tara is in silver.
2. The Gadyānas show a consistent average weight of around 4.2g.
3. All the motifs seen in Gadyanas are also known in the Hanas (Fanams).
4. The bigger units are Gadyānas and are inscribed; the fractions, namely, Hana and Hāga, exhibit the same obverse symbol, the royal insignia, the Garuda standing, in prayer pose in front of a lamp. This is also seen in one of the Gadyanas.
5. The Gadyānas bear motifs of Vishnu and Garuda on the obverse, whereas the reverse bears a boastful title of the king's bravery, “Nigalamka Malla¹⁸”.
6. The Hanas bear similar obverse symbols but the reverse motifs are different. On the reverses motifs such as a conch,

discus, lotus and *Poorna-kumbha*, and incarnations of Vishnu are depicted.

7. The legends are in 12th to 13th century CE Kannada script and the coins seem to have been minted briefly, for less than 50 to 60 years.
8. The fanams displayed are from a hoard that contained around 90 coins. There also exist stray fanams other than from the hoard as noticed in very old collections.
9. The coins show resemblance to Hoysala fanams. The Hoysala fanams share more or less all the motifs of Nāgarkhānda fanams.
10. The stray coins are occasionally seen mostly with the jewelers of Shikāripura, Bandalike and Sirālikoppa, and are traded by the dealers of Shimoga, Hassan and Mysore.
11. The Tāra¹⁹ (2½ Visa) is also known for this dynasty like that of the Hoysala Tāra. The Hoysalas issued Tāras during the reign of Ballala II, a contemporary of Soyi deva and Boppa deva.

Iconography

Both Vishnu and Shiva are worshipped in the Trimurthy temple that was dedicated to Trimurthy. Lord Vishnu is depicted holding a Padma (lotus flower), the *Kaumodaki gada* (mace), the *Panchajanya shankha* (conch) and the discus (*Chakra*) weapon.

Garuda, the eagle, is Vishnu's mount. In Indian art form, Garuda gradually acquired more human form over the centuries and so maintained only his wings.

Coin Legends and Symbols

The larger units, or Gadyānas, are inscribed with the egocentric title "Nigalamka malla", which denotes the bravery of the king. Two types of obverse images are known so far, namely Lord Vishnu and Garuda. The smaller known units bear the images of Garuda facing the lamp with hands folded in prayer pose, on the obverse. The reverse images are typical of that of the Hoysala fanams. These images consist of Varaha, Matsya, Koorma, Vamana, Purnakumbha, Lotus, etc. These units weigh 1/10th of a bigger unit, and are commonly known as Hana (Fanam). A quarter Hana, as well as a silver Tāra with the standing Garuda on the obverse and a Kannada numeral 2½ on reverse, are also known.

Coin Weights

Except for one Gadyāna, none of the coins are known through any publications so far. Here, an attempt is made to compile and organize these in a systematic manner so as to facilitate further study of these coins.

No mentions of any coin weight standard known from any of the Nāgarkhānda Kadambas inscriptions. From the coins that are known, the weight standard of 4.2 g is observed only for Kadamba coins, such as the Hangal Kadambas. The Hana weighs about 0.4g and the average diameter is around 10mm. The quarter Hana (Hāga) weighs 0.1g in general. The following table shows the weight standard based on the weights of the hoard coins.

Denomination	Unit	Weight	Typical Diameter
Gadyāna	1	4.2 g	15 mm
Hana	1/10 Gadyāna	0.4 g	7 mm
Hāga	¼ Hana	0.1 g	4 mm
Tāra (silver)	¼ Hāga=2 ½ Visa	0.2 g	6 mm

Table 1: Coin parameters of Nāgarkhānda Kadambas

Catalogue

Shown below are the coins issued by the Kadambas of Nāgarkhānda. They are not assigned to any particular ruler due to the common title that the Gadyanas carried. Fanams are uninscribed and are not assigned to any ruler. These were issued during 12th and 13th century CE.

GADYANA

No.	Obverse	Reverse
1		
2		
3		

HANA

No.	Obverse	Reverse
4		
5		

6		
	Garuda standing on the right, facing a lamp, with hands folded, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Lakshmi seated, Padma (lotus) in both hands
7		
	Garuda standing on the right, facing a lamp, with hands folded, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Striding Garuda facing right, as in the Gadyana (coin #2)
8		
	Garuda standing on the right, facing a lamp with hands folded, 7 mm, 0.4 g	HariHara standing, facing the front. Shankh and Chakra in his left hands, and a trident and Damaru in his right hands
Dashavatara type		
9		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Matsya (fish) facing left, 1 st incarnation, Shankh on top, Chakra below
10		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Koorma (tortoise), 2 nd incarnation
11		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Varaha (boar), 3 rd incarnation. Shankha, Chakra, Gada and Padma are in his four hands
12		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Narasimha , 4 th incarnation. A meditative yogi in Yogabandha mudra. Shankh and Chakra in his raised hands. Lower hands rest passively in meditation
13		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands	Vāmana , 5 th incarnation. <i>Kamandala</i> (water pot)

	folded in prayer pose, 7 mm, 0.4 g	represents Vāmana on this coin.
14		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Parashurāma , 6 th incarnation. <i>Axe and Bow</i> on right hands and Shankh, Chakra in left hands.
15		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Rāma , 7 th incarnation; a bow and arrow represent Rāma
16		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 7 mm, 0.4 g	Buddha seated, 9 th incarnation.

HAGA (Quarter Fanam)

No.	Obverse	Reverse
18		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 4 mm, 0.4 g	A temple bell

TARA (Quarter Hāga)

No.	Obverse	Reverse
19		
	Garuda standing facing right to a lamp, with hands folded in prayer pose, 6 mm, 0.2 g	Kannada numeral – 2 ½ (visa)

References

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Notes

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EC = *Epigraphica Karnataka*

¹ The word Malla means wrestler but in a political context, it means lord or king. In medieval inscriptions of south India, titles or names such as

Jagadeka malla, Bhuvaneka malla, Ahava malla, Dāwara malla, Trailokya malla, Yuddha malla and Nigalamka malla were commonly used by many of the rulers.

² The number associated with the administrative unit perhaps represents the number of villages within it.

³ George M Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 9, Fleet, *Inscriptions relating Kadambas of Goa, JBRAS IX*, pp. 245, 272, 285

⁴ George M Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p.235; Rice, *Mysore inscriptions*, p. 59, EC VII, Sb, 345,

⁵ EC VII, Sk, 197

⁶ Rice, *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 59

⁷ EC VII, Sk, 197

⁸ EC VIII, Sb, 414

⁹ EC VII, Sk, 277

¹⁰ EC VIII, Sa, 114, EC VIII, Sb, 286

¹¹ EC VIII, Sb, 345

¹² M. Nithyananda Pai, 'A Gold Gadyana of Kadamba Chief Nigalamkamalla', *Studies in South Indian Coins*, Vol. XVIII

¹³ There is room for further correction as and when more inscriptions and data are available

¹⁴ *Indian Antiquary*, VOL XII, p. 95-99

¹⁵ Coin #1 in the Plate

¹⁶ M. Nithyananda Pai, 'A Gold Gadyana of Kadamba Chief Nigalamkamalla', *Studies in South Indian Coins*, Vol. XVIII

¹⁷ EC VII, Sk, 225

¹⁸ Nigalamka Malla literally means a wrestler with the honour of an anklet. Anklets were presented whenever a wrestler wins the title. But as the time passed, it simply became a title of Kings.

¹⁹ Tara is a Vijayanagara period terminology and is commonly referred to, in the modern numismatic publications

A HOARD OF ZAGEM SILVER COINS OF MUḤAMMAD KHUDĀBANDAH DISCOVERED IN THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

By Irakli Paghava and Samir Sh. Hasanov

Introduction

The monetary market of the Caucasus in the epoch of Safavid political and economic¹ supremacy was dominated by the silver coinage issued at various Safavid mints in the name of the contemporary (and previous) shah(s), as well as the anonymous civic coppers minted at more or less significant urban centers.² Neither bore any reference to the local authorities³, and as regards the silver coinage, the people were probably uninterested in the minting place of the coins they held in hand.⁴ Therefore, one could perhaps interpret the numismatic history of the region as a superposition of coin-striking activities of several local mints as well as local monetary circulation.

Recent discoveries demonstrated, that one of the most prolific regional mints in the 16th – early 17th century was the city called (in written sources) زکم; the name was probably articulated variably, and *Zagem/i* or *Zegam/i* were seemingly the commonest variants⁵; quite rarely, the name was also spelled as زکام⁶ (the city was denominated *Bazari* or *Tsaghma-Bazari* in the more or less contemporary Georgian and Russian sources⁷). The last five years have witnessed a plethora of new discoveries devoted to the (numismatic) history of this major Caucasian urban centre.⁸

However, numismatic studies on this subject seem to be far from completion. By means of this short article we would like to publish a hoard comprised of silver coins produced at the mint of زکم.

The Hoard

It was reportedly discovered close to the soil surface somewhere in the north-western regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan, in 2014.

18 silver coins were available for study: 7 heavier and 11 lighter ones. There are some indications, that the hoard comprised even more coins, but unfortunately we have no precise indications of the original size.

All 7 heavier coins bore the mint name زکم. 8 out of 11 lighter coins also bore it; we could not read the mint name on the other 3 light coins.

All the coins were of Safavid pre-reform (of 'Abbas I) type and bore (if discernible) the names of two 16th century Safavid shahs: Tahmāsb I and Muḥammad Khudābandah. The date was indicated (or at least legible) on just one of all the coins; as to the legends, only fragments could be read, and quite frequently not containing the ruler's name; therefore, the coins could not be attributed to any shah unequivocally. However, in our opinion, when present, Tahmāsb's name was mentioned in the capacity of Muḥammad Khudābandah's *nasab*, and we consider all the specimens to be minted in the name (and in the reign) of Muḥammad Khudābandah.

The coins evidently pertain to two different weight standards:

1. Heavier coins, weight range 4.21-4.42 g (average weight according to 7 specimens – 4.33 g); this should be the somewhat reduced 2 *shāhī* denomination of Muḥammad Khudābandah minted according to 2400-nokhūd tūmān standard (*shāhī* weight = 2.304 g).⁹
2. Lighter coins, weight range 1.84-2.15 g (average weight according to 11 specimens – 1.96 g); or, if we take into account only the coins with the mintname زکم legible, then the range would be 1.84-2.15 g (and the average weight according to 8 specimens – 1.99 g); this should be the somewhat reduced *shāhī* denomination of Muḥammad Khudābandah.

The majority of the coins shared the same design: Mint (and sometimes also date) formula within a circle; only 3 lighter coins were of a different design, with no circle in the centre, possibly with mint (and date?) formula in the obverse margin (?).

When describing the coins we used the following abbreviations:

MF = mint formula

RF = royal formula / royal protocol

SF = Shia formula

12 imams = names of 12 imams

Coin 1. Muḥammad Khudābandah, 2 *shāhī*.

The date – AH 993¹⁰ (1585) points to Muḥammad Khudābandah (AH 985-995 / 1578-1588).

AR, weight 4.42 g, dimensions 19 × 19.4 mm.

Obverse: MF and date formula within a circle (in *Naskhi*):

ضرب زکم ۹۹۳

RF around the circle; we could read only fragments (in *Naskhi*):

... امام؟ ... مهدی سلطان؟ ... طهماسب؟ ... خلد ملکه

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*) within a diamond-like cartouche:

لا اله الا الله / محمد رسول الله / على ولي الله

12 imams around (?) (also in *Naskhi*):

حسن حسين على محمد جعفر موسى على محمد على حسن محمد

على



Coin 2. Muḥammad Khudābandah, 2 *shāhī*.

Probably the obverse dies for coins 1 and 2 were produced by the same celator.

AR, weight 4.39 g, dimensions 20.4 × 22.3 mm

Obverse: Only MF is legible within a circle (the date not imprinted due to the weak strike?):

ضرب زکم

RF with the name of the Safavid shah around the circle; we could read only fragments (in *Naskhi*):

... المظفر... طهماسب؟ ...

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*) within a diamond-like cartouche; 12 imams around.



Coin 3. Muḥammad Khudābandah, 2 shāhī.

AR, weight 4.21 g, dimensions 20.1 × 21.4 mm
Neat calligraphy.

Obverse: Only MF within a circle. RF around the circle; we could read only fragments (in *Naskhi*):

امام؟ ... سلطان؟ ... المظفر محمد بن طهماسب؟ الحسنی ... خلد ملکه

...

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*) within a diamond-like cartouche; 12 imams around.



Coin 4. Muḥammad Khudābandah, 2 shāhī.

The obverse dies of the Coins 3 and 4 are quite similar, most probably they were produced by the same celator.

AR, weight 4.41 g, dimensions 19.5 × 20.1 mm

Obverse: Only MF within a circle. RF around the circle; we could read only fragments (in *Naskhi*):

... مهدی ... سلطان؟ ... بن طهماسب؟ ... خلد ملکه

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*) within a diamond-like cartouche; 12 imams around.



Coins 5-7. Muḥammad Khudābandah, 2 shāhī.

All three coins were struck with the same obverse die, bearing extremely crude legends and even engraved incompetently.

Coin 5. AR, weight 4.33 g, dimensions 19.1 × 20.6 mm

Coin 6. AR, weight 4.32 g, dimensions 18.8 × 20.5 mm

Coin 7. AR, weight 4.24 g, dimensions 18.7 × 19.5 mm

Obverse: Only MF within a circle. RF around the circle; we could read only the following fragments on these three coins (in *Naskhi*):

... مهدی ... الحسنی ... خلد ...

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*) within a diamond-like cartouche; 12 imams around.



Coins 8-9. Muḥammad Khudābandah, shāhī.

Both coins were struck with the same obverse die.

Coin 8. AR, weight 1.96 g, dimensions 16.4 × 16.9 mm

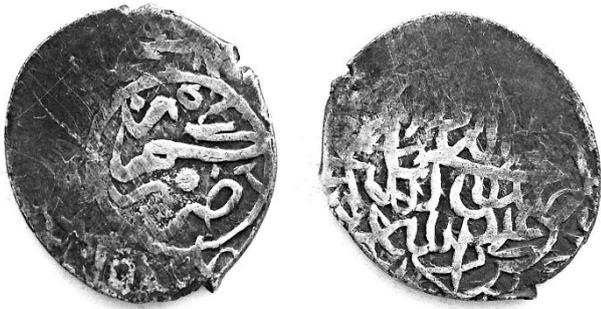
Coin 9. AR, weight 2.15 g, dimensions 17.3 × 19.6 mm

Sprawling calligraphy. An attempt to convey Persian gāf (گ)?

Obverse: Only MF within a circle. RF around the circle

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*) within a diamond-like cartouche; 12 imams around.





Coins 10-12. Muḥammad Khudābandah, shāhī.

All three coins were struck with the same obverse die.

Coin 10. AR, weight 1.89 g, dimensions 16.4 × 16.9 mm

Coin 11. AR, weight 1.84 g, dimensions 15.8 × 19.0 mm

Coin 12. AR, weight 1.95 g, dimensions 16.8 × 17.2 mm

Engross calligraphy. Could be produced by the same celator who engraved the obverse dies for Coins 1 and 2.

Obverse: Only MF within a circle. RF around the circle

... ؟ خلد ملکه

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*) within a diamond-like cartouche; 12 imams around.



Coin 13. Muḥammad Khudābandah, shāhī.

AR, weight 2.05 g, dimensions 15.7 × 19.2 mm

Delicate calligraphy.

Obverse: Only MF within a XX cartouche, and not a circle. RF around the circle

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*); probably, 12 imams round.



Coin 14. Muḥammad Khudābandah, shāhī.

AR, weight 2.1 g, dimensions 16.7 × 17.8 mm

Coarse calligraphy.

Obverse: Only MF within a circle. RF around the circle

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*); probably, 12 imams around.



Coin 15. Muḥammad Khudābandah, light denomination.

Mostly effaced.

AR, weight 2.0 g, dimensions 16.4 × 18.2 mm

Coarse calligraphy.

Obverse: Only MF within a circle. RF around the circle

... المظفر ...

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*) within a diamond-like cartouche; probably, 12 imams around.



Coins 16-18. Muḥammad Khudābandah, shāhī.

All three coins were struck with the same obverse die.

Coin 16. AR, weight 1.86 g, dimensions 18.1 × 18.7 mm

Coin 17. AR, weight 1.87 g, dimensions 15.9 × 18.9 mm

Coin 18. AR, weight 1.90 g, dimensions 14.9 × 16.4 mm

Obverse: RF in the field, we could read only the following fragments on these three coins:

غلام؟ امام؟ ... مهدی ... اسطغان؟ ... المظفر محمد خدا بنده

MF in the margins?

Reverse: SF (also in *Naskhi*); 12 imams around?



Historical significance.

The hoard provides us with an opportunity to make several observations.

Firstly, the hoard composition is quite remarkable as it demonstrates the absolute preponderance of **كز** coins – 14 coins out of 18 bore this mint name, i.e. 77.8%; and it is quite possible, that the other 4 coins (of two different types produced with just two different obverse dies) were also minted at **كز**. We realize, that the available specimens could be hand-picked from a larger number of possibly also non-Zagemi coins, leading to a selection bias; nevertheless, these 18 coins, albeit reportedly, constituted the major part of the hoard; so, evidently, the Zagemi city had a very prolific mint, and its produce most probably dominated the local monetary market.

The hoard constitutes a valuable find as it expands further our understanding of the typology of the coinage issued at the **كز** mint, particularly during the reign of Muḥammad Khudābandah.¹¹

Moreover, now we have more data to study the chronology of the minting activities in this major urban centre. Irakli Paghava and Severiane Turkia have already published the Muḥammad Khudābandah's coins of **كز** and dated AH 987, 988 and 989 (correspondingly, 1579/80, 1580/1, 1581/2); however, it was unclear, whether the minting activities continued in AH 990s.¹² Now the new coin dated AH 993 (1585) provides us with an answer to this question.

The coins, or, more precisely, the obverse dies, demonstrate, that they were produced by different craftsmen; and it is also clear that some celators were much less skilled than others. Despite the overt crudeness of the obverse die producing coins 5-7 and 14, we do not think it was engraved by some contemporary counterfeiter; the reverse dies are too good for that. We can perhaps alternatively conjecture, that the coin-striking tempo forced the (mint) authorities to employ several people (at once?) irrespective of their qualification, including some craftsmen who were as bad as to

produce the obverse dies for the coins 5-7 and 14. It is also noteworthy, that seemingly the Zagemi mint issued coins of a reduced silver standard.

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² Пахомов Евгений. «Монетные клады Азербайджана и Закавказья. Труды общества обследования и изучения Азербайджана, выпуск 3 (Баку: Издание Общества обследования и изучения Азербайджана, 1926), 31-33; ქეთელაი თინათინი. *ირანული სპილენძის ფულის კატალოგი (საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის ფონდების მიხედვით)*. [A Catalogue of Iranian Copper Money (According to the Holdings of the Georgian State Museum)] (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1990), 5-64.

³ Except for the early 18th century coppers minted by Kings of Kartli, Safavid vassals in eastern Georgia. Кутелия, Тинатин. *Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)*. [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)] (Тбилиси: Мецниереба, 1979), 60-63.

⁴ Albeit some mints had better reputation for issuing good alloy coinage than others, for instance, the Huwayza muḥammadis.

⁵ ჭილაშვილი ლევანი. *კახეთის ქალაქები*. [Cities of K'akheti] (თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1980), 157-160.

⁶ ფაღავა, ირაკლი. „სეფიანებთან საქართველოს ურთიერთობის ისტორიიდან - კახეთის ქალაქი ბაზარი (ზაგემი) XVII-XVIII საუკუნეებში (ნუმისმატიკური და წერილობითი მონაცემებით)“. [“On the Safavid-Georgian Relations: City of Bazari (Zagemi) in K'akheti in the 17th-18th c. (According to Numismatic and Written Data)”]. *ახლო აღმოსავლეთი და საქართველო VII* (2013): 222.

⁷ ჭილაშვილი ლევანი. *კახეთის ქალაქები*. [Cities of K'akheti], 157-160.

⁸ ფაღავა ირაკლი. „ოსმალური სამყაროსა და საქართველოს ურთიერთობა ახალი ნუმისმატიკური მონაცემების მიხედვით“. [“The Relationship between the Ottoman World and Georgia according to New Numismatic Data”] *კონსტანტინე ფაღავა 90*. რედ. ლ. ჟორჟოლიანი, მ. კვაჭაძე. (თბილისი: თბილისის უნივერსიტეტის გამომცემლობა, 2012), 128-129; ფაღავა, ირაკლი. „სეფიანებთან საქართველოს ურთიერთობის ისტორიიდან - კახეთის ქალაქი ბაზარი (ზაგემი) XVII-XVIII საუკუნეებში (ნუმისმატიკური და წერილობითი მონაცემებით)“. [“On the Safavid-Georgian Relations: City of Bazari (Zagemi) in K'akheti in the 17th-18th c. (According to Numismatic and Written Data)”]; Gabashvili Goga, Paghava Irakli and Gogava Giorgi. “A Low-Weight Copper Coin with Geometrical Design Struck at Zagemi (in Eastern Georgia)”. *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 222 (Winter 2015): 16-17; Paghava Irakli. “Chronicle's Note on Minting Ottoman Coins in Kakheti (Eastern Georgia)”. *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 215 (Spring 2013): 22-23; Paghava Irakli, Bennett Kirk. “The Earliest Date for the Kingdom of K'akheti Silver Issues of the 16th Century”. *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 225 (Autumn 2015): 25-26; Paghava Irakli, Gabashvili Goga. “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhed” in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?”. *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 223 (Spring 2015): 20-21; Акоюн Александр, Алексанян Давид. “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства.” [“Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti”]. *Эпиграфика Востока XXXI* (2015): 147-170; Пагава Иракли, Туркия Севериане. “Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)”. [“New Data on Minting Safavid Coinage in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia)”] *Расшир. Восточная нумизматика, 1-я международная конференция, 29-31 июля 2011 г.*, ред. И. Пагава, В. Безпалько, 105-112. Одесса: ТДМ, 2013.

⁹ Farahbakhsh Hushang. *Iranian Hammered Coinage, 2nd ed.* Berlin, 2007. 23.

¹⁰ We consider the date to be [AH] 993 and not 963.

¹¹ Cf. Пагава Иракли, Туркия Севериане. “Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)”. [“New Data on Minting Safavid Coinage in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia)”].

¹² Ibid., 110.

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NEW DATA ON THE COPPER COINAGE OF THE GANJA KHANATE (LION LEFT TYPE OF AH 1187; RESTRIKING GEORGIAN COPPER COINS)

By Irakli Paghava

In one of our earlier works we have already made an attempt to review the copper coinage of the Ganja Khanate¹, a minor political entity in South Caucasus from 1747 to 1804.

However, by means of this short note we would like to discuss a peculiar coin type, previously known only from Tinatin Kutelia’s report of its presence in the State Hermitage (Russian Federation) holdings, from Yevgeniy Pakhomov’s collection.² Since the description is pretty laconic, we consider it would be appropriate to publish a coin³ of this mint and year and discuss it in some detail.

The coin (Fig. 1) is as follows: AE, Weight 8.05 g, dimensions 23.5-24 mm, die axis 9 o’clock.



Fig. 1. Ganja Khanate, AE, AH 1187

Obverse: “Lion” left, with mirror-image date beneath

۷۸۱۱

Within

Reverse: Mint place formula

کنجه

فلوس

ضرب

Within complex (circular line and dots outside) border.

The coin is somewhat peculiar; it is remarkable for:

- its placement of the date on the obverse (below the effigy) instead of indicating it along with the mint place (a sole instance among the Ganja Khanate copper issues?);
- mirror-image of the figures (we cannot recall another case among the copper coinage of the Ganja Khanate); and
- somewhat slipshod (?) calligraphy of the reverse legend.

Nevertheless, the above-said is in our opinion insufficient to regard this coin as an imitation or contemporary forgery. We would rather consider this coin an official issue of the Ganja mint.

The date is in mirror-image; however, we cannot claim that the order of presenting the figures was confused as well. We would date this coin, albeit somewhat tentatively, AH 1187 (1773/4).

Taking into account this new type, we have an opportunity to update the list of the copper currency minted in the Ganja Khanate:

AH 1149 (?). Obverse: Lion left, sun above; Reverse: Mint place and date formula (henceforward: MDF); Weight standard: 8.42 g (sole specimen);

AH 1167. Obverse: Dū-l-Fiqār; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: 9.37 g (sole specimen);

AH 1167. Obverse: Lion and Sun; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: 3.4 g (sole specimen);

AH 1181. Obverse: Lion right; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: 7-9 g (?);

AH 1187 (?). Obverse: Lion left, date formula; Reverse: Mint place formula only, the date being indicated on the obverse; Weight standard: 8.05 g (sole specimen);

AH 1205. Obverse: Sun-face; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: Mean weight 15.59 g (calculated by 7 specimens);

AH 1207. Obverse: Goose left; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: Mean weight 2.89 g (calculated by 2 specimens);

AH 1207. Obverse: Hare left; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: Mean weight 31.44 g (calculated by 4 specimens);

AH 1210. Obverse: Dū-l-Fiqār; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: 16.2 g (sole specimen);

AH 1210. Obverse: Sun-face; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: 12.8 g (sole specimen);

- AH 1212. Obverse: Fish right; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: 15.49 g (sole specimen);
- AH 1215. Obverse: Dū-l-Fiqār; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: 18.14 g (calculated by 2 specimens);
- AH 1216. Obverse: Shī'ah statement of faith; Reverse: MDF; Weight standard: 16.41 g (sole specimen).

Researching the numismatic history of the east-Georgian Kingdom of Kartli-K'akheti and Ganja Khanate provides us with an interesting insight into regional numismatic cooperation and interference.⁴

Recently we have encountered an extremely peculiar example thereof. When we were visiting Yerevan, Armenia in spring 2016 one of the local collectors, originally from Tbilisi, Georgia, showed us a peculiar copper coin, a heavy-weight Ganja Khanate sun-face type copper, dated AH 1210. However, it was evident that the coin was not struck on a freshly made flan, but was re-struck from another coin; we managed to specify the host coin – it was a Georgian copper *bisti* (roughly 18-19 g) of King Irak'li II (1744-1798), as his name in Georgian Asomtavruli script was easily legible (ႵႵႵႵႵႵ) and the weight and size of the coin correspond well with the *bisti* denomination. Unfortunately, the owner changed his mind and refused to sell the specimen, so we have had no opportunity to provide the image and exact metrology. However, we can personally testify to the existence of such a coin.

We have already conjectured that the Georgian Kingdom of Kartli-K'akheti used to export much of the mined copper (from Shamlughli, Damlughli and Alaverdi mines), and its price predetermined the value and weight of various copper coins of the neighbouring Muslim Khanates.⁵ Now we have a proof that the copper minted in Georgia, i.e. the Georgian copper issues served as at least one of the sources of the monetary metal for the Ganja mint. Possibly, the copper was exported from Kartli-K'akheti by means of coinage as well.

Notes

¹ Пагава Иракли. “Восточногрузинское царство и Гянджинское ханство (вопросы регионального нумизматического взаимодействия)”. *Эпиграфика Востока XXX* (2013), 216-225. [Paghava Irakli. “East-Georgian Kingdom and Ganja Khanate (Issues of Regional Numismatic Interaction)”].

² ქუთელია თინათინი. *ირანული სპილენძის ფულის კატალოგი (საქართველოს სახელმწიფო მუზეუმის ფონდების მიხედვით)*. თბილისი: მეცნიერება, 1990. [Kutelia Tinatini. *Catalogue of the Iranian Copper Coins in the State Museum of Georgia*], 108. However, this coin type was omitted from the coins listed under the *Ganja mint* heading. Ibid., 89-92; regrettably we have omitted it in our work too. Пагава. “Восточногрузинское царство и Гянджинское ханство (вопросы регионального нумизматического взаимодействия)”. [Paghava. “East-Georgian Kingdom and Ganja Khanate (Issues of Regional Numismatic Interaction)”], 217-219.

³ It is preserved in a private collection in Georgia.

⁴ Пагава. “Восточногрузинское царство и Гянджинское ханство (вопросы регионального нумизматического взаимодействия)”, 216-225. [Paghava Irakli. “East-Georgian Kingdom and Ganja Khanate (Issues of Regional Numismatic Interaction)”], 216-225].

⁵ ფაღავა ირაკლი. „სპილენძის ღირებულება ქართლ-კახეთის სამეფოში XVIII საუკუნის მიწურულის ისტორიული საბუთების მიხედვით (თანადროული სპილენძის საფასის თვითღირებულების საკითხისთვის)“. [Paghava Irakli. “Copper Price in Kartli-K'akheti Kingdom according to Historical Documents of the End of the 18th Century (on the Self-value of the Contemporary Copper Currency)”] *საისტორიო კრებული*, ტომი 2 (2012). თბილისი: მხედარი, 2012, 220-241.

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SOME ENIGMATIC CIS-SUTLEJ STATES RUPEES AND THEIR ATTRIBUTION

By Shailendra Bhandare

Recently, a silver rupee bearing the mint-name ‘Sarhind’, dated 1893 and struck in the name of Ahmed Shah Durrani was offered for auction by Classical Numismatic Gallery of Ahmedabad, India (Auction 25, 6-8-2016, lot 324 (Fig. 1, weight 11.55 g).



Fig. 1

The coin, because of the name of the pseudo-issuer it bears, as well as the mint-name, can be readily recognised as a ‘cis-Sutlej’ issue, struck by states like Patiala, Nabha, Jind, Kaithal and Malerkotla, which were located on the ‘India’-side of the river Sutlej. Although bearing these two major signs of a cis-Sutlej attribution, the coin also differs from all other cis-Sutlej issues in some salient respects: it does not have the ubiquitous symbol of the Farsi letter ‘Suad’ (ص) placed on the reverse, nor does it have any of the other marks individual rulers of states like Patiala, Nabha or Malerkotla chose to place on the reverse of their coins. The reverse of the coin has the typical ‘Julus’ inscription, and, in its layout, it vaguely resembles the machine-struck “Nazarana” rupee of Jind, celebrating the golden jubilee of its ruler Ranbir Singh in AD 1937 (although that coin does not bear the full ‘Julus’ inscription; instead, it mentions the extent of Ranbir Singh’s reign).

A significant feature of the reverse is the date 1893 which is displayed prominently in the middle of the coin. The other significant feature of the coin is that it is clearly struck mechanically – although like many machine-struck Princely States coins of the 19th century, the strike appears to be slightly weak in places. The coin is listed in SACPM (1980 edition) under Nabha for some reason. Perhaps based on this attribution, a similar piece in the Fitzwilliam Museum’s collection (Fig. 2, accession number CM.IN.1267-R, weight 11.63 gm) is also listed as ‘Nabha’. I am aware of a third piece of the same type is in the British Museum collection; however, its image was not readily available for reproduction here.

All the three known coins of the type are clearly machine-struck. The Fitzwilliam piece is better struck than the CNG-India coin, almost betraying a lustrous appearance. This, along with other aspects such as a full die, well-centred strike, clearly suggest that the coins were specially struck and belong to the genre numismatists usually refer to as “Nazarana” issues, which were presumably produced to fulfil a ritual/ceremonial role, rather than a circulatory purpose.



Fig. 2

But there exist at least two coins of the same type which are not machine-struck. One is in the ANS collection (Fig. 3, accession number 1920.153.1122, 10.73 g) where it is attributed to 'Nabha', and another was offered at Stephen Album Rare Coins, Auction 25 (Fig. 4, lot 1125, 10.54 g), where it was described as of Jind. Both these coins appear poorly struck and even debased, and weigh almost a gram less than the nice 'Nazarana' coins described above. However, they share all the attributive characters – the legends and their layout, the mint-name 'Sarhind' (evident only partly on these hand-struck or dump issues), and the lack of any symbols on the reverse.



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

In addition to these, in the same auction of Stephen Album Rare Coins, there is another rupee of the same type, struck by hand, which bears the date '1944' (Fig. 5, Lot 1126, 10.88 gm). Like the previous coin, this has also been attributed to Jind. The auctioneer's description says, "...Ranbir Singh is known for his machine-struck nazarana rupee dated VS1993 honoring his 50th year of reign. This piece was struck from the nazarana dies for his coronation, 49 years earlier, and is believe to be unique, published here for the first time."



Fig. 5

So to recap we have the following coins with similar typology -

1. hand-struck rupee dated '1944'
2. hand-struck rupees dated '1893'
3. machine-struck rupees dated '1893'

These have been attributed, as described above, either to Jind or to Nabha; all are very rare with the coin dated 1944 being unique so far, and the other two varieties not known from any more than 3-4 pieces each.

The attribution of these coins to Nabha appears to be the most unlikely one. All Nabha coins were struck in the name of Guru Gobind Singh, the last Sikh Guru, and bear 'Nabha' or 'Nabh-kamal' as the mint-name. Both these features are absent on these coins and therefore the attribution to Nabha, which stems from the listing in SACPM, should be overruled. It would nevertheless be interesting to find out on what basis the machine-struck coin was attributed to Nabha in SACPM in the first place, but, as of now, that information is lacking.

In the absence of the usual markers, the only feature one could consider as attributive on these coins is the date. However, the pertinent question here would be to which era the dates need to be reckoned in. Generally, the cis-Sutlej coins, like their Sikh counterparts, bear dates in the Vikram Samvat era (VS) which runs 56 years ahead of AD.

The attribution of the coins to Jind appears to be substantiated on the basis of these dates. The date 1944 reckoned in VS would correspond to AD 1888. The cataloguer for the auction suggests it to be a 'commemorative' for the coronation of Ranbir Singh and 'struck 49 years before' the more well-known 'Golden Jubilee' commemoratives. The problem here is that the date of the said coronation was actually VS 1943 and it appears as such on the 'Golden Jubilee' commemoratives, which were struck in VS 1993 (AD 1937). So why would a commemorative coin be struck one year later than the date of the coronation? The cataloguer's assessment that it is struck from 'nazarana dies' also needs to be revisited because, although the layout of legends is similar to the '1893'-dated 'nazarana' coins, there is nothing else suggesting in the coin that it was struck from dies intended for such a purpose. It is true, however, that one could believe the coin to be of a type different from the usual coins, and thus struck for some special purpose.

The attribution of the '1893'-dated coins to Jind seems equally doubtful. If we reckon the date '1893' to be in VS, the coin was apparently struck in AD 1837. We know that in that year, Jind had a new ruler. The Raja of Jind, Sangat Singh, died on 2nd November 1834 without an heir. A succession dispute resulted in three years of interregnum, with the dowager queen in charge. Finally, his second cousin, Sarup Singh, succeeded him in April 1837 after a successful British intervention (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series, vol. II, Calcutta, 1908, p. 312). So presumably, the coins could be envisaged as commemorative pieces struck to celebrate this investiture. Except that some coins with the date '1893', like the CNG-India and the Fitzwilliam Museum pieces, are evidently machine-struck and there was hardly any chance that machinery to manufacture rupees to this standard could have been present anywhere in the Punjab at such an early date. Moreover, it would be really strange that, a state striking a commemorative coin using a machine, would then resort to striking a coin in the same type for a similar occasion (vide the '1944'-dated coin) almost fifty years later, using the traditional hand-striking technique. The coins are typologically so closely related that they cannot be decades apart in their issue. The only way to answer this quandary would be look at these dates again. If we take '1944' to be reckoned in VS, and '1893' as an AD date, the coins fall better into order and make much better chronological sense. Thus it is plausible to suggest that the type was first introduced with coins dated VS 1944 in AD 1888, and then coins in the same type were struck again in AD 1893, this time with the date mentioned in AD rather than VS. As coins dated 1893 are of both hand-struck as well as a machine-struck or the so-called 'Nazarana' variety, we could reasonably say that some were struck by hand while some were struck using machines. It surely is a more plausible proposition that mechanised coin-production could have existed in the Punjab in AD 1893, rather than VS 1893 (AD 1837). This order not only fits in chronologically, but also takes us in a different direction for the attribution for the coins.

Once we see the dates for what they are, their significance to Jind becomes less relevant. As we have already seen, there is no reason to believe 'VS 1944' (AD 1888) as the date of coronation of Ranbir Singh of Jind – because it was not. He was crowned in VS 1943 and celebrated his Golden Jubilee in VS 1993 with the date of coronation clearly mentioned on the Golden Jubilee commemorative coins. The date AD 1893 has no significance for Jind to strike special types

of coins – Raja Ranbir Singh had been installed as a minor in 1887, and full ruling powers were conferred on him only in 1899 (*History of the United Punjab*, Vol. III, by Bakhshish Singh Nijjar, Delhi, 1996, p. 43).

Typologically, the only other state that could have issued coins in the (posthumous) name of Ahmed Shah Durrani with the mint-name Sarhind, was Patiala. When we turn our attention to Patiala, the dates as have been suggested make much more sense. The ruler of Patiala at the close of the 19th century was Rajinder Singh, well-known for his passion for women and horses. In 1893, a dramatic event happened in his life (the following details are taken from the book *The Fishing Fleet: Husband-hunting in the Raj*, by Anne de Courcy, Windsor/Paragon, 2013). He fell madly in love with an Irish woman, named Florence Gertrude Bryan, a.k.a. ‘Florrie’, who was a sister of his stable-keeper, Charles Bryan. He confided his love to his friend, Lord Beresford, and, “knowing that it would be frowned on by the British, asked him to be his intermediary with the Viceroy”. Lord Beresford wrote back to the king, “I feel bound to tell you that HE (the Viceroy) regards your decision with the strongest disapproval, and that he will not, in any way, countenance this marriage....” And he went on to give plenty of notice of what a disaster such a marriage could be. But the king, “accustomed to being the absolute ruler in his own state”, disregarded it all and went on to marry Florrie. The news of the marriage was announced in the ‘Civil and Military Gazette’ on 13 April 1893. Florrie was converted to Sikhism and given the name ‘Harnam Kaur’.

It is tempting to suggest that the machine-struck ‘Nazarana’ rupees with the date 1893 were struck specially for one of the rituals for this marriage. The choice of an AD date may perhaps have a connection with the fact that the bride was European. The type of coin could well have been a ‘wedding commemorative’, and, therefore, lacked any of the usual other markers. It is plausible that rupees struck to a British (higher) weight standard might have been given away as a present for higher-ranking officers, while those which are struck by hand and to a local standard, were given to a more menial audience, such as priests who officiated in the ceremony.

This might seem to be mere conjecture but not till we turn to the other coin dated ‘1944’. As we have seen, this coin could be regarded as the close typological predecessor of the ‘1893’-dated coins, if we reckon 1944 to be a vs date. It is a matter of no coincidence that, in the very year 1888, Rajinder Singh married for the first time – to Jasmer Kaur, the daughter of Kishen Singh Mansahia. So it is plausible to regard this anomalous type as a ‘wedding commemorative’ type of Patiala.

There is however, a second possible explanation for the machine-struck coins. The subject of Patiala and its ‘Nazarana’ issues was discussed by Surinder Singh in an article entitled “Patiala State Mint and Nazrana Coins” (*The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol. 24, pt.1, April 1990, pp. 234-254 – journal of the Dept. of Punjab Historical Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala). While discussing various papers related to Patiala State currency in general, Surinder Singh mentions: “Efforts were made to remodel the Patiala mint on various occasions with a view to increase its revenue as well as to enhance the state prestige and bring it at par with other native states having their own coinage.... The first attempt was made in 1851 at the viceregal Darbar to change the Abdali legend to that of Queen Victoria” (p. 241) One such attempt was made in December 1877, when Patiala was asked whether it would be willing so “...the Patiala coins should be struck in the Government mint at Calcutta and be equal to that of the Government coin in respect of purity and value”, but Patiala declined this offer (p. 245). These offers and attempts were all directed towards stemming the steady depreciation the coinage struck in Patiala was suffering from. In the year 1893, the Government of India asked the states of Punjab not to strike silver coins on a large scale for a period of six months “to avoid fluctuation in the exchange rates of their coins with that of the Government”. Patiala responded that it had already stopped the coining of its ‘Rajashahi’ rupees and adopted the Government rupee as legal tender in the state. However, “...relaxation was made by the Prime Minister at the suggestion of the Foreign Minister that rupees may be coined for those who may ask for them on levy of

usual charges but these shall not be accepted in Government transactions”. In other words, the mint was not fully shut – an option of getting coins struck to demand was kept open.

All these references indicate that Patiala was concerned about the depreciation in its currency and, therefore, tried to regulate it by opting for stopping the mint for circulatory coins sometimes in late 1893. It is possible that, to resolve the problem of depreciation of the traditional hand-struck coins, it may have experimented with a machine-struck coinage. The main concern of the Government of India – about the ‘fluctuations in the exchange rates in the two currencies’ – could have been addressed by making the machine-struck coins weigh the same as the Government of India rupee and have the same silver purity.

While this is quite a plausible scenario to explain the machine-struck 1893-dated coins, it really does not explain the existence of the rare hand-struck, debased, local standard rupees with the same design and same date. It also does not provide a context for the ‘VS 1944’-dated coin, in the same way as being a part of ‘marriage commemorative’ series does. Therefore, it is tempting to opt for the former rather than the latter scenario as an explanation for these enigmatic coins.

A TOKEN DEPICTING MANDATORY PALESTINE’S MUFTI OF JERUSALEM, HAJJ AMIN AL-HUSSEINI

By Tareq A. Ramadan

The era of the British Palestine Mandate (1920-1948) was characterized by nearly three decades of political strife, violence, inter-communal tensions, and clashing nationalist ambitions and agendas between the British, European Jewish immigrants, and the indigenous Arab population. As a result, a vast array of nationalist material culture, particularly in the form of coins, tokens, and medals, was produced by all three political communities/actors throughout the mandatory period.

Included in this genre of Arab Palestinian numismatic and para-numismatic items is a token or commemorative coin that depicts the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Mohammad Amin al-Husseini – more commonly referred to in popular discourses as ‘Hajj Amin al-Husseini.’ Hajj Amin, a controversial man in his own right, was also one of the chief leading figures of the Arab Palestinian nationalist movement in British-controlled Palestine and was instrumental in the formation of the Arab Higher Committee in 1936 which served as a centralized political body representing Arab Palestinian nationalist interests. He served as the British-appointed Mufti of Jerusalem from 1921 until 1937 as well as the President of the Supreme Moslem Council in Palestine from 1922 to 1937.¹ Below are images of a token bearing his image alongside Arabic phrases praising his nationalist credentials.



The token or commemorative coin or medal, composed of brass and using a rather thin and light flan, measures 22mm, weighs 1.7 grams, has a reeded rim and displays a full brockage effect as the reverse clearly exhibits. Thus, it is only properly struck on one side and portrays a frontal bust relief of Hajj Amin who is sporting a

medium-length beard and traditional religious headgear (an *imaama* or turban-like head-wrap and a traditional part of the Mufti's religious apparel), with recessed eyes, a protruding nose, and six stars situated above his head towards the upper perimeter. The all-Arabic inscriptions, from the right to left sides of the bust read:

LINE 1	المنقذ العظيم	THE GREAT SAVIOR (<i>Al-Munqidh Al-'Atheem</i>)
LINE 2	إتحاد العرب	UNION OF THE ARABS (<i>Itihaad al-'Arab</i>)
LINE 3	قوّه و نصر	STRENGTH AND VICTORY (<i>Quwwa wa Nasr</i>)

While undated and lacking a place of production, it must have been issued after 1921-as Hajj Amin was not known as a religious or major nationalist political figure before his ascent to becoming Jerusalem's Mufti. Reports indicate that it was only upon news of his half-brother, Grand Mufti Kamil al-Husseini's impending death, that Amin became increasingly interested in succeeding him which led to a change in Hajj Amin's appearance. This included growing a beard and adopting the turban in place of the *fez*²- both of which he felt were necessary measures required to gain legitimacy and popular appeal in the eyes of his Arab-Palestinian supporters and potential constituents (to match the popular visual conception of a Palestinian religious cleric and mufti). Thus, it is possible that the issuance of this coin or token may have coincided with his appointment to the post of Mufti of Jerusalem in May of 1921 by British High Commissioner Sir Herbert Samuel.³ Therefore, and with no level of certainty whatsoever, this issue could have been a locally-struck item produced in commemoration of his rise to *muftihood*, although this is only one possibility.

While active in various political circles during his late teenage years, Hajj Amin, after becoming *mufti*, attempted to situate Palestinian national consciousness within the broader realm of Arab nationalist trends and pan-Islamism in the 1920's and 1930's and made several attempts to draw in external Arab and Muslim leaders and dignitaries to support his position in Palestine.⁴ He was influenced by Faisal bin Hussein, King of the short-lived Syrian Arab monarchy in 1920, whom he admired and briefly served under and whom he regarded as the 'King' (of the Arabs of Palestine whom he, at the time, hoped would be merged with independent Arab Syria). This was expressed in a speech on April 4, 1920 during an anti-Zionist demonstration in Nabi Musa.⁵ Less than a year after a major series of inter-communal, violent disturbances between Arabs and Jews in 1929 (popularly known as the 'Arab Riots'), Hajj Amin declared 'Palestine Day' on May 16, 1930⁶ with the support of Indian Muslims and the Muslim League.⁷ His power and influence inside and outside of Mandatory Palestine ebbed and flowed with changing political circumstances, but his popularity among Palestine's Arabs peaked sometime between the mid- 1920's until he fled the mandate in 1937 amidst an Arab-led General Strike, collectively known as Palestine's 'Arab Revolt' (or 'General Strike or 'Great Uprising') of 1936-1939.⁸ I would, therefore, entertain the notion that the token may have even been issued during or after the revolt period as a propaganda piece highlighting the leadership of Hajj Amin (considering one of the token's inscriptions refers to him as the 'Great Savior' as he helped to initiate the 1936 revolt, himself) and framing his political character within the broader Arab struggle against British and French colonialism as well as Zionism. Therefore, a date from this era (late 1930's) would be likelier than 1921 based on a historical reading of the contemporaneous political landscape.

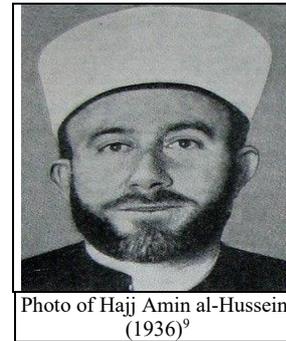


Photo of Hajj Amin al-Husseini (1936)⁹

However, it is also possible that the token was produced after he assisted in the formation of the Gaza-based and Egyptian-backed, All-Palestine Government in 1948¹⁰, but the proof is similarly scant. Either way, at this point, and to my knowledge, there is nothing certain about when and where this token was produced, although Jerusalem may be the likeliest source if we were using his political and religious status there as a criteria.



On stylistic grounds, the token shares only a few, likely coincidental, and very slight similarities with popular nineteenth and twentieth century Ottoman issues in regards to both size and its placement of the stars. For example, both the Ottoman gold 100 piaster coins (as well as the related coins in that series) from Abdul-Hamid II's era (and which would have circulated throughout the Near East and the Levant) and the Hajj Amin token measure 22mm and both share a similar (five-pointed) star pattern. The Hajj Amin token bears six, five-pointed, stars forming an arch in the center, upper periphery of the obverse while the Ottoman 100 piaster contains seven such stars, albeit, in the same general location. The Hajj Amin coin's star pattern and arrangement also shares some resemblance to what is often referred to as the St. Jean D'Acre Order Medal- an Ottoman issue produced under Sultan Abdul-Mejid II in the early 1840's and given to British troops who assisted them in re-capturing Akka (in Ottoman Palestine) from Egyptian forces under Muhammad Ali and his son Ibrahim in 1840. The obverse bears the Ottoman *tughra* while the reverse depicts a Turkish fort flying the Ottoman flag and six, five-pointed stars positioned above it.¹¹ The medal measures 29mm, and is, therefore, larger than both the Hajj Amin token and the Ottoman 100 piaster piece. The following images compare and highlight the 'star pattern' similarities between all three of the aforementioned items.

Thematically, the nationalist messages found on the Hajj Amin token were not entirely unique, as a 1929 token from Haifa bore similar politically charged inscriptions including the Arabic-phrase 'Long Live Arab Palestine' alongside a 'cross in crescent' (symbolizing inter-communal religio-political Palestinian unity).

However, the Hajj Amin token lacks any religious symbols or references (apart from the fact it depicts the Mufti, himself) and was likely meant to appeal to both internal and external Arab nationalist audiences as Palestine's Arab population became increasingly concerned with the rapidly changing political landscape. As of today, however, we do not know how many such Hajj Amin coins or tokens were produced, who produced them, or how many currently exist (in private collections or elsewhere).

Notes

¹ Phillip Mattar, *The Mufti of Jerusalem. Al-Hajj Amin Al-Husayni and the Palestinian National Movement*. Columbia University Press. New York 1988, pp. 26-32 and p. 82

² Muhammad Izzat Darwaza, *Hawl al-Haraka al-'Arabiya al-Haditha, al-Mataba'a al-'Asriya*, Sidon, 1950, pp. 46-47

³ See Interview, Ghalib al-Nashashibi; CZA 4/5770/3/1; Bentwich and Bentwich, *Mandate Memories*, p. 91

⁴ Ibid, Mattar, pp. 56-59.

⁵ Ibid, Mattar, p. 17

⁶ Ibid, Mattar, p. 57

⁷ P. R. Kumaraswamy, *India's Israel Policy*. Columbia University Press. New York, 2010, p. 61

⁸ Rashid Khalidi, *Palestinian Nationalism The Construction of Modern National Consciousness*. Columbia University Press. New York, 1997, p. 190.

⁹ Photo of Hajj Amin al-Husseini from *Literary Digest (Foreign Comments)*, 1936, p. 13.

¹⁰ Ibid, Mattar, pp. 132-133

¹¹ Edhem Eldem, *The History of Ottoman Orders and Medals*, p. 140

CONTENTS OF JOURNAL 228

	Page
ONS news and meetings:	1
A NEW LEAD COIN OF PRATISHTHANA by Devendra Handa	4
INDO-SCYTHIANS: SOME NEW VARIETIES, MISSING FRACTIONS AND RARE COINS PART I: MAUES C. 95/85 TO 60/57 BC by Heinz Gawlik	5
INDO-SCYTHIANS: SOME NEW VARIETIES, MISSING FRACTIONS AND RARE COINS PART II: AZILISES (CA. 60 – 45/35 BC) by Heinz Gawlik	8
THE COINAGE OF SAMATATA by Nicholas Rhodes (edited by Wolfgang Bertsch)	10
AN UNUSUAL “STANDING CALIPH” FALS by Nikolaus Schindel	15
A COIN FOR VICTORY by Farbod Mosanef	17
COINS OF THE NAGARKHANDA KADAMBAS by Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor	18
A HOARD OF ZAGEM SILVER COINS OF MUHAMMAD KHUDABANDAH DISCOVERED IN THE REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN by Irakli Paghava and Samir Sh. Hasanov	23
NEW DATA ON THE COPPER COINAGE OF THE GANJA KHANATE (LION LEFT TYPE OF AH 1187; RESTRIKING GEORGIAN COPPER COINS) by Irakli Paghava	27
SOME ENIGMATIC CIS-SUTLEJ STATES RUPEES AND THEIR ATTRIBUTION by Shailendra Bhandare	28
A TOKEN DEPICTING MANDATORY PALESTINE'S MUFTI OF JERUSALEM, HAJJ AMIN AL-HUSSEINI by Tareq A. Ramadan	30

