ONS

Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society

No.186

Winter 2006

ISSN 1818-1252

Editor: [redacted]

ONS News

From the Editor

We have a new title. After more than 30 years of having a newsletter your Council thought that the Society's publication deserves to graduate to the status of a journal. We have come a long way since the early days of a one or two page basic newsletter. The ONS is recognised as an important international numismatic organisation and its quarterly publication has attained suitable recognition. This is due in no short measure to the quality of the articles submitted for publication. Our thanks are due to those of you who make the effort to research and write articles and we hope that you will continue to do so. We should like to take this opportunity, however, to encourage more of you to make that effort. Most series of Islamic coinage remain uncovered and there has been a dearth of articles on far eastern coinage. Is there nothing new to say here?

We should like to thank Dr Liz Errington at the British Museum for designing our new header. For each issue this will include three of the coins featured within the journal. To keep the header from being too cluttered we have placed details of Regional Secretaries and other officers on the back page, together with the details on subscriptions etc. Please note also that we have a new ISSN number as a result of the change of title.

Obituary

William Frederick "Bill" Spengler 1923 – 2005

William Frederick "Bill" Spengler, well-known South Asian and Islamic numismatist, was born January 12, 1923, in Menasha, Wisconsin, to a family of lawyers and merchants. His parents Silas L. and Margaret (Melaas) Spengler, were consummate collectors of, at various times, American Indian relics as a family pursuit, postage stamps, antique furniture, and paintings, pattern glass and miniature portraits on ivory. So Bill came to collecting naturally. He was also a dedicated Boy Scout and received his eagle rank in 1939.

Bill was educated in the local schools until packed off to the elite Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts in 1939 for educational upgrading. There he excelled in history, oratory, and debate, and managed the wrestling team. Breaking with Eastern prep school tradition of moving on to Ivy League colleges, on graduating from Andover in 1941, Bill returned to his native state and enrolled in the University of Wisconsin to prepare for politics or international relations. He was elected president of Phi Eta Sigma, the freshman honor society, at the end of his first year.

When WWII intervened, Bill enrolled in the Army Enlisted Reserve and stepped up his R.O.T.C. training. In March 1943, he was called to active service and trained in infantry units until transferred to the Army Signal Corps, ending up breaking Japanese Army codes at the Army Security Agency, Arlington Hall, Virginia. He was commissioned a second lieutenant in August 1945. Returning to his alma mater in 1946, Bill majored in Political Science and minored in Geography and received a B.A. degree with honors and Phi Beta Kappa in 1948 and an M.A. in 1950.

Meanwhile, Bill had passed the tough written and oral exams for the U.S. Foreign Service, and attended law school while waiting to be called up. During summer school 1949, he met and courted the gracious Phillis "Phid" Watkins of Lincoln, Nebraska, a Political Science major at the University of Arizona. He persuaded her of the merits of life in the Foreign Service and they were married in Colorado Springs in 1950. They produced three sturdy children, raised in the Foreign Service: Sarah, 50, William H., 49, and John C, 46. There are four grandchildren.

As it happened, Bill's Foreign Service assignments led him to become the Department of State's leading specialist on Pakistan and Afghanistan 1958-1976: Third Secretary in the Embassy, Bangkok, Thailand, 1951-1953; Second Secretary, Oslo, Norway, 1954-1955; Hindi-Urdu language and area training, 1955-1956; Consul in the Consulate-General, Lahore, Pakistan, 1956-1958; Pakistan Country Officer, Department of State, 1958-1960; Professor of South Asian Studies, Foreign Service Institute, 1960-1962; Consul and Principal Officer, Consulate, Peshawar, Pakistan, 1962-1965; Political Counselor, Kabul, Afghanistan, 1965-1967; Director, International Visitor Program, Department of State, 1967-1969; Country Director for Pakistan and Afghanistan, 1969-1971, senior training, 1971-1972, Deputy the Secretary of State (Kissinger) for World Population Matters, 1972-1974, and Consul General, Lahore, 1974-1976, from which post he retired.

Bill's first numismatic experience ended in disaster. His Cub Scout pack used to meet in the garage of a man named Joe Post

who happened to have invented coin boards, and at the end of each meeting he would invite each Cub to select a board in any denomination and start filling it. Bill completed a Lincoln cent board including a 1909-S VDB in high grade. But it was destroyed when Menasha High School, while hosting a student hobby show, burned to the ground. That turned Bill off numismatics for thirty years.

However, on his first day in Kabul in 1965, he noticed that ancient, medieval, and modern coins -- some of them appearing to be authentic -- proliferated in the local shops. And on returning home, he announced to his family that he was going to go for numismatics again, which he did with a passion for the next forty years. He was a fellow at the ANS and the Royal Numismatic Society, an active member of the ANA and recipient of its Medal of Merit, and founder of the Numismatic Society of Pakistan. He chaired ANS Committes on Greek, Islamic, and South Asian coins and ANA Committees on Exhibiting, Judging, and the Museum. He served as Numismatics International's Education Program Moderator for many years. A veteran exhibitor at ANA conventions, he won eight first-place awards in three classes, culminating in the coveted Howland Wood Best-of-Show award in 1988 for an exhibit on "The Satamana System of Ancient Indian Coinage." Since then he was focused on judging others' competitive exhibits.

Bill co-authored the seminal "Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money" for Krause Publications and "Turkoman Bronze Coins and their Iconography" with Wayne G. Sayles, as well as articles in numismatic journals.

(Reproduced, suitably edited, courtesy of Steve Album)

Bill Spengler has sailed away:

"Sleeping in the garden of rest
He was one of the best"

I knew Bill Spengler for a very long time. When he freshly trimmed his beard, I used to tell him " you now look like Ernest Hemmingway". We first met in Islamabad when we founded the Pakistan Numismatic Society about three decades ago. He was there with his lady wife and had brought a few colour slides to show at the meeting. He flashed one rugged mountain pass photo and asked those attending "Anyone knows this place ?". I said "Paiwar Kotal" [the famous but little visited pass between Ghazni in Afghanistan to what is Pakistan now]. He came to me, sat down on the floor nearly squatting in front of my chair and asked "And who would you be, Sir?". "This place has been in the photographic memory of four people in this world - Mahmud of Ghazni, Muhammad Bin Sam Ghori, Ahmad Shah Durrani, William Spengler, and you now join them. The history of India is tied down to this pass". I introduced myself as a student of history of that region and a novice coin collector. At that time I was a commodore at the Naval Headquarters. Later, I took over as Chairman of the Pakistan Numismatic Society and Bill was very helpful. In December 1998 and 1999, I gave two lectures at the World Trade Centre ("How 10 distinctly different civilisations have come and gone in that region, leaving their coins in memoriam") at the ANS annual show purely on the encouragement, support and help from Bill Spengler. He (and the late Bill Warden) had also arranged a beautiful certificate of appreciation to encourage me further.

Bill had visited nearly all the historic sites on the belt from Lahore-Peshawar-Kabul-Ghazni region, as he had been the US Consul and Consul-General there for umpteen years. Antique shop owners and coin sellers in all those cities would say Salam and rush to "Spengler Saheb". This was the area he opted to specialise in and he was posted there many times, being considered "The expert", probably the only one available to the US in those days. He used to describe to me the fascinating scene of the numerous conquerors with their huge armies and trains of followers crossing the 5 rivers of the Punjab (land of 5 rivers) along tracks now considered wilderness after the construction of modern roadways. There, far away to the north of the present Grand Trunk Road alignment, he discovered the "Mazaar" or grave of Ghori Badshah as villagers of Damyak informed him. He (and then I followed him) corrected nearly all the history books which reported that Ghori was murdered (literally) on the banks of the Indus. (Those historians were sitting hundreds of kilometers away and reports had come to them that Ghori had reached a place near the eastern bank of the Indus. The name of the village where he died had existed from the days of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, but no-one had looked for it.)

Apart from coins, Bill had a large collection of historical documents, such as farmaans, pacts & agreements, grants and awards etc . I translated a few for him wondering what he would do with them! Then it clicked that he was also one of the best historians of the area. He knew the terrain and history of the historic belt from Kabul to Lahore. Pity he did not write a brief account of his finds and discoveries in that area. One secret he told me "I have visited a place where a huge stone boot of Kanishka was found near Sheikhupura" and his suspicion was that a large remaining statue lay somewhere nearby under a mound near the Dogran village.

The moral of the above story is that Bill was the only Historian and Numismatist (he styled himself "South Asian Historian and Numismatist" - NB Historian first) who had not acquired his knowledge from books and documents, he knew nearly every square foot of the area whose coins he was collecting. He could read distorted, nearly rubbed off Persian legends on coins with ease which amazed us. He was in love with South Asia. On his visiting card, Bill had the Bull & Horseman coin showing the Nagari inscription "Sri Mhmd Sam". The author of many reference books and documents on South Asian numismatics, Bill was a monumental figure. Yet he was a humble and loving man in whose hotel room (during New York conventions) friends gathered, sitting on chairs, beds, desk, while Bill remained standing, talking history and coins to one and all.

There is no time for tears but to praise him, who has set the pace. We bid goodbye to William F. Spengler, South Asian Historian and Numismatist par excellance. Bill must be happy in the company of so many sultans and shahs surrounding him. He knew them all. May God shower His blessings on him for his good deeds.

Admiral Sohail Khan

London

At the ONS meeting at the British Museum on Saturday 19 November 2005 David Selwood gave a talk on animals and vegatation found on Parthian copper coins; Susan Tyler-Smith presented the coins issued during the short reign of the Sasanian ruler, Vistahm; and Vesta Curtis compared portraits found on Sasanian coins and monuments and spoke about religious symbolism found on them.

During 2006, there will be members' meeting in London on **Saturday 1 April, Saturday 10 June and Saturday 21 October**. The meetings on 1 April and 21 October will be in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum starting at 11.00. The meeting on 10 June will be the Society's Annual General Meeting and will be at the London Coin fair held at the Holiday Inn London Bloomsbury, Coram Street, London WC1. The Annual General Meeting will start at 3 pm. Further details of these meetings and any additional meetings will be included in future issues.

Leiden

The annual ONS meeting at Leiden, Netherlands, took place on Saturday 15 October 2005 at the premises of the National Museum of Antiquities and was attended by almost 30 people. The meeting comprised a series of talks followed later in the afternoon by the traditional auction.

Anne van't Haaff gave a presentation on the pre-Islamic coins of Central Asia. He pointed out that, before the demise of the Soviet Union, Central Asian coinage, with the exception of Sasanian imitation coins, with or without countermarks, from Tokharistan and Northern Afghanistan, had generally been terra incognita in Western Europe and America. The extensive and thorough Russian numismatic literature on these coins had only recently been made accessible to non-Russian readers in the articles of Michael Fedorov in various ONS Newsletters. Central Asia had for ages been a crucial sector of the Silk Road. The interaction between the different cultures active in the region was reflected in the numismatic scenery. In the early period, from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD, coin designs had been copied from the Indo-Greeks. In the 5th – 8th century the Sasanians had imprinted their model on Central Asian coinage. In the 7th century, the Chinese Tang period had had a strong influence and all over Central Asia typical "cash-type" coins had been issued with Sogdian legends and local tamghas. After the invasion of the Turkish tribes in the 5th century, coin designs with a typical local character had appeared in Chach and later also elsewhere.

Sogdian traders had held a key position in the Silk Road trade. Their Sogdian language became the lingua franca of the region. This was reflected in the coin legends which, from the 5th century onwards, were nearly all in Sogdian.

Khwarezm, AR Drachm of King Saušfan, 7/8th century (enlarged)

In his presentation Van't Haaff broadly illustrated the pre-Islamic numismatic developments with scans of typical coin-types of Khwarezm (near the Aral Sea); Western, Eastern and Southern Sogdia (with Bukhara and Samarqand); Chach (Tashkent); Semirechi'e (the "Seven Rivers" region on the Chinese border); Ferghana (the area of the famous "Celestial Horses" of the early Chinese Emperors) and of Ustrushana (the mountainous region south of Tashkent).

The better-known medieval Sasanian-based coins of Tokharistan, Chaganian and the Balkh area were not discussed on this occasion.

It was very pleasant to be able to welcome **Vladimir Belyaev** from Russia at this meeting. For some years Vladimir has been maintaining the ONS website and some years ago started the ZENO.RU Oriental Coins on-line Database. The ONS, for instance, also takes advantage of this database, for hosting the coins for their auction on this website.

Vladimir told the audience that the idea behind the creation of a numismatic database of oriental coins had lived with him for some time. In 1995 he had developed a website www.charm ru, devoted to Far-Eastern numismatics. Over the years more than 1000 pages had been posted with information and images of coins of China, Japan, Korea, Vietnam and other related countries of South-East Asia. Any project, however, could survive only when it was constantly being supported and cared for by its moderator, otherwise it would die silently. The website www.charm ru had grown too large and become too hard to support, so he thought about useing a more up-to-date software that would enable vast volumes of graphical and textual data to be structure and stored, and constantly updated. After some research the PhotoPost program had been purchased and installed and, by the end of December 2002, the project ZEN.RU had been started.

In the few years that it had been online almost 22,000 numismatic objects had had been uploaded to the database and the pages viewed over 2 million times. At present it had over 750 registered users and many more unregistered visitors browsing through the database. The database is divided into the following main categories: Far East, Southeast Asia, South Asia, pre-Islamic Asia & North Africa, Ancient and medieval East Europe, Christian East, Islamic world, Modern Asia & North Africa and paper money. Each category was again sub-divided and in total there were about 2,500 subcategories, which still needed further expansion.

Besides the above categories a large category was formed by "Special projects" which currently featured approx. 3000 objects. These were projects devoted to separate numismatic subjects, like Khwarezm, Yemen, Georgia, Armenia, Qarakhanids, and supervised by separate moderators.

Like any live project, ZENO.RU also faced problems, which needed to be solved in the near future. The problems could be divided into two groups, internal and external. An external problem was copyright. Obviously, as soon as an image was uploaded on the internet, anybody could use it. The question was how it would be used – for personal, educational, scientific or commercial purposes. Currently it was impossible to control the use of such information. To prevent any legal problems from the use of images, regulations and rules needed to be worked out and implemented.

"Bad users" created another problem. Despite a nice community of over 750 users at ZENO now, many of the registered users never posted images or comments, but permanently used the database as a source of valuable information. Most of the active users were, according to Vladimir, enthusiastic numismatists and collectors and their input to the database was valuable. However, a problem faced by all Internet forums, was that there were always users who posted large amounts of low-value material, poor images or senseless comments. It was this category of users that consumed most of the moderator's time.

An important internal problem was the time required for supporting the database. Everyday 40 to 60 new pages were being posted and a similar number of comments. All new posts needed to be verified and moderated if necessary. The ZENO project was so large that it had to be supported by a whole team of specialists.

ZENO was a non-commercial project created and supported entirely at Vladimir's own expense. He did have plenty of new ideas to solve current problems and improve and develop the database further, but this required more time and support, and, of course, also money.

For the coming year he intended to expand the forum features of the database. Some active users worked as moderators and already had advanced rights to the database to help keep it in proper order. With the expansion of the database and its growing number of subcategories, the number of moderators needed to be increased.

To cover most of the potential problems, Vladimir intended to prepare a set of rules, including copyright regulations; the ZENO policy. Furthermore he would try to establish a much closer cooperation with coin companies and auction houses. Currently he had permission from major companies with internet presence to use images of coins that they sold via their websites. There were mutual benefits from such cooperation. The database obtained high quality numismatic material and provided the companies with additional promotion. He also intended to develop an off-line module for database users that would help them support their own collections and data, as well as to make it easier to communicate with the online database.

This inside report about ZENO was not only interesting for the numismatic community, but also showed what idealism could achieve. Vladimir Belyaev needs to be congratulated. Any comments, suggestions and ideas concerning the current and future life of ZENO will be welcomed by him at www.ZENO.RU

Dirk de Boer continued his series of previous talks on the various languages on Far Eastern coins. This time his subject was the Mongolian language and script on coins. He pointed out that

in the course of history the Mongolian languages have been written in at least ten different scripts, and, of these, at least six of them appear on coins.

Of coins in Khitan script only three specimen have been reported. Khitan script looks very much like Chinese, but in Large Khitan each character signified a word, while in Small Khitan each character could be a single letter. The reading of Small Khitan is complicated by the fact that only the consonants were written. There had been a dispute as to whether one coin was in fact Chinese, written in Large Khitan or in small Khitan. The translation of some characters was given, but not enough to read the entire inscription.

A third script was Phags-pa, used to write Chinese on coins of the Yuan. There are four different obverses known and, from the Zhi Zheng-period a dozen different reverses, for the greater part numbers. Three other coins are known with Phags-pa. The first is a Chagatayid coin with the Chinese word “bao” for coin. The second is from the Golden Horde with the name of the ruler: Thugdung. The last one is a coin of Tibet, issued much later, with the text Suchakra Viyaja written in a Tibetan variant of Phags-pa.

The kind of Mongolian script longest in use was Classical Mongolian. It appeared on lots of Ilkhanid coins, where it was used to write the names of the rulers. From early in the dynasty three different legends were known, accompanying the names. One coin from the Yuan had the legend "Eternal Heaven" and an Eretnid coin had the Arabic "Sultan Adil" written in Classical Mongolian. After that the script disappeared from coins until 1924. In that year a coin from Inner Mongolia has "Copper coin of China" in Classical Mongolian on it. In 1928 it was followed by a dollar with "One Dollar" in the same script. A coin issued in 1987 for the 40th anniversary of the Autonomous Mongolian Region was the last coin with Classical Mongolian from China. In the meantime, in Mongolia itself, issues of 1925, 1937 and 1945 had legends in the ancient script. Later on, Cyrillic was exclusively used. But the first new coin with classical script appeared in 1980, and after Mongolia became a republic in 1992, each coin has the name of the country and often more in ancient writing.

Jan Lingen presented some forgeries he had observed during his recent trip (May 2005) along the Silk road. The counterfeiting of Central Asian coins seemed to be increasing day by day. Some of these counterfeits were so deceptive that even experienced collectors could be misled by them. An example is shown here of a silver drachm of the pre-Islamic Kwarezmshah, Bravnik.

Khwarezm, AR cast fake Drachm of King Bravnik (enlarged)

The general appearance of the coins concerned looked reasonably authentic, but when observed under a magnifying glass one could observe small holes (due to airlocks) in each pearl of the string of the king’s diadem on the reverse.

Such a feature could not occur on a die-struck coin and it therefore must have been an excelletn recent forgery, produced by some kind of pressure casting.

More obvious forgeries, which were offered by the hundreds, were dollar-size coins of Kashgar (China). Each and every tourist shop and junkshop in Kashgar had these on offer these and many other forgeries too. The forgeries of the Kashgar ‘dollars’ could be immediately distinguished as the 1 in the AH date was omitted. The taels (Y#26) from which these coins were copied bore the date AH 1325. Moreover the three remaining digits representing the date were too clumsily engraved. What was more, the weight (21.23 g.) was neither a 5 miscal (17.50 g), nor a tael (35.00 g.) One of the most curious of them was such a coin with two small countermarks added to it, viz. 9999 and 24K.

Many other types of counterfeit coins of Xinjiang and other provinces could be found in Kashgar and other cities, like Turfan and Urumchi. Silk Road travellers should be aware of the forgeries and, if not really experienced, refrain from buying old coins (unless of course, they liked modern ‘numismatic souvenirs’.

After lunch, **Jan Lingen** showed a medallion of Madho Rao Sindhia. He had found this years ago in a shop of oriental art and handicrafts in Amsterdam. The portrait on the medallion showed Maharaja Madho Rao Sindhia in full ceremonial dress. The size of the medallion was 46 x 54 mm.

The coloured picture within this medallion was a photo taken of the Maharaja. This photograph with the Maharaja in full dress was illustrated in the book: *Madhav Rao Scindia of Gwalior, 1876-1925*, by H.M.Bull and K.N. Haksar (Gwalior 1926) and was dated therein as being from 1911. In that very year the Maharaja had gone to Britain for the coronation of George V, but it was also his 25th anniversary as Maharaja of Gwalior.

The purpose for which this medallion had been made was not directly clear, but in the book by Tony McClenaghan: *Indian Princely Medals* (New Delhi 1996) it was observed that "According to official records Scindia was not allowed to institute either award though he was allowed to issue other medals and badges, some of which apparently consisted of a portrait of himself, to be hung around the neck with a ribbon or fixed to the turban." It was reasonable to assume, therefore, that this was a kind of medal or badge awarded by the Maharaja as a kind of royal distinction of Gwalior State and probably issued on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of his reign.

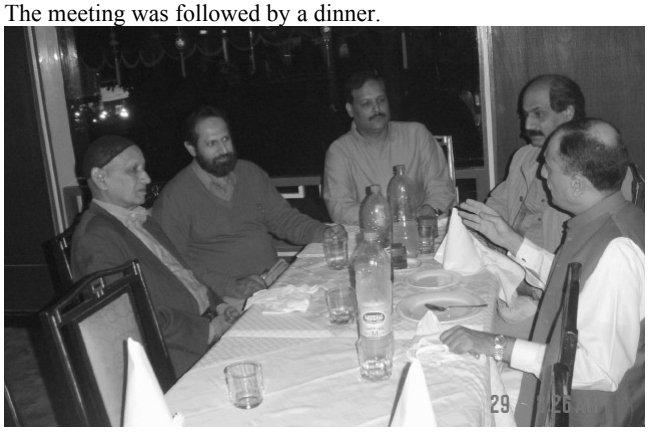
The afternoon session ended with the traditional auction of oriental coins and numismatic books, which resulted in useful funds for the ONS of over € 730. Our thanks are due to those members who kindly donated items for this event and others who supported the auction. The successful meeting ended with a pre-dinner drink at a nearby pub and a very pleasant dinner at a Chinese-Asiatic restaurant.

The next Leiden meeting is scheduled for **Saturday 21 October 2005**. Please make a note in your diaries.

Pakistan

A meeting of the ONS Pakistan chapter was held on 29 October 2005 at Islamabad. It was presided by Mr Shafqat Mirza, secretary of the ONS Pakistan chapter. The discussion was focused on issues relating to the increased interest in numismatics in the country, the holding of exhibitions and auctions and about providing reliable attribution services to members. It was also noted that written material on numismatics was not available in the country and, therefore, leading booksellers in Islamabad were to be requested to import such books on a regular basis. It was also decided to make the meeting a regular feature and to hold such meetings every month.

The meeting was followed by a dinner.



From left to right: Muhammad Yousaf, Dr Qaiser Mughal, Shafqat Mirza, Dr Nadeem Sheikh, Haroon Tareen

New Members

UK Region

[redacted]

European Region

[redacted]

gold coins and Indonesian Medieval gold coins.

[redacted]

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album ([redacted]
2. Early World Coins [redacted]

New and Recent Publications

Two more books relating to North East India and Tibet are due to be published during the first quarter of 2006. These are:

1) *A History of the Dimasa Kacharis: As seen through their Coinage* by N.G. Rhodes & S.K. Bose. The book has been profusely illustrated in black and white, as well as in colour, and details of as many as 200 coins have been included in the catalogue. Importantly, it devotes a chapter to forgery, which should be very useful for most numismatists. This will be a hard-

bound, limited edition of 500 copies, cloth bind and printed on art paper. Size 7½" x 9½" . Price US $21.

2) *A Man of the Frontier - S.W. Laden La (1876-1936) - His life & Times in Darjeeling and Tibet* by Nicholas & Deki Rhodes. Though it contains little of numismatic interest, this book is a must for anyone who is interested to know the history of Tibet during the said period. The book is illustrated with many photographs published for the first time with maps and rare letters from the Hon. Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama among others. The language is lucid. A limited number of cloth-bound, hard-cover copies will be printed on art paper.

Mira Bose (Publisher)

Die Mittelalterlichen Fundmünzen, Siegel und Gewichte von Santueri, Mallorca, Lutz Ilisch, Michael Matzke, Werner Seibt, Tübingen 2005. Hard cover, 111 pages, 20 plates. This book is a catalogue of the coins, seals and weights found from 1997 to 2001 at Sanueri on the south of the island of Mallorca. The finds include Roman, Byzantine and various types of Islamic coins.

"Newly discovered Chaghatayid coins from Almaligh" by TD Yih and J de Kreek has been published in the journal of the Classical and Medieval Numismatic Society, series two, volume six, no. three, September 2005 , pp 12-43.

Volume 165 of *The Numismatic Chronicle,* published by the Royal Numismatic Society, London, 2005, includes the publication by Michael Fedorov of four hoards of Islamic coins, viz. The Dzhalalabad hoard of Qarakhanid dirhams minted in 417-20/1026-9; the Krasnaia Rechka hoard of Qarakhanid dirhams (401-42/ 1010-51); the Osh hoard of Qarakhanid copper silvered dirhems (560-96/ 1164-1200); and the Burana hoard of gold dinars (574-609/ 1178-1213). It also has details of two 10th and 11th century Byzantine folles with Arabic countermarks provided by Tony Goodwin and Wolfgang Schulze respectively.

Some self-published articles by Enrico Leuthold Jr, Milan, in Italian:

"Un dinaro del 486 H / 1093 AD di Arslan-Arghū, re Saljūqide con il versetto del Kursī"

"Un dinaro coniato a Tarābulus (Tripoli di Libia) nel 416 H / 1025 AD durante la 'assenza' dell' Imam al-Hākim bi-Amr Allāh; la zecca de al-Zawīlah in Fazzān."

"Miliaresie bizantine e dirham arabi"

The author may be contacted by e-mail: leuthold@swissinfo.org

Ujjayini Coins by Narendra Kothari, edited by Dilip Rajgor, 140 x 220 mm, 128 pages, soft bound; published by Reesha Books International, 2006.

'This book is an attempt to study and compile all the known and available coins of the so-called Ujjain coins in one place. These coins have been known to numismatists for decades but an easy and lucid catalogue was a desideratum.

The present book is a compilation of all the known Ujjayini coins under one heading. The book has been divided into six chapters: the first introduces the subject, the early history and religious importance of the city of Ujjayini. The second chapter deals with the Ujjayini symbol, various theories of its origination and meaning, its antiquity in archaeology, its depiction on coins of other city-states, its presence in excavations at other places, and mistaken identity and wrong attribution of Ujjain coins. The next chapter discusses minting techniques and metrology of Ujjayini coins. The fourth chapter revolves around the dating of the coins; and the next one lists the chronology of Ujjayini coins. The last chapter is a comprehensive catalogue of Ujjayini coins, including punch-marked coins of Malwa region, Jishnu coins, punch-marked coins of Avanti and Surasena Janapadas; and Mashaka punch-marked coins from Ujjain. At the end, an index lists all the varieties of reverse symbols.'

We regret to announce that, shortly after the book was published, the author, Mr Kothari, passed away. Our sympathies go to his family and friends.

The Mongols in Iran, By Judith Kolbas, 2006, Routledge/Curzon, 414 pp, index and maps. The author has provided the following information.

'The Mongols in Iran covers the coinage of Greater Iran from the first Mongol incursions in 1220 to the massive reform of Uljaytu in 1309. Beginning with Chingiz Khan's capture of Bukhara and Samarqand, she considers the economic, political and financial factors of each coinage. Therefore, as Chingiz Khan continued west and south into Afghanistan and Khurasan, she has carefully explored the coinage that established the foundation of the Mongol system. As the empire expanded into western Iran, the Caucasus, Turkey and Iraq, she notes how the governors began to adapt to some, but only some, local traditions. Nevertheless, Mongol coinage was not Islamic coinage. The Mongols changed many points, which transformed a frozen, awkward and constrained financial system into a flexible and expanding medium for an international market economy.

Indeed, once Mongol political control was broadly established, their money reflected the economic growth of the empire. As a result, the first half of the book looks at coinage based on the poll tax and tribute. The second half charts their exploration of various means of enhancing the use of coinage within and without the empire. These means included specialisation of mints and regions, advanced mathematical approaches to the cumbersome carat division between gold and silver and improving techniques for die production and weight control.

In particular, by following the activity of regional mints, Dr. Kolbas has been able to locate trading centres and trace routes that were previously unknown or only vaguely understood. This study provides some firm evidence for south - north trade from Basra through Tabriz and Georgia into Russia as well as east – west trade from the steppe via Samarqand across Iran through the Jazira or Turkey to the Mediterranean. Since the state income from about 1265 was tax on commerce, new or revived mints indicated increased trade or a change of transportation link. Therefore, it is possible that many more types and mints could emerge that would fit into the financial structure revealed by this study. There is still much to learn.

Money needs people to make and use it, so the book highlights many responsible officials. Since the written sources for Mongol history are numerous, much of the interaction between top administrators and monetary policy has emerged. Generally, the people were unnamed after 1270, but their identities and activities are still fairly clear from the coinage.

Although most economic historians have considered the 696/1298 monetary reform of Ghazan Khan the coming-of-age of the Mongols in Iran, this study shows that the reform was based on long-established Mongol tenets. The book also shows that the reform was actually quite tentative, lasting only about three years, to be revived in part by his successor, Uljaytu, in 709/1309. For numismatists, there are no proper plates because representative coins are reproduced within the text; and all types have not been depicted, only the major ones. Nevertheless, from the textual descriptions, most people should be able to identify the type in a sylloge or catalogue.

The publisher, unfortunately, is not interested in distributing to bookstores, preferring the limited library trade. Therefore, the best way to obtain the book is on the Internet with Amazon.com from January this year.'

Auction News

Two New York sales held in January had some particularly fine lots of Indian coins of all periods – ancient, sultanate, Mughal, states and East India Company. These were Auction XI held by Baldwin's Auctions Ltd in conjunction with Dmitry Markov

Coins & Medals and M & M Numismatics Ltd (11 January 2006); and the Triton IX auction held by Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. (10-11 January 2006). Of particular interest to your Editor was the re-emergence of the square silver tanka of Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur (G&G J4) which was featured as lot 4366 of the White King sale back in 1905 and not heard of since!

Other News

Michael Bates retires from the ANS

In September 2005 Michael Bates celebrated thirty-five years of employment at the American Numismatic Society. On Monday 3 October, he began his retirement, a move which will have surprised many but which had been planned for some time. Thanks to the generosity of the Trustees and the Executive Director, Ute Wartenberg, he will keep his office indefinitely and will continue to have full access to the collection and library. His title will be Curator Emeritus of Islamic Coins.

Michael will continue to be active in history and numismatics and intends to come to the Society every Wednesday. Photographic orders, requests to visit and study any part of the collection, and the like, should be directed to his colleagues, Robert Hoge (hoge@numismatics.org), Peter van Alfen (vanalfen@numismatics.org) or Elena Stolyarik (elena@numismatics.org). Apart from that, he will be available for inquiries about the collection or Islamic coins. The best way to reach him is by e-mail at Tiesenhausen@yahoo.com. He will be glad to pass on his home and mobile telephone numbers privately to anyone who needs them. Mail can continue to be sent to the Society, 96 Fulton Street, New York, NY 10038.

Royal Numismatic Society, London 15 November 2005, Seminar on Coins and Buddhism.

Joe Cribb, the President of the Society, discussed the controversy around the discovery and identification of the earliest coins bearing an image of the Buddha. Although these were first recorded in 1833, Princep's identification of Buddha on a coin of Kanishka was rejected until 1845. Applying numismatic and art historical methods to the style of the Buddhas found on this, and other similar coins found subsequently, suggest that they were struck towards the end of Kanishka's reign. Recent evidence on the dating of Kanishka by Harry Falk, would put this at circa 150 AD. Joe then tackled the conundrum posed by the fact that the Bimaran reliquary, which depicts images of Buddhas of similar form, was buried in a casket dating from 75 AD. It was considered likely that this casket had been removed from its original context, and the gold reliquary had been added prior to a second interment circa 200 AD.

Elizabeth Errington of the British Museum considered coins founds in the stupas of Gandhara and Afghanistan. Although literary sources state that many stupas were built during the reign of Ashoka, it appears that only one Mauryan coin has ever been found in a stupa, and that this was only found in the rubble that formed its main body, and was not part of a relic deposit. Other stupa deposits contain coins issued from the 1st century BC, the majority by far being interred from the time of Huvishka onwards, during which time the first gold coins were added to reliquary deposits. She reiterated what Joe Cribb had said concerning the reburial and reconsecration of relics that would take place during the periodic enlargements were made to popular stupas. This era of stupa enlargement went on till the end of the 7th century, later deposits even including Arab-Sasanian coins. From the evidence that Elizabeth presented, it is apparent that extant stupas in this area achieved their final form far later than literary records would suggest.

Shailendra Bandhare of the Ashmolean Museum rounded off the evening's discussions with a detailed analysis of the numismatic implications of a later date for the Buddha, as proposed by H. Bechert in 1997. Previously, this date had been arrived at by consideration of Buddhist sources, such as the Mahāvamsa from Sri Lanka and a Nepalese text, the Brahmanic sources, such as the Puranas, that give lists of kings, and the western classical sources, that appeared after the time of Alexander and the Seleucids. The Mahāvamsa states that 218 years elapsed between the Parinirvana of Buddha and the coronation of Ashoka, but the Nepalese texts say 100 years. It appears that the Mahāvamsa texts came to notice first, and so their dating became generally accepted. Their dates appeared to tally with the Puranic descriptions of a period of Nanda rule following the downfall of the Mauryas, initiated by a Mahapadma Nanda who was followed by his 8 sons. This dating has been adopted by most scholars, including Hardaker and Gupta in their works on punchmarked coins.

From recent evidence, it appears that the time span indicated in the Nepalese texts may have been more accurate, and that the historical figure called Mahapadma may not even have been a Nanda, thus throwing the existence of the whole dynasty into doubt. Naturally, this has vast implications for the dating of punchmarked coinage, the accepted date of the earliest Indian coins of Taxila, and early Indian historical events in general.

Iran before Islam: religion and propaganda AD 224 – 651. An exhibition at the British Museum, London, 30 June 2005 – 8 January 2006.
Reviewed by Sue Tyler-Smith

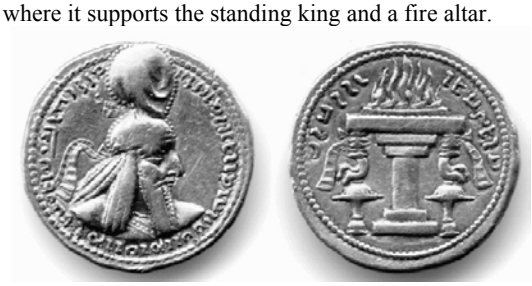
This exhibition, along with one of Iranian painting illustrating the *Shahnameh*, is aimed at complementing the much publicised exhibition 'Forgotten empire: the world of ancient Persia' (forgotten by whom?). As usual with numismatic exhibitions it is held in the small room, 69a, just outside the Department of Coins and Medals, and is free. Two gallery talks by the curator, Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, accompanied the exhibition. In the following a few references are given to coins published in Michael Alram and Rika Gyselen, *Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidarum*, 1 (Vienna, 2003).

The exhibition falls into three parts. The main emphasis is on religion, but the Sasanian wars with Rome and Byzantium and the continuation of Sasanian influence after the fall of the dynasty are also featured. Though the purpose-built exhibition room is claustrophobic the cases are well lit and all the coins easy to see. The last two points should not need to be stated but too many coin displays fall down in these areas. Sasanian silver plates, a bronze figure, seals (and their impressions) and gold belt plaques are also shown. Excellent photographs of rock carvings accompany the section on religion. The physical arrangement of the room is not ideal for exhibitions, being effectively divided into two: a row of showcases on the right as one enters (housing the section on religion) and a small alcove on the left (dealing with 'War' and 'Legacy') with a central showcase between.

The principal theme is the close association of church and state under the Sasanians. The Zoroastrian high priest Tansar wrote in the third century 'Church and state were born of the one womb, joined together never to be separated'. According to Zoroastrian tradition only the rightful kings of Iran could possess the divine glory (*khvarenah*) and were protected by the divine beings (*yazdas*) against both the Evil Spirit and the enemies of Iran.

This indivisibility of church and state is symbolised on coins from the beginning. The reverses of the coins of Ardashir I (224-41) are described by Curtis as depicting a royal throne superimposed on the fire altar. If this interpretation is correct – the design is usually described as an altar with a supporter on either side – it is a remarkable design. The throne (or throne support), copied from a relief of an Achaemenid throne support at Persepolis, has lions' feet which rest on mushroom-shaped supports. Its top is level with the flames on the altar which is clearly depicted as being behind the throne. A similar support is

also shown at Naqsh-i Rustam on the tomb of Xerxes I (486-465 BC), where it supports the standing king and a fire altar.



Gold dinar of Ardashir I, showing, on the reverse, a combination of the royal platform throne and Zoroastrian fire alter.

Divine patronage is illustrated in rock carvings where the king is often shown with his protective deity who may also offer him a diadem. The protection of the gods is of course well illustrated on the coins: the elements in the crowns symbolise different gods. Thus Shapur I (241-72) is shown wearing three different crowns. He first appears as the crown prince on copper and silver coins of his father, Ardashir I, wearing a Parthian-style tiara (a rare silver drachm is exhibited, *SNS* I, plate 17, A58). When he becomes king he initially wears a crown formed by an eagle's head (two varieties are illustrated in *SNS* I, plate 20, nos A1-A3) which is said to symbolise the god-given glory (*khvarenah*) though the eagle's head may also symbolise either the god Verethragna or the goddess Anahita. Later Shapur is shown in the normal turreted crown, with or without ear flaps, which may symbolise the god Ahura Mazda.

The obverses occasionally show a deity offering a diadem of investiture to the king. The well-known series of multiple portraits of Bahram II (276-93) show the jugate busts of the king and queen with a smaller figure facing them. This figure sometimes appears to be a prince, possibly not always the same one as he is shown wearing different crowns, but on other occasions the small figure offers a diadem. Since a prince would not be offering the diadem to the king, Curtis argues that the figure must be a deity, especially as the reverse which accompanies this obverse has an investiture scene with the female figure standing on the right also offering a diadem.

The inspiration for these family portrait coins comes, of course, from Roman coins. An impressive bimetallic medallion with the jugate busts of Philip I (244-9) and his wife with their son opposite illustrates the point. Three other Roman medallions are shown in the section on 'War'. These magnificent pieces were struck by the three emperors defeated by Shapur I – Gordian III (238-44), Philip I and Valerian (253-60). Gordian III's medallion is silver-gilt, the others silver and base metal respectively. One wishes Shapur I had struck similarly imposing objects.

Later Sasanian wars with Byzantium in the west and the Huns in the east are illustrated with suitable coins of the protagonists. An enlarged photograph of the obverse of a drachm of the last Sasanian king, Yazdgird III (632-51), brings the Sasanian element of the exhibition to an end. Continuing Sasanian influence in Iran is shown, not only by well-known copies, such as the Arab-Sasanian issues and the Artuqid copper dirham of Sokman II b. Muhammad (1185-1201), but by much later Qajar coins. The latter did not copy Sasanian coin designs but took their inspiration from other art forms, showing the king both on horseback and enthroned. The Qajars in fact copied the Sasanians further in that they also produced their own rock reliefs – a photograph of one showing the king slaying a lion complements the Sasanian reliefs in the showcases opposite. Finally, Sasanian influence on twentieth century Iran, when Iranian nationalism reached its high point during the Pahlevi dynasty, is illustrated by two banknotes bearing the typically Sasanian-style design of a simourgh.

A map of the Sasanian empire and an enlarged photograph of a drachm of Khusrow II with the important parts of the design and legend explained, help a viewer unfamiliar with the subject to understand the exhibition better.

The section on the relationship between the state and the Zoroastrian religion does not, with a few exceptions, consider the Sasanian coinage after Shapur II (309-79). No reason is given for this. Is it because very few rock carvings were cut after this date? Or is it because the coinage becomes too formalised? Did the relationship between church and state change? Since the sub-title to the exhibition is 'religion and propaganda' one would have liked to see the later period considered as well.

This exhibition is well worth visiting for those familiar with Sasanian art, mythology and coins as well as for those who are not. The numismatist would naturally have liked to see more coins – about 60 Sasanian coins, including 13 gold pieces, and 40 others, mostly Roman, Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian and later Iranian, are displayed. It must be difficult in an exhibition primarily aimed at the non-numismatist to strike a balance between showing few enough coins so the 'average' member of the public does not feel overwhelmed, but enough to satisfy a more knowledgeable numismatic audience. Since Room 69a is located immediately outside the Coin Room it is presumably intended to catch the attention of specialist viewers. It is a pity that more of the Museum's spectacular collection of gold coins of Ardashir I could not have been included. A unique dinar and a 1/6 dinar showing him wearing the Parthian style tiara (*SNS* I plate 1, A2; plate 2 A6) and a dinar fraction where he wears the simple diadem with a large ball of hair above his head (*SNS* I plate 9, A19) were types which could only be illustrated in the *Sylloge* by British Museum coins.

Reviews

Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest, edited by Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Francoise Boussac

In March 2003 an exhibition and an international colloquium about pre-Islamic Afghanistan took place at the archaeological museum of Lattes in Southern France. The colloquium was well attended by leading numismatists, archaeologists, epigraphists and art-historians and a symposium of their contributions has now been edited by Osmund Bopearachchi and Marie-Francoise Boussac under the title 'Afghanistan, ancien carrefour entre l'est et l'ouest' (540 p., 210 x 295mm, PB, ISBN 2-503-51681-5, €96, Brepols Publishers, Belgium, info@brepols net, www.brepols net). The book presents 27 different articles well illustrated by a large number of black and white photos and drawings and, according to the nationality of the respective scholars, their contributions are written either in English or in French. The book reveals important new evidence and is highly recommended and indispensable for all individuals and institutions interested and engaged in Central Asia's history, numismatics, art-history and epigraphy.

In accordance with my own personal interests and the intended readers of this review I shall focus on the numismatic and epigraphical parts of the book.

The contribution of Richard Salomon reveals an extremely important new document. It is a Kharosthi inscription on a Gandharan grey schist reliquary resembling the casket dedicated by the Apraca prince, Indravarma, who is also mentioned in the new inscription as one of the co-donors. Salomon discusses the implications of the new inscription for the history and chronology of the kings of Apraca, who are known from a number of other inscriptions to have ruled in NW India from the late 1st century BC to the early 1st century AD. This results in a date of about 12 BC when Vijayamitra began his reign. Whether this Vijayamitra or an earlier name-sake was the founder of the Apraca dynasty cannot be answered at the moment. The inscription on the new casket is dated in the regnal year 27 of Vijayamitra, the year 73 of Azes and the year 201 of a Greek era. Equating the Azes era with the Vikrama era, which started in 58/7 BC, would result in 15 AD as the date of this new inscription. This would mean that the Greek era mentioned in this inscription had started 186/5 BC. Though

dates in a Greek era are known from a number of inscriptions this is the first time that the starting point of this Greek era is clearly defined. Who founded this era? As the most likely candidates Salomon discusses Demetrius I, Agathokles and Pantaleon. Each of them have convincingly been dated to the time when the Bactrians crossed the Hindu-Kush southwards to conquer lands in the Kabul valley and NW India - certainly a very good reason for creating a new era which Salomon accordingly calls the 'Indo-Greek era'. Salomon emphasises that the crucial point for his calculations is the equating of the Azes and Vikrama eras and that all his considerations are done on this proviso.

The inscription on the casket is dated in the regnal year 27 of Vijayamitra, the year 73 of Azes and the year 201 of a Greek era"

Referring to the new evidence brought forward by Salomon, Joe Cribb tries to derive chronological results from the new inscription without equating the Azes and Vikrama eras. He starts from two fixed points: the first year of Kanishka, which Harry Falk has convincingly placed at 127 AD, and the information from Salomon's new inscription that the Greek era began 129 years earlier than the Azes era. Cribb links this information to a number of Kharoshthi inscriptions. Two inscriptions dated in the Azes years 122 and 136 mention the name of a king called 'Kushan' regarded as Kujula Kadphises, the first Kushan king. Another inscription, the Dasht-i Nawar inscription of year 279, has been identified as being inscribed in the name of Wima Takto, the second Kushan king and a third one, the Khalatse inscription of year 287, in the name of Wima Kadphises, the son of Wima Takto. Combining all this information and assuming that Kanishka replaced the long-lasting Greek era with his own era, Cribb concludes that Kanishka's year 1 could represent year 301 of the new Greek era. This would result in 174 BC as the first year of the new Greek era and 46 BC as the first year of the Azes era which would mean that the Azes era was different from the Vikrama era. Cribb's calculations are done on the assumption that the Dasht-i Nawar and Khalatse inscriptions are dated in the new Greek era. This, however, is not at all certain. These inscriptions could also have been dated in another era of which certainly a number were in use at the same time. Another problem with Cribb's considerations is that the assumed length of reign for each of the early Kushan kings can only be a rough estimation. In a personal communication Harry Falk emphasizes that he cannot follow Cribb's calculations in this case and that he sees no reason to contest the equating of the Azes and Vikrama eras. He agrees with Salomon that 185 BC as the starting point of the new Greek era would neatly correspond to the end of the Maurya dynasty and the conquest of northern India, an important turning point in the history of the region. Bopearachchi also agrees with Salomon and Falk and his best candidate as founder of the new Greek era would be Agathokles.

Other aspects of Cribb's article concern the general chronology established for the Bactrian kings. His special focus here is on the technological and denominational development and the geographical distribution of the copper coinages of the Bactrian kings. Cribb discusses the possibility that the Indo-Greek Antimachus' coinages south of the Hindu-Kush could be issues of the Graeco-Bactrian king, Antimachus, who had been driven out of Bactria by Eukratides I. One argument against such an assumption, mentioned by Cribb himself, would be the change of the epithet from 'Theos' to 'Nikephoros' on the Antimachus' coinages which would be difficult to explain if all coins had been issued by one Antimachus. The last four Bactrian kings, Demetrius II, Eukratides II, Plato and Heliokles I issued no copper coins at all according to Cribb, suggesting "a major disruption from urban life taken place about the time of the death of Eucratides I which probably relates to the nomad invasion indicated by the sack of Ai-Khanum". Cribb tries a tentative estimation of the length of the reigns of the last Bactrian kings based on the ratio of their coins in the Qunduz hoard and assuming a 24 year reign for Eukratides I. Conceding that a hoard accumulation can result in distortions with an over-representation of the issues of the latest king, Cribb estimates about 36 years for the length of the reign of Heliokles I. Contrary to the conventional view, this could result in a reign of Heliokles I into the 1st century BC according to Cribb not contradicting the textual evidence of Chinese sources. To support his assumption Cribb adduces some possibly dated Bactrian coins. If certain letters on some coins of Plato and Heliokles I do in fact represent the numbers 47, 48, 57 and 83 and if these numbers were really dates in the new Greek era they could mean the years 128 BC and 127 BC of Plato's reign and the years 118 BC and 92 BC of Heliokles reign. This would strengthen Cribb's late dating of Heliokles I and his conclusion would be that the Yueh-Chi may have exerted some control over Bactria from about 130 BC on but that they settled in Bactria only around 90 BC.

David W. MacDowall discusses the role and the coinage of Demetrius I. He sees Demetrius making conquests south of the Hindu-Kush, in Arachosia and the Kabul valley, as a commander under the rule of his father, King Euthydemus I. According to MacDowall "considerable numbers" of copper coins of Euthydemus I found in regions south of the Hindu-Kush support this view. Supported by textual evidence, one could easily imagine that Demetrius was actively supporting his father, Euthydemus I, and that he might have made conquests in regions south of the Hindu-Kush at a time when his father was still ruling as king. However, the geographical distribution of Euthydemus' copper coins does not seem to be a strong argument in this context as these coins are nearly exclusively found in Bactria, and, south of Bactria, only as scattered single finds. The same applies to the copper coins of Demetrius: only a few are found south of the Hindu-Kush. Probably these purely Bactrian issues were not appropriate for circulation south of the Hindu-Kush where large numbers of indigenous copper coins were in use. Prominent among them were the square coppers of Taxila of about 12g weight which were accepted not only in the Indian kingdom of Taxila but also in the Kabul valley and the Western Punjab, as hoard finds demonstrate. And hoard finds of these Taxila coppers, together with coppers of Agathokles and Pantaleon, demonstrate further that, after their conquests of Northern India, the Bactrian kings seem to have allowed the continued circulation of the indigenous coppers. MacDowall proposes to regard the 8g/12g/24g coppers of Demetrius as an attempt to coordinate the Bactrian copper coinages with those of Taxila. He discussed this idea already in 1989 in 'South Asian Studies' and it was contested by Bopearachchi in his 1991 catalogue of Graeco-Bactrian/Indo-Greek coins. Bopearachchi emphasises that the copper denominations of Demetrius are not at all a new invention of Demetrius but merely a continuation of the Attic denominational system already used by the Bactrian kings before Demetrius.

The introduction of stupa worship in the Bajaur region is the subject of Harry Falk's article. Only few stupas from Mauryan times are known in the Peshawar valley, in contrast to the great number of stupas founded in the post-Azes period by the Apraca dynasty in the Bajaur region and the Odi dynasty in the Swat valley. The Bajaur stupa cult is of special importance as here a number of relic caskets with Kharoshti inscriptions dated in the Azes era have been found. Falk shows that, at that time, the

Bajaur region was not at all a remote tribal area but that, at least from the 4th century BC onwards, it was an important thoroughfare for troops and traders on the way from Jalalabad to Swat. Only with the advent of the Kushans did the region lose its importance when the main transit route transferred to the Khyber pass road. But at the time of the Apraca kings from about 20 BC – 20 AD the Bajaur region still flourished and to say it with Falk's words "…where there is a protected road there is business and where there is business stupas are not far away…The scenario would then be: one or very few Mauryan stupas in Swat are followed by foundations in Bajaur and Swat only about 170 years later." The Bajaur or Shinkot casket mentioning the name of King Menander seems to be a counter-example to this rule and it has been the subject of many discussions and far-reaching conclusions. It is all the more important that Harry Falk now convincingly demonstrates that most of the inscriptions of this casket are relatively recent fakes.

Abdur Rahman's intention is it to shed 'new light on the Khingal, Turk and the Hindu Shahis', dynasties of Afghanistan and NW Pakistan from about the 6th century AD to the 10th century AD. Based on a number of mostly Chinese textual references he believes that Khingal or Khingila Narendraditya founded an independent local dynasty centered at Kapisa in the middle of the 6th century AD. Rahman wants to see Khingila as a Ksattrieya, ethnically neither Turk nor Hun. However, when looking at Khingila's silver drachms depicting his portrait so clearly Hunnish with the artificially deformed head, one has great difficulties in denying Khingila's Hun origin, and Rahman's argument that this may just be a continuation of earlier portrait types leaves at least some doubts. Abdur Rahman sees the rise of Khingila and his dynasty as a result of the political chaos after the defeat of the Hephthalites in AD 558 by an allied army of Sasanians and Western Turks. The Turks gained complete control over Tukharistan but it would seem that they did not cross the Hindu-Kush southwards. This allowed the local chieftain, Khingila, to establish his power in the Kabul valley and Gandhara. Scattered bits of information, prominent among them the reports of Albiruni, indicate that, in the first part of the 7th century, Turks had reached Gandhara, that they lived there as vassals of the local Hun ruler and that, in the middle of the 7th century, one, Barhatigin, rebelled and took control of Gandhara and Kapisi. This was the beginning of the rule of the Turk Shahis in the region. Later in the 7th century their realm was divided into two kingdoms, one centered at Kabul, the other at Zabulistan. After a long reign of about 60 years, Barhatigin was succeeded by his son, Khurasan Tegin Shah. In about 815 AD the Turk Shahi of Kabul, possibly Spalapati Deva, suffered a major defeat by the Umayyid Caliph and in 822 AD the Kabul branch of the Turk Shahis was ended by the rebellion of Kallar, who founded a new dynasty conventionally called the Hindu Shahis. For Rahman this is a misnomer as he regards them as "neither Bhattis, nor Janjuas, nor Brahmans. They were simply Udis/Odis'… an ancient tribe of Gandhara." Among the members of this dynasty were Samanta Deva (850-870 AD) and Khudarayaka (870-880 AD). After a series of defeats at the hands of the Ghaznavids the last Hindu Shahi was killed in 1026 AD.

While trying to identify a painted portrait in the niche of the now destroyed great Buddha of Bamiyan, David Bivar also discusses the chronology of Khingila Narendraditya. Disagreeing with Göbl, Callieri and Harmatta, who placed Khingila in the 5th century AD, Bivar proposes the following succession based on coin sequences: Toramana at about 510 AD was succeeded by Mihiragula at about 525 AD; his successor was Lakhana or Alkhana Udayaditya who was followed by Khingila Narendraditya. A late ruler of uncertain personal name who used the biruda Purvaditya seems to have ruled at the end of the 6th century AD. Bivar also contests Göbl's interpretation of the coin legend 'Alchano' as the designation of a Hunnish tribe and he criticizes Göbl's attribution of Khingila to the postulated 'Alchon' branch of the Huns. Concerning the mural paintings of the 53m Buddha, Bivar suggests that they originate from the time of Khingila in the 6th century AD and he believes that he can identify Khingila's portrait among these paintings. This is an interesting hypothesis although the details of the painting are quite indistinct and one might hesitate to imagine the Hun ruler Khingila as a protector of Buddhism.

One certainly cannot finish this review without mentioning Francois Thierry's extensive study of the ancient Chinese sources as far as they mention theYuezhi and Kushan. There are a lot of contradictions within many of these ancient Chinese texts and between the different texts. And there are many dangers and pitfalls when trying to interpret these texts and, in order to reduce the risk of misinterpretations, it would be advisable to base one's conclusions on as many texts as possible of which the most important are the Shiji, the Hanshu and the Hou Hanshu. Thierry discusses the diverse texts, their reliability and their date of origin. The period prior to the appearance of the Yuezhi at the Oxus seems to be quite reliably attested, particularly in the Shiji, which is more or less contemporaneous with the reported events. However, chronological and historical information relating to the Yuezhi in Bactria and the rise of the Kushan have to be regarded with more caution and distrust - many of the texts in question are later compilations with the chroniclers far away from the reported events. Among the many other problems discussed by Thierry is the existence of 'taboo characters', that is characters which formed part of the Emperor's personal name and which were not allowed for other use and therefore had to be replaced with more or less equivalent characters. Further problems are created by the existence of revisions of earlier originals with distortions of original passages, misunderstandings, errors or arbitrary additions, ideologically altered facts, phonetic changes in the course of time and the ambiguity of many words. As an example, Thierry mentions the word *Hu* which was used to designate not only the Yuezhi but likewise many other nomadic people of the east like the Xiognu, the Lin, the Qiang and even sedentary people of Central Asia like the Persians or the Sogdians. In conclusion, Thierry emphasises that, in many cases, the famous 'Chinese evidence' so frequently cited is nothing more than a speculative and selective interpretation of ambiguous and vague textual evidence in order to support a personally preferred pre-existent theory. After these methodological considerations he examines the relevant text passages mentioning the Yuezhi before China's unification and afterwards, the different waves of attacks against the Yuezhi and their migration westwards, the mission of Zhang Qian, the submission of 'Daxia' to the Yuezhi, the structure of the Yuezhi kingdom, the identity of the five xihou/yabghu and the origin, foundation and expansion of the Kushan kingdom. Thierry's examinations will certainly be of great interest for all who are concerned with the Yuezhi/Kushan history and his contribution is one among many other good reasons to buy the whole book.

Wilfried Pieper

The Coins of Mongol Empire and Clan Tamgha of Khans (XIII-XIV), by Nyamaa Badarch. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. Price $40 (softcover), $45 (hardcover with dust jacket). 256 pp, A4 format, lavishly illustrated throughout, mostly with colour photos. Available from the author, Nyamaa Badarch, 9665 Lindenbrook Street, Fairfax, VA 22031, USA, email lhanaa@hotmail.com.

This is a beautifully produced book that should be in the library of anyone interested in the history and coins of the Mongol dynasties. The author was born in Mongolia and graduated as a historian-translator from the Institute of Asia and Africa of the University of Moscow. In recent years he has devoted himself to the collection and study of Mongol coins. His new book is a welcome result of his interest.

The first part of the book is an extensive and detailed analysis of the tamghas, symbols of individual clans and tribes, found on Mongol coins. As the author explains in his

introduction, when a clan would split from another clan, the new clan would adopt a new tamgha formed by adding to or otherwise modifying the tamgha of the parent clan. This sets up the premise of his analysis that the evolving tamghas found on coins of the Chingizids, Golden Horde (Jujids), Golden Horde (Hulaguids), Chaghatayids and the Yuan Dynasty reflect the political and familial relationships of the issuers of the coins.

The analysis of the tamghas on coins is accompanied not only by line drawings and photographs of the coins on which the tamghas are found, but also by archaeological sites, artifacts, and contemporary artwork and documents with personal seals of the Mongol khans. There are also numerous diagrams showing the relationships among different tamghas and a final summary table showing how tamghas changed over time from the parent tamgha through the various divisions of the Chinghizids into separate dynasties and as modified by individual rulers.

The second part of the book attempts to be a comprehensive discussion of all known coins with Mongol inscriptions in Uighur or Phags-pa script. Each coin is photographed, and the Mongol inscriptions are written out, analyzed and translated. The author compares his translations to those of other scholars and explains his preferences based on Mongol history and religion. It is also pointed out that many of the Mongol legends are also found on official state seals of Mongol khans.

The section on Mongol script also continues to identify tamghas on coins. Both the tamgha and Mongol script sections of the book contain relevant historical notes.

The final part of the book is a catalogue of the Mongol coins in the author's private collection. It contains 233 coins carefully selected by the author for their variety and quality. The catalogue is organized with two coins per page, each with an enlarged clear photograph, a smaller line drawing, metric information (diameter and weight) and a translation of the legends. While not a comprehensive collection, it contains some very rare coins that have not been published elsewhere, as well as well-struck and well-preserved examples of more common types. It is clearly a collection assembled by someone with a good eye for quality.

In short, the book is both important to numismatics and a delight to look at. Perhaps the highest compliment I can pay to the author is that his work clearly shows his love and appreciation for the history and coins of his homeland. He chose not only to provide his analyses of the material, but also to present the material in a manner that transcends the narrow subject matter. This is a book that I can unhesitatingly recommend to anyone interested in coins or Asian history.

James A. Farr, Tallahassee, Florida

The Unidentified Coins of Erzincan by Mr Erureten, on a strange group of 154 silver coins. The group was purchased some 30 years ago by a famous collecter, Dr Erturk, who was unaware of their nature at the time and remained stored away until they were re-discovered by Mr Erureten.

"Temgamdir Muhrum" (It is my seal my stamp) and "her bir kalp dinde" (every heart is in religion) are some of the unusual inscriptions on these highly unusual Islamic coins. The only undisputable truth about the lot is the mint place - Erzincan. Since no date is found, and a probable ruler "Mustafa Al Hussein" is frequently mentioned (whose name does not occur in any historic records available to the writer) everything else is open to discussion and discovery.

The book itself is an excellent hard-cover product written bilingually (Turkish and English), 230 pages, containing many expertly taken photographs and drawings. It was printed by the MNG Bank, in a limited number to be distributed to museums and numismatic institutions around the world. Only fewer than 50 copies are available for sale to the general public, direct from the author himself.

Nihat Ozbudun, Istanbul

Articles

Data on Coin Finds from the Finnish Mannerheim Expedition (1906-08) in Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang)

By Dr T D Yih

Introduction

During the first quarter of the 20th century a number of expeditions to Chinese Turkestan by western explorers brought to light the ancient culture of the Silk Road area. A large number of books and papers has been published on the architecture, paintings and scriptures found during these expeditions. Little attention, however, has been paid to coins found during these expeditions with the exception of the reports from the British explorer, Sir Aurel Stein (for a short survey of these expeditions[1]). For instance, only after nearly 80 years were the coins found during the German expeditions of Le Coq being studied at the Dept. of Coins and Medals in London[2].

In 1906 the Finnish Colonel, later Marshal Mannerheim, was sent to Chinese Turkestan by the Russian General Staff. In July of that year he left St. Petersburg and reached Peking two years later, having followed the northern branch of the Silk-road via Kashgar, Aksu, Turfan and Hami, with a short stop in the Khotan area. The ethnological and archeological material collected during this expedition is now preserved in the National Museum in Helsinki and, with the exception of the coin-finds, has been dealt with in several publications[3,4]. There are about 300 coins in the Mannerheim collection, acquired from the following places: Yotkan, Myslyk, Islamabad, Hangi, Ak-sipil, Keria, Kuldja, Karakhodja, Idygot Shahr and Sian. The sites on which the coins were found are not known with certainty as they were mostly acquired by purchase. In the 1970s the coins were analysed by Mrs B. Granberg, who wrote a number of identifications on the envelopes containing them (see Table1). The present study has been based on xerox copies of the coins and the envelopes containing them. They were kindly provided by Mrs P. Varjola, curator of the National Museum in Helsinki.

It is clear that this can only be a preliminary study. It is hoped that it will contribute to a further study of the coins themselves, giving the Mannerheim collection its place among the collections of the other Turkestan expeditions.

Abbreviations: M-numbers refer to the number on the envelopes; S- and ZN-numbers refer to the numbers in the catalogue of Schjoth and in the Zeno database, respectively.

For the majority of coins no photographs are available; for illustrations, reference is made to the Zeno coin database (www.zeno ru)

The coins presented in Table 1 can be divided into several groups:

I Cash coins from the various Chinese dynasties and from the Turgesh Turks

II Sino-Kharoshthi and Kushan coins

III Coin with Arabic inscriptions

I Cash coins

Cash inscribed with Chinese characters

The chinese cash found in eastern Turkestan reflect the influence of China in that region during the various dynasties. In comparison, however, with the tremendous amount of Wuzhu and Tang coins collected by Stein, (more than 1600 and 800, respectively) the number of Chinese cash coins in the Mannerheim collection is very small.

There are only five Wuzhu coins. One (M129) is mentioned as having been found near Keria. On the envelope a reference is made to no. 180 of the Schjoth catalogue. This is an anepigraphic piece (ZN20459/60). For the four other pieces Schjoth nos S180, S225 and S231 are mentioned. The two latter numbers refer to Wuzhu pieces from the Liang dynasty.

Amongst the pre-Tang pieces there is also one Huo quan piece (M124/ZN16267) from Wang Mang obtained at Keria and another (M126), without provenance, identified as Xiao quan zhi yi (S139-141/ZN19516).

Cash coins from the Tang dynasty represent the majority of the Chinese cash in the Mannerheim collection. There are 12 Kai yuan pieces. No provenances are recorded. The pieces (if attributable) are all of type 1 as described by Thierry[5]. There are 12 pieces from the Qian yuan period (758-62). Two of them (149;150) were obtained in the Islamabad region. No. 155 has been identified as S352 with a nail-mark on its reverse. Strangely, no. M154 is described as having the legends *tongbao*, instead of *zhong bao*. One of the Qian yuan pieces (M145) may be a Qian Feng zhongbao piece (S350/ZN3788).

Qian yuan pieces can be subdivided into two categories based on their size: in this collection there are 8 pieces with a diameter ranging from 27.9 - 29.9 mm and 5 much smaller pieces with diameter 21.1 - 23.3 mm. The larger pieces apparently belong to the first issue of emperor Su Zong .

The last Tang issue is represented by four pieces from the Da li period (766-79). Pieces with these legends are found exclusively in Xinjiang and not in China proper (ZN19017). They are assumed to have been produced locally in the Anxi Protectorate when supply from China itself was interrupted during the period of Tibetan control of the main oases of the Silk Road. The pieces were originally misattributed, being identified on the envelopes as from the reign period Da Kang of the Liao dynasty (ZN19517).

The remainder of the Chinese cash consists of pieces of the Northern Song dynasty and two pieces from the Southern Song dynasty. Finally, it is curious to note the presence of a coin from such a southern region as the Liu Song cash from the Xiao Jian period (assuming Mrs Granberg's identification is correct with reference to S221).

Cash inscribed with Turgesh Sogdian legends

This group consists of only two coins, clearly based on Chinese cash with a square hole; the legends, however, are not Chinese (ZN19519). Their diameter is about 25 mm.

This type of coin was firstly mentioned in 1891 by Drouin[6]. His description was based on findings made in the Russian province of Semirechye, a little north of Lake Issyk-kul. Drouin considered the legends on the reverse as "cursive Uighur" and dated them to the 10-11th century AD. Later, this type of coin was described in detail by the Russian numismatist, Smirnova[7]. According to her, these coins were issued by the Turgesh khaqans in the 6-7th century AD. The script is not ancient Turkish, but Sogdian, the cultural language of that period[8]. The Sogdian legends "**βγγ twrkyš γ'γ'n pny**" meaning "celestial turgesh khaqan money" runs counter-clock wise. The two coins in the Mannerheim collection belong to the commonest type with only a tamgha on the reverse. At least one such coin was obtained near the ruined city of Kocho (Chinese: Kao-chang) near Turfan during the second Le Coq expedition[9].

In a paper on the history of Central Asia by Spuler[10] the city of Turfan was mentioned as the place of issue. He mentioned the finding of about 20 coins, however, without further details. A good survey of these coins in western languages has been published more recently by Baratova[11] and Fedorov[12]. Nowadays, such coins are regularly offered on eBay by Chinese dealers.

II Sino-kharosthi and Kushan coins

The large number of so-called Sino-Kharosthi coins in the Mannerheim collection is remarkable, third in quantity after the Stein and Hoernle collections[13]. On the envelopes containing these pieces is written the name of the Indo-Greek king, Hermaios, with a reference to the paper of J. de Morgan. The majority of them originate from Islamabad, about 40 km N.E. of Khotan and three from Kerya; the remainder probably also originate from the Khotan region. The Mannerheim collection contains three large 24 zhu pieces, the others are 6 zhu coins. Two of the latter have a round hole in the centre. The Stein collection, too, contains such a holed specimen. The hole was apparently made some time after the coin was produced[14]. The diameter of the three 24 zhu pieces is about 24.5 mm; the diameter of the most of the 6 zhu pieces ranges from 17.2 to 19.9 mm; there are 12 larger 6 chu pieces with a diameter from 20 - 22 mm.

There has been much confusion in dating these coins. Enoki attributed them to the second century BC, during the reign of the Han emperor Wu ti or earlier, whereas Zeymal places them in the third century AD or later. The thorough study by Cribb[15], however, definitely places them in the first century AD, as proven particularly by overstrikes on copper drachms imitated from early Kushan coins.

There are only two Kushan coins in the Mannerheim collection, one attributed to Kanishka and the other with the legends "Soter megas". For comparison, Kushan coins represent the most important foreign coins from the Khotan area in the Stein collection.

For illustrations of 6 and 24 zhu Sino-Kharosthi coins (British Museum) see Zeno 19423 and 19352, respectively.

III Coins inscribed in Arabic

The majority of the coins inscribed in Arabic are issues of the Qarakhanid Turks and Chaghatayid Mongols.

Qarakhanid coins

Most of the Qarakhanid coins are pieces inscribed *Sulaiman Qadr Tafghaj khaqan* without date or mint indication. The other side bears the Kalima. Tafghaj khaqan, also spelled Tamghach or Tafghach, is originally a reference to the northern Wei (Toba) dynasty, but later also used for China[16]. Coins bearing the name of Sulaiman were also found by Stein and Le Coq. In the reports by Stein they are mentioned with their places of acquisition but without further details about this ruler.

According to Davidovich[17], two main types can be distinguished based on the arrangement of the legends:

— type 1 obverse and reverse surrounded by two concentric circles of which the outer one consists of dots (ZN19351);

— type 2 obverse as type 1, but reverse surrounded by an octogonal star with or without brush-like ornaments in its corners (ZN20348).

There is, however, in the Mannerheim collection one specimen with the octagonal design on both sides. As far as can be distinguished from the xerox copies, type 2 is the more abundant. With respect to the diameter, 2 classes can be distinguished (see table 2). No data on weights of the Sulaiman coins are available. However, data from Thierry[18] indicate weights ranging from 5.40g to 5.62g for type 1 and 2, respectively. The Qarakhanid coins of the Mannerheim collection were all obtained in the Khotan oasis with Kerya as the most south-easterly find-place. This is in agreement with Stein, who reported the find-places of such coins as the Khotan oasis and the Kashgar region.

The dating of Qarakhanid coins is very difficult, not least due to the habit of the rulers using many laqabs (honorary titles) and altering them frequently.

Around AH 433 (= 1041 AD) the Qarakhanid khanate split into two parts, each with a great-khaqan (Arslan Khan) and co-khaqan (Bughra Khan). A western branch had its capital initially at Uzgand, later at Samarqand, and extended over Transoxania and western Ferghana while an eastern branch comprised Talas, Semirechye and Kashgaria, with Balasaghun as its capital, but Kashgar as its religious and cultural centre. In both branches there existed a ruler with the name of Sulaiman, while the names of Muhammad and Ibrahim also occur in both branches. In the identifications made by Mrs Granberg apparently a number of Sulaiman pieces were firstly identified with the Great Khan Sulaiman ibn Yusuf, but finally to the western Sulaiman, based

on Davidovich's paper. According to the Russian numismatists Davidovich (Moscow) and Kotchnev (Samarkand) the Sulaiman coins were issued by a ruler from the western khanate, Sulaiman b. Daud (AH 490; 1097 AD) ruling during a very short period. Moreover, he was a vassal of the Seljuqs. Their attribution was mainly based on reading the two upper lines of the reverse as "el Mustazhir billah", the laqab of the caliph ruling AH 487-512. However, some points of doubt, can be adduced. Firstly, the fact that so many Sulaiman coins (more than 250) have been found on different sites so far to the east, is not very compatible with such an ephemeral western Qarakhanid ruler as Sulaiman b. Daud.

According to Davidovich the coins were struck before Sulaiman became Khan of Mawarannahr in the west, and when he was only a regional ruler in the east. Another possibility might be the great khaqan Sulaiman (AH 423-38; 1032-56 AD), the eldest son of Yusuf Qadr Khan. The crude style of the coin legends, however, contradicts this. Another puzzle is the lack of silver coins with the name of Sulaiman, although Fedorov[19], citing Davidovitch, mentions the appearance of base alloy dirhems in Eastern Turkestan under Arslan Khan Sulaiman. Silver dirhems from Kashghar from that period bear the title Abu Shuja and the title Malik al-Mashriq (King of the East).

According to S. Album[20] the crucial two top lines are not the laqab of any caliph, but should be read as "al Mustaghfir lillah" (He who seeks the forgiveness of Allah). To complete the list of different readings of the two upper lines, I would also mention the translation by Bushel[21] as the laqab of the caliph, al-Mustasim (AH 640-56; 1242-58 AD). This, however, goes against all established theories on Qarakhanid dating. It should be noted that the calligraphy on such coins is not a strong basis, as legends are often corrupted.

Besides the Sulaiman pieces, the Mannerheim collection contains only a few other Qarakhanid pieces. What is noticeable is the lack of coins of Muhammad Arslan as compared to the large number of coins with that name found by Stein and, later, around 17,000 by Jiang Jiang[22] at Atushi near Kashgar. However, one of the pieces has been wrongly attributed to Sulaiman and is probably a piece inscribed *Mohammed Arslan Khan*. The Muhammad Arslan pieces have been dated to the second half of the 12th century based on the laqab of the caliph Al-Mustanjid (AH 555-56; 1160-70 AD) that should be present on the coins. This should then be Muhammad bin Ibrahim. This is supported by the presence of two coins inscribed *Ibrahim* in the Mannerheim collection. A problem is again the fact that both Muhammad and Ibrahim are rulers of the western khanate. As previously mentioned, the majority of the Muhammad Arslan Khan pieces have been found far to the East.

Compared to the large number of Qarakhanid coins found during the several eastern Turkestan expeditions, the number of coins from the period thereafter is relatively scarce. However, amongst the Mannerheim coins there are 14 Arabic silver coins with the name of Allah on the obverse that have been attributed to Chinghiz Khan. Similar coins were found by Stein and were attributed to a 14th century Mongol dynasty. Later these coins, together with the Qarakhanid coins, were described and discussed extensively by Porter[23].

A typology of the various subtypes of "Allah" has been proposed by Yih[24]. Two main types can be distinguished:

Type I

Obverse - the name of Allah within a square (Zeno 4243).
Reverse – a central legend "al-Urdu al-a⏀zam" surrounded by a circular legends containing a date (until now only the date AH 661 has been encountered).

Type II

Obverse - the name of Allah not within a square above a single-lined legend (Zeno 4495,9985).
Reverse - a central legend "al-Urdu al-a⏀zam" surrounded by a circle.

Type I is not present in the Mannerheim collection.

Finally there are two copper pieces with the mint-name Almaligh (Zeno 6125), the capital of the eastern Chaghatayid realm. They were obtained in the Kuldja region. The obverse has the legend "zarb haza./sikkat Almaligh/shohur sanat" followed by the first digit. The next line contains the decimal and hundred units. On the reverse is the Kalima followed by "Nasir li-din Allah". One of the two coins in the Mannerheim collection clearly has the decimal *khamsin* (50). Dates known for this type of coins so far are AH 657, 659 and 660 (ZN20466/67/68).

Other Arabic coins comprise three Shaybanid coins, one Safavid coin, one "bar"-coin from Tashkent (ZN2297) and a cash piece of Ghazi Rashid (ZN20506).

For the sake of completion, it should be mentioned that, the Mannerheim collection contains a number of charms, amulets and also some coins acquired in Sian. These fall outside the scope of this paper.

In summary it can be concluded that the coins in the Finnish Mannerheim collection represent a historical overview of the history of Xinjiang (former Eastern Turkestan) comparable with the British Stein collection and deserves a better study than this one based only on Xerox copies.

References

1. Hopkirk, P. (1980) *Foreign devils on the Silk Road*
2. Yaldiz, M. (1985) Museum fur Indische Kunst. Personal communication
3. Mannerheim, G. (1943) *Rit door Azie*, Amsterdam, The Netherlands
4. Mannerheim, G. (1969 reprint) *Across Asia from west to east in 1906-10*, Anthropological Publications, Oosterhout, The Netherlands
5 Thierry, F.(1991) "Typologie et Chronologie des Kai Yuan tong baso des Tang". *Revue Numismatique* 33, 209-49.
6. Drouin, E. (1891) "Sur quelques monnaies turco-chinoises des VI,VII et VIII siecles", *Revue numismatique* IV, ser. IX, 454-73.
7. Smirnova, O.I. (1981 reprint) *Svodnyi katalog sogdiiskikh monet bronza*, Akademiya nauk SSSR., Moscow.
8. Gabain, A. von (1979) *Einfuhrung in die Zentralasienkunde*, Darmstadt, W-Germany.
9. Muller, F.W.K. (1910) *Uighurica II*. Abhandelungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
10. Spuler, B. (1966) "Zentralasien seit dem Auftreten der Turken", in: *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1st Abt.,5st band Altaistik, E.J. Brill, Leiden, The Netherlands.
11. Baratova, L. (1999) "Altturkische Münzen Mittelasiens aus dem 6-10. Jh n. Chr", *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan* 31, 219-292.
12. Fedorov, M. (2004) "Money circulation in early mediaeval Semirech'e" *ONS Newsletter* 178, 7-16.
13. Enoki, K. (1965) "On the so-called Sino-Kharosthi coins". *East and West* 15, 231 - 76.
14. Cribb, J. (1965) Personal communication.
15. Cribb, J. (1984) "The Sino-Kharosthi coins of Khotan", *Numismatic Chronicle* 144, 128 - 52.
16. Pritsak, O. (1954) *Die Karachaniden Der Islam* 31, 18-68.
17. Davidovich, E.A. (1968) Numizmaticheskie Zametki Izvestiya otd. Obshchestvennykh nauk an Tadzhikskoi SSR No. 3, 70-84.
18. Thierry, F. (1989) "Sur quelques monnaies karakhanides". *Bul. Soc. Francais de Numismatique* 44, 543-46.
19. Fedorov, M. (2002) On the money circulation in the Qarakhanid khaqanate.
ONS Newsletter 173, 6-11.
20. Album, S. (1986) Personal communication.
21. Bushel, S.W. and Rapson, E. (1907) in: *Ancient Khotan,* Appendix D 575-80.
22. Jiang Qixiang (1986) "A study on the Mohammed Arslan khan currency excavated in Atushi", *Zhongguo qianbi* 1986/2, 2-14.
23. Porter, V. (1997) "The Islamic coins collected by Stein in Chinese central Asia", In: *Studies in Silkroad Coins and Culture*, p. 201-220, Cambridge.
24. Yih, T.D. and de Kreek, J. (1993) "Chaghatayid coins from Sinkiang: Tri-lingual coins", *Proceedings of the 11th Int. Num. Congress* III 343-34.

Table 1 Summary of major coin types and finding-places

Type of coin	Obtained at							
	ISLAMABAD	KERIA	IDIGOTSHAR	MYSLYK	YOTKAN	KULDJA	UNKWOWN	TOTAL
Pre-Tang								
Wu zhu		1					4	**5**
Huo quan	1							**1**
Xiao quan zhi ji							1	**1**
Tang								
Kai Yuan							12	**12**
Qian Yuan							13	**13**
Da Li		1					3	**4**
Song								
Tian Sheng							1	**1**
Xi Ning							1	**1**
Yuan Feng							1	**1**
Chong Ning							2	**2**
Qian Dao							1	**1**
Kushan							2	**2**
Sino-kharosthi	32	3					34	**69**
Turgesh							2	**2**
Qarakhanids								
Sulaiman Arslan Khaqan	2	11					6	**19**
Muhammad				1				**1**
Ibrahim	2							**2**
Arslan b. Sulaiman		1						**1**
Mongols								
Genghiz Khan (Allah)			14					**14**
Chaghatayid (Almaligh)						2		**2**
Shaybanids							3	**3**
Safavid Husain		1						**1**
Ghazi Rashid			1					**1**
Bar coin Tashkent								**1**
Illegible	26				7	4	24	**61**
Illegible with round hole	5							**5**
Total	**68**	**17**	**16**	**1**	**7**	**8**	**111**	**226**

Table 2 Mean sizes of some coin major types from the Mannerheim collection

Group No.	Type	N	Mean +/- SD (mm)	Range (mm)
1a	Sino-Kharosthi 24 zhu	3	24.6 +/- 1.7	23.2 - 26.6
1b	Sino-Kharosthi 6 zhu	12	20.8 +/- 0.7*	20.0 - 22.5
1c	Sino-Kharosthi 6 zhu	54	18.6 +/- 0.8*	17.2 - 19.9
2	Kai yuan	12	24.0 +/- 1.0	21.7 - 25.1
3a	Qian yuan	8	28.9 +/- 0.7	27.9 - 29.9
3b	Qian yuan	5	21.8 +/- 0.9*	21.1 - 23.2
4	Ta Kang	4	20.9 +/- 1.9	18.3 - 23.0
5	Chaghatayid (Allah)[1]	13	18.6 +/- 2.0	15.2 - 21.8
6a	Sulaiman Khaqan	15	27.9 +/- 1.3	26.7 - 31.6
6b	Sulaiman Khaqan	3	19.9 +/- 4.2*	17.2 - 24.7

[1]presently classified in Zeno under Great Mongols

* significantly smaller than previous $P < 0.05$ Student test

The Rulers of Appanage Principalities in Ancient and Early-mediaeval Khwarezm

By Michael Fedorov

The striking of silver coins was the prerogative of the Khwarezmshahs. Any ruler mentioned on silver coins was, therefore, a Khwarezmshah. Copper coins were minted by Khwarezmshahs and by the rulers of principalities. Coins of the second group have brought to light rulers of principalities in Khwarezm who are otherwise totally unkown.

B.I. Vainberg (1977, 65) wrote that, at first, Khwarezm minted only silver coins. The need for circulating copper coins in the state was satisfied mainly by imported Kushan and Parthian coins. Kushan copper coins are the most numerous (77.4‰) among foreign coins found in Khwarezm (Fedorov 2005, 22). When the first Khwarezmian copper coins were struck, some of them were struck over Kushan coins. Coins of type **Б, В/2** (in Vainberg's classification) were the earliest Khwarezmian copper coins. Six of 52 so far known coins of type **Б, В/2** were struck over Kushan coins, including those of Vima Kadphises (Vainberg 1977, 66, 87, 89). The reign of the Kushan king, Kanishka, started in 127/28, so Chr. Frölich (2002, 14) placed Vima Kadphises' reign between the beginning of the 2nd c. AD and 127/28. This means that copper coins of type **Б, В/2** were minted about the second quarter of the 2nd century, since, before being restruck, imported Kushan coins circulated in Khwarezm for some time as they were. Copper coins of type **Б, В/2** have the same dynastic tamgha ***T4*** (in Vainberg's classification) as is found on the silver coins of Khwarezmshah **MLK ...** (type **Б 1 I**). So **MLK ...** was the first to mint copper coins in Khwarezm, about the second quarter of the 2nd century. Some copper coins (**Б 2/20**) of Khwarezmshah Artaw (with ***T5***) were struck over coins of type **Б, В/2** (Vainberg 1977, 57). This means that Artaw succeeded **MLK ...** and that the first Khwarezmian coppers were minted by Khwarezmshahs (about the last two thirds of the 2nd century AD). It looks as if their successors Ärtramūsh I and Ärtramūsh II (3rd c.) did not mint copper coins. Instead, they countermarked with their dynastic tamgha ***T6*** Kushan coins which were circulating in Khwarezm. Vainberg (1977, 39, 53) was the first to note that many Kushan coins were countermarked with ***T6***. She thought that there was only one Ärtramūsh. But as a matter of fact there were Ärtramūsh I and Ärtramūsh II (there are two different faces and two different crowns on the coins with the name Ärtramūsh). The Copper coins of **MLK ...** and Artaw continued to circulate during the time of Ärtramūsh I and Ärtramūsh II.

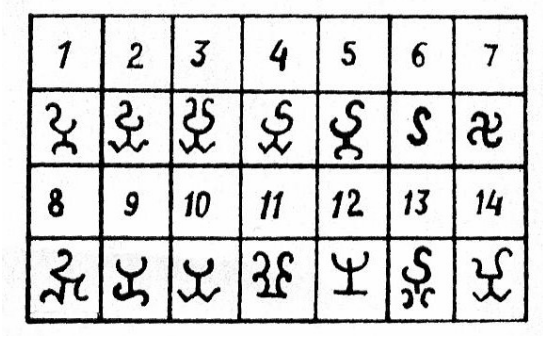


Fig. 1 Tamghas found on the coins

The first copper coins of the rulers of appanage principalities appeared in Khwarezm closer to the end of the 3rd century AD. It seems that the first ruler of an appanage principality in Khwarezm to mint copper coins was Wazamar. Later, when Wazamar was Khwarezmshah, some ruler of an appanage principality minted copper coins with the image of Wazamar, the Khwarezmian state tamgha ***T4*** and his own "irregular triskelis" dynastic tamgha ***T8***, which means that he recognized Wazamar as suzerain.

"A comparison of the tamghas found on the silver and copper coins of Wazamar" Vainberg wrote (1977, 35), "shows that, if on the silver coins he appears as a traditional king of Khwarezm ... on his copper coins prevail symbols that are alien to Khwarezm (camel-shaped crown and swastika-shaped tamgha (***T7***). Only on his latest ... copper coins (**Б2 V/4-5**) do the same investiture symbols appear as on his silver coins: bird-shaped crown, traditional ***T4*** tamgha, and his name and title. Most distinctly, this dual policy of Wazamar is reflected on copper coins of type **Б2 V/5**. On such coins, apart from the ... legend and tamga (***T4*** and legend with Wazamar's name - M.F.) there is a three-ended tamgha (***T8***)". This is easy to explain. Wazamar was the ruler of a principality. Rulers of his clan had a camel-shaped crown and ***T7***. Vainberg (1977, 25, 40) wrote that the camel-shaped crown and ***T7*** came to Khwarezm from the middle Syr Daria region or Central Kazakhstan. Later Wazamar inherited or usurped the Khwarezmian throne. As appanage ruler he did not mint silver coins. As Khwarezmshah he minted silver coins with the state tamgha ***T4***. Copper coins with ***T7*** and camel-shaped crown were minted by Wazamar when he was the ruler of a principality. **Б2 V/5** copper coins citing Khwarezmshah Wazamar, but having the additional tamgha ***T8*** (which also came to Khwarezm from the middle Syr Daria), were minted by his vassal, a principality ruler from the clan with ***T8*** tamgha. Originally ***T4*** was the tamgha of nomad chiefs who seized the Khwarezmian throne. But later it was associated more with Khwarezm and its capital than with some ancient dynasty. Having first appeared on **Б 1 I** coins, ***T4*** later became the traditional state tamgha of Khwarezm and survived (slightly modified) on coins till the end of the 8th century. Vainberg (1977, 53) dated the reign of Wazamar to the second half of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th century AD. I date it to the end of the 3rd - beginning (maybe even the first quarter) of the 4th century (Fedorov 2005, 19).

So the list of principality rulers was opened by Wazamar, who came from the ***T7*** tamgha clan, and by Khwarezmshah Wazamar's vassal, a principality ruler from the ***T8*** tamgha clan (figs. 1/7-8; 2, 3).

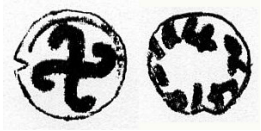


Fig. 2

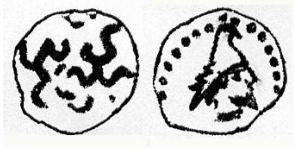


Fig. 3

Archeologists explain the appearance of ***T8*** in Khwarezm as an influence of the Chionites and trace here connections with the tribes which resided along the middle Syr Daria. Vainberg (1977, 40-41) wrote that the appearance in Khwarezm of the "solar type" tamghas was connected with the region of the middle Syr Daria. She wrote "Having appeared in Khwarezm in the 3rd century (AD - MF) tamghas ***T7*** and ***T8*** survived in the symbolism of Khwarezm till the 8th century."

The irregular triskelis tamgha ***T8*** was also placed on the coins of types **Б 2 14**, **Б 2 15** and **Б 2 16**.

Б 2 14. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56). *Obverse*: Head of bearded king (facing right) in *kulah* (shaped like a truncated cone turned upside-down, with a crescent above the king's forehead and flap covering his neck). *Reverse*: Tamgha ***T8*** and legend **sy'wspršMLK'** =Siawsp.rsh King (fig. 4). According to V. Livshits this name meant "(Possessing) black stallions" or "Black-stallioned".

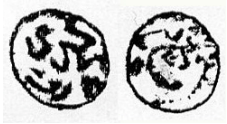


Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Б 2 15. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56). *Obverse*: Head of king (facing right) in *kulah* (shaped like a truncated cone turned upside-down, with a crescent above the king's forehead and flap covering his neck). *Reverse*: In the middle, irregular triskelis tamgha ***T8*** (fig. 5).

Б 2 16. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56). *Obverse*: Head of bearded king (facing right) in roundish *kulah* with a crescent

above the king's forehead and flap covering his neck. *Reverse*: ***T8*** (fig. 6).

These coins show that the dynasty of the principality rulers with tamgha ***T8*** continued to exist after Wazamar. Different portraits and crowns on the coins of types **Б 2 14**, **Б 2 15** and **Б 2 16** type indicate that, apart from the ruler who minted coins as a vassal of Wazamar (last decades of the 3rd - first decades of the 4th century), there were at least three appanage principality rulers with the irregular triskelis tamgha ***T8***.

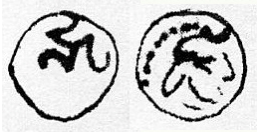


Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Vainberg (1977, 56) placed such coins after Wazamar's coins. This means that **Б 2 14-16** coins were minted not earlier than the 4th century AD. As for the location of this principality, Vainberg (1977, 57) wrote that such coins were common at Toprak kala (east of the Amu Daria, 45 km north-east of Urgench). Which means that they circulated on the right-bank of Amu Daria Khwarezm and were minted in Toprak kala or in a principality, situated east of the Amu Daria. The second seems to me the more plausible because Toprak kala was then capital of, at least, the right-bank Khwarezm. In the time of Wazamar some principality ruler on the right-bank Amu Daria Khwarezm minted copper coins with the ***T4*** tamgha of his suzerain, Khwarezmshah Wazamar, and his own tamgha ***T8***. Later though, rulers of this appanage did not cite Khwarezmshahs as suzerains on their coins. Of four rulers with ***T8*** tamgha (Wazamar's contemporary among them) we know the name of only one. On the coins of type **Б 2 14** there is the legend **sy'wsprš MLK'** (Siawsp rsh King).

There were also appanage rulers with ***T6*** dynastic tamgha.

Б, В/1. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 58, 141-142). *Obverse*. King, facing right, in roundish *kulah* with crescent above his forehead. *Reverse*. Big "s-shaped" tamgha ***T6*** (fig. 7).

Vainberg (1977, 58) wrote: "it is tempting to attribute these coins to Artamukh (Khwarezmshah Ärtramūsh - MF), on whose coins (**Б 1 III, IV**) we find such a tamgha, but the small size and weight of these coins and the strongly stylised images, characteristic of the late **Б 2** issues, speak against this". I think these copper coins were struck in a principality ruled by the clan with the ***T6*** tamgha. After Ärtramūsh II this clan lost the Khwarezm throne to Wazamar, but retained a principality, where copper coins with the dynastic tamgha ***T6*** were struck. Wazamar became Khwarezmshah about the end of the 3rd century AD, which means that **Б, В/1** coins were minted not earlier than the 4th century AD.

The earliest coin of Khwarezm, an imitation of the Graeco-Bactrian king Eucratides' tetradrachm (last third of 2nd century BC) has a variant of the Yuechi "swan-shaped" tamgha ***T1*** (fig.1/1). It was issued by a king stemming from the Yuechi who, having come from east, captured Khwarezm. Later, tamgha ***T1*** disappeared from the silver coins, but it is found on some copper coins. This means that, having lost the throne of Khwarezm, the ruling clan with the ***T1*** tamgha retained (or created) some principality for which the ***T1*** tamgha became the state emblem..

Б 2 /10. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56). *Obverse:* Head of a king in a crown shaped like a two-humped camel lying with its legs tucked beneath it. *Reverse:* In the centre, a large tamgha ***T1*** (fig. 8).

Fig. 8

fig. 9

Б 2 /11. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56). *Obverse:* Head of a king in a roundish *kulah* with diadem decorated with a crescent above his forehead. *Reverse:* In the centre, a large tamgha ***T1*** (fig. 9).

The fact that these rulers had the ***T1*** tamgha but different crowns may indicate that, within the principality with the ***T1*** state emblem, power shifted from one clan to another and that these clans had different crowns. Or, more plausibly, that one principality was conquered by another and the victor, having left the emblem of the conquered principality unchanged, was depicted on coins of the conquered principality with the crown of his own principality (or of his clan, which is the same). Vainberg (1977, 56) wrote that some **Б 2 /10**, **Б 2 /11** coins were struck over the coins of Wazamar with the swastika-shaped ***T7*** tamgha (minted when he was a prince). This shows that coins of types **Б 2 /10**, **Б 2 /11** were struck after Wazamar, i.e not earlier than the 4th century AD.

In the 1st century AD Khwarezm was ruled by at least two Khwarezmshahs with the ***T3*** tamgha (Nameles King A and B, **A III** type). Later about the end of the 1st - beginning of the 2nd century their clan lost the Khwarezmian throne to the clan of **MLK ...** with the ***T4*** tamgha (**Б I** type) but probably retained an appanage principality. Otherwise they would not have been able to seize the Khwarezmian throne again. There was Khwarezmshah Biwarsar II (*ca* end of the 4th- first quarter of the 5th century) who placed the ***T3*** tamgha on his silver coins (**Б 2 VI**). There are copper coins (**Б 2 VI/6**) with ***T3*** (fig. 10). They were minted either by a principality ruler or by Khwarezmshah Biwarsar II. The second is more plausible because, on the copper coins, there is the same type of crown as on the silver coins.

Fig. 10

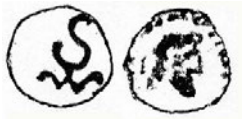


Fig. 11

There are copper coins of types **Б 2 VII/7** and **Б 2 VII/8** with the ***T4*** tamgha.

Б 2 VII/7. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 55). *Obverse:* Bearded king (facing right) in roundish *kulah* and diadem decorated with a crescent. *Reverse:* In the centre, a large tamgha ***T4*** (fig. 11).

Б 2 VII/8. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 55). *Obverse:* Bearded king (facing right) in *kulah* shaped like a truncated cone, turned upside-down. *Reverse:* In the centre, a large tamgha ***T4*** (fig. 12).

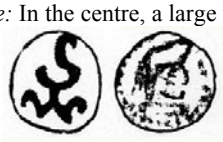


Fig. 12

These coins could have been struck either by the Khwarezmshah or the ruler of an appanage principality. The second is more plausible because their crowns look to me somewhat different from the crowns of the contemporary Khwarezmshahs, Biwarsar I (**Б 2 VII?**) and Kawi/Rawi (**Б 2 VIII**).

So the situation in Khwarezm appears to have been as follows. Up to the reign of Artaw (middle - second half of the 2nd century) Khwarezm was ruled by the old dynasty stemming from the Yuechi (who conquered Khwarezm) with variants of the "swan-shaped" tamgha (fig. 1/1-5) which appeared on coins of Khwarezm for the first time (variant ***T1***, fig. 1/1), in the last third of the 2nd century BC. Then, in the 3rd century AD, from the middle Syr Darya (most probably under pressure from the Chionites, advancing from the east) came the tribes with the "s-shaped" tamgha. Chiefs of those tribes seized power in Khwarezm. At least two of them, Ärtramūsh I and Ärtramūsh II became Khwarezmshahs. But it did not mean that the old "swan-shaped" tamgha dynasty was done away with. Having lost the throne of Khwarezm, they survived as rulers of some principalities in Khwarezm. Then in the last one-two decades of the 3rd cemtury AD the "s-shaped tamgha" dynasty was supplanted by Wazamar. The then ruling clan of Khwarezmshah Wazamar, in its turn lost the throne of Khwarezm to another ruling clan. In many cases appanage principalities were the places

where new Khwarezmshah sprang from and to which their ruling clans retreated after losing the throne of Khwarezm.

After this come copper coins with the name Tutuhas(?), types **В I/1**, **В I/2** and **В I/3**.

В I/1. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57). *Obverse:* Bearded king (to right) with a camel-shaped crown. *Reverse:* In the centre, five pellets arranged in the shape of an "X". Around, the legend **tw/yw/yhs MLK'** (fig. 13).

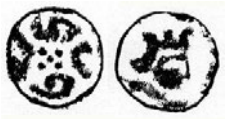


Fig. 13

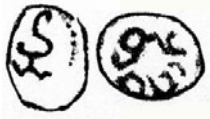


Fig. 14

В I/2. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57). *Obverse:* The name of the king. *Reverse:* large tamgha ***T4*** (fig. 14).

В I/3. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57). *Obverse:* Bearded king (to right) with a camel-shaped crown. *Reverse:* In the centre, a large tamgha ***T4*** (fig. 15).

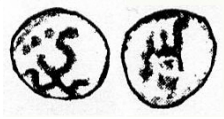


Fig. 15

These coins show that Khwarezmshah Tutuhas(?) was a ruler of the principality (most probably Kurder) where the rulers had the camel-shaped crown. I date his reign to the last quarter of the 5th -beginning of the 6th century. Wazamar was originally a ruler of the same principality with the same camel-shaped crown. But as ruler of a principality, he had another dynastic tamgha, ***T7***. Once he had become Khwarezmshah, Wazamar placed on his coins the old state Khwarezmian "swan-shaped" tamgha ***T4***. It could be that his clan, having lost the throne of Khwarezmian, retained this ***T4*** tamgha as their dynastic emblem. Anyway, after Wazamar the ***T7*** tamgha disappeared from the coins of Khwarezm for quite a long period.

There are copper coins with tamghas ***T9***, ***T10***, ***T12*** (fig. 1/ 9, 10, 12). Since they are not found on silver coins of the Khwarezmshahs these coins must have been struck by rulers of principalities.

Б 2 17. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57). *Obverse:* Beardless king in *kulah*, shaped like a truncated cone turned upside-down, with a flap covering his neck and a crescent above his forehead. *Reverse:* ***T10*** (fig. 16).

Б 2 18. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 57). *Obverse:* Beardless king in roundish *kulah* with a flap, covering his neck, and a crescent above the king's forehead. *Reverse:* ***T9***. (fig. 17).

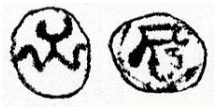


Fig. 16

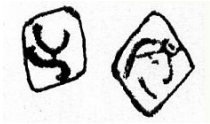


Fig. 17

Б 2 17 and **Б 2 18** coins are common in Toprak kala (45km north-east of Urgench). So they must have been minted and circulated in right-bank Khwarezm in a principality east of the Amu Daria. At excavations, coins of type **Б 2 17** and **Б 2 18** were found together. On archaeological evidence, Vainberg (1977, 38-39) placed such coins after the coins with the triskelis tamgha ***T8***, which, as I have shown, were struck in the 4th century AD. She (1977, 39) dated the coins of types **Б 2 17** and **Б 2 18** to a time "no earlier than the reign of Shapur II" (309-379 AD).

Г 12. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 63). *Obverse:* Head of beardless king (facing right) with the camel-shaped crown. *Reverse:* ***T12*** and legend **MR'Y MLK' hwsrw** - Lord King Khusru (fig. 18).

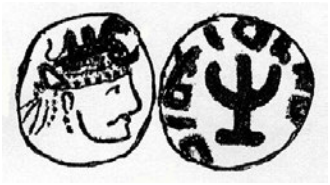


Fig. 18

Such coins are common in Kurder principality (right-bank delta of the Amu Daria). This and the fact that many coins of Khusru were struck over coins of so-called "Azkājvār-Cheghān", and that, according to her, some of Azkājvār's coins were struck over Khusru's coins, led Vainberg (1977, 63) to infer that Khusru was ruler of Kurder and a contemporary of "Azkājvār-Cheghān", and that his reign started no later than 713 (when Cheghān was killed) and ended no earlier than the second quarter - middle of the 8th century. But there is no name Cheghān on coins overstruck by Khusru. And contrary to her assertion, there are no coins of Khusru overstruck by "Azkājvār-Cheghān". I did not find in the catalogue (Vainberg 1977, 161-171, no. 1168-1314) any coin of Azkājvār struck over a coin of Khusru. All I could find is: no. 1168, 1170, 1171, 1191, 1221 "overstruck" (on what coin?), no. 1202, 1204 "struck over tamgha" (over what tamgha?), no. 1213, 1229 "overstruck or double struck". There is no coin about which Vainberg could say "it is struck over a coin of Khusru". At the same time, when describing Khusru's coins (no. 1319, 1329, 1346-7) she wrote quite distinctly "struck over the obverse (or reverse) of type **Г 11**", i.e. over the coins of Azkājvār. This means that, contrary to her assertion, Khusru was not a contemporary of Azkājvār, and that principality ruler, Khusru, was his successor (and not necessarily the immediate one). I date the reign of Khusru to the second half of the 8th century AD.

There were two more principality rulers with the "camel-shaped" crown.

Г II/2. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 59). *Obverse:* Beardless king (to right) with the "camel-shaped" crown. Actually it is a *kulah*, with a flap covering his neck and ears, surmounted by a figure of a reclining two-humped camel with its legs tucked beneath it. Over the *kulah* is a narrow diadem, tied at the king's neck with pleated ribbons. Circular legend **MR'Y MLK' brwyk** (Livshits'reading). *Reverse:* Royal horseman (to right) and ***T4***. The legend has not been deciphered (fig. 19).

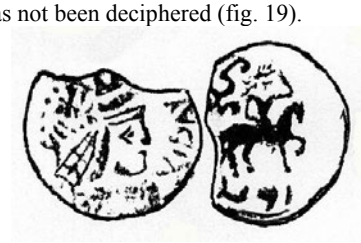


Fig. 19

I think this Brawik was a namesake of Khwarezmshah Brawik. One could suppose that he cited Brawik Khwarezmshah as suzerain. This could be the case if the suzerain's name was on the reverse with the royal horseman and ***T4***. But the name *Brawik* is on the obverse, where the king with a "camel-shaped" crown is depicted. And it would be like putting a lion on a coin and calling it a camel. But maybe ancient Khwarezmians' logic differed from ours? Or could it be that this Brawik was the ruler of a principality with the "camel-shaped" crown, then of a principality with the "crested *kulah*" (type **Г II/1**), and then Khwarezmshah? The poor state of preservation of the **Г II/2** coin does not allow us to compare the faces on all three coins, but there is a certain affinity between the face of Brawik, the ruler with the "crested *kulah*", and that of Khwarezmshah Brawik.

ГIII/5. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 59). *Obverse:* Beardless king (facing right) with a "camel-shaped" crown. It is more distinct than on the **Г II/2** coin. It is a *kulah*, with a flap covering the neck and ears, surmounted by a figure of a two-humped camel with its legs tucked beneath it and tail uplifted. Over the *kulah* is a diadem, somewhat resembling a busby. It is tied at the

king's neck with pleated ribbons. The diadem is decorated with a crescent. The diadem's lower rim looks like a string of pearls. Marginal legend **MR'Y MLK' šr'm** (Livshits'reading). *Reverse*. Royal horseman (to right) and ***T4***. The legend has not been deciphered (fig. 20).

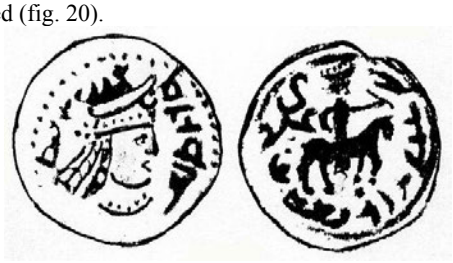


Fig. 20

Here we have the same story as with coins of types **Г II/1** and **Г II/2**. **Г III/4** and **Г III/5** have the same ***T4*** and the same king's name. But the kings have different crowns: on **Г III/4**, a "crested *kulah*", on **Б III/5**, the **"**camel-shaped" crown. The comment on coins of type **Г II/2** applies here too. But the face of Shram with the camel-shaped crown looks to me different from that of Shram with the "crested *kulah*". And the face of Shram with the "crested *kulah"* looks to me like that of Khwarezmshah Shram.

There were appanage principality rulers with ***T13*** and ***T14*** tamgha which are variants of the old traditional "swan-shaped" tamgha ***T4***. (Fig. 1/4, 1/13, 1/14).

T13 is first met with on silver coins of Khwarezmshah Sawshafan (type **Г V**), then on copper coins of "Azkājvār with crenelated crown" and silver coins of Azkājvār- 'Abd Allāh. By the way Bīrūnī (1957, 48) mentioned Khwarezmshah, *'Abd Allāh, grandson of Khwarezmshah Shaw.sh.fr* (i.e. of Sawshafan). ***T13*** is also found on copper coins of type **Г14**. It appears that, starting from the time of Khwarezmshah Sawshafan, ***T13*** (which is a variant of ***T4***) became the state tamgha of Khwarezm.

Г 14. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 63). *Obverse:* Horse (to right). Above, four-ended swastika with annulet in the middle. *Reverse:* ***T13*** (variant of ***T4***). Around, the legend **MR'Y MLK' ...** . (fig. 21).

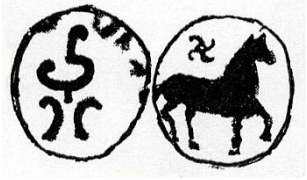


Fig. 21

Vainberg (1977, 38) wrote that ***T13*** was a principality tamgha: "It is possible that in this principality the traditional tamgha of Khwarezm was depicted in this modified way (I would rather say it was the tamgha of this principality - M F), which influenced some issues of the overall state silver coins". The overall state issues of silver coins could have been "influenced" only in one case: if a ruler of the principality ruled by the clan with the ***T13*** tamgha had seized the throne of Khwarezm and minted silver coins with the ***T13*** tamgha of his clan. So the coins show that Sawshafan was a ruler of a principality who seized the throne of Khwarezm.

Coins of type **Г 14** were struck in the principality of the clan with a variant of ***T7*** (four-ended swastika *with an annulet in the middle*). Vainberg (1977, 98) wrote that they were found along the lower right bank of the Amu Daria and were minted in a principality situated there. I think these coins were minted in the second half of the 8th century by a principality ruler from the ***T7*** tamgha clan. He placed on his coins his suzerain Khwarezmshah's tamgha ***T13*** and his own tamgha ***T7***. The Khwarezmshah in question could have been Sawshafan or Azkājvār- 'Abd Allāh. I doubt whether it could have been "Azkājvār with crenelated crown" who was himself an appange ruler. Even if he had seized the Khwarezm throne his reign was short since he had no time to mint silver coins. Most probably he, himself, was a vassal of the Khwarezmshah and placed the suzerain's tamgha ***T13*** on his coins.

There is a coin (Kochnev 1999, 48) *with the same obverse* (horse, swastika with annulet) but with the reverse of an Arab fals and legend giving the issuer's name as "Mīkāl Mawlā (Client of) Tāhir", mint name (Khwarezm) and date (228/843). So I decide in favour of Azkājvār-'Abd Allāh. The ruler who minted **Г 14** coins was a vassal of Azkājvār- 'Abd Allāh. Anyway **Г 14** coins could not be too old since they were remembered in the time of Mikāl (843 AD). ***T7*** first appeared on coppers of Wazamar. "Having appeared in Khwarezm in the 3rd century, ***T7*** and ***T8*** survived in Khwarezm till the 8th century", wrote Vainberg (1977, 40). So she was sure that the four-ended swastika with an annulet in the middle was the same ***T7***. Originally Wazamar was the ruler of a principality with the "camel-shaped" crown and ***T7***. Vainberg (1977, 25) wrote that this crown and ***T7*** came to Khwarezm from the middle Syr Daria or Central Kazakhstan. ***T7*** and the horse on Mīkāl's coin show that he was the descendant of a ruler, who under Azkājvār- 'Abd Allāh (second half of the 8th -beginning of the 9th century) struck coins (**Г 14**) *with the same obverse* and who, in his turn, stemmed from the old ruling clan of Khwarezm with ***T7*** tamgha, and which came from the east to Khwarezm at least in the time of Wazamar (end of the 3rd-beginning of the 4th century).

There was an appanage principality with the ***T14*** tamgha.

Г13. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 63). *Obverse:* Beardless king (to right) in roundish *kulah* with flaps covering his neck an ears and *crenelated crown put over the kulah*. *Reverse:* Royal horseman (to right) and ***T14***. Around, a legend read by Livshits as **MR'Y MLK' š'w/ysy/wk/r**. (fig. 22).

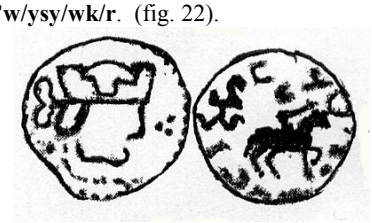


Fig. 22

I read the the first part of the name as **š'w** . Then follow: **s**, **y** or **w**, and **k** or **r**. So it could be: **šawsyk**, **šawsyr**, **šawswk** or **šawswr**. *Sävär* in Persian is "rider". I offer the reading **Shawsäwar**.

This ruler has a turreted crown alien to Khwarezm. It was first noted with Azkājvār (I call him Azkājvār I). This means that Shawsäwar was from the family of Azkājvār I or, at least, from the appanage, where rulers had the turreted crown. Such coins are common in Kurder. This and the fact that such coins had another tamgha (not ***T12***) led Vainberg (1977, 63) to infer that **š'w/ysy/wk/r** was an appanage ruler of Kurder, but not from the ***T12*** clan of Khusru since, after 728 (when Arabs quelled an uprising in Kurder), "there were changes in the ruling dynasty of Kurder". Annoyingly on the same p. 63 Vainberg wrote that some coins of Khusru were struck over coins of Kanik and Sawshafan (mentioned by Chinese chronicles in 751 and 762) and that "it gives reason to consider that Khusru's reign ended *not earlier* than the second quarter - *middle of the 8th century*" Whatever one is supposed to believe, in Kurder principality the ***T12*** ruling clan of Khusru was replaced by the ***T14*** clan of Shawsäwar. Vainberg (1997, 63) wrote that **Б 13** coins, i.e. those of Shawsäwar, were "later than the issues of Khusru", and noted that the appanage rulers of Kurder had the same **MR'Y MLK'** (Lord King) title as the kings of Khwarezm. And now to Azkājvār I.

Г 11a. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 62-63). *Obverse:* Beardless king (to right) in roundish *kulah* with flaps covering the neck and ears. The top of the *kulah* is decorated with a crescent. Over the *kulah* is the turreted crown. Over this is a narrow diadem tied at his neck with pleated ribbons. Above his forehead the diadem is decorated with a crescent with three pearls within. *Reverse:* Tamgha ***T11***, legend **MR'Y MLK' w y/z k'nšw'r** (Livshits' reading) and tamgha ***T13*** which, from the time of Khwarezmshah

Sawshafan, was the state tamgha of Khwarezm (fig. 1/11, 23). By the way, the name **wzk'nšw'r** was mentioned by Biruni (1957, 48) in the form of ازکاجوار =Azkājvār.

Fig. 23

Γ 11б. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 63). Like **Γ 11a** but without tamgha ***T13*** on the reverse. (fig. 24).

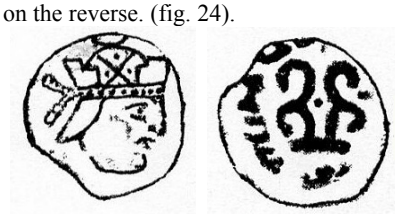


Fig. 24

So, Azkājvār I was the ruler of a principality (**Γ 11б**, with ***T11***). Then he either seized the Khwarezmian throne and minted coins with ***T11*** and ***T13***, or recognised the Khwarezmshah as his suzerain and placed on the coins of Kurder the Khwarezmshah's tamgha ***T13*** together with ***T11***. Silver coins of this ruler are not known. This is very important, because the mintage of silver coins was the prerogative of the Khwarezmshah.

Vainberg (1977, 61) identified Azkājvār I with Cheghān and placed him before Khwarezmshahs Kanik and Sawshafan. But Azkājvār I succeeded them or, at least, was contemporary with Sawshafan. On coins of Azkājvār I ***T13*** can be found in addition to ***T11.***. ***T13*** appears on state coins of Khwarezm only under Sawshafan, and became the state tamgha of Khwarezm. It stayed on Khwarezmian coins till the beginning of the 9th century. Kanik was the last Khwarezmshah with the traditional ***T4***. Even the early coins of Sawshafan had ***T4*** (Biriukov 2001, 51). Then ***T4*** was replaced by ***T13***. The overwhelming majority of Sawshafan's coins have ***T13***. All silver coins of Azkājvār II-'Abd Allāh have ***T13***. One of his coins, apart from the name **wzk'nšw'r,** also has the name **'Abd Allāh**. This shows that he accepted Islam and a Muslim name. Biruni (1957, 48) mentioned Khwarezmshah 'Abd Allāh **b**. T r k.s.bāth **b**. Shaw.shfr **b**. '.s k.j mūk **b**. '.z kājwār **b**. S.b.rī **b**. S.kh r **b**. 'r.th.mūkh "in whose time ... the Prophet's divine mission took place". So we have the genealogy of Khwarezmshahs from 610 AD. As one may see there is no mention of Cheghān. This means that he was a usurper, who did not belong to the family of Khwarezmshahs, or (which is less plausible) was mentioned under another name. This list shows that Azkājvār II-'Abd Allāh was the grandson of Sawshafan.

ΓIV/8. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 60). *Obverse:* Beardless king (to right) in roundish *kulah* with flap covering neck and ears. At the top of the *kulah* is a crescent (facing upwards) with a pearl within. Over the *kulah* is a crenellated crown. Over its lower part is a narrow diadem, tied at the king's neck with pleated ribbons. *Reverse:* Royal horseman (to right) and, according to Vainberg, tamgha ***T4***. Marginal legend (Livshits' reading) **MR'Y MLK' k'nyk** (fig. 25).

Fig. 25

There is a silver coin of Khwarezmshah Kanik. He has the traditional *kulah* of the Khwarezmshahs and latticed diadem, topped with the row of wavelets, and decorated with a crescent. One could suppose that "Kanik of the crenellated crown" was an appanage ruler who seized the throne of Khwarezm. But scrutiny of the faces on the coins of **ΓIV**and **ΓIV/8** types suggests that these Kaniks were different men, albeit namesakes.

ΓV/9. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 60). *Obverse:* Beardless king (to right) in roundish *kulah* with flap covering neck and ears. At the top of the *kulah* is a crescent. Over the *kulah* is a crenellated crown. Over this is a narrow diadem (with crescent). It is tied at the king's neck with ribbons. *Reverse:* Royal horseman (to right), ***T4***, legend (Livshits' reading) **MR'Y MLK' sy'wršpn** (fig. 26). This Sawshafan was a namesake of Khwarezmshah Sawshafan. They have different tamghas ***T4*** and ***T13***, and their faces do not look alike.

Fig. 26

Two coins of type **ΓV/9** (Vainberg1977, 158/1131, 1135) were struck over coins of Kurder principality ruler, Khusru. This shows that this Sawshafan either succeeded Khusru or was his contemporary.

Γ II/1. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 59). *Obverse:* Beardless king (to right) in roundish *kulah* with flap covering neck and ears and crest shaped like a row of waves. Over the *kulah* is a narrow diadem tied with pleated ribbons at the king's neck. The legend was read by Livshits as **MR'Y MLK' brwyk**. *Reverse:* Royal horseman (to right) and ***T4***. The legend has not been deciphered (fig. 27).

Fig. 27

There was Khwarezmshah **brwyk** who minted silver coins. He has the usual Khwarezmshah *kulah* with a latticed diadem. His face is like that of the appanage ruler **brwyk** on **ΓII/1** coins. Livshits thought that **brwyk** was the only name close to the name **Afrīgh**. Bīrūnī (1957, 47-48) wrote that Khwarezmshah **Afrīgh** built a citadel in Kāth in the year 616 of the "*Alexander Era*" (305 AD). Vainberg (1977, 59, 80) thought this was the *Khwarezmian Era* and then it would be *c* 656-670. I wonder whether it could be the Christian era and 616 AD? By that time Nestorians had been living in Central Asia for several generations and the Christian Era was known there. As for the *Alexander (Seleucid) Era* it was forgotten and out of use long previously. Whatever the case, the coins show that **brwyk** was an appanage ruler who became Khwarezmshah.

Γ III/3. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 60). *Obverse:* King (to right) in the crested *kulah*. Over it is a diadem, with a crescent (pointing upwards) above his forehead, tied with pleated ribbons behind his neck. *Reverse:* Royal horseman, ***T4*** and legend **MR'Y MLK' šr'm**, i,e. Lord King Shram (fig. 28).

There was a Khwarezmshah Shram who had the usual Khwarezmshah *kulah* and latticed diadem surmounted with waves and decorated with a crescent, but his face is the same as that of Shram in the crested *kulah*. This means that Shram was a principality ruler who became Khwarezmshah.

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

ГV/10. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 62). *Obverse:* Beardless king (to right) in crested *kulah* with flap covering ears and neck. Over it is a broad diadem jutting forward above the king's forehead and tied with ribbons at his neck. *Reverse:* Royal horseman (to right), ***T13*** and legend **MR'Y MLK' sy'wršpn**, i.e. Lord King Sawshafan (fig. 29).

There was a Khwarezmshah Sawshafan. He had the usual Khwarezmshahs *kulah* and latticed diadem surmounted with waves and decorated with a crescent, but his face is the same as that of Sawshafan in the crested *kulah*. So this Sawshafan was a principality ruler with ***T13*** and crested *kulah*. Once he had become Khwarezmshah, he changed from the crested *kulah* to the Khwarezmshahs crown and his tamgha from ***T13*** to ***T4***, but then replaced ***T4*** with his tamgha ***T13***, which later became the state tamgha of Khwarezm. He kept the traditional crown of the Khwarezmshahs, though. Bīrūnī (1957, 48) mentioned him as **Shaw.sh.fr**. The Chinese chronicle states that king ***Shaoshifen*** sent embassies to China in 751 and 762 (Bichurin 1950, 315-316).

There was a principality ruler in a "*kulah* with three crescents", found only on coins of type **ГIV/7**.

ГIV/7. Copper (Vainberg 1977, 60). *Obverse:* Beardless king (to right) in roundish *kulah* with a flap covering neck and ears. It is decorated with, at least, three crescents. One is mounted on two pearls at the top of the *kulah*. Two others are placed at its sides. A narrow diadem looking like a string of pearls is tied at his neck with pleated ribbons. Circular legend **MR'Y MLK' k'nyk**. *Reverse:* Royal horseman (to right) and ***T4***. The surrounding legend has not been deciphered (fig. 30).

Fig. 30

There are three coin types with the name Kanik (**ГIV**, **ГIV/7** and **ГIV/8**). Kanik (**ГIV/7**) in the "*kulah* with three crescents" has a face differing from that of Khwarezmshah Kanik. As for Kanik in the turreted crown (**ГIV/8**), I cannot be quite sure but he was also probably a namesake of Khwarezmshah Kanik. So we have Khwarezmshah Kanik and probably two namesakes, principality rulers, who were either from the clan with ***T4*** (which is more plausible) or put ***T4*** on their coins as the tamgha of their suzerain Khawrezmshah.

There were some other appange principality rulers.

Б2/9. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 55). *Obverse:* King in roundish *kulah* and diadem with crescent. *Reverse:* Swastika-shaped tamgha ***T7*** and legend **sy'wtr (?)... MLK'**.

Vainberg (1977, 55) wrote that, because of the presence of the ***T7*** tamgha, the coins could be positioned close to Wazamar's coins. But they differ from Wazamar's coins in the character of their flan, style of image, and style of legend, which is engraved in the smallest letters seen on the Khwarezmian coinage. I think these coins were struck by a ruler of the same appanage which was ruled by Wazamar, but before he became Khwarezmshah.

Б2/12. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56). *Obverse:* King (to right) in roundish *kulah* decorated with a crescent. *Reverse:* In the centre is a pellet. Around, the legend **s'nb'r MLK'** (fig. 30).

Vainberg (1977, 56) wrote that, based on archaeological data, the coins of Sanbar were minted later than coins of Wazamar.

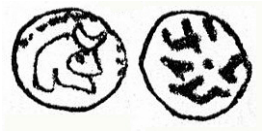


Fig. 31

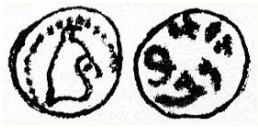


Fig. 32

Б2/13. Copper. (Vainberg 1977, 56). *Obverse:* King in falcon-shaped crown (like Wazamar's). *Reverse:* Circular legend **r'st MLK'**, i.e. Rast King (fig. 31). One such coin was struck over a coin of Sanbar.

There was one more principality ruler (Vainberg 1977, 57). Surprisingly his coins had neither title nor tamgha, but only his name. Coins of type **Б2/19** were issued by **w/z y k/r**. Livshits read it as **wyr** = "Man". Such coins were found at Toprak kala. Archaeologically they occupy the place between **Б 2/14-16** (4th century AD) and **Б2/18** (last decades of the 4th century AD).

So, the copper coins of ancient and early-mediaeval Khwarezm have brought to light more than thirty rulers of principalities with different dynastic tamghas and crowns. These principalities were often the places from where new Khwarezmshahs came, and to where the clans of those Khwarezmshahs retreated, when they lost the throne of Khwarezm to some new pretender. Sometimes the pattern and location of coin hoards and finds enables us to determine the locality of one or more principalities with reasonable confidence.

References

Bichurin,N.Ia. 1950. *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v Srednei Azii v drevnie vremena*, t. 2, Moskva-Leningrad.

Biriukov, D.V. 2001. "Serebro Savshafana", *Numizmatika Tsentral'noi Azii*, V.

Biruni, Abu Reihan. 1957. *Pamiatniki minuvshikh pokolenii, Izbrannye proizvedeniia,* t. 1, perevod i primechaniia M. A. Sal'e, Tashkent.

Fedorov, M. 2005. "Money Circulation of Khwarezm in the Ancient Period", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, 182.

Frölich, Chr. 2002. "Dating Gondophares", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, 173.

Kochnev, B.D. 1999. "Sredneaziatskie kuficheskie fel'sy s izobrazheniem konia", *Numizmatika Tsentral'noi Azii*, 4.

Rtveladze, E.V. 1980. "Po povody dinasticheskikh sviazei Khorezma i Chaganiana v rannee srednevekov'e", *Vestnik Karakalpakskogo Filiala Akademii Nauk UzSSR*, 1.

Vainberg, B.I. 1977. *Monety drevnego Khorezma*, Moskva.

Ordū al-A'zam (in Khotan) and Qabāq — Newly Discovered Mongolian Mints of the 13th Century

By V.Nastich, P.Petrov, and V.Belyaev

Xinjiang is perhaps one of the most enigmatic areas for numismatists studying the monetary history of Central Asia. Only three decades ago, researchers could hardly surmise [Davidovich, 1972] that huge amounts of silver coins had been struck at much more than one mint of that region long before Mas'ud Beg's reform started in AH 670/1271–72 AD. The first evidence of Mongol coinage at Imil, Pulad and some other towns of Eastern Turkestan was a 13th century hoard of silverware and coins found in Otrar (South Kazakhstan), studied and published by K.Baïpakov and V.Nastich [1981]. Western numismatists became acquainted with the production of the same mints considerably later. Yet Xinjiang still hides lots of secrets and surprises. The proof of this are frequent messages about new finds by Chinese scholars and collectors, reported during recent years. In 2000, P.Petrov happened to observe on an Internet website the image of a dirham struck in 644 AH at the mint of *Qabāq*[1]; in February 2003, a similar coin appeared in the Internet auction site eBay.com (lot 3009842973; weight 2.5 g, size 17.6 mm) [fig.1].

1 Reading by P.Petrov.

fig.1

1. Qabāq, AH 644 (1246–47AD). Silver.

Obv. field, within a threefold linear rim — kalima in 4 lines: [الله] / لا اله / الله محمد رسو/ل

Rev. centre, within a double linear circle — tamgha  , issuing data around:

ضرب فی قباق سنه اربع و اربعین… *struck at Qabāq in year* [*six hundred*] *forty-four*. Outer single-line rim (?).

The weight of coins of this type is about 2.4 g, diameter — up to 20 mm. The website description mentioned that the coin had been found in the area of the Tarbaghatai ridge, near the town of Tacheng. *Qabāq* is a modern name of the valley east of Imil. According to the words of local inhabitants, there is a place near the departmental centre, Tacheng in Western Xinjiang, where no ruins of any ancient town can be observed, but which has up to now been named Qumbaq[2], and identified by the locals with ancient Qabāq. In the 13th century this territory belonged to Güyük Khan's inherited appanage [Juvaini, 1997, p.43, note 14]. The mint *Qabāq* is not known from publications.

In 2004, the list of known coins of this mint was augmented by specimens struck in copper. Presently two such coins are known; the image of one of them (2.38 g, 21.5 mm) can be found in the on-line numismatic database ZENO.RU under #6310 [fig.2].

fig. 2

2. Qabāq, no date. Copper.

Obv. centre — tamgha as on #1, but with a dot above the right arm. The circular legend is too worn to be legible.

Rev. field, within a threefold linear rim in three lines — قباق…/ب ضر *struck <at …> Qabāq*.

Information about numerous finds of such coins has arrived from Xinjiang quite recently. Among them, dirhams of 644 AH have been brought to light, very similar to the ones described under #1 in basic appearance, content of legends and metrology, but with the mint name ايمل *Īmil* instead of *Qabāq* [fig. 3 and 4; both struck with the same pair of dies].

Fig.3

Fig.4

Moreover, the individual graphic style of the inscriptions on the coins of Qabaq and Imil is the same: one can see even without any special paleographic analysis that the dies in both cases were made by one hand. This clear fact raises the question whether the toponym *Qabāq* was the name of a region, while *Īmil* that of a town, or vice versa, viz. exactly as was the case with the names *Parab* and *Otrar* [Nastich, Shukhovtsov, 1980, pp.107-112]. Presently it is not possible to determine who issued these anonymous dirhams, because 644 AH was a transitional year from the regentess Töregene Khatun to Güyük Khan.

Another real discovery were dirhams of a very unusual type [figs. 5–10].

figs. 5-10

The first specimens were unearthed in the winter of 2003, and now their number is estimated at around 100. According to

2 Based on the way the name of this place has been retained in the memory of elderly natives, it is possible to assume that the historic name of the town was not pronounced *Qabāq*, just *Qubāq*.

communications from our Chinese colleagues[3], all known specimens of this type were found in the Khotan area. Specimen #7 — 1.85 g, 19.5 mm; #8 — 2.04 g, 21.5 mm; #9 — 1.43 g, 19.5 g (broken; restruck from a coin of a different type). Judging by the metrological data, these coins were probably struck to the standard approved after 642 AH for the dirhams of Almaligh, their officially decreed weight being ~ 2.1 g [Davidovich, 1972]. The minting quality is rather mediocre: double striking and weak areas on the coins are observed very frequently.

3. Ordū al-A'zam — Khotan, date not identified. Silver.

Obv. centre — Tibetan character  , around in double linear rim — outer and inner circular legends in highly schematic Arabic script, currently undecipherable.

Rev. field, in double linear rim —الاعظم / الاردو *al-Ordū al-A'zam* in 2 lines; marginal legends – top ضرب *struck*, left هذه *these*, bottom ببلده *at* [*the*] *town* [*of*], right ختن *Khotan*.

The obverse design of these coins generally resembles the dirhams of Almaligh, but they bear in the centre a character composed of the Tibetan syllable letter *MA* with an additional sign above, borrowed from Sanskrit and denoting the final nasal phoneme [^{m}]. The similar coins of Almaligh bear the mint name in that position. It is worth noting that the same Tibetan characters also occur on fractional silver coins with the mintname *Almāligh* [Petrov, Kamyshev, 2005]. Another peculiarity is that we read in the obverse field «Ordu the Great», while in the segments an indication is placed that the coin was struck in the town [*balda*] of Khotan[4].

What the Tibetan syllable *MA*^{m} means and why it was placed on Islamic coins of the 13th century still needs an explanation[5]. The combination of the term *Ordū al-A'zam* with the mint name *Khotan* (in view of the inclusion of the word *balda*, it cannot be the name of the district or region, but the town name), gives us a good indication of how we may be able to resolve the problems of localizing the coin mints in the Mongolian Horde in general, and the geographical relationship of different hordes to specific settlements in particular. In other words, the Great Ordu is a part of the *ulus* wandering together with the Great Qa'an, which, appearing in the vicinity of any town, could strike coins on its own behalf at the mint of that town with the title [*al*]-*Ordū al-A'zam*. Hence it becomes clear that the given term, at least for the 13th century, cannot be considered a toponym in the strict sense of the word.

Unfortunately, the exact minting date of these coins cannot be established. Specimens available for study allow us to suggest that these coins were probably struck in the 660s AH. With the absence of exact dating it is practically impossible to find out whose "personal" horde was stationed in Khotan when this issue of silver was coined at the town mint (very probably in quite insignificant volume). On the other hand, this state of affairs shows that, at that time, a mint was already in existence in Khotan, and local coinage, both previous and perhaps subsequent, may be discovered in the future.

We have no data about find of this coin type anywhere but in Khotan, not even in neighbouring areas. The circulation of those coins was likely to have been strictly local, relatively short-term, and on a small scale. On the other hand, 17 available images show that the coins were struck with at least 13 different die pairs, which means that the issue was not a one-off affair.

No systematic data about Khotan in any written sources have been found so far. The region was mentioned by Juvaini and Rashid al-Din in relation to the same historical events:

1. The capture of Khotan by Küchlük and the persecution of Muslims, propagating there Christianity or paganism [Rashid ad-Din, 1952, p. 183];
2. Ögedei Qa'an's assignment of the area from Beshbaligh and Qarakhojo to Khotan, Kashgar and Almaligh to Mas'ud Beg's government [Rashid ad-Din, 1960, p. 64];
3. The flight of the Chaghatayid khan, Alghu, from the rear detachment of Arigh Buqa in the Ili valley to Khotan and Kashgar where he remained for a month, and then made his way to Samarqand [Rashid ad-Din, 1960, p. 164];
4. The plunder of Khotan by Baraq's army about 666 AH [Rashid ad-Din, 1946, p. 70].

We also know that, in 1271, Khubilai sent his son, Nomukhan, to the restless western borders of the empire, continually exposed to the attacks of the Chaghatayids, and as a result Qaidu and then Khotan was taken [Rossabi Morris, 1988, p. 108]. Marco Polo noted that Khotan was under China, not Qaidu, but later this region shared the destiny of Kashgar and other neighbouring areas [Bartol'd, 2002, p. 554]. In other words, no sources revealing the presence in Khotan of a nomadic horde of any qa'an or supreme governor of the state, except for Alghu during his enmity with Arigh Buqa, have yet been found. Almaligh served as Khubilai's western outpost governed by Nomukhan. In 1271 he took Khotan, carried out a census and organised the taxation and food supply in favour of Khubilai. Nomukhan ruled there until around 1276. During this time and later (till 1285), Khubilai incessantly tried to organise and support the colonies in the Uighur territories, which he needed both to provide food supplies for his army and to assist his continual struggle against Qaidu.

3 We express our sincere gratitude to Chinese numismatists, Wang Hailin and Wu Zhonghua, for the valuable information about coin finds in Xinjiang.

4 Reading by V.Nastich.

5 Indian Buddhism was adopted in Central Asia in the 1st century AD just through Khotan and Eastern Turkestan [see: *Vostochnyï Turkestan*, 1992, p. 34]. The Mongols had become acquainted with Tibetan Buddhism at the time of Chingiz Khan via the Uighurs [Tikhonov, 1966, p. 28; Kitinov, 2004, p. 66-67]. By the middle of the 13th century, many Mongolian khans had chosen spiritual guides for themselves from among lamas of various Tibetan religious schools: in particular, Möngke's first guide was Drikung, replaced by Karma Bakshi after 1256 AD; Khubilai's guide — Tsal, Hulagu's — Pagmodu, Arigh Buqa's — Taglun Kaghyu. "Moreover, certain districts of Tibet were submitted to each khan according to the territorial influence of the chosen school" [Kitinov, 2004, p. 68]. The acme of Buddhist influence occurred during Khubilai Khan's reign. The Tibetan lama, Drogon Chogyal Ph'ags-pa (named in other sources as Blo-gros-rgyal-mts'an), the closest retainer of Khubilai and awarded the title of State Preceptor, in turn, associated the Emperor with figures of the Buddhist pantheon, in particular with Manjushri — Boddhisattva of Wisdom. It remains uncertain, however, if we can compare the Tibetan character on the coins directly with the name *Manjushri*. The only mention of the word *MA*^{m} found in written sources points to the Buddhist goddess, Mamaki: "Mamaki, the *greedy* Buddhist goddess, is the Shakti of Ratnasambhava or Aksobhya, also a *boddhisattva* or future *buddha*. She originated from the blue mantra MAM. Her colour is yellow or blue, and her attributes are a cup, flowers, a jewel, a knife, and staff" [Jordan, 1993, p. 155]. It is pertinent to note that the central place on the coins of another type (viz. *al-Ordū al-A'zam* from Kucha) is occupied by the word *Allah*. In either event, the question as a whole demands further study.

Bibliography

Baïpakov K.M., Nastich V.N., "Klad serebrianykh vescheï i monet XIII v. iz Otrara" ['A 13th Century Hoard of Silverware and Coins from Otrar'], in *Kazakhstan v epokhu feodalizma Problemy etnopoliticheskoï istorii* (Alma-Ata 1981), p. 20-62, ill.

Bartol'd V.V., *Raboty po istoricheskoï geografii*, Moscow 2002.

Davidovich E.A., *Denezhnoe khoziaïstvo Sredneï Azii posle mongol'skogo zavoevaniia i reforma Mas ud-beka (XIII v.),* Moscow 1972.

Jordan, Michael, *Encyclopedia of Gods*, New York: Facts on File Inc., 1993.

Juvaini, ʻAla' ad-Din ʻAta-Malik, *Genghis Khan The History of the World-Conqueror*. Transl. from Mirza Muhammad Qazvini by J.A. Boyle; introduction by David O. Morgan. Manchester 1997.

Kitinov B.U., *Sviaschennyï Tibet i voinstvennaya step' buddizm u oïratov (XIII–XVII v.).* Moscow 2004.

Nastich V.N., Shukhovtsov V.K., "Suschestvoval li gorod Farab?" ['Did the Town of Farab Ever Exist?'], in *Problemy izucheniia i okhrany pamiatnikov kul'tury Kazakhstana*, Alma-Ata 1980, p. 107-112.

Petrov P.N., Kamyshev A.M., "Nakhodki chagataïskikh monet na territorii Chuïskoï doliny, in *Proceedings of the 1st International Numismatic*

Conference «Coins and Money Circulation in the Mongol States of the 13–15 Centuries» (Saratov 2001), Moscow 2005 (in print).
Rashid ad-Din. *Sbornik letopiseï*, vol. I, pt. 2, Moscow–Leningrad 1952; vol. II, Moscow–Leningrad 1960; vol. III, Moscow–Leningrad 1946.
Rossabi, Morris. *Khubilai Khan his Life and Times*. Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988.
Tikhonov D.I., *Khoziaïstvo i obschestvennyï stroï uïgurskogo gosudarstva X–XIV vekov*, Leningrad 1966.
Vostochnyï Turkestan v drevnosti i rannem srednevekov'e, Moscow 1992.

Some new Indo-Scythian Coins

By Barabara Mears

While preparing the catalogue for the recent Coinex auction, I found that some coins offered were of unknown denominations or had different control marks to known catalogued types. I list these below:

Azilises, square AE unit, 13 x 14mm., 1.52g. Elephant right, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛ [ΟΥ] ΑΖΙΛΙCΟΥ. *Rev.* Bull standing right, Kharosthi legend (Senior 48.1 *var*; Spink Coinex Auction 2005, lot 254 (part)).

Azilises, square AE ½, ¼, 1/8 units, 3.76g., 1.97g., 0.94g., King on horseback riding right, carrying whip over shoulder, Kharosthi letter "Ti" above horse's head, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ. *Rev.* Framed portrait of Heracles seated on rocks left, holding club, monogram left with Kharosthi letter "Si" above and Kharosthi legend around (Senior 59.1a, 59.1b, 59.1c; Spink Coinex Auction 2005, lot 256). The first two coins are reasonably common, but the only one of the smallest unit has been recorded by Bob Senior (ONS Newsletter 171).
Illustrated approx. 1.5x

Azes (posthumous satraps?)**,** square AE unit, 19 x 22mm., 6.10g., King on horseback riding right, holding whip before, monogram shaped like a 3-spoked wheel right, ΒΑ[C]ΙΛΕΕC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ. *Rev.* maneless lion right, monogram above, cross to right, Kharosthi legend (Senior 138.1; Spink Coinex Auction 2005, lot 279 (part)). I am including this coin, as, although Bob Senior has listed it, his example did not bear the full legend.

Azes, AR Tetradrachm, 23mm., 9.68g., King on horseback riding right, holding whip aloft, Kharosthi letter "Om" before horse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ. *Rev.* Pallas Athene standing right holding spear and shield, monogram left, monogram of Greek letters "M" and "B" right, Kharosthi legend (Senior type 98 (not recorded with letter "Om"); Spink Coinex Auction 2005, lot 269 (part)).

[Bob Senior thinks this is probably a recut letter rather than "Om" and refers to his type 98.342]

Azes, AR Tetradrachm, 24mm., 9.6g., King on horseback riding right, holding whip aloft, conjoined Kharosthi letters "GiDhra" before horse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ. *Rev.* Zeus standing right holding trident over shoulder, monogram left, Kharosthi letter "Si" in right field, Kharosthi legend (Senior type 99 (not recorded with these letters before horse); Spink Coinex Auction 2005, lot 272 (part)).

Azes, AR Tetradrachm, 24mm., 9.83g., King on horseback riding right, holding whip aloft, Kharosthi letter "Ku" before horse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ. *Rev.* Zeus Nikephorus standing left holding sceptre over shoulder, monogram left, Greek letter "B" in right field with Kharosthi letter "Dhram" below, Kharosthi legend (Senior type 105 - not recorded with this conjunction of letters); Spink Coinex Auction 2005, lot 273 (part)).

Azes, AR Tetradrachm, 23.5mm., 9.47g., King on horseback riding right, holding whip aloft, Kharosthi letter "Ku" before horse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ. *Rev.* Zeus Nikephorus standing left holding sceptre over shoulder, monogram left, Kharosthi letter "Sam" with crescent and circle

above in right field, Kharosthi legend (Senior type 105.361 - this conjunction of control letters only recorded for drachms previously); Spink Coinex Auction 2005, lot 275 (part)).

Azes, AE ½-unit, 21mm., 7.18g., Elephant standing right, no visible Kharosthi letter above, Greek legend as above. *Rev.* Bull standing right with two monograms above, Kharosthi legend (Senior type 100.53a (this denomination either not known with these symbols, or very rare); Spink Coinex Auction 2005, lot 277 (part)).

Coins not illustrated to scale.
Senior references taken from "Indo-Scythian Coins and History", R.C. Senior, CNG, Lancaster, 2001.
BM

New Indo-Greek Coins

By RC Senior

Very few Indo-Greek rulers issued fractional Æ issues and, apart from Menander, ¼ units are only known for Artemidoros. Of course we now know that Artemidoros was actually a Scythian, the son of Maues and that they both issued ¼ units, followed thereafter by Azilises. Now, we have a ¼ unit for **Philoxenos** - of one of his scarcest issues – BN 12a. It is illustrated here alongside a regular sized issue.

The obverse has the usual legend and shows a radiate figure – Helios (?) facing, holding a sceptre with his left hand and his right arm raised. On the reverse is Nike right with wreath and palm, monogram below right. The coin measures 13 x 14 mm and weighs 2.15 gm.

Nike is a deity that is prominent on the coins of both Artemidoros and Maues and both Philoxenos and Maues are linked chronologically – as well as being the last rulers to issue square silver coins.

In January 2004 I wrote a Volume IV to update my catalogue of "Indo-Scythian Coins and History" (available from CNG) but unfortunately the printing was delayed and so I have further updated it and trust that it will become available in 2006. Many new coins will be included, several of which come from previously unpublished hoards, and I shall illustrate a few of them here.

The Chakwal hoard contained coins dating from the time of Apollodotos II to 'Strato II with Strato Philopator' and included coins of Azilises, Azes, Bhadrayasha, Rajuvula and a new Kshaharata satrap called Higaraka. There were many new and unpublished coins but here I will illustrate those from just two mints that show how extensive this late Indo-Greek coinage is compared to what was previously known.

1) Apollodotos II Æ 14.66g

Legend on three sides in straight lines. Monogram  on obv. with *Ra* and *Ti* on reverse. Round coin 28 mm

2) Apollodotos II Æ 16.09g

As last but square. It is difficult to explain why the same denomination should have been issued in both round and square shapes, but this continues for the next ruler too. The round coins are extremely rare and *are* lighter than the square ones – perhaps they are in fact a different denomination?

3) Dionysios Æ 13.98g

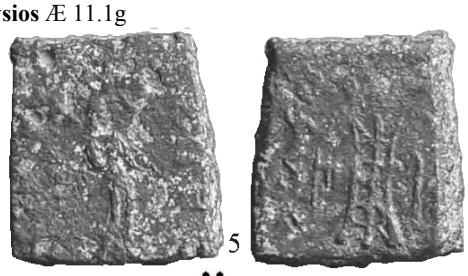
As No. 1 but with name ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ. 28 mm diameter.

4) Dionysios Æ 16.89g

4

As last but square

5) Dionysios Æ 11.1g



5

As last but with monogram  on the obverse and *Li* and *E* on the reverse. On this coin the name is still uncertain though part of Dionysios is visible. This would be the earliest use of this monogram. This coin is much lighter than the ones that follow.

6) Zoilos IIÆ 12.77g

6

As 1 with monogram  but ΖΩΙΛΟΥ

7) Zoilos IIÆ 15.35g

7

As last but square

8) Zoilos II Æ 2.05g

8

With monogram  on the obverse (off left on this coin), Apollo right within bead and reel border. Reverse: Wreath and legend *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*

9) Zoilos II Æ 2.39g

9

Obverse: Apollo with monogram left, *Ji* right. Reverse: Elephant left*, Sha* left *Pu* right. Legend both sides.

10) Zoilos II Æ square 16.19g

10

As 7 but monogram  left. Reverse tripod with *Ja* left, *Kam* right.

11) Strato II Æ square 16.03g

11

As last (and No. 5) but with *Li* and *E* on the reverse.

12) Strato Dikaios Silver drachm 2.24g

12

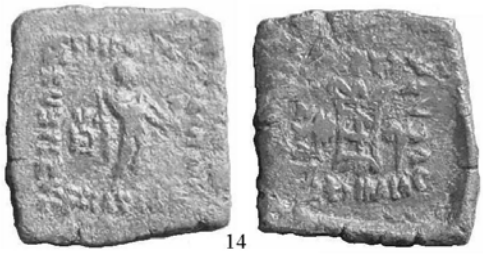
The obverse Greek legend is very crude and the portrait also. On the reverse is Athena thundering left with monogram in the right field as on the last coin. The Kharosthi legend reads*: Maharajasa tratarasa* anti-clockwise from 7 o'clock and *Dhramikasa Stratasa* clockwise. This is a completely new type and possibly of a new king bearing the name Strato. It is very close in style to the Bhadrayasha coins found in the hoard.

13) Strato II with Strato Philopator Æ 8.15 g

13

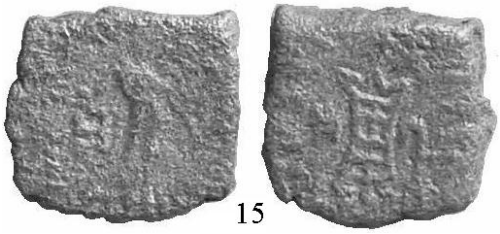
Similar to No. 1 but the legend is on four sides. Obverse: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ Σ ΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ and Reverse: *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa casa puitrasa Priyapita Stratasa*. Monograms and field letters as on 11.

14) Strato II with Strato Philopator Æ square 14.38g



As last. These coins range from 17.62 to 13.71 gm.

15) Strato II with Strato Philopator Æ 6.31g



½ unit, legends and monogram as last.

16) Strato II with Strato Philopator Æ 8.73 g

½ unit as last but with shorter legends (no *putrasa* on reverse).

17) Strato Philopator (alone) Æ 17.17g

As 14 but legends read:
ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ
and *Maharajasa tratarasa Priyapita Stratasa*
For a full description of the hoard see the forthcoming Volume IV of *Indo-Scythian Coins & History* (published by CNG). I shall publish some of the unique Indo-Scythian coins in another Newsletter.

Monogram	A		B		
Ruler	Round	Sq	Round	Sq	fract.
Apollodotos II	x	x			
Dionysios	x	x		x	
Zoilos II	x	x		x	x
Strato II				x	
Strato II + Philop.			x	x	x
Strato Philopator				x	

From the above table one can now see that there was an extensive series of Æ coins issued bearing these two monograms which were previously unknown. This hoard completely rewrites our understanding of this last phase of Greek coinage in India. Whereas it previously seemed to have fizzled out with a debased silver coinage accompanied by lead coins only, it now can be shown to have been a full and dynamic coinage that ended abruptly, probably c. 20/10 BC.

Another hoard, from Nimroz in western Afghanistan, confirms the chronology I have outlined for the Posthumous-Hermaios coinage in my book *The Coinage of Hermaios and its imitations struck by the Scythians* (also available from CNG).

The hoard contained 152 Parthian coins, the last being of the Unknown King (c. 75 – 67 BC according to Dr. F. Assar) while the 39 P-H tetradrachms were of issues 12aT, 13T, 17aT, 18T, 19T and 22T all of which I dated to c. 80 – 70 BC, and from the westernmost P-H mints. This hoard will also appear in full in the forthcoming Volume IV of *Indo-Scythian Coins and History.*

A New Type of Gold Tankah of Ahsan Shah, Sultan of Madurai

By Shailendra Bhandare

The gold coinage of the Sultans of Madurai is generally sparse. Goron & Goenka list, in all, seven gold coins; as a general rule they are very rare and for some rulers, indeed unique. The coinage is, however, characterised by the occurrence of some novel titles, not encountered in any other sultanate series, such as *Wārith-i-Malik Sulaimān* (seen on coins of Nasir al-Din Dāmghān Shah 1344-47 AD, G&G type MD17) and *Mahdi al-Zamān* (on the unique gold tankah of 'Ala al-Din Sikandar Shah, published in ONSNL 154 by S. D. Godbole, G&G type MD41). It is plausible, therefore, that the issue of gold coins may have been confined to ceremonial purposes. A range of denominations, from the 3.6 gm South Indian 'hon' standard, to the 13.7 gm 'heavy tankah or dinar' standard are known. The mint-names, when they appear, include Ma'abar and Daulatabad, with epithets like *Hažrat* and/or *Dār al-Mulk* Conceivably, Daulatabad was a name given to the capital city of Madurai and should not be confused with its namesake located further north in northern Deccan.

Given their rare status, the recent notice of two gold tankahs of the first sultan, Jalal al-Din Ahsan Shah (1333/34 – 1339 AD), is a welcome addition to the known types of gold issues of the sultans of Madurai and worthy of publication. The first of these was noted in the trade while with Mr. Shatrughan Jain of Ahmedabad and the second is said to be in a private collection in Mumbai. Both are of the same type and weigh c. 11 gm, thus conforming to the tankah standard. Both have the mint and date details in the inscription that surrounds the obverse legend. However the uniqueness of the coin type lies in two features – the titles seen on both sides and the mint-name that appears in the marginal legend.

The obverse legend, enclosed in a circle, reads *afžal-al yasīn khalifath rabb al-'ālamein jalāl al-dunyā wa al-dīn*. The last portion is the Sultan's *laqāb*, but the rest is indeed a unique title that raises the sultan to a very high theocratic position – that of

the 'Lord of (both) Worlds', which is usually reserved only for Allah, the supreme God. He is also noted to have risen there 'graced by Yasin', which is a Quranic injunction. *khalifath rabb al-'ālamein* is otherwise noted as a title only on coins of Qutb al-Din Mubarak, the Khilji Sultan of Delhi.

The reverse legend is even more novel. It gives the Sultan's *kunyat* as '*abu al-dhu'āfā wa al-masākīn*' (Father of the weak and the destitute) and continues with *ahsan shāh al-sultān khulidat khilafatahu*. The *kunyat* is unique indeed and reminds one of a title seen on copper coins of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur, where he is termed 'Ablā Bali' ("protector of the poor", G&G types BJ12 to BJ 19). Why Ahsan Shah would have struck coins voicing such sentiments is entirely unknown.

The marginal legends on the obverse of both coins indicate they were struck in AH 737. However, it is the mint-name, preceding the date inscribed in words, which adds further to the importance of these coins. The entire marginal legend reads *zarb hidā al-sikkah fi hadrat madhurā sanah saba'a thalāthīn wa saba'maiya*. 'Madhura' is a sanskritised version of the Tamil name 'Madurai' and, as such, its occurrence on a coin of a Muslim sultan is indeed interesting, especially so with an epithet that means 'venerable', thus reflecting on the holy status of the temple city. The equivalent of 'Madhura' in Perso-Arabic terms was 'Ma'abar' which has been noted on coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the Sultan of Dehli (G&G type D230), and of Nasir al-din Mahmud Damghan (G&G type MD17).

Fakhr al-Din Mubarak Shah's Independence in Sonargaon : Numismatic Evidence

By JP Goenka

It is well known in the history of medieval Bengal that Fakhr al-Din Mubarak Shah was the first Muslim ruler to establish an independent kingdom in Sonargaon,[1] now under the Narayangonj district of Bangladesh.

The present available history states that Mubarak Shah, the former armour-bearer of Bahram Khan alias Tatar Khan, proclaimed his independence in Sonargaon as soon as Bahram died. But he was challenged by the forces of Delhi sultan, Muhammad bin Tughlaq, and was compelled to flee to the eastern part of Sonargaon. Mubarak Shah, however, after sometime regained his kingdom by means of his wit and effort, supported by Sonargaon's adverse climatic and geographical conditions, especially in the rainy season.

Historians are not certain about exactly when Mubarak Shah declared his independence in Sonargaon. Abdul Karim mentions the first date of Mubarak Shah as 1338 AD (739 AH)[2], Sukhomoy Mukharjee mentions 739 AH[3], R.D. Banarjee mentions 737 AH[4] based on a coin read by Edward Thomas, and N.K. Bhattasali mentions the date as 739 AH[5]. Firoj Mahmud, the Assistant Keeper of the then Dhaka Museum (presently Bangladesh National Museum) concluded in his article published in 'Itihas Samiti Patrika (a journal of the 'Bangladesh Itihas Samiti'), vol. 2, 1973, that the first date of Mubarak Shah's kingship was 739 AH. He was influenced in his verdict by the discovery of a gold coin of Mubarak Shah in the then Dhaka Museum. As he read the date of the gold coin as 739 AH and no other coin of Mubarak of earlier date had been discovered by that time, Firoj put the probable first date of Mubarak Shah as 739 AH.

However, many coins of Mubarak have come to light since then. Coin no. 1 (fig.1) has obverse legends within a square in a circle, with four annulets in the areas between the circle & the square; and reverse legends in a circle. Bhattasali records this type as class C[6]. This type is also illustrated in The Coins of the Indian Sultanates by Stan Goron and myself (coin type B133). The date of Coin No. 1 is clearly 938 AH. Moreover, we record the available dates of B133 as 737, 738 & 739 AH. It may be mentioned that coins of type B133 bear the designation 'Dinar' instead of 'Sikkah'.

fig. 1

It is important to note that we read the date of the gold coin in the Bangladesh National Museum (formerly Dhaka Museum) as 734 AH. But as the date is partially off the flan it might have prompted some numismatists to argue about the date. But recently a silver coin of Mubarak Shah clearly dated 734 AH has been discovered in Bangladesh. The mint is designated 'Shahr Sonargaon' instead of the usual 'Hadrat Jalal Sonargaon'. The type of this coin seems to match with class D[7] of Bhattasali. The description of this silver tanka is as follows - fig. 2) :

fig. 2

Obverse (within square, with four annulets outside the square): *al-sultān al-a'zam / fakhr al-dunya wa'l-dīn / abū'l muzaffar mubārak shāh / al-sultān.*

Reverse legends (within square in a circle, with four annulets in the areas between the circle and the square): *yamīn khalīfat / allāh nāsir / amīr al-mu'minīn.* The reverse margin contains the date 734 (AH) and mint 'Shahr Sonargaon' and the coin is designated 'Sikkah'.

The epithet 'Shahr' before the mint name is also found on the contemporary coins of Muhammad bin Tughlaq, issued from Sonargaon[8].

In addition, there is another variety of tanka which is like Bhattasali's class D but without any annulet either on the obverse or the reverse[9]. This is the most crudely engraved type among the coins of Mubarak Shah.

The accepted history states that Fakhruddin Mubarak's declaration of independence was challenged by Muhammad bin Tughlaq's forces in Bengal, supported by Tughlaq's other governors, Qadr Khan of Lakhnauti, Izz al-Din Yahya of Satgaon and Firuj Khan of Kara (Allahabad). This combined force defeated Mubarak Shah and drove him to the eastern territory where he remained in hiding for sometime. But taking advantage of the adverse effect of the rainy season and the dissatisfaction among Qadr Khan's soldiers because their leader took away for himself the entire 'booty' gained during the defeat of Mubarak thus depriving his soldiers of any share in it, Mubarak reappeared from hiding and succeeded in regaining control of Sonargaon[10]. The time span between Mubarak's declaration of independence and his regaining control of Sonargaon by defeating Qadr Khan has not been known exactly until now. However, if we consider the numismatic evidence in the absence of any other reliable historical proof, we can say that this interim period of Fakhruddin Mubarak is likely to have been between 735 and 736 AH for which dates not a single coin of Mubarak has been discovered (one coin dated 735 as mentioned by us[11] was not illustrated in the book nor any reference given*. So, this particular coin has not been taken into account for this

* *Editor's note*: This coin, formerly in the Editor's collection, is in fact illustrated as type B132. The margin where the first part of the date is engraved is not well struck up but what can be seen looks more like 735 than any other date. The type is certainly very similar to the coin in fig.2 above.

article). At the same time we do not find any coin issued either by Muhammad bin Tughlaq or his Bengal governor from Sonargaon after 734 AH , which may indicate that this particular period was full of turmoil and instability. However, if in future we find any coin of Mubarak dated 735 or 736 AH, the period of Fakhruddin Mubarak's hiding in the east should still be around 735 AH and/or 736 AH as his coins dated between 737 and 750 AH have been found without any discontinuity.

According to Bhattasali, 739 AH is the first date of Mubarak Shah as already mentioned. He also mentions, "If however, the dates of future samples of this class turn out to be much earlier than 739 AH, these coins then will have to be taken as witness of Mubarak Shah's attempts of assuming sovereignty earlier in his career by deposing Bahram Khan. The inferiority of design and finish however, and the rarity of these coins testify that the successes of these attempts were extremely short-lived and inconclusive." But the discovery of dates of 734, 737, 738 & 739 AH in Mubarak's coins and the unavailability of any coin dated after 734 AH from Sonargaon mint issued on Tughlaq's authority significantly weakens this statement of Bhattasali about Mubarak Shah's "extremely short-lived" success; rather the numismatic evidence tells us that Mubarak Shah played a stronger and more significant role in the control of Sonargaon between 737 & 739 AH. And if the date of the gold coin is taken as 734 AH (as mentioned by us) which coincides with the date of Mubarak's earliest available silver coin (i.e. coin no. 2) then it is likely that Mubarak Shah issued the gold coin to commemorate his initial assumption of the throne of Sonargaon in 734 AH.

So, we may conclude that Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah became the first Muslim ruler of independent Sonargaon in 734 AH - five years earlier than previously thought, issued coins of at least five types / classes and ruled in this eastern part of Bengal up to 750 AH[13] with a probable short gap around 735-736 AH.

Notes and references :

1. Sonargaon is a Bengali word and for centuries it has been pronounced as Sonargaon (Golden Village) by the natives of Bengal. So, Sonargaon has been used in this article instead of the form, Sunargaon, found in most of the books and articles written in English.
2. Banglar Itihas - Sultani Amal (History of Bengal - Sultani Period) by Abdul Karim, page 165-166.
3. Banglar Itihaser Dusho Bachhar - Swadhin Sultander Amal (Two Hundred Years of History of Bengal - period of the independent sultans) by Sukhomoy Mukharjee, page 2.
4. Banglar Itihas - vol.2 (History of Bengal - vol 2) by R. D. Banarjee, page 57.
5. Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal by N.K. Bhattasali, page 13.
6. Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal by N.K. Bhattasali, page 12.
7. Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal by N.K. Bhattasali, page 12.
8. Coin no. B125 of The Coins of the Indian Sultanates by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, page 165.
9. Coin no. B134 of The Coins of the Indian Sultanates by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, page 166.
10. History of The Muslims of Bengal, vol IA by Muhammad Mohar Ali, page 121.
11. The Coins of the Indian Sultanates by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, page 165.
12. Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal by N.K. Bhattasali, page 13.
13. For other well established dates (740 - 750) of Mubarak Shah readers may go through The Coins of the Indian Sultanates by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka.

Two Little-known Sultans of Eastern Bengal

By S. M.. Iftekhar Alam

Only one type of coin of the Bengal sultan, Ghiyath al-Din Nusrat Shah has been catalogued in the latest catalogue of coins of the Indian sultans, The Coins of the Indian Sultanates, by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka. This particular coin (type B401, page 200) is in the collection of the Bangladesh National Museum (BNM). Rezaul Karim, the then Deputy Keeper of the BNM, published this coin in Bengali in the journal of Bangladesh Itihash Parishad (Bangladesh Historical Association) in 1995. In his article, Karim mentions the mint and date of the coin as al-Firuzabad & 837 AH respectively. Goron & Goenka mention only the date in their catalogue as they were unable to read the mintname as proposed by Karim. However, a clear photograph[1] of this particular coin (Coin No. 1, fig. 1) and a close examination of the coin reveals that the marginal legends, except for the date on the reverse, are mirror-imaged. For this reason Goron & Goenka. could not read the mintname though it is present on the coin. For the same reason Karim was led to a wrong reading of. the mint as al-Firuzabad. .

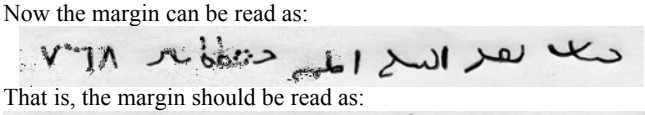
Fig..1

Though the other legends on both the obverse and reverse are all right, although rather crudly engraved, the legends in the reverse margin appear mirror-imaged due to the engraver's mistake. Perhaps the legends of the coin were not cut by the die-cutter all at once, so that, at some later moment of inadvertence, he cut the marginal legends the wrong way round, which led to a mirro-image appearance.

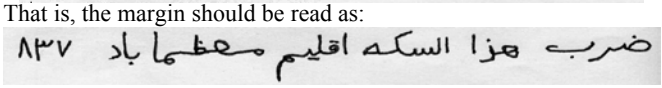
By scanning the photo of the reverse and producing a mirror image of it by the scanner, the legends in the margin are now legible (Coin No. 1, fig. 2).

fig. 2

Now the margin can be read as:



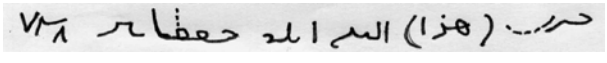
That is, the margin should be read as:



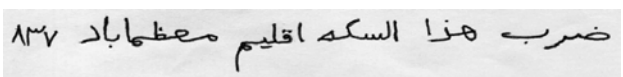
Another coin (Coin No. 2, fig. 3.) of Ghiyath al-Din Nusrat Shah in a private collection in Dhaka has the same legend as Coin No. 1 but this time the marginal legends are not mirror-imaged.

Fig. 3

The legends in the margin can be read as:

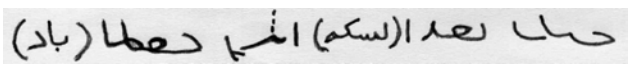


That is, the intended legends are:

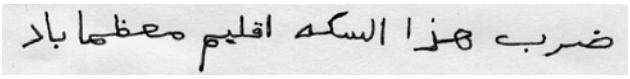


In both the coins of Nusrat Shah the date in digits seems to be intended to be written from right to left instead of left to right.

A coin (Coin No 3, fig. 4) of Nasir al-Din Shahim / Ibrahim Shah in a private collection in Dhaka (Goron & Goenka type B400) has the reverse as:



That is, the intended legends are:



A small character before "Mu'azzamabad" may represent the 'mim' of "Iqlim", separated from the rest of the word.

Fig. 4

It may be mentioned here that the style of writing of the mint name of Iqlim Mu'azzamabad in all these three coins is comparable to that of Goron & Goenka coin types B418 and B459 (both of Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud, pages202 & 207).

The multifoil. design and the writing style on the reverse of these three coins indicate that Ghiyath al-Din Nusrat Shah and Nasir al-Din Shahim / Ibrahim Shah were contemporaries. So far only one type of coin of each of the two kings has come to light. The only mint that can be read on the coins of these two kings is Mu'azzamabad with the mint epithet 'Iqlim'. Since all the coins of these two kings so far reported are limited to one type each, It is reasonable to suggest that the other coins of these kings having no trace of a mint are actually struck at the same place, Iqlim Mu'azzamabad. This would imply that, in the struggle for power during the last part of the reign of Shams al-Din Ahmad Shah, both Ghiyath al-Din Nusrat Shah and Nasir al-Din Shahim / Ibrahim Shah took control of the eastern part of Bengal one after the other for a very brief period, which, all in all, would probably only have been a few months. Because Shams al-Din Ahmad Shah was on the throne of Bengal for part of 837 AH[2] while the earliest coins of Nasiruddin Mahmud from Iqlim Mu'azzamabad are dated 838 AH[3] it seems likely from this numismatic evidence that these two ephemeral sultans had but a brief rule in the Mu'azzamabad area of eastern Bengal, without being able to seize any other parts of the Bengal sultanate.

Notes and references :

1. Many thanks to Mr. Rezaul Karim for providing the photo of the coin.
2. Coin type B391 and B393 of The Coins of the Indian Sultanates by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, page 198.
3. Coin type B435 of The Coins of the Indian Sultanates by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, page 204.

18th Century Coinage of the Cuddapah Region

By Shailendra Bhandare

Mughal Conquest of the Deccan and Peninsular India

Cuddapah (now named Kadapā) is a prominent town and headquarters of a district of the same name in the Rayalseema geographic division of the present-day Andhra Pradesh state of India. It is situated in the Penneru river basin, between Palkonda and Nallamalai, two prominent ranges of the Eastern Ghat Mountains. The name of the town means a 'gate' in the regional language, Telugu, and this is derived from the fact that the town lies on the route from north to south to the prominent Vaishnavite Temple City of Tirupati and is mythically regarded as one of its four cardinal 'gateways'. The tract of land we will be dealing with in this paper, however, does not comprise Cuddapah alone. It extends to two neighbouring districts of Andhra Pradesh, namely Kurnool (located to the North of Cuddapah) and Anantapur (located to the East of Cuddapah).

The Mughal conquest of the lands beyond the traditional boundary of 'North' India, namely the Vindhya Mountain ranges and the Tapi-Narmada river valleys began late in the reign of Akbar, at the beginning of the 17th century. The Deccan region at that time had been under the control of the successor Sultanates to the Bahmani kingdom. Amongst these, the Mughal challenge was most severely faced by the Nizām Shāhi kingdom of Ahmednagar, which finally succumbed in 1636, leaving its champion, Shahāji Bhonsle, to take up a baronial position with the 'Ādil Shāhi sultanate of Bijapur. Shahāji thrived under 'Ādil Shāhi patronage and won considerable territories for the sultanate in peninsular India, most of which he wrested from local rulers known as 'polygars' (Tamil *palaiyakkarar* = 'Old Gents') that had sprung up in various regions after the Vijayanagar Empire had collapsed in 1565. His conquests brought the extent of 'Ādil Shāhi domains to the threshold of the Cuddapah region. By the 1650s, Shahāji had made Bangalore, located a 100 miles to the west of Cuddapah, the principle seat of the fiefs he held for the 'Ādil Shāhi sultanate.

Shah Jahan, the Mughal Emperor, had been the architect of the Nizām Shāhi defeat and his son, Aurangzeb, led successful campaigns in the Deccan against the 'Ādil Shāhi and Qutb Shāhi kingdoms. The Qutb Shāhis were reduced almost to the status of vassals when the Mughals besieged their capital, Golkonda, in 1656 AD. The Cuddapah region had been under the control of Mir Juml'ā, a virtually independent courtier of the Qutb Shāhi kingdom, who switched his loyalty to the Mughals, thereby bringing the Sultanate to the brink of collapse. However, Akkaṇṇā and Madaṇṇā, two elder statesmen of the Sultanate, saved it from extinction and concluded a peace treaty with the Mughals. Meanwhile, court intrigues following Shah Jahan's illness made Aurangzeb leave the Deccan and hurry back to Agra, where he crowned himself the Emperor after eliminating his three brothers from the race.

The Mughals left the Deccani kingdoms alone for almost three decades, although they were not without their own intrigues. Shahāji Bhonsle had appointed his son, Shivāji, to his fiefs in Maharashtra when he based himself at Bangalore. Shivaji posed a serious threat to the 'Ādil Shāhi kingdom and to the Mughals as he attempted to carve out his own kingdom in the Deccan. He was largely successful in his bid and held a grand coronation in 1674, thereby declaring his independent status. He also accomplished a working political alliance of the Deccani sultanates and himself against an impending Mughal threat. His relations with the Qutb Shāhi kingdom, run by the two Hindu ministers, had been cordial; those with the 'Ādil Shāhi sultanate, in the hands of a powerful Afghan vizier named Rustam-i-Zamān (more about him below), could best be described as cold. He made the most of his alliance with the Qutb Shāhis when he launched a campaign in 1676-78 against his stepbrother, Venkoji, and won territories to the immediate south of the Cuddapah region.

Shivāji's activities enraged Aurangzeb. He was also irked by the secret connivance between the Deccani sultanates and Shivāji against the Mughals. There was also a religious backdrop to Aurangzeb's hatred – both the Deccani kingdoms were Shiite whereas the Emperor was a staunch Sunni. Shivāji died in 1680 and, within a couple of years, Aurangzeb launched a massive

campaign against his son and successor, Sambhāji. As part of a wider strategy he also decided to put an end to the Deccani sultanates. The 'Ādil Shāhi kingdom was the first to fall, its capital, Bijapur, being conquered on 12 September 1686 by the Mughals. The last sultan, a minor, was deposed and his protector, the vizier, given a baronial tenure. Just over a year later, the Qutb Shāhi sultanate was conquered with the capture of its capital Hyderabad and the adjacent fort of Golkonda on 21 September 1687. Both Bijapur and Hyderabad were made Mughal provincial capitals. This completed the Mughal conquest of peninsular India and extended the limits of the empire to faraway Tamilnadu in the south. However, it was not a *fait accompli* by any means, nor was the Mughal control of this vast tract of peninsular India a particularly secure one. The Marathas under Sambhāji and his successor, Rājārām, harangued the Mughals for the next 25 years. Combined with the independence that most Mughal appointees in the region operated with, this meant the process of fragmentation of the Empire had begun in these very years. After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 and with the Marathas still largely independent, the process accelerated. Within two decades, the Mughal governor of the Deccan declared himself free of Delhi and established his own kingdom at Aurangabad, thus marking the 'end of a beginning'.

Mughal administration of Peninsular India

The eastern tracts of peninsular India south of the original Mughal *ṣubāh* of 'Deccan', conquered from the 'Ādil Shāhi and Qutb Shāhi kingdoms, were collectively referred to as 'Karnātak' by the Mughals. This term is not be confused with the present-day 'Karnataka State' of India, which comprises a region with a majority of Kannada speakers. Mughal 'Karnātak' largely comprised non-Kannada speaking territory, such as the Telugu and parts of the Tamil homelands. The river Cauvery on the south and the 15° N latitude to the north roughly demarcated this fertile tract. Most of it was brought under Mughal control within three years following the fall of the Deccani Sultanates. Large parts of the region were ruled by semi-independent courtiers of the sultans who were brought to heel by the Mughals through their military might or absorbed into the Mughal nobility with grants and confirmation of new tenures, rights and titles.

The Palaru River further divided the region of Mughal Karnātak into two large provinces or *ṣubāhs*, namely 'Bijapur Karnātak', to the south of the river and 'Hyderabad Karnātak', to the north. Each was later divided into two more subdivisions, on an east-west basis, named 'Bālāghāt' and 'Pāyeenghāt'. Thus there were two subdivisions of Bijapur Karnātak, namely 'Bijapur Karnātak Bālāghāt' and 'Bijapur Karnātak Pāyeenghāt' and likewise for Hyderabad Karnātak. Usually, the officers in charge of *ṣubāhs* were named *Ṣubāhdārs*; those in charge of subdivisions were titled *Fauzdārs* and were subordinate to the *Ṣubāhdārs.* But in the case of the Karnātak subdivisions, the *Fauzdārs* enjoyed the same status as the *Ṣubāhdārs*. As was the contemporary practice, such offices came with landed tenures, rights, privileges and titles. Title-holders in charge of smaller offices were termed *Havaldārs*, *Qil'ādārs* etc. Any of these could call themselves 'Nawāb', a word that literally meant 'appointee', but came to be recognised to denote a position that gave a certain access to instruments of power, prestige and territorial control. Nawabs were invariably Muslims and those appointed by Aurangzeb came from various ethnic stocks. Afghans and Persians predominated, the former more than the latter. Many were already in the service of the sultanates and were taken up into the Mughal nobility.

The Cuddapah region was part of the 'Bālāghāt' of Hyderabad-Karnātak and consisted of the divisions (*Sarkārs* or *T'āluqās*) of Gooty, Cuddapah, Siddhaut, Gandikota and Gurramkonda. Apart from Gooty, the rest lay in close proximity to each other. The 'Bālāghāt' of Bijapur-Karnātak included the divisions of Sira and Bangalore, leased from the Kingdom of Mysore, and the *jāgirs* associated with them. The 'Pāyeenghāt' of Hyderabad-Karnātak included the coastal tracts of Andhra Pradesh between Guntur and Nellore while that of Bijapur-Karnātak comprised the Tamil country up to the Cauvery basin.

After the initial conquest of the region, continuing troubles from the Marathas meant that a series of expeditions had to be undertaken to consolidate and further the Mughal interests. But as the Mughal generals conducted these expeditions, they acted more and more in their own interest as compared to furthering the broader imperial goals. Nobles from Aurangzeb's court such as Ghāzi ud-Din Khan, Zulfiqār Khan and Jumdat ul-Mulk As'ad Khan, who played a prominent part in operations in the Karnātak region, were not exceptions to such behaviour. A prominent trait amongst them that could be seen as a symbol of their notions as independent chieftains was to name the newly conquered towns after themselves or their family members.

Cuddapah – initial Mughal involvement and commencement of coinage

A good source for the History of Cuddapah is a book written in 1875 by an English civilian named J.D.B. Gribble, entitled *A Manual of the District of Cuddapah in the Presidency of Madras*. The Andhra Pradesh Govt has brought out a reprint (Hyderabad, 1992 – henceforth the Manual). It draws mostly on sources such as the *Kaifiyats*, which are vernacular accounts of local chieftains collected by early surveyors in the area such as Sir Collin Mackenzie. The Andhra Pradesh Gazetteer for Cuddapah district (ed. Bh. Sivasankaranarayana, A.P. Govt, Hyderabad, 1967) also has excellent historical information largely drawn from Gribble and other sources. However, none of these sources present a cohesive historical account, a fact which is further complicated by complex historical developments during the 18th century, involving various regional Nawab families, the intrigues at the Hyderabad court of the Āsaf Jāhi house, the Marathas, the French and the English and, last but not the least, the Mysore warlords, Hyder Ali and his son, Tipu Sultan. As for the coinage, the only scant detail available in print is in the Manual and it is evident from it that, by the time the Manual was compiled, 18th century coinage of the region had been completely erased from administrative memory!

From fragmentary details in the Manual as well as the Gazetteer, a historical picture for the Cuddapah region may be constructed. Shortly after the conquest of the Deccani Sultanates, the Mughal general, Jumdat ul-Mulk As'ad Khan, wrested Cuddapah early in 1688 from a local 'polygar' ruler named Yāchappā Nāyak, ruling on behalf of the Qutb Shāhi kingdom. Aurangzeb chose to confirm Cuddapah to him even though he had fought on the enemy side. But soon he was replaced by an officer named Jān Nisār Khan, who, in turn, was succeeded by another named Asghar Khan. In around 1690, Zulfiqār Khan, the pre-eminent Mughal general and a maternal cousin of the Emperor, traversed the area in pursuit of the Maratha king, Chhatrapati Rājārām, who had fled from his capital, Raigad, in Maharashtra when it was sacked by the Mughals in 1689 to seek shelter at Jinji, situated in the 'Karnātak' and fortified by his father Shivaji on one of his earlier expeditions. During the 1690s, Cuddapah became an important ordinance centre for Mughal campaigns in the 'Pāyeenghāt' of Bijapur-Karnātak, a role that badly affected the local population, who were forced into running ever-growing credits supplying the Mughal military machine with grain, fodder and other requirements.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the earliest Mughal coins struck at Cuddapah date to this very period. Rupees in the name of Aurangzeb were struck for the first time in his 32nd RY (Fig. 1). This corresponds to 1688-89 and this was the time when the Mughals had just launched their campaigns in the Bijapur-Karnātak region. It is also broadly commensurate with the activities of other mints around the region, like Adoni or Imtiyazgarh to the north and Kanchi to the south.

Fig. 1

The campaigns no doubt must have served as an impetus for the monetisation of the region, hence the issue of rupees at Cuddapah. The mint-name on these early issues reads 'Karapā' or 'Karpā' and is written with certain inscriptional anomalies – for example, a *shoshāh* (an s-shaped symbol used as a substitute for slanting strokes of the tops of the letters 'Kaaf' and 'Gaaf') appears just above the 'Re' and almost touches the 'Pe' that follows it. Ostensibly this is not required as the 'Kaaf' with which the mint-name begins does retain its slanting top stroke. The last character is inscribed without the addition of an 'Alif'. Although this is a variant way in which the words ending in a terminal 'A' may be written, this feature combined with the *shoshāh* touching the terminal 'Pe' makes it resemble another 'Kaaf'. When R. B. Whitehead first published the coin was in the Punjab Museum Catalogue (p. 264, no. 1952), he read the mint-name as 'Kirkee', conceivably because of this peculiar and somewhat erroneous manner of inscribing. He did leave a question mark after the reading, thus leaving room for doubt. The mint seems to have run sporadically throughout the decade of the 1690s and coins with regnal years 34 and 37 are known. The mint-name on the coin with RY 37 is inscribed accurately, omitting the *shoshāh* and adding the 'Alif' to the terminal 'Pe' (Fig.2).

Fig. 2

Another coin worth a mention here is a rupee bearing the mintname 'Karnātak' (Fig. 3).

Fig. 3

There was no town called 'Karnātak', so the mintname obviously refers to the entire province and as such it is difficult to suggest a particular town where these coins may have been struck. But stylistically, the coin resembles the 'Karpā' rupees and bears a regnal year which could be restored as 34. It is therefore possible that coins with the mintname 'Karnātak' could have been struck at Cuddapah, too. Why the name of the entire province was employed as the mintname instead of a particular town remains to be determined.

There is evidence to suggest that, alongside the silver coins, gold coinage was struck in the Cuddapah region during this period as well. These coins are struck to the 'Hon' standard and, as such, constitute the earliest Mughal issues struck in a south Indian monetary system rather than that based on the North Indian *tolāh* standard of 11.33 gm. They therefore mark the beginning of a new series within Mughal numismatics. Sohan Lal Sisodiya published a good number of Mughal hons and fanams for the first time in ND ('Mughal Pagodas and Fanams', ND, vol. 1 Pt. 1, pp. 58-67, Pl. V-VI). Mir Fazaluddin Ali Khan, Keeper of Coins at the State Museum, Hyderabad, and A.H. Siddiqui published some gold coins in a short note entitled 'Mughal Gold Pagodas and Panams in the State Museum in Hyderabad' in vol. IX of the journal 'Studies in South Indian Coins' (pp. 103 – 111). Alongside Sisodiya's contribution, this remains the only other substantial note on such a genre of coins. The provenance of most coins published by them is reported as 'treasure troves from various villages in Cuddapah district' and names are given of a few villages such as Ippapenta, Sambepalli, Mylavaram, Racharipalli, Yellapalle and Kaladivandlapalli. A few are also said to have been found from hoards outside the Cuddapah district, such as those found at Vepuripalli and Madanapalli in Chittoor district and Pathikonda in Kurnool district. However, no detailed breakdown is provided for each coin. Such inadequacies, along with incomplete descriptions of coin legends and other details renders Khan & Siddiqui's treatment of these coins very cursory indeed and the pictures they publish are also not worthy of reproduction. (Drawings are therefore illustrated here when these coins are discussed). Unfortunately, this has contributed to the subsequent superficial treatment of an important area of study of Mughal and post-Mughal coinages.

We have already explained how Cuddapah was important to the Mughal initiatives in the region. It is also worth noting the importance of Gandikota (alternatively spelled Ganjikotā or Ganjikot), to which we will return time and again in this paper. Gandikota lies about 50 miles north of Cuddapah on the spur of the Nallamalai hills and had been a fort of considerable strategic importance ever since the days of the Vijayanagar Empire, controlling the Penneru valley. It belonged to the fiefs of the Qutb Shāhi warlord Mir Juml'ā, the famed discoverer of the Koh-i-Noor diamond, who surrendered it the fort to the Mughals in 1655 when he defected to them. But after his move to north India as a Mughal courtier, local polygars took charge of Gandikota. The Mughals once again brought the fort under their control as part of the post-1687 Karnatak offensive.

Khan & Siddiqui published two coins and they are important from several angles. Both weigh 1.65 gm, thereby making them half hons, corresponding to a hon standard of 3.3-3.4 gm. This is slightly lighter than the full standard which should have been 3.5 gm. One could attribute this reduction in weight and also the choice of the denomination to some degree of currency manipulation by the Mughals, who obviously desired to stretch their precious metal supplies to the full. The coin of Gandikota mint (Khan & Siddiqui read the mintname as 'Kandikota', (Fig. 4) bears the words '*Ālamgir Shāhi* on the obverse, with the stroke of 'Shā' dividing the legend. 'Alamgir' is engraved above and 'Hi' below it, leaving a space to the left of that character, which seems to be filled with what seems like a date – a detail that Khan & Siddiqui left unaccounted for. From what can be seen in the rather poor picture provided, this ends in a '6'.

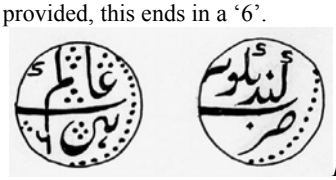


Fig. 4

Whether this the Hijri date or the regnal year cannot be said with certainty. If one takes it to be the former, it could be restored as AH 1106 or 1096 and if the latter, to RY 46, all of which would fall within the period of Mughal activity in the region. Faint traces of a dot can be seen to the left of the digit, making it ever so closer to restoration as 1106, but 46 is also equally likely as the dot could well be just a decorative aspect. The reverse of the coin bears the mintname as *Zarb Gandikotā*. This is the only instance where the mintname for coins struck at this place appears in its true vernacular form. All other instances, as will be seen later, are rendered in the Persianized version: 'Ganjikotā' or 'Ganjikot'.

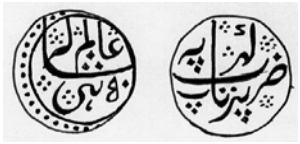


Fig.5

The coin of Cuddapah is more significant (Fig. 5). The reverse of this coin bears the legend *Partāp Zarb Kharpā*, arranged in an arabesque. 'Partāp', also read as 'Pratāp', denotes the denomination of the coin, corresponding to half a hon. Judging by the fact that denominations are almost never mentioned on high-value Mughal coins, this is an important instance, but again Khan & Siddiqui have not given any particular regard to it. The obverse legend of this coin reads the same as that of the Gandikota specimen and has the same arrangement. The chronological detail, however, is placed to the right of the 'Hi' below 'Alamgir' and in this case it is clearly the RY 50. Khan & Siddiqui take no notice of this detail. This renders the coin dateable to 1707, or the last year of Aurangzeb's reign.

The Miyānā Nawabs of Cuddapah: History

Zulfiqār Khan eventually captured Jinji in 1698 and was given the title 'Nawab of Karnātak' by the Emperor. He was initially based at the temple city of Kanchipuram (Kanchi or Kanji), the capital of the 'Pāyeenghāt' division of Bijapur-Karnātak, but after his new appointment he moved his base to the town of Arcot. As he became busy chasing the Marathas across peninsular India in the years to follow, he appointed Dāud Khan Panni, an Afghan, as his nominee to this office. With Dāud Khan began the active 'Afghanisation' of Mughal Karnātak. He appointed several Afghan families to major administrative offices. Four of these, namely those based at Sira, Savanur, Kurnool and Cuddapah, became important 'Nawabships' and exerted a considerable influence on the politics of the region well into the 1700's. The Miyānā family was one such and it came to be closely associated with Cuddapah.

Although Afghans did not muster enough numbers to represent a major ethnic group in the Mughal court (which was mainly divided into Turkic or 'Turāni' and Persian or 'Irāni' camps on grounds of ethnicity), many Afghans had been in the service of the Deccani Sultanates. Most were Shia and obviously shared a common religious affinity with their masters. A good number of them had migrated to the Deccan early in the 17th century with the Mughal army whilst on expeditions during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Some of them were established in the Mughal *şubāh* of Deccan with grants of landed tenures. Some who did not, became disaffected and defected to the sultanate camp with similar ambitions. Some acted as mercenaries, serving any authority who would give them the benefits they desired for their services. Ragati Bahlul Miyānā, the founder of the Miyānā household was one such. He was an Afghan émigré who defected from the services of Shah Jahan, had a stint with the Nizām Shāhi sultanate and ended up in 1631 with the 'Ādil Shāhi court of Bijapur. He was styled 'Sarbuland Khan' and was given a *jāgir* at Nanded Basawant in the Deccan. He was killed in a battle at Daulatabad in 1634. His grandson, Hāfiz Abdul Karim Khan, styled 'Rustam-i-Zamān Bahlul Khan', was a powerful 'Ādil Shāhi courtier and became the virtual ruler in his capacity as the regent for the infant Sultan Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh in 1671. He held the administrative division of Bankapur as his personal fief. He died in 1678 and his elder son, Abdul Rauf Diler Khan, succeeded him as the regent. It was during his tenure that Aurangzeb sacked Bijapur. The Emperor gave Abdul Rauf the title 'Diler Jang', confirmed the fief of Bankapur on him and also added to it the *jāgir* of Sāvanur. Abdul Rauf Diler Jang went on to found the house of the Nawabs of Sāvanur, who eventually became allies of the Marathas in the mid-18th century after Baji Rao I, the Maratha Peshwa, dealt them a military defeat.

It was Abdul Nabi Khan, the younger brother of Abdul Rauf Diler Khan, who founded the Miyānā house of Cuddapah. The Mughals appointed him the *Fauzdār* of Cuddapah. A local textual source named '*Siddhavata-Mahātmyam*' gives the date of his appointment as 1710. His appointment was probably a result of the ethnic bonds he shared with Dāud Khan Panni, the Nawab of Karnātak. The history of the Miyānā Nawabs of Cuddapah can be conveniently divided into three phases – the first is one of consolidation and is dominated by Abdul Nabi Khan who died in 1736. The second marks the involvement of the nawabs with bigger political forces, namely Nizam ul-Mulk, the founder of the Āsaf Jāhi dynasty of Hyderabad, his successors, and the Marathas. The third and last marks the fall of the house and involves Hyder Ali of Mysore, who defeated and imprisoned the last Nawab of Cuddapah in 1779.

The territorial ascendancy of the Miyānā nawabs began during the reign of Abdul Nabi Khan, the first nawab. He remained firmly in charge of Cuddapah during the reign of Shah Alam Bahadur, the successor of Aurangzeb (1707 – 1712). But during the reign of Farrukhsiyar (1712 – 1719), the political balance in Deccan and Karnatak began to change. He appointed Qamruddin, alias Chin Qilich Khan Nizam ul-Mulk, as the viceroy of the southern provinces in lieu of Zulfiqār Khan and his nominee Dāud Khan Panni, the mentor of the Miyānā Nawabs. Nizam ul-Mulk was an enemy of Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan, the imperial vizier. In order to strengthen his own position, the vizier (who had become a powerful king-maker towards the end of Farrukhsiyar's reign) gave the rights to collect a quarter of the revenue and a further 10% from the southern *şubāhs* to the Marathas and thus won their support. This brought the Marathas on a direct collision course with the Nizam, a rivalry that lasted until the Nizam's death in 1748. The Nizam retreated to the Deccan and successfully defeated the Mughal *şubāhdār,* Mubāriz Khan, at the battle of Sākharkhedlā in 1724. This marked the independence of the Āsaf Jāhi dynasty, which the Nizam founded initially at Aurangabad but then moved the headquarters to Hyderabad. The Nawab of Karnātak (Arcot) allied himself with the Nizam. Abdul Nabi Khan was antagonistic to the Nizam and had to fight both him and the Nawab of Arcot. It was his animosity towards the latter that gave him his first opportunity to increase his domain beyond Cuddapah; Siddhaut and Ganjikota were his early victories.

In 1717, Siddhaut (or 'Siddhavaṭam' as it is now called) was governed by Fateh Singh, the son of Kesari Singh, an appointee of 'Aqibat Mahmud Khan, then the Nawab of Arcot. Abdul Nabi Khan took Siddhaut in that year and awarded it to his youngest son Abdul Hamid Khan, who ruled as the Nawab of Siddhaut for the following 31 years. Soon afterwards, Abdul Nabi laid siege to the fort of Ganjikota, located to the north of Cuddapah. Muhammad Nabi Khan, the *Qil'ādār* of the fort on behalf of the Nawab of Arcot, surrendered the fort to him. Within the next seven years, Abdul Nabi Khan managed to win territories stretching from Tadipatri in the North to Gurramkonda in the south. But in 1736, he was killed in a skirmish with troops of the Nawab of Arcot.

Abdul Nabi Khan had five sons, namely Abdul Muhammad Khan, Abdul Qādir Khan, Abdul Fateh Khan, Abdul Muhsin Khan and Abdul Hamid Khan. Abdul Muhammad Khan succeeded him. He was blind – and therefore known as 'Guddi Nawab' or the 'Blind Nawab' – so real power rested in the hands of Abdul Muhsin Khan, alias 'Mochā Miyān' (probably '*Mucchey Miyān*' or the 'Moustachioed Squire'). Guddi Nawab ruled until his death in 1747. The enmity the Miyānā house shared with its old adversaries, namely Nizam al-Mulk of Hyderabad and the Nawab of Arcot, grew during his reign. Nizam al-Mulk had by this time severed all ties with his Mughal overlord in Delhi and retreated to the Deccan to carve out his own kingdom. The Nawab of Arcot was his ally in Karnātak and a virtual subordinate but the Afghan Nawabs established during the regency of Daud Khan, namely those of Cuddapah, Kurnool, Sira and Savanur, were his chief enemies. The Nizam was militarily much superior to any of these, thanks to the presence of French artillery and gunners on his side. During the early years of Guddi Nawab's reign, the

Nizam launched a campaign against the Miyānās and succeeded in wresting Ganjikota from them. He asked the Nawab of Arcot to administer Karnātak on his behalf and appointed a courtier named Kavidullah Khan in charge of Ganjikota.

After the death of Guddi Nawab in 1747, Muhsin Khan or Mochā Miyān became the Miyānā leader. In 1748, the Afghan Nawabs of Cuddapah, Sira, Kurnool and Savanur played a role in a major court intrigue at Hyderabad. Following Nizam ul-Mulk's death, his son and grandson, namely Nāsir Jang and Muzaffar Jang, staked claims to his domains. Nāsir Jang promised certain concessions to the Afghan alliance so they backed his claims to begin with. But soon they became disenchanted with Nāsir Jang's offer and turned against him, eventually killing him to proclaim Muzaffar Jang as the new Nizam. He was to proceed to Hyderabad with French and Afghan support but a scuffle between him and the Nawabs led to his assassination in 1749. This event left the three other sons of the late Nizam, namely Salābat Jang, Basālat Jang and Nizam Ali Khan, to stake their individual claims. Salābat Jang succeded Muzaffar Jang, but matters did not sort themselves out until 1761, when Nizam Ali Khan deposed Salābat Jang to take charge. He also managed to keep Basālat Jang at bay by appointing him regent in charge of Karnātak while he consolidated his hold in the Hyderabad region.

This episode marked both the apogee and the beginning of the downfall of Miyānā power. The high point came when Mochā Miyān, the Cuddapah Nawab became the virtual kingmaker at the Hyderabad court. Taking advantage of the confusion after the death of Muzaffar Jang, he also managed to oust Kavidullah Khan, the Nizam's officer in charge of Ganjikota, to win the fortress back for the Miyānās. In this expedition he put Ghani Miyān, the son of his brother, Abdul Qadir Khan, in charge. But after the re-conquest, he awarded Ganjikota, along with some villages, to his wife Madinā Bibi as a personal *jāgir*. But problems came from within and in 1752, two powerful *sāhukārs* or moneylenders in Cuddapah, namely Saleem Khan and 'Bakrā Sāhib', deposed Mochā Miyān to proclaim Abdul Majid Khan, the son of Abdul Hamid Khan, the Nawab of Siddhaut, as the Miyānā chief at Cuddapah. They also financed his military expeditions, one of which saw him marching against Madinā Bibi to take Ganjikota. He then carried out several other expeditions in neighbouring territories, but after four years found his financial backers clamouring for more money. They managed to concoct an intrigue in Cuddapah and threatened to oust him. In response, he withdrew to Siddhaut and sought the help of the Marathas, promising them ten million rupees. This brought the Marathas in direct contact with the Cuddapah region for the first time.

The Marathas as a political force were not new to the Karnātak. They had fought Aurangzeb on several fronts in the region during 1690–1707. During the reign of Farrukhsiyar, court intrigues at Delhi had secured for them a right to collect 25% of the revenues of the southern *subahs* and a further 10% 'expeditionary charge'. After the secure establishment of Chhatrapati Shahu at Satara in 1719, he launched a series of expeditions into the Karnātak to collect his share and no doubt this brought the Marathas into conflict with the Nizam. Shahu had initially entrusted the Karnātak expeditions to his illegitimate half-brother, Fatehsingh, but later he appointed a wealthy Brahmin courtier named Bābuji Nāik Bārāmatikar in charge. Peshwa Baji Rao I, the Maratha premier, had been a party to these expeditions with his detachments. Soon after his death in the 1740, the Karnātak expeditions reached a high point for the Marathas as they defeated an alliance of the Nizam and the Nawab of Arcot's forces at Trichinapalli and thereby intervened in a succession dispute at the Arcot court. However, in the years following, Bābuji Nāik's inept military leadership caused the Maratha interests in Karnātak to endure a substantial financial setback. In 1748, Balaji Bajirao, who had succeeded Baji Rao I as the Peshwa, pleaded with Shahu to transfer the Karnātak affairs entirely under his command. Shahu agreed and the Maratha expeditions into the Karnātak resumed. A massive one was launched in 1754-55 under the command of Balwant Rao Mehendaley, a nominee of the Peshwa. His forces were waiting along the Krishna River, the northern boundary of the two Karnātak provinces, when they received Abdul Majid Khan's offer.

The Marathas appeared near Cuddapah in 1756 and demanded their payment in advance. But Abdul Majid proved dilatory in making good his offer, so the Marathas marched against him to Siddhaut. In 1757, Abdul Majid Khan confronted them at Bandikanuma, close to Cuddapah. A battle was fought and the Nawab's forces were routed. Abdul Majid Khan was killed in this battle. The Marathas then liberated Mochā Miyān from prison and installed him as the Nawab at Cuddapah. A treaty was concluded between the Marathas and the Nawab, which secured the grant of six *tāluqās* (including Gurramkonda) of the Nawab's territory, amounting to half his domains, to the Marathas. The fort of Ganjikota came into Maratha hands at this juncture but only for a short while. Madinā Bibi, to whom the fort belonged, sought the help of her family members and managed to oust the Marathas from Ganjikota in 1759.

Mochā Miyān continued to rule over Cuddapah, Siddhaut and neighbouring territories. As he had no issue, he appointed his foster son, Sarwar Khan, as the Nawab of Siddhaut and confined the three sons of Abdul Majid Khan into custody. By 1760, Mochā Miyān had grown suspicious of Sarwar Khan and attempted to oust him. The latter fled Siddhaut and a group of local Nayakas took advantage of the turmoil to set free Abdul Halim Khan, the eldest son of Abdul Majid, who marched against Mochā Miyān. He was forced out and escaped to Kurnool, where he subsequently died. Abdul Halim Khan was the last Miyānā Nawab of Cuddapah and ruled for eighteen years. Apart from a brief rebellion by his cousin, Sayyid Miyān, not much political action took place during his reign. In 1779, Hyder Ali of Mysore defeated him in a battle at Duvvur and won over the Cuddapah region. Abdul Halim was captured and put into confinement at Srirangapattanam, Hyder's capital, where he died in captivity. The history of the Cuddapah region during and after Mysore rule will be discussed later.

Coinage during the Miyānā period:

Post-Aurangzeb coinage in the Cuddapah region is essentially confined to gold. Dilip Rajgor in his recent contribution on a 5-tola gold piece struck in the name of Ahmed Shah (Indian Coin Society Newsletter no. 35, discussed further) has included a rupee struck in the name of Shah Alam Bahadur amongst known issues of Cuddapah mint. However, as the coin remains unverified, nothing more can be said about it. As we have seen, the mint at Cuddapah had been active prior to the appointment of Abdul Nabi Khan as the *Fauzdār* in 1710. It continued to remain active till the end of Miyānā rule. Apart from Cuddapah, mints started functioning in a few other towns as territories brought under Miyānā rule grew under Abdul Nabi's reign as the first Nawab. Tadipatri and Ganjikota were two such. During the reign of Abdul Nabi's successors, a mint began functioning at Siddhaut. A mint at Gurramkonda produced coins essentially similar to those struck under Miyānā rule. A few unattributable coins, in the same style as that of the Miyānā mints, were also struck in the region.

The metrology of gold coins struck by the Miyānā Nawabs deserves some attention. Although they were *prima-facie* struck in the South Indian hon and fanam system, it is evident from the weights of available specimens that the 'hons' conform to a standard of 2.7-2.9 gm. This is considerably lower than the traditional weight for the south Indian hon that stood at c.3.5 gm. However, it matches closely with the weight of a quarter mohur. Commenting on one of the early reporting of such coins, (S. R. Aiyangar reporting a hoard of 'pagodas' i.e. hons, from Tadipatri in NS XXXIX, pp. 33ff), the veteran numismatist S.H. Hodivala opined that they were 'distinct' from the 'pagoda' coins and in fact quarter mohurs of the North Indian Standard (NS XL, p.26ff). Sohan Lal Sisodiya (op. cit., p. 60) agrees with Hodivala's

opinion but sees no reason why this should preclude them from being treated alongside pagodas. Conceivably, the introduction of such a standard by the Miyānā Nawabs suggests a deliberate attempt on their part to introduce a coinage which could readily fit into both North and South Indian systems. Fanams, by their 1:10 correlation to the hon should have weighed a tenth of this weight, i.e. 0.27-0.29 gm. However, they are usually encountered struck to another standard, that of c.0.17-0.19 gm. These weights indicate that the metrological relationship of these denominations with each other are complicated and exactly how they were correlated is yet to be found out. A browse through administrative documents may shed light on how they were transacted but this is a task that has to be left for the future.

From certain tickets accompanying a group of such lightweight fanams in the British Museum collection, it is evident that they were named 'Aparaunji' or 'Aparunji' fanams. The word also occurs as 'Aprānji' in the list of fanams given in Prinsep's useful tables. A variation 'Afrānji' is met with in vernacular documents such as Marathi 'Bakhars' (historical narratives). Its meaning is not certain and it has etymological links with the Arabic word for 'French'. These coins, however, have nothing to do with the French as far their issue is concerned. The only certain comment one can make is that the word denotes, very specifically, the lightweight fanams of the Cuddapah region and it is in this sense that it will be employed further in this paper.

At this point it is worth taking stock of mentions, often misattributed and misread, of gold coins of the Cuddapah region that dot publications such as museum catalogues of Mughal coins, before proceeding to a comprehensive reattribution exercise. The British Museum catalogue by Stanley Lane-Poole lists a coin each of Tadipatri and Ganjikota mints (nos. 900 and 902, respectively) struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar. 'Ganjikota' was misread as 'Gangapur' by Lane-Poole but Hodivala corrected that (op. cit.). The Indian Museum Calcutta Catalogue by H. Nelson Wright lists one coin of Ganjikota struck in the name of Shah Alam II (no. 2281a) but the mintname is read as 'Kanchankot'. The coins reported by S. R. Aiyangar (op. cit.) are deposited in the Madras Museum and they include three coins in the name of Farrukhsiyar struck at Tadipatri and two at Ganjikota. As for the fanams, the British Museum catalogue lists a fanam of the 'Aprānji' standard struck in the name of Ahmed Shah with a blank reverse. As will be seen later, such coins are common in the Aprānji series. In the Nagpur Museum Catalogue, M. K. Hussain noted another, similar fanam but this had the mint-name 'Kharpa' on the reverse, indicating it was struck at Cuddapah. This name was left unread by Hussain, but P. L. Gupta read it in his article that appeared in JNSI, vol. 31, p.79-80. The mint-name on the coins of Cuddapah during the Miyānā period appears as 'Kharpā', with a distinct 'H' added between the 'K' and the 'R' of the word 'Karpā'. The 'K' is almost invariably inscribed employing the *shoshāh* as a replacement for the slanting stroke at the top of the character. This way of writing is first evident on the 'Pratap' published by Khan & Siddiqui (picture 5 above) and later becomes a constant feature of Cuddapah coins. The linguistic explanation for this change of the non-aspirated 'K' to an aspirated 'Kh' in the word remains to be determined. Sohail Khan noted the change in his remarks on Rajgor's article in the subsequent issue of Indian Coin Society Newsletter (no. 36) but did not provide a solution to the mystery.

Coins of the Cuddapah Mint

By far the earliest issue from Cuddapah during the Miyānā period is a fanam struck in the name of Jahandar Shah, who briefly reigned in 1712 (Fig. 6). The coin has the name of the emperor written in two lines as *Jahandar Shah* on the obverse and the reverse bears the mint-name *Kharpā*, with a '1' appearing just above the 'P', standing for the first regnal year of the emperor. As such the coin may be dated to 1712 AD, which is soon after Abdul Nabi Khan took charge as the first Nawab. It weighs 0.173 gm, showing that the 'Aprānji' standard was adopted at Cuddapah early during the Miyānā period.

Fig.6

'Aprānji' fanams were struck regularly at the Cuddapah mint thereafter, the next in chronological succession being ones struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar. Sisodiya published one such piece (op. cit., p. 65-67, pl. VI, no. 9). This coin matches stylistically with that struck in the name of Jahandar Shah – it has the name of the emperor on the obverse and the mintname 'Kharpā' with the RY 5 positioned in the same place on the reverse as on the Jahandar Shah issue. Another coin with RY 7 is illustrated here (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7

This coin clearly shows a distinguishing feature on the reverse that appears on all Cuddapah fanams - although sometimes it is not seen being off-flan – which is a cruciform star-like mark that occurs close to the mintname. One more specimen in the name of Farrukhsiyar is published from the State Museum Hyderabad collection by Khan & Siddiqui (op.cit., p. 106-107, pl. XXIX, no. 8). The chronological detail is truncated on this coin but it is significant because it bears the 'star' mark on both sides.

Fanams struck in the name of Muhammad Shah come next. They retain the stylistic features seen on the issues of preceding emperors. One was published by Khan & Siddiqui (op.cit., pl. XXIX, no. 7). The date on the coin cannot be clearly made out from the poor illustration but seems like 8. Four are illustrated here, one without clear regnal year details (Ashmolean Museum Collection), one with RY 4 and the last two with RY 17. (Figs. 8a, 8b, 8c, 8d)

Fig. 8a

Fig. 8b

Fig. 8c

Fig. 8d

Two distinct executional styles are evident in these coins – those of RY 17 have a bold *tashdeed* mark placed over the second 'M' of 'Muhammad' while the first two do not. Instead, the 'H' of 'Shah' is seen prominently on them. RY 17 would place the issue of these fanams in the reign of Abdul Muhammad Khan, the second Nawab.

Issues in the name of Ahmad Shah come next and they are interesting for more than one reason. Larger denominations struck in the name of this emperor are known for the first time for Cuddapah mint and they include two impressive multiple-denomination coins – one a 'double mohur' and the other weighing 54.61 gm, identified as a '5-*tolā* mohur'. P. L. Gupta published the first (ND, vol. 1, pt.1, p.72; pl. VII, no.2) while Dilip Rajgor and S. Mohanchand Dadha brought the other to notice (ICS newsletter, no. 35). An electrotype of one more coin, struck from the same dies as that of the one published by Rajgor-Dadha, is in the British Museum. It is illustrated here (Fig. 9).

The weight of what Gupta labelled as a 'double mohur' is not available in his original contribution but a summary by Rajgor reports it to be 21.6-22 gm. This weight and also that of the '5-*tolā*' piece are a bit lighter – they should weigh 22.6 gm and 56.65 gm respectively if struck to the 11.33 gm *tolā* standard.

Fig. 9

If the *tolā* in question were taken to be one of 10.8 gm rather than 11.33 gm, the weights would conform to those reported. But as the 10.8 gm *tolā* standard remained mostly confined to western India, this is unlikely. Therefore there is room to believe that these coins were not struck on the mohur standard based on the *tolā* of 11.3 gm at all. Taking into account the lightweight hon standard of 2.7 gm prevalent in the region, it seems likely that the '5-*tolā*' coin and the 'double mohur' are 20-hon and 8-hon pieces respectively.

Both the so-called 'double mohur' and the '5-*tolā* mohur' coins are quite definitely presentation issues. Both were struck in the first RY of Ahmad Shah (Gupta misread the regnal year on the 'double mohur' coin as 5) and the latter bears 1161 as the AH date on the obverse. This corresponds to 1748, within a year of the accession of Muhsin Khan alias Mochā Miyān as Nawab of Cuddapah, following the death of Abdul Muhammad Khan in 1747. It is likely that these coins were struck as a gift for the new Mughal emperor from the Nawab of Cuddapah.

Apart from these specially struck coins, regular issues from the Cuddapah mint struck in the name of Ahmed Shah are also known. Midway through the reign of Ahmad Shah as Mughal emperor, Mochā Miyān was overthrown and Abdul Majid Khan installed as the Nawab of Cuddapah. In the absence of clearly dated coins, it is often not possible to attribute them to particular nawabs. The coins are known in the denominations of hons and 'Aprānji' fanams. Two hons are illustrated here – both conforming to the lightweight 2.7-2.8 gm standard. The emperor's name appears on the obverse and the mintname, along with the date, on the reverse.

Fig. 10

Fig. 11

One of the coins (Fig. 10) does not show the name of Ahmad Shah in full and there is room to believe that it could be Muhammad instead of Ahmad Shah. This coin also has what seems like the Persian character 'M' to the left of the mintname on the reverse. Its meaning is not obvious but it may stand for the initial of the ruling nawab, Muhsin Khan or (Abdul) Majid Khan. Both coins have a peculiarly engraved date below the mintname on the reverse, which is clearly seen on the second coin (Fig. 11). It begins, as it should, with '11' but what follows looks more like the Persian character 'He'. Two explanations could be given – the first would be to regard this as a case of bad engraving: what seems like 'He' could be 67 inscribed in a cursive manner, and the date may be read as AH 1167. The second explanation would be to translate the 'He' in a political manner to regard it as the initial of someone like Hyder Ali of Mysore whose political might may have prompted its incorporation in such a way. The general quality of engraving of the inscriptions on the coin is good, so one would wonder why the date has been engraved in this fashion. On the other hand, 'He' standing for Hyder Ali's initial would be a historical incongruity as his involvement in the Cuddapah region came a while after the reign of Ahmed Shah had ended. Even if we regard the coin as a posthumous issue in Ahmad Shah's name it is not at all clear at this stage why it should quote any such authority in the first place.

'Aprānji' fanams minted at Cuddapah in the name of Ahmad Shah are quite numerous. Some of them are uniface, i.e. bear only the name of the emperor (Fig. 12) but by comparison with those having the mintname on the reverse, can still be attributed to the Cuddapah mint. The obverse of most bears the distinctive 'star'-mark of the Cuddapah mint. The reverse bears the mintname as 'Kharpā' and, as can be seen from a few dated specimens, the AH date, rather than the regnal year as found on previous issues.

Two are illustrated here – one from the Ashmolean Collection (Fig. 13) and one from the British Museum collection (Fig. 14). The Ashmolean specimen bears the date AH 1162 while the BM coin has the truncated date 11XX. All three coins bear the 'star'-mark.

Fig.12

Fig. 13

Fig. 14

Coins struck in the name of Alamgir II have been hitherto unpublished. Three are illustrated here – one a half hon struck to the lightweight standard (Fig. 15) and the other two 'Aprānji' fanams (Figs. 16a, 16b).

Fig. 15

Fig. 16a

Fig.16b

The half hon and one of the fanams have the name of the emperor inscribed as *Ālamgir Thāni* on the obverse and in both cases the letter 'Ye' in its *majhool* form (the 'i' of 'Thani') forms a divider, above which is the word 'Alamgir'. In the case of the second fanam, which is in the BM collection, the name of the emperor seems to be without *Thāni,* and RY 7 is seen clearly on the obverse. In all cases, the mintname is placed on the reverse – in the case of the half hon it appears with 'Zarb' and also the word *sanāh* above which the RY 'Ahd' is placed. The hon and the first fanam have traces of AH dates in the lower half of the obverse legend. In the case of the half hon, only '6' is visible but combined with the regnal year on the reverse, the date could be restored to AH 1167. The fanam bears a truncated date AH 117X. The way in which the word 'Alamgir' is written differs– on the half hon, the two components 'Alam' and 'Gir' are engraved conjointly, whereas on the fanam, they are separated, with the 'G' appearing in its full form. From the chronological details, the half hon can be attributed to the rule of Abdul Majid Khan. The first fanam dates to after he was killed in the battle with the Marathas, so it can be attributed to the second reign of Mochā Miyān as nawab. The second fanam has a posthumous RY for Alamgir II, which would correspond to 1761 and as such it may be regarded as an issue of Abdul Halim Khan, the last nawab.

Fig. 16c

Fig. 16d

Two more fanams, also from the BM collection, are shown here (Figs. 16c, 16d**)** – they both bear the name of Alamgir II and are akin in design to the first fanam described above, i.e. have the word *Thāni* as a divider for the obverse. They are of inferior quality as far as execution of the legends is concerned and might not be Miyānā issues. The first has traces of the AH date which could be restored to 1167 and as such the coin attributed to the period of Abdul Majid Khan. The second also has traces of the AH date, but they seem to be too garbled to attempt a restoration.

The last coins struck at Cuddapah during the Miyānā period are 'Aprānji' fanams bearing the name of the Emperor Shah Alam II. They can be grouped into three varieties. In the absence of clearly dated specimens, the relative chronology of these varieties cannot be established, but it is conceivable that they were all struck in the reign of Abdul Halim Khan, the last nawab. Coins of the first variety bear the emperor's name on the obverse as *Shah Alam* and the mintname on the reverse. Khan & Siddiqui published one such fanam (op. cit., p. 106-107; pl. XXIX, No. 10) and another one is illustrated here (Fig. 17). Both coins are remarkable for the incorporation of small dots in their design as decorative adjuncts to the inscription.

Fig. 17

Fig. 18

A coin bearing the obverse legend *Shāh Gauhar Ghāzi* can be categorised as the second variety (Fig. 18). Mirza Ali Gauhar was the pre-accession name of Shah Alam II and the legend obviously refers to that. The terminal 'i' of the word 'Ghazi' is inscribed in its *majhool* form and forms a divider, above which is 'Shah Gauhar'. Traces of an AH date can be seen in the lower half, after the characters 'Ghā' and 'Z'. Only a '6' is visible and that would mean the date, in all probability, is AH 1176. A six-pointed star appears between the numeral and the 'Z'. Coins struck in the name of Shah Gauhar are a peculiarity associated with the Marathas. As such, this may have been a Maratha issue. However, no information about the Marathas being active at Cuddapah in AH 1176 (1762-63 AD) is available from historical sources, so the coin has to be attributed to the Miyānā Nawabs. Coins of the third and last variety bear the name of Shah Alam with a unique symbol on the obverse, a double-bladed sword, which is seen placed between the characters 'Ā' and 'Lam', above the word 'Shah' (see drawing).

Fig.19

A unique coin of this type from the Ashmolean Collection is illustrated here (Fig. 19). The mintname appears on the reverse and there is no trace of a date. The double-bladed sword is 'Zulfiqār', the sword of the prophet 'Ali and is a symbol with distinct Shiite affinity. Fanams similar to the last two varieties were also struck at Siddhaut (discussed below).

Coins of the Ganjikota Mint:

After Cuddapah, Ganjikota remains the most prolific mint of the Miyānā period. However, unlike Cuddapah, it changed hands between the Nawabs, the Marathas and Hyder Ali of Mysore, thereby making attribution a difficult task at times.

As we have seen, the mint at Ganjikota had been active during the reign of Aurangzeb, as evident from the issue of gold hons in his name. The earliest Miyānā issues, however, are struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar. Hons, half hons and fanams are known – the hons are struck to the lightweight standard and the fanams are 'Aprānji', weighing in the range of 0.17-0.19 gm. The British Museum collection has a hon (Fig. 20) and the Krause-Mishler Catalogue of World Gold Coins illustrates a half hon (KM# 380.1). Both these have the name of the emperor on the obverse as *Muhammad Farrukhsiyar* and the mintname with the word 'Zarb' on the reverse. Both coins are dated in the 5th RY of the emperor (the BM specimen has it engraved rather strangely resembling the English numeral '8') and as such may conveniently be attributed to the reign of Abdul Nabi Khan, the first Nawab of Cuddapah.

Fig. 20

Fig. 21

The fanam illustrated here (Fig. 21) bears the name of the emperor as 'Farrukhsiyar' on the obverse and the mintname without 'Zarb' on the reverse. It has no visible chronological details, but the 'star'-shaped mark, which we have noticed on certain coins of the Cuddapah mint, is seen placed on the obverse.

Coins struck at Ganjikota in the name of the next emperor, Muhammad Shah, are rather numerous. Hons, half hons and 'Apranji' fanams are known and it is difficult to attribute the fanams to any particular nawab's reign as they lack discernable dates. One is illustrated here (Fig. 22) and it has the emperor's name *Muhammad Shah* on the obverse and the mintname on the reverse.

fig. 22

Three hons, one half hon and one 'double fanam' were published by Khan & Siddiqui. A discrepancy exists between the descriptions of the coins provided in the text and the images supplied in the plates – a coin listed as a 'half fanam' is quite evidently a hon as seen from its picture and the one preceding it looks like a fanam, but is listed as a 'double fanam' with a weight of 0.650 gm. If we consider the weight as correctly reported, the coin would be a '5-fanam' piece as metrological data available from other specimens indicates that the fanams were struck to the 'Aprānji' standard of 0.17-0.19 gm. Although it is more likely that the description is erroneous, a '5-fanam' coin could exist. But as the coin is not available for checking, nothing more can be said about it at this juncture.

The hons and half hon published by Khan & Siddiqui bear the name of the emperor on the obverse in a two-line legend as *Bādshāh Muhammad Shāh*. The 'Sheen' of the word 'Shah' following 'Muhammad' is elongated, forming the divider for the obverse legend. The reverse bears the mintname with 'Zarb', the AH date appears in the lower half of the inscription. The hons illustrated by Khan & Siddiqui bear the dates AH 1153 and 1154, while the half hon is dated AH 1154. All three are dateable to the reign of Abdul Muhammad Khan, the second nawab, but as the fort of Ganjikota lay in the Nizam's hands towards the beginning of his reign it is possible that the coins are the issues of the latter. Two such are illustrated here, both struck to the lightweight standard (Figs. 23, 24).

A few hons of Ganjikota have also been offered in auctions, beginning with two in the 'Skanda' Collection (Spink-Taisei sale 9, Singapore, 20 February 1991).

Fig. 23

fig. 24

No coin struck at Ganjikota in the name of Ahmad Shah, the next emperor, is hitherto known. The reign of Alamgir II saw Ganjikota pass into the hands of the Marathas in 1757. They, in turn, soon lost it to Madinā Bibi, the wife of Mocha Miyan. Accordingly, Wiggins & Maheshwari include the mint amongst the ones they listed as Maratha mints in South India (K.W. Wiggins and K.K. Maheshwari, 'Maratha Mnts and Coinage, Nasik, 1989, pp. 175-76). They list a hon and fanam and attribute them to the Marathas. Two such are illustrated here (hon Fig. 25, fanam Fig. 26) with a clear date AH 1176.

Fig. 25

Fig. 26

The legends on both are truncated but may well be restored to '*Ālamgir Thāni* on the obverse and *Ganjikota*, with (in the case of the hon) or without (in the case of the fanam) *Zarb* on the reverse. In both cases the word 'Alamgir' is inscribed with the 'L' and 'M' joined together and therefore has no disjunction. The date corresponds to 1761 and the coins would therefore be posthumous issues for the emperor's reign came to an end in 1759 AD (AH 1173). Why coins would be struck with a posthumous date, especially when issues in the name of the next emperor, Shah Alam II, are known (see below), is a question worth asking. An explanation could be found in treating the last digit as a misengraving for '2', a phenomenon well-known on coins, and that would place the coins well into the years when the Marathas were in charge at Ganjikota. A half hon, with traces of the same date, is also listed here (Fig. 27), in addition to the information published by Wiggins & Maheshwari.

Fig. 27

A second type wherein the word 'Alamgir' is written disjointed as two separate words 'Alam' and 'Gir' is also known for the coins of Ganjikota. A hon of this type appeared in Baldwin's auction no. 43 (lot 2898, Fig. 28). This bears the AH date 1172 and thus could safely be regarded as a Maratha issue. A half hon in the same type, with 'Alamgir' written disjointed, is illustrated here (Fig. 28a).

Fig. 28

Fig. 29

It is curious because it clearly differs in executional style, the placement of ornamental marks and the way in which the word 'Alamgir' is written from the issues described thus far. A large cruciform mark is seen in the obverse field. Judging by the fact that similar marks are seen on coins of Farrukhsiyar and Ahmad Shah of Cuddapah mint and also by its conspicuous omission on the issues that are apparently Maratha, it seems probable that this half hon was struck under Miyānā authority. Whether it was struck during the reign of Abdul Majid Khan before the Marathas occupied Ganjikota, or during the tenure of Madinā Bibi as Mochā Miyān's appointee, after the Marathas were ousted from there, cannot be determined, as the coin does not bear a date.

Hons and fanams in the name of Shah Alam II are also known from the Ganjikota mint. Wiggins & Maheshwari listed them as 'Maratha' issues, but judging by the fact that the place did not return into Maratha hands after Madinā Bibi managed to recover it from them, this attribution needs to be revised. It seems that they were all struck during the reign of Abdul Halim Khan, the last of the Miyānā Nawabs. Both denominations are struck with 'Shah Gauhar', the pre-accession name of Shah Alam II. On the hons the obverse legend reads *Shāh Gauhar Bādshāh Ghāzi*, with the 'i' of 'Ghazi' forming the divider, above which is 'Shah Gauhar'. The reverse bears the legend *Zarb Ganjikota* (Fig. 29).

fig. 29

Fig. 30

Known specimens are rather elaborately decorated with clusters of dots spread widely over both obverse and reverse fields. Most coins lack a date but a specimen with 1189 placed above the name of the Emperor is known **(**ex-Ken Wiggins Collection**,** Fig. 30). As this corresponds to 1774-75, this makes the coin one of the latest Miyana issues known. The fanams, on the other hand, bear dates on the obverse. In their case, the obverse legend is limited to 'Shah Gauhar Ghazi', the word 'Ghazi' being placed in the lower half, with the *majhool* 'i' forming the divider. On most coins, a multi-pointed star is seen immediately after the 'Z' and the date follows it. Some coins are uniface as the reverse inscription is often struck off the tiny flan. Two fanams, dated 1157 – error for 1175 – and AH 1181 are illustrated here (Figs. 31, 32).

Fig. 31

Fig. 32

Coins of the Siddhaut mint

Siddhaut was one of the first conquests of Abdul Nabi Khan Miyānā and he awarded it to his youngest son, Abdul Hamid Khan, who enjoyed it till 1748. It then passed on to Abdul Majid Khan, who subsequently deposed his uncle, Muhsin Khan a k.a. Mochā Miyān, in 1753. After he moved to Cuddapah, his son, Abdul Halim Khan, became the Nawab of Siddhaut. After Abdul Majid's death at Maratha hands, Mocha Miyan granted Siddhaut to his adopted son, Sarwar Khan, while confining Abdul Halim Khan, the rightful claimant to prison. In 1760, Abdul Halim managed to depose Sarwar Khan and stage a coup with the help of local Nayakas, which eventually saw him occupy the Miyānā seat at Cuddapah.

Siddhaut, or Siddhavatam, lay very close to Cuddapah to its west, but, being on the other side of a river, it belonged to a different administrative division. It is a town of considerable religious importance and has three old temples, namely Siddheswara Swami, Siddhavateswara Swami and Ranganatha Swami. A local dynast ordered a wall to be constructed surrounding these in 1604 and this became the nucleus of the Siddhaut fort. Abdul Halim Khan made extensive repairs to the fort in 1755 and heavily fortified it with additions of new walls and bastions.

References to Siddhaut as a mint-town are rather obscure. C. R. Singhal penned a short article on a coin in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society ('A Unique Gold Coin of the Nawabs of Cuddapah', JNSI, vol. XIV, pp. 113-114; pl. V, 20), publishing a coin weighing 43 grains struck in the name of Alamgir II. When the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies carried out an extensive documentation of the Society's (now the Asiatic Society of Bombay) collection in the 1980s, this coin was reported 'missing'. As the picture of the coin is not suitable for reproduction, a drawing is appended here (Fig. 33).

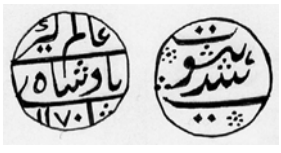


Fig.33

It bears the obverse legend *'Alamgir (Thān)i Badshah Ghāzi*' and although the word 'Thani' is not visible, its existence may be assumed by the fact that there are two horizontal dividers for the obverse legend, one formed by the *majhool* 'i' of 'Ghazi' and the other by the same in 'Thāni'. Singhal, however, does not seem to have noticed this. He also does not give much attention to the history of the coin and most of his note consists of information about Siddhaut taken from the Cuddapah District Gazetteer. Judging by its weight (c. 2.8 gm), this coin is certainly a lightweight hon. The reverse of the coin bears the mintname 'Sidhawat', 'Sidhot' or 'Sidhaut', whichever way one can read it, inscribed conspicuously in three lines above 'Zarb', read from bottom to top. 'Sid' forms the first line, 'Hau' (alternatively 'Ho' or 'Hav') the middle and the long stroke of 'T', the last on the top.

P.L. Gupta, while offering editorial comments on Sohan Lal Sisodiya's article in ND, drew on Singhal's paper and contended that one of the fanams, attributed by Sisodiya to Kolar, was in fact an issue of Siddhaut. But while rendering what can be seen on the coin in terms of a mintname, Gupta seems to have ignored the 'H' in the word 'Siddhaut' and offered 'Sidaut' as the reading. The 'H' is prominently inscribed on the coin published by Singhal (and also on all other coins being published here, see below) and thus cannot be ignored. The coin which Gupta considered to be of Siddhaut is therefore not of that mint. Another case where a coin of Siddhaut was misattributed was a small note in the 'Indian Coin Society Newsletter' by Prof. V. M. Kalpande ('A Fanam of Hosur Mint', ICSN, no. 16, Sept. 1992). This is a fanam in the name of Shah Gauhar upon which he read the mint 'Hosur' and tried to attribute the coin to the Marathas. But the mintname is clearly 'Siddhaut', inscribed in the same tripartite fashion as seen on the hon published by Singhal.

Another coin of Siddhaut mint in the name of Alamgir II, a half hon, appeared for sale in Baldwin's Auctions no. 31, conducted on 15 October 2002 (lot 616). Here the obverse legend reads *'(Badsh)ah ('A)lamgir Thāni*' and has three divisions, with the 'Sh' of 'Shah' and the 'i' of 'thāni' forming the dividers. The AH date 116X appears in the top line. The reverse bears the mintname 'Sidhaut' in the typical tri-partite fashion (Fig. 34) with 'Zarb' below it. The 'Zar' portion of the mint indicative appears above the 'B', which is a peculiar arrangement. At the top, just before the final character in the mintname, is placed the RY 2 and a small star appears just above the horizontal stroke of the 'B'.

Fig. 34

Three coins in the name of Ahmad Shah are illustrated here (Figs. 35, 36, 37); the first two have dates placed along with the mintname on the reverse while on the third the date is off the flan.

Fig. 35 *Fig.36* *Fig. 37*

The first has an AH date 1166 (or 1162), while the second has an RY 5. Both fall within the reign of Abdul Majid Khan as the Nawab of Siddhaut. A fanam in the name of Alamgir comes next in the chronological order (Fig. 38). As the reign of Alamgir corresponds with the tenure of Abdul Halim Khan, the son of Abdul Majid Khan, as the Nawab of Siddhaut, the coin may safely be attributed to him. It bears RY 4 on the reverse and as such may be dated to 1758 AD.

Fig. 38 *Fig. 39* *Fig. 40*

Like the coins of Cuddapah, those struck at Siddhaut in the name of Shah Alam II are of two types – those bearing the name Shah Alam (Fig. 39) and those with his pre-accession name, Shah Gauhar (Fig. 40). The first bears only 'Shah Alam' as the obverse legend while the second has 'Shah Gauhar Ghazi', inscribed in two lines, with the 'i' forming the divider as usual. There are traces of a date on both – on the one with the name 'Shah Alam', it is seen on the reverse, interspersed between the mintname. The extant bit looks like '16', so it cannot be concluded whether it is part of an AH date or an RY. On the coin with the 'Shah Gauhar' legend, the date appears at the same place as it does on the coins of Cuddapah and Ganjikota mints, just after the 'Z' of the word 'Ghaz' in the lower half of the obverse legend. The digit '6' is clear on the fanam illustrated here and from that, the date could be restored to AH 1176 or 1186.

From two 'Aprānji' fanams in the collections of the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum (Figs 41 and 42 respectively), it is evident that the Siddhaut mint also struck coins of the 'double-bladed' sword type, just like the issues of the Cuddapah mint, with the name of Shah Alam II.

Fig. 41 *Fig. 42*

These would be the last issues by far from Siddhaut. Hyder Ali defeated Nawab Abdul Halim Khan in 1779 and, after the conquest, razed the Siddhaut fort to the ground.

Coins of the Tarpatri mint

Tarpatri (Tadipatri) is situated about 50 miles to the north of Cuddapah and is presently located in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh. Its original name is 'Tatiparthi' or 'Tadiparthi', 'Tarpatri' being a Persianisation of the Telugu name. After the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire, the area around Tarpatri was under the control of local polygars. Zulfiqar Khan captured the town for the Mughals in the 1690s and is credited with the construction of a Jam'i Mosque there. No information is available as to when Tarpatri came under Miyānā control, but unlike Cuddapah or Ganjikota, the mint at Tarpatri seems to be entirely a Miyānā enterprise as there was no mint there during the rule of their predecessors.

The coins struck at Tarpatri are conspicuous by the absence of 'Aprānji' fanams, all known specimens being lightweight hons. The earliest of these are in the name of Farrukhsiyar, published first by Ayyangar as part of a hoard found at Tarpatri (vide supra). Two specimens, one from the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York, (Fig. 43) and the other from the BM collection (Fig. 43a) are shown here.

Fig. 43 *Fig. 43a*

The coins are stylistically perfect, with the emperor's name appearing on the obverse as *Muhammad Farrukhsiyar*. The mint appears on the reverse as *Zarb Tārpatri*. In case of the BM specimen an AH date 1125 appears above the name of the Emperor. On the ANS piece, the regnal year 5 – engraved resembling the English numeral '8' as on the Ganjikota issues - is placed on the reverse just above the mintname. As both details fall within the reign of Abdul Nabi Khan, the coins should be attributed to him.

The next in chronological order is a lightweight hon in the name of Muhammad Shah (Fig. 44). In terms of style and legend arrangements it is very similar to the coins of Ganjikota. The obverse legend reads *Muhammad Shah Badshah*, with the 'sh' of 'Shah' dividing it into two parts and the name of the emperor visible above it. The reverse reads *Zarb Tarpatri* and traces of a date are seen below the 'B' of 'Zarb'. Unfortunately, as it is

truncated beyond restoration, the coin cannot be attributed to the rule of any particular nawab.

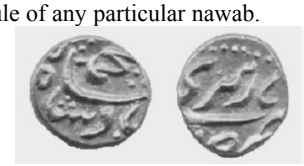


Fig. 44

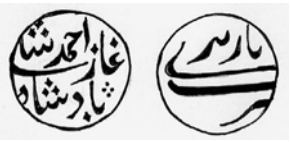


Fig. 45

Khan & Siddiqui published a hon of Tarpatri struck in the name of Ahmad Shah (op. cit., p. 111, no. 17). The coin is another lightweight hon, weighing 2.65 gm, lacking any chronological detail and is cruder in style to the coins described so far (Fig. 45). The obverse legend here reads *Ahmad Shah Badshah Ghazi* and is divided into two parts by the *majhool* 'i' of 'Ghazi', with the name of the emperor placed in the top portion. The reverse bears the mintname as *Zarb Tarpatri*; unlike the other coins, here the last 'i' is inscribed in its *majhool* form. This, coupled with the long horizontal stroke of 'B' in *Zarb*, contributes to a double lined divider for the legend on the reverse. As there is no date visible on the coin, it cannot be attributed to any particular Miyānā ruler.

Hitherto, the last known issue of the Tarpatri mint was a lightweight hon struck in the name of Alamgir II (Fig. 46). The name of the emperor appears as '*Alamgir (Tha)ni*' on the obverse while the reverse bears the mintname *Zarb Tarpatri*. 'Alamgir' is written here with 'Alam' and 'Gir' conjoined and a date AH 1176 appears below the divider formed by the *majhool* 'i' of 'Thani'.

Fig. 46

As it postdates the reign of Alamgir II, it poses similar questions regarding attribution of the coin as it did for the coins of Ganjikota mint with the same date. Here again, the explanation that '6' is a misengraving for '2' would work. The calligraphy of the coin is much inferior and it bears a 'Noon' just above 'Alamgir', the presence of which could relate to the issuing authority. It is possible that the coin is a Maratha issue, although the involvement of Marathas at Tarpatri is by no means certain.

Coins of the Gurramkonda mint

Gurramkonda lies about 50 miles to the south of Cuddapah and came into Maratha possession when Mochā Miyān ceded half his territories to them in accordance with the terms of the 1757 treaty when he was installed on the Miyānā seat after the death of his nephew, Abdul Majid Khan, at their hands. It is a formidable fort – the name in Telugu means 'Horse Hill' - and there is a myth associated with the fort involving a horse that stood as a guardian at its top.

The Marathas held the fort under their direct control till 1767, when it was handed over to Mir Reza Ali, the brother-in-law of Hyder Ali of Mysore. This was part of a political ploy to win Mir Reza's support against Hyder Ali in an on-going campaign against the latter by the Maratha Peshwa, Madhav Rao. Mir Reza was displeased with Hyder and therefore was an easy target. Mir Reza held Gurramkonda on behalf of the Marathas for a while, but soon surrendered it to Hyder. It changed hands once more after Hyder surrendered it back to the Marathas in 1772. Finally Hyder's son, Tipu Sultan, won it for Mysore in 1778. It was one of Tipu's early victories and gave a taste of what was to be expected in terms of military genius from him in the future.

Gurramkonda features amongst the Maratha mint-towns listed by Wiggins & Maheshwari (op. cit., p. 178-79) and they have drawn heavily on the descriptions provided by H. P. Hawkes as their basis to attribute certain coins to the mint. According to Hawkes, coins named 'Ashwooputty' pagoda and 'Nerputty' fanams were struck at Gurramkonda. Judging by these names, Wiggins & Maheshwari conclude that the first of these coins would have had the motif of a horse-rider on it. They illustrate one such coin from the BM collection, which shows, on the obverse, a caparisoned horse with two deities riding on its back. But it is evidently a medieval south Indian hon, probably dating to the 10^{th}-11^{th} centuries, as its reverse (which Wiggins & Maheswati leave without a description) bears a 'Gaja-Lakshmi' icon, stylistically attributed to that period. A copper coin with the horse-rider motif is also listed by Wiggins & Maheswari as an issue of Gurramkonda. This again is without any attributional basis, as even Hawkes does not mention any such coin being struck there. The attribution of both types of coins to Gurramkonda therefore has to be rejected. Hawkes' mention of 'Ashwooputty Pagodas' as the name of coins being struck at Gurramkonda probably has a link with the reference to a horse in this name and the myth that surrounded Gurramkonda and its guardian horse.

Interestingly, one of the few cursory mentions that Gribble's 'Cuddapah Manual' has about coins is with reference to Gurramkonda. Although evidently based on hearsay and lacking historicity and authenticity, it is worth a note. Gribble states, "Indeed, so important was the garrison of Gurramkonda that its governors were allowed considerable powers, one of the privileges being almost a royal one, namely, the right of coining money. At the end of the last century the Gurramkonda rupees were current over the whole of the sub-division." Conceivably, the rupees mentioned in this passage are non-existent as a circulation as wide as Gribble credits them with would have ensured that at least a few would have survived. Instead, we find 'Aprānji' fanams struck at Gurramkonda, but even those are pretty rare.

Amongst all the 'Aprānji' fanams of the Cuddapah region, those struck at Gurramkonda are conclusively not Miyānā issues. They lack dates and therefore make the task of their attribution difficult but as they are all struck in the name of Shah Alam II, their issue may safely be dated to the period during which Gurramkonda rested either in Maratha or in Hyder's hands. Three are illustrated here (Figs. 47, 48, 49); together they help in restoring the mintname in full.

Fig. 47

Fig. 48

Fig. 49

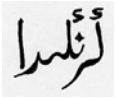


Fig. 49a

The name of the Emperor appears on the obverse and the name of the mint on the reverse. It reads 'Gurrankonda', with an 'N' substituted for 'M' in the word (see fig. 49a); however, such is not uncommon – cf. the inscription 'Munbai' instead of 'Mumbai' as it occurs on most issues of the East India Company struck in the name of the Mughal Emperor. The terminal 'a' is inscribed with an 'Alif' rather than 'He', which also is a minor inscriptional curiosity.

Mintless 'Aprānji' Fanams

There are two categories of 'Aprānji' fanams without a mint-name – the first comprises those struck in the name of the Mughal Emperor and the second, those struck in the name of the Maratha Peshwa or Prime Minister. Judging by the weight standard, it is certain that they were struck in the Cuddapah region, but the exact place remains unknown.

Those struck in the name of the Mughal Emperor have another peculiarity – they all bear the denomination on the reverse instead of the mint-name. This occurs as *Phalam*, which is a Persian form of the Telugu/Tamil word *Panam*, meaning a 'coin' but clearly used as a denomination to denote gold coins struck to the tenth fraction of the hon or pagoda all across the Deccan and the deep south. The Anglo-Indian 'Fanam' derives from the same roots. Often, the chronological detail is placed alongside the

denomination, much the same as with other 'Aprānji' fanams, where it occurs along with the mint-name. The earliest of these coins was published by Khan & Siddiqui (op. cit., p. 110, no.11) and it bears the name of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar. Another coin, shown here (Fig. 50), has been poorly struck on the obverse, so the name of the emperor cannot be discerned. The reverse, however, bears the date AH 1130, thereby enabling us to attribute it to the reign of the emperor, Muhammad Shah. Both these could have been issues struck during the tenure of Abdul Nabi Khan.

Fig. 50

Fig. 51

fig. 52

Fig. 53

Three coins struck in the name of 'Alamgir' are shown here. Two of them have curious dates on the reverse, placed to the left of the word 'Phalam' – they read '84' and '94' (or '48' and '49') respectively (Figs. 51, 52). The third does not have readable traces of a date (Fig. 53). If we take the coins to be the issues of Alamgir II, these details become meaningless in terms of either the AH date or the RY, unless of course they are posthumous issues struck in AH 1184 and 1194. The first of these would fall comfortably under Miyānā rule and the second would come very close to its eventual capture by Hyder Ali, in fact postdate it by a year or so. The second possibility is that 48 and 49 are RYs of the Emperor Aurangzeb, also known as 'Alamgir'. If we accept this, the coins will date well before the advent of the Miyānās in the region and indeed the credit of launching the 'Aprānji' currency would go to their predecessors. However, judging by the style and also by a comparison with the third coin (which is evidently an Alamgir II issue, with his RY 2 placed on the reverse), this seems an unlikely proposition.

The latest of the mintless 'Aprānji' fanams are struck in the name of Shah Alam II (figs. 54, 54a). They bear the emperor's name on the obverse and the word *Phalam* along with RY 2 placed to its left, on the reverse. The one illustrated as fig. 54a is from the British Museum collection.

Fig. 54

Fig. 54a

The 'Aprānji' fanams struck in the name of the Maratha Peshwa are uniface pieces with a Devanagari legend in Marathi (figs. 55, 56), which reads *Panta Pradhān*. This word means quite literally 'Prime Minister'. It is divided into two lines, 'Panta Pra' occurs in the top line while 'Dhāna' is placed in the bottom (see fig. 56a). It is arranged in a sort of rectangular cartouche with the line on the top of the characters forming a part of its border.

Fig. 55

Fig. 56

Fig. 56a

The Marathas led several expeditions into the Cuddapah region between 1757 and 1772. In the 1760s the Peshwa, Madhav Rao, launched campaigns in response to his rivalry with Hyder, whom both the Marathas and the Nizam saw as an upstart meddling in their rightful claims to exact revenue shares from local chiefs. A prominent baronial family named the Patwardhans had been the Peshwa's allies in these campaigns. Govind Rao Patwardhan was a trustworthy commander and his son, Gopal Rao, carried out expeditions in the Cuddapah region on the Peshwa's behalf. The last of these was in 1772-73. It is plausible that the 'Apranji' fanams in the Peshwa's name were struck by either of these two barons while occupying some prominent town in the region. This suggestion is further strengthened by the fact that the only other numismatic instance involving the word 'Panta Pradhan' is also linked to the Patwardhans – it is seen on hons and rupees of Miraj (Wiggins & Maheshwari, op. cit., p. 20 and 69), which was the chief seat of the family.

The Mysore Warlords and the Cuddapah Region

The old kingdom of Mysore held nominal rights of rule over the Cuddapah territory, as a vestige of the feudal order set under the even older Vijayanagar Empire. In the 18th century much of the kingdom's fortunes were overshadowed by the rise of Afghan nawabs in the region and it was the family ruling at Sira that managed to set itself up between the Mysore and Cuddapah tracts. Fateh Muhammad Khan, the father of Hyder Ali, served with the Nawabs of Sira. Fateh Muhammad was killed in a skirmish involving belligerent claimants when the Sira family went through a succession dispute. His wife escaped to her brother, a mercenary serving under the Mysore king, Deva Raja, with her son. The kingdom at this juncture lay virtually in the hands of the chief minister, Dalwai Nanja Raja. Hyder Ali enrolled in the Mysore army as part of his uncle's detachment and soon grew to prominence by the sheer excellence of his military leadership. The strength of the Afghan nawabs' alliance was gradually weakened after 1750, following the temporary resolution of the succession dispute after the death of Nizam ul-Mulk. Filling this political void, Hyder Ali became a political force to reckon with. He took advantage of the fights between Abdul Majid Khan Miyānā and his uncle Mochā Miyān, and saw it as an opportunity to reclaim for Mysore the rights over the Cuddapah region, which the kingdom had relinquished over the past centuries in all but name. He attacked Ganjikota and temporarily occupied it. By 1760 he also managed to take over a chunk of Miyana territories, which comprised the 'Bārāmahāl' district and lay to the west of Cuddapah. After Abdul Majid's deposition and death at Maratha hands, he retreated and waited for the next opportunity.

During the 1760s, Hyder's power grew and he subjugated many chiefs and polygars around Mysore. In 1761, Nizam Ali Khan took over as Nizam at Hyderabad and renewed his old rivalry against the Marathas over the rights to collect the revenue of the Mughal *ṣubāhs* of Deccan and Karnatak. But he was dealt a severe blow with a defeat at the battle of Rakshasabhuvan in 1762. The Maratha Peshwa, Madhav Rao, then persuaded the Nizam to join him to fight Hyder, the newfound menace in the Karnatak. In 1767, Madhav Rao laid siege to Sira, held by Mir Reza Ali on Hyder's behalf, and outmanoeuvred the enemy troops. It is at this juncture that he negotiated with Mir Reza Ali the transfer of Gurramkonda in lieu of Sira, and the rest of the history has already been referred to while discussing the coinage of Gurramkonda.

Peshwa Madhav Rao died in 1772 and, taking advantage of the dissensions amongst the Marathas following his death, Hyder renewed his anti-Maratha campaigns. In 1774, he captured Sira and in 1776 defeated Murar Rao Ghorpade, a prominent Maratha baron in the region, to occupy Gooty, his seat. In 1778, Hyder's son, Tipu, won over Gurramkonda from the Marathas. Abdul Halim Khan, the Nawab of Cuddapah, who had been a Maratha ally, was next on his agenda. He defeated the nawab in 1779 at the battle of Duvvur and brought the entire region under his command. Abdul Halim was imprisoned at Srirangapattanam, where he died later.

After Hyder's death in 1782, his son, Tipu Sultan, took over the rule of Mysore. He had to fight a triple alliance of the Marathas, the Nizam and the British who had meanwhile achieved

increased political importance in the region following successful anti-French campaigns in 1760-80. In 1783, they supported the claims of one, Sayyid Ahmed, for the Nawabship of Cuddapah and deputed an army under the command of Capt. Montgomery to the region. His troops, however, met with a heavy defeat at the hands of Mir Qamruddin, Tipu's officer in-charge at Gurramkonda and Cuddapah, and the son of Mir Reza Ali.

Following the 1789-91 Anglo-Mysore war, Tipu was forced into a treaty and effectively gave up half his domains in 1792 to the triple alliance acting against him. Under the terms of this treaty the Cuddapah region was ceded to the Nizam, who appointed Muhammad Ameen Khan Arab as his governor to rule over Cuddapah and Siddhaut. In 1795, he was nominally replaced by Prince Sikandar Jah, the Nizam's eldest son. Following Tipu's final defeat and death at Srirangapattanam in 1799, his domains were apportioned between the Nizam and the British. On 12 October 1800, the Nizam ceded Cuddapah to the British, in lieu of the arrears he had to pay them for a subsidiary alliance treaty concluded with them a couple of years earlier. Thus, the Cuddapah region ended up being part of the Madras Presidency soon after the beginning of the 19th century and it remained so until its eventual absorption into the state of Andhra Pradesh when it was formed on a linguistic basis in 1954.

Hyder and Tipu's coinage in the Cuddapah region:

Although sizeable portions of the Cuddapah region came under Hyder's firm control only after 1769, there exists a curious lightweight hon, struck in the name of Alamgir II bearing the mintname Ganjikota, which could be a contender for his earliest issue in the region.

Fig. 57

This coin (Fig. 57) bears AH 1172 as the date and resembles other Ganjikota hons, except that it has a small character 'He' engraved between the date's digits on the obverse. The obverse legend, like all other Ganjikota issues in the name of Alamgir II reads *Alamgir Thani* and follows the same arrangement, while the reverse bears the mint as *Zarb Ganjikota*. AH 1172 corresponds to 1758-59 and this was the period when the fort of Ganjikota changed hands a few times between the Marathas, Mochā Miyān, the Nawab of Cuddapah, and his wife Madinā Bibi. It is not certain whether Hyder was involved in these political intrigues and, if so, what his role was, but he did briefly occupy Ganjikota in 1758 during one of his consistent predatory raids that ultimately won him the 'Baramahal' tracts. It is possible that the coin was struck under his authority as, judging by the conspicuous placement and the execution of the character 'He' (which appears on so many of his coins as his distinguishing mark), it must have been put there for a good reason.

Certain rare 'Aprānji' fanams of a mintless variety are known to bear the same character 'He' on the obverse and a date on the reverse. One such, from the British Museum collection, is shown here (Fig. 58) and it bears the date AH 1192 on the reverse placed above the word *Sanah*. Another one, also from the BM collection, where the obverse is not well struck and is therefore blank, bears the date AH 1189 (Fig. 59). Another 'Aprānji' fanam from the British Museum collection is shown here (Fig. 60), it is struck with the date 1183 and in the name of Shah Alam II. It is conceivable that all these were struck at the same mint as they have distinct stylistic resemblance with each other. However, the mint remains a mystery as there are no further clues to ascertain its name.

Fig. 58

Fig. 59

Fig. 60

Coins of the Ganjikota Mint: There have been a couple of instances of attributing copper coins struck in the typical 'elephant type' of Mysore, to Ganjikota. J. R. Henderson in his seminal work 'The Coins of Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan' (Madras, 1921), mentions under the category 'allied coins' on p. 27, a coin which is "an obvious copy of Tipu's quarter paisas, (on the obverse of which) the elephant is surmounted by crescent and a star and the reverse bears the mintname 'Gunjikottah' with the date 1205". He does not illustrate the coin and as such its identity cannot be verified.

In 'Studies in South Indian Coins', vol. VIII, 1998, A. H. Siddiqui and M. Fazaluddin Ali Khan published a typical elephant-type paisa as of Ganjikot ('Ganjikot: Yet Another New Mint of Tipu Sultan', pp. 110-113). This coin is in fact of Kalikut (Calicut) mint, where the mintname on the reverse reads *Bandar Kalikut* and the word 'Kalikut' is rather peculiarly inscribed as two separate words 'Kali' and 'Kot', with the 'i' in 'Kali' written in a *majhool* form. This is however, not an unknown instance in the broad range of Hyder and Tipu's coinage at that mint. For validation, readers may consult Henderson's plates and find it illustrated there, as indeed many other 'Kalikut' varieties are.

Coin of Cuddapah mint: The same pair of authors reported another quarter paisa as of a mint that they read as 'Abar Garh' in a previous issue of the same organ ('Abargarh: Another New Mint of Tipu Sultan', vol. VII, 1997, pp. 123-24). This coin is important, as it is in fact a hitherto unpublished issue of the Cuddapah mint. A similar specimen from the collection of the American Numismatic Society, New York, is shown here (Fig. 61), where the reverse clearly bears the mintname *Kharpā*, with the *shoshāh* of 'K' and the typical style in which an 'H' is added in between 'K' and 'R', being clearly visible. The coin bears no date so it is difficult to ascertain when it was struck, but it is evident that it must have been some time during 1780 – 1790.

Fig. 61

Kadiri - A New mint in the Cuddapah region: Rehan Ahmed published two copper coins in ND, vol. 25-26 (2001-02), pp. 169-171. He read the mint on these coins as 'Kadire' and attributed them to a town called 'Kadirenahalli' in Karnataka state. Both came from the collection of the Deutsche Bank (acc. no. 0.6.03.059). Such coins, although scarce, have been known for a while – one such was illustrated by R. P. Jackson in his 'Coin Collecting in the Mysore' essay that appeared in British Numismatic Journal, vol. 5, 1909, pp. 13-45, pl. I. Two more, from the collection of the American Numismatic Society are illustrated here (Figs. 62, 63).

Fig. 62

Fig. 63

Like those published by Ahmed, these two also have the elephant on the obverse that faces in different directions on each of the specimens. Ostensibly, these coins portray a type that was common in Hyder and Tipu's coinages, i.e. having an elephant on obverse and the mint on the reverse. But two more coins shown here, from the British Museum collection, bear a floral design in lieu of the elephant on the obverse. They clearly have the same mintname on the reverse. They weigh as much as a 'cash' or an eighth paisa (Figs. 64, 65). They are a unique instance as the standard observation is that all copper coins in the Mysore series struck during this period have the same obverse motif of the elephant across the denominational range.

Fig. 64 *Fig. 65*

Ahmed's attribution and identification requires some further thought. Firstly, his identification of Kadire with Kadirenahalli is entirely conjectural, as he has admitted himself. Secondly, it is odd that a name would be shortened from 'Kadirenahalli' to 'Kadire' in the way that he suggests. Also, the name on the coins clearly has an 'Alif' added to the first character and as such the name would be rendered 'Kādire' or 'Kādiri' and not 'Kadire', with which the name 'Kadirenahalli' begins. Lastly, Kadirenahalli has little historical significance, apart from being a minor Buddhist site in the ancient period. The identity of 'Kadire' therefore needs to be revisited.

The search for an alternative identification brings us into the Cuddapah region. The mintname can also be read as 'Kadiri', which is a town located to the southwest of Cuddapah and presently in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh. This seems a likely candidate for identifying the town where these coins were struck. The name of the town derives from 'Khadira' or Catechu trees and a temple dedicated to 'Khadiri Narasimhaswami' is situated there. Unlike Kadirenahalli, Kadiri has a fair share of historicity. It had been a *jāgir* of a minor Miyana line, founded in the early 18th century by Parwarish Khan, an associate of Abdul Nabi Khan, the first Nawab of Cuddapah. In 1756, the Marathas occupied it but handed it over to Mir Reza Ali when they struck a deal with him in 1766. The Marathas reoccupied it in 1773, but it came back into Mysore hands at the time when the Cuddapah region was overrun in 1779 by Hyder's troops. In 1789-90, Alam Khan, the son of the last *jāgirdār* (whose name is not known), took possession of Kadiri and he was awarded a landed tenure under the authority of Mir Qamruddin, the son and successor of Mir Reza Ali as Tipu's governor for Gurramkonda and Cuddapah. He was to pay nearly 8000 pagodas in rent for this tenure. Alam Khan built a mosque at Kadiri and named it after himself. After the British conquest in 1799, Alam Khan refused to pay his dues and as a result they sent a small detachment against him. He fled and thus escaped fighting but his *jāgir* lapsed. By the early 19th century the family was extinct.

The attribution of the coins to Kadiri seems even more likely when certain ancillary facts are taken into account. Firstly, all known coins bear the date AH 1202, which corresponds to 1790 and is soon after Alam Khan took charge of the town as a *jāgirdār*. The fact that the coins are anomalous in the Mysore series, having different motifs for the denominations in which they are struck, probably indicate that they were not products of a mint run directly under Tipu's authority. It is therefore plausible that Alam Khan may have been responsible for running the mint.

Acknowledgements:
I am indebted to the following for their co-operation in allowing me to publish coins from their collections:
Subodh Pethe (Mumbai, India): for pictures 6, 8c, 8d, 10, 11, 12, 16, 18, 25, 26, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 47, 50, 52, 53, 55, 56.
Girish Veera (Mumbai, India) for pictures 15, 29.
J. P. Goenka (Calcutta, India) for pictures 23, 24, 28, 30.
Also to Shatrughan Jain (Ahmedabad, India) for pictures 3, 7, 8b, 17, 21, 22, 27, 44, 46, 49, 54 and to Zubair Khan (Mumbai, India) for pictures 48 and 57 - these coins were documented while in trade. Thanks are due to Jan Lingen (The Netherlands), Seth Freeman at Baldwin's Auctions (London, UK), Barbara Mears at Spink & Son (London, UK), Amiteshwar Jha (IIRNS, Nasik, India), Michael Bates (Curator Emeritus, American Numismatic Society, New York), Joe Cribb and Elizabeth Errington (Dept of Coins and Medals, The British Museum, London, UK) and Stan Goron (Croydon, UK).

The Company's Crown, an Unrealised Proposal of 1837
By Paul Stevens

In 1835 the East India Company began to issue a new uniform coinage for their possessions in India. A number of problems were encountered in getting some of the coins into circulation and this short paper provides some hitherto unpublished information about one proposal to help address one of these problems.

In February 1837, John Curnin, the Deputy Assay Master at Calcutta, who had just returned from England, wrote a letter to the Governor General in which he proposed, *inter alia*, that a new silver coin valued at two and a half rupees should be issued[1]. Having first dealt with the gold coinage, which will not be discussed here, Curnin suggested that the duty charged in coining silver should be reduced to 1 percent. He then went on:

'To keep the coin at present in circulation distinct from that to be coined at 1 per cent duty it would, I conceive, be merely necessary to coin these into two-and-one-half rupee pieces to be called "Company's Crowns", which from the low rate of duty on them would in time circulate as dollars now do all over the world, and would in the colonial possessions of Great Britain, circulate for five shillings.

But whether it shall be the pleasure of the Government or otherwise to reduce the duty on the coinage of silver, I beg respectfully to state that I think it nevertheless in the highest degree expedient that crown pieces should be struck in this mint, for as the loss incurred by the wear of the coins in circulation, so long as that loss is within the regulations, must devolve on Government, it is clear that the coin least liable to wear is that which, as far as circumstances will permit, should be put into circulation.'

He then went on to show that the wear on crowns in Britain was less than that on lower denomination coins.

James Prinsep, the Assay Master and also secretary of the Mint Committee attached a highly critical note to this suggestion[2]:

'...Mr Curnin further proposes to coin 2½ rupee pieces (or Company's Crowns) and finally to make them the standard unit, in lieu of the universally understood rupee which should henceforth only be receivable for fractions. Being relatively of the same value I am not aware of any object aimed at in the proposed change except the diminution of wear on individual pieces. The argument might then be extended and a hundred or a thousand rupee piece be made the unit, but as the great mass of payments would still involve the employment of the fractional pieces, these pieces must circulate and wear as now, and their wear must fall upon their issuers as now, so that the gain or saving would be trifling.'

Prinsep then questioned Curnin's interpretation of the data about the wear on the British silver coins and goes on to say:

'It was always intended however to coin double rupee pieces which, for large payments – for exportation etc – offer many facilities, but the community at large is just now more eager for small pieces, 8 and 4 annas, and until this urgent demand is satisfied there is no possibility of issuing the larger coin for which the dies have still to be cut.

If the 2½ rupee piece on one hand presents a convenience in regard to the pound sterling in the colonies to which our Indian coin may reach, the two rupee, from its near approximation to the value of the Spanish dollar would have a wide or wider range of introduction, in the Straits etc, but it could not in either case be expected to supplant the dollar, which is nothing more than the produce of the South American mines flowing to the different ports and markets of the world and first put into a convenient form to be available in transit. Wisely do the Americans imitate the Spaniards in maintaining the integrity of this universal coin, and the world at large should give them due praise for having even hanged an Assay Master a few years ago who began to play tricks with it.'

This last sentence, of course, is Prinsep's little joke, since he was the Assay Master at Calcutta. As can be seen, the possibility of issuing a double rupee coin was raised, and here Prinsep was following the Act (XVII of 1835) which had authorised the new uniform coinage of British India[3]:

'Be it enacted that the undermentioned silver coins only shall henceforth be issued from the mints within the territories of the East India Company.

A rupee to be denominated The Company's Rupee of the weight of 180 grains troy and of the following standards viz.

1 1/12 or 165 grains of pure silver, 1/12 or 15 grains of alloy

A half rupee of proportionate weight, and of the same standard

A quarter rupee of ditto

A double rupee of ditto

These coins shall bear on the obverse the head and name of the reigning sovereign of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and on the reverse the designation of the coin in English and Persian and the words 'East India Company' in English, with such other embellishments as shall from time to time be approved and ordered by the Governor General in Council.'

The Mint Committee supported Prinsep in the matter of the two and a half rupee coin[4]:

'...The arguments in favour and against these propositions will be found in Mr Curnin's address and our secretary's note thereon respectively and we refrain from occupying Your Lordship's time by any further observations as we concur in thinking that the objections that have been brought forward exceed the proposed advantages.'

Neither the double rupee nor the 'Company's Crown' were ever issued for circulation, but both were reconsidered during the reign of George VI and patterns were prepared at that time for a proposed two and a half rupee, or dollar, coin[5].

References

[1]Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/88 February 1837, No 22.
Letter from John Curnin (Deputy Assay Master) to James Prinsep (Assay Master), dated 16th February 1837.

[2] Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/88 February 1837, No 23
Note to Mr Curnin's letter from James Prinsep, dated 26th February 1827 (error for 1837).

[3] Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/86, June 1835, No 40
Resolution passed by the Supreme Council of India on 27th May 1835

[4] Bengal Consultations. IOR P/162/88 February 1837, No 24
Letter from the Calcutta Mint Committee to Government, undated

[5] See Pridmore

New Discoveries in Larins of India

By Prashant P. Kulkarni

The name 'larin' is said to have been derived from the place called Lar, in Persia. This was the capital of Laristan, the desert of Carmania in Persia. It was an important kingdom in the ninth century. It is suggested by scholars that at this time the empire might have struck copper *toweelahs*. This was a small copper bar about an inch in length and split at one end in such a way that it looked like the letter Y. This appears to the predecessor of the larin. It is generally accepted that Ismail I (1502-24), the Safavid king, introduced larins to the Persian world. He was followed by Tahmashp I (1524-1576), Ismail II (1576-77) and Muhammad Khudabanda (1577-87) who popularised the coinage by extensive production of the larins. The production of larin was adapted by the Arabs of Turkey, Basra, Hasa and Hormuz. The coinage of larin became so popular in the Arab world that by the seventeenth century it was accepted in many Asian countries that began to make their own larins. These countries were Ceylon, Maldives and the Adilshahi regions of the Konkan. The popularity of the larins was immense. This can be judged from the various accounts of the voyages of the travellers of those times. The descriptions of Travernier, Sir John Chardin, Pedro Teizeira, John Huyghen and William Barret gave vivid account of transactions in larins, their exchange values and their acceptance in far-off lands. These have been fully discussed by M.K. Hussain in his long paper on the silver larins[1]. But the Indian references are important which I take the liberty to reproduce here in full.

Ferishta described the death of Mahmud Gavan, the General of Muhammad II Bahmani, in AH 886 (5 April 1581) in great detail. M.K. Hussain tried to reproduce this in his paper, but he mistakenly wrote that it was Mahmud Shah Bahmani who executed Mahmud Gawan[2]. It was in fact Muhammad, the predecessor of Mahmud, who was responsible for the execution of Gawan. After the execution was carried out, Muhammad Bahmani enquired about the wealth of Gawan. The passage gives us the information about how popular the larins were before AH 886 or AD 1581 as: " Mahomed having heard frequent reports of the vast wealth of his minister, sent for the treasurer, Nizam-oood-Deen Hussun Geelany, and demanded where the money, jewels and plate of the Khwaja were deposited. The treasurer, in apparent alarm, told the King that if he would spare his life he would discover all; on which, expecting to realize a great booty, the King took a solemn oath, promising if he concealed nothing to reward him handsomely. The treasurer then said, "O Sire, my master had two treasuries, one of which he called the King's, from which were issued the expenses of his troops, stables, and household, in this there are now ten thousand larees (a silver coin worth two shillings) and three thousand hoons, the other he called the treasury of the poor, and in this there is a sealed bag containing three hundred larees". The King said, "how come it is that the Khwaja, whose revenues equaled that of many Kings should only have so small a sum?" The treasurer said, "Whenever money came from his jageer, having taken for the King's treasury the pay of his troops and stables, he gave the remainder in your Majesty's name, to the poor, not reserving a cowrie (a small shell, of which thirty went to a penny) for his own use. A sum of forty thousand larees which he brought with him from Persia to the Deccan, he employed in trade, and preserving always that capital, he expended two larees daily for his own kitchen and apparel out of the profit, the remainder of which was carried into the treasury for the poor, and issued from thence in sums remitted to his mother, his relatives, and worthy persons, with whom he had made acquaintance in his travels, and who would not come to Hindoostan."

The enemies of the minister were confounded at this account but enviously remarked, that the Khwaja was a prudent man, and suspecting his expenses might betray his riches had left them secreted at the capital. To which the treasurer replied that if one laree belonging to him should be found there or anywhere, besides the sums he had mentioned, he would submit to the severest punishment. The King then assembled all the late minister's servants, and the first questioned the chief furash (the controller of the camp equipage), who said, that all the tents and carpets his master had were now in the camp, except some matting in the city on the floors of his mosque and college: he observed that the Khwaja always slept, himself, upon a bare mat. The overseer of the kitchen was then called, who declared, that all the utensils and vessels were with him; but that the victuals of his master's own eating were always prepared in earthen pots."[3]

There is also a reference in Badishahnama in the fifteenth year of Shah Jahan's reign that a horse was purchased at Basra for twelve thousand rupees which was equal to thirty-six thousand larins.[4] The larins were traded in India profusely. Both on the western and eastern coasts their acceptance was immediate, which was recognized by the 'Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur who established a mint at Dabhol to make larins for quite some time. Our information on Indian larins was scanty and we knew only the larins of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II of 1071 AH. With the presentation of this paper we now know that larins were also minted at Rajapur

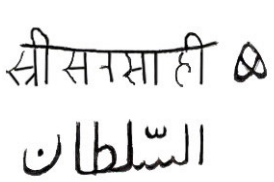
by the ‘Adil Shah and at Sanganmeshwar by the Mughal emperor, Aurangzeb. But the predecessor of them all appears to be Sher Shah Suri whose unique larin is published here for the first time.

A Larin of Sher Shah Suri

The coinage of Sher Shah Suri was one of the most artistic and impressive coinages amongst the entire Sultanate of Delhi. We know of his silver rupees and copper paisas along with their halves, quarters, eighths, tenths, and sixteenth fractions. He may also have struck some gold tankas, though most of those seen today appear to be imitations or jewellery pieces. Sher Shah was a great reformer; he built roads, caravanserais, forts; introduced the Rupaya and remodeled the currency system in such a way that it was destined to leave a mark on today’s Indian rupee.

After the extensive studies in sultanate coinage by Edward Thomas, Nelson Wright, Dilip Rajgor, and Stan Goron & JP Goenka, it is almost impossible to find a coin unpublished in the above-mentioned numismatic works. It was therefore a big surprise to come across the discovery of a larin of Sher Shah Suri. We know that the larins of the Persian rulers, Ismail II (1502-1524 and Tahmashp I (1524-76), were already current in Indian ports. Sher Shah (1538-45) must have realised their importance and struck this rare larin. The coin is described as follows:

Sher Shah Suri, Mintless, larin - silver wire bent from the centre and struck on both sides, 56mm, 4.53g.



Obverse: Nagari inscription in curved fashion *Sri Serasahi* followed by a heart shaped ornament.
Reverse: Persian inscription in curved form: *al-sultān.*

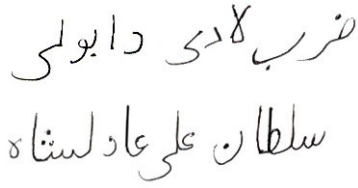
It appears that the coin was struck from rupee dies. If we carefully match the dies with those of the rupee of Satgaon[5] or the mint-less rupees of Bengal[6] we find some similarity in the execution of the legend and the style. The coins that have the *al-sultān* on the obverse and *Sri Serasahi* on the reverse in the outer circle are those from the mints of Chunar, Fathabad, Malot, Qila Raisen, Satgaon, Sharifabad, Ujjain and uncertain Bengal mints. The above list can be short-listed for those showing the heart shaped ornament. These are the mints of Ujjain and mints which struck the *Jahapanah* type and the Bengal mintless rupees. Further closing down brings us to the Bengal mintless type because the calligraphy of Ujjain rupees is very different from that of the larin. So the larin was struck by the dies of Bengal mintless type rupee D 827 listed by Goron or type 1696 published by Rajgor[7] which is same as type 1096 of H.N. Wright[8].

This information brings us to the fact that the larin was struck at a mint where the mintmaster did not choose to reveal the name of the mint town. Such were the mints in the Bengal area. Some of them have the peculiar word *Jahanpanah* and some have a variety of mint marks. Perhaps the mint was a travelling unit. It is possible that near the shore of Satgaon where the marine trade was brisk during Suri times, a good number of Persian larins would come by way of business transactions. The mintmasters of the *Bandar* would have been inspired to strike larins to compete with the Persian money.

It is strange that the coin was found in Pakistan. It could have travelled from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea before it was exchanged at the *Bandars* of Rajasthan, namely Lahri Bandar or a similar sea-port. The striking of the coin is also intriguing. If one took the dies of type D 827 and struck a coin, in all probability one could only get one of the legends right, either the *al-sul✷ān* or the *Siri Serasahi.* To get both the legends perfectly aligned on either side, the striker would be required to adjust the die alignment in such a way that there was no mismatch. This could happen when a trial strike is made. It is also possible that special dies were made to strike the wire and turn it into a larin. So it is difficult to say if this was a regular coin or a trial strike. The weight of 4.53 g. does not fit with the known weight of the half rupee or its fractions. It goes well with the larin standard of Persia or the ‘Adil Shahi larins struck almost a century later. This could be one of the indications to the possibility that such coins were made to pay the Persian traders in the currency of their own style and thus it is perfectly natural to find the coin a long way from where it was originally struck.

A Larin of Dabhol dated 1077

Larins of the ‘Adil Shahi dynasty have been found in large numbers. Rajgor[9] and Goron both report only one date i.e.1071 for ‘Ali ‘Adil Shah II’s larins. Raf van Laere reported a larin of 1070 from the Bibliotheque Nationale Paris[10]. I have seen coins of 1068, 1071 and 1077. I have also seen a larin with the unusual legend ‘*alī sāhib* on the obverse. The Larin dated 1077 is published here.



Silver Larin, maximum dimensions 4.5 x 40 mm, 4.67g.

Obverse: Persian legend: *sultān ‘alī ‘ādil shāh*
Reverse: Persian legend: *zarb lārī dābulī sanah 1077.*

A Larin of Rajapur

Rajapur, literally meaning “the town of a king”, was a famous port in the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra in mediaeval times. It was about 48 kilometers south-east of Ratnagiri and twenty-four kilometers from the sea. The towns of Rajapur, Dabhol and Sangameshwar, all situated along the strip of the Konkan, were under the rule of the ‘Adil Shahs of Bijapur in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Travenier says that, “the King of

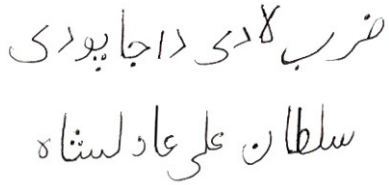
Bijapur has three good ports in his kingdom; these are Rajapur, Dabhol and Kareputtun".

It was in 1596 that Ibrahim 'Adil Shah ordered his able *sardar*, Suhail Khan to help Chand Bibi against her minister Mohammad Khan. Suhail Khan crushed Mohammad Khan and received robes of honour from Chand Bibi. On his way to Bijapur he stayed at Rajapur, where he received the news of the Mughal Viceroy Khan-e-Khanan's advances in Berar. Ibrahim 'Adil Shah ordered him to check the Mughals[11]. In 1660 and again in 1670 Shivaji plundered Rajapur, sacking the English factory. In 1713 it was handed over to the Angria and in 1756 it was taken by the Peshwa who ruled the town until ceding it to the British in 1818.

Similarly the town of Dabhol was changing hands between the Portuguese, the Nizam Shahs and Ibrahim 'Adil Shah. It was later in 1071 AH (1660-61 AD) that Dabhol was finally controlled by 'Ali 'Adil Shah II of Bijapur. This is evidenced by the large number of 'Adil Shahi larins found in various hoards from that region. A hoard of 397 larins of 'Adil Shah II[12] was found at Sangameshwar, only 24 kilometers north-east of Ratnagiri in 1846[13]. Similarly, another hoard of 359 silver larins was found at Dapoli in 1919 which contained such wire-like coins of Ismail I of Persia (1502-24 AD), Tahmasp I (1524-76), Turan Shah of Hormuz (1543-63), other Safavid rulers of Iran, 'Ali 'Adil Shah II's larins of 1077 (1656-1672), the fish hook larins of Ceylon and some copper toweelahs with Arabic script[14].

Another such hoard of nearly eight hundred larins turned up near Kolhapur in 1998. I had an opportunity to examine it before it was dispersed into the market. This hoard contained the usual mixture of larins from the Persian Gulf and those of the 'Adil Shahs. But it also contained about half a dozen very rare larins with undecipherable script and a unique piece with the clear mint name Rajapur. I take pleasure in publishing this here.

Silver Larin, maximum dimensions 5x38 mm, 4.55g.



Obverse: *(zarb) lārī rājāpūrī*
Reverse :*(sultān 'alī) 'ādil (shāh)*

The legend *rājāpūrī* is very clear and the rest can be restored from the legend on the larins of Dabhol which read *zarb lārī dābulī, sultān 'alī 'ādil shāh* and are dated 1068, 1071 or 1077. The mint name Dabuli or Rajapuri is preceded by the word *lārī* and the long *ye* after the town's name has been used here as genitive singular. Thus *lārī dābulī* means the larin of Dabhol and *lārī rājāpūrī* indicates the larin of Rajapur. The word *rājāpūrī* should not be confused with the town called Danda Rajapuri as it was far away from Ratnagiri district. This point was well discussed by Taylor. The discovery of this larin is not only important numismatically but also historically as it proves that the town of Rajapur was under the control of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II from 1068 to 1077 AH. This was the time when Aurangzeb had become very powerful in the Deccan. Mughal armies were at arms length from the Konkan and we know that Aurangzeb captured Rajapur in the fifth decade of his reign. We get this information from a lone coin of Islambandar published by G.P.Taylor[15] which bears the regnal year 4x corresponding to some during the period AH 1108 to 1118. After a long gap, the coins of Muhammad Shah again show the name of Rajapur. Maheshwari and Wiggins illustrate one such coin but they are very sceptical about the reading of the mint name and identification of the town of Rajapur with Islambandar[16].

To some extent, the doubt of Wiggins and Maheshwari about the reading is well founded. But their doubt that, "Rajapur is said to have been renamed Islambander during this time, but the authors have been unable to find any reference to confirm this", is not well grounded. It was long ago published by Taylor[17] that Mr. Henry Cousens MRAS writes that, "I have an old map of Bijapur city, just covered with marginal notes in Persian, which I have had translated. On it are scores of names of Muhallas and Villages of Aurangzeb's time with their revenues. One of the entries is Islambumder alias Rajapur. I had better give you the translation of this part of the note, which is a long one. It runs thus:

> The port Khal Bhati (Bhatkal?) seven thousand, the port Chapul (Chaul?) fifteen thousand, the port Sank ten thousand, the port Guwa (Goa) thirty-seven thousand and five hundred, which after a short time passed again into the possession of the Christians, Islambander *alias* Rajapur twenty gold Dinars, port Sasti ten thousand, port Kharapaltan five thousand, port Harchari five thousand, port Satuli three thousand and five hundred, port Muhammadabad alias Shadhut five thousand, and the port Kharba five thousand."

Soon after Taylor, Hodivala[18] wrote about Muhammad Shah's rupees of Rajapur confirming that the earlier reading of Ajayur by Stanley lane Poole[19] had to be corrected to Rajapur. Shailendra Bhandare[20] wrote a long paper agreeing with Hodivala. Maheshwari and Wiggins, however using careful language regarding the reading as "if the rupee is indeed from Rajapur…." I have attempted to read the mint name on three specimens published by Bhandare. On none is the *re* of Rajapur visible. The third nuqta of *pe* is also absent or off the flan on all three coins. There is enough space on the flan to accommodate the *re,* the curious absence of which makes the whole reading uncertain. In my opinion what can be read clearly is only Ajayur as lane Poole deciphered. So we go back to the 1892's reading until we find a better specimen showing the rest of the legend. Unfortunately the coin of Islambandar published by Taylor is not illustrated. No other coin of Islambandar is published anywhere else which makes the comparison impossible. I have seen only one dateless rupee of Islambandar in a private collection and tried to compare the script of *mānūs maimanat julūs* with that of the Ajayur rupee and I find little similarity between the two.

To conclude, we now know of a larin of Rajapur struck during the times of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II, i.e. AH 1068-1083, 1656-1672 AD; and after this period, we know of only two rupees of Rajapur in the name of Islam Bandar struck by Aurangzeb roughly during 1108-1118 or 1696-1706 AD.

A Larin of Aurangzeb from Sangameshwar

Sangameshwar was a prosperous ancient town in the Konkan region of the Maharashtra State. The Chalukyan king, Karna, built a temple and a fortress at Sangameshwar in the seventh century. The Shilahara ruler, Aparajita, has left us two copper plates found at Janjira, both dated saka 915. The plates give his very high sounding titles like *Paschima samudradhipati* (the lord of the western ocean) and *Mandalika trinetra* (the three-eyed Lord Shiva to his feudatories). He made several conquests. First he overthrew the Arab families at Samyana and wiped them out completely so

that we never hear of them again on the western coast. Then he proceeded to Punaka (Poona), Chiplun and Sangameshwar and extended his rule to southern Konkan and the *Desha*[21]. The shrine of the Samgameshwar temple is said to be much older. According to *Sahyadri Khanda*, Sangameshwar, originally called Ramakshetra, possessed many temples built by Parashu Rama. In the fourteenth century it was the residence of Basava, the founder of the Lingayat sect. The town is situated on the confluence of the Rivers Alakanda and Varuna. Together it is called the River Shastri which is about twenty miles from the coast. The author of the relevant entry in the Imperial Gazetteer mentions that the river, which thirty-five previously had been navigable by the largest vessels to the Sangameshwar quay was then (around 1900 AD) impassable six miles lower down[22].

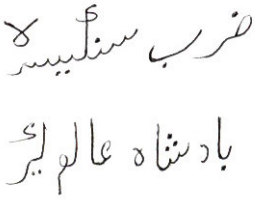
The Hindu Rajas ruled Sanganmeshwar until the time of 'Ala al-Din Ahmad Shah II Bahmani. The Raja of Sangameshwar submitted to Dilawar Khan, the able noble of 'Ala al-Din. The sultan married the daughter of the raja and gave her the title *Pari chehara* (angel face) on account of her moonlike face. He became so enamoured with the new queen that he neglected the elder wife, Agha Zainab, the daughter of Nasir Khan, the Sultan of Khandesh. This brought him a lot of trouble from the Gujarat sultans.[23] Bahmani rule was never stable on the western coast in spite of repeated expeditions undertaken by the Bahmanis against the local chiefs, especially against the Raja of Sangameshwar. So the sultan deputed Malik-ut-toojar, with seven thousand Deccani infantry and three thousand Arabian cavalry to reduce to subjection all fortresses along the sea coast. He suffered such a setback in the campaign that all of his force was wiped out and he, himself, was killed in the skirmish. A vivid account of this has been given by Ferishta which I reproduce here for the benefit of the readers[24].

> "Mullick oot-Toojar relying on the promises of the Raja, in the year AH 868 (1453 AD), began his expedition against Khelna, but was deserted at the outset by most of the Deccany and Abyssinian officers and troops, who declined to enter the woods. Raja Sirka, in accordance with his promise during the first two days, conducted the army along a broad road, so that the general praised his zeal and fidelity; but on the third day he led them by paths so intricate, that the male tiger from apprehension may change his sex, and through passes more fortuitous than the curly locks of hair and more difficult to escape from than the mazes of love. Demons might even stare at the precipices and caverns in those wilds, and ghosts might be panic-struck at the awful view of the mountains. Here the sun never enlivened with its splendour the valleys; nor had Providence designed that it should penetrate their depths. The very grass was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters and poison impregnated the breeze. After winding, weary and alarmed, through these dreadful labyrinths, the army entered a darker forest, a passage through which was difficult to even the winds of heaven. It was bounded on three sides by mountains, whose heads towered above the clouds, and on the other side was an inlet of ocean, so that there was no path by which to advance, nor road for retreat, but that by which they had entered. Mullik-oot-Toojar at this crisis fell ill of a bloody flux, so that he could not attend to the regularity of the line of march, or give orders for the disposition of his troops, who being excessively fatigued, about night-fall flung themselves down to rest wherever they could find room, for there was no spot which admitted of two tents being pitched near each other. While the troops were thus scattered in disorder, Sirka, their treacherous guide, left them and communicated to Shunkur Ray that he had lured the game into his toils. The Ray, with a great force conducted by Sirka, about midnight attacked the Mussulmans from all quarters, who, unsuspicious of surprise, were buried in the sleep produced by excessive exertions. In this helpless state, nearly seven thousand soldiers of the faithful were put to death, like sheep, with knives and daggers; the wind blowing violently, the rustling of the trees prevented the troops from hearing the cries of their fellow-sufferers. Among these was Mullik-oot-Toojar, who fell with five hundred noble Syuds of Medina, Kurbulla, and Najaf; as also some few Deccany and Abyssinian officers, together with about two thousand of their adherents, who had remained with their general. Before daylight the Ray completed his bloody work, retired with his people from the forest".

It was only eighteen years later that Mahmud Gavan, the able *sardar* of Shams al-Din Muhammad Shah, defeated Raja Jakhurai and captured Sangameshwar on 13 December 1471. By the next year, all the costal forts had been annexed by Mahmud Gavan and Bahmani rule extended over Vishalgadh, Londha, Sangameshwar, Kolhapur and Goa.

It appears that by the next century this area was under the 'Adil Shahs of Bijapur. During the times of 'Ali 'Adil Shah II (AH 1068-1083, 1656-1672 AD) Dabhol, Rajapur and perhaps Sangameshwar was under his control. A very large number of larins of 'Adil Shah are known from Dabhol and one from Rajapur has also come to light. Another such hoard of nearly eight hundred larins turned up near Kolhapur in 1998, as mentioned above. Among the larins there were three specimens reading Sangesar, one of which I am pleased to publish here.

Silver larin, maximum dimensions 6x30 mm, weight 4.83g.



Obverse: Persian legend *bādshāh 'ālamg(īr)*
Reverse: Persian legend *zarb sangesar lā* followed by three vertical lines.

The legend *zarb sangesar* is absolutely clear and we can safely attribute the coin to the mint of Sangameshwar which was called Sangesar during Mughal times. The word *lā* after the mint name is puzzling. It might be the abbreviated form of *lārī* as seen on the coins of 'Ali 'Adil Shah of Dabhol. The *bādshāh 'ālamg(īr)*must be Aurangzeb as he was camping in the nearby region at this time. Khafi Khan described in his *Muntakhab-ul-lubab* a detailed account of Aurangzeb's expedition in AH 1112. At this time, he was near Parnala, only twelve miles from Kolhapur, twenty-four from Rajapur and twenty-four miles from Sangameshwar. Rajapur was called Islambunder during that time and we know of rupees in the name of Aurangzeb 'Alamgir struck from Islambunder[25] in the 40 + year of his reign, which was the period AH 1108 to 1118. It is interesting to note that the mint masters of the emperor coined rupees at Rajapur but made larins at Sangameshwar. Khafi Khan expressly mentions the capture of Satara, Parli, Parnala, Khelna (Vishalgadh), Kondana (Sinhgadh), Purandar, Rajgadh and Torna.

The mention of Rajapur and Sangameshwar is not explicit but it can be understood from the numismatic evidence that both of these towns must have been taken over by the emperor some time between AH 1108 and 1118. This was the same town where Sambhaji Bhonsle was captured by Sheikh Nizam, the officer of Aurangzeb in 1689 and killed cruelly after a month at Koregaon.[26]

Sangameshwar was called Sang, Sanguseer and Sangesar by various authors during those days. This will be clear if we go through the following passages. Captain Alexander Hamilton[27] wrote that, "There is an excellent Harbour for shipping 8 Leagues to the Southwords of Dabul (Dabhol), called Sanguseer, (Sangameshvara); but the country about being inhabited by Raparees, it is not frequented: Nor is Rajapore, about 7 leagues southwords of Sanguseer, tho' it has the conveniency of one of the last harbours in the World". Irfan Habib mentions that, "Sangesar (17+, 73+), Shafiq 172 ('Sangar'); Hamilton *Pinkerton* 350. The town of Sangesar (Sangamesvar) marked in our Sheet, is far too inland to have been the real port. The harbour must have been in the wide mouth of Shastri R. which flows by Sangesar"[28]. According to Habib, Sangameshwar was situated in Suba Bijapur, Sarkar Dabhol the Konkan-i- Adilshahiya.

Undeciphered larins

The above-mentioned hoard contained six specimens of undeciphered larins. According to Pukhraj Surana, these might have been struck by the English officers of King William and Queen Mary at Mumbai or by the Dutch in the preceding years. Nothing can be said with certainty about it. One of them is illustrated below for others to attempt to decipher.

Silver larin, maximum dimension 6x27 mm, 4.6g.

Obverse and reverse: Undeciphered Persian inscription.

The discovery of the larin of Sanganmeshwar is very important as this is the first Mughal larin known of any emperor from the lineage of Timur. It shows the immense need of larin money in the costal region and proves that the demand for a particular kind of currency always forced the ruler to coin the existing money of the region. All these ports of the costal belt were exposed to maritime trade with countries like Persia, Arabia and Muscat. Vessels used to sail directly from Rajapur to Persia and Arabia. Once Aurangzeb's rebellious son, Sultan Akbar, hired a ship at Rajapur commanded by an Englishman named Bendal, and as soon as the monsoon was changed in October, embarked on her for Muscat, arriving there safely in November.[29] Rajapur was a port used as a landing pad for pilgrims going to Mecca and hence called Islam Bandar. Similarly during the earlier periods, immigrants from Persia, Turkey and the Arab countries entered the Deccan through the ports of Dabhol, Chaul, Goa and Sangameshwar. They brought military and political strength to the Bahmani kingdom. The most important amongst the hundreds of foreigners who came in search of a career to the Deccan are Khwaja Mahmud Gavan, Khalaf Hasan Basri, Yusuf Adil Shah, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah and Sultan Amir Barid Shah[30]. They brought voluminous international trade with their merchants, who carried various Persian and European coins which were either exchanged with or re-coined into the larins of Dabhol, Rajapur and Sangameshwar.

Notes and References:

1. M.K. Hussain, "The Silver larins", *JNSI XXIX,* Varanasi 1967, pp. 54-72.
2. M.K. Hussain (1967), p.57.
3. Mohammad Kasim Ferishta, *History of the rise of the Mohammedan Powers in India, translated by John Briggs,* New Delhi, 1981 reprint, Vol. II, pp.316-7.
4. *Badishahnama, Bibliographica Indica*, Text, 1872, II, p.246.
5. Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi 2001, p. 97 type D 796.
6. Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, p.101, type D 827.
7. Dilip Rajgor, *Standard Catalog of Sultanate Coins of India,* Bombay 1991, p.117, Type 1696
8. H. Nelson Wright, *The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*, New Delhi, 1974, p. 288.
9. Dilip Rajgor 1991, p. 46-47, types 655,663. The type 655 coins mis-attributed to Muhammad Adil Shah perhaps belong to Ali Adil Shah II. Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, p.318, type BJ 37.
10. Raf Van Laere, "The larins of Sultan Ali Adil Shah: An Attempt to a Die Study", *Coin Review, vol. II,* Indore 1976, pp. 14-16.
11. B. G. Kunte, *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, History, Part II Mediaeval Period*, Bombay 1972, pp. 143-4.
12. H.H. Wilson, "Remarks on the So Called Fish Hook Money", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1853-4, p.179.
13. K.W. Wiggins, "A Larin Hoard from the North Konkan", *ONS Newsletter, No.54*, pp.2-3.
14. M.K. "Husain, Dapoli Hoard of Silver larins", *JNSI Vol. XXX*, Varanasi 1968, pp. 158-161.
15 Geo P. Taylor, "Islambandar urf Rajapur", *Numismatic Supplements XVII*, (1912), pp.127-129.
16 K. Maheshwari & K.W. Wiggins, *Maratha Mints and Coinage*, IIRNS Nashik 1989, p. 91.
17 Geo P. Taylor (1912), *op.cit*., p. 127.
18 S. H. Hodivala, "Notes and Suggestions about some Unassigned or doubtful Mughal mints", *Numismatic Supplements XXXI*, 1918, pp. 344-5.
19 Stanley lane Poole, *The Coins of the Mughal Emperors of Hindustan in the British Museum,* London 1892, reprint Delhi 1983, p.210, pl. XXV, no.1011.
20 Shailendra Bhandare, "History and Coinage of the Angreys, Admirals of the Maratha Navy", *ONS Newsletter No 180*, Summer 2004, pp. 15-23.
21 B. G. Kunte, *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, History, Part II Mediaeval Period*, Bombay 1972, p. 269.
22 *The Imperial Gazetteers of India, Vol XXII*, pp. 49-50.
23 B. G. Kunte (1972), *op.cit*., pp. 38-43.
24 Mohammad Kasim Ferishta, *History of the rise of the Mohammedan Powers in India, translated by John Briggs,* New Delhi, 1981 reprint, Vol. II, pp. 270-1.
25 Geo P. Taylor, (1912), *op.cit*., pp.127-129.
26 Sir Jadunath Sircar, *Maharashtra State Gazetteers, History, Part III, Maratha Period,* Bombay 1967, p. 24.
27 Captain Alexander Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies, Vol. I*, p. 241, cited by G.P.Taylor, *op.cit*., p. 128.
28 Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire, Oxford University Press*, Delhi 1982, reprint 1986, p.58.
29 Geo.P.Taylor (1912), *op.cit*., p. 128.
30 B. G. Kunte (1972), *op.cit*., p.370.

The 'Glorious' Shahrewar: An Interesting Copper Coin of Akbar

By Shailendra Bhandare

The copper coinage of Akbar is a numismatic microcosm – with its broad range of types, varieties, denominations and legends it became the focus of attention of many enlightened coin collectors like Charles Rodgers and William Valentine. Rodgers wrote the first article devoted entirely to Akbar's copper coins in 1890 (*Indian Antiquary,* vol. XIX). Recently Dr A V Liddle of New Delhi has come out with a comprehensive contribution. Between these two chronological extremes there have been innumerable instances in numismatic literature concerning the subject – but yet the fascination has not died and new varieties are still encountered.

Recently, Shri Keshav Khambadkone of Mumbai, who is diligently following in Rodgers and Valentine's footsteps in collecting Akbar's copper coins, brought a coin to my notice that deserves publication. It is a square 'eighth tanka' (quarter fulus) bearing the Ilahi year 45. As such it is evident that it was struck late in Akbar's reign, more than a decade after the first Ilahi dates appeared on his coinage, in response to the famed launch of *Tauheed-i-Ilahi*, or his self-professed 'faith'. The coin bears no mint and thus conforms to a wide series of mint-less issues, which give only the denominational and chronological details. The denomination on the coin is expressed as a fraction of a 'tankah' of c. 40 gm, that corresponded to two fulus of the old standard and was launched by Akbar in the last decade of his reign. The obverse of the coin thus reads *Hashtam Hissah Tankah-i-Akbar Shahi* (eighth part of the tankah of King Akbar), divided into two lines with the terminal 'i' of the last word forming a divider, being inscribed in its *majhool* ('Lazy') form. A dotted rectangular border neatly surrounds the inscription.

The peculiarity of the coin, which prompted its notice, is to be seen on the reverse. The inscription here reads *Ilahi 45 Shahrewar Jalalahu* and it is the last word that strikes immediately as an incongruity. 'Jalalahu' translates literally as 'may it be glorious' or 'let glory prevail' and the word as such familiarly occurs in the Ilahi creed *Allahu Akbar Jalla Jalalahu* ("God is great, bright be his glory") seen conspicuously on so many coins of Akbar. But particularly in the context of the design of this coin it refers to the good wish that glories of the Ilahi year 45 and the month of Shahrewar, be perpetuated. Why would such a wish be expressed and why on a seemingly insignificant, fractional copper coin?

It is possible that an event, which had a significance that singled out the month of Shahrewar, may have taken place in the 45th Ilahi year. Common sense suggests this could have been the Emperor's accession day or birthday. To examine whether any such event fell in the month of Shahrewar in that year seemed as easy task but an attempt at it proved otherwise. This is primarily because the Ilahi calendar is a solar calendar while the traditional Islamic 'Hegira' calendar is lunar – and as Akbar changed from Hegira numismatic reckoning to the Ilahi years mid-way in his reign, it is difficult to correlate the two on a finer, month-by-month, basis. An almanac would have helped, but looking into this brought to notice an important lacuna in historical research in Mughal numismatics – such an almanac has never been compiled! What we have instead is a peculiar table, found in the most noteworthy contribution on the subject of the Ilahi Era, by S H Hodivala that appeared in his 'Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics' ("The Ilahi Era", pp 11-40, reprinted, Bombay 1976). This table gives an indirect correlation between the Hegira and Ilahi dates with the researcher left with the task of performing some arithmetic calculations.

When such are performed, the importance of the month of Shahrewar in the Ilahi year 45 becomes apparent – it was indeed the month in which the Emperor's birthday had fallen that year. So it was quite justified that its 'glories' should be celebrated. Why such a celebration was reflected in legends on nothing but a small copper fractional coin is however a more difficult question to answer. It is quite plausible that the inclusion of the celebration was confined to the month of Shahrewar, probably just around the time the actual birth date, and as such it must have been a very transitory incident. In all probability, other denominations, possibly in gold and silver were also struck but it is only this small copper coin that has survived as testimony. This explanation, however, would beg the question as to why such laudatory legends were not included on coins struck in other years. Whatever the answer, this coin is an interesting piece of evidence about numismatic practices in Akbar's times.

A HAPPY 2006 TO ALL OUR READERS

Printed by Pardy & Son (Printers), Ringwood, UK.
Production Assistance: Morton & Eden