



Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society

ISSN 1818-1252

No. 245
Autumn 2021



Editor

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From the Editor

This volume has several articles of interest to our members. The first paper examines the coinage of ancient Trigarta and attempts to pinpoint its location. We then take a look at the depiction of lion as Shiva's vehicle on certain Kashmir coins. We also have the discovery of a new mint for Sultan Shams al-Din Yusuf Shah of Bengal. We then have a detailed analysis of the introduction of a different silver denomination by the Ottoman empire in the 17th century. Finally, we have the first part of an updated catalogue of the coinage of the East India Company's Bengal Presidency, which we will publish in its entirety across the next few issues of JONS.

There have been a few changes in the officers of our Society, which are detailed in ONS News. The Society has also set up a new Regional Section, this time in China, to expand the activities of our Society further. More information is available in pages 29-30.

Karan Singh

THE COINAGE OF TRIGARTA JANAPADA AND ITS IDENTIFICATION WITH TAKKADESA

Karan Singh

The coinage of Trigarta *janapada* is one of the rarest in the 'tribal' series of ancient India. Just one specimen was known for several decades, in the British Museum collection (Fig. 1). Another specimen was seen in trade a few years ago (Fig. 2). This paper will add two more types from the author's collection to the corpus of coins of this *janapada*. I will also attempt to locate its territory and examine the possibility of identifying Trigarta with the *Takkadesa* of historical texts.

Type I



Fig. 1. Type I copper coin, 2.78 g, 18 mm
(from Handa 2007, pl. XXXIII;
Allan 1936: 212, no. 19 and pl. XXIX.10)

Obverse: Temple or stupa in centre, flanked by Kharoshthi legend *tr(i)katasa ja-(na)padasa* written vertically and read from the left

Reverse: Three symbols in centre, with Brahmi legend in two lines *trakata ja-napadasa* above and below

The square coin in Fig. 1 is from the collection of J.P. Rawlins, who collected coins from the Hoshiarpur district of Punjab. *Trakata janapada* is the Prakrit form of *trigarta janapadasya* (Gupta 1989: 46).

Type II

A second type, with a round flan, was seen in trade a few years ago. The temple or stupa is prominent on this type as well.



Fig. 2. Type IIa copper coin (as seen in trade)
(Pieper 2021: 240, no. 1584)

Obverse: Temple or stupa in centre, topped by triangle, with Brahmi legend *trakata ja-napadasa* around

Reverse: Tree-in-railing in centre, flanked by Kharoshthi letters *sa-cha* and miscellaneous symbols

A second specimen of Type II can be seen in the British Museum collection – this worn specimen (7.21 g, 20.3 mm) was attributed to the Rajanya *janapada* by Allan (1936: 212, no. 18 and pl. XXIX.12). Nevertheless, a temple or stupa is faintly visible, along with Brahmi letters *traka(ta)*. A third specimen of Type II is in the author's collection (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. Type IIb copper coin, 6.60 g, 23 mm
(Karan Singh collection)

Obverse: Temple or stupa in centre, topped by cross, with Brahmi legend *traka(ta ja)-napadasa* around

Reverse: Tree-in-railing in centre, flanked by Kharoshthi letters *sa-cha*; *nandipada* at top left and *srivatsa* at top right; river below

This specimen was reportedly found in a village near the Kashmir Smast cave complex in modern-day Pakistan. This is far from the territory of the Trigartas and one assumes it was carried there by a pilgrim from the Trigarta region.

A minor variation can be seen in the standards on top of the structure on the obverse: in Fig. 2 we find a triangle standard, so this can be considered as Type IIa, while in Fig. 3 we have a cross on top of the structure, making this Type IIb.

Type III



Fig. 4. Type III copper half unit, 4.18 g, 19 mm
(Karan Singh collection)

Obverse: Temple or stupa in centre, topped by cross(?), with Brahmi legend *traka(ta ja)-napa(dasa)* around

Reverse: Tree-in-railing with traces of symbols around

The coin illustrated in Fig. 4 is a fraction of Type IIb. It has mineral deposits and encrustations, so, with a current weight of 4.18 g, perhaps it was meant as a half denomination.

Type IV

This unpublished coin is the first and only Trigarta specimen seen in lead.



Fig. 5. Type IV lead coin, 2.80 g, 13-14 mm
(Karan Singh collection)

Obverse: Temple or stupa in centre, topped by cross, with Brahmi legend *...(ja)na-pa(dasa)* around

Reverse: Tree-in-railing

Symbolism

The temple or stupa appears to be the defining symbol of the Trigarta *janapada*. It appears on all six specimens we know of

and it is the symbol around which the name of the tribe is written. The standard on top of the structure varies, from the circular standard in Type 1 to the triangular standard in Type IIa, and cross in Types IIb, III and IV (see Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Comparison of standards seen on top of the structure

The structure itself is similar to that seen on Audumbara coins (see Fig. 7), perhaps implying a geographical proximity of Trigarta to the Audumbaras. The Audumbara tribe was centred on Pathankot (Cunningham 1882: 116), which is close to both Kangra and Sialkot (*Sakala*) (see map in Fig. 9).



Fig. 7. Audumbara copper coin, 1.85 g, 12-13 mm (Classical Numismatic Gallery, Auction 37, Lot 116)

While Trigarta coins only mention their state's name, *Trakata janapada*, Audumbara coins have a more detailed legend that specifies the king; for instance, in Fig. 7 we have *Odubarisa Mahadevasa Raña Rudradasa*, referring to the Audumbara king Rudradasa. In the Early Historical period, we often first see just a city or *janapada*'s name on its coins and, as it develops further, we start to see rulers' names mentioned on the coins (for instance, in the coinage of Erikachha: Bhandare 2003: 12). Therefore, it is safe to say that Trigarta coins were issued first and Audumbara coins followed later. This is also supported by a comparison of the structure seen on their coins: the Trigarta

structure is depicted in a two-dimensional style, while the Audumbara's is three-dimensional (see Fig. 8).



Fig. 8. Comparison of temple or stupa seen on coins of the Trigartas (left) and Audumbaras (right)

Location of Trigarta

The word Trigarta literally means 'three pits' (*tri-gartah*) so the name has been understood to imply 'three river valleys' (Gupta 1989: 46). Most commentators agree that this *janapada* was located in the Punjab. Till now, Trigarta has been identified with the kingdom of Jalandhara and the nearby foothills of modern-day Himachal Pradesh. Cunningham places it in the modern hill district of Kangra between the mountains of Chamba and the upper course of the Beas (Cunningham 1875: 148). He believes that Trigarta was part of the ancient kingdom of Jalandhara, between the Beas and Sutlej, and later the stronghold of the Katoch Rajas of Kangra (Cunningham 1875: 155). Handa pinpoints the location of the Trigartas to the lower Beas valley northeast of Jalandhar and Hoshiarpur, noting that Trigarta was a synonym for the Kangra region till the early 19th century (Handa 2007: 121).

Yet there is evidence that in the ancient period, Trigarta lay more to the west. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese monk who visited India in the 7th century, mentions a large kingdom named *Tsehkia* (*Takka*), whose eastern border was the river *Pi-po-che* (Beas) and it stretched west to the *Sin-tu* (Indus) (Tsiang 1884: I, 165). *Takka* was probably Trigarta as the names *Takka* and *Trakata* are phonetically similar. Keeping Beas as the eastern border, its territory would have crossed the rivers Ravi and Chenab in the west, i.e. three rivers valleys. According to Tsiang, *Takka*'s ancient capital was *She-kie-lo* (*Sakala*, identified as modern-day Sialkot) (Tsiang 1884: I, 166).



Fig. 9. Map of northern Punjab and Kashmir, showing the march of Shankaravarman from Kashmir in the 9th century (based on Google Maps, showing modern boundaries and place names)

We have further corroboration of Trigarta's westward location from Kalhana, who writes in his *Rajatarangini* (V: 143-148) that when Kashmir king Shankaravarman (c. 883-902 CE) marched to conquer Gurjura, the sight of his massive army made the ruler of Trigarta, Prithvichandra, flee (Stein 1900: I, 204-205). Prithvichandra was probably a feudatory of the Gurjura king, Alakhana, because immediately after Prithvichandra fled, we hear that Alakhana was defeated in battle by Shankaravarman. Alakhana was forced to give up *Takkadesa*, "preserving [hereby] his own country, as [if he had saved] his own body [at the sacrifice] of a finger." (Kalhana V: 150). This suggests Trigarta and *Takkadesa* are closely connected. Shankaravarman (see Fig. 10) then marched west to *Udabhanda* (Ohind, present-day Hund), the capital of the Hindu Shahis. There is no mention of what happened next to the unfortunate Prithvichandra, whose territory had been handed over to the Kashmir king.



Fig. 10. Copper panchi of Kashmir king Shankaravarman (Karan Singh collection)

Locating Trigarta to the west of its earlier assumed location would also solve an anomaly that Stein pointed out in Cunningham locating Trigarta in Kangra:

"Kangra lies far away to the E. [east] of the route which K. [Kalhana] seems to indicate when making the king [Shankaravarman] proceed via Bhimbhar (Darvabhisara) to Gujrat (Gurjura), and hence to the W. [west] towards the upper Indus." (Stein 1900: I, 204)

With Trigarta now identified to be the region around Sialkot, the itinerary of Shankaravarman's march sounds more plausible (see map in Fig. 9). Kangra would simply have been too far east to lie on the route to *Udabhanda*.

It is interesting to note here that Alakhana was probably not an actual name but a title, an echo of the Hunnic name *Lakhana* (Alchon) used in the 5th century, for instance by *Alchono Raja Lakhana* (Göbl 1967: Type 80) and *Raja Lakhana Udayaditya* (Göbl 1967: Type 79) (Fig. 11), some 400 years earlier than the incident mentioned by Kalhana. This shows that the Gurjuras in the 9th century were descendants of Hunnic tribes who had invaded northern India in the 5th century and over the centuries since had assimilated into the local population.



Fig. 11. Silver drachm of Alchon Huns ruler Udayaditya, 3.34 g, with Brahmi legend 'Raja Lakhana Udayaditya' (Karan Singh collection)



Fig 12. The proposed location of Trigarta janapada in 2nd-1st centuries BCE (based on Google Maps, showing modern boundaries and place names)

Key:

- Proposed territory of Trigarta with its capital at Sakala (Sialkot)
- Territory of Trigarta proposed by Cunningham (1875)
- Territory of Trigarta proposed by Handa (2007)

It is possible that after Shankaravarman's annexation of *Takkadesa*, the kings of Trigarta decided to move to the hilly regions in the east and chose the stronghold of Kangra, Nagarkot, as their new capital. Hence, the name Trigarta was applied here from the medieval period onwards.

The Kangra rulers' genealogical lists stretch back centuries before the coming of Islam, impressing even Cunningham (1875: 150-151). According to the descendants of the Kangra royal family, their ancestors held the district of Multan and then moved to the Jalandhar doab in the ancient period (Cunningham 1924: 158-159). This supports the identification of ancient Trigarta in the riverine plains of the Punjab.

It is also possible that Trigarta covered both Sialkot and Kangra in the ancient period, and after the loss of their territory in the plains in the 9th century, the kings of Trigarta relocated their capital to Kangra fort.

Interestingly, around 25 km downstream from the Kangra fort lies Haripur, where three tributaries of the river Beas – Banaganga, Kurali and Nayagula – unite. This conjunction is still called Trigarth locally (Hutchison and Vogel 1933: 112). So, it is also possible that the medieval name Trigarta was a local name, after the three tributaries of the Beas, and not imported from the ancient Trigarta to the west.

Conclusion

The Trigarta *janapada* is known by a total of just six coins in copper and lead. These use indigenous symbols and scripts, though their fabric and the use of Kharoshthi letters take their cue from the Indo-Greek coins that were circulating in the Punjab at the time. According to Allan, Type I dates to the first half of the 2nd century BCE (Allan 1936: cx1). Types II and III would have followed later, judging by the cruder legends that we see on these specimens. The heavy Type II would have been contemporaneous to Apollodotos II (c. 85-65 BCE), who issued large copper coins with circular legends. Type IV can be dated to the period of Rajuvula (25-10 BCE), when small lead coins were in circulation in the Punjab. The motifs on Trigarta coinage inspired their neighbours, the Audumburas, to also issue copper coins featuring a prominent temple or stupa in the 1st century BCE.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Joe Cribb for reading the Kharoshthi legends on the coins, and Gurcham Singh for our discussions on the location of Trigarta.

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LION AS SHIVA'S VEHICLE ON KASHMIR COINS

Devendra Handa

Shiva is well-known as an important Hindu deity. His antiquity can be traced back to the period of Indus Valley Civilization: its 'Pashupati' seal is generally regarded as the prototype of Rudra Shiva (van der Geer 2015: 26-27, 52), wherein the god is surrounded by five animals: lion, elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo and deer (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Steatite seal depicting 'Pashupati' with animals, Mohenjo-daro, c. 2,300-1,750 BCE
(Photograph: ASI, 1928-29, courtesy Kern Institute, Leiden, the Netherlands)

Rudra is mentioned in the *Rig Veda* (Keith 1925: 143; Macdonell 1925), the oldest Hindu scripture. In subsequent literature he acquired various names and epithets, such as Dhanvi, Bhava, Sarva, Pasupati, Ugra, Mahadeva, Isana, Asani, Giritra, Girisa, Kritivasa, Sulahasta, Sankara and Sambhu. Some of these provide clues to his iconographic traits also. Though the bow, arrow and lance are often mentioned as his weapons in early literature, later literature and art depict the trident as his attribute and the bull as his vehicle.

J.N. Banerjea (1956: 117) observes that "Siva appears for the first time in an anthropomorphic form on the coins hailing from Ujjayini and its environs. The single standing figure on many of these coins can be definitely identified with him... Any doubt whatsoever is set at rest by the testimony of another variety of the same series of coins which show a bull slightly prancing up and looking at the deity, *devavikshanatatparah* as described in the *Matsyapurana*" (see Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Shiva with Nandi on Ujjain coins

From the Kushan period onwards, we see Nandi the bull depicted popularly as Shiva's vehicle in numismatic and plastic art. In later art, however, the bull as the vehicle of Shiva becomes ubiquitous, and is said to be the second *sankara* (*dvitiamiva sankarah*). According to the *Mahabharata* (XIII.77, 27-28), Daksha Prajapati gave to Shiva a bull which became his mount and banner-mark. The epic refers to Shiva as *Govrishanka* (having bull-mark), *Govrishadhvaja* (having bull-banner), *Govrishottama-vahana* (having excellent bull as vehicle), *Rishabhaketu* (bull-bannered), *Vrishha* (bull), *Vrishanka* (having bull-mark), *Vrishadhvaja* (bull-bannered), *Vrishaketana* (bull-flagged), *Vrishavahana* (having bull vehicle), *Vrishabha* (bull), *Vrishabhanka* (having bull mark), *Vrishabhadhvaja* (bull-bannered), *Vrishabhaketana* (bull-flagged), and *Nandisvara* (Lord of Nandi) (Anon, VS 2016: 351), indicating that by the time of the great epic, the bull had firmly been associated with Shiva. Naturally, the related verses belong to a period posterior to the above said date.

Joe Cribb noted a lion instead of the bull as the vehicle of Shiva on a sculpture (Cribb 1997: 33), that was found at Mathura and illustrated by Rosenfield (1967: 150, pl. 10). It is interesting to note that a lion is also shown with the figure of Shiva on some recently-published Kashmir debased gold dinars of Meghavahana, datable to the 6th century CE (see Fig. 3). This indicates that there was a tradition of associating the lion with Shiva in Kashmir (Cribb 2016: 86-112).



Fig. 3. Debased gold dinar of Meghavahana, 7.46 g, with lion as the vehicle of Shiva (Todywalla Auctions 101, Lot 29)

Obverse: Nimbate Shiva standing slightly turned towards his right, holding a flower in his right hand and resting his left hand at his left hip, holding a trident with curved outer prongs above an upturned crescent across the shaft; behind the god's legs, a lion is standing towards the god's right, with raised tail and raised left paw and head turned towards the god; Brahmi legend *Sri Meghamah* in the upper left field from 11 to 9 o'clock and read anti-clockwise from outside

Reverse: Goddess seated frontally on a lotus, slightly turned towards her left with right arm raised to the level of her shoulder supporting a lotus blossom and her left hand resting in her lap holding a long-stemmed lotus; a water pot with narrow neck surmounted by a conch is in the left field with traces of Brahmi legend *Kidara* written vertically to left; and Brahmi legend *jaya(ti)* is on the right

Cribb identified the goddess as Sri Lakshmi, but the coins of Toramana and Pravarasena show the goddess with similar attributes and seated on a lion (Cribb 2016: 91-96, Figs. 3-6 and 10-11), indicating that she may be Durga-Parvati.



Fig. 4. Railing sandstone pillar from Musanagar

N.P. Joshi (1973: 25-30) published a corner railing pillar of red sandstone from Musanagar, 67 km from Kanpur towards Punkharaya (see Fig. 4). This is almost five feet high and carved on two adjacent sides with the third side (and probably fourth also now fixed in the wall) bearing mortise holes to receive cross-bars, datable between 50 BCE and 50 CE. Both the carved sides of the pillar have been divided vertically in three panels, each bordered by miniature pillars with octagonal shafts having a vase-like base, inverted lotus capitals surmounted by winged animals with curved brackets depicting honey-suckle designs. The lower two panels show amorous couples, but the topmost panel of the front side of this corner pillar shows a two-armed crowned *urdhvamedhra* (ithyphallic) male figure seated on a couch in *lalitasana* (sitting posture of ease with one leg placed on the ground and the other folded on the seat), wearing fluted headgear, earrings, bracelets and dhoti. The ithyphallic figure obviously belongs to Shiva. Interestingly, two figures emerge from his body from the shoulders and one behind his head who holds a sun and crescent in hands raised above. Below the seat is a lion which interests us here. The other side of this pillar also shows a standing ithyphallic male deity with a retrorse lion looking towards him (Fig. 5). Joshi observed that depicting a lion with Shiva is very uncommon. The presence of a dwarf in Fig. 5 is interesting as a dwarf was also seen in the sculpture that Cribb had noted that depicted Shiva with a lion (Cribb 1997: 33).



Fig. 5. The other side of the Musanagar pillar

R.C. Agrawala (1971: 22-24) also published a four-feet high spotted red sandstone sivalinga from Chauma, about 14 km from Bharatpur on the road to Sikri in district Mathura, bearing a vase with foliage in front (east), a couchant lion, a female head and a pot-bellied *yaksha* or *gana* on the other sides at the base. This is datable to the beginning of the Common Era.

The only literary reference that is known to us of Shiva's association with lion is from the *Vayu Purana* (Upasamhara, 101.291-98), which tells us that being insulted by Daksha on the occasion of his sacrifice and after hearing the news of Sati's immolation by jumping into the sacred fire of the sacrificial pit, Shiva became so furious that his wrath appeared in the form of a lion and disturbed Daksha's sacrifice. Later, Shiva restrained his personified wrath to save the world from destruction and kept it with him. The presence of lion with Shiva in the referred reliefs may thus be explained to represent his *samhara-sakti* (destructive power) as the god is well-known in Hindu mythology as the divine *samhara-karta* (destroyer).



Fig. 6. Shiva seated on a lion, Masrur

Preserved in the State Museum, Shimla are some sculptures from Masrur (32°4'21" N and 76°8'13" E), famous for its magnificent and colossal unfinished monolithic rock-cut temple of circa 8th century CE (Shuttleworth, 1915: 19-23; Hargreaves, 1918: 39-48; Meister, 2006: 26-49; 2009: 30-43). Important amongst these sculptures is an image of Shiva seated gracefully on a lion (Fig. 6) (Handa, 2018: pl. XXXI). The god is three-faced with Aghora and probably Vamadeva or Umavaktra faces attached to the serene central face in profile on left and right. The locks of hair are combed upwards and tied with a pearl band and bedecked with jewels. Shiva wears large beaded earrings, a double-stringed torque, a nether garment secured by a double-stringed beaded waist-band, and anklets. The dhoti covers his left thigh and bears engraved lines to mark the folds. The right leg of the god is folded and the left one dangles down with his foot splayed outwards. The back of the couchant lion to left is covered with a looping sheet having a decorative corner falling in the centre. The lion's face under the right knee of the god is shown as enfacing with wide-open eyes and whiskers, indicating fierceness. The normal right hand of the god holds a sword, slightly broken above the handle, while the additional right hand supports the trident, which too has suffered diminution of the prongs. The upper left hand carries a shield while the natural left held upwards to the level of the

shoulder has lost its attribute. The existence of sword and shield in Shiva's hands are interesting features. A comparable image of Shiva's spouse Uma or Durga-Parvati (Handa 2018: pl. XXXII) from the same site is also preserved in the museum. Both these images seem to have been the creation of a single artist.

Nowhere in medieval Indian sculpture is a lion depicted as the vehicle of the god. As noted above, amongst the various names and epithets of Shiva, we find *Pasupati* (Lord of the beasts), *Krittivasa* (having animal hide as his garment), *Giritra* (living in the hills/ mountains), and *Girisa/ Giriisa* (Lord of the hills/ mountains). The *Kiratarjuniya* episode shows his association with forests where wild animals abound. The lion is regarded as the king of animals, and Shiva as the Lord of the beasts may have naturally got associated with him in the early period. The Anusasanaparva of the *Mahabharata* (XVII.111b, p. 5523) describes Shiva as *simhanadah simhadamshtarah simhagah simhavahanah* (having the roar and fangs of a lion and as having the lion as his vehicle). A sword and shield were given to Shiva by Brahma to destroy the demons (*Mahabharata*, Santiparva, 166.45-66). The bull became Shiva's vehicle from the Kushan period onwards, and while the tradition of depicting the lion as Shiva's vehicle was forgotten in most parts of the country in the medieval period, the presence of the lion as the vehicle of the deity on Kashmir coins and the Masrur pillar reveals that the tradition of the Vedic and Mahabharata period lingered on in the hill regions of the western Himalayas till the early medieval period.

Acknowledgements

I am thankful to Dr. Hari Chauhan, Curator of the State Museum at Shimla, for permission to publish Fig. 6. Figs. 4 and 5 have been copied from late Dr. N.P. Joshi's works.

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A NEW MINT FOR THE COINS OF SHAMS AL-DIN YUSUF SHAH

S.M. Iftekhar Alam and Zahid Mamun

In 2015, a silver coin in the name of Shams al-Din Yusuf Shah (AH 879-885) of the Bengal Sultanate was discovered in Tangail district of Bangladesh. The coin bears the mint-name Muzaffarabad (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Silver tanka, 10.54 g, 29 mm, Muzaffarabad mint, dated AH 880 (photo courtesy: Zahid Mamun)

Obverse: Arabic legend within a border of hook-like motifs:

شمس الدنيا و الدين
أبو المظفر يوسف شاه
سلطان ابن باربكشاه
سلطان بن محمود
شاه سلطان

shams al-duniya wa al-din/ abu al-muzaffar yusuf shah/ sultan ibn barbakshah/ sultan bin mahmud/ shah sultan
(sun of the world and the religion, father of the victor, Sultan Yusuf Shah, son of Sultan Barbakshah, son of Sultan Mahmud Shah)

Reverse: Arabic legend within a border of hook-like motifs:

لا إله إلا الله
محمد رسول الله
مظفر آباد ٨٨٠

la ilaha illa allah/ muhammad rasul allah/ muzaffarabad 880
(there is no God but Allah, Muhammad is messenger of Allah, Muzaffarabad 880)

Before the discovery of this coin, the Muzaffarabad mint of the Bengal Sultanate was found only in the coinage of Rukn al-Din Barbak Shah (AH 864-879) (Goron and Goenka 2001: nos. B511 and B540).

Location of Muzaffarabad

An inscription dated AH 918, found at the dargah of Maulana Ata at Deokot, West Bengal, states that a mosque and a minaret were built by Khan Rukn Khan 'Ala al-Din al-Sirhati, a *wazir* (minister) of the town known as Muzaffarabad (Karim 1992: 300-302). It is also mentioned in this inscription that he was a *sar i-lashkar* (head of the army) and *kotwal* (chief of police) of the town Firuzabad (see Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. Deokot inscription of Ala al-Din Husain Shah mentioning Muzaffarabad (from Karim 1992: 300-302)

Now, as Rukn Khan was a minister of Muzaffarabad and a police chief of Firuzabad (i.e. Pandua) simultaneously, that means these two places must have been located close to each other. There is a village called Muzaffarpur in modern-day Malda district, about 17 miles to the north-east of Pandua (see map in Fig. 3).

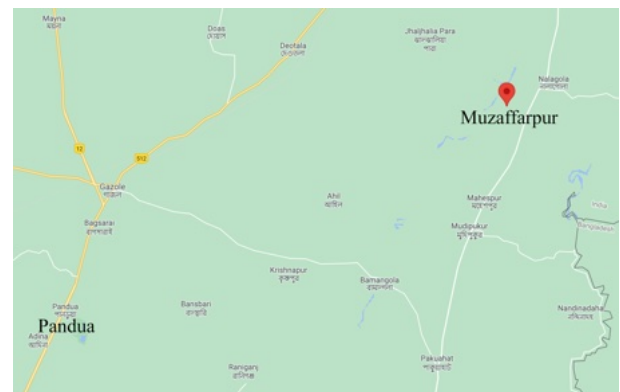


Fig. 3. Map showing location of Muzaffarpur relative to Pandua (based on Google Maps and showing modern boundaries and place names)

There is a strong possibility that this Muzaffarpur village of Malda district is the Muzaffarabad mentioned on the present coin and in the Deokot inscription. It is possible that, with the passage of time, Muzaffarabad became Muzaffarpur; in similar fashion, Mu'azzamabad, an eastern mint of the Bengal Sultanate, is presently known as Mu'azzampur (Karim 1960: 160).

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THE BEGINNING OF OTTOMAN PARA COINAGE

Nikolaus Schindel

Despite several major achievements in the last years, the monetary history of the Ottoman Empire still offers a lot of challenges. One of the more important questions concerns the history and development of the different monetary units. As is generally known, the main Ottoman denomination from the 14th to the late 17th century was the silver *akçe*,¹ which circulated alongside copper coins (*mangırs*) (Kabklarlı 1998). From Mehmed II (1444-1446; 1451-1481 CE) onwards, gold *sultanis* (or *altıns*) were issued (Pere 1968: pl. 7, no. 79-81). Different new monetary units were added to the Ottoman repertoire as a result of the conquests of Selim I (1520-1520) and his successors in the formerly independent currency regions of Mesopotamia and western Iran, Syria, Egypt, northern Africa and Yemen (Srećković 2002; Pamuk 2000: 88-111). For a whole century, however, we cannot observe any direct impact of these local coins on the monetary production of the Ottoman main mints in Rumeli and Anadolu (modern western Turkey and the Balkan peninsula) (Schindel and Pfeiffer-Taš 2010: 137 f).



Fig. 1. Contemporary forgery of AR onluk of Ibrahim (1640-1648), Kostantiniye mint

The first sultan to issue silver units larger than the *akçe* as part of regular monetary production in this region² was Osman II (1618-1622). He had pieces of ten *akçes* (*onluka*) struck in three different mints: Kostantiniye, Canca and Van (Srećković 2002: p. 30). While not particularly rare, this denomination is not yet available in numbers large enough to reconstruct their ideal weight with certainty. Still, the trend of their weights hints at a regular weight of ca. 2.80 g (Jem-Sultan 1977: 170, nos. 1588-1597; Srećković 2002: 30 f.), which is a little bit less than ten times the normal *akçe* weight of 0.31 g as it was then used in Rumeli and Anadolu (Pamuk 2000: 136, tab. 8.2). Such larger silver coins were also issued (Srećković 2002: 30-31) during Mustafa I's second reign (1622-1623), under Murad IV (1623-1640), Ibrahim (1640-1648) (Fig. 1), and even under Mehmed IV (1648-1687) (Srećković 2002: 142, pl. 5, no. C25). From Murad IV onwards, however, the *onluk* becomes quite rare. The main reason for this certainly was the introduction of the *beşlik*,

a piece of five *akçes* by this sultan (Srećković 2002: 30). Such coins are actually quite common under Ibrahim (Fig. 2), his immediate successor. Analysing the typological developments, one easily sees that for the *onluk*, a common gold obverse type was combined with a newly-developed reverse. In contrast to this, the *beşlik* was based on the standard type of the Eastern *dirhem* since Mehmed III, which features on the obverse the ruler's name in the form of the *tughra*, and on the reverse the formula *حکمد ملکه* ("may his reign last") rather than the formula at this time canonical for the *akçes*: *عز نصره* ("may his victory by strengthened"). The mint-name was written in a cartouche, another feature typical of Eastern issues (Schindel and Hollunder 2011: 120).



Fig. 2. AR beşlik of Ibrahim (1640-1648), Kostantiniye mint

Having mentioned the *dirhem*, it is important to bear in mind that the local Iranian, Syrian and Egyptian denominations continued to be issued alongside the *akçes*. Which of the names attested in Ottoman sources belongs to which monetary unit still remains to some extent conjectural. For our purposes, it is sufficient to identify various denominations on the basis of numismatic parameters – basically metrology, sometimes aided by typology – and to use these names in a consistent fashion. Thus, the large silver coin of ca. 3.8 g, struck in the Caucasus area as well as northwestern Iran, and bearing an obverse legend in several horizontal lines, has been labeled *şahi*; the smaller silver unit of ca. 2.2 g which almost always features a *tughra*, a *dirhem*; and the Egyptian coin of ca. 1.0 g, a *medini* (Schindel and Pfeiffer-Taš 2010: 153-156, 219-221, 303-305; Schindel 2010: 550 f). Since these larger silver denominations originate from areas where prior to the Ottoman conquest no *akçes* had circulated, their weight standards originally bear no visible connection to this Ottoman standard unit.³ Things are totally different with the *onluka*s and *beşlik*s – their very names betray their direct relationship with the *akçe*. This has to be expected since under both sultans who introduced such new silver units, the *akçe* was still by far the most important coin in circulation, and issued in far larger numbers than either *onluka*s or *beşlik*s.

Apart from *şahi*, *dirhem* and *medini*, when browsing through treatments of Ottoman monetary history in the 17th century,⁴ one encounters still another term: *para*, and it is this denomination on which we shall focus here (Schindel and Hollunder 2011: 118 f). The word itself can simply mean 'money' (Pfeiffer-Taš 2010: 72), but is also used to refer to a specific denomination. As is the case with other designations of

¹ For their typology, see Srećković 1999; Srećković 2000; Srećković 2003; Srećković 2005; Srećković 2007; Srećković 2009; for an overview on metrological developments, see Pamuk 2000, p. 46, 63, 136.

² The very rare *onluka*s struck by Mehmed II (Pere 1968: pl. 7, no. 82 f) and Bayezid II (Pere 1968: pl. 8, no. 104), due to their excessive rarity, are certainly special issues, even if their memory possibly might have lived on and may have provided the inspiration for Osman's large Western silver coins.

³ The *şahi* would have equaled exactly ten *akçes* after the major weight reduction under Murad III, but was certainly struck JONS Vol. 245, Autumn 2021

before this date, when no such well-defined relationship existed (Schindel and Pfeiffer-Taš 2010: 154).

⁴ Pere (1968: 158 f) uses this term both for *medinis* of Murad IV from mints such as Amid, Canca, Halep, Tokat and Mısır, as well as for his *beşlik*s from Kostantiniye; p. 165, for the *ikilik*s of Ibrahim; for *medinis* of Mehmed IV from Halep and Mısır. The machine-struck silver coins labelled *para* (for example, under Ahmed III, p. 194 f.) are not relevant here. Srećković (2002: 23) says the *medini* or *para* originally equalled 2 *akçes*, but by the 17th century it was worth 3 *akçes*.

silver units larger than the *akçe*, consistency in its use is often lacking.⁵ Despite this, there can be no doubt that there was yet another coin unit other than *beşlik* and *onluk* issued in Kostantiniye in the 17th century, for which a name of its own is needed, and for which I will employ here the commonly-used term *para*. Since the *para* replaces the *akçe* as basic unit of account and reckoning in the Ottoman monetary system in the 18th century (Sultan 1977; Krause and Mishler 2000: 1193-1204), its origin is a matter of general interest for Ottoman monetary as well as economic history.⁶

Let us commence some time after the introduction of the *para*. In 1992, Kenneth MacKenzie published the first specimen of a hand-struck *para* type of Ahmed III (1703-1730) from Kostantiniye. The emergence of many more such coins in 2011 inspired Michael Hollunder and I to present a parcel of such coins together with Egyptian *medinis* of the same sultan, and to discuss the metrological background of these coins (Schindel and Hollunder 2011: 120-122). Since *akçes*, whether they be machine-struck or hand-struck, are already quite rare for Ahmed III, we cannot prepare graphs of their weight contributions on a comparable scale, for example, to that under Mehmed III in the Beçin hoard. Still, plotting the trends of the weight distribution of Ahmed III's *akçes* with the data of his *paras* from Kostantiniye and his *medinis* from Mısır leads us to the obvious conclusion that the *para* under this sultan was a multiple of three *akçes*, and that its weight was the same in Egypt as well as in Kostantiniye. This actually means that the *para* under Ahmed III is nothing else but a *medini*, the weight of which had steadily declined since the 16th century (Pamuk 2000: 94, tab. 6.1; Schindel and Hollunder 2011: 119), basically like the *akçe*, but not exactly in the same way as it had. Since the *medini* is generally associated with Egypt, to use nowadays the more neutral term *para* for its Western offspring seems practical to me. A very important observation has to be reiterated here: while the *beşlik* owes its design to the Eastern *dirhem*, the typology of the *para* in Kostantiniye is that of the *medini* as first used under Ahmed I. Especially-clear proof of this assumption is the central knot of bliss on the reverse, inscribed into the letter ب of ضرب. This observation is very important, I believe, in two respects. On one hand, it shows that the mint authorities in the capital were inspired by practices in the provinces. On the other hand, even if the *medini* developed independently from the *akçe*, by the time of Ahmed III, at the latest, one *medini* – or *para* – represented a well-defined multiple of *akçes*, namely three of them. This is to say that two originally independent denominations became linked and connected with each other, clear proof of the attempts by the minting authorities to harmonise the monetary system, at least in the central areas of the Ottoman Empire.



Fig. 3. AR *para* of Mehmed IV (1648-1687), Kostantiniye mint

How far back can the existence of the *para* be traced? A new parcel which turned up in the coin market in 2012 contained two issues of Mehmed IV from Kostantiniye. Together with

material from various other sources, I was able to collect the weights of 19 pieces (see Fig. 3). This is not too much, but more than has been available for research so far. One should emphasise that these coins are not of really great rarity nowadays, but always are so badly struck as to exhibit rarely more than a fraction of the original die image. Therefore, they often will go unnoticed when the elements pivotal for a reliable attribution are missing. The weights are given in the catalogue below. Since all the coins listed below share the same type, it is a safe assumption that they represent the same denomination. Individual weights vary widely, from 0.84 g to 0.49 g. Two pieces are heavier than 0.80 g, and twelve coins have weights above 0.70 g. It goes without saying that weight distribution charts for less than 20 coins cannot provide definite answers. Still, the continuity in typology with the much better-known *paras* of Ahmed III, as well as similar trends of the weights, suggests that we are actually dealing with representatives of the same denomination. The peaks of their weights, as is shown in Graph A, behave differently.



Fig. 4. AR *para* of Süleyman II (1687-1691), Kostantiniye mint

Even more elusive than Mehmed IV's Kostantiniye *paras* are those of his rather short-lived successors Süleyman II (1687-1691) (Fig. 4), Ahmed II (1691-1695) and Mustafa II (1695-1703), all apparently first published by Slobodan Srećković in 2002 (nos. C27, C28 and C29 respectively). As far as can be judged from the few specimens published so far, their typology follows that of the first issues of Mehmed IV. Thus, the typological canonisation of the Egyptian *medini* is preserved also on its Western adaption, a fascinating proof for the survival of peculiarities of different denominations even in a completely different surrounding.



Fig. 5. AR *ikiliks* of Ibrahim (1640-1648), Kostantiniye mint

It goes without saying that the most important topic to be addressed here is metrology. It should be noted that Ibrahim had also double-*akçe* pieces struck (i.e. *ikiliks*) (Fig. 5),⁷ which are not excessively rare, even if not common enough to reconstruct their ideal weight with absolute certainty. The specimens known to me tend to weigh a little bit more than 0.6 g; the coin in Fig. 5 weighs 0.62 g, thus exactly twice 0.31 g, the ideal weight of the *akçe* under Ibrahim. If we consider that according to Pamuk, the *akçe* weight under Ibrahim was 0.31 g, this fits perfectly well for a coin worth two *akçes*. We may assume, however, that their typological similarity with the *akçes* made their use in daily life difficult. Still, this unit is fascinating since it shows that apart from using the *dirhem* and

⁵ The great work of Jem Sultan (1977) labels the medium-size Egyptian silver coins from Ahmed I to Mustafa I as *medini*, under Murad IV as "AR-*para*?", from Mehmed IV onwards as *para*, despite the fact that without any doubt they all represent the same denomination.

⁶ It is revealing that this very important denomination is mentioned only once in Pamuk (2000: 94).

⁷ These were called 'para' by Pere (1968: 165, pl. 7, no. 437) and Damalı (2012: 1718, no. 18-K-G3).

the *medini* as typological models for larger silver coins, the *akçe* itself was also employed for the same purpose, while, apart from the *onluk* obverse, no attempts at devising totally new coin types were made. The only exception are the extremely rare 20-*akçe* pieces or *yirmiliks* of Mehmed IV (Damalı 2012: 1782, no. 19-K-G1). Their reverses are the same as those of *altuns* and *onluks*, while the obverse is new; it shows some similarities with a very rare *akçe* type of Mehmed III (Schindel and Pfeiffer-Taş 2010: 195, Type 1e), which may not be mere coincidence, even if the Mehmed III coin is not unusual as regards its weight. The Ottoman administration probably borrowed this special type of Mehmed IV's namesake when looking for models for a completely new denomination. The rarity of his 20-*akçe* coin is comparable to that of Mehmed's machine struck coins. Still, both phenomena were to be of great consequence: a denomination of 20 units – but now *paras* rather than *akçes* – was to become one of the most common denominations from Süleyman II onwards.

Now let us return to the *para*. As the observations above have shown, the reign of Mehmed IV witnessed several innovations in the denominational system of the capital mint. Some of them, like the introduction of machine striking and the *yirmilik*, left a clear impact only under Mehmed's successors. One maybe even more important feature, however, became visible under Mehmed IV himself: the introduction of the *para* coinage in Kostantiniye. Within a short period of time, it completely replaced the *akçe* as the backbone of the entire value system in silver coinage. This is not to say that the issue of *akçes* was discontinued under Mehmed IV (Srećković 2009: 135-154 for later examples). However, considering the rarity of the *akçes* of Süleyman II, one wonders whether its issue was decreased in the later years of his predecessor; not that *akçes* of Mehmed IV are abundant anyway, especially considering his very long rule of almost 40 years. I believe that we can be quite sure (despite the still narrow material basis) that the introduction of the *para* must be dated to Mehmed IV's early reign. The *akçe* weights were reduced twice during his reign. Pamuk lists 0.31 g as the ideal weight in 1641, 0.26 g in 1659, and 0.23 g in 1669, 1672 and 1689 (Pamuk 2000: 136, tab. 8.2). Even if the differences are minor, an ideal weight of 0.31 g would mean that the *para* should weigh 0.93 g – almost a quarter more than the trend we can observe in Graph A. At the same time, the rare *yirmiliks* apparently belong to his earlier reign, since the only known weight is 6.29 g – almost exactly 20 times 0.31 g. The trend of the *para* weights, however, comes very close to the theoretical value of 0.78 g, at which we arrive if we assume the *akçe* to have a weight of 0.26 g. For the late *akçe* weight of 0.23 g and a consequent *para* weight of 0.69 g, there are too many overweight specimens attested.

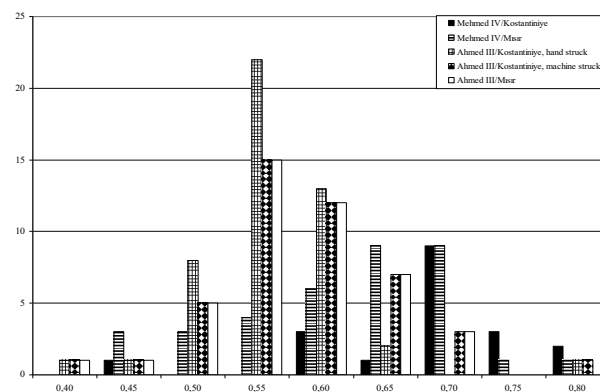


Fig. 6. AR *para* of Mehmed IV (1648-1687),
Mısır mint

The weight distribution of the presently much more numerous Egyptian *paras* of Mehmed IV (Fig. 6) looks markedly

different. There, a clear peak can be observed in the region of 0.69 g. Whether in Egypt a lower *akçe* weight was used from the beginning of Mehmed IV's reign, or whether the majority of coins were issued at a time when the ideal weight of the *akçe* had been already reduced to 0.23 g in Kostantiniye, is difficult to tell; more research will be needed. The peak of the Kostantiniye *paras* of Ahmed III, too, is best explained by an ideal weight of 0.69 g. This means that under this sultan (at the latest), the new, reduced *akçe* weight of 0.23 g is also reflected in the *para* coinage of the capital. Under Ahmed III, Kostantiniye and Mısır without any doubt share the same weight standards for *para* (or *medini*) (Schindel and Hollunder 2011: 120ff). While aiming at 0.69 g, by far the most pieces have weights between 0.55 g and 0.65 g. Thus, there is a distance between the peak and the ideal value of 0.69 g, a very common feature in the metrology of pre-modern coins.

Graph A. Weight distribution of recorded *para* specimens*



*The weights of Ahmed III *paras* are from Schindel & Hollunder 2011

The different distribution patterns of Mehmed IV's Kostantiniye *paras* as shown in Graph A can serve as further proof that Mehmed IV's Kostantiniye *paras* do not have the same ideal weight of 0.69 g, even if one has to bear in mind that the number of specimens is higher for Egyptian issues and for Ahmed III's Kostantiniye *paras* than for the *paras* of Mehmed IV from the capital. Under Ahmed III, 47 out of 48 Kostantiniye coins and 40 out of 44 Egyptian issues have weights below the ideal value of 0.69 g (98% and 91% respectively). 74% of Mehmed IV's Kostantiniye *paras* are heavier than 0.69 g, and comparing this behaviour with the peak for Ahmed III's *paras*, it becomes obvious that the ideal weight under Mehmed IV must have been higher. The obvious candidate, to repeat it once again, is an *akçe* of 0.26 g. Further research might reveal the existence of two different *para* standards in Mehmed's reign,⁸ depending on the respective *akçe* standard. For the crucial question of when the *para* was first issued, the possible existence of later, lighter coins already under Mehmed IV has no relevance.

Because of the rarity of Mehmed's machine-struck coins,⁹ one might be tempted to think that they belong to the very end of his reign. However, the single piece known to me weighs 0.75 g, which is well in accord with the *para* standard of 0.78 g, but quite overweight for the late 0.69 g version. As long as one does not simply prefer the weight of one single coin, one

⁸ Pamuk (2000: 94) discusses the metrological developments of the *medini*; it seems that under Mehmed IV, *para* and *medini* did not yet share the same ideal weight, since for the period in which I believe the *para* was introduced, the *medini* has a slightly higher weight of 0.85 g. The obvious explanation is that JONS Vol. 245, Autumn 2021

by then the *medini* was not yet brought into a well-defined relationship with the *akçe*.

⁹ Damalı (2012), p. 1785, no. 19-K-A2 (*sultani*); p. 1786, no. 19-K-g6 (*para*) and no. 19-K-M1 (*mangır*), all from Kostantiniye.

can explain this either by assuming that this peculiar machine-struck *para* was produced late in Mehmed's reign, on the basis of an already obsolete *akçe* standard, or that the introduction of machinery in Ottoman coin production does not date to the very last years of this sultan, but rather to his earlier years, the same time when the *para* was introduced. If the latter hypothesis were correct, then we had to assume that there was an interval of almost 20 years until (under Süleyman II) machine-struck coinage finally made its breakthrough in the Ottoman Empire.

We certainly need more coins published, as well as studied, to reach more certainty about this topic in Ottoman numismatics (as well as many other ones). Despite this reservation, I still feel confident that as least as a working hypothesis we may assume that the *para* was introduced in the first half of the reign of Mehmed IV, more specifically in the period from 1659 to 1669, after the cessation of the *akçe* weight of 0.31 g, and before its reduction to 0.23 g. Even if it took some time until the *para* fully replaced the *akçe* as the main element in the Ottoman monetary system, this was one of the most important, even if so far little-noticed turning points, in the history of Ottoman coinage.

Catalogue of *paras* of Mehmed IV (1648-1687)

This catalogue is not intended to be complete; it just lists the specimens included in the graph (safe for the poorly attested sultans between Mehmed IV and Ahmed III) in order to make my material basis accessible. The specimens are arranged by decreasing weights. Where only one digit is given, for example, 0.7 g, that is because no accurate, two-digit weight was available.

Para (hand-struck)

Kostantiniye mint

1. 0.84 g, Damalı 2012, no. 19-K-G4
2. 0.82 g, Damalı 2012, no. 19-K-G4
3. 0.77 g, private collection
4. 0.74 g, private collection
5. 0.7 g, www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=114138
6. 0.7 g, www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=114139
7. 0.7 g, www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=114140
8. 0.69 g, private collection
9. 0.63 g, Srećković 2002, no. C26
10. 0.49 g, private collection

Para (machine-struck)

Kostantiniye mint

11. 0.75 g, Damalı 2012, no. 19-K-G6

Para (hand-struck)

Mısır mint

12. 0.81 g, private collection
13. 0.75 g, private collection
14. 0.74 g, private collection
15. 0.74 g, private collection
16. 0.72 g, private collection
17. 0.72 g, private collection
18. 0.71 g, private collection
19. 0.71 g, private collection
20. 0.70 g, private collection
21. 0.70 g, private collection
22. 0.7 g, www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=90243
23. 0.69 g, private collection
24. 0.69 g, private collection
25. 0.69 g, private collection
26. 0.69 g, private collection
27. 0.68 g, private collection
28. 0.67 g, private collection
29. 0.67 g, private collection
30. 0.66 g, private collection

31. 0.65 g, private collection
32. 0.64 g, private collection
33. 0.63 g, private collection
34. 0.63 g, private collection
35. 0.62 g, private collection
36. 0.60 g, private collection
37. 0.60 g, private collection
38. 0.59 g, private collection
39. 0.57 g, private collection
40. 0.57 g, private collection
41. 0.56 g, private collection
42. 0.54 g, private collection
43. 0.52 g, private collection
44. 0.50 g, private collection
45. 0.49 g, private collection
46. 0.49 g, ANS 1997.65.4871,
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47. 0.45 g, private collection

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CATALOGUE OF THE COINS OF THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY – PART I

Paul Stevens and Robert Johnston

Introduction

It is now ten years since the publication of *The Coins of the Bengal Presidency* (Stevens, published by Baldwin), which contained much information collected from the EIC records as well as a new catalogue. This was followed in 2017 by *The Coins of the East India Company, Presidency Series* (Stevens, published by Spink), which contained *inter alia* an updated catalogue of the coins of the Bengal Presidency. The present publication presents a further catalogue of EIC Bengal coins, correcting some mistakes made in previous publications and adding new discoveries. It will be spread across four parts, published in separate issues of this Journal.

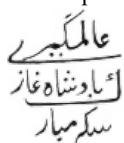
More information surrounding the coins listed in this catalogue can be found at www.psIndianCoins.com, containing a catalogue that is updated from time to time, as well as the background information derived from the records of the EIC found in the British Library, London.

Early Issues 1757-1760

Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Gold, Mohur – ‘Ālamgīr II – ‘Alīnagar Kalkata – 1757

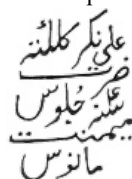
In April 1757, the EIC was given permission to strike gold and silver coins, although no mention of gold actually being struck has been found in the records.

For Photo
See Rupee



sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī ‘ālamgīr [AH date]
(= the auspicious coin of the
victorious Emperor,
‘Ālamgīr [AH date])

For Photo
See Rupee



ẓarb ‘alīnagar kalkata sanah [RY] julūs maimanat mānūs (= Struck at
‘Alīnagar Calcutta in the
[RY] year of tranquil
prosperity)

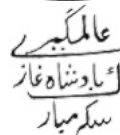
Official Wt (g)	11.08
Wt (g)	?
Diam (mm)	~25
Metal	Gold

Catalogue

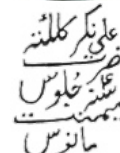
Cat No.	Pr. No.	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
1.1	1	?	4	Reported in SCMB 1949 p. 372. Described as: unique gold mohur of ‘Ālamgīr II regnal. Year 4 with mint name ‘Alīnagar Calcutta. From a talk presented by Dr. R.B. Whitehead.	RRR

Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Silver, Rupee *et infra* – ‘Ālamgīr II – ‘Alīnagar Kalkata

In early July 1757, 4,000 rupees were struck with the mint-name ‘Alīnagar Kalkata.



sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī ‘ālamgīr [AH date] (= the
auspicious coin of the
victorious Emperor, ‘Ālamgīr
[AH date])



ẓarb ‘alīnagar kalkata sanah [RY] julūs maimanat mānūs (= Struck at ‘Alīnagar Calcutta in the [RY] year of tranquil prosperity)

	Rupee	Half Rupee
Official Wt (g)	11.64	5.82
Wt (g)	11.61	?
Diam (mm)	~25	~21
Metal	Silver	

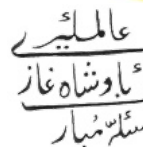
Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denomination	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
1.2	2	Rupee	xxxx	4	Ashmolean Museum	RRR
1.3	-	Half Rupee	xxxx	4	Ref: Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 613.	RRR

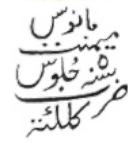
See also Nawābs of Bengal for coin of Alīnagar (Calcutta).

Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Gold, Mohur *et infra* – ‘Ālamgīr II – Kalkata – 1757

In October 1757, gold was sent to the mint to be coined into mohurs. There is no indication in the records of fractions being struck and the whereabouts of the half and quarter in the J.B. Caldecott Sale (Sotheby, 11th June 1912) is not known.



sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī ‘ālamgīr [AH date] (= the
auspicious coin of the victorious
Emperor, ‘Ālamgīr [AH date])



ẓarb kalkata sanah [RY] julūs maimanat mānūs (= Struck at Calcutta in the [RY] year of tranquil prosperity)

	Mohur	Half Mohur	Quarter Mohur
Official Wt (g)	11.08	5.54	2.77
Wt (g)	?	?	?
Diam (mm)	~25	~21	~16
Edge	Plain		

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denomination	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
1.4	-	Mohur	?	4	No specimens known. See comments for discussion.	N/A
1.5	3	"	1171	5		RRR
1.6	4	"	1174	6	Recorded from Pridmore.	RRR
1.7	5	Half Mohur	[xxxx]	[x]	Not examined by Pridmore. Caldecott Sale (1912), Lot 77.	N/A
1.8	6	Quarter Mohur	[xxxx]	[x]	Not examined by Pridmore. Caldecott Sale (1912), Lot 77.	N/A

Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Silver, Rupee *et infra* – ‘Ālamgīr II – Kalkata – 1757 to 1760

On 28th July 1757, permission was given to strike coins with the mint-name *Kalkata*. The smaller denominations (eighth and sixteenth) claimed to be Calcutta mint and not showing the mint-name, are usually indistinguishable from Murshidābād. The listing for these smaller coins is based on Pridmore, but these coins might equally well be Murshidābād issues.



عالمگیر
شاہ غازی
سنة مبارک

or

عالمگیر
شاہ غازی
سنة مبارک

sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī ‘ālamgīr [AH date]
(= the auspicious coin of the victorious Emperor, ‘Ālamgīr [AH date])



مہمانت مانوس
ضرب کلتا سنہ

ẓarb kalkata sanah [RY]
julūs maimanat mātūs
(= Struck at Calcutta in the [RY] year of tranquil prosperity)

	Rupee	Half Rupee	Quarter Rupee	Eighth Rupee	Sixteenth Rupee
Official Wt (g)	11.64	5.82	2.91	1.45	0.73
Wt (g)	11.29-11.63	5.84	?	?	?
Diam (mm)	22.2-24.0	18.5-19.3	~14	~10	~7
Metal	Silver				

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
1.9	-	Rupee	1171	4	Ref: Johnston, also Singapore/HK Sale 28 (1999), lot 1002. Baldwin Sale 28 (2001), Lot 1343.	RR
1.10	7	"	1171	5		RRR
1.11	8	"	1172	5		RRR
1.12	-	"	1174	6	Ref: Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 614. AH not usually visible.	RRR
1.13	9	Half Rupee	xxxx	4		RRR
1.14	10	Quarter Rupee	xxxx	4	See photo in Pridmore (Pr. 10).	RRR
-	-	"	xxxx	5	Baldwin (2006), Sale 47 (Stiller), Lot 802. Could be Murshidābād.	RRR
-	-	"	xxxx	6	Could be Murshidābād.	RRR
1.15	11	Eighth Rupee	xxxx	4	Recorded from Pridmore, but his photo does not show the mint-name.	RRR
1.16	12	"	xxxx	5	These may be Murshidābād mint issues.	RRR
-	-	"	xxxx	6	Could be Murshidābād.	RRR
1.17	13	Sixteenth Rupee	xxxx	5	Recorded from Pridmore. He shows no photo, and refers to NC 1903, No. 5, where the coin described could be Murshidābād or Calcutta.	RRR
-	-	"		6	Ref: Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 616/617. Could be Murshidābād.	RRR

See ‘Ālamgīr II (Bengal Nawābs) for more fractions that could be *Kalkata* or *Murshidābād*.

Calcutta/Murshidābād Mint – Hammered Coinage – Silver, ‘Ālamgīr II – 1759 to 1761

Permission to strike rupees at Calcutta, with the mint-name *Murshidābād*, was received at the end of 1760. These coins probably would have been struck in early 1761, before coins with the name of Shāh ‘Ālam II were authorised in July. The coins would have been dated 1174 with RY 6. If the AH is not visible then the coins cannot be considered to belong to the EIC.



عالمگیر
شاہ غازی
سنة مبارک

sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī ‘ālamgīr 1174 (= the auspicious coin of the victorious Emperor, ‘Ālamgīr 1174)



مہمانت مانوس
ضرب مرشد آباد

ẓarb murshidābād sanah 6 julūs maimanat mātūs
(= Struck at Murshidābād in the 6th year of his reign of tranquil prosperity)

Wt (g)	11.68	Diam (mm)	23.2-23.7	Metal	Silver
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Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denomination	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
1.18	-	Rupee	1174	6	Only one known at present.	RRR

Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Copper, Monetary Tickets – 1757

In October 1757, the mint master was instructed to produce copper tickets for the use of the labourers rebuilding the fortifications of the city.

See Rhodes N. (1999), *ONS Newsletter* 159, pp. 15-16; also Kathotia I.K. (2006), *JONS* 188, p. 23.



A circle divided by a cross. In each of the four compartments is one of the letters: *VEIC* (United East India Company)



A large script numeral *1* (or 6 or 3 or 2) within a raised circle

	Anna	Six Pice	Three Pice	Two Pice
Wt (g)	28.6-29.2	14.58	?	4.65
Diam (mm)	Varies. See table below	22	~18	18
Metal	Copper			

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	Obv	Comments	Rarity
1.19	186	Anna	A	BM. Diam = 33.2 mm	RRR
1.20	-	"	B	Ref: Rhodes. Diam = 25-27 mm	RRR
1.21	-	"	C	Ref: Rhodes	RRR
1.22	187	Six Pice	-	BM	RRR
1.23	-	Three Pice	-	None found although a pencil drawing exists in my old copy of Thurston (1890).	N/A
1.24	-	Two Pice	-	Ref: Rhodes, personal comm, June 2006. Also Kathotia (2006), p. 23.	RRR



Two Pice

Obverse Varieties for Anna

C in balemark	The C in the balemark may be leaning backwards or be straight.
Letters in Balemark	The letters in the balemark may be arranged normally or in mirror image.

	A	B	C
C in balemark	Leans backwards	Straight	Leans backwards
Letters in Balemark	Normal	Normal	Mirror image



C leans backwards



C stands straight



Normal letters



Letters mirror image

Calcutta Mint 1760 to 1790

Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Silver Rupee *et infra* – Shāh ‘Ālam II – *Kalkata* – 1761-1763

Eighth rupees are recorded in various other sources, but all the photos seen could equally well be Murshidābād coins, and probably are. The only coins with the mint-name *Kalkata* seem to be *nazaranas* struck for presentation to the Mughal emperor. It is possible that an RY 2 coin was struck, though none is known.



الرحمن محمد
سائر شناعه المباد
نور برهه...

*sikka zad bar haft kishwar
sāya fazl ilāh hāmī dīn
muhammad shāh ‘ālam
bādshāh [AH date]*

(= Defender of the religion of Muḥammad, Shāh ‘Ālam Emperor, Shadow of the divine favour, put his stamp on the seven climes, [AH date])



بیمانی
سنة خبوس
ضرب كلكته

*zarb kalkata sanah [RY] julūs
maimanat mānūs (= Struck at
Calcutta in the [RY] year of
tranquil prosperity)*

Wt (g)	11.64	Diam (mm)	~25	Metal	Silver
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Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denomination	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
2.1	-	Rupee	1175	3	<i>Nazarana.</i> Ref: Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 618.	RRR
2.2	14	"	1176	4	<i>Nazarana.</i> See Pridmore for picture which may have been taken from Marsden (1825), pl. 44, no. 937.	RRR

Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Gold Mohur *et infra* – Shāh ‘Ālam II – Kalkata – 1761 to 1765

It is not possible to determine if the coins were struck at Calcutta, Murshīdābād (given cat no 5.1) or Patna (given cat no 5.9). It seems likely that other fractions such as quarters and eighths would have been struck, as well as the smaller fractions recorded below.



الرحامی دین محمد
سائر سنہ شہادۃ
نور برہنہ

sikka zad bar haft kishwar sāya
fazl ilāh hāmī dīn muḥammad
shāh ‘ālam bādshāh [AH date]
(= Defender of the religion of
Muḥammad, Shāh ‘Ālam
Emperor, Shadow of the divine
favour, put his stamp on the
seven climes, [AH date])



مہمندین
سنہ جلوس
مرشد آباد

zarb murshīdābād sanah [RY]
julūs maimanat māmūs
(= Struck at Murshīdābād in
the [RY] year of his reign of
tranquil prosperity)

	Mohur	Half Mohur	Sixteenth Mohur	1/64 Mohur
Official Wt (g)	11.08?	5.6	0.73	0.181
Wt (g)	?		0.8	0.16-0.17
Diam (mm)	~25		~9	5.8-6.0
Metal	Gold			

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
2.3	-	Mohur	1176	3		RRR
2.4	-	"	1177	5	Recorded from KM 663.	
2.4c	-	Half Mohur	1176	4		RRR
2.5	-	Sixteenth Mohur	xxxx	x	Ref: Heinz Bons. Mint name not visible so not certainly from Murshīdābād.	RRR
2.6	-	1/64 Mohur	xxxx	5	See Prashant Kulkarni (2003-2004), pp. 117-118. Second specimen reported to me by Nick Rhodes in Sept. 2006	RRR

					from Gautam Dalmiya.
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Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Gold Mohur *et infra* – Shāh ‘Ālam II – Murshīdābād – 1766 to 1768

Issued from the mints of Calcutta, Murshīdābād and Patna. The C on the reverse may be the Calcutta mint-mark.



الرحامی دین محمد
سائر سنہ شہادۃ
نور برہنہ

sikka zad bar haft kishwar sāya
fazl ilāh hāmī dīn muḥammad
shāh ‘ālam bādshāh [AH date]
(= Defender of the religion of
Muḥammad, Shāh ‘Ālam
Emperor, Shadow of the divine
favour, put his stamp on the
seven climes, [AH date])



مہمندین
سنہ جلوس
مرشد آباد

zarb murshīdābād sanah [RY]
julūs maimanat māmūs C
(= Struck at Murshīdābād in
the [RY] year of his reign of
tranquil prosperity. C.

	Mohur	Half Mohur	Quarter Mohur	Eighth Mohur
Official Wt (g)	11.64	5.82	2.91	1.45
Wt (g)	?	?	2.90	?
Diam (mm)	19.4	15.5	11.9-12.5	~11.5
Metal	Gold			

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denomination	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
2.7	15	Mohur	1180	8		RRR
2.8	16	Half Mohur	xxxx	7	Recorded from Pridmore.	RRR
2.8c	-	Quarter Mohur	xxxx	7		RRR
2.9	-	Eighth Mohur	xxxx	7		RRR

Calcutta Mint – Hammered Coinage – Gold Mohur *et infra* – Shāh ‘Ālam II – 1769 to 1788



الرحامی دین محمد
سائر سنہ شہادۃ
نور برہنہ

sikka zad bar haft kishwar
sāya fazl ilāh hāmī dīn
muḥammad shāh ‘ālam
bādshāh [AH date]



مہمندین
سنہ جلوس
مرشد آباد

zarb murshīdābād sanah
[RY] julūs maimanat
māmūs (= Struck at
Murshīdābād in the [RY]

(= Defender of the religion of Muḥammad, Shāh 'Ālam Emperor, Shadow of the divine favour, put his stamp on the seven climes, [AH date])

year of his reign of tranquil prosperity)

	Mohur	Half Mohur	Quarter Mohur	Eighth Mohur	1/16 Mohur
Official Wt (g)	12.36	6.18	3.09	1.54	0.77
Wt (g)	12.16-12.36	6.15-6.16	?	1.48-1.54	0.71-0.77
Diam (mm)	22.1-25.0	15.6-16.0	~14	12.2-13.9	9.0-12.7
Metal	Gold				

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
2.10	17	Mohur	1182	10		R
2.11	18	"	1183	10		R
2.12C	-	"	1184	10		R
2.12	19	"	1183	11		R
2.13	20	"	1184	11		R
2.14	21	"	1184	11	Proof. BM.	RRR
2.15	22	"	1185	12		R
2.16	23	"	1186	12		R
2.17	-	"	1187	12		R
2.18	25	"	1188	12	Mule with old rev. die.	RR
2.19	27	"	1189	12	Mule with old rev. die. See Baldwin (2006), Sale 47 (Stiller), Lot 806.	RR
2.19C	-	"	1190	12	Mule with old rev. die.	RR
2.20	24	"	1187	15		R
2.21	26	"	1188	15		R
2.22	28	"	1189	15		R
2.23	29	"	1190	15		R
2.24	30	"	1194	19	Date confirmed.	R
2.25	31	"	1195	19		R
2.26	32	"	1196	19		R
2.27	33	"	1197	19		R
2.28	34	"	1198	19		R
2.29	35	"	1199	19		R
2.30	36	"	1200	19		R
2.31	37	"	1201	19		R
2.32	38	"	1202	19	See also Glendining's Sale in Oct. 1988 for a coin struck on a larger flan.	R
2.33	39	Half Mohur	1182	10		RR
2.34	40	"	1182	10	Silver proof	RRR
2.34C	-	"	1183	10	Ref: Album (2012), Auction 13, Lot 1398.	RR
2.35	41	"	1183	11		RR
2.35A	-	"	1184	11		RR
2.36	-	"	1200	19	Ref: Baldwin (2000), Sale 22 (Wheeler), Lot 131.	RR
2.37	42	Quarter Mohur	1182	10		RR
2.38	43	"	1182	10	Silver proof	RRR

2.39	44	"	1202	19		RR
2.40	45	"	1203	19		RR
2.41	46	Eighth Mohur	1182	10		RR
2.42	47	"	1182	10	Silver proof. BM.	RRR
2.43	48	"	1183	10	Drawing of a coin apparently dated AH 1186/10 appears in a Japanese manuscript of 1789.	RR
2.44	49	"	1183	10	Silver proof	RRR
2.45	50	"	xxxx	15		RR
2.46	50	"	1200	19	Smithsonian Institution. Reported by Kaslove.	RR
2.47	51	"	1202	19		RR
2.48	52	"	1203	19		RR
2.49	53	Sixteenth Mohur	1182	10		RR
2.50	54	"	1182	10	Silver proof. BM.	RRR
2.51	55	"	1183	10		RR
2.52	56	"	1183	10	Silver proof	RRR
2.53	57	"	xxxx	15	BM	RR
2.54	58	"	1202	19	Also exists struck from 1/8 mohur dies. Ref: Kaslove & Glendining Sale Oct 1988, Lot 493.	RR
2.55	59	"	1203	19		RR



Eighth mohur, AH 1202, RY 19



Sixteenth mohur, AH 1202, RY 19

Calcutta/Murshidābād Mint – Hammered Coinage – Silver, Shāh ‘Ālam II – Mubārak Murshidābād



دین محمد عالم بادا
لشور ابر الہامی
سکہ زر بر

*sikka zad bar haft kishwar
sāya faẓl ilāh hāmī dīn
muḥammad shāh ‘ālam
bādshāh [AH date]*
(= Defender of the religion
of Muḥammad, Shāh ‘Ālam
Emperor, Shadow of the
divine favour, put his stamp
on the seven climes, [AH
date])



مہمنوب سالہ
صنعت مرشد آباد

*ẓarb mubārak murshidābād
sanah 2 julūs maimanat
mānūs (= Struck at
auspicious Murshidābād in
the 2nd year of tranquil
prosperity)*

Wt (g)	10.63	Diam (mm)	26.7-27.0	Metal	Silver
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Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
2.56	-	Rupee	1174	2	Probably the first issue of the Murshidābād <i>sikka</i> from the Calcutta mint in the name of Shāh ‘Ālam II.	RRR

Calcutta/Murshidābād Mint – Shāh ‘Ālam II – Hammered Coinage – Silver Rupee *et infra* – 1761 to 1771

Distinguished by the presence of a star (sun) mark on the obverse. Coins dated 1765 to 1777 may also have been struck at Murshidābād under the authority of the EIC, but no definite identification marks have been discovered.



الہامی دین محمد
ساکس شہ عالم بادا
نور برہنہ لشور

*sikka zad bar haft kishwar
sāya faẓl ilāh hāmī dīn
muḥammad shāh ‘ālam
bādshāh [AH date]*
(= Defender of the religion
of Muḥammad, Shāh ‘Ālam
Emperor, Shadow of the
divine favour, put his stamp



مہمنوب سالہ
صنعت مرشد آباد

*ẓarb mubārak murshidābād
sanah [RY] julūs maimanat
mānūs (= Struck at
Murshidābād in the [RY]
year of his reign of tranquil
prosperity)*

on the seven climes, [AH date])

	Rupee	½ Rupee	¼ Rupee
Official Wt (g)	11.64	5.82	2.91
Wt (g)	11.50-11.66	5.71	2.80-2.87
Diam (mm)	22.0-23.6	17.8-19.5	13.0-15.3
Metal	Silver		

	1/8 Rupee	1/16 Rupee	1/32 Rupee
Official Wt (g)	1.46	0.73	
Wt (g)	1.32-1.46	0.70-0.73	0.356
Diam (mm)	11.4-11.8	8.4-9.8	~7-8
Metal			

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	AH	RY	Dots	Comments	Rarity
2.57	-	Rupee	1174	2	3/2	Ref: Rhodes. Also may occur with dots 2/3 but dots not clear & AH not visible.	R
2.58	-	"	1175	2	3/2		R
2.58A	-	"	1175	3	?	<i>Nazarana</i> . Berlin Museum.	RRR
2.59	-	"	1175	3	2/2		R
2.60	-	"	1175	3	3/2	Ref: Rhodes	R
2.61	-	"	1176	3	2/2		R
2.62	-	"	1176	4	?	<i>Nazarana</i> . Obv. may be same die as Calcutta <i>nazarana</i> . Ref: Kaslove, Rhodes. See <i>NS</i> XXI by E.V.Zambaur.	RRR
2.63	-	"	1176	4	2/2	Ref: Rhodes	R
2.64	-	"	1176	4	3/2	Ref: Rhodes	R
2.65	-	"	1177	4	?		R
2.66	-	"	1177	5	2/3		R
2.67	-	"	1178	5	2/3		R
2.68	-	"	1179	5	2/3	Baldwin (2006), Sale 47 (Stiller), Lot 810. Incorrect mix of AH & RY.	RRR
2.69	-	"	1178	6	2/3	<i>Nazarana</i> . Ref: Kaslove.	RRR
2.70	-	"	1179	6	2/3	Ref: Rhodes	R
2.70C	-	"	1179	7	2/3	<i>Nazarana</i>	RRR
2.71	87	"	1179	7	2/3		R
2.72	88	"	1180	7	2/3		R
2.73	-	"	1180	8	2/3	<i>Nazarana</i> . Ref: Mitchiner M1896. Also SNC Sept. 1979.	RRR
2.74	89	"	1180	8	2/3		R
2.75	90	"	1181	8	2/3	Ref: Rhodes. Also occurs with dots 0/3.	R
2.76	-	"	?	9		<i>Nazarana</i> . Ref: H Kaslove. Also Berlin Museum, ex P.P. Adler. Also Skelton H.P. (1862).	RRR
2.77	91	"	1181	9	2/3		R
2.78	92	"	1182	9	2/3	Ref: Rhodes. See photos for different dots above <i>j</i> of <i>julūs</i> .	R
2.79	343	"	1182	10	2/3	<i>Nazarana</i>	RRR
2.80	93	"	1182	10	2/3		R
2.81	94	"	1183	10	2/3		R
2.82	-	Half Rupee	1176	3		Ref: Rhodes	RR

2.83	-	”	xxxx	7	Ref: Hemanth Chopra.	RR
2.84	96	”	1181	8	Ref: Rhodes. See also Mitchiner 1897c.	RR
2.84a	-	”	1181	9	Berlin Museum, ex P.P. Adler.	RRR
2.85	-	Quarter Rupee	xxxx	3	Ref: Rhodes	R
2.86	-	”	xxxx	4	Ref: Rhodes	R
2.87	-	”	xxxx	5	Ref: Rhodes	R
2.88	-	”	xxxx	6		R
2.89	-	”	1179	7	Ref: HK/Singapore (2003), Sale 36, Lot 458. Hijri date not usually visible.	R
2.90	-	”	xxxx	8	Ref: Johnston	R
2.91	-	”	xxxx	9	<i>Nazarana</i> . Ref: H. Kaslove. See Skelton H.P. (1862).	RRR
2.92	97	”	1181	9	Berlin Museum, ex P.P. Adler.	R
2.93		Eighth Rupee	1175	2		RR
2.94		”	xxxx	3	Ref: Rhodes	RR
2.95		”	xxxx	4	Ref: Baldwin (2006), Sale 47 (Stiller), Lot 805.	RR
2.96		”	xxxx	4	Struck on a broad flan from smaller dies. Wt. 1.46 g. Ref: Baldwin (2006), Sale 47 (Stiller), Lot 804.	RRR
2.97		”		5	Ref: Hemanth Chopra	RR
2.98		”		6	Ref: Rhodes	RR
2.99		”	1179	7	Ref: Weir	RR
2.100	98	”	118[x]	7	Ref: HK/Singapore (2002), Sale 34, Lot 578.	RR
2.101	99	”	xxxx	8		RR
2.102	100	”	xxxx	9	Ref: Ravi Shankar Sharma. Also Berlin Museum (dated 118x), ex P.P. Adler.	RR
2.103		Sixteenth Rupee	xxxx	2	Ref: Rhodes	RR
2.104		”	xxxx	3	Ref: Rhodes	RR
2.105		”	xxxx	5		RR
2.106	-	”	xxxx	6	Ref: Rhodes	RR
2.107	-	”	xxxx	7	Ref: Rhodes	RR
2.108	-	”	xxxx	8	Ref: Rhodes	RR
2.109	101	”	xxxx	9		RR
2.109B	102	”	xxxx	10		RR
2.109A	-	1/32 Rupee	xxxx	9	Berlin Museum, ex Guthrie (0.365 g).	RRR

Calcutta/Murshidābād/Patna/Dakka Mint – Hammered Coinage – Silver Rupee *et infra* – Shāh ‘Ālam II – Crescent-marked 1771 to 1777

Distinguished from the previous type by the presence of a crescent/moon mark on the obverse. Coins of years 11 and 12 were issued from all four mints of Calcutta, Murshidābād, Patna and Dakka. There may be a secret dot system to distinguish the coins from the different mints, but this is rather speculative at present (see Stevens, Bengal, pp. 71-72 or www.psIndianCoins.com). Year 15 coins were issued from Murshidābād and Calcutta. but appear to be identical.



الحامى دين محمد
سيفه شجاعه عالم باد
زور بره نفوس بشور

ميرمنه بوس
سنة خلوس
مرشد آباد

*sikka zad bar haft kishwar sāya
fazl ilāh hāmī dīn muḥammad
shāh ‘ālam bādshāh [AH date]*
(= Defender of the religion of
Muḥammad, Shāh ‘Ālam
Emperor, Shadow of the divine
favour, put his stamp on the
seven climes, [AH date])

*zarb murshidābād sanah [RY]
julūs maimanat mānūs*
(= Struck at Murshidābād in
the [RY] year of his reign of
tranquil prosperity)

	Rupee	1/2 Rupee	¼ Rupee	1/8 Rupee	1/16 Rupee	1/32 Rupee	1/64 Rupee
Official	11.64	5.82	2.91	1.46	0.73	0.37	
Wt (g)	11.36- 11.65	5.70- 5.78	2.81- 2.88	1.41- 1.47	0.72- 0.73	?	0.18
Diam (mm)	21.4- 25.5	17.4- 19.3	13.8- 14.6	10.8- 12.9	8.6- 10.7	~7-8	
Metal	Silver						

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	AH	RY	Dots	Comments	Rarity
2.110		Rupee	1182	10		Ref: Rhodes	R
2.110C		”	1183	10		<i>Nazarana</i> . Berlin Museum, ex P.P. Adler.	RRR
2.111	95	”	1183	10	5/3		R
2.112	-	”	1184	10		Ref: Rhodes.	R
2.113	-	”	1183	11		<i>Nazarana</i> . Ref: Heinz Bons.	RRR
2.114	109	”	1183	11			R
2.115	-	”	1184	11		<i>Nazarana</i> . Ref: Pridmore (1978), SNC LXXXVI, Feb. 1978, p. 68.	RRR
2.116	110	”	1184	11	5/0		R

2.117	110	”	1184	11	4/3		R
2.118	110	”	1184	11	5/3	See photos for different shaped numeral 4 in date.	R
2.118C	110	”	1184	11	4/0	Not sure how this dot arrangement fits into the pattern.	RR
2.119	111	”	1184	11		Proof. BM.	RRR
2.120	-	”	1185	11	5/0	Ref: H. Kaslove and Pankaj Tandon.	R
2.121	-	”	1185	11	4/3		R
2.122	-	”	1185	11	5/3		R
2.123	-	”	1187	11	4/3?	Ref: Senior	RR
2.124	-	”	1185	12	5/0	Nazarana. Ref: H Kaslove. Also Album (2009), Auction 7, Lot 653.	RRR
2.124C	-	”	1185	12	5/0		R
2.125	-	”	1165	12	4/3	Error date. Ref: H. Kaslove; also Nick Rhodes from a collection in Calcutta.	RR
2.126	112	”	1185	12	4/3		R
2.126c		”	1185	12	5/3		R
2.127	113	”	1186	12	5/0	Plain flower and no dots to right of RY.	R
2.128	113	”	1186	12	4/3	Ref: Kaslove, also Johnston.	R
2.129	113	”	1186	12	5/3		R
2.130	114	”	1187	12	5/0	Plain flower and no dots to right of RY.	R
2.130C	114	”	1187	12	4/3		R
2.131	115	”	1188	12	4/3		R
2.132	116	”	1189	12		Mule of obverse with earlier reverse.	R
2.133	344	”	1185	13	4/3	Nazarana. Ref: Pridmore (1978), SNC, LXXXVI, p. 68. H. Kaslove, personal comm., Baldwin (2006), Sale 47 (Stiller), Lot 836.	RRR
2.134	-	”	1188	15	4/3	Nazarana. Ref: Pridmore (1978), SNC, LXXXVI, p. 68. Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 620. See also Album (2008), Auc 5, Lot 489.	RRR

2.135	-	”	1188	15	4/3		R
2.135C	-	”	1188	15	5/3		R
2.136	117	”	1189	15	4/3		R
2.137	118	”	1190	15	4/3		R
2.137C	-	”	1191	15	4/3		R
2.138		Half Rupee	118x	10		Ref: Tim Wilkes (2009), List 5, Lot 298.	RR
2.139	119	”	1184	11			RR
2.140	120	”	1184	11		Proof. BM.	RRR
2.141	121	”	1186	12		AH not visible on my specimen.	RR
2.142		”	1189	15		Ref: Johnston	RR
2.143	-	”	1190	15			RRR
2.144	-	Quarter Rupee	xxxx	10		HK/Singapore (2003), Sale 36, Lot 459.	RR
2.145	122	”	xxxx	11			RR
2.146	123	”	xxxx	11		Proof. BM.	RRR
2.147	124	”	xxxx	12			RR
2.148	125	”	xxxx	15			RR
2.149	-	Eighth Rupee	xxxx	10		HK/Singapore (2003), Sale 36, Lot 459.	R
2.150	126	”	1184	11			R
2.151	127	”	xxxx	11		Proof. BM.	RRR
2.152	128	”	1186	12		Very rare with AH date visible.	R
2.153	128	”	1188	12		Very rare with AH date visible.	R
2.154	129	”	xxxx	15			R
2.155	129	”	118x	15		Finer style. Ref: Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 621.	R
2.156	-	Sixteenth Rupee	xxxx	10			R
2.157	130	”	1184	11		Ref: Rhodes. Very rare with AH visible.	R
2.158	131	”	xxxx	11		Proof. BM.	R
2.159	132	”	1186	12		Very rare with AH visible.	R
2.160	133	”	xxxx	15			R
2.161	-	1/32 Rupee	xxxx	11		Ref: Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 624.	RRR
2.162	-		xxxx	15		Nazarana. Ref: Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 622.	RRR
2.162C	-	1/64 Rupee	xxxx	11		Ref: KM but no weight given.	RRR
2.163	-	”	xxxx	12		Ref: Baldwin (2001) Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 626.	RRR



Coins dated 1185 may come with small or large dates
(noted by Vinod Jaiswal)

**Calcutta Mint – Shāh ‘Ālam II – Hammered Coinage –
Silver Rupee *et infra* – 19 *Sanah Sicca* Coinage**

In May 1777, an order was made that coins would be issued from only one mint of the Presidency, Calcutta. This introduced the perpetual 19 *sanah sicca* coins. However, the Hijri date continued to change each year as can be seen from the listing below.



السكك
الرخامى دين محمد
سائر شناعه الامراء
نور برينف... كشور

sikka zad bar haft kishwar
sāya faẓl ilāh hāmī dīn
muḥammad shāh ‘ālam
bādshāh [AH date]
(= Defender of the religion of
Muḥammad, Shāh ‘Ālam
Emperor, Shadow of the
divine favour, put his stamp
on the seven climes, [AH
date])



میرمندها
سند جالبوس
مرشد آباد

zarb murshīdābād sanah 19
julūs maimanat mānūs
(= Struck at Murshīdābād in
the 19th year of his reign of
tranquil prosperity)

	Rupee	Half Rupee	Quarter Rupee	Eighth Rupee	Sixteenth Rupee	1/32 Rupee
Official Wt (g)	11.64	5.82	2.91	1.46	0.73	0.37
Wt (g)	11.48- 11.59	5.64- 5.80	2.56- 2.87	1.44- 1.46	0.70-0.73	?
Diam (mm)	21.0- 27.0	17.9- 19.7	14.8- 16.5	11.3- 13.1	9.5-10.9	~9
Metal	Silver					

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
2.165	345	Rupee	1190	19	<i>Nazarana</i>	RR
2.166	135A	”	1190	19	Mule	RR
2.167	135B	”	1191	”		R
2.168	136	”	1192	”		R
2.169	137	”	1193	”		R
2.170	138	”	1194	”		R

2.171	139	”	1195	”		R
2.172	140	”	1196	”		R
2.173	141	”	1197	”		R
2.174	142	”	1198	”		R
2.175	143	”	1199	”		R
2.176	-	”	1200	”	Ref: Mitchiner M1898	R
2.177	144	”	1201	”		R
2.178	145	”	1202	”		R
2.179	146	”	1203	”		R
2.180	-	”	1204	”	Ref: Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 628.	R
2.181	147	”	1205	”		R
2.182	148	”	120x	12	Mule. Old rev die re-used.	RR
2.183	-	”	-	19	Copper trial strike	RR
2.184	149	Half Rupee	1193	19	Ref: HK/Singapore (2003), Sale 36, Lot 463.	RRR
2.185	149	”	1194	”	Ref: HK/Singapore (2003), Sale 36, Lot 463.	RRR
2.186	149	”	1196	”	Ref: Thompson	RRR
2.187	149	”	1200	”	Ref: Rhodes	RRR
2.188	150	Quarter Rupee	1192	19	Much rarer with AH date.	RR
2.189	151	1/8 th Rupee	1190	19	Ref: Rhodes. All these eighths are much rarer with AH date.	RR
2.190	151	”	1198	”		RR
2.191	151	”	1199	”		RR
2.192	151	”	1205	”		RR
2.193	429	”	xxxx	”	Much finer style than usual. See Baldwin (2001), Sale 25 (Wiggins), Lot 646.	RRR
2.194	152	1/16 th Rupee	xxxx	19		RR
2.195	-	1/32 nd Rupee	xxxx	19	Ref: HK/Singapore (2003), Sale 36, Lot 464.	RR

**Calcutta Mint – Shāh ‘Ālam II – Hammered Coinage –
Silver Rupee – Arkot – 1761**

These coins are indistinguishable from those struck at Madras. The dies were obtained from Madras and must have been in the name of ‘Ālamgīr II with the regnal year 6. They were struck at the mints of Calcutta and Murshīdābād as well as Madras. They are also catalogued under the Madras Presidency.



عزیز الرحمن محمد عالمگیر
شاہ
سید مبارک

sikka mubārak bādshāh ghāzī
'ālamgīr azīz al-dīn
muḥammad [AH date] (= the
auspicious coin of the
victorious Emperor, 'Ālamgīr,
chosen of the faith of
Muḥammad [AH date])

مہمانت مانوس
سنہ ۱۱۹۸
ضرب ارکات

ẓarb arkāt sanah 6 julūs
māimanat mānūs (= Struck at
Arkot in the 6th year of his
reign of tranquil prosperity)

Official Wt (g)	11.43
Wt (g)	10.64-11.49
Diam (mm)	20.0-25.0
Metal	Silver

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	AH	RY	Comments	Rarity
2.196	Madras 140	Rupee	1172	6	Issued from the Calcutta mint from 1761 to 1776. Also from Madras (cat. no. 2.63) and Murshīdābād (not recorded separately). AH almost never visible.	C

Calcutta Mint – Shāh 'Ālam II – Hammered Coinage – Copper Anna et infra – 1760s & 1770s



شاہ
عالم باو شاہ
غاز

shāh 'ālam bādshāh ghāzī [AH date] (= Shāh 'Ālam
Victorious Emperor [AH date])



مہمانت
سنہ ۱۱۸۰
ضرب کالکتہ

ẓarb kalkata māimanat 1 ana
(= Struck at prosperous
Calcutta, the value of 1 anna)

	Anna	Half Anna
Official Wt (g)	28.89	14.45
Wt (g)	27.05-28.88	14.47
Diam (mm)	25.0-28.5	22.3-23.0
Metal	Copper	

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denomination	AH	Comments	Rarity
2.197	188	Anna	1177	Much rarer with clear dates. A specimen in the BM dated AH 1177, weighs 28.88 g.	RR
2.198	189	"	1188		RR
2.199	190	Half Anna	1188		RR

Pulta (Fulta?) Mint

Pulta Mint – Silver. Prinseps Patterns. Double Rupee et infra 1784



الہ حامی دین محمد
سید عالم باو
ضرب پلٹا

sikka zad bar haft kishwar sāya
faḥl ilāh hāmī dīn muḥammad
shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1198
(= Defender of the religion of
Muḥammad, Shāh 'Ālam
Emperor, Shadow of the divine
favour, put his stamp on the
seven climes, 1198). All within a
border of pellets




مہمانت مانوس
سنہ ۱۱۹۸
ضرب مرشد آباد

ẓarb murshīdābād sanah 26
julūs māimanat mānūs
(= Struck at Murshīdābād in
the 26th year of his reign of
tranquil prosperity). Within
a raised, toothed rim

	Double Rupee	Rupee	Half Rupee	Quarter Rupee	Eighth Rupee
Wt (g)	23.5	11.66	-	2.99	?
Diam (mm)	34.5	28.5	~21	17	~14
Metal	Silver				

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denomination	Edge	Comments	Rarity
3.1	346	Double Rupee	UNITED * EAST * INDIA * COMPANY * 1784 *		RRR
3.2	347	Rupee	"		
3.3	348	Half Rupee	Decoration of dots and three strokes repeated 	See Pr. sale, Lot 675.	
3.4	349	Quarter Rupee	"		
3.5	350	Eighth Rupee	"	Pr. took this from NC 1903.	

**Pulta Mint – Copper, Prinseps Patterns.
Quarter Anna 1194 (1780)**



شاه عالم
ما و ۱۱۹۴

shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1194
(= Shāh 'Ālam Emperor 1194)
Within a broad, raised, toothed rim



سنة جلوس
مرشد آباد

zarb murshidābād sanah 22 julūs maimanat mānūs
(= Struck at Murshidābād in the 22nd year of his reign).
Within a broad, raised, toothed rim

Pr. Wt (g)	8.73
Metal	Copper

Pr. Diam (mm)	23.3
Edge	Plain

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Comments	Rarity
3.6	351		RRR

**Pulta Mint – Copper, Prinseps Patterns.
Half Anna 1195 (1780/1781)**



شاه عالم
ما و ۱۱۹۵

shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1195
(= Shāh 'Ālam Emperor 1195.) No diacritical mark under the B of *bādshāh*.
Within a broad, raised, toothed rim



سنة جلوس

sanah 22 julūs (= in the 22nd year of his reign.) Within a broad, raised, toothed rim

Wt (g)	14.19	Diam (mm)	27	Metal	Copper	Edge	Plain?
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Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Comments	Rarity
3.7	-	See Wodak E. (1958), p. 62, Fig 2.	RRR

**Pulta Mint – Copper, Prinseps Patterns.
Quarter Anna 1780 to 1781 – Type 1**



شاه عالم
ما و ۱۱۹۵

shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1195
(= Shāh 'Ālam Emperor 1195). Within a broad, raised, toothed rim



سنة جلوس

sanah 22 julūs (= in the 22nd year of his reign). Within a broad, raised, toothed rim

Wt (g)	7.16-7.19	Diam (mm)	21.5-22.7	Metal	Copper	Edge	Plain
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Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Comments	Rarity
3.8	352	Two distinct styles – as above photo,	RRR
3.9	352	and as Lot 677 in Pr. sale (R. Weir).	



Cat No. 3.9. NB star at bottom of reverse

**Pulta Mint – Copper, Prinseps Patterns.
Quarter Anna 1780 to 1781 – Type 2**



شاه عالم
ما و ۱۱۹۵

shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1195
(= Shāh 'Ālam Emperor 1195.) Within a broad, raised, toothed rim



سنة جلوس

sanah 22 julūs (= in the 22nd year of his reign.) Within a broad, raised, toothed rim

Wt (g)	11.79-11.82
Diam (mm)	24.3-24.6
Metal	Copper/Dull grey. White metal?
Edge	SG with raised centre line



Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Comments	Rarity
3.10	-	Ref: CNG (2005), Sale 66, Lot 2065, also Fore. Also reported in tin (but this might just be colour created by storage, for e.g. in an oak cabinet). See also Spink Sale 50, Lot 229.	RRR

Pulta Mint – Copper, Prinseps Patterns. Eighth Anna 1195 (1780/1781) – Type 2



شاه عالم
بابو ۱۱۹۵

shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1195
(= Shāh 'Ālam Emperor 1195). Within a beaded rim



حلوں سنہ ۲۲

sanah 22 julūs (= in the 22nd year of his reign). Within a beaded rim. NB single cluster of dots below legend

Wt (g)	3.45	Diam (mm)	18.3-19.3	Metal	Copper	Edge	Plain
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Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Comments	Rarity
3.10C	-	Die Axis ↑↑. Similar to 3.12 sixteenth anna – see below.	RRR

Pulta Mint – Copper, Prinseps Patterns. Sixteenth Anna 1195 (1780/1781) – Type 1



شاه عالم
بابو ۱۱۹۵



حلوں سنہ ۲۲

shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1195
(= Shāh 'Ālam Emperor 1195). Within a beaded rim

sanah 22 julūs (= in the 22nd year of his reign). Within a beaded rim. NB single cluster of dots below legend

Wt (g)	2.73	Diam (mm)	15.3-15.6	Metal	Copper	Edge	Plain
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Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Comments	Rarity
3.11	-		RRR

Pulta Mint – Copper, Prinseps Patterns. Sixteenth Anna 1195 (1780/1781) – Type 2



شاه عالم
بابو ۱۱۹۵

shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1195 (= Shāh 'Ālam Emperor 1195). Within a beaded rim



حلوں سنہ ۲۲

sanah 22 julūs (= in the 22nd year of his reign). Within a beaded rim. NB 2 rosettes below legend

Wt (g)	2.08 (32.13 grains)	Diam (mm)	15.6	Metal	Copper	Edge	Plain
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Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Comments	Rarity
3.12	-	See Pridmore Sale (1982), Lot 678.	RRR

Pulta Mint – Copper Half Anna et infra – AH1195 (1780-81)



شاه عالم
بابو ۱۱۹۵

shāh 'ālam bādshāh 1195 (= Shāh 'Ālam Emperor AH 1195). Within a raised, toothed rim



حلوں سنہ ۲۲

sanah 22 julūs (= In the 22nd year of his reign). Within a raised, toothed rim. NB stars below legend

	½ Anna	¼ Anna	⅛ Anna	1/16 Anna
Official Wt (g)	14.54	7.27	3.64	1.81
Wt (g)	12.56-16.25	5.85-7.47	2.77-4.25	1.60-2.07
Diam (mm)	25.5-29.7	21.5-24.6	17.5-19.5	14.0-16.5
Metal	Copper			
Edge	Plain			

The low weight coins within the ranges shown above tend to be rather worn.

Catalogue

Cat No.	Pr. No.	Denom	Status	Axis	Diam (mm)	Comments	Rarity
3.13	191	Half Anna	Currency	↑↓	29.0		C
3.14	-	"	Currency	↑↓	28.0	28 mm. Ref: SNC April 1980.	N/A
3.15	192	"	Currency	↑↑	26.0	Ref: Weir	C
3.16	192	"	Currency	↑↓	26.0	Ref: Weir	C
3.17	192	"	Currency	↑↓	26.3	Flowers of six dots instead of stars. Wt = 13.05 g. Ref: Weir.	R
3.18	193	"	Proof	↑↓	27-28.8	Ref: BM. 14.33 g.	RR
3.19	194	Quarter Anna	Currency	↑↓	23.7	Size and position of stars can vary – a study would reveal several varieties.	C
3.20	194	"	Currency	↑↑	23.7	Ref: Weir	C
3.21	194	"	Currency	↑←	23.7		R?
3.22	195	"	Currency	↑↓	22.8		C
3.22a	195	"	Currency	↑←	21.3	Flowers of six dots instead of stars.	R
3.23	196	"	Proof	↑↓	24.6		RR
3.24	197	Eighth Anna	Currency		19.6		C
3.25	198	"	Currency	↑↓	18.3		C
3.26	199	"	Proof	↑↓	20.8	Ref: BM. 3.82 g.	RR
3.27	200	Sixteenth Anna	Currency	↑↓	15.8	3 varieties of star (Weir).	C
3.28	201	"	Currency	↑↓	14.5		C
3.29	202	"	Proof		16.4		RR

Abbreviations

BM	British Museum
DNW	Dix Noonan Webb
KM	<i>Standard Catalog of World Coins</i>
LMC	Brown, <i>Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum Lucknow</i>
Pr	Pridmore, <i>The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations Part 4 India Vol. I</i>
SCMB	<i>Seaby's Coins & Medal Bulletin</i>
SNC	<i>Spinks Numismatic Circular</i>

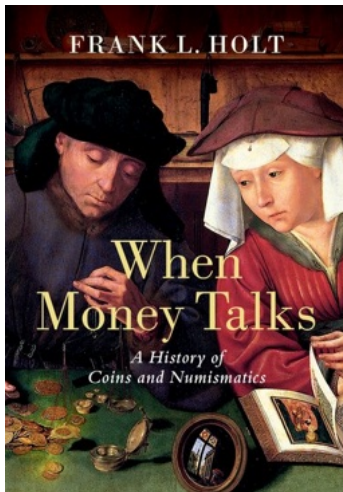
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BOOK REVIEW

When Money Talks: A History of Coins and Numismatics
by Frank L. Holt

Oxford University Press, New York, 2021
268 pages



Growing up I always had coins in my pocket. For the most part, one did not think twice about it except if one found a lucky penny on the ground or a random foreign coin amongst the change. But these small metal disks have a long-storied history in them, one that spans many lifetimes and countless generations. In Frank Holt's *When Money Talks: A History of Coins and Numismatics*, the coins finally get a chance to tell their story. The author takes the reader through a very thorough history of coins from their early origins, with explanations of why money is valued, to minting practices and the study of coin hoards, as well as what hoards tell us. The chapters are written with the care and the desire to show us there is much to learn about coins and numismatics. Holt does not write as if he is writing to an auditorium of academics, he writes as if he is speaking to the world and his passion comes through in his words. As the author states in the first sentence, "I did not go into history for the money; I went into money for the history."

This book is not just a story about coins, but of the people who have spent their lives studying them. From Florentine merchants collecting Roman coins, to the story of a marine biologist turned numismatist, the people who have dedicated their lives to the study of coins come alive and become a part of the story themselves. The author tries to break the mental image of a numismatist, which for a long time has been seen as an old man hunched over a table, examining coins. Holt shows that numismatists come in many shapes and sizes. The role of numismatists within this book is important as the author often highlights controversies related to looting and other illicit activities that have caused problems within the field. The author's many years of experience as an archaeologist and numismatist shows through as he takes the reader through several issues in coin collecting. Numismatics has always been viewed by many as a role somewhere between academics and commercial ventures. Coins have for a long time been collected by non-academics and academics alike, causing a rift as we debate where those that study coins should be. This narrative throughout the book is critical as it allows the author to show both sides of the argument of "Should coins be collected?" without being overly judgemental to one side or the other. However, Holt displays much wisdom by never giving a final

answer, leaving it up to the reader to make their own conclusion by posing thought-provoking questions.

In conclusion, although coins are not in my pockets as often now, as many parts of the world are switching to digital currencies and touchless pay systems, coins have taken a new form in my life as an item of collection and academic curiosity. This change is reflected in Holt's book, which shows us that values change over time, from wealthy merchants collecting Roman gold, to modern students fawning over rare biblical coins and discovering that there is a whole new world outside the classroom for them to explore. *When Money Talks: A History of Coins and Numismatics* is an excellent read and provides valuable insights into coins, the people who minted them, and now the people who study them.

Jonathan Ouellet

New Officers of the Society

There have been several changes in the Society's key personnel in the past few months. We wish to thank Paul Stevens, Stan Goron, Graham Byfield and Barbara Mears for their contribution to the success of the Society.

Paul has stepped down as Secretary General for personal reasons and Pankaj Tandon has kindly stepped in to lead the Society in the interim period. Also, Stan has stepped down as Deputy Secretary General and Joe Cribb has kindly agreed to take the role. Graham Byerley has been instrumental in putting the online archive together of past issues of the Journal and leaves the Council with a complete archive that can be accessed online.

We have also created two new positions on the Council to take the Society forward: E-Communications Secretary and Regional Secretary of our new China Section. The seven new officers of the Society are:

Dr. Pankaj Tandon – Secretary General

Pankaj is an economist by training (PhD Harvard), and has taught Economics at Boston University since 1978. He started collecting coins as a boy, but seriously since 1998. He has been a member of ONS for about 20 years, and North America Regional Secretary from 2014 till 2021. Pankaj has published over 50 numismatic articles, including on Paratarajas, Western Kshatrapas, Kushans, Guptas and Huns. He also created and manages the educational website coinindia.com that receives around 400 visitors a day.



Joe Cribb – Deputy Secretary General



Joe was earlier Secretary General of the Society till 2018, but has kindly agreed to take up the position of Deputy Secretary General after Stan Goron stepped down. Currently Adjunct Professor of Numismatics at Hebei Normal University, China, Joe is a specialist in the monetary history of Asia. He retired in 2010 as the Head (Keeper) of the British Museum's

Department of Coins and Medals, where he had worked as a curator of Asian currencies for forty years. He is a trustee of the Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, and an Honorary Research Associate of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. He is a former president of the Royal Numismatic Society.

Joe has published catalogues on the Chinese money ingots in the British Museum, the currency collection of the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, the Javanese coin charms in the British Museum and the Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun coins in the American Numismatic Society, New York. He has also published introductory books on coins, such as *From Cowrie Shells to Credit Cards* 1986 and *The Coin Atlas* 1990, and many articles on Asian coins and numismatic practice. His current research is focused on the ancient coinages of Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan, northern India and Bangladesh. He is currently preparing for publication, with Robert Bracey, a catalogue of Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite Hun coins in the British Museum.

J. Mark Ritchie – Secretary, General Section

Mark's interest in coins began in childhood when his grandfather used to give him each year at Christmas a few of the many copper coins (and a few silver ones) he had inherited or collected during his travels with the Royal Navy. Identifying coins may have helped Mark to get his first graduate job in taxonomic research. Later he began to study Far Eastern coins and joined the ONS, but professional work as an international development consultant did not leave much spare time for amateur numismatics. Eventually Mark became a volunteer at the Ashmolean Museum's Heberden Coin Room, helping to identify and document online the important collection of East Asian coins, much of it assembled by the renowned 18th century Japanese numismatist Kutsuki Masatsuna, Lord of Tamba. Coincidentally, another part of the 'Tamba collection' is in the British Museum, under the care of Helen Wang, our new UK and Ireland Secretary.



Dr. Helen Wang – Secretary, UK and Ireland

Helen is Curator of East Asian Money in the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum. Her publications include *Money on the Silk Road: the evidence from Eastern Central to c. AD 800* (2004), *Chairman Mao Badges: Symbols and Slogans of the Cultural Revolution* (2008), *Catalogue of the Collections of Sir Aurel Stein in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences* (2007), *Dunhuang Textiles in UK Collections* (2007), *Catalogue of the Japanese Coin Collection at the British Museum* (2010), and *Textiles as Money on the Silk Road* (2013).

Dr. Michael J. Connor – Secretary, North America

Mike has been a coin collector since he was a boy and has been focused on Parthian coins and early Asian numismatics since the 1990s. He is a retired molecular biologist turned environmentalist and lives in Los Angeles in the San Fernando Valley. He is a long-time member and officer of the Ancient Coin Club of Los Angeles.

Mike joined ONS in 2011. Like many of us, he first joined the Society to receive the Journal. With the recent move to online meetings - first on Facebook and now on Zoom - he has become more involved in Society activities. He looks forward to helping ONS to continue to flourish in North America.



Ed Snible – E-Communications Secretary



Ed Snible is a software engineer at IBM TJ Watson Research Center and has contributed to more than ten US patents in the field of software deployment automation and verification. He is a fellow of the American Numismatic Society and the secretary/treasurer of the Bronx Coin Club. He collects Greek coins, pre-Islamic Asian coins, and Far Eastern tin coins. Ed joined the ONS in 2015.

New China Section

At its meeting on 18th December, 2021, the ONS Council agreed to set up a China Section of the Society and appointed Prof. Dai Jianbing of Hebei Normal University as its Regional Secretary.

We look forward to working with him to build the section and to featuring more articles on East Asian coins in the Journal. Jianbing sent this message to the Society: “We hope to introduce more Chinese coins to the world and let more friends know about the splendours of Chinese coin culture. This is our main purpose. We also look forward to introducing coins from elsewhere in Asia to members in China.”

Prof. Dai Jianbing – Secretary, China Section

Jianbing was awarded his doctorate at Shanghai Fudan University, and is now professor and doctoral supervisor at Hebei Normal University, Shijiazhuang, Hebei, where he has established China's first authorisation point for doctoral degrees in numismatics. In 1985, he began to publish articles on the history of coins and currencies. The articles published in his early years focused on Ming Dynasty coins with reverse inscriptions, Jin Dynasty lead money, Qing period good luck coins, paper money in the Qing Dynasty, the mints in the period of the Republic of China and their production of coins and paper money, and bibliographic research on early numismatic books published in China. His main published works include:



中国近代纸币 Modern Chinese paper money, China Financial Publishing House, 1993

金钱与战争——抗战时期的货币 Money and War: currency during the War of Resistance against Japan, Guangxi Normal University Press, 1995

中国近代商业银行纸币史 History of the paper money issued by China's modern commercial banks, Hebei Education Press, 1996

中国历代钱币简明目录 Concise catalogue of Chinese historical coins, China Post and Telecommunications Press, 1997

中国钱票 Chinese banknotes, Zhonghua Book Company, 2001

钱币的专题收藏 Special collection of coins, Liaoning People's publishing house, 2002

中外货币文化交流研究 Research on currency and cultural exchange between China and foreign countries, China Agricultural Press, 2003

白银与近代中国经济（1890-1935） Silver and the modern Chinese economy (1890-1935), Fudan University Press, 2005

中国近代银两史 The History of Modern Chinese Silver Ingots, China Social Sciences Press, 2007

中国货币文化史 History of Chinese currency culture, Shandong Literature Publishing House, 2011

At present, Jianbing's interest focuses on the history of currency and on the exchange of currency culture between China and other countries. He has served as director of the Chinese Numismatic Society, as a member of its academic committee and as director of its Monetary History Committee. He is now the Editor-in-Chief of *China Economic History Review* and an editorial board member of *China Numismatics*, *Chinese Economic History Research* and *Economic History*.

Obituary

Dr. Werner Burger (1936-2021)

An early interest in Chinese art led Werner Burger to Cultural Revolution Shanghai and a lifelong passion for Qing dynasty monetary history. He was a world-respected numismatist who was globally recognised as the pre-eminent expert on Qing dynasty currency.

Born in 1936 in Bavaria, Werner's passion for China was sparked by a school visit to an exhibition of Chinese paintings. Frustrated by the fact that nobody was able to read the text, he studied Chinese at university in Munich before setting off through Cold-War era Czechoslovakia and Russia for China. Securing work teaching German at Fudan University Shanghai, he was soon in the midst of



Dr. Werner Burger
(Photo courtesy South China Morning Post)

the cultural revolution, with his school being shut down in 1965, at which point he was sent to become a sheep farmer in Suzhou.

With sheep farming not being to the liking of a man whose intellectual curiosity seemed to know no bounds, he headed to Hong Kong which became his home for the rest of his life. Werner's passion for Qing Dynasty economic history evolved into a specialisation on the subject of numismatics. Having obtained the first and only PhD in Chinese numismatics, he set out on further study of Qing currency, trying to gain access to the numerous mint records. He had also begun to acquire Qing dynasty coins, rummaging around antique shops on his frequent trips to China and acquiring seventy 100 kg bags of coins from a generous Hong Kong scrap metal dealer who had imported them from Indonesia, where Qing cash had been in circulation up until the 1940s.

Accompanied by his wife Lucy, who he had met in Hong Kong in 1975, Werner began to assemble the only complete collection of Qing currency representing every year of the dynasty. It took sixteen years to finally gain access to the First Historical Archives in Beijing, which were found when a wall was knocked down when the archives were undergoing restoration. This remarkable find enabled Werner to complete the search which he had devoted years to and ultimately led to the publication of *Ch'ing Cash* in 2016 by the University Museum and Art Gallery of the Hong Kong University, a volume widely acclaimed as the most definitive and comprehensive on the subject. Through his research and assembling this remarkable collection, he saw the economic disaster that befell the Qing dynasty through the mismanagement of currency and it was this, he concluded, which ultimately led to the collapse of the dynasty and events such as the cession of Hong Kong.

In addition to his numismatic research, Werner was a strong supporter of his wife's projects to enable children from poor rural areas in China attain higher education and to install much needed infrastructure and sanitation in Huaji and Meizhou.

Despite being crippled by arthritis and unable to walk, Werner spent his later years in his extensive library continuing his studies and cataloguing his collection. His inquisitive mind was as sharp as ever and he always wanted to know what was going on and give his opinions, which were often fairly forthright.

Werner had remained frustrated that the subject of Asian numismatics was not taught anywhere in the world, especially in Hong Kong, given the role it played in the development of the city. It is unlikely that there will be anyone who ever has such an encyclopaedic knowledge of the subject or who could so enthusiastically share their passion.

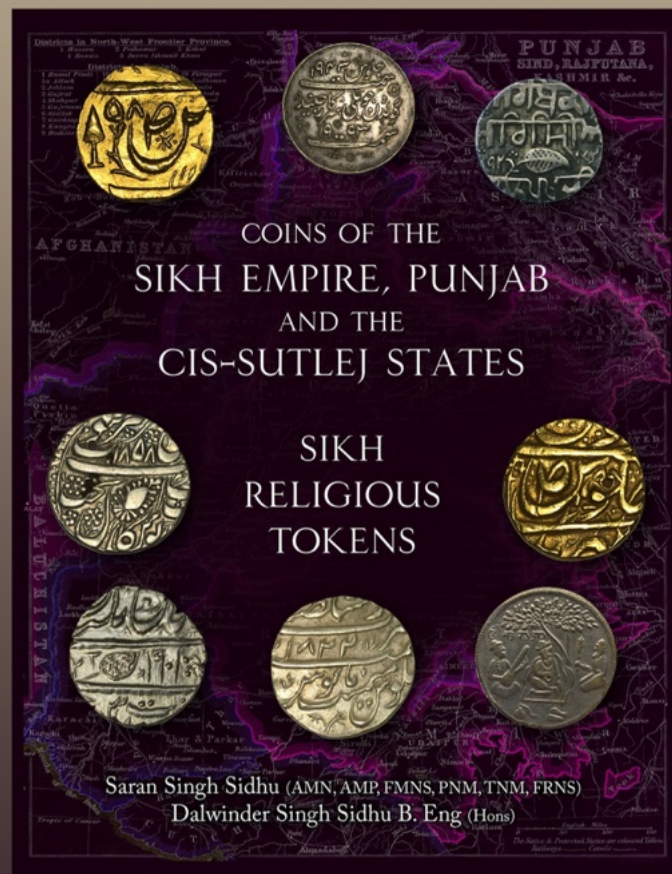
Tim Huxley

With thanks to *The Correspondent* magazine, Hong Kong

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The Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society is an international peer-reviewed journal that is published quarterly.

Editorial Committee: Joe Cribb, Pankaj Tandon, and Shailendra Bhandare

Annual Subscription: UK £25; rest of Europe €30; American continent \$35
for other areas please consult the appropriate Regional Secretary

Website: www.orientalnumismaticsociety.org

Printed by Pardy & Son (Printers), Ringwood, U.K.