

# ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

## ONS NEWSLETTER No 142 Autumn 1994

### ONS News

#### Obituary Dr Hendrik Jan van der Wiel 19.8.1920 - 10.8.1994



On Wednesday 10 August 1994 our regional secretary for continental Europe, Dr Henk van der Wiel, passed away.

Henk, who by profession was a neurologist/psychiatrist, started collecting coins at a young age. His interest in numismatics was not surprising as his father, Lieutenant-Colonel A van der Wiel, was also an excellent numismatist, and in many ways he closely followed his father's footsteps. As a physician in the army, he reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel and also received the Resistance Memorial Cross for his resistance work during the second world war. He was a collector through and through and coins were his major joy. He formed the fifth generation in a long family tradition of collectors, which started in the early 19th century.

In 1949 he joined the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society, over which he presided from 1968 to 1974. In 1988 he was appointed an honorary member of the same society. He was also a member of the editorial board for the society's annual Yearbook from 1967 to 1992 for which he wrote many scholarly articles, mainly on Dutch Provincial coinage and on the coinage of the Principality of Orange in France. In 1978 he received for these meritorious and pioneering studies the society's silver literature medal (the second person in his family to receive it).

He was often invited to give lectures by coin societies all over the Netherlands. His lecture on the "psychology of the collector" was particularly sought after.

His interests extended beyond Dutch coinage and that of the former Dutch overseas territories to embrace the coinage of Japan, China, Tibet, Nepal and India; in 1973 he joined the ONS, of which he became the regional secretary for continental Europe in 1977.

*Henk van der Wiel at the Silver Carnation ceremony in 1986*

In his home town, Gouda, he undertook many cultural activities and was honorary conservator of the coin and medal collection in the local museum and a member of the museum board too. On his retirement from the city-hospital in 1983 he received the honorary citizenship of the city of Gouda. In 1986 he received the award of the Silver Carnation from HRH Prince Bernhard for his meritorious services to numismatics (see ONS Newsletter 103).

Despite his awareness of the increasing weakness of his heart, he continued to write various articles and books. In February 1994 his last book, on the coinage of the city of Zwolle was published. He still had several other publications in mind, which will, alas, remain unfulfilled.

We will remember Henk van der Wiel as a great, versatile and enthusiastic numismatist, but above all as a good friend. His publications will remain a permanent monument and source of inspiration for future numismatists.

Jan Lingen

### Changes of Regional Secretaries

Jan Lingen has taken over as Regional Secretary for continental Europe. We wish him every success in this task.  
Bob Senior will take over as Regional Secretary for the General Section from 1 April 1995.

**ONS meeting Leiden**

An ONS meeting took place in Leiden on Saturday 22 October at the Museum of Antiquities/ Royal Coin Cabinet. It is hoped to provide an account of this meeting in the next Newsletter.

**ONS meeting New York**

A meeting of the ONS American Region will take place on December 10, 1994, at 5 pm, in the Sheraton New York Hotel & Towers (7th Avenue & 52nd St., New York City) during the New York International Numismatic Convention. Our guest speaker will be dealer and member Harlan J Berk on "Ancient Coins of Lydia from before Croesus to after". Any overseas member coming to the show and their guests are welcome to attend.

**Member's request**

... would like to hear from anyone who has any Kota Kula symbol type late Kushan copper coins and/or information regarding them, eg find spots. Rubbings or photos would be very helpful together with any information on coins found with them in hoards.

**Mongol Imperial Money Study Day**

10.15 am - 4.30 pm, Saturday 28 January 1995 in the British Museum, Coins and Medals Department Students Room. The meeting will be held under the auspices of the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals and the ONS

The Mongol Empire spread from the Baltic Sea to the Sea of Japan, introducing sometimes catastrophic changes, but also a great increase in trade. The money of this empire encompasses all known forms, from the copper cash and silver ingots in China to the stamped round coins in the Middle East, and even the establishment of a national paper money.

Papers will be presented on special types, alloy analysis and other specific topics. To help put it all in perspective, the historian David Morgan will begin the meeting with a review of Mongol history. The aim is for all who attend to learn of work in progress and contribute their ideas. We welcome anyone who is intrigued by an empire that could function with so many coinage systems.

**From the Editor**

I now need articles regarding all oriental series, particularly non-Indian Islamic coinages and far east/ southeast Asian coinages.

## New and Recent Publications

1. From the International Numismatic Newsletter 24  
AS Ehrenkretz: *Monetary changes and economic history in the medieval Muslim world*. Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1992.  
K Zhukov: *Ottoman, Karasid and Sarukhanid coinages and the problem of currency community in the Turkish Western Anatolia, the Ottoman Emirate, 1300-1389*. Greece, 1991.  
A bin 'Umar al-Zila'i: *Bilad al-Sham during the 'Abbasid period. Gold coins struck in Syria (361-368AH/971-978 AD)*. Oman, 1992.  
PL Gupta & S Kulashreshta: *Kusana coins and history*. 1994  
BN Mukherjee: *Monetary system of proto-mediaeval north India (AD 750-1250)*. 1994  
B Agrawal & S Rai: *Indian punch-marked coins*. 1994  
A Banerjee: *Images, attributes and motifs: studies in early Indian art and numismatics*
2. Available from the Indian Books Centre, 40/5, Shakti Nagar, Delhi - 110 007, India:  
Amiteshwar Jha: *Studies in the coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*. 1994, 280p, US\$60  
William Knighton: *The history of Ceylon*. Delhi, 1993, 399p; reprint, US\$23.33  
Martha L Carter: *A Treasury of Indian Coins*. 1994, 132p, US\$80. This is a well illustrated coffee-table book; it is not without errors.
3. Spink Numismatic Circular July 1994, vol CII, No. 6 contains the following articles:  
Ken Wiggins: *Some new and unpublished coins of the East India Company*. The coins are i. A rupee of 'Alinagar (Kalkatta), year 4 of 'Alamgir II (5.83g); ii. a mohur of Muhammadabad Benaras, year 24 of Shah 'Alam II (10.89g); iii. A rupee of Bombay or Surat mint AH1215 in the name of Shah 'Alam II (5.73g).  
KM MacKenzie, G-R Puin, W Schuster, H Wilski: *Countermarks of the Sudan on Ottoman coins*.
4. Numismatic Digest volume 16, 1992 published by the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies contains the following items:  
Narendra Kothari: *An unpublished silver punch-marked coin-type*  
Parmeshwari Lal Gupta: *Barwani hoard of silver punch-marked coins*  
MJ Kothalkar: *Mana hoard of punch-marked coins*  
RR Bhargava: *Coins of the Datta and the Satavahana rulers from Tripuri*  
S More & V Hiran: *Unpublished Satavahana coins*  
DW MacDowall & AK Jha: *Three Indian copies of the Pontif Maxim denarius of Tiberius*  
Frank Berger: *Roman coin hoards in NW Germany: trade or tribute*  
Parmeshwari Lal Gupta: *Chandragupta III and his coins*  
LC Gupta: *Interesting bust type silver coins from Muzaffarpur*  
IK Sarma: *Vishnukundin coins from Peddavegi excavations and related coins*  
SG Dhopate: *More on inscribed Vishnukundin coins*  
AV Narasimha Murthy: *Varieties of Gadyanas in South India*  
BN Mukherjee: *An interesting sealing from Malhar*  
Roma Niyogi: *Two new religious tokens*  
NG Rhodes & Vasant Choudhury: *Tripura coinage around AD1600*  
Dilip B Balsekar: *Niphad hoard of Mughal silver coins*  
Dilip B Balsekar: *Two rare Mughal coins (Jahandar rupee from Kashmir and a rupee of Ahmed Shah Bahadur from Dilshadabad)*  
AH Siddiqui: *A new mint on a copper coin of Tipu Sultan (Sakkarkot)*  
PG Bhargava: *A mediaeval coin die*
5. Stefan Heidemann: *Das aleppiner Kalifat (AD 1261) vom Ende des Kalifates in Bagdad über Aleppo zu den Restaurationen in Kairo; 1994* 350 p, published by EJ Brill, Leiden, Netherlands, NLG 210, US\$ 120; ISBN 90 04 10031 8.  
"The end of the Abbasid caliphate in Baghdad during the Mongol wars of the 13th century was one of the decisive events of Islamic history. *Das aleppiner Kalifat (AD 1261)* deals with the fate of the institution from the Mongol sack of Baghdad through the short-lived Aleppine caliphate to its restoration, in Mamluk Cairo. The often parallel developments and motivations of the historical figures are analysed step-by-step. The author explores the relations between the events, revealing the contingent character of the restoration. The key for the new interpretation is the Aleppine caliphate. Emphasis is given to the changing patterns of legitimisation and of representation of political power. An extensive political chronography and detailed numismatic corpus for all major towns in the regions (Egypt, Syria, Northern Mesopotamia, Iraq) and period concerned (1257-1262) serve as reference." (Publisher's text)  
Your editor has a copy of this book; would any member like to review it for the Newsletter? The text is in German.
6. A new magazine on East Asian coins and paper money.  
The *Journal of East Asian Numismatics* (Chinese title: *Tung Ya Ch'uan Chih*) was due to make its first public appearance in July at the American Numismatic Convention in Detroit. The 64 page magazine will be published every other month and will circulate worldwide. The aim of the journal is to provide current collectors with a greater appreciation of East Asian coins and paper money and to generate new collectors for the field. This will be accomplished through the wider distribution of information on East Asian numismatics, including both newly published information and reprints of important but unavailable older works. The journal will be published primarily in English but will include some articles in Chinese and perhaps Japanese  
Regular columns in the magazine will include reviews of new books and articles; notes on Chinese silver and gold coins; notes on Chinese paper money; numismatics of Japan, Korea, Vietnam and southeast Asia. Managing Editor of the new journal is Bruce W Smith. Subscription rates are \$35 per year in the USA; \$40 for Canada; \$50 for Europe and \$60 for Asia. The overseas rates are for airmail. Overseas subscriptions may be paid by cheque or draft in US dollars drawn on a US bank or in cash. Subscriptions and enquiries about advertising should be sent to Michael Chou, PO Box 9310, Niskayuna NY 12309, USA.
7. Volume 7 of the *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* (3287 Broadway Boulevard, Bloomfield Hills, MI 48301, USA; tel 810-647-7917/ fax 810-647-9223) includes a feature on a collection of Kushan and other coins recently acquired by the American Numismatic Society. Each coin is illustrated in a large format and discussed in catalogue form by Martha Carter.  
Previous volumes in this series include the following items:

Volume 1 (1987)

- Robert Göbl: *Die Numismatik als Quelle zur Kunst der Sasaniden, der Kushan und der iranischen Hunnen*  
Martha L Carter: *A Gandharan blessing*  
Katsumi Tanabe: *A Sasanian silver plate with a leopard hunt*

Volume 2 (1988)

- Bluma L Trell: *Ancient coins as evidence for the history of art*  
Pratapaditya Pal: *Siva as dispenser of royal glory on Kushan coins*  
Jamsheed Choksy: *Sacral kingship in Sasanian Iran*

Volume 4 (1990)

- Malek Iradj Mochiri: *L'émission monétaire inédite d'un rebelle en AH 350*  
Martha L Carter: *Early Sasanian and Kushano-Sasanian coinage from Merv*  
Jamsheed Choksy: *Gesture in ancient Iran and central Asia II: proskynesis and the bent forefinger*

Volume 6 (1992)

- Edvard Rtveladze: *The coinage of Phseigakharis*

Volumes 7 & 8

- Martha L Carter: *A selection of ancient gold coins from Afghanistan in the Schwarz Collection at the American Numismatic Society*  
V Rtveladze: *Kampyr-tepe: structure, written documents, and coins*  
EV Zeimal: *The circulation of coins in early medieval central Asia (fifth -eighth centuries AD)*

8. Newsletters 22, 23, 24 and 25 (September 1993 to March 1994) of the Indian Coin Society have been received. These include the following items:

- Devendra Handa: *Some interesting coins of Mahadeva*  
Chandrasekhar Gupta: *A sculpture-head seal from Vidisha*  
Prashant Kulkarni: *Surat coins: lost and found*  
Chandrasekhar Gupta: *The five rupee coin of Datia state*  
RT Somaiya: *Sikh coins*  
VM Kalpande: *Unpublished copper coins of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur*  
Raijasbir Singh: *Kauri - a denomination of coins under the Misl and Ranjit Singh period*

9. G-R Puin and H Wilski: *Ein ganz besonderer Löwentaler* in GN 157 (September 1993). This is an enlarged version of a paper given at the ONS meeting in Tübingen, April 1993. It discusses an imitation Löwentaler with a small Persian inscription in the margin. The authors read the inscription as *Riyal Pehlevi sh(ahi) 7* with *Pehlevi* signifying the district of Isfahan.

10. *A Monetary History of China* by Peng Xinwei, translated by Edward H Kaplan; 1994, 932 p in two volumes. Published by The Centre for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington, 98225, USA; ISBN 0-914584-81-2. US\$50. It is hoped to publish a review of this work in a future Newsletter.

### Work in Progress

Steve Album is reported as working on a study of *The numismatic history of the Rasulid dynasty of the Yemen*.

### Other News

1. Michael Broome has provided a report on two events recently held in London: *Seminar on numismatics and conservation and symposium on the application of scientific methods for investigating coins and coinage*.

The programming of these two ostensibly unconnected events enabled people, whose interest in coins is wider than the direct message they bear, to combine two London meetings in one enjoyable and instructive visit. The one-day seminar was arranged by the Conservation Department of the Museum of London to discuss matters of current concern to the museum. Twelve papers were presented ranging from X-ray imaging of coins to the problems of recording and conserving the large number of coins arising from archaeological excavations in London.

The attendance of nearly a hundred delegates, some from as far afield as China or Canada, attested to the interest in the subject and the mix of museum curators, archaeologists and numismatists ensured that no one view was paramount in the discussions. The papers fell generally into two groups. The first covered aspects of the surfaces of coins and dealt with problems caused by the corrosion and cleaning of buried coins. There seems a lot to be said for the traditional method of popping them into a solution of formic acid, complete with a scrap of aluminium foil. The second was more concerned with the techniques available for managing the coins arising from archaeological excavations. Here papers considered the difficult decisions that have to be made on the relative values of identifying some, rather than all of the potentially identifiable coins from a site and discussed the aims and extent of the conservation treatment to be applied to them.

The seminar was rounded off with a series of group discussions on specific problems facing the museum, in which the audience gave their advice. Problems posed included questions such as "what use are coins to an archaeologist, other than to provide a date?" or "how much detail of the coins should be included in the published site report?". While the response to the first question was simple, the second posed more difficulty. The consensus seemed to be that you published the minimum necessary to show the relevance of the coins to the site excavated but you ensured that the coins themselves were conserved so that more details could eventually be published in a numismatic paper. The day concluded amiably with a cocktail party offering excellent food and drink, well up to the standards of the City of London.

The symposium was a more strictly numismatic event, organised jointly by the British Museum and the Royal Numismatic Society with support from the British Academy, AH Baldwin and Sons, The Historical Metallurgy Society, and the Royal Mint. It is intended that the 35 papers presented over the three days will be published in a further volume of the RNS *Metallurgy in numismatics* series although delegates were given abstracts of around half of them at the meeting. The focus of a number of papers was the identification of the original metal from which coins were produced. Several papers described the modern scientific apparatus now available for estimating the quantities of the different metals, both deliberate and accidental, to be found in coins. Others considered the reasons for changes in fineness or in lead content, or for the use of iron cores in plated coins. A third group looked at methods of identifying the original sources of the newly mined metal for coining and the way this information can provide data on trading patterns. There is no space here to summarise all the papers but points of particular interest to your reporter were the 15% difference in copper content found between surface measurement and core measurements on the same coins, the survey of the debasement of Crusader gold coins, the account of platinum metals as inclusions on the surface of Islamic dinars, and the existence of an inventory of the metallurgical profiles of the main silver and gold ore deposits in Europe and the Near East during the classical and mediaeval times.

A very tight programme was successfully maintained with speakers given only 20 or 30 minutes for their presentation and questions. With almost half the audience from overseas, it is a pity that more speakers did not follow the excellent example of Andrew Oddy who gave a beautifully clear and audible presentation, in simple terms, of the current method of specific gravity testing used at the British Museum. At the other extreme were the few who, having waved away the microphone, either proceeded to read their papers word for word in a low monotone or turned their backs on the audience and addressed their remarks to the screen behind them! However, this is a minor quibble in an otherwise excellent gathering which was well organised, complete with a reception on the first evening that allowed a private viewing of the new British Museum exhibition *Money under the microscope*. The ultimate outcome, the printed version of the papers, should provide an excellent new RNS Special Publication and should well justify all the hard work it has taken to organise and run this symposium.

## 2. Seventh century Syria numismatic "round-table"

The third meeting will take place at the Department of Conservation of the British Museum (9 Montague Street) on Saturday 12 November 1994 from 10.30. The planned programme is as follows:

Michael Bates: *The copper mints of Bilad al-Sham after 'Abd al-Malik's coinage reform*

Lawrence Conrad: *Patterns of urbanism in the Umayyad period*

Marcus Phillips: *The "Inper Const" type of Constans II: a Byzantine export coinage*

Tony Goodwin: *The significance of overstrikes in the Arab-Byzantine series.*

3. The Twelfth International Numismatic Congress will take place in Berlin September 8-12, 1997. The event will be sponsored by the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz in collaboration with the International Numismatic Commission. The congress will be held in the rooms of the Humboldt University. The latest *Survey of numismatic research* will be presented to the congress and a limited issue medal will be struck. A more detailed brochure will be available in 1995, but for further information write to Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Münzkabinett, Bodestraße 1-3, D-10178, Berlin, Germany.

4. Previous Newsletters have given details of the new international ICOMON committee; The committee will be meeting at next year's ICOM congress in Stavanger, Norway. A programme of lectures and events is being planned.

5. The Musée National des Antiquités in Algeria has acquired 1200 bronze Roman coins, 70 gold 'Abbasid, Aghlabid, Almoravid and Almohad pieces, and 87 silver Almohad coins. They are planning to open special galleries devoted to ancient and Islamic numismatics and to produce a film tracing the history of coinage in North Africa.

6. In Stockholm, the Royal Coin Cabinet is due to move to new premises at Slottsbacken 6 (opposite the Royal Palace in the Old Town) on 1 July 1995. The cabinet is therefore not able to receive any scholars or researchers until further notice.

7. The following two papers to be given under the aegis of the Royal Numismatic Society, London will be of interest:

21 February 1995 Osmund Bopearachchi: *New evidence from recent Indo-Greek coin hoards.*

16 May 1995 Venetia Porter: *Islamic seals: problems of dating and attribution.*

## Lists received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif 95407, USA) lists 109 (August 1994), 110 (September 1994), and 111 (October 1994).
2. Scott Semans (PO Box 22849, Seattle, WA 98122, USA) a list of coins of Kutch and Mysore.
3. Jean Elsen (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium) list 164 (July 1994) contains a number of oriental coins.
4. Dragon Spring Coins Co. (Unit 18, Whampoa 108 Shopping Centre, 19-23 Man Tai Street, Hunghom, Kowloon, Hong Kong) produces monthly, illustrated lists of Chinese and Annamese coins.
5. Persic Gallery (P O Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90505, USA) list 35 of Islamic, Indian and Central Asian coinages.
6. Robert Tye () list 27 of early world coins.

## AN OBOL OF THE SASANIAN KING VAHRAM IV (AD 388 99)

by Hodge Mehdi Malek

The principal denomination of the Sasanian kings was the silver drachm, which weighed a relatively consistent weight of about 4g over the four centuries of Sasanian rule over Iran (AD 224-651). Save under the early Sasanian kings up until Shapur II (Sabuhr; AD 390-379), the silver obol, representing one-sixth of a drachm, is scarce and indeed no obols are known for the later Sasanian period after Kavād I (AD 488-531). Most of the kings up until Kavād I are known to have struck obols and some even what are assumed to be half obols. The weights of obols must have originally been intended to be between 0.6 and 0.7g, however, many examples are known which fall substantially below that range, particularly after Shapur II.

Vahrām IV (AD 388-99) struck both obols and what are presumed to be half obols. In R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics* (1971), table VIII obols are listed for type I/1 with a bust facing right on the fire altar and the altar is flanked each side by an attendant (plate 8, fig. 137). For type I/2 with a fire altar without attendants, Göbl lists half-obols (plate 8, fig. 140). No obols or half-obols are listed for type I/3 with a fire altar flanked each side by an attendant. Type I/4 with an eagle's head on the reverse is only known for half-obols.



Fig. 1. Vahrām IV, obol, 0.32g, 11.5mm (Private, London).



Fig. 2. enlarged Fig. 1



Fig. 3. Shāpūr II, obol, 1g, 11.5mm (Private, London)

Illustrated here is a rare obol (or half obol) of Göbl type I/3 (figs. 1 and 2; Private, London). On the obverse there is no legend: instead to the right of the bust is a taurus symbol also found on an obol of Shapur II (example illustrated here as fig. 3, Private, London). Similarly on the reverse there is an absence of a legend and thus no mint signature is present. The two attendants on the reverse appear to wear crowns of the same basic type as that of the King on the obverse. The weight of the coin is only 0.32g, which is possible for a half-obol, but it is more likely that the coin is an underweight obol.

There can be no doubt that obol issues in the fourth century were taken as festive issues of little or no significance as circulating coinage. First, the presence of the taurus symbol instead of a legend on the obverse indicates a festive issue. Secondly, as with many obols in this period the weight of the coin is underweight for a denomination representing one-sixth of a drachm. Indeed the weight of such issues fluctuates so greatly it can be on occasion a difficult choice between classifying a fraction as an half-obol or obol. The mint is less likely to be concerned about a consistent weight for a festive coinage than the regular coinage of drachms. Thirdly, the scarcity of silver fractions in the fourth century shows that they were not regarded as an important denomination. Fourthly, unlike most drachms, obols under Vahrām IV do not bear mint signatures (let alone any legend).

Although the present obol is interesting as it represents a hitherto unpublished denomination for a common type well known for drachms, it is important to have regard to the coin in its true context. Drachms were the principal denomination under Vahrām IV and even today are found in substantial numbers. Other denominations such as the scarce dinars and third dinars in gold, obols and half-obols in silver, and small bronze and lead fractions had a very much marginal role as coinage and must have formed only a very small part of the activities of the Sasanian mints.

## THE LOCAL COPPER CURRENCY OF UJJAIN IN ANCIENT CENTRAL INDIA (ca.200 BC - ca.50 BC)

Wilfried Pieper

### Historical Background and Chronological Assignment

Malwa, situated in the modern Indian State of Madhya Pradesh, was, in ancient times known as Avanti and one of its most important cities was Ujjain, 'the victorious', the 'Ozene' of the classical authors. Referring to the *Āvantya Khaṇḍa* of Skanda Purana), M Chakrabarti<sup>1</sup> writes 'Avantipura, the capital of the Avantis, was called Ujjayini to commemorate the great victory attained by Mahākāla the presiding deity of Avanti, over the powerful demon Tripura who was the presiding deity of Tripuri.'

One of the earliest Indian coinages is known from Avanti, providing evidence for the economical importance of this region already at so early a time: the famous local, single punch-marked 'Pulley'-coins, assumed to have been issued in the 6th/5th century BC. At the time of the huge Mauryan Empire in the 4th/ 3rd century BC, large parts of the subcontinent including the Malwa region were unified under this mighty dynasty, providing each province all over the country with its standardised five-punch-marked silver karshapanas. Even today Ashoka's name stands as a synonym for the power and glory of this great Indian dynasty. His death marked a turning point in Indian political affairs. Taking advantage of the weakness of his successors, numerous sovereigns declared their independence, smoothing the way for the autonomy of a number of cities, tribes and kingdoms in Northern and Central India. The heirs of the remainder of the former Mauryan Empire were the Sungas, initially ruling from Pataliputra. An invasion of the Indo-Greeks as far south as Pataliputra seems however to have been the reason for the Sungas withdrawing to the eastern Malwa region, taking the city of Vidisa as their new capital. Here their power finally seems to have been restricted to the status of a local dynasty. According to Indian literary evidence there was a celebrated ruler of Ujjain named Vikramaditya, who is said to have resisted, at least for a while, the aggression of the Sakas. His name is connected with the invention of the Vikrama-era starting 58/57 BC. It is not possible to say with certainty if this man can be assigned to the Gardabala dynasty, known from ancient Indian texts as an important ruling class of the region before the advent of the Christian era. What can definitely be said, supported by literary and numismatic evidence, is that, sometime in the first century BC, the Satavahanas invaded Malwa and that for a long time this Satavahana dynasty was in conflict with the Western Kshatras.

As will be discussed later, we have good reasons to assume, that the local Ujjain copper coinage started at least around 200 BC. The close affinities to the Mauryan silver money in style and symbol arrangement support this view and so does, even if this must not be stressed, the occurrence of the 'bale-mark' a symbol on the reverse of some Ujjain coins. The only inscribed type, which can be attributed to Ujjain without any doubt, shows 'Ujeni' in late Mauryan Brahmi characters, thus providing further chronological evidence. It is not impossible that the Ujjain copper coinage had already started when the region was still a province of the Mauryan Empire, providing the people of Ujjain with small copper currency, urgently needed in such a commercially active community for day to day transactions and local trade affairs. For big business and long distance trade they probably used the Mauryan silver coins, which served this purpose, as we know from archaeological evidence, for several centuries after the end of the Mauryan dynasty. The great numbers of Ujjain copper coins and the multitude of different types found in Ujjain and the surrounding area, make it impossible for us to assign only a short-lived existence to this coinage. It must have been issued over a considerable period, which probably only ended when the mighty Satavahanas incorporated Malwa into their expanding empire in the first half or the last century BC. But even then it could well have been that the new masters allowed local authorities or commercial guilds in the newly conquered regions to continue with the issue of the extremely popular local currency. But even if we assume that the minting of these coins stopped with the arrival of the Satavahanas, it is almost certain that at least their circulation continued for some time. Coins of the period ca. 100 - 300 AD found together with local Ujjain coins<sup>2</sup> support this assumption, as well as other finds from Ujjain, Maheshvara and Navadatoli.

At the moment it is impossible to give a definite answer concerning the issuing authority of the Ujjain copper coin series. After the decline of the Mauryas, at a time when their successors, the Sungas, had developed into a weak dynasty with highly reduced power, local rulers in Malwa might have come to sovereignty, powerful enough to issue their own coinage. Possible candidates could be members of the Gardabala dynasty, known to us from classical Indian texts. But one could also imagine, that Ujjain in the last two centuries BC had a kind of republican government with the minting authority entrusted to local commercial guilds. A third hypothesis could see the Sungas still strong enough to maintain at least a formal supremacy over the region, permitting the local people, however, to issue their own coinage. Malwa from very ancient times has been described as a fertile land with a mild climate and a prosperous and flourishing trade. We hear of agricultural products, famous cotton crafts, a highly developed iron industry, great mineral resources, ivory, pearls, corals and precious stones in abundance. Around the beginning of the Christian era, commercial exchange with the western world including Rome and the other important trade centres flourished. One passage of the 'Meghadutam' of Kalidasa, cited by M. Chakrabarti<sup>3</sup> may be rendered here due to its expressiveness and poetry: 'The shops of Ujjayini contained so many pearls and coral that it appeared, as it were, that the very oceans had lost all their treasures.' Ujjain's importance as a trade centre was favoured by its physical features and its situation as a meeting-point of main trade routes, running from north to south and from east to west. It was connected with significant sea-ports, for example with Barygaza on the western coast and via overland caravan-routes with the other trade centres of the subcontinent. A lot of details in this respect is given by the author of the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea'.

### Reverse Types

The overwhelming number of all Ujjain coins bear the already described cross with four circles, the characteristic, so-called Ujjain-symbol, occurring in a multitude of imaginative variations. As one among other symbols it also can be found on the obverses of many Ujjain coins, but as a large, single symbol it adorns the reverses of most Ujjain issues. Even if it is highly characteristic for Ujjain, it is by no means specific, occurring likewise on many other ancient Indian coins, particularly on some issues of Kausambi, Eran, and the Satavahanas. However, when used in its prominent form as the reverse type, this in most cases is a valuable reference to its attribution to Ujjain, except on some Satavahana pieces (especially: elephant/ Ujjain symbol), where this also can be observed.

On a few types of Ujjain coins, however, we look in vain for the characteristic Ujjain-symbol on the reverse and find instead a frog, a svastika, a six-armed symbol, a four-nandipada symbol or a plain reverse. One could argue that these specimens do not at all belong to Ujjain, because they do not show the characteristic Ujjain reverse emblem. They do, however have the typical Ujjain obverse motifs and they are described as having been found together with definite Ujjain specimens. But even if they were minted by some other authority, this authority should be looked for in the very same region, perhaps neighbouring cities, in any case under strong Ujjain influence, and thus it seems to be justified to classify these items under the same heading.

As the specimens with a plain reverse from the author's collection exhibit a perfect obverse side, I can say with a high degree of certainty, that they indeed are uniface and have not, for example, a worn out reverse design. Quite unusual is that piece in the tortoise-class, which has a reverse-type that I identify as two tortoises seen from above. The obverse design of this coin is well known from the frog-reverse and svastika-reverse specimens, thus suggesting a close relationship to them. Then there are some rare items in the Lakshmi-series, where a multi-symbol design constitutes the reverse type.

Finally, there are a few cases where additional symbols are added to the reverse Ujjain-symbol: sometimes a bull, a countermarked Karttikeya, a countermarked tree-in-railing or a bale-mark. Of special interest in the chronological context might be the last mentioned bale-mark, this well known symbol from the silver punch-marked Mauryan coins and the somewhat later copper punch-marked coinage. Observing this, Robert Tye<sup>9</sup> rightly emphasized: 'It might also be of some significance that one of these symbols (no.7) spans the punch-marked silver coinage and struck copper coin period and the possible intervening period of punchmarked copper coinage.'

### Published Records of Ujjain Coins

The important British Museum collection has already been mentioned. The Ujjain specimens were mostly brought together by Sir Alexander Cunningham and were published by Allan in 1936 together with the other series of Ancient Indian coins. The reference works of Dr Mitchiner are without any doubt of immense value. His cataloguing of the Ujjain series, however is by no means convincing. Even if only intended as a representative cross-section it has been done in a somewhat confusing way. One example may illustrate this. Under one and the same type-number 1203 of volume 9 Mitchiner illustrates as many as four very different types: one specimen of the 'dancing couple', one of Allan's class 4 'standing female figure', one standing 'Karttikeya with bull and 'tree-in-railing' and finally one type of 'standing Karttikeya with tree-in-railing' but without bull. A number of types not covered by Allan can however be detected in Mitchiner's catalogues, especially some very interesting new 'abisheka Lakshmi' types.

Further varieties are known from various volumes of the JNSI, the 'Journal of the Numismatic Society of India'. In JNSI, vol. I, A. S. Gadre<sup>10</sup> describes some 'Important Coins From Baroda State', among them two coins with a three-headed standing deity on the obverse and a frog on the reverse, one specimen of this rare type being also in the author's collection. This type gains its importance from the combination of a typical Ujjain obverse design with a frog-reverse, thus supporting the questioned attribution of the coins with frog-reverse to Ujjain.

Altekar and Dishalkar have provided a valuable contribution in JNSI, vol. VIII, by presenting a lot of 130 Ujjain coins from the excavations conducted in 1939-40 at Kasarwad in Malwa. Nearly all Ujjain coins so far published are die-struck; among these excavation coins, however, were 16 cast coins. Although too worn for an exact identification, most of them have the characteristic 'Ujjain-symbol' on the reverse. Perhaps we could see in these cast pieces the earliest issues of Ujjain before the adoption of the die-striking technique. In the same Kasarwad hoard were a number of tiny coins, mostly square from about 8 x 8 mm down to 4 x 4 mm, weighing from 0,7 grammes down to about 0,2 grammes. The identifiable pieces show the usual symbols like horse, six-armed-symbol or part of a tree and on most of them the Ujjain-symbol can be recognised quite clearly on the reverse, thus leaving no serious doubt that these tiny specimens also belonged to the prolific local currency of Ujjain.

In 1948 the JNSI, vol. X contained an article by D. B. Dishalkar<sup>11</sup> including a few new Ujjain coin-types. Among them is an interesting variety of Allan's class 4, standing female figure, as well as a new seated Lakshmi variety. Further the small square copper type with a tortoise is published here for first time

In JNSI, vol. XIII, coins from the river-bed of Sipra have been brought to notice by V P Sondhi and in JNSI, vol. XVI, some specimens from Advani's collection have been recorded. Rahman Ali<sup>12</sup> made known 'Some Unnoticed Coins Of Ujjayini and Their Significance' in JNSI, vol. XLIX. On close observation however most of these coins appear not to be new and the 'elephant-rider' obviously belongs to the Satavahana dynasty. Rajendra Kumar Sethi wrote a paper<sup>13</sup> for *The Journal of the Academy Of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography*, vol.6, 1988. In this article entitled 'Ring And Ball Symbol of Ujjayini Coins' Sethi describes some unusual coins from his collection, among them one type with two elephants flanking a tree in an 'Abisheka' pose, interpreting the tree as a symbolic representation of Lakshmi and another specimen showing a "frolicking" elephant facing towards the observer.

1981 saw the publication of Manika Chakrabarti's book 'Malwa In Post-Mauryan Period'. It provides an excellent discussion of Malwa's history, geography, religion, economy and political affairs of the period in question and a special acknowledgement of the numismatic evidence. Unfortunately, however, one looks in vain for any coin illustrations, a fact diminishing somewhat the value of the second part of the book.

Finally we have 'Cities, Towns and Republics in Ancient and Medieval India', published in 1990 in vol. VII/VIII of the *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics & Sigillography*. In an article of this journal V. L. Singh gives a survey of the 'Coins And Currency System in Ujjain (600 BC - 600 AD)'.<sup>14</sup> Erroneously designating the local Ujjain die-struck copper coinage as cast coins, "Allan has arranged the unscripted cast coins of Ujjayini into six classes", she continues to provide some very interesting information: "Hundreds of unscripted coins are reportedly found from the bed of river Sipra and Narmada every day by the dhuldavas. They are frequently met with in the markets of Ujjayini and Indore in very large quantities. Thousands of such coins are lying unpublished in the collections of private coin collectors. Large quantities of these coins are reported to be going into the melting pot if there are no buyers for the coins found." This quotation clearly demonstrates the extent of the task still to be done with regard to the study of this coin series. It is a beautiful documentation of India's cultural heritage and a puzzling part of its history and it is a shame that a considerable number of these items find an inglorious end in the melting pot.

It is in this context, that we can understand the unusually numerous and manifold coinage of Ujjain. Although certainly influenced by religious motifs - Brahmanism as well as Buddhism were strong elements of the cultural and social life of the people of Ujjain - the main purpose of this long-lived charming and challenging coin series was obviously to supply the local market with a copper currency that was abundant enough to fulfil the needs of a community so deeply involved in commercial activities. Whereas the overwhelming majority of these coins are uninscribed, a few inscribed specimens are known: among them the 'Ujeni' type unmistakably indicates its provenance. Some other inscribed coppers which have turned up in the region, are however, more difficult to attribute. K D Bajpai<sup>4</sup> had discussed such pieces of local design and various Brahmi inscriptions such as Hamugama, Mahu, Valaka, Dasa or Sauma. Obviously they constitute a group of their own, different from the typical Ujjain coinage. These typical Ujjain copper coins are die-struck, with a die frequently deeply incised on the flan, as on many of the local Taxila coins, which were produced around the turn of the 3rd to the 2nd century BC. The common copper cast coins with Mauryan types and the scarce single punch-marked copper coins, which also have been found in the Ujjain area, can be regarded as earlier coins, predating the die-struck local Ujjain copper coinage.

### Metrology

Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham tells us about the Ujjain coins<sup>5</sup>: 'In weight they may be arranged in five groups of 1/8 (1,101 g), 1/4 (2,33 g) 3/8 (3,43 g), 1/2 (4,66 g), 3/4 (6,99 g) of a pana. Not a single specimen of the unit coin, or pana (= 9,33 grammes), has yet been found at Ujjain.' For me it is difficult to conceive of such a denomination system. For most types we have a great variety of very different weights and it seems to be somewhat arbitrary to draw sharp lines between them, in order to attribute the different specimens to different denominations. This applies likewise to the observation of M. Chakrabarti<sup>6</sup> Who sees these coins being produced according to weight standard of Manu with a minimum weight of 0,842 grammes, thus being near to one *Masha*, and a maximum weight of 9,33 grammes for a karshapana. Cunningham is however right in his observation that the coins of Ujjain are mostly of relatively low weight. But it is no longer true, that the heaviest specimens are represented by pieces of about 7 grammes. Allan lists a few 'Standing Kartikeya' coins of about 8-9 grammes, one even reaching the 10 grammes mark and one of my own coins, an extraordinary, thick and heavy piece of the 'Man and Bull'-type weighs 15,3 grammes, the highest recorded weight for any Ujjain coin so far.

With regard to the coin shape Cunningham continues: '...the coins of Ujjain being invariably round pieces, while those of Besnagar and Eran are nearly all square.' Although it remains true that nearly all Eran coins are square, a great number of square Ujjain coins have surfaced, so many that we can say today: the shape is not at all a characteristic feature of the money of Ujjain; we have round, squarish and rectangular specimens in great numbers. All these coins are made of copper and in most cases they are die-struck.

### Coin Designs and Classification

A significant number of coins of different cities, tribes and kingdoms bear witness to the political changes in India after the decline of the Mauryan dynasty. The issues of the northern Punjab rulers, being close neighbours to the Indo-Greek kings, frequently betray Greek influence. Ujjain was, however obviously too far away from the Greek dominions, in any case no Greek elements can be shown on Ujjain's coinage. Although the mint-masters of Ujjain already used a relatively advanced die-striking technique - in contrast to the somewhat old-fashioned punch-marked technique used by the coiners of Ujjain's eastern neighbour Eran - the multi-symbol designs of Ujjain's coins still document close affinities to the designs of the punch-marked Mauryan money. As Allan rightly observed<sup>7</sup>: 'They are struck on the same principle as the punch-marked coins; that is to say, on the obverse we have several symbols - often, as on the silver punch-marked coins, five - some of which change more frequently than others.'

Symbols frequently seen on the Ujjain copper coins are human figures, mostly a single person either standing or sitting, representing various Indian gods and goddesses, prominently among them standing Kartikeya and seated Lakshmi; quite often a standing human figure is accompanied by an animal, especially by a bull or horse and only in a few rare cases are groups of human figures to be found. Among the various representations of animals, the bull and elephant are dominant figures, less frequently are the horse and lion. The frog occupies a special position as a prominent reverse symbol and a few coins are known illustrating a tortoise. Diverse aquatic animals, mostly fishes and tortoises, but also other swimming creatures, which are not definitely identifiable, can be seen enclosed in river-symbols and water basins. Out of the highly imaginative symbol-world, well known to anyone with an interest in ancient Indian culture and numismatics, Ujjain's mint-masters also used an abundance of inanimate representations. A detailed discussion of many of these symbols has been given by Savita Sharma<sup>8</sup>. Prominent on the Ujjain copper coin series are tree-in-railing, chakra, six-armed-symbol, svastika, taurine-symbol, standard, srivatsa and sometimes a three-peaked-hill. The overwhelming symbol however, the emblem of the city, is the so-called Ujjain-symbol, a cross with four circles, one on each end. In combination with other symbols it occurs on the obverse of a lot of different specimens, but its real importance is based on its use as the characteristic reverse type of the Ujjain coinage.

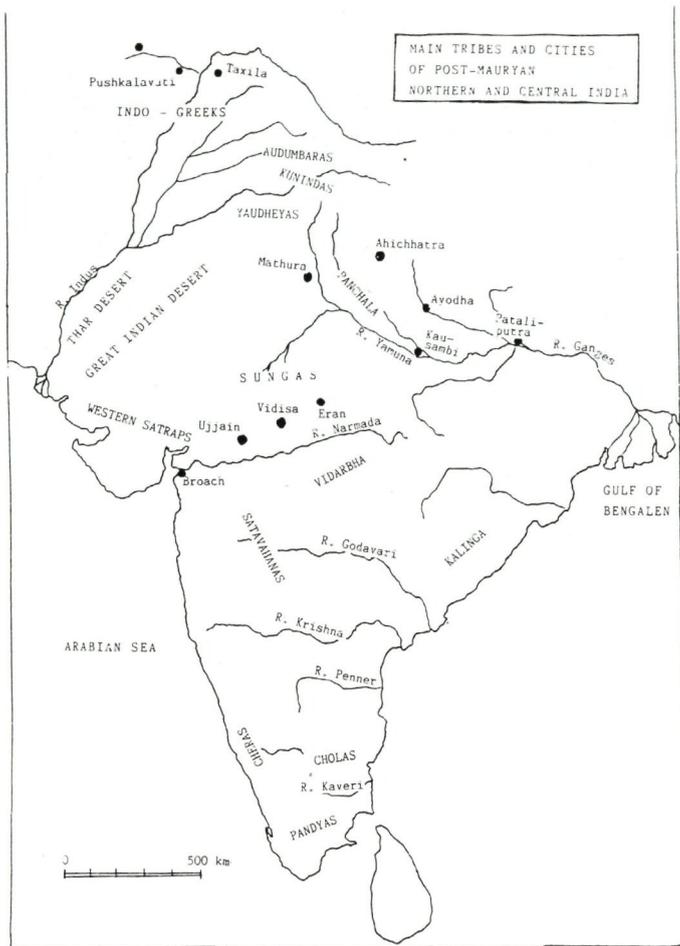
Allan subdivided the local coins of Ujjain into seven classes, without always following strictly his own classification. So his class 1 includes the multi-symbol types, but also some specimens with bull, horse or human figures. Class 2 was created for the single human figures, standing as well as seated, but there are also a few items with a bull on them. Class 3 has the pieces showing a reverse type other than Ujjain-symbol and class 4 includes human figure groups, Abisheka Lakshmi and also standing female figure. Class 5 is devoted to the bulls, class 6 to the lions and elephants, whereas class 7 contains only one single type, the famous 'Ujeni'-inscribed specimens.

We have preferred to present our own classification. The first three classes are reserved for the different human figures, classes 4 to 8 include the animals bull, elephant, lion, horse and tortoise and class 9 represents the multi-symbol types with prominent tree-in-railing. Class 10 is for the four-nandipada symbol and class 11 for the six-armed symbol, when being the dominant or only design element. The last classes, 12 and 13, include those specimens with frog or svastika on reverse. Thus we arrive at the following classification:

- Class 1 : Human figure, standing
- Class 2 : Human figure, standing, with bull or horse
- Class 3 : Human figure, seated (= Lakshmi with or without elephants)
- Class 4 : Bull
- Class 5 : Elephant
- Class 6 : Lion
- Class 7 : Horse
- Class 8 : Tortoise
- Class 9 : Tree-in railing with other symbols
- Class 10 : 4-nandipada symbol
- Class 11 : 6-armed symbol in a dominant position
- Class 12 : Reverse-type svastika
- Class 13 : Reverse-type frog

To these may be added the only inscribed type, which definitely can be attributed to Ujjain, as a class of its own:

- Class 14 : Elephant/hand-type, inscribed in Brahmi: 'UJENIYA'



**Notes:**

1. M. Chakrabarti, *Malwa In Post-Mauryan Period*, 1981, p.9
2. A. S. Altekar and D.B. Dishalkar, 'Kasarwad Hoard of Ujjain Coins', *JNSI*, vol.VIII, pt.II, 1946, pp.99-106
3. M. Chakrabarti, *ibid.*, p.98
4. K. D. Bajpaj, 'Newly Discovered Coins of the Early Saka', *JNSI*, vol. XXVIII, pp.46-53
5. A. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1963, p.97
6. M. Chakrabarti, *ibid.*, p.143
7. J. Allan, *BMC -Coins of Ancient India*, Oxford, 1967, p. cxlii
8. S. Sharma, *Early Indian Symbols*, Delhi, 1990
9. R. Tye, ONS- Newsletter 73, 1981
10. A. S. Gadre, 'Important Coins from Baroda State', *JNSI*, vol.I, 1939, pp.20-26
11. D.B. Dishalkar, 'Sixteen Ancient Copper Coins from Malwa', *JNSI*, vol X, pt.I, 1948, pp.38-42
12. R. Ali, 'Some Unnoticed Coins of Ujjayini and their Significance', *JNSI*, vol.,XLIX, 1987, pp.19-21
13. R.K. Sethi, 'Ring and Ball Symbol of Ujjayini Coins', *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics.*, vol.6, 1988, pp.45-57
14. V.L. Singh, 'Coins and Currency System in Ujjain', *Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics...*, vol.VII/VIII, 1990, pp.27-36

**Postscript:**

1. I would like to thank Robert Tye for his friendly support and valuable hints .
2. Among some 150 local Ujjain coins in the author's collection there are a number of new and unpublished types. I am not presenting them here, as they will be published in 1995 in catalogue form. This catalogue will describe and illustrate the author's complete collection of coins of ancient India, the indigenous as well as those of India's ancient invaders (punch-marked, early cast, Satavahana and related dynasties, W. Kshatrapas, ancient 'tribal' coinages, Graeco-Baktrian/Indo-Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians and Kushan copper). The catalogue will be accompanied by a text and description and will be a joint publication by Dr. Osmund Bopparachchi and me.

**SOME VARIETIES OF THE COINS OF QUEEN DIDDA OF KASHMIR**

**Nick Rhodes**

The coins of the Hindu kings of Kashmir, although among the most common of the mediaeval coins of India, have never been studied in detail. The history of Kashmir during the Hindu period has been well documented in Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, and although the coins are extremely common<sup>1</sup>, little variation in design has been observed, so the coins have not attracted much attention from numismatists<sup>2</sup>. A group of coins recently obtained has allowed me to examine the coins of Queen Didda in greater detail than has been attempted before, with some interesting results. The coins look as if they came from a single hoard, although there is no suggestion that they form the whole of that hoard. As might be expected from a hoard deposited around the year 1000, 129 pieces, or over two thirds of the coins in the group<sup>3</sup>, are of Queen Didda (979-1005), and all these are of the same basic type. A few pieces, however, have extremities of the design visible, and it is possible to see that a small vase, or *kalasa*, is sometimes on the obverse and/or the reverse die, but is very rarely visible on the coins themselves, and there are other small symbols that are occasionally visible in lieu of the vase.

The varieties noted are as follows:-

Symbols to left of letter Sri on obv:

1. Vase (*kalasa*) with three dots above ☪
2. Symbol ☪ this is probably remnants of the arm of the goddess, which is clearly visible as an arm on issues of the early tenth century Kings.
3. No symbol.

Symbols below legend *Devyā* at lower right of rev:

4. Vase (*kalasa*) with three dots above ☪
5. Square symbol with two dots above ☐
6. Three dots only ☪

Only a few specimens had the relevant part of the design visible, and indeed only twelve pieces in total showed any of the symbols, three each of nos. 1-3, and one each of nos. 4-6. Single examples showing the vase were previously present in my own collection, struck with the same, or very similar, dies to the coins illustrated here. However, P.L.Gupta did not notice such symbols on any of the 85 specimens listed by him in being the Chamba Museum, and none of the specimens illustrated<sup>4</sup> by Gupta show the relevant parts of the dies.

It is interesting to speculate on the reason for these symbols. When visible, they are clear, and very carefully engraved, so it is doubtful whether they would have been put on at the whim of the die engraver. They may have been mint control marks, to identify the products of a particular mint official but then why have such control marks when they are so rarely visible on the coins themselves? If it was the die that was being differentiated, then it would be easier to have a mark on the shaft of the die, rather than on its face. It is tempting to conclude that a system of control marks was designed by some "arm chair bureaucrat", who never actually looked at the coins, and hence never realised that the system he designed was completely useless!



I have examined so few coins with this part of the design visible, that it is very unlikely that I have identified all the control marks that exist<sup>5</sup>. I would be grateful, therefore, if collectors could look at specimens in their collections to see whether other such marks exist in this, or in other reigns<sup>6</sup>. Clearly a detailed examination of the thousands of specimens in the Museum in Srinagar is likely to yield much information, so I hope that this work can be attempted, if only recording varieties such as those listed here, which might have some numismatic significance<sup>7</sup>.

Notes:

1 In *Living Without Silver* (Delhi, 1990, p.64), John Deyell notes that he has seen more of these Kashmiri *puntshus* than any other coin in India, and points out that there are a number of large hoards of them in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar, the contents of which are measured by weight, rather than by number.

2 The most complete catalogue of coins of the Hindu kings of Kashmir is by K.W.West, in his article 'Mediaeval Coinage of Kashmir', *NI Bulletin*, March 1978, pp.69-78.

3 The full group consisted of Queen Didda and Kshema Gupta 34pcs, Abhimanya 6pcs, Nandi 6pcs, Tribhuvana 3pcs, Bhima 11 pcs and Queen Didda 129pcs. In addition there were a few other pieces from the same source that appeared not to be from the same hoard - Parthavarman 2 pcs, Sangrama, Kalasa, Harsha and Jaga, 1 pc each.

4 P.L. Gupta, *Numismatic History of Himachal Pradesh*, Delhi 1988, pp. 112-115 & pl. XII- 10 to XIII- 15 . In this context, the listing of the coins in the Chamba Museum is far too detailed, indicating the degree of wear, and the letters visible on each coin. The coins I illustrate here show that the reverse legend of the coins of Queen Didda reads *Devya*, rather than the *Deva* noted by Dr Gupta on all the coins in Chamba.

5 The coin of Queen Didda illustrated by Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, London 1894, pl. IV-16 seems to have a different symbol on the reverse, perhaps a sword or the same 'arm' as on No.2 above, now completely disconnected from the goddess.

6 For example, the coin of Abhimanyu (958-72) illustrated by West (*op. cit.* p.74) seems to have a *Kalasa* on the obverse to the left of the King's name. Incidentally, West has transposed the obv. and rev. of all his illustrations.

7 My thanks to Robert Tye for helpfully discussing the issues raised in this short note.

## COINAGE IN THE REWAH STATE IN THE 19TH CENTURY.

### K W Wiggins

The state of Rewah was in Baghelkhand, a district at the eastern end of Bundelkhand in Central India. The capital town of Rewah had the same name as the state and lay about 120 miles south-west of Varanasi (Benares). The area of the state was about 13,000 square miles. The ruling family were Baghel Rajputs, the clan migrating from Gujerat in the 13th century. They came under the Mughal government during the time of Akbar (1565-1606). With the decline of the Mughal empire in the 18th century Rewah became virtually independent. The state came under the aegis of the British after 1803 and treaties were entered into in 1812 and again in 1813. Friendly relations with the government were maintained throughout the period of the Raj.

Rewah, it would appear, produced no coinage of its own within the state until the early 19th century and then they were content to strike only copper coins. They did, however, make use of certain other coins from outside. On the 12th January, 1870, Mr J P Stratton, the Political Agent for Bundelkhand submitted the following, inter alia to the agent for the Governor General for Central India<sup>1</sup> :-

"In Rewah the present Chief's father had at one time a mint but this Chief does not appear to have kept it up; the currency there commonly used being the Nagpore rupee of which is worth about 13 annas of Government currency."

The periods of rule of the Rewah chiefs are as follows<sup>2</sup>

|                    |            |
|--------------------|------------|
| Ajit Singh         | 1755 -1809 |
| Jai Singh          | 1809 -1834 |
| Visvanath Singh    | 1834 -1845 |
| Raghuraj Singh     | 1845 -1880 |
| Venkat Raman Singh | 1880 -1918 |

There is more information regarding the coinage of the state contained in the Rewah State Gazetteer<sup>3</sup>. The following is a list of the coins from outside the state which circulated within it during the greater part of the 19th century.

### Gold Coins

The Akbari mohur of 11 mashas. The Shah Jahani mohur of 11 mashas. Both of these coins at one time exchanged for 24 Farrukhabad rupees but at a later date the exchange rate rose to 30 rupees. It is remarkable that such old Mughal mohurs should have been in circulation during the 19th century some 250 years after they were first introduced.

### Silver Coins

The *Banarsi sikka* 11 mashas and 5 rattis. This rupee was also known as the *Kashishahi* or *machhlidar* and is undoubtedly the rupee of Muhammadabad-Benares with the mark of a fish (*machhli*) on the reverse (Craig 6.2) the production of which ceased in 1819. Kashi is another name for Benares, the present Varanasi.

**The Solahsan.** 12 mashas. This is said to have been the conventional name for the *Kaldar* rupee. *Kaldar* was the name given to the Government rupee and is the Hindi word for a rupee which was machine struck with a milled edge. Solahsan means the year 16, but why this term should have been applied to the Government rupee either of the East India Company or the Regal series is inexplicable.<sup>4</sup>

**The Satrahsan.** No weight given.

This is stated to have been the conventional name for the Baranasi sikka. As *satrahsan* means year 17, like the previous rupee any obvious explanation is wanting.<sup>5</sup>

The **Purha** rupee. 11 mashas. 15/16 of the *Kaldar*.

This coin is unknown and the word *purha* appears not to be recorded so its meaning is unknown. *Pura* means full, whole, or complete. If this is the word intended then it still does not assist in identifying the rupee. At one time, State dues were taken in *Purha* rupees and the army was also paid in them.

The **Farruckhabadi**. 12 mashas. Also called the *Gararidar*.

Probably this was the rupee of the East India Company struck at Farrukhabad<sup>6</sup>. All bore the regnal year 45 of Shah 'Alam II and were minted from 1806 until 1835. It was stated to be current in the bazaars (of Rewah) before the Imperial rupee was introduced. The meaning of *Gararidar* is not known.

The **Nagpuri**. 10 mashas and 7 rattis. 13/16 of the *Kaldar*.

As the name implies, this was the rupee of Nagpur, a coin of about 10.79 grams. It probably came into Rewah in some quantity by way of trade.<sup>7</sup>

The **Waziri** rupee. 10 mashas and 9 rattis. 14<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>/16 of the *Kaldar*.

Prinsep lists, in his *Useful Tables*, the *Vaziri* rupee at 168.62 grains (10.92 grams). It is said to have been minted at Sohagpur which is in Baghelkhand about 80 miles south of Rewah<sup>8</sup>. This rupee is believed to be a copy of the Muhammadabad-Benares rupee dated 1182/9, the name *Waziri* indicating that the coin was originally that of the Nawab Wazirs of Awadh.

The **Srinagari**. 10 mashas and 9 rattis. San 1203

This is the rupee of the town of Srinagar in Bundelkhand and was commonly in use throughout that district. The mint of Srinagar was established by the Marathas in the late 18th century and operated until about 1818. The *Srinagari* rupee was copied at a number of other places in Bundelkhand.

The **Pathanshahi**. 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> mashas. 10/16 of the *Kaldar*.

This rupee is also unknown and the name it bears give no clue as to its identity. The Pathans are a people inhabiting the north-west frontier of Pakistan. There were a number of minor states in central India the ruling families of which were Pathans. The nearest to Rewah was Baoni (Kadavra) whose chief was a Nawab. It is possible that one of these small states struck rupees.

The **Gwaldari**. No details given.

A rupee of this name is now unknown unless it was applied to the rupee of Gwalior, which had a widespread circulation throughout central India.

The **Gauharshahi**. 11 mashas 9/16 of the *kaldar*.

This appears to be another name for the Benares rupee in the name of Shah Alam II who was known as Ali Gauhar before he became emperor. Prinsep<sup>9</sup> lists no fewer than six varieties of *Gohurshahi*, all apparently products of the Benares mint.

The **Topshahi**. 10 mashas and 7 rattis. San 1205.

*Top* is the Urdu word for a cannon. A number of rupees are known that show a cannon, usually on the reverse. The mints of Chanderi, Isagarh, Shadurah and Sheopur may be mentioned, the latter being the most common.

The **Shah Jahani**. 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> mashas.

As the name suggests this must be the rupee of Shah Jahan I, II or III, probably the first mentioned. No further details are given.

The **Muhammadshahi**. 10 mashas and 7 rattis. Allahabad.

This name was usually applied to the rupees of Muhammad Shah, the Mughal emperor from 1719 to 1748. Those of the Allahabad mint seem to have been favoured in Rewah.

The **Akbari**. 11 mashas 12/16 of the *kaldar*

These could have been the rupees of Akbar I (1556-1605) or of Muhammad Akbar II (1806-1837), presumably of any mint or type.

#### Copper coins

The **Madhushahi** 15 mashas. Worth 3/4 of the British paisa.

Coined by Madhu Shah of Patna.

This coin does not appear to be known now. Prinsep records a coin of this name weighing 270 grains (17.5 grams) exchanging for 35-40 to the rupee. He remarks that it was the chief currency of Allahabad and the Doab, formerly of Benares and Mirzapur. Mr J W Halsey, Magistrate at Cawnpore (Khanpur) wrote regarding the Moddooshahi<sup>10</sup>: 'This pyce is also called the pukka pyce of Akbar Shah and manufactured at Allahabad; it has no inscription on it.' The *Chikna* paisa of 240 grains was current throughout Banda (just north of Bundelkhand). This coin, according to Prinsep, was the Madhushahi worn smooth.

The **Balashahi**. No particulars given.

The *Balashahi* was a well-known copper coin which emanated originally from the mint at Srinagar in Bundelkhand late in the reign of Shah Alam II. Such coins circulated extensively in Bundelkhand and central India and were forged or copied at various towns and villages throughout the area. Prinsep gives the weight as 255 grains (16.5 grams).

#### Copper coins struck in Rewah State

1. **Ekaidur**. No particulars given. Struck in the time of Jai Singh.

There seems to be no doubt that this name was given to the double paisa and paisa of 14.9 and 7.5 grams respectively which have *zarb Rewan* on the obverse and a Nagari figure 1 on the reverse. *Ek* means one, but the remainder of the word is obscure. The term intended may have been *ekadha* which means 'one or two' and could have been a reference to the two denominations of the coin<sup>11</sup>.

2. Not listed in the *Gazeteer*

Copper paisa Weight: 6.80 grams.

Obv *zarb Rewan* (in Persian)

Rev Samvat 1890 (AD 1833)

As the coin is dated it is likely that it was struck during the first year of the reign of Visvanath Singh. No other dates are known and this coin is now scarce.

3. **Vishvanath.** Not recorded in the Gazetteer

These coppers are obviously named after the ruler in whose reign they were issued. Prinsep lists a copper coin which he calls *Bishennath*. The weight is given as 225 grains (15.35 grams) and specimens of the double paisa are exactly that. The single paisa is half the weight.

Obv. In Nagari In centre: *Sikka Rewan*  
Around: *Vishvanath Singh Jadav*  
Rev In English Sree/ Rama/ dheka/ ree

The reverse is an invocation to the god Ram. The coins are undated but are believed to have been struck about 1838<sup>12</sup>.

4. **Bagghasahi.** 14 gundas. 56 to the *kaldar* rupee

*Bagh* means tiger in Hindi so this name must refer to the copper coins of one and two paisa that have the representation of a tiger on the obverse (Craig 45 and 46) According to Prinsep (quoting Elliot<sup>13</sup>) the gunda was the equivalent of four cowries or the 20th part of an anna. The coin was therefore worth 7/10 of an anna. The Gazetteer mentions that this coin was struck by Vishvanath Singh but unless there is a similar coin of which we know nothing, the above piece was certainly struck by Raghuraj Singh as both the one and two paisa are dated 1906 (Samvat) = AD1849 and bear his name.

There are two types:--

1. The obverse shows the tiger facing right with the inscription  
Raghuraj.....Rewan 1906 (in Persian)

2. Obverse with tiger facing left with the inscription  
Raghuraj.....jas sri Rewan 1906 (in Persian)

Reverses of both have the English inscription Agent/ Bushby/ Saheb

George Alexander Bushby was Commissioner to the Governor General of India for the Saugor and Nerbudda territories and Bundelkhand from 1849 until 1854.

Notes:

1. Government of India. Financial Dept. Proceedings 1876.

2. Various authorities do not agree on the periods of rule of the Rewah chiefs, particularly on the date that Raghuraj succeeded. 1845 seems to be the most likely year.

3. Luard, Capt. C.E. & Pandit Janki Prasad, Rewah State Gazetteer. Vol. IV. 1907.

4. Pridmore, Major F. The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Part 4, India. Vol. I, East India Company, Presidency Series c. 1642-1835; mention is made of the Fyzabad 16 san sikka rupee. There is an illustration on page 249, which shows that it is a rupee of Muhammadabad-Benares, dated AH 1189, regnal year 16. It was not, however, an issue of the Company nor was it a machine-struck coin.

5. Idem. Pages 221 and 249. The Satrahsan was probably the Company's rupee of A.H. 1190 and succeeding dates with the fixed regnal year 17 struck at the Benares mint.

6. Idem. Page 222. This rupee was also struck at Calcutta, Benares and Sagar at various periods.

7. Kulkarni, P.P., Coinage of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur. Nagpur 1990, gives a full account of these coins.

8. Idem. Page 59. The author gives the wrong location for Sohagpur. He has incorrectly cited a place of the same name in the Hoshangabad district about 40 miles southeast of Bhopal.

9. Prinsep, J. Essays on Indian Antiquities & Useful Tables. London, 1858.

10. Government of India. Financial Proceedings, June 1869. Letter from J.W. Halsey, Magistrate at Cawnpore to the Mint Master, Calcutta, dated 5th January 1869.

11. The fact that the double paisa and paisa both have the figure one on them would explain the term used to describe these coins. Prinsep in his Useful Tables lists the *Rewasahi* of 220 grains (14.25 grams) at 46 to the rupee and notes that it has a kind of Nagari figure one

12. There is a version of this coin in gold which appears to be a modern fabrication.

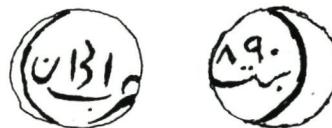
13. Prinsep, op. cit., page 92.

**Copper coins struck in Rewa State**

1. Ekaidur Obv. Nagari 1.  
Rev. *صر لہوان*



2. Obv. *صر لہوان*  
Rev. ۱۸۹۰  
*سہیت*



3. Vishvanath Obv. *सिका रोप*  
*विश्वनाथ सिंह जादव*  
Rev. Sree  
rama  
dheka  
ree



4. Baqqhasahi Obv. Tiger right

Rev. Agent Bushby Saheb.

Obv. Tiger left.

Rev. Same.



The inscriptions on most of these coins, either in Persian or Nagari are very crudely engraved and the exact word intended cannot be ascertained accurately.

#### A PATTERN COIN OF RADHANPUR STATE

##### Jan Lingen

Radhanpur State is located on the Kathiawar peninsula. The rulers of Radhanpur, Pathans of the Babi family, rose to high office in the service of Shah Jahan and Murad Bakhsh in Gujarat. In 1693 Jafar Khan obtained the *faujdar* of Radhanpur and surrounding area. After the death of Aurangzeb, Kamal-ud-din Khan Babi usurped the governorship of Ahmadabad. In 1753 Ahmadabad was taken by the forces of the Marathas. Radhanpur, however, remained in Babi control as a Maratha jagir until 1820 when the state came under British protection.

The coinage of Radhanpur has its own peculiar style and is rather different from the coinage of the neighbouring states of Kutch, Baroda and Marwar). Except for copper, all the coinage of this State is machine made and has - except for some of the minor denominations - reeded edges. From the appearance of the coins it seems that the machinery was already secondhand when it was first employed at Radhanpur.

The earliest known coins of this State are dated AH1284/AD1867. This issue was struck up to AH1286/AD1869 with a value of 100, resp. 50 falus. A decimal system! This short lived issue was followed by another with the values of a rupee, 8, 4 and 2 annas.

Recently a coin dealer in the Netherlands gave me for identification a box of Oriental coins. It was an accumulation formed over several years; any oriental coin which he could not identify immediately was put in it. Among a wide variety of coins in this box there was a very peculiar silver coin which turned out to be a pattern coin for a proposed currency of Radhanpur.

The coin bears a Persian inscription on the obv. and a Nagari inscription on the rev.; details are as follows:

metal: silver  
weight: 3,3 gram.  
diameter : 19,5 mm.  
edge: plain.

Obv.: Malika-i-mo'azzama  
Queen Victoria  
Zarb Radhanpur  
Sanah 1283 (AH)

Rev.: Nawab Djorawar Khan  
Bahadur Babi  
Centre.: paisa 25  
1924 (VS)



AH 1283 = 16.5.1866 -5.5.1867; VS 1924 = 1867/68

The value of 25 paisa also indicates a proposal for a decimal coinage, but, instead, the design with Persian legends on both side was adopted, no doubt due to the Mohammadan origin of the rulers of Radhanpur. Similar pattern coins with the value of 50 and 100 paisa might exist as well.

Coins with a Persian legend both sides, and with the value of 50, and 100 falus are known (Y.3 & Y.4). No such specimen with the value of 25 falus has as yet turned up. The paisa or falus referred to on the above mentioned coins must be the uniface copper coins of this State, with large Nagari symbol 'Djo' which weigh 9.1-9.5 grams. On the present coin, the family name 'Babi' is given, as on the other silver coins of this state. However, in the Indian Museum Catalogue Vol. IV it has been incorrectly transcribed as 'sani' (= second).

I do not know where this pattern coin was produced. It shows some similarity with the coins of the neighbouring state of Kutch, which produced milled coins from 1862 onwards. I do not, however, think it was prepared at the mint of Kutch as there is too much difference in the calligraphy compared to the contemporary coins of this state.

#### MORE ON THE STAG-HEAD TAELS, VARIETIES OF LARGE-ANTLER TYPE

##### Scott Semans

In ONS Newsletter No 141 François Thierry pictured and described two varieties of the scarce 'large antler' variety of the mysterious stag-head taels of Vietnam, with a warning that one of them was false. I believe there are four varieties of this coin and the question is still open as to which, if any, are false. My analysis is based on two coins in my possession, both of which differ from Thierry's specimens, and 7 other pieces, including Thierry's, which I have seen only as published photographs.

##### Variety A:

0<sup>1</sup>: About 26.3mm inner diameter. The stag has no eye<sup>2</sup>. Stag's muzzle relatively broad with a 'bump' at top for the nostrils, and a clearly open mouth. The clearest characteristic, aside from the lack of an eye, is the ear which has a narrow lower border, and a thick but uneven upper border with the thickest portion toward (but not touching) the Stag's head. 'Rounded' neck.

R: About 26.3mm inner diameter. Fine-style Laos script (2) vs. (U). Character ⚡ with only a tiny 'hook' at bottom. The clearest characteristic is a very weakly struck bottom portion of the leftmost radical in the Chinese Yin (silver).

Flan: About 40.4mm, weight about 37 gm. The edge is rough but perfectly squared. Rotation ↑↑

Comments: This is apparently the commonest variety, with five separate specimens found: 1) Krause-Mishler specimen<sup>3</sup> (in my possession); 2) Money Company 5/89 Auction Lot 740; 3) Yunnan Numismatic Society, *Yunnan Li Shih Huo Bi*, (Historical Currencies of Yunnan), 1992, p.331 #28; 4) Spink-Taisei Auction 2/92 Lot 340; 5) Lin Gwo Ming, *Illustrated Catalogue of Chinese Gold & Silver Coins*, 1992, p.232 #775. The Krause-Mishler specimen was obtained from the Joseph DeMarco collection in 1993. Its provenance to at least 1979 argues well for its authenticity.

### Variety B:

O: Probably about 27mm inner diameter. The stag has a clear eye. Stag's muzzle narrow with a 'bump' at top for the nostrils and a clearly open mouth. The top border of the ear is thick, but relatively even. The clearest characteristic is the space between the two antlers between the head and the point where the antlers cross: its angles are fairly square, and the shape is diamond-like. Rounded neck.

R: Probably about 27mm inner diameter. Fine-style Lao script. Character 𐄂 with a very marked 'hook' at bottom. The leftmost radical in the Chinese *Yin* (silver) is bold.

Flan: Thierry notes 40.7mm and weight about 37 gm.

Comments: In addition to the Thierry specimen (left) this variety appears in Spink-Taisei Auction 9/92 Lot 512.

### Variety C:

O: About 27.4mm inner diameter. The Stag has a clear eye. Stag's muzzle narrow with a 'bump' at top for nostrils and a barely open mouth. The ear has an indistinct bottom border. The most obvious characteristic is a gap between the chin and the neck. The 'antler space' is somewhat diamond-like but more skewed than Variety B.

R: About 27.0mm inner diameter. Crude-style Lao script ( 𐄂 vs. 𐄃 ). Character 𐄂 with no 'hook' at bottom, initial character 𐄄 relatively small and straight-backed, and final character 𐄅 angular rather than smoothly curved.

Flan: About 40.4mm and weight about 41 gm., significantly higher than other varieties. Edge is rough, squared to the obverse, slightly bevelled to the reverse. Rotation ↑↑

Comments: This specimen was published in the Spink-Taisei 2/92 sale, lot 339 and is now in my possession. It was found in a border region of Thailand about 1991.

### Variety D:

O: Probably about 27mm inner diameter. The Stag has no eye. Stag's muzzle is broad, although Thierry describes it as "more narrow". [This may be due to a mistranslation from the French original - Ed.] The muzzle appears smooth, with no 'bump' at top for nostrils and a barely open mouth. The ear appears to have thick and distinct upper and lower borders. The neck is distinctively triangular. The 'antler space' is flat on the upper left and rounded at the lower right.

R: Probably about 27mm inner diameter. Relatively crude-style Lao script. Character 𐄂 with a moderate 'hook' at bottom.

Flan: Thierry notes 40.7mm and weight about :37 gm.

Comments: Thierry specimen (right), which he notes is one of 10 examined, provided by a Vietnamese gentlemen and said to be appearing in secondhand and antique shops in Vietnam.

As to genuineness, the pedigree for Variety A appears best. It would be interesting to know whether Thierry's 'genuine' example (Variety B) has a good provenance, or whether it too recently came out of Vietnam. It is tempting to condemn Varieties C and D because of their cruder Lao script and the heavier weight of D, but we know nothing about the engraving and minting of these pieces and cannot assume that all the varieties were made at the same time or place, or even that there was a 'legitimate' authority to produce them in the first place. If Variety D is appearing for the first time, in large quantity, and without signs of circulation in Vietnam, we should rightly be suspicious, but even this pattern is consistent with the recovery of long-buried troves in a turbulent area. Hopefully members will be able to come up with additional specimens, published photos, or weights and measurements of the specimens sold at auction in order to throw more light on the question.

#### Notes:

1. I have designated the Stag side as obverse for consistency with Thierry.
2. It is conceivable that this simply filled in early in the use of the die, but my specimen is nearly unworn and shows no trace of an eye. Thierry's speculation in footnote #3 that it wears away reflects an amalgamation of Varieties A and B.
3. First appeared in the 1979 (6th ed) of *Standard Catalog of World Coins* under China: Yunnan-Burma Y497.1 and has appeared continuously through the 1989 editions, though migrating from China to Laos to French Indochina. In the 1988,89 & 1992 editions the reverse is mismatched with K3.1, and the 1992 reproduction shows adhesions to the photo. The sides are correctly matched and without adhesions in *Unusual World Coins* 3rd (1992) ed p.121 and in *Standard Catalog of World Crowns and Talers*, first (1994) edition p.377.

## Help Wanted

1. An unknown object from Fustat (Cairo), Egypt.

Dr Jere Bacharach writes that an Egyptian private collector shared with him the item reproduced here. It is made of baked clay. There is no record of where in Fustat, the earliest site of Muslim occupation in Egypt, it was found. It is probable that the object with its blank, curved reverse and inscribed obverse predates Islam. One scholar, a specialist on India, has suggested that the writing bears an intriguing, but inconclusive resemblance to the Kharosthi script which was widely current in the northwestern area of South Asia and in parts of Central Asia from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. If the script is Kharosthi, the line below the animal-like stick figure would read "sa - de - ja - ca". The second line is more problematic; the first and third characters are not normal Kharosthi letters, but the second and fourth look like "bu" and "ha" respectively.

None of this, he adds, leads to any obvious interpretation in Gandhari Prakrit, the language normally associated with the Kharosthi script, nor in any other Indian language; though one can always fall back on the device of interpreting the legend as a personal name, since a name can be anything. It is possible that an Indian trader carried this to Egypt in the first or second century A.D.

If any readers can provide additional information please write to Professor Jere L. Bacharach, Department of History, University of Washington, Seattle, WA 98195, U.S.A.



2. Jan Lingen has provided photographs of two silver coins obtained in Sri Lanka by a friend.

The details are as follows:

Metal: 𐄂, weight: 3.96 gram and 5.36 gram.

Obv: Shankha

Rev: Standard with waving banner.

Provenance: Sri Lanka.



The coins show some similarity with the coins of the Kingdom of Dvaravati of Thailand; see also Mitchiner MWC pp. 318-1119. Any suggestion concerning their origin would be appreciated.