



Editor: [REDACTED]

Assistant Editor: Robert Bracey, [REDACTED]

ONS News

From the Editor



With this issue of the Journal another milestone is reached: issue number 200. The ONS has come a long way since its inception in 1970 as can be seen from the following history of the Society written by our Secretary General, Nick Rhodes. I, myself,

have held the position of Editor for over 20 years. When I started, the Newsletter amounted to around 50 pages a year; this rose to around 100 pages a year by the mid-1990s, and 200 pages or more a year for the past decade – the record being Journal 197 and its supplement totalling 100 pages. As can be imagined, the job of editing now takes much more time and effort than it used to and I am pleased that Robert Bracey agreed to become Assistant Editor a little while ago.

During the period of my editorship I have tried to encourage the production of articles on as wide a range of oriental numismatic series as possible. The success of this has varied somewhat: it is good that there have been more articles on the Islamic series but it is still only the tip of the ice-berg; the continued interest in the Indian series has been reflected in many excellent articles; articles on the Far Eastern series, however, have mostly dried up. Maybe these are being published elsewhere, for example in China and neighbouring countries. The fact remains, however, that there is still so much more to be researched and published. The ONS Journal has the advantage of appearing four times a year: contributors can see their accepted articles in print soon after completing them. There is, of course, some limit on the size of articles that the Journal can accommodate and, for the time being at least, we are not in a position to continue with the publication of supplements unless separate funding can be found for them. Nevertheless, interest in numismatics continues to flourish and the ONS will continue to play its part in fostering it.

I would like to thank all the contributors who have provided articles during the past 20 years or so and, in anticipation, those who will do so in the future.

As a special feature for this issue we are including photos of all the contributors of the articles, or at least of as many contributors who are willing to be thus portrayed. It is always good to put a face to names!

A Brief History of the ONS

By Nick Rhodes

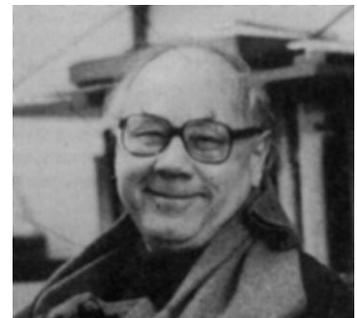


It was in early 1970 that Michael Broome sowed the seed that was to develop into the Oriental Numismatic Society. In February of that year, he placed a note in Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin saying that 'It seems possible that there is an increase of interest in the coinages of the Near and Far East.... As a beginner in this field I have been very conscious of my isolation from other students... and it is possible that others share the same

problems. I wonder, therefore, if it would be worthwhile setting up a list of students of the various Oriental series who would be willing and interested to correspond with each other and with beginners wishing to learn... While in no way qualified for the role, should no other volunteer appear, I would be prepared to act as temporary secretary to such a group if it would fulfil a need.'

Within a few days, twelve people had responded to this appeal, including myself, agreeing with the need, and by April, membership had increased to twenty one. Michael Broome proved that he was admirably qualified for the role of Secretary, issuing regular newsletters to the growing membership. By the time his seventh newsletter appeared in October 1970, membership had grown to over a hundred, in more than twenty countries. Michael was able to report that his sense of isolation was disappearing, and that it was clear that his experiment was worth continuing.

The initial activities of the fledgling society consisted of the Newsletter, published approximately monthly, which contained some annotated information on new and available publications, along with lists of members with their addresses, interests, wants and queries.



The late Michael Broome

It was decided that 'Information Sheets' would be produced, giving useful information on particular series, that was difficult to find in published sources, and an Editorial Panel was formed to assist Michael Broome, and to help maintain the academic quality of such publications. The first Information Sheet

appeared in early 1971, and was followed in quick succession by several more.

With the growing membership in the USA, Pat Hogan agreed to take over a regional membership secretarial role from January 1972, and the following year Michael Broome was able to delegate responsibility for mainland Europe to Dr A Gorter, and later Brian Buckle took over as UK membership secretary and Colin Webdale as International Membership Secretary.

Publications proceeded apace, and by January 1976 twelve Information Sheets and nine Occasional Papers had been produced, mainly edited by Michael Broome himself. In that year Dr Michael Mitchiner took over responsibility for the Newsletter, and gradually started to include short articles, along with the other useful information. Finally, Michael Broome had achieved his goal of spreading the growing workload involved in running the growing Society, among a wide range of people, and it was this delegation which has ensured the success of the Society over the last 40 years.

In April 1976, the ONS held regular organise in London, as part of The World of Islam Festival, a Colloquium entitled 'Islamic Coins in the Service of Research', with Michael Broome on the organising committee. In November 1977, a first meeting and auction was held in London, at St James's Hall, and such meetings were to become regular Society events, with the location changing over the years. The auctions were organised by Ken Wiggins, with Spinks generously donating a number of lots. Although the auction did help to augment society funds, they gradually became less frequent in the UK, although auctions are still popular in the European regional meetings. On the other hand, lectures soon became the major attractions at the occasional meetings in London, and the location was moved to rooms, generously provided free of charge, by the British Museum.

Dr Gorter, the Regional Secretary for Europe, sadly died in April 1977, and was succeeded by Dr van der Wiel of the Netherlands. In May 1980, to celebrate the 10th Anniversary of the founding of the ONS, a meeting was held in Rotterdam, at the Ethnological Museum, with 37 participants from 6 European countries. Several lectures were delivered during the day, and also delegates were able to see some interesting coins from the coin cabinet of the museum.

In 1980, Colin Webdale resigned from being Regional Secretary of the 'General Section' and was replaced by Giles Hennequin in France. Early in 1981, Pat Hogan resigned as US Regional Secretary, and Dr Craig Burns stepped into the breach.

In early 1985, several changes took place at once; Bill Warden took over as US Regional Secretary, Vic Brown resigned as Treasurer after 15 years and was replaced by David Priestley, and Michael Mitchiner stepped down after 9 years as editor of the Newsletter, and was replaced by Stan Goron. Michael Broome orchestrated the changes, not because of any dissatisfaction, but in order to tap into new talent. He emphasised that the Society was a 'do it yourself' Society, with only the Newsletter produced centrally. The content, however, depended only partly on the editor, but mainly on the quality of articles submitted by members. Meetings could be organised by any member, anywhere in the world, but had to be organised locally.

Around this time, Paul Withers, a collector and an ONS member, took over the printing of the Newsletter, through his company, Galata Press, and greatly improved the quality of production.

In November 1986, Nicholas Lowick, the charming keeper of Oriental Coins at the British Museum, died, a very sad and

untimely death. He had been an inspiration to a whole generation of students of Oriental coins, both in the UK and worldwide. His obituary, published in Newsletter No.104, started an interesting new feature in the Newsletters. It was decided not to wait for the death of stalwarts of the world of Oriental Numismatics, but to publish short biographies of the living. Over the following issues, all the officers of the society, and many other luminaries agreed to the publication of a photograph and short biographical details, which were well received by the membership, who could now identify more closely with the authors of the growing number of

research papers that were being published.

By this time, regular meetings were being held in Tübingen, inspired by the acquisition of Steve Album's superb collection of Islamic coins, and the knowledgeable curatorship of Lutz Ilisch, as well as meetings in Cologne and in the Netherlands. Special interest groups were also arranged by members, such as the 'Seventh Century Syrian Round Table',

which concentrates on the study of Arab-Byzantine coins of the area, and continues to arrange regular meetings.

In 1994, the European Regional Secretary, Dr Henk van der Wiel sadly passed away. He was unusual in being the fifth generation of coin collectors in his family. His place was taken by Jan Lingen, who has ensured that continental Europe is one of the most active sections of the Society. At the same time, Giles Hennequin resigned as General Regional Secretary and was succeeded by Bob Senior. Also about this time, a Pakistan Chapter was organised by Shafqat. Mirza.

It was in June 1997 that the father of the ONS, Michael Broome, suddenly died, leaving a great hole in the centre of the Society. His leadership and inspiration had created a truly worldwide Society, with over 500 members. On his death, it was decided that it was time that simple rules should be set down for the Society, with an Annual General Meeting, and election of committee members and officers. The first AGM was held in 1998, at which the proposed Rules were approved, and I was elected as Secretary General.

In 2000 two sad deaths occurred, firstly of Ken Wiggins, a founder member, who had been the UK membership secretary for many years. Then Bill Warden, the US membership secretary, who had done much to encourage the growing US membership. Peter Smith agreed to take over the UK secretary role, and Charlie Karutskis assumed the US role.

Since then, for nearly a decade, apart from appointing Dilip Rajgor as Membership Secretary for India, there have been no changes in the organisation of the Society, and I must thank the officers for running the society so efficiently.

First and foremost, Stan Goron, who has edited the Newsletters, now the Journal of the ONS (JONS), for over 24 years. He has continuously improved the quality of the production, and has tried to keep a balance of interest for all members. I do hope that members agree that this flagship publication is, by itself, worth the modest annual subscription. Naturally, Stan is largely dependent on articles submitted by members, so if any member feels that a series of his



Participants at the ONS meeting in Rotterdam in 1980



The late Ken Wiggins

Zhong yang wen xian chu ban she (Central Document Publishing House), Beijing, 2002, ISBN 7-5073-1170-8/F.18. Size: 787 X 1092 mm; 224 pages, price 1800 Yuan (about £170). Hardbound in yellow cloth.

The book contains little text (in Chinese only), but high quality black and white and colour illustrations of Tibetan coins, coin patterns, banknotes, banknote printing blocks and material from the Tibetan government mint Tabshi Lekhung like coin weights, labels for coin bags or boxes, and seals. Most of the illustrated items are also to be found in the following book which I have already briefly reviewed¹:

Zhu Jinzhong (chief editor), Wang Haiyan, Wang Jiafeng, Zhang Wuyi, Wu Hanlin, Wang Dui [dbang 'dus] and Tsering Pincuo: *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi* [*The Money of Chinese Tibet*] Xi zang zi zhi ou qian bi xue hui [Tibet Autonomous Region Numismatic Society], Zhong hua shu ju, Beijing 2002.

However, the illustrations in the book of the Society of Chinese Finance et al. are of superior quality, particularly those of the copper coinage. Moreover, the book under review contains colour reproductions of several rare 10, 15, 25 and blue 50 tam paper notes which are not known from other publications. These appear together with other rare banknotes which were already illustrated by Zhu Jinzhong et al., and by other Chinese authors.

The high price of this book seems to indicate that it was primarily published for the foreign market, and therefore the compilers would have been well advised to have produced a bilingual edition rather than including only Chinese text.

New Publication on Bhutanese Banknotes

Bohara, Anil R. and Snorrason, Gylfi K.: *Banknotes of Bhutan*. Published by Anil R. Bohara, Nashik, 2009. ISBN 978-81-7525-881-5. With soft cover, illustrated in colour throughout, 137 pages.

Until now no catalogue of Bhutanese paper currency has existed and the authors can be congratulated for having compiled a very useful and comprehensive catalogue of the banknotes of the only remaining Himalayan kingdom. All banknote types and denominations are illustrated in colour at actual size. To these are added illustrations of reduced size of corresponding specimen and replacement notes. A description of the design elements of every note is given along with other information such as dates of issue, signatures, printers, paper types and security features. The catalogue does not give estimated values, but classifies the notes into three categories, i.e. common, rare and very rare.

The introductory part of the book has brief chapters on national symbols, national animals and the national flower of Bhutan. These are followed by a larger chapter which presents brief biographies of the four kings who have ruled Bhutan and of the present young monarch, Jigme Khesar Namgyal Wangchuk. Further chapters are dedicated to auspicious symbols and monuments of Bhutan, particularly the Dzongs (castles which are both religious and administrative seats) which are important features on Bhutan's banknotes.

The collector or student of Bhutanese paper currency can find nearly all the information on this subject he may wish to get and will be impressed by the very pleasant and professional layout of the book.

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Auction News

Spink are offering a good range of Indian coins at their Coinex auction on 1st October. The Kurt Lenz collection has an excellent selection of gold and silver coins of British India. As Mr Lenz was resident in Calcutta in the 1970s his collection also contains coins of Tripura, Assam and the Bengal Sultanates. A second collection has a good range of early Kushan gold, unusual Hephthalite, Mughal and Durrani. For details contact Spink on 0207 563 4000, or view listing on line from mid-September on www.spink.com

New and Recent Publications

The Georgian Coins of Jalal ad-Din Mankburni by D. Patsia & I. Paghava, pp 63, pl 12, soft cover, in Georgian and English, Tbilisi 2009, ISBN 978-9941-0-1273-0. [REDACTED]

The fourth volume of Studies in the Khalili Collection is dedicated to Arab-Byzantine Coinage. This volume, by Tony Goodwin (Nour Foundation, 2005), covers the Arab coinage of Bilad al-Sham (Syria) in the middle and later seventh century. Included is a catalogue of the coins in the Khalili collection as well as detailed studies on three mints: Ba'albak, Jerusalem and Yubna.

The second volume of Gandharan Studies has been published. Of several articles, one by Gul Rahim Khan on 'Gold Coins in the Cabinet of Taxila Museum' may be of interest to members. Those interested in this journal should contact Dr M. Nasim Khan, Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, NWFP, Pakistan.

Two Reviews by Wolfgang Bertsch



A Chinese Publication on Tibetan Coins and Banknotes

In 2002 the following book was published in China: Zhong guo jin rong xue hui (Society of Chinese Finance); Zhong guo qian bi bo wu guan (China Numismatic Museum); Xin hua tong xun she she ying bu (Xin Hua News Agency Photo-Department) (Editing supervisor: Xu zu gen): *Zhong guo jin rong zhen gui wen wu dang guan da dian. Xi zang juan* (*China Finance precious cultural Relics Archive and Catalogue. Tibet Book*).

¹ Bertsch, Wolfgang: "Recent Chinese Publications on the Currency of Tibet". *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 194, winter 2008, p. 4-5.

Articles

LETTERS FROM ANTONIO MORDINI²

By Vincent West



In 'Letters from Arturo Anzani'³ I discussed the letters from the eminent Aksumite numismatist Arturo Anzani (1879-c.1946/7) to the French collector Claudius Côte (died 1956), preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Together with them are letters written by the Italian archaeologist Antonio Mordini (1904-75) to Côte, with much about Aksumite numismatics, and these are the subject of this paper. Mordini's letters include his discoveries of the 1940s, after the groundbreaking work of Anzani and other numismatists in the previous decades; they also provide provenances for many of the Aksumite coins now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Antonio Mordini (see photo here from the family collection and reproduced by courtesy of Gianfranco Fiaccadori) was born in Barga, Lucca in Tuscany on 14 February 1904⁴. He graduated at Florence in ethnology and archaeology. His interest lay initially in South America, then in Africa and the Persian Gulf. In 1932 he directed an expedition to Fezzan in Italian Sahara, now Libya. After the Italian occupation of Ethiopia in 1936-7, he joined the government ethnological mission to Ethiopia and then a mission to Eritrea. From 1939 to 1944 he was head of Ethnographic Services of Italian East Africa. During the war and the subsequent British Administration from 1941 he became a personal councillor of the Italian Viceroy, the Duke of Aosta, and was entrusted with protecting the Italian population. His scholarly activity was particularly focussed on the later monuments, especially the monastery of Debra Damo in northern Tigray, situated on the flat summit of an *amba* (see Figure 1)⁵. He had fine holdings of Ethiopian manuscripts and, as we shall see, Aksumite coins.



Antonio Mordini



Fig. 1: Mordini (third from right, next to the Abbot) at the monastery church, Debra Damo, c. 1939 (Family collection courtesy of Gianfranco Fiaccadori)

Claude-Marie Côte, known as Claudius, had varied numismatic interests including Roman, Celtic, medieval and modern; he also collected jewels, books, documents etc. and organised some Merovingian excavations in France. He became a "Membre Correspondant" of the Société Française de Numismatique in 1911⁶. From 1912 to 1922 he gave his surname as Côte-Baritel⁷, reverting to plain Côte in 1923 when he was elevated to a "Membre Titulaire"⁸. He was also a member of the Cercle Lyonnais de Numismatique, as was his wife after his death⁹. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society in 1926, resigning in 1942¹⁰. He lived at 38 Rue au Plat, Lyon, throughout; his business "Établissements Côte-Baritel" at 11 Rue Président Carnot dealt in earthenware, porcelain, glass and crystal¹¹ and also furnished bars¹².

Among the Côte papers held in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, there is a volume of unpublished letters relating to Aksumite coinage¹³. They cover the period from 1935 to 1956 (when Côte died) and are nearly all in French. The letters are mostly to Côte but also include poor quality copies of letters from him. The latter, especially the earlier ones, are often difficult or impossible to read. Côte frequently underlined key phrases with blue pencil in the letters to him. The correspondents include many of the leading numismatists or dealers of the time¹⁴. This paper will be concerned particularly with the numismatic content of the letters written by Mordini, though he often covers other subjects including archaeology.

The correspondence between Mordini and Côte ran for over seven years, from 17 June 1947 to 10 December 1955, during which Mordini wrote at least 30 times, always from Barga. However between January 1950 and July 1955 he wrote only four letters (and two of these were Christmas cards).

The correspondence began in the following way. Côte wrote on 2 June 1947 to the eminent Ethiopian, Carlo Conti Rossini, enquiring about purchasing his Aksumite duplicates. After the death of Arturo Anzani, it was only natural that Côte would approach the only other scholar who had published work comparatively recently on Aksumite coins¹⁵. Conti Rossini replied

² The work for this paper was aided by a grant from the Nicholas Lowick Memorial Fund for the Promotion of Oriental Numismatic Research. I am grateful to Michel Amandry, Director, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and his staff, in particular François Thierry, for their kind assistance. The Aksumite coins and their tickets were not available to view on my visit.

³ V. West, 'Letters from Arturo Anzani', *JONS* 190, Winter 2007, pp. 4-7. P. 4 para. 2 states that Anzani was born at Nizza in Italy. However a letter from Anzani to A Kammerer dated 27 December 1927 now in the author's possession establishes that he was born in Nice in France of Swiss parents: "Étant né à Nice de parents suisses, je me considère un peu français...". The Italian for Nice is indeed Nizza. Also on p. 5 para. 4 for "50 copper" read "150 copper".

⁴ My main biographical source for Mordini is G. Fiaccadori, entry for "Mordini, Antonio", *Encyclopaedia Aethiopia, Volume 3, He-N* (ed. Uhlig, S.), Wiesbaden, 2007, pp. 1017-9. I am also grateful for information provided by Gian Carlo Stella via Giuseppe Girola.

⁵ D. H. Matthews and A. Mordini, 'The Monastery of Debra Damo, Ethiopia', *Archaeologia* 97 (1949), pp. 1-58.

⁶ *RN* 4/15 (1911), p. cix.

⁷ *RN* 4/16 (1912), p. v; *RN* 4/25 (1922), p. iv.

⁸ *RN* 4/26 (1923), p. ii.

⁹ *BSFN* 15 (November 1960), p. 480.

¹⁰ R.A.G. Carson and H Pagan, *A History of the Royal Numismatic Society 1836-1986* (London, 1986), p. 118.

¹¹ The business card is filed before Mordini's 12 September 1947 letter.

¹² "limonardiers".

¹³ The volume is labelled 'Copie de Lettres 12'.

¹⁴ They include among others Arturo Anzani, Michele Baranowsky (Rome), Herbert Cahn (Basle), Carlo Conti Rossini, Count Gian Luigi Cornaggia (Milan), G M Galanti (Verona), Kailey Muncharjee (Aden) and Francesco Vaccaro (Asmara, Eritrea).

¹⁵ See especially C. Conti Rossini, 'Monete Aksumite', *Africa Italiana* I (1927), pp. 179-212 (henceforth CR). Côte's copy is in the author's

on 6 June explaining that this was not possible as his Aksumite coins were willed to the Accademia dei Lincei at Rome. However he would forward Côte's letter to a friend (Mordini) who also had a collection of Aksumite coins.

Mordini wrote on 17 June, regretting that in his collection of Aksumite coins he only had a few duplicates (three of Joel, others of "Kaleb" and "Ezana" now regarded as Anonymous, etc., all apparently coppers) all in poor condition and not, he thought, of interest to Côte. However Côte noted on the letter that he later acquired these and they were not in poor condition. Mordini enclosed an offprint of his article describing his research in Ethiopia from 1939-44¹⁶. The short numismatic section briefly describes various unpublished types: three silvers of Ezanas (AC¹⁷ 39), two of Kaleb (AC 111 - or possibly Anonymous AC 50), a silver of Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen Negus (AC 117 - a new type with the obverse legend NGS WZN instead of NGS AKSM (King of Aksum) as well as two of the already known AC 125-6), two silvers of Joel (AC 129), a copper¹⁸ of Israel (AC 144) and two silvers of Gersem (AC 147). He described the last as extraordinarily similar to CR 49, a copper coin of Joel (AC 135) which Conti Rossini had misattributed to Kaleb; apart from the king's name the coins are indeed similar.

On 26 June 1947 Mordini sent casts of eleven of his coins. From a photograph with the letter these are identifiable as: silvers of Ousanas (AC 26), Ezanas (AC 39), Kaleb (AC 111), Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen (AC 125 and 126) and Joel (AC 129); and coppers of Ezanas (AC 44), MHDYS (AC 70), Hataz (two AC 141) and Armah (AC 153)¹⁹. Côte noted by the photograph that he eventually [January 1950] acquired two of these coins, the AC 125 and one AC 141, and an AC 111 which was a variety of the actual coin illustrated²⁰. (On 19 September 1947 Mordini further commented that some of these coins were of types unpublished by Anzani²¹ or Conti Rossini: AC 39, 44, 111 and 129; and that the AC 126 was a new variety with a cross behind the king's left shoulder.) In fact AC 39²² and 44 were new; AC 129 or its copper equivalent AC 133 had been previously published by Conti Rossini as his no. 69 but he misinterpreted its reverse legend as Ge'ez not Greek; Anzani had noted in 1941 the existence of silvers of Kaleb (AC 111) and Joel (AC 129 or 130) without publishing them in detail²³. Mordini also enclosed a draft of his unpublished

library, from the library of Georges le Rider (characteristically, Côte made frequent underlinings in blue pencil and marked types he possessed with a P).

¹⁶ A. Mordini, 'Informazioni preliminari sui risultati delle mie ricerche in Etiopia dal 1939-1944', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* IV (January 1945 - December 1945), pp. 141-150 (p. 150 for the coins). The copy Mordini inscribed to Côte is in the author's library, from the library of Georges le Rider (characteristically, Côte made underlinings in blue pencil and marked types he possessed with a P).

¹⁷ S. Munro-Hay and B. Juel-Jensen, *Aksumite Coinage*, 1995 (henceforth AC). Table 1 below may be used to convert AC references in this article to references to W. Hahn, 'Die Münzprägung des Axumitischen Reiches', *LNV* 2 (1983), pp. 113-80, pl. 12-15 (henceforth H).

¹⁸ It is described as silver in the article with a manuscript correction (by Mordini?).

¹⁹ Côte numbered the coins on the photograph as 1 to 11, but not consecutively, and this numbering is used in AC. In his letters of 19 September 1947 and 9 August 1948 Mordini used a different numbering.

²⁰ Mordini offered the AC 111 (BN Côte 36?) and 141 (BN Côte 86) to Côte on several occasions (9 August 1948, 11 December 1948 and 18 December 1949), the AC 111 having a different reverse from the photograph and reassembled from several fragments. Côte acquired them in January 1950 together with the AC 125 (BN Côte 73) and eleven other Aksumite coins (see note 43).

²¹ A. Anzani, 'Numismatica Axumita', *RIN* 3/39 (1926), pp. 5-110; A. Anzani, 'Numismatica e storia d'Etiopia, note bibliografiche e nuove osservazioni di numismatica Axumita', *RIN* 3/41-2 (1928), pp. 5-69; A. Anzani, 'Le monete dei Re di Aksum, studi supplementari', *RIN* 4/43 (1941), pp. 49-73, 81-99, 113-29. Henceforth these are cited as Anz., Anz. II and Anz. III.

²² Anz. 14 given to Aphilas may in fact be of this type.

²³ Anz. III pp. 59-60 and 61 notes 30 and 32. The catalogue of Anzani's collection, prepared by Cornaggia in 1947 after Anzani's death (West 'Letters from Arturo Anzani' p. 5) includes an unpublished silver of Kaleb

article on the coins of Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen Negus (the King who exalts the Saviour) dated 7 February 1942, identifying the new type with the obverse legend NGS WZN instead of NGS AKSM (King of Aksum). He commented that it was at present difficult to publish scientific works in Italy, and this article would not be published till 1949²⁴.

On 8 July 1947 Mordini wrote that he had succeeded in putting together a collection of no more than 120 Aksumite coins, acquired during the period of nearly eight years that he had lived in Ethiopia. This number needs to be reconciled with other statements (see below) that his collection numbered only 32 in 1945 and 31 in 1947. The 120 may reflect the number that had passed through his hands or were now in museums. Sixty or so had come from his excavations, the remainder being bought from the local inhabitants, but often several months went by before he was offered a coin (unfortunately Mordini did not usually record provenances). Nearly all the silver and copper were in very poor condition. From his excavations he had only a single gold coin, of Ella Gabaz (AC 124). He had written on 26 June 1947 that it had been stolen by an English officer in Eritrea in 1942. It was "almost identical" to the coin of Ella Gabaz in Côte's collection²⁵ but *pace* AC²⁶ it is not the same coin. Côte's coin, which had come from Aden via Syria, was offered to him two years earlier by Ravel of Marseilles on 10 January 1940 and he finally acquired it on 31 May for 1000 francs²⁷.

Mordini attended an International Congress relating to his American interests in Paris at the end of August and was able to visit Côte in Lyon before returning to Italy early in September.

Côte by 12 September 1947 had acquired from Mordini the collection of an officer, a Captain Orsucci, consisting of 20 Aksumite silver and copper coins. Mordini had first mentioned this collection in his letter of 26 June. Orsucci had lived a long time in Ethiopia and had offered the coins to Mordini some months before, but he had not pursued them at the time as they were not in very good condition and Orsucci, being a stamp collector, had wanted old stamps in exchange. Eventually Orsucci accepted a Peruvian (Nazca²⁸) vase from Mordini and Côte paid Mordini 3000 francs for the coins. The two silvers were of Ezanas (AC 39) and Hataz (AC 137); the eighteen coppers were of Ezanas (two AC uncertain), Ouazebas (AC 54), Anonymous (four AC 76), Wazena (three AC 118-123), Joel (two AC 131 and a 132), Hataz (three AC 141), Gersem (AC 148) and Armah (AC 153)²⁹.

On 15 September 1947 Mordini set out some of his thoughts on Aksumite coins. *Contra* Anzani he thought there was only one king named Hataz not two, one being the accepted view today. Less perceptively, he repeated his attribution of the coins of king Za-Wazen (Wazena) to a district or town of that name. On the rarity of the coinage, he considered silver coins excessively rare, knowing of no more than 30 in private collections. Pre-Christian coppers and those of King Israel were very rare. Gold coins were

(no. 28) and four unpublished silvers of Joel (nos. 13-16). Doubtless it was Anzani's intention to publish these in further instalments of his unfinished 1941 work.

²⁴ A. Mordini, 'Su di un nuovo titolo regale aksumita', *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici* VIII (1949), pp. 7-11. The copy Mordini inscribed to Côte on 17 June 1950 is in the author's library, from the library of Georges le Rider. Côte noted on it that the example illustrated in fig. 2 (AC 125) was now in his collection - it is BN Côte 73 (see note 20). He also noted that he had an example of the AC 126 type illustrated in fig. 1, ex Vaccaro (BN Côte 74 - see note 54). Mordini also here published the Gersem silver (AC 147) from two examples found near the church of Maryam Nazret.

²⁵ West 'Letters from Arturo Anzani' Table 1 no. 10, BN Côte 53.

²⁶ AC p. 223.

²⁷ As his collection number 882 (see note 63).

²⁸ The Nazca civilisation flourished from 300 BC to 800 AD.

²⁹ This list does not completely agree with the BN Côte coins described as ex Orsucci in AC, which only lists one silver: Ezanas (AC 39, BN Côte 16); and fifteen coppers: Ezanas (AC 40, BN Côte 17), Ouazebas (AC 54, BN Côte 30), Anonymous (three AC 76, BN Côte 39-41), Wazena (two AC 118, BN Côte 69 and 72, one AC 120, BN Côte 70), Joel (three AC 131, BN Côte 55-7), Hataz (three AC 141, BN Côte 82, 83 and 85) and Armah (AC 153, BN Côte 77).

more common, but interesting in that their weights were helpful in fixing approximate dates for the kings. He also sent a list of the 31 coins by ruler and metal in his collection, which he requested Côte to copy and return. Côte's copy records thirteen silvers (Ousanas, two Ezanas, two Kaleb, three Joel, three Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen and two Gersem) and eighteen coppers (two Ezanas, two early Anonymous, Ouazebas, MHDYS, two later Anonymous, two Wazena, Joel, three Hataz, two Israel, Gersem and Armah); he noted that he had seen two photographs³⁰ showing 20 (11 plus 9) of these coins but not the remaining eleven. This is the first mention in the letters of the still rare, and then unpublished, copper of Israel, to which we shall return. In his letter of 8 October 1947 Mordini wrote that the University Museum of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia had in 1945 offered him \$400 for his collection, then of 32 Aksumite coins together with some Himyarite (14 very fine in silver and a hundred in bronze [copper?], the latter very small and mostly in very poor condition), or an exchange of objects of similar value. He had declined their offer as he wanted to keep his collection³¹.

On 14 October 1947 Mordini sent photographs of Aksumite and South Arabian coins, the latter finds from his excavations in Ethiopia. The Aksumite included silvers of Ezanas, Joel (two), NGS WZN and Gersem (two). Côte was able to acquire four Aksumite coins, but since he cut out their photographs it is not clear what these were.

When Mordini wrote on 23 January 1948 he had no coins to offer, but he hoped for better luck at the end of the year when he was planning several months of archaeological research in Eritrea. He commented on the similarity between the reverse cross type of Ebana and Hataz and that on a coin of the Anglo-Saxon king Offa (757-796). He thought they must have all derived from a Byzantine original but could not think of one. The suggestion that Offa copied an Aksumite design has been developed elsewhere³² but fails to convince.

On 9 August 1948 Mordini wrote that he had written to Eritrea seeking coins for Côte, but without success. He now offered to Côte from his collection nine of the coins (or similar specimens) of which he had previously sent photographs on three occasions, proposing an exchange for Côte's (Byzantine) textile fragment representing two horses, with a possible future exchange involving one representing four peacocks. Côte eventually acquired them all (but not till January 1950 as Mordini was retaining them for study). Two of the coins correspond to the photograph of eleven Aksumite coins Mordini sent on 26 June 1947³³, six to a second photograph including nine Aksumite coins and one to a third photograph including seven Aksumite coins (the second and third photographs are now filed after Mordini's 20 November 1949 letter). The six were coppers of Ezanas ("unpublished, one specimen known"), "Kaleb" (two - Anonymous AC 76), Wazena (AC 118-123), Israel (AC 144) and Hataz (AC 141)³⁴. The Israel coin was identical to the photographed example but fragmentary and in bad condition. Mordini was fortunate to have two examples of this rare coin, of which only six specimens are known today³⁵. The coin in the third

photograph was another unpublished "Ezanas" (anonymous) copper. Mordini was keeping the other coins in his collection for study but when he had finished with them, he would give Côte the opportunity to acquire coins missing from his collection.

On 11 December 1948 again Mordini had had no luck with his correspondents in Ethiopia, but hoped to find more coins in excavations he planned for the following year in southern Eritrea. He now offered to Côte sixteen coins corresponding to the nine earlier and seven others: from the first photograph a copper of Ezanas; from the second coppers of Joel and Gersem; from the third three silvers, one of Ezanas and two of Joel; and an unpublished copper of Ezanas for which he would send a cast. He proposed an exchange for two Byzantine textiles. Côte eventually acquired all of these except the two Ezanas coppers (in January 1950)³⁶. Mordini in the near future would have four coins available and hoped for an exchange: from the first photograph silvers of Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen and Joel; from the second the other Israel; from the third a silver of Gersem. Côte eventually acquired the first only³⁷.

In his letter of 22 December 1948 Mordini mentioned that a friend travelling in Tigray had discovered some iron crosses, or rather crucifixes, in a cache with copper coins of Hataz. This would he thought put back the date of the crosses, of a style which Mordini had assumed to be of the post-Aksumite Zagwe dynasty, by several centuries.

On 31 January 1949 Mordini wrote identifying a cast that Côte had sent him of an Aksumite gold coin - it was of Kaleb and similar in type to Prideaux no. 2³⁸ (AC 97) - and congratulating him on acquiring it. It would seem unlikely that Côte did however as the only BN Côte gold of Kaleb is of a different type (AC 91)³⁹. This is reminiscent of the way in which Côte would ask Anzani to identify coins⁴⁰ and suggests that Côte was very uncertain about Aksumite coins and not confident in using Anzani's or Conti Rossini's works, both being written in Italian. Mordini was also working on his most recent finds, including some very small Himyarite coppers (6-9mm diameter and weighing less than 0.1g), not before found in Ethiopia.

Mordini next wrote on 22 September 1949 after a trip of 25 days to Eritrea, locating and excavating some Aksumite tombs, in preparation for a campaign in 1950 of four to six months' excavations there. He had found some coins, unfortunately very corroded by the acid soil, which he hoped to have restored to allow them to be read. He was happy to hear that Côte had been offered many Aksumite coins and advised buying them for they were extremely rare and would one day be very valuable - for himself there were some years when he had not been offered one.

On 20 November 1949 Mordini wrote again of the corroded coins he had found: while most were of known types, two were probably unpublished and he would send casts of the better pieces. Commenting on the death of Carlo Conti Rossini in August, he noted that his collection of Aksumite coins⁴¹ was going to the Accademia dei Lincei at Rome (as noted above and where it still is today). On the one hand he thought it was a pity they were lost to commerce; on the other it was an advantage for scholarship. Mordini reported another offer from Philadelphia for all or some of his Aksumite coins, this time from a Mr Cahn (possibly, he thought, related to Cahn of Münzen und Medaillen, dealers in Basle) via an old friend, the director of the antiquities section of the University Museum. This would be paid in dollars or by duplicates of Cahn's coins of Greece or Sicily (he was also interested if Côte had such coins for exchange). He was thinking of offering ten to twelve coins, keeping the rest till they were

and Hahn collection (the specimen illustrated by Vaccaro). The author hopes to publish elsewhere an article on these coins.

³⁰ See note 43.

³¹ See note 20.

³² W. F. Prideaux, 'The Coins of the Axumite Dynasty', *NC*, 3rd Series, Vol. IV (1884), pp. 205-19, pl. X. No. 2 is Anz. 134.

³³ West 'Letters from Arturo Anzani', Table 1 no. 7 (BN Côte 35).

³⁴ West 'Letters from Arturo Anzani' p. 5.

³⁵ 141 coins rather than the 195 quoted by Mordini.

³⁰ On the photographs see below under 9 August 1948.

³¹ The only significant public collection of Aksumite coins in the USA known to the author is that of the American Numismatic Society, New York. There are a few Aksumite coins in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington.

³² B. E. Juel-Jensen, 'Was the Design of one of Offa's Coins Inspired by the Silver of King Ebana of Aksum?', *NCirc* 97 (November 1989), p. 296; B. E. Juel-Jensen and S. C. Munro-Hay, 'Further Examples of Coins of Offa Inspired by Aksumite Designs', *NCirc* 102 (July 1994), p. 256-7; B. E. Juel-Jensen, Letter to the Editor, *NCirc* 103 (June 1995), p. 186.

³³ See note 20.

³⁴ BN Côte 18, 38, 43, 68 (AC 120i), 89 (in two pieces) and 84. See note 43.

³⁵ AC queries whether Côte's specimen (BN Côte 89) is the coin illustrated by Mordini as item (d) on the plate in his 1959 article (see note 64), but this is not so. The former is in two pieces and in bad condition; the latter is a better specimen. The other four specimens known are Addis Ababa National Museum 909, Altheim-Stiehl collection 264, British Museum 554

published. He promised to send an offprint of his article on the coins of Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen Negus which would finally appear in the next issue of the *Rassegna di Studi Etiopici*⁴² (though he was still working on it when he wrote next on 18 December).

Again in his letter of 18 December 1949, Mordini apologised that he still had not been able to make the proposed exchange of Côte's textiles for his Aksumite coins, as he had still been working on them. He now offered fourteen coins. If Côte were not interested he would contact Cahn, but, in the event, Côte acquired them all⁴³ by the proposed exchange which Mordini accepted on 2 January 1950. Mordini also sent some small South Arabian copper coins, some bearing a bucranium, found at Yeha in Tigray. He again asserted that the coins assigned to Za-Wazen (Wazena) were in fact anonymous, belonging to a place where the kings had taken refuge after abandoning Aksum and taking the title king of WZN instead of king of Aksum.

On 2 January 1950 Mordini wrote that he would send the coins Côte would now acquire by registered letter; he had taken care in packing them, with the more fragile in a small wooden box. He asked that the textiles also be sent registered without their protective glass (he acknowledged receiving them on 11 January). He commented on some of the coins. Of king Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen Negus he knew only five silvers⁴⁴. Côte's new specimen, two more of his own and two in the Conti Rossini collection⁴⁵.

On 22 January 1950 Mordini commented on a photograph Côte had sent of twelve of his Aksumite gold coins⁴⁶. He thought he could identify all but one, and when he had the time he would compare them with Paribeni's (1906-7) finds from Adulis in the Museo Coloniale (now the Museo Africano) in Rome⁴⁷.

There is now a gap in the correspondence of nearly three years, till Côte wrote on 3 October 1952⁴⁸ asking Mordini to identify some Aksumite coins he had acquired from photographs. In his reply on 6 October Mordini singled out several rare coins for comment. The three silvers included an Armah (AC 151)⁴⁹ and a probable Aphilas (AC 10). The remaining coppers, eight at least, included a MHDYS (AC 70)⁵⁰ and a Hataz (AC 140 or 141). Reviewing the finds from his excavations in Tigray and Eritrea, there had been only a small number of Aksumite coins, none of great interest, but from one locality a large number of Islamic gold dinars and silver dirhems of the Ummayyad and Abbasid caliphs in exceptional condition. He saw this as evidence of contact, probably military, between Late Aksumite and emerging Muslim populations. Another unexpected discovery in Tigray (at Debra Damo) had been a large number of Indian coins, Kushan and Gupta (though he later retracted "Gupta"), mainly gold, also in exceptional condition. He regarded this as evidence of contact between the Aksumites and Indians, and discoveries from the 1990s of Aksumite coins in India, especially doubly pierced gold coins, have confirmed this. He also claimed that some of the Indian coins had been overstruck by the Aksumites⁵¹ (but dropped this claim in his 1959 article on the hoard⁵²).

⁴² See note 24.

⁴³ As his collection no. 957 (see note 63). The fourteen coins were: five silvers of Ezanas (AC 39, BN Côte 15), Kaleb (AC 111, BN Côte 36?), Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen Negus (AC 125, BN Côte 73) and Joel (AC 129, BN Côte 63; AC 130, BN Côte 37?); nine coppers of Ezanas (AC 40, BN Côte 18), Anonymous (AC 52, BN Côte 27; AC 76, BN Côte 38 and 43), Wazena (AC 120i, BN Côte 68), Joel (AC 134, BN Côte 59), Hataz (AC 141, BN Côte 84 and 86) and Israel (AC 144, BN Côte 89). See note 19.

⁴⁴ Côte annotated '8'.

⁴⁵ CR 90 and 91 (AC types 126 and 125 respectively *pace* AC).

⁴⁶ By 1942 Côte had nine Aksumite golds (West 'Letters from Arturo Anzani' Table 1).

⁴⁷ Unfortunately these coins were stolen about 1980 and many appeared subsequently in trade.

⁴⁸ Letter dated 3 November 1952 in error.

⁴⁹ Probably BN Côte 78.

⁵⁰ Probably BN Côte 31.

⁵¹ "surfrappes faites en les ateliers monétaires d'Aksoum".

⁵² A. Mordini, 'Gli aurei kushana del convento di Dabra-Dammo', *Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi Etiopici* (Rome, 1959), Rome 1960, pp. 249-54; English translation by C. Veldettaro in A. Mordini, 'Gold Kushana

In his reply of 17 October 1952, Côte asked after the Ousanas silver (AC 26) in the 26 June 1947 photograph and the better Israel copper (AC 144). But no reply is preserved and it was over a year later, apart from a Christmas 1953 card from Mordini, on 18 February 1954 that Côte sent Mordini a plaster cast of an Aksumite gold with a die break that he found difficult to read. Mordini replied on 23 February identifying it as Anonymous (AC 71 - now assigned to Ebana).

Again their correspondence lapsed for well over a year, apart from a Christmas 1954 card from Mordini, and it was not until 8 July 1955 that Côte sent a photograph of one gold and four silver Aksumite coins he had recently acquired, asking Mordini to identify the kings and read the legends with a translation in French. Replying on 9 July 1955 Mordini identified two of the silvers as Ebana (AC 74)⁵³ and Za-ya'abiyo la-Madhen Negus with monogram AGD (AC 126)⁵⁴. Two days later in two further letters he identified the gold as Endubis (AC 1)⁵⁵, of which up till 1945 only four were known⁵⁶, and the silvers as Aphilas (AC 10) and Ousanas (AC 28)⁵⁷. On 14 July 1955 Côte sent casts of these (allowing Mordini to confirm his identifications from the photograph on 24 July). Côte was looking forward to receiving a fine series of Aksumite coins and he would send a photograph towards the end of August after his holiday. He duly sent a photograph on 14 September of 14 copper coins, the coins slightly reduced in size, and a further photograph on 1 October, at the correct size, asking Mordini for photographs of his Aksumite coins. Mordini not having answered, Côte wrote again on 1 December, querying whether Mordini was ill or away.

Mordini replied on 2 December 1955 - he had been on a trip to the Orient. Unfortunately he was very involved studying the hoard of Kushan coins from Debra Damo and in other research. He had identified some of Côte's coins, though these are not recorded in his letter⁵⁸; the others would follow when he had the time. The Aksumite coins he had recently found in Eritrea were still in Asmara, but there was nothing of interest. When Côte persisted on 8 December about the five unidentified coins, Mordini replied on 10 December that he was very sorry not to be able to help any more, as it took time and patience and he was too busy. This contrasted with his earlier willingness to help in any way. In a year or two he would have more time (but as we shall see, that would be too late). To Côte's note that Mordini had no doubt heard that the Emperor of Ethiopia (Haile Selassie) had acquired Anzani's collection for the museum at Aksum⁵⁹, Mordini commented that this would add to the collection of coins that the Ethiopian Department of Archaeology had obtained as a result of recent excavations. In his last (undated) letter to Mordini Côte noted that he had the catalogue of Anzani's collection with photographs of the obverse and reverse of all the pieces⁶⁰.

Côte died suddenly after a very short illness on 25 November 1956⁶¹. His wife, Marie-Jeanne-Françoise, died after a very long illness on 13 September 1960, bequeathing all his coins (as well as *objets d'art*, books and documents) in accordance with his

Coins in the Convent of Dabra Dammo', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* XXIX, part II (1967), pp. 19-25.

⁵³ BN Côte 52 which Côte had acquired in June 1955 from Vaccaro (see note 14), as noted on his copy of CR (see note 14).

⁵⁴ BN Côte 74 from the Brancaccio collection according to AC (but see note 24). Baranowsky (see note 10) had sent Côte a list of this collection in 1949.

⁵⁵ BN Côte 5 which Côte had acquired in June 1955 from Vaccaro (see note 14), as noted on his copy of CR (see note 14). *Pace* AC this is not Anz. III 1/4 nor from the Brancaccio collection.

⁵⁶ Anz. 1-3 and Anz. III 1/4.

⁵⁷ BN Côte 10.

⁵⁸ From the photograph, the first seven coins are unclear. The remaining seven (all coppers) are in order: two Anonymous (AC 76), Joel (AC 131 and 134), Wazena (AC 120), Armah (AC 153) and Hataz (AC 140).

⁵⁹ West 'Letters from Arturo Anzani' p. 6.

⁶⁰ West 'Letters from Arturo Anzani' p. 5, and p. 7 note 40. The photographs are untraced.

⁶¹ *BSFN* 11 (December 1956), p. 86.

wishes to the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale⁶². As well as 86 Aksumite coins, the highlights were remarkable series of Roman, Celtic, medieval and modern⁶³.

It was not till 1959 that Mordini published his last article on Aksumite coins⁶⁴, finally publishing the Ezanas silver and copper (AC 39 and 44), Kaleb silver (AC 111), Joel silver (AC 129), Israel copper (AC 144), and Gersem silver (AC 147)⁶⁵, for all of which he had sent photographs to Côte or described to him over ten years before. Mordini referred to Côte's collection, mentioning his specimens of AC 39, 111 and 129, but not his 144. Mordini died at Barga on 3 December 1975⁶⁶.

Table 1: Concordance of AC against H references⁶⁷

AC	H	AC	H	AC	H
1	1	91	41b	133	60
10	8	97	41a	134	61b
26	13b	111	42	135	58
28	14	117	67	137	63
39	18	118-23	70	140	66
40	19	124	45	141	65
44	23	125	68	144	47
54	26	126	69	147	51
70	30	129	57	148	53
74	35	130	56	151	71
76	36	131-2	59	153	72a

Notes

The following journal abbreviations are used:

BSFN	<i>Bulletin de la Société Française de Numismatique</i>
JONS	<i>Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society</i>
LNV	<i>Litterae Numismaticae Vindobonenses</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
NCirc	<i>Numismatic Circular</i>
RIN	<i>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica</i>
RN	<i>Revue Numismatique</i>

A NEW COIN TYPE OF DIMITRI I, KING OF GEORGIA

By Severian Turkia and Irakli Paghava



⁶² BSFN 15 (November 1960), p. 480. His Lyon medals and jettons went to the Cabinet des Médailles, Le Musée de Lyon.

⁶³ G. Le Rider, 'Monnaies Grecques Récentement Acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles', RN 6/3 (1961), pp.7-26, pl. I-III at p.11. There were only four Côte Greek coins, so the Aksumite coins were accessioned as BN Côte 5 to 90. The BN inventory "Collection Côte - Inventaire" dated 27 August 1962 runs to 97 pages listing 3733 coins (with some seals). On p. 2 there is a reference to "Registré Côte", a document not seen by the author, which may provide details of the Côte collection numbers mentioned in notes 27 and 43.

⁶⁴ A. Mordini, 'Appunti di Numismatica Aksumita', *Annales d'Ethiopie* III (1959), pp. 179-83, pl. LXXIX.

⁶⁵ See note 24 (though now mentioning only one coin).

⁶⁶ The disposition of Mordini's coins not acquired by Côte is unknown to the author.

⁶⁷ See note 17.

The aim of this article is to analyse and publish a new coin type with Arabic legends which we believe to have been struck in the kingdom of Georgia in the 2nd quarter of the 12th century.

This coin type is known to us from 3 specimens. The surviving fragments of the legends and the design are identical; therefore, we consider all 3 coins to be of the same type. We provide their description along with information on their provenance below.

Specimen 1 (offered for sale in Tbilisi, Georgia in 2009), 3.29 g, 14.9-16.9 mm, die axis 12 o'clock; Fig. 1:



Fig. 1

Obv.: Within a plain circle

... دیمطری (دولطری بن دو...)

There is a thick horizontal line decorated with vertical, elliptical pellets. There is also a protuberance, apparently corresponding to the dot made by the compass leg (a pair of compasses was used to outline the outer circles/margins on the dies⁶⁸). In addition, there is a fragment of an unclear Arabic legend (upside down).

Rev.: Within a plain circle

محمود بن محمد

There is a band of geometrical ornamentation and a protuberance, corresponding to the dot made by the compass leg.

... لسلطان لم... (upside down).

Specimen 2 (found on the Mtkvari river bed in the territory of Tbilisi, Georgia), 1.04 g, 11.0-11.9 mm; Fig. 2:



Fig. 2

Obv.: Only the upper left quadrant of the central area is visible. A fragment of a plain circle.

... ی بن دو

A horizontal line (made by merged elliptical pellets?).

Rev.: Almost completely effaced. Traces of an Arabic legend.

Specimen 3 (unearthed in the north of the Kakheti region, in eastern Georgia), 1.74 g, 10.9-12.2 mm, die axis 1:30 o'clock; Fig. 3:



Fig. 3

⁶⁸ This technique was also employed when producing Kufic dirhams in the Tiflis Emirate (Pakhomov 1970 39, footnote 1).

Obv.: Parts of 2 left quadrants of the central area are visible.
Fragment of a plain circle.

...ن د ود

A horizontal line (made by merged elliptical pellets?).
Fragment of unclear Arabic legend (upside down).

Rev.: The upper left part of the die is struck up.
Fragment of marginal Arabic legend (unread). Fragment of a plain circle.

Fragment of Arabic legend: Only the vertical strokes of 3 graphemes are visible (...لط...?).

Although at least specimens 2 and 3 were struck from different obverse dies, the surviving fragments make it clear in our opinion that all 3 specimens pertain to the same type. Combining and reconstructing the surviving legends and the design elements reveals the following coin type:

Obv.: Marginal legend (off-flan or effaced on all 3 specimens)?
Within a plain circle in the centre:

دويمطري بن دود

There is a thick horizontal line decorated with vertical elliptical pellets and a protuberance, corresponding to the dot made by the compass leg.

Fragment of unclear Arabic legend (upside down).

Rev.: Unclear marginal Arabic legend.

Within a plain circle in the centre:

محمود بن محمد

There is a strip of a geometrical ornamentation and a protuberance, corresponding to the dot made by the compass leg.

لسلطان لمعظم (upside down).

The combination of the name (Mahmūd b. Muhammad) and the title (the Sultan Supreme) indicated on the coin points, in our opinion, to Mahmūd II b. Muhammad, the Seljuk Sultan of Western Iran⁶⁹ (and Iraq). The acknowledgement of this Islamic ruler on these coins provides us with a convenient chronological clue for dating this coin type: Mahmūd II b. Muhammad ruled in 1118-1131 (AH 511-525)⁷⁰.

The irregularity of the coins themselves in terms of size and weight⁷¹ also points to the period of the so-called silver crisis in the 12th century, when coins of different weight and size⁷² were probably valued in accordance with their weight⁷³. This further confirms our understanding of who was acknowledged on the coin as mentioned above.

As to the other side of the coin, which we conventionally consider to be an obverse, yet another ruler is indicated there. The *nasab*, the patronymic of this ruler is دود (Figs. 1-3), which corresponds well to *Davit*, the Georgian form of this name. The *ism*, the personal name of the ruler as imprinted on the coin (Fig. 1) is pretty close to how the name of *Dimitri* I, king of Georgia, was presented on his own coins⁷⁴ (Fig. 4) as well as on those of his son, *Giorgi* III⁷⁵ (Fig. 5), i.e. ديمطري⁷⁶.

⁶⁹ *Album* 1998 86.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ The range for the 3 known coins is as follows: 1.04-3.29 g; 10.9-16.9 mm.

⁷² And hence frequently different shape as well.

⁷³ *Pakhomov* 1970 75. We do not think that these 3 coins constitute different denominations.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 77-78, #46. The fragment of the coin bearing the king's name is usually more or less effaced, making the reading of the peculiarities of how the name is written almost impossible. However, the better preserved specimens, like the one published by *Pakhomov* (*Ibid.* plate VI, #89) (Fig. 4) still present the name seemingly written as ديمطري.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 82, #50-51.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5

However, the second and the third graphemes of the *ism* resemble *لو* rather than *يم* (making *دلوطري*). And the third grapheme (looking like *و*?) does not seem to link to the following one, i.e. *ط*, as *م* would do. Nevertheless, we deem it acceptable to consider this deviation to be a mere misspelling or a calligraphic peculiarity (we cannot disregard the fact, however, that the Arabic calligraphy on these coins is different from that on the other coin types of *Dimitri* I⁷⁷). Hence, we read the personal name as *Dimitri*, and consider these coins to have been issued by *Dimitri* (Demetre) I, king of Georgia (1125-1155, 1155-1156)⁷⁸, son of *Davit* IV (1089-1125). The reasons for this attribution are as follows:

- The period in which we believe these coins to have been struck, as established by the name that we consider to be the Seljuk Sultan (1118-1131) and their irregularity (the 12th century?), corresponds to the reign of *Dimitri* I (1125-1155, 1155-1156);
- The combination of the *ism* (which we find possible to read as *Dimitri*) and the *nasab* fits perfectly well *Dimitri* I, son of *Davit* IV, but not any other ruler of this period that we are aware of;
- Other types (the first two) of *Dimitri* I's coins also bear the name of the Seljuk sultan, Mahmūd b. Muhammad⁷⁹, whereas his third type bears the name of yet another Seljuk sultan, Mas'ūd, brother of Mahmūd⁸⁰. So it seems to be quite normal that the new coin type which we attribute to *Dimitri* I also acknowledges the Seljuk sultan (Mahmūd b. Muhammad);

⁷⁶ It is remarkable how different the calligraphy of the legends on these coins of *Dimitri* I and *Giorgi* III is. *Bykov* wrote about the Shirvan craftsmen being transferred to Georgia and employed by *Dimitri* for minting coins (and presumably for engraving the dies,) (*Bykov* 1938 80). However, the author provided no reference for this, and it appears strange that it was impossible to find artisans with proper knowledge of Arabic in Tiflis, in a city which had been under centuries-long Muslim rule and had the centuries-long tradition of minting Islamic coins till 1122.

⁷⁷ Cf. *Pakhomov* 1970 74-79, ##45-47, plate VI, #83-94. The first type may theoretically also constitute an issue of *Dimitri*'s father, *Davit* IV (*Ibid.* 75-76, #45), whereas the last one may be an issue of *Davit* V, *Dimitri*'s senior son (*Ibid.* 79, #47), though both suppositions are in our opinion quite improbable.

⁷⁸ For a general review of the life and the personality of this Georgian monarch cf. *Stepnadze* 1990. Cf. *Japaridze* 1995b 85-100 for the relationship between *Dimitri* I and the neighbouring Muslim principalities.

⁷⁹ *Pakhomov* 1970 75-77, ##45, 45a.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* 77-79, ##46.

- It is also typical for the coins of Dimitri to bear some of the central legends upside down; the first two types are like this, although the two legend lines are oriented inwards⁸¹, in contrast to this new coin type, where they are oriented outwards. Nevertheless, the approach is somewhat similar;
- The coins of Dimitri I, minted exclusively in copper, are also always irregular, varying in shape, size and weight, like these ones, and usually bearing only some fragment of the die⁸²;
There is, additionally, one more argument, although a rather inconclusive and indirect one:
- The location where all 3 coins known for the moment surfaced, i.e. Georgia: the Mtkvari riverbed in the territory of Tbilisi, Georgia; the soil of Kakheti (eastern Georgia); the numismatic market in Tbilisi, Georgia. (Tbilisi had been the capital of the Georgian Kingdom since the city was liberated by Davit IV in 1122).

It shall be made clear that the coin type described above differs from the 4 already attributed to Dimitri I⁸³, and hence constitutes a new one.

Assuming the coins of this type to have been issued by Dimitri I, we may attempt to establish when they could have been struck. The reigns of Dimitri I (1125-1155, 1155-1156) and of Mahmūd b. Muhammad (1118-1131) overlap in 1125-1131, and this should be the time when the coins were minted. On the other hand, the new dies were apparently updated only intermittently, and, for instance, the names of the foreign rulers could perhaps be retained on the coins for a long time, perhaps even posthumously⁸⁴. Therefore, the coins of this type could possibly have been issued even after the demise of Mahmūd b. Muhammad in 1131. But this would still mean that they were first minted in or before 1131. On the other hand, this is the only type of coins of Dimitri I⁸⁵ which bears the name of his father – Davit IV. Could it mean that this coin type is the earliest and was issued by Dimitri I's administration right after the death of his predecessor? And that the acknowledgement of his predecessor was dropped by Dimitri I or his administration later? It is a possibility. The absence of any Georgian letters, firstly that of the initial Ⴂ (Georgian Asomtavruli D) of the King's name, typical for all the coins ascribed to Dimitri I⁸⁶, cannot help. Generally, the copper coins of the Georgian monarchs of that period present a trend of bearing ever lengthier legends in Georgian, but this tendency was not a constant one – for instance, the coins of Davit V (1155), son of Dimitri I, seemingly bear no Asomtavruli legends whatsoever⁸⁷, i.e. are less "Georgian" than the currency of the latter. Therefore, the apparent absence of any Georgian legend speaks in favour of neither an early nor a late issue for coins of this type. It is possible that the date formed part of the marginal legends, which are virtually unavailable to us on these specimens.

The mint place does not appear to have been indicated on any of the coins of Dimitri I, including the ones of this new type. Moreover, as far as we know, none of the Georgian copper coins of the epoch prior to the advent of the Mongols bear the mint name⁸⁸, so we think that it is less probable that it was indicated in the marginal legend in this case. Nevertheless, the transfer of the mint along with the capital to Tiflis (modern Tbilisi), liberated in 1122, seems to be quite probable due to the appearance and even the dominance of the Arabic language on the contemporary Georgian coins⁸⁹. We may conjecture that this new type of coin of Dimitri I was at least introduced at the Tiflis mint as well.

On the assumption that these coins were minted by Dimitri I, their legends merit particular attention with regard to two facts:

1. The presence of the name of Davit IV, the father of Dimitri. The presence of the *parental* name of the ruling monarch in the Arabic legends on the coins of all of Dimitri's successors, including Giorgi IV (1210?-1226), was almost ubiquitous⁹⁰, except for the currency of Davit V, Dimitri's elder son⁹¹, and the much disputed coin of Giorgi and Tamari⁹²; but all the previously known 4 coin types of (ascribed to) Dimitri apparently lacked it⁹³. In our opinion, the fact that some of the coins of Dimitri featured his father and some not, may illustrate some change in the state policy with regard to the previous reign. Of course, it could also be an accidental omission.
2. The absence (at least in the centre of the coin) of any Georgian letters, including the initial Ⴂ (Georgian Asomtavruli D) of the king's name, always present on the coinage of this Georgian monarch⁹⁴; and the absence of the eulogizing formulas

حسام لمسيح or ملك لملوك.

The predominance of the Arabic legends as compared to the Georgian ones, as well as the acknowledgement of the Abbasid Caliph (not in case of this new coin type) and the Seljuk sultan on early 12th century Georgian coins has been duly noted. Pakhomov considered that they appeared on the currency of Dimitri I as this monarch had to accept Muslim suzerainty⁹⁵, in contrast to his father, who had liberated the country from the Seljuks and had even pushed them far aback by conquering Shirvan and the northern part of Armenia. This opinion of the venerated researcher of Georgian numismatics was criticised harshly⁹⁶, but, seemingly, not quite unfoundedly. The leaders of the Islamic world could have been acknowledged for the sake of retaining the validity of the Georgian currency even abroad (in the neighbouring Muslim countries)⁹⁷, whereas the political and military history of the period leaves no doubt that Dimitri I was, in no way, the vassal of the Seljuks⁹⁸. However, it is worth noting that the very presence of the aforesaid formulas on the coins of Dimitri I was one of the major arguments against his vassalage theory. As we have seen, the coins of this new type apparently lack the expressions eulogizing the Georgian king, as maybe only one out of four of his other coin types does⁹⁹ (of course, theoretically, they may be located in the margins, but we think that this is less probable). Anyway, in our opinion, the reasons for engraving the Arabic legends and (sometimes) also the names of the Caliph and the Seljuk sultan on the dies have not yet been sufficiently clarified¹⁰⁰.

By the way of conclusion, we would like to reiterate our opinion that one of the political figures acknowledged on the coins of this type was no other than Dimitri I, son of Davit IV. The various characteristics of these coins favour this attribution despite the deviation in the presentation of the *ism* of this ruler.

The type was issued at some point in 1125-1131 or slightly later, and was probably introduced at least in Tiflis, the capital of the state. It is quite remarkable in apparently lacking any Georgian text (the king's initial, at least) and the Arabic formulas eulogizing the Georgian king, and is unique among the coinage of Dimitri I for citing his *nasab*.

Acknowledgement: Special thanks are due to Gocha Japaridze for his critical reading of the manuscript.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* 75-77, ##45, 45a.

⁸² *Ibid.* 75.

⁸³ *Ibid.* 74-79, ##45-47.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 76-77.

⁸⁵ Cf. the other types (*Ibid.* 74-79, ##45-47).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* 74-79, ##45-47.

⁸⁷ Japaridze 1989, 1990, 1995a.

⁸⁸ Pakhomov 1970 74-111.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* 75.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.* 81-86, 90-101, 105-107. It is still unclear, whether the early coin type of Giorgi III featured the name of his father (*Ibid.* 80).

⁹¹ Japaridze 1989, 1990, 1995a. This may be explained by the tension between the father and the son (*Stepnadze* 1990 16-23).

⁹² Pakhomov 1970 87-90.

⁹³ *Ibid.* 74-79, ##45-47.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* 75.

⁹⁶ Javakhov 1912 675-676.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 676; Bykov 1938 79. Also cf. Gabashvili 1987; Japaridze 1995b 244-245.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* 85-100, 245.

⁹⁹ Pakhomov 1970 77, #45a.

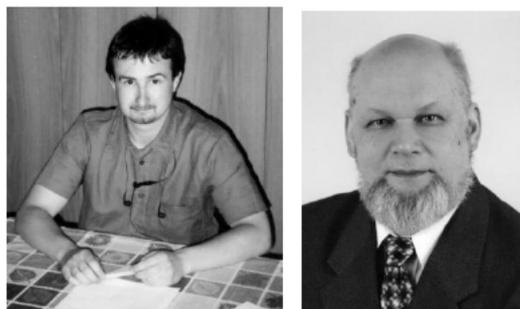
¹⁰⁰ This issue certainly merits some more research.

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TWO NEW CENTRAL ASIAN MINTS OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE 14TH CENTURY

By S.V. Akindinov & P.N.Petrov



The geographic disposition of mints of the Chaghatayid state is already known to be wide but a more complete picture of minting activities can be achieved by additional study of the state’s coin output. From what we know so far, we can see that the number of minting places changed at certain periods of time. Nevertheless, one of the major goals that remain to be achieved is to define all the possible mints of the Chaghatayid Khanate that operated during the period of its existence. At first glance this problem can be easily solved by reading the mint-names on previously unknown coins. But for historical analysis this is insufficient; it is necessary to match the mint-names with specific places on the map. This is sometimes not easy to do because of the absence of information about the geographical location of medieval towns or regions with similar names. In our research we have tried to analyse the possibility of matching up two mint places: *Saray* (سرای) and *Mughālāgh* (مغالاغ).

Mughālāgh

Starting from the 90’s of the 20th century the copper fulus with mint-name *Mughālāgh* were well known among coin collectors (the initial reading by P. Petrov was – *Magalag*). The exact reading was impossible until recently when the authors found mention of this place in official papers of the 15th century. The appearance of these coins is quite similar to the fulus minted at the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th century in the Ferghana Valley region (Modern Uzbekistan) and in the majority of cases the coins have 2 tamghas: Qaidu and Duwa (fig. 1).

The initial hypothesis of the authors was that this mint place, Mughālāgh, was situated in the Ferghana Valley region, which was under the joint rule of Qaidu and Duwa (Petrov P.N., 2008, p. 208). But recent finds present a different story. At the beginning of the 21st century quite a large number of copper coins of Chach, *Mughālāgh*, and Khojand appeared in the foreign numismatic market. We have found that most of these coins are from the same hoard. This hoard was found in the suburbs of Tashkent. The hoard consists of copper coins minted at various mints. P.N. Petrov and V.D. Shagalov (Uzbekistan) were lucky to find and receive the images and metrology of 121 coins from this hoard (this hoard will be published separately). Several examples had the word “dirham” on them, which is typical for the silver or silver-washed copper coins. But some coin types may be fulus. Currently we are unable to separate dirhams – fulus in this hoard and in the current report all these coins will be called copper coins (Fig. 2, Zeno 62801).

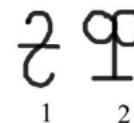


Fig. 1



Fig. 2

The most important thing is that the quantity of coins in this hoard minted in Chach and *Mughālāgh* is approximately the same, and that the major part (80%) of the hoard consists of these coins (Chach and *Mughālāgh*). Judging by this data we supposed that the mint of *Mughālāgh* should be placed in the region of Shash/Ilak. As confirmation of our hypothesis, we have found mention of *Mughālāgh* in the vicinity of Shash (Tashkent) in 15th century documents. In the Samarqand documents dated 15-16th centuries on the holdings of Khoja Ahrar in Central Asia (Documents, 1974) we have found:

Document 1:

No later than AD 1490, February 20th, vakf document of ‘Ubaidallah, son of Mahmud (Khoja Ahrar) on complete villages, separate pieces of land, gardens, trade and artisan’s premises, bathing houses, mills and other properties in Samarqand, Bukhara; Samarqand, Tashkent, Kashkadarya regions intended for maintaining of vakf founder, his successors and upkeep of a madrasah, founded by him in Samarqand.

“Also is given [in vakf] the village of Jalbash in Mughālāgh tuman of Tashkand vilayat with lands suitable for planting seeds. The western border adjoins the place of Damaki ...; the northern border adjoins the land of the place of Kadlak ...; the eastern border adjoins the land of the place Sehadd ...; and the southern border adjoins the lands of Khalak and partly the lands of the place of Mugultay ...”

“Also is given [in vakf] the complete place of Kumash, related to Mughālāgh tuman of Tashkand vilayat ...”

Document 2:

AD 1546, March 15th, Vakf document on complete villages, lands, gardens, trade and artisan’s premises, mills, bathing houses and houses in Samarqand, Samarqand and Kashkadarya regions, income from which is intended for the upkeep of the mausoleum and tomb of Khoja Ahrar and about different fixed properties in Kabul and Kabul region intended for the benefit of Khoja Ahrar’s successors and madrasah in Kabul, which was built by him.

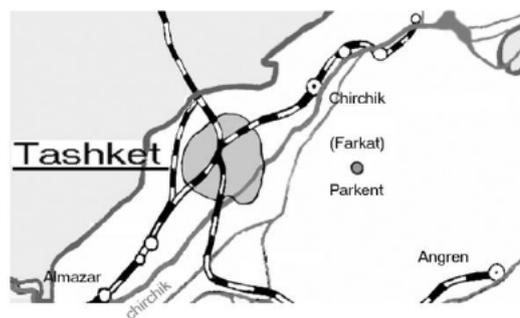
“[Also given in vakf] ... And also lands, located in Shash region, also known as Tashkand, in Akfulad tuman and Mughālāgh tuman”.

“Also [given in vakf] fully 4/5 and 1/10 of cultivated land of Bandhau, located in Mughālāgh... The eastern [border] partly adjoins a certain sai, which is separated from the sai of Farkat flows to the village of Khalbang, the western border of that cultivated land adjoins the canal of the village of Ilbash; the northern border partly adjoins the road... to Farkat, and partly the road to Khalbang; and the southern border adjoins the road... to Gazak...”

Also [given in vakf] fully and complete one garden in the place of Nasikh, which is part of the big village of Farkat in Mughālāgh tuman...”

As we can see from the above-mentioned documents, *Mughālāgh* – is the name of a tuman in the Tashkand vilayat, i.e. the name of the region with the village Farkath. Nowadays Farkath village is the town of Parkent in the Tashkent region of the Republic of Uzbekistan, 47 km NW of Tashkent (Pic. 2, Map).

So, the mint place *Mughālāgh* is the mint of *Mughālāgh* tuman. It is logical to suppose that minting facilities were located in the village of Farkath because this was one of the largest villages in this region and some time later the Timurid mint facility – Farkath (فرکت) (Shpeneva L., 1990, p. 108, Mayer T., 1998, p. 62, # 515) operated in this place. In the form of *Parak* the mint place of Farkath was mentioned in the researches of E.A.Davidovich (Davidovich E.A., 1983, p. 30-31).



Pic. 2, Map, Farkat (mint Mughalagh)

It is an interesting fact that we can see only Qaidu’s tamgha on the silver and copper coins of Shash/Tashkent at the end of the 13th – beginning of the 14th centuries. Because of this, Petrov thought that Tashkent was owned solely by Qaidu Khan. At the same time on the copper coins of *Mughālāgh* tuman, which was located in the vicinity of Tashkent and which was included in the Shash region, two tamghas were placed – those of Qaidu and Duwa. This means that the tuman was under joint ownership (the precise forms of ownership are unknown to us: whether this related to the receipt of tax income, or part ownership of land by Qaidu and Duwa or any other ways of exploiting this region). It would seem to be correct that the disappearance of Qaidu’s tamgha from the coins meant that the transition of the tuman to sole ownership by the Chaghatayid house occurred no later than AH 707-708. In other words, the anonymous copper coins of *Mughālāgh* with only Duwa’s tamgha could have been minted from AH 707-708 till 725-730.

Saray

When cataloguing that part of the Islamic coin collection of Tübingen University (Germany) which contains the section of “unlocated mints”, F. Schwarz described a silver dinar of Danishmend Khan (Dashmand Shah), minted at *Saray* mint, possibly without a date (Schwarz F., 2002, p. 168. # 1504). The reading of the mintname *Saray* was followed by a question mark. Obviously, this uncertainty in the reading was because the lettering of the mintname on the coin was unclear. A similar coin was observed by the authors in the collection of Mr Wang Hailin (Urumchi, PRC). On that example the mintname *Saray* can be clearly read. This clearly solves Schwarz’s query.

The mint places *Saray*, *Saray al-Mahrusa*, *Saray al-Jadid* – are well known in Jujid numismatics, *Saray al-Mansuriya* – an Ilkhan mint. But the existence of a mint place named *Saray* for any period of the Chaghatayid state was unknown until recent times. However, the place name *Saray* is mentioned several times in narrative sources describing the events of the 14th century. In the book of Sharaf al-Din Ali Yazdi we can find: *Sali-Saray* (Sharaf al-Din 2008, p.15, 18, 33, 37, etc); *Bustan Saray* (a palace in Herat) (Sharaf al-Din 2008, p. 18); *Zanjir Saray* (Sharaf al-Din 2008, p.80); *Saray* (Sharaf al-Din 2008, p.200, 204); *Urdum Saray* (Sharaf al-Din 2008, p.134). *Saray* is also mentioned in “Baburnama”: “Khamza Sultan, reached the town of *Saray* on the shores of the Oxus, set his sons and begs to command the army and sent them to Qunduz” (Baburnama, 2002, p. 183). Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat also mentioned the town of *Sali-Saray*: “From here they moved to Arhang, where they [Timur and

Husayn] crossed the river and reached the other side, where the town of *Sali-Saray* was and went in the direction of Khuttalyan”.

Frequent attempts to locate these “Sarays” have been made by historians and archeologists. For example, it is known that *Zandjir Saray* was located at a distance of two days on the way from Karshi to Bukhara, not far from the left bank of Kashkadarya and was the capital of the state during the reign of Qazan Khan. The ruins of fortress-palace *Zandjir Saray* were located at the beginning of the 1990s by Kashkadarya’s researchers, P.R. Ravshanov and Zh.F. Kurbonov “in the western part of kishlak Kuhna in the Mubarek region of Kashkadarya region 65-70 km west of Karshi” (Raimkulov A.A., 2005, p.216, 218). *Zandjir Saray* was the residence of Qazan Khan, but later it was used by amir Timur as a resting place until it was burned and sacked by the Jujid, Toqtamish Khan.

After the defeat and death of Qazan Khan, amir Qazagan become the ruler. Being the leader of the Qaraunas, amir Qazagan owned their lands, in particular the territory that included the regions of *Sali-Saray*, Qunduz and Baglan. According to “Zafar-nama”, Qazagan wintered in *Sali-Saray*, spent the summer on the meadows of Qaranur, and in the spring and autumn was in the town of Munk. So, during the reign of amir Qazagan from AH 747 till 759, the town of *Sali-Saray*, which in narrative sources can simply be called *Saray*, was the actual capital of the Chaghatayid state and the residence of the puppet khan. In view of the above, the issue of the dinar with the name of Danishmend Khan (AH 747-749 / AD 1346-1349) at the *Saray* mint, may well have been for donative purposes.

Unlike *Zanjir Saray*, archeologists have yet to locate *Sali-Saray*. So we can try to connect this medieval place name with the modern world, based on narrative sources and the opinions of historians. Petit de la Croix – historian and translator of “Zafar-nama” - places *Sali-Saray* on the northern bank of the Amu-Darya (Mirza Haidar, 2006, p. 24). Also, V.V. Bartold stated several times that: *Sali-Saray* was located on the banks of the Amu-Darya, “now this is the *Saray* village on the main road to Badakhshan” (Bartold, 1964a, p. 373, note 56); Qazagan wintered in *Sali-Saray* on the bank of the Amu-Darya (now kishlak Saray) and spent the summer near the town of Munk (now Bal’juan) (Bartold 1964b, p. 37); Shahrukh appointed Muhammad-Jahangir as the ruler of Hisar and Sali-Saray on the Amu-Darya (Bartold 1964b, p.90). Modern researchers, A.A. Raimkulov and D.N. Sultonov (Raimkulov A.A., 2005, p.223), also favour this location.



Pic. 3. Map (Saray)

Ashraf Ahmedov, the commentator of the Russian translation of “Zafar-nama”, located this town at modern kishlak Saray in the Surkhadarya region of the Republic of Uzbekistan near the modern town of Sary-Assiya (Sharaf al-Din, 2008, p. 363, note 410). At the same time, he correctly described the place of *Sali-Saray*: “a medieval town on the Amu-Darya, up river from Tirmidh” (Sharaf al-Din, 2008, p. 468).

An interesting historical note about the organisation of border guards in southern Tajikistan has been published by colonel N.M. Nazarshoev directly matching the kishlak *Saray* with the modern town of Pyanj (Internet sources).

Nowadays kishlak *Saray* on the Amu-Darya is the modern town of Pyanj in the Khatlon region of Tajikistan. Looking at the map (pic. 3, Map), it is clear that the medieval town of *Sali-Saray* should be in the vicinity of Pyanj.

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A NEW LOCAL TYPE OF SILVER PUNCHMARKED COINS FROM ERICH

By Sharad Sharma

I recently came across information about the find of a hoard of local-type silver punchmarked coins from Erich (latitude 25°47’N, longitude 79°5’E), an important ancient site, situated on the right bank of the Betwa (ancient name - Vetravati) river in the Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh, India (Fig.1).

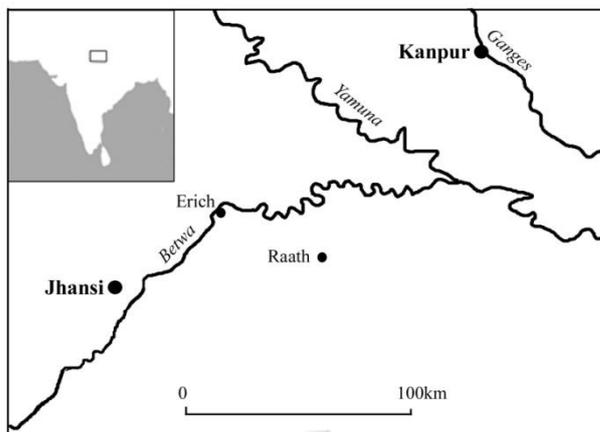


Fig. 1

A brief record of five coins (Fig. 2) from the hoard, which reportedly contained at least 25 coins (the exact number of total coins from the hoard not being confirmed) was made available to me for study and is the subject of the present article (for the

details viz. weight and symbols of the five coins, please refer to chart – Fig.3, page 17).



Fig.2

On the basis of the aforesaid record and general information available about the hoard, the following features of the hoard may be listed:

1. All the coins in the hoard are based on the half-karshapana weight standard.
2. All the coins in the hoard are four-symbol coins.
3. The symbol pattern of all the coins in the hoard is ABBB (first symbol struck once and the second symbol struck thrice from the same punch). Here it is worth mentioning that this symbol pattern (ABBB) has never been encountered on any other series of local-type silver punchmarked coins so far.
4. The first symbol, i.e. 'A', is always slightly larger and appears more prominent than the second symbol, i.e. 'B' (struck thrice). However, an observation regarding the overlapping of punches in the present lot of five coins suggests that there was no pre-determined sequence for the four punches and that all four punches were struck at the same time.
5. Four types are encountered in the lot of five coins of the present hoard examined.
6. The size of the five coins was observed to be in the range of 17-20 mm. This is slightly larger than the coins of Raath hoard coins, mentioned below, which, on average, were in the range of 15-16 mm.
7. From the shape of all the five coins examined, it seems that coin blanks were mostly prepared by beating silver globules and then the weight was adjusted by clipping the corners and/or sides, resulting in shapes that are not perfectly round/oval or square/rectangular. However, the sheet-cutting method for the preparation of coin blanks (for at least some coins) cannot be ruled out.
8. The symbols on the present coins seem to be influenced by the symbols of Kosalan punchmarked coins. In fact, some of the symbols are clearly copied from Kosalan coinage {the second symbol of Type III clearly copies a very common Kosalan symbol (3 'S' around a dot/circle). Similarly, the second symbol of Type II also seems to be influenced by a similar Kosalan symbol. Another noticeable feature is the use of a floral geometric design on this coinage. A few variations of this symbol are observed on the present coins, but an important point that emerges from the comparison of the similar symbol in both hoards is that a variation of this symbol (5 pellets around a pellet) which was used at position 'B' in the Raath hoard coins was used at position 'A' in the present hoard. Another notable symbol is the first symbol of Type IV, which depicts an animate object (fish?), an indication of growing expertise in die engraving (the depiction of only geometric designs suggests an early stage of development).
9. One Bankers' mark on the reverse side of each of the five coins has been noticed. The bankers' marks are rather crude and also not properly struck. Of two varieties of bankers' mark, the first one (a dot in a circle, from the periphery of which arrow-head(s) and/or lines/triangles/dots emanate) is used on four coins (Nos. 1,3,4 & 5) whereas the second one (a dot in a circle) is used on one coin (No.2). No bankers' marks are noticed on the obverse side of any of the five coins.

Here it may be noted that a lot of 21 coins of types similar to the present coins was reported a few years ago from a place called Raath (latitude 25°47'N. longitude 79°5'E.), which is only about 53 km. (aerial distance) south-east of Erich. Later information revealed that this lot was part of a larger hoard of 50+ coins. These 21 coins were summarily published by the present author and a fellow collector¹⁰¹ (two coins from the Raath hoard are illustrated here as Fig. 4 & 5). Later on, some coins from this (Raath) hoard were also illustrated by Mitchiner in his recent work¹⁰².

A comparison between the coins of both hoards may be summarised as under:

Sl.No.	Basis of Comparison	Raath Hoard Coins	Erich Hoard Coins
1	Metal of coins	Silver	Silver
2	Weight Standard	Half-Karshapana	Half-Karshapana
3	Size	15-16 mm. (average)	17-20 mm. (average)
4	No. of symbols	Four	Four
5	Symbol Pattern	ABBB	ABBB
6	First Symbol (in 'A' position)	Bow-Arrow (with some minor design variations)	Varying symbols used in this position
7	Second Symbol (in 'B' position)	Geometric designs (few variations - but mostly floral patterns)	Geometric designs but slightly improved/adapted
8	Bankers Marks	Single & unique (on reverse side only) ¹⁰³	Varying (on reverse side only)

The existence of Erikachham, an ancient janapada, has been confirmed from various coins, seals and inscriptions from the

¹⁰¹ Sharad Sharma and B.P. Verma, A New Type of Local Punchmarked Coins from Raath, IIRNS Newline No. 20 (October 1998), Nasik, India.

¹⁰² M Mitchiner, Ancient Trade and Early Coinage, Volume – I, 2004, London, pp. 938-940

¹⁰³ A very noticeable point regarding bankers' marks on Raath hoard coins is that a single and unique bankers' mark (a dot inside a circle, surrounded by five outward opening crescents) is used on the reverse side. Further, the bankers' mark used on Raath hoard coins is very sharp and clear and was struck with such force that the main obverse marks were obliterated in the area of impact. Also, no bankers mark has been noted on the obverse side (like the present coins from Erich hoard) and not more than one bankers' mark noted on any coin on the reverse side of the coins of that hoard. This observation raised the question as to whether this was really a bankers' mark by traders/guilds/money-changers or is some sort of official test-mark. Possibly, this small reverse mark was similar to the smaller official-looking reverse marks used on the mature/late phase of Mauryan punchmarked coinage of imperial type (thus suggesting a late date for this coinage?).

present site of Erich. Remains of BRW (black and red wares), BPW (black polished wares) and associated wares from Erich prove its existence in at least the 5th century BC, if not earlier. Erich has reported a significant number and varieties of copper cast, die-struck and punchmarked coins (both inscribed and un-inscribed). In addition, a few Mauryan silver punchmarked coins (imperial types¹⁰⁴) have also been reported from the site.

Here it needs to be noted that none of the two finds, whether the earlier one from Raath or the present one from Erich, are from verifiable excavations; however, due to factors mentioned below, it may be suggested that this series of silver punchmarked coinage might have been issued by Erich, which, in all probability, was one of the early minor janapadas during pre-Nanda/Mauryan times.

- The present find is reported from Erich, an established ancient site.
- Raath, the procurement place of the previous find, is not reported to have any great antiquity. Besides, the finding of a janapada's coins in an area of 50 km. radius from its nucleus is not abnormal.
- From recent research¹⁰⁵ and subsequent papers on miscellaneous finds of coins and seals from the site, Erich is now confirmed beyond doubt as an important centre of trade which was issuing regular coinage in copper in the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD. The finding of imperial-type Mauryan silver punchmarked coins suggests that, at least during the Mauryan period or sometime before that, Erich might have lost its independence either to Kosala and subsequently to Magadha or directly to Magadha.
- The bow and arrow symbol seems to be significantly associated with the coinage of Erich. This symbol is depicted on various varieties of its copper coins (the bow and arrow symbol can be seen in the four copper coins from Erich which are illustrated here as Fig. 6, 7, 8 & 9. Out of four, three coins are inscribed with the janapada name 'Erikachham' on them, whereas the fourth one is un-inscribed, having only the bow and arrow symbol on it). Here, it is noticeable that, on the earlier find of the present type of silver punchmarked coinage (from Raath), the bow and arrow is depicted in the position of first symbol on all the coins (see the two illustrated coins from Raath hoard – Fig. 4 & 5). This suggests that the bow and arrow symbol and, hence, the silver punchmarked coinage under discussion, too, was, in some way or other, significantly associated with Erich.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

The use of the karshapana weight standard on this coinage suggests the influence of Magadha or Kosala or both. Both these janapadas issued their silver punchmarked coinage on this weight standard. Like various other janapadas/maha-janapadas of the middle, Deccan and southern parts of India, Erich, too, based its coinage on the half-karshapana weight standard. This suggests that Erich, like other aforesaid janapadas, used the karshapana weight standard to facilitate trade with neighbouring janapadas or mahajanapadas. However, they kept their own coinage at the half-karshapana weight standard, perhaps because of their smaller economy and hence their trade-related needs (both internal and external) being well met through this relatively lighter weight standard. Similarly the four-punch scheme (though in a unique symbol combination of ABBB) as used by this coinage might be influenced by Kosala or other aforesaid janapadas of the middle, Deccan and southern India which all used a four-punch scheme on their silver punchmarked coins.

The precise political history of Erich, especially in the pre-Christian era, is not very clear. However, considering its geographical situation, it seems quite probable that this minor janapada might have lost its independence either to Kosala or to Magadha in a period not later than that of the Nandas and, as such, it might not have enjoyed a very long period of independence in which to issue silver punchmarked coinage. This is reflected in the extreme rarity of this coinage.

In the light of the above, the coins described in this paper are tentatively attributed to 'Erikachha' Janapada on the grounds of findspots (Erich and Raath). The early style of the marks and their symbol links them with coins of Kosala, and suggests that they are the issues of a minor janapada that lost its independence either in the Nanda period, or shortly before that. Their rarity supports this conclusion.

Fig. 3, the table of symbols and other details of the five coins of the Erich Hoard, follows on the next page.

¹⁰⁴ P.L. Gupta & T.R. Hardaker, Ancient Indian Silver Punchmarked Coins of the Magadha-Maurya Karshapana Series, (1985), IIRNS, Nasik, India

¹⁰⁵ O.P.L. Srivastava, Archaeology of Erich – Discovery of New Dynasties, 1991, Varanasi

Symbols and Other Details of Five Coins of the Erich Hoard (Fig. 3)

COIN NO.	TYPE	WEIGHT (gm.)	SYMBOL 'A'				SYMBOL 'B'				COIN IMAGE (OBVERSE)
			1	2	3	4	2	3	4		
1	I	1.64									
2	I	1.57									
3	II	1.64									
4	III	1.66									
5	IV	1.68									

AN IMPORTANT NEW COPPER COIN OF GADAHARA

By Pankaj Tandon¹⁰⁶



In ONS 172, Haroon Tareen published a small copper coin from the so-called Kashmir Smast hoard which he identified as a combination of Kushano-Sasanian and Kushan.¹⁰⁷ He provided a simple description, but did not otherwise explore the importance of the coin, nor was he able to read any extant legend. Some months previously, I had acquired within the

space of four days (from sources 6,000 miles apart!) two specimens of this same coin type, which I recognised as a hitherto unpublished and potentially important copper coin of the late Kushan or Kidarite period. Subsequently, I have acquired a third

specimen of the type. Joe Cribb has been working on these coins and has informed me that mine are probably the best specimens known. As the coin is an important type, I thought I should publish my specimens for the benefit of researchers. I have added a fourth specimen by courtesy of Tom Mallon-McCorgray.

The coin has on its obverse a king's bust right with turreted ramshorn crown. The reverse of the coin shows the goddess of plenty, normally identified in this time and place as Ardochsho, seated with cornucopia in her left arm and, presumably, a diadem or wreath in the right hand. Normally, Ardochsho is depicted seated on a throne, but on this coin the goddess is seated not on a throne but on an animal. We would expect the animal to be a lion, but there is a possibility that it is a bull!¹⁰⁸ The coin bears another, and even greater, surprise: a Brahmi legend that reads *Gada* in the right field and *hara* in the left field. To my knowledge, this is the first copper coin type known to bear the legend *Gadahara*, thereby linking it to the gold coins bearing the same legend.¹⁰⁹ On two of the specimens, we also see the Brahmi letter *ta* (or *tam*) in

¹⁰⁶ I wish to thank Joe Cribb and Tom Mallon for helpful exchanges on this coin type.

¹⁰⁷ See Haroon Tareen: "Late 4th Century AD Copper Coins of Kashmir – Smast Hoard," ONS Newsletter 173 (Autumn 2002), p.18, the first coin listed.

¹⁰⁸ Joe Cribb was the first to point out to me that Ardochsho was seated not on a throne, but on what appeared to him as a lion. Haroon Tareen identified the animal as a bull, and that is a possibility. However, a close examination of the coins, especially coin 4 which shows the animal's face, suggests that the animal is in fact a lion.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Göbl: *Münzprägung des Kusānreiches*, Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1984, coins 600-611.

the left reverse field. This was probably a “monogram” to represent a mint or a mint master.

I will first present the coins and their details, and then will follow a discussion of the importance of this new type. Photos of four specimens of the coin type are presented, of which the first three are from my personal collection and the fourth is reproduced by kind permission of Tom Mallon-McCorgray. Coin 1 has the clearest *Gada* in the right reverse field, while coin 2 has the clearest *hara* on reverse left; note also letter *ta* or *tam* at upper left on the reverse.

The first thing we learn from this coin is that the vertically arranged legends are to be read from right to left. This will help in better understanding the late Kushan gold dinars that have vertically arranged Brahmi legends.



Coin 1: 2.27 gm, 15-18 mm, die axis: 8 o'clock



Coin 2: 2.02 gm, 17-20 mm, 7 o'clock



Coin 3: 2.20 gm, 15-21 mm, 12 o'clock



Coin 4: 1.59 gm, 16-19 mm, 11 o'clock

The next question we might address is: who issued this coin type? This might help us learn something about the late Kushan gold coins with the Gadahara legend. For this, let us turn to a close examination of the coins. The obverse may be compared to that of certain Hunnic or Kidarite silver drachms, Göbl *Hunnen* 1,¹¹⁰ three variants of which have been illustrated here as coins 5-7.¹¹¹ Even the most casual glance convinces us that the person represented is the same on both coin types. The bust is

moustached and bearded; the beard is tied, and the hair is brought together in a bunch behind the head, the bunch consisting of six curls. The crown has a turret in front, an artichoke ornament in the centre and a curving ramshorn in the back. The king wears a double pearl-drop earring and a pearl necklace. The folds on the drapery are treated in an identical manner, with an elegant pearled clasp used to pin the folds together. There is a crescent nimbus in front of the face. The only difference between the basic designs of the two obverses is the presence of the legend (in Pahlavi or cursive Bactrian?) on some specimens of the silver coin.



Coin 5: 3.46 gm, 28 mm, 3 o'clock



Coin 6: 3.60 gm, 28 mm, 3 o'clock



Coin 7: 3.70 gm, 30 mm, 3 o'clock



Coin 8: 3.85 gm, 28-29 mm, 3 o'clock



Coin 9: 3.78 gm, 30 mm, 3 o'clock

¹¹⁰ Robert Göbl: *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1967.

¹¹¹ Coin 7, which is also from my collection, varies from Göbl *Hunnen* 1 in that it carries a legend on the obverse, between the crescent nimbus in front of the king's face and the dotted border. To me it appears this legend reads, in somewhat blundered cursive Bactrian, *Ozorko*, or “Lord.” However, this reading is highly uncertain. Experts including N. Sims-Williams (in private electronic correspondence) have been unable to decipher the legend; indeed, they even say the script is unidentifiable.



Coin 10: 3.64 gm, 27-29 mm, 3 o'clock

Coins 5-7 themselves are closely related to two other silver drachm types, illustrated as coins 8 and 9, which are specimens of Göbl *Hunnen* 4 and 5. Coins 8 and 9 have been assigned by Joe Cribb to the Kidarite king, Peroz III.¹¹² Although coin 9 carries the name of Varahran, it also has a Brahmi letter *Pi* in the right obverse field, which presumably stands for Piroz, and coin 8 has the Brahmi legend *Sha Piro* above.¹¹³ Note that both these coins have the Brahmi letter *ta* (*tam*) in the reverse exergue. Finally, I have also listed as coin 10 an example of a silver drachm of Kidara, Göbl *Hunnen* 14. The attribution of this coin is quite certain because it carries a Brahmi legend at right on the obverse that reads *Kidara Kushana Sha*. I should point out also the "monogram" in the reverse exergue: a Brahmi *sha* rather than the *ta* or *tam* seen earlier. But the key aspect that needs to be noted about this coin is the crown. It is turreted front and back, with a central artichoke-type globe. Thus the crown on our subject coin type and coins 5-7, which has a turret in front and a ramshorn at the back is a hybrid of the crowns on coins 8-9 (Peroz, double ramshorn) and coin 10 (Kidara, double turrets). In Göbl's ordering of these coins, the hybrid coin comes first (Göbl *Hunnen* 1) followed by the Peroz coins (Göbl *Hunnen* 4 and 5) and then the coin of Kidara (Göbl *Hunnen* 14).

The comparison of our copper coin to these silver issues reveals the second key point we learn from it, that it was not a Kushan issue, but rather an issue of the new power emerging in Bactria and Gandhara, the Huns who issued the silver coins. Thus the Gadahara issues can firmly be assigned to a post-Kushan dynasty, a Hunnic dynasty that has come to be known as the Kidarites. But we still would like to know the name of the king who issued it.

Before we move on, I wish to note an interesting observation I made as I recorded the details of these silver drachms. I noticed that all of coins 5-10 had their die axis at 3 o'clock. To see whether this was a fluke or something more systematic, I looked at the die axes of another 10 silver drachms from this series that I had in my collection. I found that 8 of them had die axes at 3 o'clock, while the other two had die axes at 9 o'clock. It, therefore, appears that there was a conscious attempt to keep the obverse and reverse of these coins aligned at a 90° angle and the quality control on this was quite good.

Let us turn now to the Gadahara gold dinars to which our coin is related. Below, I have illustrated six coins, the first five of which carry the legend *Gadahara*. In what follows, I assume that the vertically arranged words should be read from right to left, as the different parts of the word *Gada-hara* are arranged on the copper coin we are studying. This arrangement also yields standard legend constructions, as we know them from the coins with circular legends. Coin 11 (Göbl 600) carries the legend *Gadahara Yasada Kushan* or possibly *Gadahara-zāda Kushan*.¹¹⁴ This coin has the "monogram" *tamda* on the reverse. Coins 12-14 all carry the legend *Gadahara Piroz Kushan*; they differ only in

the monograms. Coin 12 has *tamda* on the reverse, coin 13 has *tam* on the obverse, and coin 14 has *sha* on the reverse. Coin 15 carries the legend *Gadahara Kirada Kushan* and has the monogram *ru* on the obverse. Finally, coin 16 is an issue of Kidara as it features that name under the king's arm. On this coin, the word *Gadahara* is replaced with what appears to be the word *Kushan* so that word seems to appear twice. There is no *ta* or *tam* monogram on this coin.



Coin 11: 7.82 gm, 18 mm, 12 o'clock



Coin 12: 7.77 gm, 18 mm, 1 o'clock



Coin 13: 7.78 gm, 19-20 mm, 12 o'clock



Coin 14: 7.80 gm, 21-22 mm, 12 o'clock



Coin 15: 7.80 gm, 21 mm, 1 o'clock



Coin 16: 7.74 gm, 22 mm, 12 o'clock

¹¹² For the attribution of the silver type to Peroz III, see Joe Cribb: "Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology," *Studia Iranica*, Tome 19, fasc 2, 1990, pp. 151-193.

¹¹³ On the illustrations in Göbl, the legend seems to have another letter, possibly the compound conjunct *ysa*, which would stand for the Persian sound *za*, making the name *Sha Piroz*.

¹¹⁴ In a recent paper, I have suggested that the legend below the king's arm on this coin might be intended to read *zāda* since we know the Brahmi compound *ysa* was used to represent the foreign sound *za*. See Pankaj Tandon: "The Western Kshatrapa Dāmazāda," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 2009 (forthcoming).

Unfortunately, the gold dinars all carry the characteristic tall Kushan style crown and so the crowns give us no clue as to the identity of the issuers of the respective coins. According to Göbl's chronology, the *Yasada* coins come first, followed by the Peroz and Kirada coins running in parallel in separate oficinas, with the Kidara coin coming afterwards. Cribb (pp. 179-180), on the other hand, places the Kirada coins before the Peroz coins, followed by the Kidara coins. So both authors agree that Kidara comes at the end of this sequence of coins and this would mean that our copper Gadahara coin precedes Kidara chronologically. Since the Peroz silver drachms (and also the scyphate gold dinars of the Kushano-Sasanian style) carry a double ramshorn crown, it would seem that our coin is not a Peroz issue either as our coin features the hybrid crown with only one ramshorn combined with a turret in the front.

So might our coin be a Kirada issue? I would argue that the evidence of the gold dinars goes against this, as the Kirada coins, like our coin 15, do not carry the *ta* or *tam* monogram. The different issues (Göbl 603, 605, 607 and 609) of Kirada all carry different monograms. There is one specimen of one issue (Göbl 610A) that has a reverse letter that could be a *ta*, but the style of this letter is quite different, and it might be a *na* rather than a *ta*. So that leaves the *Yasada* coin as the only possible companion to our copper piece. It seems this might be the most plausible dinar type to which we can connect our coin.

Who issued the *Yasada* coin? We do not have a definitive answer to this question. Nor do we yet know the significance of the word or name Gadahara. Given the arrangement of the legend, as *Gadahara Yasada Kushan*, it seems that *Gadahara* is a title, which has replaced the title *Shaonanoshao* that we saw in the early Kushan legends.¹¹⁵ On our coin, however, *Gadahara* is the only word present, which would indicate that it is a name. I have suggested elsewhere¹¹⁶ that the word that has been read as *Yasada* might possibly be meant to be read as *zāda*, as the compound Brahmi letter *ysa* has been used to represent the sound *za*, for which Brahmi had no representation. The word *zāda* means "son of" in Persian. If this were the correct reading, then the "Yasada" coin could be an issue of the son of Gadahara, *Gadahara-zāda*. Whether Gadahara was a person, a place or a title would still be uncertain.

Despite these uncertainties, one key thing we did learn from our copper coin is that the Gadahara issues were not Kushan issues at all, but Kidarite. More work and more evidence are needed to establish the chronology of individual kings of this dynasty¹¹⁷.

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THE NUMISMATIC STUDY OF EARLY MEDIAEVAL VIDARBHA: PARAMĀRAS OF VIDARBHA

By Amol Bankar and Rajesh Somkuwar.



1) Vidarbha as a battlefield of the Western Chālukyas and Paramāras

After the downfall of the Vākātakas, there was no imperial family ruling Vidarbha. The centre of political power had shifted successively to the Chālukyas of Badāmi, the Rāstrakutas and, finally, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Though western Vidarbha was occupied by the later Chālukyas, the Paramāras of Dhār raided and occupied some portion of eastern Vidarbha.¹ The Jain poet, Merutunga, recounted a story in his work '*Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*', "Once the Paramāra king, Vākpati-Munja, planned to invade the Chālukya dominion, but his wise minister, Rudrāditya, advised him not to cross the Godāvāri, which was the boundary between the Chālukya and Paramāra dominions. Munja did not heed his advice and was taken captive by Tailapa. He was placed in a prison and was waited upon by Tailapa's sister, Mārṇalāvati. He fell in love with her and foolishly disclosed his plan of escape to her, she communicated it to Tailapa, who is said to have made him beg from door to door and then beheaded him". Among the successors of Tailapa I, the most famous is Vikramāditya VI, the founder of the Chālukya-Vikrama Samvat. He ascended the throne in AD 1075. He had to fight against the Cholas, the Chālukyas of Gujarāt and the Hoysālas, and singly defeated them. He also led an expedition against Vengi. Two inscriptions of his reign have been found in Vidarbha.² One of them, called the Sitabuldi pillar inscription, seems to have originally belonged to the Vindhyāsana hill at Bhāndak (Coordinates: 20°6'N, 79°10'E). It is dated to Śaka year 1008 (AD 1087) and registers the grant of some *nivartanas* of land for the grazing of cattle, made by a dependant of a feudatory called Dhadibhandaka.³ Vikramāditya's reign is renowned on account of some learned men who flourished at his court. Bilhaṇa, who was patronised by him, wrote the '*Vikramānkadeva Ārita*'. In his poetical biography, Bilhaṇa recorded the eulogies of the ancestors of Vikramāditya, who had conquered the Paramāra territories, several times.⁴

On the other hand, a large stone inscription now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum, traces the genealogy of the Paramāra Prince Naravarman from Vairisimha. It is dated to VS 1161 (AD 1104-05) and records the grant of two villages to a temple which was probably situated at Bhāndak - some of the places mentioned in the inscription can be identified in the vicinity. Thus, Mokhalipataka is probably Mokhar, 80 km west of Bhāndak. Vyapura, the name of the *mandala* in which it was situated, may be represented by Vurgaon, 48 km from Mokhar.⁵ All these records create a picture that Vidarbha witnessed an inexhaustible struggle between these two dynasties to augment their territories.

¹¹⁵ The typical Kanishka legend, for example, was *Shaonanoshao Kanishki Koshano* and of Huvishka was *Shaonanoshao Ooishki Koshano*.

¹¹⁶ See note 8.

¹¹⁷ Editors note: the illustrations in this article have not been reproduced actual size nor are the illustrations of the different series in scale to each other; the aim has been to facilitate reading of the coin legends and viewing of the various features mentioned in the article.



Paramāra inscription of Naravarman (Courtesy: Curator, Central Museum, Nāgpur)

2) Invasions against the Paramāra Empire

After the death of Bhoja the Great, Jayasimha Paramāra came to the throne. Records tell us that, during his regime, Mālwa was attacked by three kings. The invaders are not specifically mentioned, but from verse 32 of the Nāgpur Museum stone inscription, we learn that two of them were Karṇa and the king of Karṇata. According to Dr Mirashi, this Karṇa was the homonymous Kalachuri king, son of Gāngeyadeva, who ruled during AD 1041-1072. Karṇa invaded Mālwa twice. In the first invasion, which occurred soon after the death of Bhoja, his ally was Mālwa, the Chālukya king Bhima of Gujārāt. Jayasimha, the successor of Bhoja, who was dethroned, solicited the aid of the powerful Chālukya king, Somesvara I (Āhavamalla). Somesvara I sent his son, Vikramāditya VI, who turned back the invaders and reinstated Jayasimha. About fifteen years later, Karṇa again attacked Mālwa. The political situation in the Deccan had considerably changed in the meanwhile, Somesvara I (Āhavamalla) was dead and had been succeeded by his eldest son, Somesvara II. Somesvara II was, however, apprehensive of his ambitious younger brother, Vikramāditya VI, and, therefore, might readily have allied himself with the mighty Kalachuri Emperor, Karṇa, and helped him in his invasion of Mālwa. This time, the allied arms attained greater success. The Nāgpur Museum stone inscription states that the lord (*svāmin*), who was definitely the Paramāra king Jayasimha, was submerged when the Karṇata king, Karṇa, and other princes joined (one another from different sides) like mighty oceans. Although, the Kalachuri records do not give any details of this invasion, they are not altogether silent about this achievement of Somesvara II. The Sudi stone inscription dated Śaka 996 (AD 1075) mentions the Chālukya king as 'Blazing fire to the ocean that is the race of the Mālavyas'. As for the third invader of Mālwa, probably the reference is to the Western Gangā chief, Udayāditya. From several records in the Kanarese country we know that this Udayāditya and the valiant Hoyasāla prince, Ereyānga, joined Somesvara II in his attack on Mālwa. Ereyānga, in particular is said to have trampled down the Mālwa army, plundered the Mālava king's hill fort, burnt and devastated Dhārā. Jayasimha succumbed to this powerful attack and for a time it seemed as if the Paramāra kingdom was completely wiped out. The terrible disaster that befell the Mālava country on this occasion is epigraphically described in the Nāgpur Museum stone inscription which compares it to the catastrophe (*pralaya*) of world-destruction when mighty oceans sweep over and submerge the earth. In that hour of need, Udayāditya, the *bhrāta* of Bhoja, rose to the occasion. He routed the enemy's forces and rescued the Mālava country just as the Primeval Boar incarnation of Visnu had uplifted the earth at the time of *pralaya*.⁶ The latter part of the Udaipur stone inscription of the time of Udayāditya states that Udayāditya inflicted a crushing defeat on

the lord of Dahala, who would have been none other than the Kalachuri, Karṇa.⁷



P.1.1: Gold coin of Udayāditya Paramāra

3) The early years of Jagaddeva Paramāra

The story of Jagaddeva is narrated in the bardic legends as well as in literary works like the Jain poet Meruttungas' '*Prabandha Chintāmaṇi*' and '*Jagaddeva ri Bātā*' etc. The Udaipur stone inscription of Udayāditya gives us information about a charter given to a Śaivite shrine on the birth of his youngest son, Jagaddeva. The date of this inscription is VS 1137 (corresponding to AD 1079-80)⁸ hence we can safely assume that Jagaddeva must have been born before this charter. According to Rās-Mālā, the account of Gajārāti bards, Udayāditya had two wives: one from the Wāghela clan and the other from the Solanki. The former bore him a son named 'Rindhuwu' (Ranadhavala) and the latter, Jug Deva (Jagaddeva). Ranadhavala was the elder son and the heir-apparent. Jagaddeva was younger by two years. As Udayāditya was completely under the influence of Ranadhavala's mother, who ill-treated Jagaddeva, Jagaddeva left Mālwa and took military service under Siddharāja-Jayasimha of Gujārāt. He served him for eighteen years but, when he came to know that Siddharāja was planning an invasion of Mālwa, he returned to his native country where he was affectionately welcomed by his father, who nominated him as successor. After his father's death, Jagaddeva ascended the throne of Mālwa and ruled for 52 years.⁹ One inscription of Jagaddeva was discovered at Dongargāon, in the Yeotmāl district, which repeats the same story but in a different manner. It mentions that "Though Udayāditya had several sons, he desired to have another son after his heart, and then was born the king Jagaddeva through his devotion to Hara (Śiva). When Udayāditya went to heaven, though Jagaddeva was chosen as successor by Udayāditya, Jagaddeva renounced the kingdom for his elder brother and he immediately left Mālwa and joined the service of the lord of Kuntala (Vikramāditya-VI, AD 1076-1126)".¹⁰

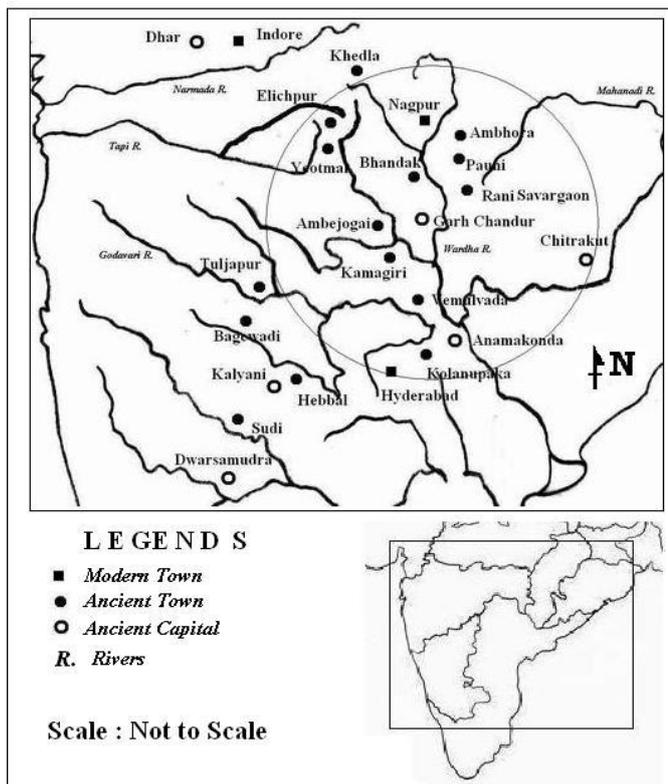
Two other sons of Udayāditya are known from inscriptions, viz, Lakshmadeva and Naravarman, who succeeded him one after another.¹¹ Jagaddeva is mentioned in certain Hoyasāla records as king of Mālwa. Earlier, D.C. Ganguly argued that, as Jagaddeva's name is not mentioned in other Paramāra inscriptions, he was supposed to be identical with Lakshmadeva, whom the Nāgpur Museum stone inscription mentions as the son and successor of Udayāditya.¹² But Dr Mirashi put forth the fact that the Dongargāon inscription, however, makes it clear that Jagaddeva was different from both Lakshmadeva and Naravarman and that, though he could have easily ascended the throne of Mālwa, he relinquished it in favour of his elder brother. Jagaddeva was probably the youngest son of Udayāditya. The description in verse 8 of the Dongargāon inscription suggests that he was a favourite son of his father and he was nominated by him as successor.¹³



P.2.1: Gold coin of Naravarman Paramāra

Merutunga's '*Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi*', however, tells us a different tale. According to *Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi*, Jagaddeva

was honoured by king Siddha (Jayasimha Siddharāja), but left for Kuntala (Karṇāṭa) at the invitation of Parmardin (Vikramāditya VI). The second of Merulunga's statements is supported by epigraphic evidence which also speaks of Jagaddeva's fight with the Gurjaras not far from Mt Abu.¹⁴ According to J.D.M. Derrett, Jagaddeva left his native land initially for the Chālukyan court when Siddharāja was on the throne sometime after AD 1094.¹⁵ According to D.C. Sircar, "The statement that Jagaddeva was treated with honour at the Gujarāt court, attributed to both the Rās-Mālā and Merutunga, may also be correct, but he certainly did not rule Mālava for over half a century. Moreover, Jayasimha ascended the throne several years after Udayāditya's death, during the rule of the latter's son, Lakshmadeva (AD 1086-94). Epigraphic evidence seems to suggest that Jagaddeva was in Kuntala on the death of Lakshmadeva and the accession of the latter's younger brother, Naravarman, about AD 1094. Now Jagaddeva is called the Mālava king in the Hoysāla inscriptions and it is not impossible that he had declared himself king and tried unsuccessfully to occupy the Mālwa throne first with the help of Jayasimha Siddharāja of Gujarāt and next with that of Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāni. Jagaddeva may have quarreled with Jayasimha and fought with the Gujarāt forces while fleeing from Gujarāt to Kuntala. Another point to be noted is that, while both Jayasimha Siddharāja and Paramāra Naravarman ascended the throne about the same year (AD 1094), the Gujarāt king seems to have been quite young at the time of his accession. Thus, it is doubtful if he had, about that time, a daughter of marriageable age to offer to Jagaddeva".¹⁶ We believe that, Jagaddeva was not mentioned in the Paramāra inscription of Mālwa, as he never returned to Mālwa but, instead, formed a small feudatory in Vidarbha which existed up to the first quarter of the twelfth century AD.



Map of Early Medieval Vidarbha, Marāṭhwādā and Āndhra (11th – 12th Century AD)

When Jagaddeva left Mālwa and sought service with Vikramāditya VI, the king affectionately welcomed him and placed him in charge of some of his territories. The Jainād inscription records the erection of a temple of Nimbāditya, by the wife of Lolarka, of the Dahima lineage, who was originally the minister of Udayāditya and later of Jagaddeva. This would suggest that many of Jagaddeva's partisans accompanied him when he left Mālwa.¹⁷ The Dongargāon inscription mentions that Jagaddeva was addressed by the lord of Kuntala (Vikramāditya VI) thus:

"You are the first among my sons, the lord of my kingdom, my right arm, such a victory incarnate in all regions, (nay), my very self".¹⁸



JS.1: Silver coin of Jayasimha Siddharāja

Several records of that period speak of Jagaddeva governing the tract comprising the Kollipaka (Kolanupāka) and Lemulavada (Vemulavādā) regions as Mahamandaleshvara under the Chālukya monarch, Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) in his earlier days. He left two inscriptions at Kolanupāka (Coordinates: 17°41'N, 79°01'E) dated in C.V. 29 and C.V. 31, which corresponds to AD 1104 and 1106 respectively, and a third inscription at Lemulavada which is dated Śaka 1031 (AD 1108). This region was on the north western border of the Kākāṭīya principality.¹⁹ The fourth inscription is available at Sanigāram and is dated AD 1107. Earlier, Dr Venkata Rāmanaiiah identified it as an inscription of the Rāstrakuta chief, Jagaddeva. But later on, Dr P.V. Parabrahma Shastri correctly identified the ruler as Jagaddeva Paramāra, who was ruling the neighbouring province at the same time. The Lemulavādā (Coordinates: 18°28'N, 78°52'E) and Sanigāram inscriptions are in Kannada and one of them mention Jagaddeva as "Samasta Prasastopeta Samādhigata Pamcha-Mahā-Sabdalamkaralamkrita Śrīmān Mahāmandaleshvara Povāra-kulatilakam Śrīmaj Jagaddevavarasaru".²⁰ According to Krishna K Gopal, the *biruda* (title) 'Pamcha-Maha-Sabda' indicates one of the most privileged positions among the feudatories.²¹



Google Earth image of the Someśvara temple group at Kolanupāka

Of some well-known stone inscriptions of Jagaddeva himself, one dated Śaka 1134 (AD 1112) was found at Dongargāon (Yeotmāl District) while another, which is undated, came from Jainād (about 65 miles to the west of Dongargāon) in the Ādilabad District of Āndhra Prādes.²² The Jainād inscription says that the Paramāra prince, Jagaddeva, was Udayāditya's son and his *pitrivya* (father's brother or cousin) was king Bhoja. Jagaddeva had the following military successes to his credit:

1. Defeat of king Karṇa.
2. Victory over the Gurjara warriors of king Jayasimha not far from Mt Arbuda (Abu),
3. Invasion of the Āndhra country and defeat of the Āndhra king.
4. Uprooting of the king of Chakradurga,
5. Destruction of the forces of the Malahara (Hoysāla) king at Dorasamudra,

D.C. Sircar noted that, among the above, the victory over the Gujarāt forces, which is hinted at in the Rās-Mālā as noted above, might have happened before Jagaddeva's departure for Kuntala, and the same can be applied to Karṇa, since in his early youth Jagaddeva may have fought with Chedi-Karṇa, who died in the course of the struggle in Mālwa in AD 1072. According to the Muddagavur inscription of AD 1110, Vikramāditya defeated King Karṇa, who may be identified with Yash Karṇa (AD 1072-75). But, as we had already seen, Jagaddeva was not born before AD 1079-80, so it is impossible for him to have fought against these Karṇa's. It is, however, also possible that Jagaddeva took part in the campaigns of Vikramāditya VI. We know from the Sudi inscription (1107 AD) that the Chālukya king burnt the Gurjara lord's city, and, from the Kangivelli inscription (AD 1120-21), that he was the tiger to the deer that was the king Jayasimha, while his feudatory, Bijjala, claims in the Huli inscription to have captured the royal fortune of Jayasimha of the Gurjara kingdom. On the other hand, the Talwara inscription claims for Jayasimha Siddharāja that he crushed Paramardin (Vikramāditya VI). On the basis of the above records, G.C. Raychaudhuri suggested that Vikramāditya VI led an expedition against Jayasimha, advanced up to Mt Abu and even up to the latter's capital, Anahilapataka, but had ultimately to turn back.²³

Chakradurga is the same as Chakrakuta, modern Chitrakuta (coordinates: 19°612'N, 81°42'E) or Chitrakotta about 30 miles from Jagadālpur in Bastar.²⁴ About the year AD 1089, Rājārāja Chola-Gangā's reign seems to have become troubled. The trouble came from the little but impregnable vassal kingdom of Chakrakuta in the northwest of Vengi. Its chief, Rajabhushana Somesvaradeva (the Nāgavamsi king of Bastar, his known dates being AD 1069 and 1108), who was the most powerful chief of his family, defied the suzerainty of the Chālukya-Cholas. He received assistance from Paramāra Jagaddeva. Rājārāja Chola-Gangā's efforts to subjugate Somesvara proved unsuccessful and, in the course of the struggle, according to B.V. Krishnarao, he apparently lost his life on the battle-field.²⁵ On the other hand, Dandanāyaka Govinda, nephew of Anantapāla, (both subordinates of Vikramāditya VI) is stated to have been the shaker of Chakrakuta while the Hoysāla feudatory, Ereyānga (who died about AD 1100), claims to have devastated Chakragotla and the latter's son, Vishnuvardhana, claimed success against Somesvaradeva and exhibited his valour before the king's tutelary goddess, Manikyadevi, whose shrine was in occupation of the Chakrakuta throne.²⁶



Entrance to the Someśvara temple group and on-site museum at Kolanupāka

With regards the Āndhra country, Āndhra here appears to signify the Chola country; and Jagaddeva's contemporary Chola king was Rājārāja II who was later on known as Kulottunga. We

know that it was Vengi from which Vikramāditya was trying to drive out the Cholas and that the recognition of his rule and that of his subordinates in the said territory is often found in records dated between AD 1093 and 1126. However, as we shall see below, the reference may be to Jagaddeva's struggle against Kākātiya Prola II (AD 1117-51) of Ānamakonda (Hānamkonda, coordinates: 18°0'N, 79°33'E).²⁷

The name 'Malahara' appearing in verse 9 of the Jainād inscription refers to the Hoysālas themselves and the sense of the verse simply means to say that Jagaddeva slew many soldiers at Dorasamudra and this caused 'acute pain in the heart of the chief of Malahara'. The Prabandha Chintāmaṇi states that Jagaddeva defeated one, Simalabhupala or Simantabhupala, who seems to be no other than the king of the Hoysālas, who ruled on the frontiers of Jagaddeva's territories. Malaharaksonisa is said to have been defeated by Jagaddeva according to the Jainād inscription. According to N.P. Chakravarty, Malaharaksonisa seems to be a translation of the Kanarese epithet 'Malaparol-ganda', a title assumed by the Hoysāla rulers. 'Malapa' or 'Malaha' was the name of a hill-tribe to the family of whose chiefs the Hoysālas probably originally belonged.²⁸ According to J.D.M. Derrett, "The invasion of Jagaddeva took place in or about AD 1093. The earliest dated reference to this conflict is in AD 1117. His attack on Dorasamudra which he undertook as an ally of Kuntalesa must, therefore, be placed between AD 1094 to 1117".²⁹ The earliest Hoysāla inscription mentioning the defeat of Jagaddeva (without the designation Mālava king) is dated AD 1108; but many of the records are late. The credit for such a victory is claimed by all three sons of king Ereyānga, viz. Ballāla I, Vishnuvardhana and Udayāditya. An inscription of AD 1196 says, "Ballāla (fighting on horseback) drove back the forces which came to attack him so that even the Mālava king, Jagaddeva, whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said "well done, horseman", to which he replied. "I am not only a horseman; I am Vira-Ballāla and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world." According to the Sravana Belgola inscription of AD 1159, "Vishnu (Vishnuvardhana), powerful like Yama, striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Mālava king Jagaddeva and others sent by the emperor (Vikramāditya VI)." An inscription of AD 1117 says that, "In Dorasamudra, Vishnu and Ballāla defeated Jagaddeva's army and captured his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace." The Gadag inscription of AD 1192 shows that Vishnuvardhana defeated Jagaddeva before his accession to his brother's throne about AD 1110. Another record of AD 1164 states that the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishnu and Udayāditya, destroyed the army of Jagaddeva in Dorasamudra (coordinates: 13°12'N, 76°0'E).³⁰ These impressive conquests of the Hoysālas's combine both actual achievements and traditional hyperbolic panegyric. At any rate, this shows the power and prestige they had gained. Hence, the defeat they had suffered at the hands of the Paramāra, Jagaddeva, could not keep them restrained for a long time. When Vikramāditya had summoned help from his ally, Jagaddeva, to suppress the Hoysāla rebellion earlier, that exposed his weakness. The Hoysālas were waiting for the opportune time and, finding one, they once again raised the standard of revolt. But the glory of victory did not remain long with Vishnuvardhana and he suffered a defeat at the hand of the Sinda, Achugi II, another feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. The Hoysālas recognised the Chālukya, Vikramāditya VI, as their overlord in AD 1122.³¹ According to some researchers, Samalavarman, who was the king of East Bengal, married Mālavyadevi, the daughter of Jagaddeva Paramāra.³²



Undated inscription of Jagaddeva from Rāṇi Sāvargāon (after Dr Kolate)

One undated inscription of a certain Kālidāsa was found at Rāṇi Sāvargāon (coordinates: 20°12'N, 80°08'E, Dist: Parbhani) and records, "When the combined forces of Karṇatadanda (King of Karṇata ?), Pāndya (king ?), Kālidāsa and Jagaddeva were fighting against an enemy (name not given) while, for fear of defeat, others started to retreat from the battle-ground and took shelter in nearby mountains, Jagaddeva rose like a shining sun and defeated the enemy by virtue of his bravery."³³ Some researchers identify Kālidāsa as the son of the Chālukya general, Madhavarasa, who served Someśvara I and once defeated a certain Viśāla, who was a strong enemy of the Western Chālukyas.

4) The Rebellion of Jagaddeva Paramāra and his defeat:

The Kāmagiri (coordinates: 19°25'N, 78°31'E) inscription of Jagaddeva contains the date of the epigraph as SE 1051, corresponding to 8 November AD 1128. The date of the inscription is of immense importance to us as the date falls within the reign of Someśvara III, who was the immediate successor to Vikramāditya VI. Jagaddeva served Vikramāditya well but, after his death, declared his independence and established his capital at Chāhandā (modern Garh Chāndur in Tāluka Rājūrā of District Chandrapur, Mahārāstra, (coordinates: 19°43'N, 79°10'E) and, as a mark of his sovereignty, he issued coins in gold minted by the age-old punch-marking technique of southern India. We have several epigraphical records which speak about Jagaddeva's rebellion. The Dharmāpuri inscription (dated Śaka 1056 = AD 1134) of Someśvara III records a eulogy of the king, who had defeated a group of feudatories that had rebelled against him and this rebellion was led by Jagaddeva Paramāra. It further states that Someśvara III pushed the rebels to the extreme ends of the Sahya Mountain and ultimately blocked them in a certain hill-fort (the name of fort is not given in the inscription). At the same time, a certain 'Dhārādhinātha' (Lord of Dhara?) came to rescue Jagaddeva with his forces but was defeated.³⁴ Here Jagaddeva is referred to as 'Mālvarāja' and, according to some researchers, some aid was received from the Paramāras of Mālwa to support Jagaddeva, but it is not clearly mentioned in the inscription. There is another inscription at Karādkhed from the reign of Someśvara III which states, "News had come from the north that, in one battle, Mālavarāja Jagaddeva was defeated by our general, Mangarasa".³⁵ The Dharmāpuri inscription also mentions that, after the defeat of all the feudatories, Jagaddeva fell on the feet of Someśvara and begged forgiveness for their misbehaviour.³⁶

Previously, nothing was known about the subsequent activities of Jagaddeva or his successors. Now some very important data has

come to light with the help of which it can be said that Jagaddeva not only succeeded in carving out an independent Paramāra kingdom in the Deccan but also made it strong enough to be ruled by at least two more generations after him. The area included in the Paramāra kingdom of the Deccan comprised the Buldhānā, Akola, Amaravati, Nāgpur, Wardha, Yeotmāl, and Chandrapur (Chāndā) districts of Vidarbha; the Aurangabad, Parabhani, Beed and Osmānābad districts of Marāthwādā and a considerable part of northern Āndhra Prādes, especially the districts of Ādilabad, Karimnagar, Wārangal, Chāhandā (modern Chāhandūr, also known as Gad-Chāndur, Tāluka Rājūrā, district Chandrapur, Mahārāstra state), was the capital of the kingdom. It is found mentioned in Yādava inscriptions at Ambe Jogai.³⁷

5) The Bhāndak inscription and controversy regarding its reading

There is hardly any evidence regarding Jagaddeva after his defeat, except for one stone inscription at the Bhādranaga temple at Bhāndak in Chandrapur district. Bhāndak is sixteen miles northwest of Chāndā (Chandrapur). This inscription is partly written in old Marāthi. It records the installation of the Naga Narayana temple on Friday, the 10th of the dark fortnight of *Margaśirsha*. Raibahadur Hiralal included this inscription in his 'Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar'; according to him, the year mentioned in this inscription is Śaka era 1308 (which corresponds to Friday, 6 November AD 1386).³⁸ The inscription further mentions repairs to the temple. The name of the '*Rānā Pavāra*' (Dr Tulpule's suggested reading: '*Dharmāche Rāye Pavār*') i.e. Paramāra, who was ruling there is illegible. But according to Dr Tulpule, based on the Tithi (Dashmi or 10th day of the Hindu calendar), *Samvatsara (Kśaya)* and planetary position (*Revati Nakṣatra* in the *Vriśchik lagna*) the corresponding date is 15 November AD 1146.³⁹ Another important feature of this inscription is that its paleography is similar to other inscriptions of Jagaddeva and other Paramāra inscriptions of Vidarbha. Of 15 lines, 9 are in Old Marāthi and the remaining 5 lines are in Sanskrit. According to M.G. Dikshit, the 12th line mentions the name of a certain Jagaddeva.⁴⁰ If Dr Dikshit's reading and Dr Tulpule's dates are confirmed then there is possibility that this inscription was installed during the reign of Jagaddeva Paramāra. Although he was not successful in his rebellion against the newly enthroned king, Someśvara II, he must have been excused for his conduct and allowed to continue to rule his territories, including the Vidarbha region.

6) The last years of Jagaddeva and the mythical story of his sacrifice

The references to Jagaddeva in the Kākātiya records appear to suggest that the Paramāra chief was held in esteem by his Kākātiya enemies. An inscription of AD 1214 from Ganapavaram (coordinates: 15°56'N, 80°32'E) in the Nālgonda District mentions a great warrior named Bālasarasvati, who was Jagaddeva's general and minister. We are further told that Bālasarasvati's son, Devapāla, was brought up by Jagaddeva and that, noticing Devapāla's devotion to his master (Jagaddeva), the Kākātiya king, Prola II, brought him up after Jagaddeva (i.e. after Jagaddeva's death). According to D.C. Sircar, this shows that Jagaddeva died before the death of Prola II i.e. some time in AD 1151.⁴¹

On the other hand, the bardic legends and local traditions tell us a different story. They mention that Jagaddeva sacrificed himself before a certain Goddess (some versions give us the name of the goddess as '*Kankāli-Bhāti*').⁴² Although the date of death of Jagaddeva is not given, according to one version, it was a Sunday, in the month of *Chaitra* and the year was 1151 (*Gyārāso Ekāvane Chait Sudi Ravivār* |*Jagadeva shisa samāpiyo Dhārā nagar Pamvār* ||).⁴³ Another version of the bardic legend suggests a different date, i.e. Samvat 1174 (*Samvat Gyārā Chahotarā Chaitra Tij Ravivār* |*Sis Kankāli Bhāte diyo Jagaddev Parmār* ||) and the date was *tritiya* (3rd day) in the month of *Chaitra*.⁴⁴ There is one modern silver plate inscription available above the

southern door of the Tuljā-Bhavāni temple at Tuljāpur (dist. – Osmānābad, coordinates: 18°03'N, 76°04'E). It records a eulogy (*stotra*) of the goddess Tulja-Bhavāni and refers to a sacrifice of the Paramāra hero, Jagaddeva, but the date of the inscription is Chaitra Shukla Dashami (10th day) of Śaka 1803/ vs 1938 (= 8 April AD 1881). This eulogy was published by Śri Dattopanta Kulkarni as 'Śri Kālika Stotra'. According to Dr R.C. Dhare, a renowned scholar in cultural anthropology of Mahārāstra, the *stotra* was composed by Śrīmant Nārāyanarāo Pawār of Dewās and presented to the goddess during his visit to Tuljāpur.⁴⁵ There are three stanza's (*śloka*s) which recite the eulogy of Jagaddeva, who was an ancestor of the Pawars of Dewas. The inscription reads as follows:

Jhālā Mahāpurush yā Parmārvamshi |
Nāmābhīdhān Barve Jagadev tyāsi |
Kin to Tujhāch Janani, Nij Bāl hotā |
Tujhe krupte Sakal Vaibhav yet hatā | 11 |
Tushtyarthe Bhupatu kari tav Pujanāte |
Arpi pādāvari tujhya nij mastkātē |
Toshuni tvān utthavile, Tari to punhāhi |
Kāpuni Mastak Pādāvari Shighr Vāhi | 12 |
Puji Ase Jagativalabha Sātvelān |
Atyant tosh Varade, Tujlāgi jhālā |
Tyāche Samstahi manorath purn kele |
Antī tuvān nij Pādāmbuji sthān dile | 13 |

Tuljāpur Silver plate inscription⁴⁶

It means that Jagaddeva attempted to sacrifice himself before the goddess, Tulja-Bhavāni, by offering his own head to her, but every time he cut his neck, the goddess put life into his body. This happened seven times and, at the last attempt, Jagaddeva reached heaven and was placed at the feet of the goddess, Tulja-Bhavāni. According to some researchers, there are several temples in the Solapur-Osmānābad area which were constructed during the Western Chālukyan period. Based on the architecture of the Bhavāni-Shankar temple, it is possible that this shrine also existed during the 11-12th centuries AD. According to Dr Brāhmananda Deshpande, Tuljāpur is in Marāthwādā, not far from Kalyāṇi, the capital of Western Chālukya, and most probably it is the place where Jagaddeva sacrificed himself.⁴⁷

7) The Coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra

As early as AD 1910 a hoard of 25 gold coins was found at Rohinkhed (coordinates: 20°37'N, 76°07'E), a village in Buldhānā district. The hoard was sent for study to the Numismatic Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It was stated that the hoard contained coins of Gāngeyadeva, Mahipāla and Jagaddeva. Three coins of Jagaddeva were noticed and they were deposited in the coin cabinet of the Central Museum, Nāgpur. The Numismatic Secretary pointed out, regarding the coins of Jagaddeva, that they appeared to be south Indian according to their fabric and type, but he was unable to attribute them to the dynasty to which Jagaddeva belonged. However, he identified the issuer of these coins with one, Jagaddeva, whose coin had been published by Walter Elliot in his monograph on south Indian coins.⁴⁸ Since then, the coins were lying in the coin cabinet of the museum.



Gold coins of Jagaddeva from Rohinkhed (after Dr Chandrashekhara Gupta)

In 1946, V.P. Rode studied these coins and found that they should be attributed to Jagaddeva Paramāra, whose inscriptions were

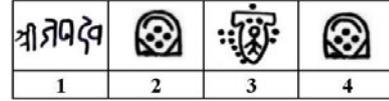
found in this region (i.e. Dongargāon). Subsequently, while writing on the coin collection in the museum on the occasion of the centenary celebration, he published some of these coins. According to Rode, these coins bear four punched areas one of which shows the legend, *Śri Jagaddeva*, written in Nāgari script. Two side punches show a symbol formed by curved lines and dots which appears to be a crude representation of the old Kannada letter 'Śri'. The bottom area contains a symbol formed by a rectangular platform over which is a tower-like representation, supposed by him to be a temple. It is thus clear that all these coins were issued by the Paramāra chief, Jagaddeva.⁴⁹ As the fabric of the coins is south Indian, Dr Rāma Rao published a gold coin of the same fabric from the collection of the Āndhra Prādes Government Museum, Hyderabad. He erroneously read the legend as 'Śri Jagdeka' and, on the basis of information given by Elliot, he ascribed this coin to a Western Chālukyan king, Jagadekamalla. According to Dr Rāma Rao, "There were three rulers in the Chālukyan dynasty who had the name, Jagadekamalla: Jaysimha III (AD 1015-1042), Prema-Jagadekamalla (AD 1138-1151) and Jagadekamalla III (AD 1162-1186). It is not possible to say which of the kings issued the coins."⁵⁰ But this hypothesis was quite baseless, as Jagadekamalla's coins bear the legend in Kannada script, while those issued by Jagaddeva give his name in Nāgari. Moreover, the name 'Jagaddeva' is seen clearly on these coins and it is never written as 'Jagdeka'. Some more coins of the same type with the Nāgari legend 'Śri Jagaddeva' were attributed by M. H. Krishna to the Chālukyan king, Somesvara I, and he surmised that Someśvara was called Jagaddeva in the northern provinces of his empire. Dr A.V.Narasimhamurthy rejected this hypothesis, which was not supported by any facts.⁵¹



Paleography of Jagaddeva's name in A) Dongargāon inscription
 B) Rāṇi Sāvargāon inscription C) Jainād inscription
 D) Kāmāgiri inscription

According to Dr Chandrashekhara Gupta, "Vikramāditya VI treated Jagaddeva well and appointed him governor of a region and commander of the army. Jagaddeva served Vikramāditya well, but, after the latter's death, declared his independence and established his capital at Chāhandā (modern Garh Chāndur in Tāluka Rājūrā of District Chandrapur, Mahārāstra). As a mark of his sovereignty he issued coins in gold minted by the age-old punch-marking technique. These coins are popularly known by the name of Padmatankas. The coins under discussion, are not strictly Padmatankas but they can be called Padmatanka-type".⁵² But, due to the absence of a central lotus punch, we would like to identify these coins with another variety popularly known as 'Gadyāṇa', which is frequently mentioned in Western Chālukyan and other south Indian epigraphs. It was written in various forms and abbreviated as 'Gadya' and 'Ga' in inscriptions. Many types of Gadyāṇas are mentioned in the various inscriptions and it is difficult to understand their precise nature. Singhaṇa Yādava's inscription from Pulunja mentions a grant of 'Gajamalla Gadyāṇa'. The manufacturing process of Jagaddeva's coins is quite interesting. Round thin blanks were produced by beating metal lumps and the place for each individual punch was marked at four different corners of the blanks. Twenty-three percent of the Chanākhā hoard consists of unstruck coin blanks. Most of the coins are of the same variety and in mint condition. This suggests that a small mint was running at Chanākhā and it was closed and coins were deposited in some emergency. It seems that, some impurities like copper (7.8-12.2%) and silver (24.6-39.9%) were added to the noble metal for either metallurgical or economic reasons, or both. Some details of reported coins of Jagaddeva given by Dr Chandrashekhara Gupta are in the following table⁵³

S No	Name of Collection	Find spot	Weight (gm)	Size (mm)
1	Central Museum, Nāgpur	Rohinkhed	3.69	19
2	Central Museum, Nāgpur	Rohinkhed	3.69	19
3	Central Museum, Nāgpur	Rohinkhed	3.69	18.5
4	National Museum, New Delhi	Unknown	3.67	17
5	The Āndhra Prādeśh Govt. Museum, Hyderabad	Matnoor (Ādilabad, AP)	3.77	18
6	Archaeological Department, Karṇatak State	Unknown	3.69	-
7	Private Collection, Yeotmāl	Yeotmāl ?	-	-
8	Private Collection, Dhār ⁵⁴	Dhār	3.77	18.5



Coin no JP.2.2): Gold; size: 21 x 21 mm, weight: 3.55 g, shape: round; findspot: Yeotmāl
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Blank.

Below, we have classified the coins of Jagaddeva in seven varieties on the basis of the paleography of the Nāgari legend, variation in the Kannada legend 'Śri' and the 'temple' symbol as under:

A) Gold coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra Type I

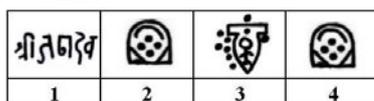


Coin no JP.1.1) Gold; size: 21 x 21 mm, weight: 3.55 g, shape: round; findspot: Yeotmāl (coordinates: 20°31'N, 78°07'E),

Obverse: Four punches bearing the legend in Nāgari script 'Śri Jagadeva'. Stylised old Kannada syllable representing 'Śri' (struck twice), typical linear figure showing a 'temple' device with a circle with a dot in the centre representing the head and two upside down 'V'-shaped parts denoting the hands and the feet.

Reverse: Blank, a small cut at one corner.

B) Gold coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra Type II

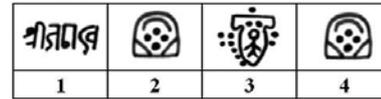


Coin no JP.2.1): Gold; size: 21 x 21 mm, weight: 3.55 g, shape: round; findspot: Yeotmāl

Obverse: Same as above. But here there are two dots to the right of the human figure and the four dots on the left side are arranged in a different formation.

Reverse: Blank.

C) Gold coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra Type III

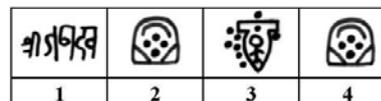


Coin no JP.3.1): Gold; size: 21 x 21 mm, weight: 3.55 g, shape: round; findspot: Yeotmāl

Obverse: Same as Type JP.2.1, except there are two dots above the human figure.

Reverse: Blank, but a small cut at one corner.

D) Gold coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra Type IV



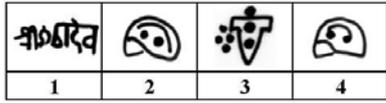
Coin no JP.4.1): Gold; size: 21 x 21 mm, weight: 3.55 g, shape: round.

Obverse: Same as Type JP.1.1, but the 'temple' symbol is different.

Reverse: Blank.

E) Gold coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra Type V





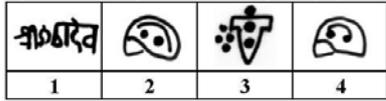
Coin no JP.5.1): Gold; size: 21 x 21 mm, weight: 3.55 g, shape: round.

Obverse: Four punches bearing the legend in Nāgari script 'Śrī Jagadeva'. Stylised old Kannada syllable depicting a different 'Śrī' (struck twice) from previous types; a typical linear figure showing a 'temple' with some dots within and outside.

Reverse: Blank.



(After Dr. Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya)⁵⁵



Coin no JP.5.2): Gold; weight: 57-57.6 grains; shape: round.

Obverse: Same as above

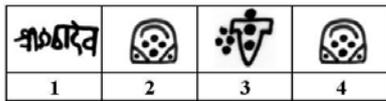
Reverse: Blank.

F) Gold coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra Type VI

This coin was added by Dr P.L. Gupta in his famous work 'Coins', published by the National Book Trust, New Delhi. The following coin was illustrated on Plate XIX Coin no. 201 with a description of the coin as unattributed with four punches on the obverse. One of them bears an inscription.⁵⁶



(After Dr P.L. Gupta)



Coin no JP.6.1): Gold; shape: round.

Obverse: Same as type J.1, but the old Kannada syllable representing a different 'Śrī' (struck twice) from the previous type.

Reverse: Blank, but a small cut at one corner.

8) 'Pratipanna Karṇa' type gold coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra (Type-JP.7)

This coin was published by Dr P.V. Parabrahma Sastry in an issue of JAINS (Vol V). According to him "Śrī Mukunda Rao, Assistant Director, Department of Archaeology and Museums, Āndhra Prādes, working as Registering Officer, had acquired this coin from a private owner, in the village of Maradam, Gajapatnagaram Tāluka, Vijayanagaram District. The coin is now in the State Archaeological Museum, Hyderabad. The coin resembles in shape the coins of the Yādavas and the Western Chālukyas, with a slight concavity on its obverse. On the obverse there are seven Telugu letters, 'Śrī Pra-ti-pa-nna-karṇa', distinctly marked in separate punches along the rim. The central area is also covered with a punch with an indistinct symbol, likely that of a lion standing to left, tail raised over its

back. The reverse of the coin is blank. The importance of the coin lies in its attribution. From the letters and the similarity of the [minting] technique the coin is assignable to the latter Chālukya period. The legend obviously refers to a title which means 'He who subdued Karṇa'. Besides the famous Mahābhārata hero, we have more than one Karṇa known to the history of the Medieval Deccan; the former that is the hero of the Mahābhārata is noted for his valour as well as the great quality of charity. The issuer of the coin from the title is to be understood to have surpassed the Karṇa of the Mahābhārata in valour and charity. In this sense, we have inscriptions which praise Jagaddeva, the Paramāra prince with the explicit reference to this title. This Paramāra chief was for some time in the court of Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla, Vikramāditya VI. During this period he had the opportunity to govern the Kollipaka-7000 province, in the present Telangana region of Āndhra Prādes. There he installed three lengthy Sanskrit inscriptions, eulogising the greatness of his family and himself, all datable to between AD 1104 and 1108. He enjoyed the honour of being called Kumāra in the Chālukya court. Interestingly, in his Kollipaka (Kolanupāka) inscriptions and the Jainād inscription, he is explicitly referred to as 'Pratipanna Karṇa' and 'utpannāh-pratipanna Karṇa', i.e. born to be known as 'Pratipanna-Karṇa'. The title is intended to compare Jagaddeva with Arjuna, the subduer of Karṇa with valour in one sense, and in the other, the defeater of Karṇa both in valour and charity. Again, the title also implies that he vanquished a Karṇa of his time, likely the king of the Chālukya family of Gujarāt (the father of Jayasimha-Siddharāja). Another Kalachuri Karṇa too was contemporary with Jagaddeva. But the historical events seem to suggest the Karṇa mentioned in the present title was the member of the Chālukya family of Gujarāt. Jagaddeva had a confrontation with him some time during his father, Udayāditya's reign. Thus, the legend on the coin under study finds corroborative evidence in the inscriptions which makes it quite applicable to the Paramāra chief, Jagaddeva. There seems to have been no other king in the Telugu country who possessed this title".⁵⁷

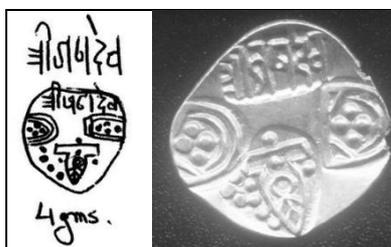
The self-abnegation, chivalry and liberality of Jagaddeva made him renowned. 'There is no country, village, world or assembly where Jagaddeva's fame is not sung day and night,' states the Dongargāon inscription. That this is not an altogether empty praise is shown by the numerous tales about his bravery and munificence, which are recorded by Gujarāt chronicles. The subhashita No. 1261 in the 'Śarangadharapaddhati' seems to praise the liberality of this very Jagaddeva.⁵⁸

Parabrahma Sastry has pointed out that the coin bears the legend in Telugu letters and resembles in shape the coins of the Yādavas and the Western Chālukyas. There is a slight concavity on its obverse (as normally found on coins minted by this technique). Earlier, a hoard of some gold coins was discovered at the village of Pārila in the Kurnool district. It was studied and published by Ayyangar and was commented on by Dr Brajadulal Chattopadhyaya. According to them, these coins are of the usual punch-marked variety. They have some imperfect legends written in Telugu-Kanarese characters of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries on them. It is difficult to make out the legends from the published reproductions but whatever can be read suggests that there are five groups; i) kaka, ii) nnakiti, iii) kshada, iv) na and v) a. The imperfect nature of the legends makes it impossible to attribute the coins to any dynasty. Ayyangar tentatively attributed them to the Telugu-Chola chiefs who were ruling in the Telugu districts in the thirteenth century AD. Chattopadhyaya suggested that, from the similarity of the fabric of these coins to those attributed to the later Chālukyas, the Kalachuris, the Kākātiya king, Ganpati, and to the Eluva dynasty of Nellore region and the absence of any meaningful name or meaning of the legends, the only thing that can be said is that these coins belong to the twelfth-thirteenth centuries AD. Their attribution remains uncertain.⁵⁹

Now when we compare this coin with those found at Pārila, we find considerable similarity between them. Firstly, the device

of a lion is present on both the coins, though, in the case of the former, four more punches are stamped around the one in the centre. Secondly, the stamping of the legend split into several punches is common in both. Thirdly, if we look carefully we find that the legend on the coins from Pārila represents the same legend as read on the coin from Maradam. Actually, the legend has come out only partially on the coins from Pārila and, moreover, it is very indistinct. So, the view of the earlier scholars who studied them may not be absolutely correct. So, following the reading given by Parabrahama Sastry, the legends on these coins can be restored as: 'Śrī Pratipannakanna'. The multi-punching of the lion device and the conventionalised Śrī symbol (punched five and two times respectively) and the presence of the *ankusa* symbol on the coins from Vijayanagaram district, suggest that they must be considered a separate variety. As is well-known, Śrī Pratipanna Karṇa (meaning the subduer of Karṇa, both in valour and charity) was the title of Jagaddeva. It is mentioned in his three inscriptions at Kollipaka (Kolanupāka in Nālgonda District) as well as in the Jainād inscription. So, there should be no doubt about the attribution of these coins to Jagaddeva.⁶⁰

9) Chanākhā Hoard of Gold coins:



Rough sketch and photograph of a coin provided by police (courtesy: Mr Ashoksingh Thakur)



Police examining the Chanākhā hoard (Daily Sakāl, Pune edition, 08/05/2009)

Labourers working on the foundations of a building came upon a copper pot containing 554 coins, in Chanaka village in Rājūrā tahsil (Chandrapur district) on 7 May 2009. The ancient coins kept in a copper tumbler and buried in the ground were recovered from a construction site during excavation at the house of a certain Ganpat Satpute in Chanaka. The 554 coins recovered by police weighed around 2 kilograms and a goldsmith verified that they were made of gold and copper alloy. Chandrapur-based numismatist, Śrī Ashok Singh Thakur, visited the village and acquired photos and other information. We are indebted to him for supplying the same to us for preparing this note. This is a very important discovery in the history of the Paramāras of Vidarbha as most of the coins are issues of Jagaddeva Paramāra. Earlier, several coins were seen in the market of Yeotmāl (coordinates: 20°31'N, 78°07'E). Chanaka is not far from Yeotmāl and Garh Chāndur. Now there is a strong possibility that, after rebelling against Someśvara III, Jagaddeva issued coins from Vidarbha.

The coin in the above photograph belongs to our type I (please see coin no JP.1.1) which has already been discussed in this article. Also it is clear that Jagaddeva minted his own coins using the punch mark technique and did not over-strike the coins of Western Chālukya rulers. The condition of the coins from the Chanākhā hoard is very fine and it is possible that they were deposited in mint condition and hardly came into circulation.



Some photographs of coins, pot, blanks and hoard (courtesy: Mr Ashoksingh Thakur)

10) Udayāditya Paramāra

Dr Brāmhananda Deshpande and Dr Chandrashekhar Gupta⁶¹ noted the existence of another member of the Paramāra house. One inscription at Ambe (SE 1066, corresponding to AD 1144) mentions a certain Mahamadaleshvara Udayāditya (his name is engraved as UdaUdayāditya). The inscription speaks of the grant of the villages of Sailu, Kumbhephal, Javalgaon and a few others, by him for the Siva temple. Dr Tulpule who published this inscription in his work "Prachin Marāthi Koriv Lekh" identified Udayāditya with Udayāditya of the Western Gangās. Whereas Dr M.G. Dikshit identified him as a feudatory of the Yādavas.⁶² Dr Brāmhananda Deshpande, on the other hand, identified Udayāditya in this inscription with Udayāditya Paramāra, possibly a son of Jagaddeva Paramāra based on the following information⁶³,

- 1) The palaeography of the inscription is similar to the Paramāra inscription at Ujjain
- 2) The post-Jagaddeva date of the inscription (AD 1144); the last known date of Jagaddeva is AD 1134 i.e. the Dharmāpuri inscription of Someśvara IV.
- 3) According to Dr Deshpande, there was a tradition of naming the persons after their grand-fathers; hence it is possible that, Jagaddeva named his son after his father, Udayāditya (AD 1070-1086).

Without any strong evidence, it is difficult to comment on the suggestion made by Dr Deshpande and accept his hypothesis. On the other hand, the bardic legend 'Ras-Māla' mentions two sons of Jagaddeva viz. Jug-Dhuwul and Beej-Dhuwul and that, after ruling the Paramāra throne for 58 years, Jagaddeva chose Jug-Dhuwul as his successor.⁶⁴

10) Bhojadeva Paramāra

These types of coins were earlier published by Śrī Narayan Deshmukh and he published them as 'Coins with Modi (Mediaeval Marāṭhī) script', but he was unable to decipher the legends on them.⁶⁵ In 2004, Dr Chandrashekhar Gupta cast new light on the study of the Paramāra dynasty. Fifty-eight years after the discovery of Jagaddeva Paramāra's coins by V.P. Rode, coins of another ruler, named Bhojadeva, were discovered. Dr Gupta provided one illustration of these types of coins, but no photograph was provided in his article.⁶⁶ In 2007, Dr Devendra Handa and Dr M.K. Gupta illustrated a similar coin and stated that, "Instead of legends on the obverse, it shows a linear human figure, which is a unique and interesting feature on Yādava coins. The figure, probably four-handed and holding a wheel in the uplifted upper left hand, may represent Krishna. Even if the figure is regarded as haloed, it may nonetheless be tentatively attributed to Krishna till more convincing evidence against this is produced. Such a linear figure may have been inspired by a drama of the Paramāra king, Bhoja (AD 1011-1055) which carries on the obverse a similar linear female figure (perhaps Saraswati) with the legend *Śrī Bhojadeva* on the obverse and a peacock to left formed of dots and lines on the reverse. This coin was illustrated recently on southasicoins.org".⁶⁷ As Dr Chandrashekhar Gupta had already published coins of this type, the attribution given by Dr Gupta and Dr Handa is not persuasive.

Most probably, Bhojadeva was the last king of this house and he was defeated by Kholeśvara, the Brāhmana general of Singhaṇa II. Earlier, Dr G.H. Khare had published four inscriptions from Āmbejogāi (coordinates: 18°43'N, 76°23'E, Dist-Beed), of which two inscriptions recorded the defeat of a certain 'Chāhandādhishvara Paramāra Bhoja'.⁶⁸ Inscription No 2 dated Śaka Era 1150 (=AD 1228-29) states Kholeśvara as the owner of the kingdom which was earlier possessed by Paramāra Bhoja of Chāhandā (*Chāhandādeśadhiśvara Paramāra bhojadeva desheśvara*). Another undated inscription, no. 3, recorded that Kholeśvara had defeated the angry Paramāra Bhoja of Chāhandā in one battle where Bhoja was accompanied by his mighty force (*Chāhandādhishvaro yena Jitāh Sangrāmbhumishu Bhojadevamidhāh Kruddha Chaturanga balānvita*).⁶⁹ Dr O.P. Verma, while writing a note on Singhaṇa II stated: "Kholeśvara's other achievements included the overthrow of a certain Hemādri, another local chief of the same locality, and the defeat of Bhoja, a Paramāra ruler of Chāndā. The name of the territory ruled by Bhoja is recorded as Chāhandā in the Āmbejogāi inscription. The Paramāras of Mālwa, whose supremacy extended as far as Vidarbha, continued to hold part of it long after the death of Jagaddeva. A scion of this family established himself at Chāhandā, which is identical with Chāndā, the headquarters of the Chāndā district".⁷⁰ But Dr Khare opined differently that this Bhojadeva is different from the homonymous Bhoja of Dhārā (AD 1011-1055) and, in the same inscription, it is mentioned that Paramāra Devapāla was ruling on the throne of Dhārā at the same time. Hence the credit of showing Bhoja's existence for the first time goes to Dr G.H. Khare. Also, as the Kholeśvara inscriptions are available from Achalpur (Elichpur), Kholapur, it is possible that he annexed most of Vidarbha to the Yādava Empire.⁷¹ According to Dr Chandrashekhar Gupta, the defeat of Bhoja is also recorded in the Amrapur inscription of Kholeśvara.⁷²

The Pushpagiri inscription of the time of Yādava Singhaṇa II, Dandanāyaka Lakshmidēva, has been described as Pashchimaraya-Bhojadeva-disapatta (one who put to rout Bhojadeva, the lord of the west). Similarly, the Gorantha record of AD 1216 refers to Lakshmidēva's victory over the Bhoja of the west. It is important to note that, "Pashchimaraya" (the lord of the west), is the epithet of Shilahara Bhoja II, but this epithet is absent in the Shilahara inscriptions. The same expression was used by the Yādavas to distinguish him from another homonymous Bhojadeva (i.e. Paramāra Bhojadeva). It is already

established from the Yādava inscriptions that both Bhoja's were defeated by Singhaṇa II.⁷³

Here we should like to add another reference. A major Sanskrit work of the early mediaeval period is the *Rāmāyanachampu* or *Champu Rāmāyana*, ascribed to Bhoja and Lakshmanbhatta. It is the colophons in the text which refer to the author as 'Vidarbharāja', 'Bhojaraya Pandita' and some editions refer to him as 'Vidarbharāja Bhoja', without mentioning any further details. According to some researchers, illustrious Bhoja of Dhārā was the author of the work. But Vidarbha and Malwa were two different places and the kings of these two places must have been different. Dr G.H. Khare noted that from the evidence now available, there is a possibility that the Bhojadeva Paramāra, mentioned in the Āmbejogāi inscription, is the same as 'Vidarbharāja Bhoja', who was the person behind the composition of *Champu Rāmāyana*.⁷⁴ It is also known that Bhojadeva composed the five *kānda* (Episodes) from *Bālakānda* up to the end of *Sundarkānd* of Rāmāyana, and *Yuddhakānda* was composed later by a certain Smārta Brāhmana Lakshmanabhatta, son of Gangā Dhārā and Gangāmbika. This Champu work is written in *Vaidarbhi* style, where equal stress is laid upon inner thought and outer expression. According to some manuscripts, there was a seventh episode, Uttarakānda, which was added by Venkatarāja. According to the Encyclopedia of Indian Literature, "Bhoja deserves credit for exploiting the rich resources of the new genre as applied to great epic stories already famous and popular. Just like playwrights exhibiting originality while dramatising selected episodes from the epic sources, Bhoja shows how such literary conventions as set descriptions and a dramatic mode of dialogue may be effectively utilised in a new formal frame of classical prose and verse. Bhoja's masterly summary of the epic story coupled with his equally appealing presentation of emotional situations in musical and apt measures, and also the spontaneous use of figures of speech in a very imaginative way, combine to make the work a popular text book for teaching courses. Bhoja's inspiration never runs dry in contrast to numerous other attempts made in succeeding centuries by scholar poets". So, the eulogy of the Champu Literature in Sanskrit as a lovely combination of vocal and instrumental music (Bhoja's Champu Rāmāyana, Bālakānda) and of grapes and honey (Venkatadhvarin's Viśvaganadarśa) is fully justified.⁷⁵

चं० रा०
५०
लिङ्गद्रुममक्रमदवशादाधुयपुच्छुटासागदाविरभूदहं नभः
असुगलेन निपीयमानः॥ चूडामणिं करनलेकलयन्वचं देपादा
हारणोपि॥ आनंदसिंधोपृतनामक्षमक्षस्य हंता निनरां ममज्ज
पवमानजन्मा विज्ञापया मासकननणामः॥७२॥ लंकापुरोपवनस
बशेनसुपर्णे लोके पदी कृतामिबभुजंगमराजकन्या॥७३॥ देव
मया चंत्रस्था तु कामः परिपूर्णकामः॥७४॥ ब्रह्मास्त्रविवस्तजयंत
प्रेषितेषुतुभ्यं॥७५॥ किंचिदुना॥ देवतस्याः प्रतिष्ठासूनसूना
विदर्भराजविरचिते चंपुरामाणे श्रीमल्लदरकांडः समाप्तः॥

Manuscript of *Champu Rāmāyana*: the underlined portion reads, 'Vidarbharājavirachite' i.e. composed by Vidarbharāja.

Dr Chandrashekhar Gupta noted that these coins were reported from Paunār,⁷⁶ but now we know that several coins are also reported from Babupeth (coordinates: 19°56'N, 79°36'E, Dist. Chandrapur), Yeotmāl, Pusad (coordinates: 19°54'N, 77°33'E), Achalpur (Elichpur, coordinates: 21°15'N, 37°30'E) and several other places in Vidarbha. These coins bear a crude figure of a lion advancing to the right with his tail and front paw raised on the obverse and a Nāgari inscription arranged in one line: 'Śrī Bhojadeva', around a human figure or Śivalinga composed of a simple design (a circle with a dot in the centre represents the head and two upside down 'V'-shaped parts denote the hands and the feet) on the reverse. The weight of these coins ranges from 0.3 to 0.6 g. They are of circular shape and their width varies between 6 and 10 mm. We have found that Bhojadeva issued coins with a lion motif, which was quite popular with the Chālukyas of

Kalyāni, and, by taking the weights of all his silver coins, we can ascribe them to two denominations: $\frac{3}{4}$ māshaka (0.66 gm) and half Māshaka (0.45 gm).

D) Silver coins of Bhojadeva Paramāra

Illustrations all enlarged.



Coin no D.1: Silver; size: 8.50 mm, weight: 0.60 g.
Obverse: Crude figure of a lion advancing to right with its tail and front paw raised.
Reverse: Nāgari inscription arranged in one line: 'Śrī Bhojadeva', around a human figure or Śivalinga composed of a simple design. A circle with a dot in the centre represents the head and two upside down 'V'-shaped parts denote the hands and feet.



Coin no D.2: Silver
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.3: Silver
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.4: Silver; size: 8.00 mm, weight: 0.60 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.5: Silver; size: 8.50 mm, weight: 0.55 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.6: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.60 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.7: Silver; size: 8.50 mm, weight: 0.50 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.8: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.60 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.9: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.60 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.10: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.55 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.11: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.50 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.12: Silver; size: 8.00 mm, weight: 0.45 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.13: Silver; size: 8.00 mm, weight: 0.65 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.14: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.55 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.15: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.60 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



Coin no D.16: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.60 g.
Obverse: Same as above
Reverse: Same as above



*Gold punchmarked coin; Baldwin's Auction 40, lot 627
 (Courtesy: Baldwin's Auctions)*

E) Silver coins of Bhojadeva Paramāra: a new variety



Coin no E.1: Silver
Obverse: Crude figure of a lion advancing to right with its tail and front paw raised.
Reverse: Nāgari inscription arranged in two lines: 'Śri Bhoja/deva'. A human figure composed of a simple design. A circle in the centre represents the head and two upside down 'V'-shaped parts denote the hands and the feet. This figure is the same as on the gold punchmarked coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra.

E) Silver coins of Bhojadeva Paramāra? with retrograde 'Da' or 'U'



Coin no E.2: Silver; size: 10.00 mm, weight: 0.60 g.
Obverse: Crude figure of a lion advancing to right with its tail and front paw raised.
Reverse: Nāgari inscription arranged in one line: 'da' (retrograde) of 'deva' or 'u' of 'deu' in dotted border, around a human figure or Śivalinga composed of a simple design without a dot in the centre.

E) Undecipherable silver coin, in the style of the Paramāras

The following coin was acquired with a small hoard of silver coins of Bhojadeva Paramāra.



Coin no E.3: Silver; size: 9.00 mm, weight: 0.80 g.
Obverse: Same as above.
Reverse: indecipherable Nāgari inscription arranged in one line.

11) Some interesting gold punchmarked coins of Viśāla and their reattribution

There are some varieties of gold punchmarked coins with Nāgari legend known. They bear five punches including a lion in the centre, two Kannada 'Śri', a large spearhead with a small dot and a human figure with four dots and the fifth mark comprising the Nāgari legend 'Viśāla'. One such coin appeared in Baldwin's Auction 40, lot 627, where it was listed as 'gold punchmarked pagoda of an unknown ruler of the Paramāras of Vidarbha'.⁷⁷

Another specimen appeared in Todywalla auction 28, lot 71, (now in the collection of Śri Govindaraya Prabhu) where it was attributed to the Chālukyas.⁷⁸ Meanwhile, the third specimen was published by Śri P.P. Kulkarni in an issue of JAINS (Vol-XIX-XX, 2005).⁷⁹

According to Śri P.P. Kulkarni the above coins were issued by Viśāladeva, the son of Virdhavalā, who was on the main Chālukya (Solanki) throne of Gujarāt in AD 1245.⁸⁰ Four stone inscriptions and a copperplate charter of this king are known so far, ranging in dates from vs 1308 to 1347 (AD 1251 to 1260). Viśāla was an ambitious young man and had to struggle with all his neighbouring kings soon after occupying the throne. His military exploits are related in his Kadi grant dated vs 1317 or AD 1260, as seen above where he is mentioned as submarine fire to dry up the ocean of the army of Singhaṇa, one who was the hatchet for cutting the roots of the creeper-like turbulent gout of the king of Medapata i.e. Mewād. To study the warfare of Viśāla with each of these kings, first we take Singhaṇa the Yādava emperor who was to his immediate south and who is known to have invaded Gujarāt on at least two occasions. The first of these invasions was under the command of his Brāhmana general, Kholeśvara, and was very successful, as we learn from Singhaṇa's Ambe inscription of vs 1276 or AD 1219 and again in AD 1238, under Kholeśvara's son Rāma, who was killed. This is the victory of the Chālukyas (Solanki) mentioned in the Kadi charter. The war was continued during the reigns of Krishna and Mahādeva and the final defeat of Viśāladeva is noted in the Paithan copperplate of Rāmachandra.⁸¹ But there is hardly any reference about 'Viśāladeva' having come to Marāthawādā or Vidarbha and issued the coins. Moreover, the typology of the coin is similar to coins of Jagadekamalla of the Western Chālukyas, which predate Yādava coins in terms of numismatic typology and chronology.

Besides the above information, a reference to another Viśāla is available from the Western Chālukyan inscriptions of Someśvara II and Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna:

- 1) The Kakhandki inscription (Bijāpur Tāluka, Bijāpur district during the reign of Someśvara II, dated Śaka Era 991, corresponding to AD 1069) introduces an officer named Madhuvarasa, who was the 'Kannada-sandhivigrahi' and 'Dandanāyaka' of the king. He bears a number of epithets among which 'Viśālar-ankusa' is noteworthy. Evidently he acquired the title after success in some conflict with his adversary, named Viśāla. From another epithet of Madhuvarasa, viz., 'Chālukya-rājya-abhyudaya-karana' it may be gathered that he played an important part in firmly establishing Western Chālukya suzerainty, apparently by quelling the disturbances which occurred during this period.⁸²
- 2) Mallikārjuna was the eldest of the four sons of Vikramāditya VI (the other three being Jayakarṇa, Someśvara III and Tailapa). Although he was the eldest prince he did come to the throne and must have died when he was Yuvarāja. His inscriptions discovered so far range from AD 1082 to 1123. Attention may also be drawn here to the two titles borne by him. i.e. 'Mālava-bala-balahaka-samiranam' (Hebbal inscription,⁸³ Bāgewādi Tāluka, Bijāpur district, during the reign of Vikramāditya VI, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 20, corresponding to AD 1095) and 'Viśāla-roya-kuvara-jivadandam' (Dindavar inscription,⁸⁴ Bāgewādi Tāluka, Bijāpur district, during the reign of Vikramāditya VI, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 35, corresponding to AD 1112).

Earlier researchers had identified these 'Viśālaraya' with (a) Viśāla of the imperial Chahamana dynasty (who married Rajadevi, a daughter of the Paramāra king, Bhoja I)⁸⁵ (b) prince 'Viśāla' of the Jalor branch of the Paramāra dynasty⁸⁶ respectively, since these were the only princes of that name known to them who had flourished during that period. But from the available records of these two rulers there is no information available regarding any conflict with the Western Chālukyas. Hence there is the possibility of the existence of another Viśāla, who was a strong adversary of the Western Chālukyas. From the three inscriptions mentioned above it is known that the Western Chālukyas fought at least two battles with him, under the generalship of Madhuvarasa and Mallikārjuna. Regarding the recent numismatic finds, it is possible that the same 'Viśāla' issued coins on the Western Chālukyan pattern, which are known from Vidarbha. However, his connection with the Paramāra house is still unproven. It is possible that, if the two epithets of Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna refer to Western Chālukyan conflicts with the rulers of Mālwā i.e. Paramāras ('Mālava-bala-balahaka-samiranam') and the defeats of Viśāla ('Viśāla-roya-kuvāra-jivadandam') are interrelated, then 'Viśāla' may have some relationship with the Paramāra house. The known dates of this ruler from the above inscriptions are AD 1069 and 1112.

It is interesting to note that the date of defeat of Viśāla is recorded before AD 1112 and, during the same year, Jagaddeva gave a grant to a temple at Dongargāon in Vidarbha. The earlier inscriptions of Jagaddeva are known from Andhra Pradesh, and the Dongargāon inscription could be the earliest available (dated) inscription of Jagaddeva in Vidarbha-Marāthawādā. Here, we would like to put on record that one coin of Viśāla is reported from Yeotmāl and, earlier, seven coins of Jagaddeva were reported from the same place. Yeotmāl is not far from Garh Chāndur and Chanākhā.

All the coins of 'Viśāla' were minted using the punchmark technique, which was popular among the early mediaeval south Indian dynasties. As already noticed by Śri Kulkarni, the pattern of these coins is very close to the issues attributed to Jayasimha, alias Jagadekamalla I (AD 1018-1040) of the Western Chālukya dynasty.⁸⁷ The devices on the coins are a highly stylised lion made out of dots and lines punched at the centre, a stylised old Kannada syllable representing 'Śri' struck twice, and a typical linear figure described variously by numismatists as a spearhead, a flame and temple representation etc. Within the linear figure or temple the Nāgari syllable 'Vva' or 'Gha' is seen. The temple is flanked by several small dots in a row on the left side and the last dot at the bottom forms the head of an anthropomorphic figure (it has a dot in the centre representing the head and two upside down 'V'-shaped parts denoting the hands and feet). This depiction is fairly akin to the human figure found on coins of Jagaddeva. As this typology is very close to Western Chālukyan issues, the period of issue of these types of coins is estimated as 11th century AD. The coins of the Western Chālukyas bear inscriptions in 'old Kannada' script but the coins of Jagaddeva and Viśāla bear 'Nāgari' legends. There are three subtypes of these coins which are listed as under.

A) Gold Punch-marked coins of Viśāla, Subtype - F.1:

Coin no F.1.1: Gold; size: 18 mm, weight: 3.40 g, findspot: Yeotmāl

Obverse: Highly stylised lion made out of dots and lines punched at the centre; stylised old Kannada syllable representing Śri struck twice, and a typical linear figure described variously by numismatists as a spearhead, flame and temple representation etc. Within the linear figure or temple the Nāgari syllable 'Vva' or 'Gha' is seen. The temple is flanked by several small dots in a row on the left side and the last dot at the bottom forms the head of an anthropomorphic figure. One mark containing the Nāgari legend 'Śri Viśāla'

Reverse: Blank



B) Gold Punch-marked coins of Viśāla, Subtype - F.2:

Coin no F.2.1: Gold; weight: 3.42 g. (Ex-Todywalla auction, auction # 28, lot # 71)

Obverse: Same as above, one mark containing Nāgari legend 'Viśāla'.

Reverse: Blank



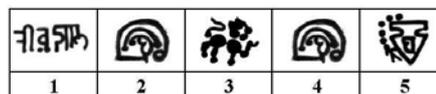
Coin no F.2.2: Gold; size: 18mm, weight: 3.80 g.

Obverse: Same as above, one mark containing Nāgari legend 'Viśāla'.

Reverse: Blank



(After Śri Prashant Kulkarni)

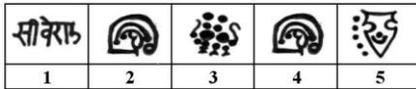


C) Gold Punch-marked coins of Viśāla/ Verāha, Subtype - F.3:

There is one coin of this variety in a private collection and one coin appeared in Baldwins Auction No. 40 (lot no 626) where it was listed as a 'Gold Punch marked Pagoda of unknown ruler of the Paramāras of Vidarbha'.⁸⁸ These coins bear a highly stylised lion made out of dots and lines punched at the centre facing left, a stylized old Kannada syllable representing Śri struck twice, and a typical linear figure described variously by numismatists as a spearhead, flame and temple representation etc. Within the linear figure or temple a crescent with a small dot can be seen. The temple is flanked by several small dots in a row on the left. There is a punchmark containing the Nāgari legend 'Śri Verāha' or 'Śri Viśāla' (in corrupt form)



Gold punchmarked coin; Baldwin's Auction 40, lot 626
(courtesy: Baldwin's Auctions)



1 to 4 were acquired from a single place, i.e. Yeotmāl, and it is possible that they were in circulation in that or the surrounding region. The detailed metallic analysis and comparative graphical representation is given as under:

12) Some interesting silver coins of uncertain issuers with human figures

Here we would like to introduce some silver coins which are similar to the coins of Bhojadeva Paramāra discussed earlier. The obverse of these coins bear a crude figure of a lion advancing to the right with its tail and front paw raised, and the reverse has a Nāgari inscription. This inscription is surrounded by a beaded border and a dot in the centre represents the head forming part of the border with two upside down 'V'-shaped parts denoting the hands and feet. As both the coins have only one syllable on them, it is difficult to attribute them. Coin no G.2.1 was found with a lot of Bhojadeva Paramāra's coins from Paunār.



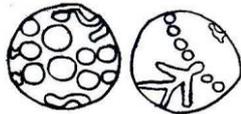
The most important feature of these coins is their find spot and the typical human figure, which is similar to that on the coins of Viśāla. However, the significance of the human figures on these coins is an unsolved enigma. There are two coins of this type and they are described below.



Coin no G.1.1: Silver; size: 9.0 mm, weight: 0.90 g.
Obverse: Crude figure of lion advancing to right with its tail and front paw raised.
Reverse: Nāgari syllable 'Am', encircled by beaded border and a dot forming the head of a human figure with two upside-down 'V'-shaped parts denoting the hands and feet.



Coin no G.2.1: Silver; size: 9.0 mm, Weight: 0.80 g.
Obverse: Same as above.
Reverse: same as above but there is a Nāgari syllable 'Ka', encircled by a beaded border

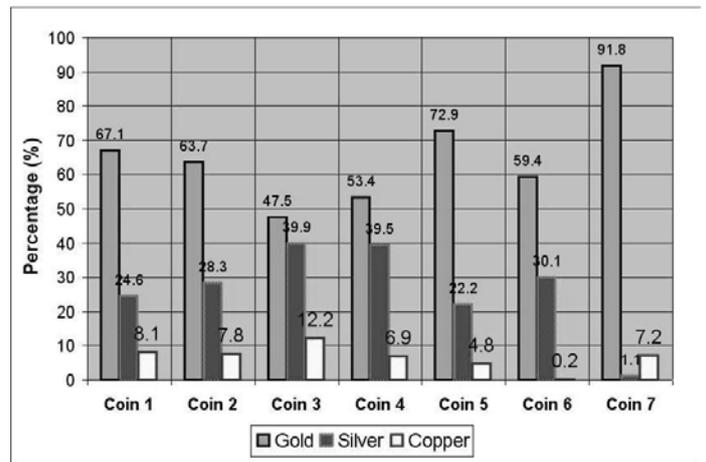


Coin no G.3.1: Silver; size and weight not available.
Obverse: Same as above.
Reverse: same as above, the Nāgari legend is illegible

13) Analysis of gold coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra and Viśāla

We got some coins of Jagaddeva Paramāra and Viśāla analysed to find out their metallic composition. We are indebted to Mrs Varsha Sharma and Śrī Subhash Sharma for providing the coins and undertaking the analysis. We could compare the percentage of gold and found it ranging from 47.5% to 67.1% in the case of Jagaddeva's coin whereas it is 53.4% in Viśāla's case. This is significantly less than the Chālukyan issues of Jayasimha Jagadekamalla (72.9%) and Yādava Bhillama V (91.8%). Coins

Coin No	Name of Collection	Gold %	Silver %	Copper %	Karat
1	Paramāras of Vidarbha : Jagaddeva (Coin # JP.1.1)	67.1	24.6	8.1	16.1
2	Paramāras of Vidarbha : Jagaddeva (Coin # JP.1.2)	63.7	28.3	7.8	15.3
3	Paramāras of Vidarbha : Jagaddeva (Coin # JP.1.3)	47.5	39.9	12.2	11.4
4	Anonymous Dynasty : Viśāla (Coin#V.1.1)	53.4	39.5	6.9	12.8
5	W.Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi: Jayasimha Jagadekamalla (Coin#J.1.1)	72.9	22.2	4.8	17.5
6	Kākātiyas of Wārangal (Coin#K.1.1)	59.4	30.1	0.2	14.3
7	Yādavas of Devagiri : Bhillamadeva (Coin # BY.1.1)	91.8	1.1	7.2	22



14) Appendix - III: Details of other gold coins used for the analysis

The other gold coins used for the metallurgical analysis were from the collection of Śrī Subhash Sharma, Nāgpur, and these are illustrated below.



Coin no J.1.1: Western Chālukyas : Jayasimha II - Jagadekamalla (AD 1015-1043). Gold punchmarked coin, size: 21.1 mm, weight: 3.73 g.
Obverse: Uniface flan with punchmarks: lion standing left, temple with pellet in annulet, two Śrī, and "Jaga" in Kannada
Reverse: Blank
 Reference: Mitchiner, Karnataka - Āndhra-273 var,⁸⁹ K Ganesh - Karnataka Coins: Type 5.18 var.⁹⁰



Coin no K.1.1: Kākātiyas: Rāyāgajakesari (13th century), gold punchmarked coin, size: 16.5 mm, weight: 3.57 g.

Obverse: Boar in centre, eight punches around

Reverse: Blank

Reference: P.V.P.Shastry Type 1-52 (Suddala Hoard)⁹¹



Coin no BY.1.1: Yādavas of Devagiri: Bhillama V (AD 1185-1193) gold Padmatanka, size: 17 mm, weight: 3.75 g.

Obverse: Uniface flan with punchmarks: central lotus blossom, two Śrī, elephant, conch, and “Bhillamadeva” in Devanāgarī above; arrow right

Reverse: Blank

Reference: Chattopadhyaya 347;⁹² K Ganesh – Karṇataka Coins: Type 7.30 var⁹³.

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- 4) Prashant Kulkarni, Nāgpur : D.2, E.1 and F.2.2
- 5) Subhash Sharma, Nāgpur: JS.1, JP.1.1, JP.2.1, JP.2.2, D.5 to D.16 (12 coins), E.2, E.3, G.2.1, J.1.1, K.1.1 and BY.1.1
- 6) Rajesh Somkuwar : F.1.1 and Amol Bankar : D.1

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- 13) Op cit 9.
- 14) Op cit 9.
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- 16) Op cit 9.
- 17) Op cit 9
- 18) Op cit 6.
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- 82) Archaeological Survey of India (1968): *Bombay Karṇataka Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Published by Archaeological Survey of India, Government of India, New Delhi, Also see Inscription No. 74.
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- 88) Baldwin's Auctions, Auction 40, Auction date - May 3rd, 2005, Lot number: 626, Paramāras of Vidarbha, Gold Punchmarked Pagoda, unknown rule, The lot remained unsold.
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- 90) K. Ganesh (2007): *Karṇataka Coins*, Published by K Ganesh, Bangalore, Pp 45.
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- 92) Op cit 55, Pp 283-284.
- 93) Op cit 90, Pp 65.

ŚIVA CURSING APASMĀRAPURUŠA ON A HUVISHKA COIN

By Osmund Boppearachchi & Wilfried Pieper



This short notice deals with a bronze coin of Huvishka (weight 15.70g, dimension 27mm) revealing a hitherto unknown reverse type which can be a landmark of Śiva iconography of the



Kushān period.

Obv. King holding *aṅkuśa* riding an elephant to right. Part of the legend visible.

Rev. Six-armed, ithyphallic Śiva standing frontally, head to left, right lateral head of antelope to right, holding in his lower left hand a *kamaṅḍalu* (water pot), in the middle left hand a *triśūla* (trident), in the upper left hand an unidentified object and in the lower right hand a *vajra* (thunderbolt) or most probably a *paraśu* (battleaxe), in the middle right hand the *akṣamālā*, and in the upper right hand an unidentified object. In the field to the left under the lower right hand is a *gana*-like figure in a squatting position, his back turned to the god.



The most important characteristic of this coin is the presence of Śiva with the small figure whom we consider as the depiction of Apasmārapuruṣa, the demon of ignorance cursed by Śiva. According to the episode described in the sacred texts when rīṣis, wild with rage against Śiva, the seducer of their wives, discharged snakes, an Apasmārapuruṣa, a *paraśu*, a bull, a lion and a tiger.¹¹⁸ The lion and the tiger were killed by Śiva and their skins were worn by him as garments. In the fight, Śiva trampled Apasmārapuruṣa under his feet. In conventional iconography this creature is depicted as a foot-stool.¹¹⁹ Śiva (Natarāja) dancing in ecstasy on the burning ground with great glee is depicted with his slightly bent right leg placed upon the back of the Apasmāra. The demon of ignorance trodden by Śiva has his head on the right side and his legs on the left side of the god. He is normally depicted

¹¹⁸ See T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, 4 vols, Madras, New Delhi 1914 (reprint) 1997, vol. 2, part 1, pp. 113-4.

¹¹⁹ See J.C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent*, New Haven and London (2nd ed.). 1994, p. 309, fig. 243 and A.-M. Loth, *Védisme et hindouisme images du divin et des dieux*, Paris, 2003, p. 121, fig. 99.

playing with a snake with face pointing downwards or looking up. Furthermore, the Apasmārapuruṣa is made according to the *chatustāla* measurement and with three bends in his body. In the sixth variety of dance, Śiva is depicted with six arms; one of the right hands in the *abhya* pose and the remaining right ones carrying the *damaru*, *vajra*, *śūla*, *pāśa*, *taṅka*, *daṇḍa* and a snake.¹²⁰ It is not impossible that Śiva depicted on the coin under discussion holds in the two upper hands two of the following attributes: *damaru*, *pāśa*, *taṅka*, *daṇḍa* or a snake. However, the reverse type of the coin of Huvishka has nothing in common with the well-codified medieval Hindu iconography.

It should be emphasized that we are confronted here with a syncretic deity, prior to the polarisation and codification of symbols of later Hindu iconography where each god is equipped with stereotypical attributes. This is one of the main features of the earliest iconography of Brahmanical deities in India during the Kushān period before the phase of polarisation or codification.¹²¹ The engraver has not attempted to create an image of the Śiva punishing Apasmārapuruṣa based on passages in the sacred texts. This unorthodox iconography, as compared to other images which do conform to the letter descriptions formulated in the holy texts, is more freely engraved. The engraver seems to have enjoyed some independence in a growing cosmopolitan atmosphere created by the politics of the Kushāns.

The earliest depiction of Śiva punishing Apasmārapuruṣa so far attested prior to the Huvishka coin belongs to the Kunindas struck most probably during the post-Amoghabhuti period:



Obv. Three headed Śiva holding a *daṇḍa* seated with both legs resting upon a crouching figure of Apasmārapuruṣa. To the right, a figure standing.

Rev. Deer standing to right in front of a female figure.¹²²

With the rise of the Kushāns as the predominant power of northern India, the Amoghabhuti coinage probably ceased and seems to have regained its sovereignty only with the fall of the Kushān kings. Although the iconography of this Kuninda coin has very little to do with traditional Hindu art, the Apasmāra with the raised head and his legs stretched towards the left side of the god could be seen as precursors of the codified medieval Hindu iconography.

When the Kushāns were reaching their apogee, cultural interactions with the Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian worlds in these frontier regions gave birth to a progressive Indianisation. This transitional period was characterised by composite images and innovative attempts seen on coin types and in plastic art. These efforts are the results of a multitude of interactions taking place in a region where civilisations from diverse horizons merged at the crossroads of Central Asia and North-West India. These unusual images would eventually give way to the more strictly regulated and codified iconography of later Indian art where textual descriptions were carried out with scrupulous accuracy.

¹²⁰ T.A.G. Rao, vol. II, p. 254.

¹²¹ This important characteristic is studied in detail in two recent articles in the light of new evidence, see. O. Bopearachchi, « Les premiers souverains kouchans : Chronologie et iconographie monétaire », *Journal des Savants*, January-June 2008, pp. 3-56 & “Kushāns and the Earliest Depictions of Brahmanical Divinities in Gandhāra” in the forthcoming proceedings of: *A Pantheon Rediscovered Changing Perceptions of Early Historic India ?*, University of Yale., 18 - 20 April 2008.

¹²² W. Pieper in O. Bopearachchi & W. Pieper, *Ancient Indian Coins*, Brépols, Turnhout, Belgique, 1998, *Indicopleustoi*, pp. 49-50 ; 146 types 6 & 7.

REDISCOVERY: A UNIQUE DYNASTIC COIN OF RUDRADAMAN AS RAJA OF THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS IN GUJARAT

By Dr Alexander Fishman

The last major study on the silver coinage of the Western Kshatrapas of Gujarat was “Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kshatrapas” by A. Jha and D. Rajgor in 1994. Since the publication of Jha's and Rajgor's work, there have been numerous developments in the field. Several new types have been discovered, the regnal dates and royal titles of some rulers have been revised and at least five previously unknown rulers have been identified. This article is concerned with a re-reading of the inscription of a previously known coin of Rudradaman (issued with a title of “Raja”) as a unique and fascinating dynastic type, mentioning not only his father but also his grandfather, Chaṣṭana.

Rudradaman was the son of the little known Kṣatrapa, Jayadaman, and the grandson of the powerful Mahakṣatrapa, Chaṣṭana, and was one of the greatest rulers of the Kṣatrapas in Western India. He was associated with his grandfather, Chaṣṭana, at least for some time before Chaṣṭana's death in 52 or 53 Saka Era (SE) (AD 130). However, it is thought that he bore only the title of Raja and not of Kṣatrapa.



Rudradaman is mentioned alone for the first time in the Andhau inscription dating (most likely) to SE 53 (AD 131), which was probably the first year of his sole rule. Rudradaman's ascension could not have been easy – he is described as “Raja” on the inscriptions dated to the years SE 52 (AD 130) (when he was ruling jointly with his grandfather Chaṣṭana), SE 53 and SE 63 (AD 141), but in a Girmar inscription dating to SE 72 (AD 150) he bears the title of Mahakṣatrapa, along with a boast that he had “given the title to himself”. The last year of Rudradaman's reign that is known with certainty is AD 150, but it is likely that Rudradaman continued to rule for several years more.

Copious silver coinage was produced in the name of Rudradaman. A total of four different types of his coins are known – a (previously) unique old-style coin where his title is given as Raja,¹²³ a unique old-style coin with the inscriptions in pure Sanskrit,¹²⁴ and numerous coins showing two very distinct styles (“old” and “new”) with slightly different inscriptions. The old style coins¹²⁵ (coin 1 in the figure below) is of cruder, older style, and is somewhat similar to some coins of Chaṣṭana and Jayadaman. The common coins¹²⁶ in the “new style” (coin 2 in the figure below) are very similar to the later coins of Rudradaman's successors. The inscriptions are almost identical on both types.



Coin 1: Common drachm of Rudradaman as Mahakṣatrapa in early style

¹²³ R.Senior's “Indo-Scythian Coins and History” (2004) (abbreviated here as ISCH), #325.1D; A.Jha/ D.Rajgor's “Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas” (abbreviated here as SCWK) (1994), #249.

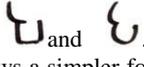
¹²⁴ ISCH 325.2D; SCWK -.

¹²⁵ ISCH 325.3D; SCWK 250-264.

¹²⁶ ISCH 325.4D; SCWK 265-277.

The inscriptions on this type are very crude – much cruder than the Brahmi inscriptions on the “normal” issues of Rudradaman. The letter “Jño” is engraved in a different manner every time it

appears on this coin: . The first two variations of this engraving do not appear on other known silver Kṣatrapa issues. The other letter that makes a unique appearance on this coin is “Pau”. Since the top left corner of this letter is struck off-flan, the entire letter cannot be seen. Its shape can be extrapolated from the partially obscured letter on this coin, and from the shape of this letter as it appears on various contemporary inscriptions. The Gunda inscription¹²⁹ of Mahakṣatrapa Rudraimha I (son of

Rudradaman) shows “pau” as . The Andhau inscription¹³⁰ of the same ruler shows a simpler form of this letter as . The Gadha inscription¹³¹ of Rudradaman’s grandson,

Rudrasena I, shows the letter as . On this coin the letter appears as , but it is impossible to assess the extension of the left bar of the “U”, because the letter is struck off flan.

After combining the reverse inscriptions of the two coins, the only three letters that remain obscured are “JeYaDa” (from about 5 to 6 o’clock). However, the lower portions of these letters are clear and can be read with certainty. Furthermore, these letters are part of Rudradaman’s patronymic, which is not in contention.

The interpretation of the reverse legend is straightforward – “Raja Rudradaman, son of Raja Jayadaman, grandson of Raja Chaṣṭana”, but it is without precedent on any coins of the Western Kṣatrapas. The word “pauṭra” (“grandson”), though never seen on coins, is often encountered on various inscriptions and parallels many known Kṣatrapa-related rock inscriptions. The famous Junaragh rock Sanskrit inscription of Rudradaman,¹³² which is dated to SE 72 (AD 150) and which is the last known written lifetime record of this ruler, gives the full name and title of Rudradaman as “...*Svami Chaṣṭanasyapauṭrasya Rājñah Ksatrapasya...svami Jayadamnahputrasya Rājño mahakṣatrapasya... Rudradamno...*” The inscription on this new coin parallels the Junagarh rock inscription using Brahmi hybrid language instead of Sanskrit. This use of the name of Chaṣṭana on the inscriptions of his descendants is not unique – Rudrasimha I lists himself as *prapauṭrasya* (“great-grandson”) of Chaṣṭana in the Gunda inscription¹³³ and on the Andhau inscription mentioned above (though there the name of Chaṣṭana is not visible). Chaṣṭana is also mentioned on an inscription of his *putra papauṭrasya* (“great great-grandson”) Rudrasena I and on the inscriptions of his other royal descendants as remote as the late third century Mahakṣatrapa Bhartrdaman.

The Andhau inscription of Chaṣṭana and Rudradaman is dated to SE 52 (AD 130) and is repeatedly “signed” by both Chaṣṭana and Rudradaman with the title of Raja, omitting their additional titles of “Kṣatrapa” or “Mahakṣatrapa”: “...*Rājño Chaṣṭanasa Ysamotikaputrasa Rājño Rudradamasa Jayadamnahputrasa...*” The updated reading of this coin, taken in parallel with the Andhau and other inscriptions, negates the supposition that Rudradaman reigned (possibly jointly with his grandfather) with a title of Raja *only*, without the additional titles of a Kṣatrapa or Mahakṣatrapa. Thus, it is not possible to conclude that Rudradaman carried only the “Raja” title. It is more likely that the additional titles of Rudradaman (which possibly included “Kṣatrapa” if he reigned jointly with Mahakṣatrapa Chaṣṭana) were simply omitted for lack of engraving space.

To summarise, this coin is the first silver drachm of the Western Kṣatrapas that does not mention the title of a “Kṣatrapa” or “Mahakṣatrapa” and lists the name of the grandfather of the

ruler as well as the name of his father. The inscription on this coin is radically different from those of the normal coins of Rudradaman, and the significance of the issue is not clear. Chaṣṭana was the founder of the kingdom and perhaps the greatest of its rulers. Perhaps the inclusion of Chaṣṭana in the inscription was an attempt to emphasize Rudradaman’s impressive dynastic pedigree.

GOLD COINS OF THE YADAVA RULER, SINGHANA III, AND HIS CONSORT, KĀMWALADEVI

By Dr Padmakar Prabhune

Introduction

The Yadavas of Devagiri ruled over extensive parts of the medieval Deccan from the middle of the 9th century AD up to the early half of the first quarter of the 14th century AD. Initial feudatories under the imperial Chalukyas and the Kalachuris, the Yadavas steadily grew into a large regional kingdom during the 12th and 13th centuries, subduing and absorbing other ‘splinter kingdoms’ like those of the Shilaharas of north Konkan and south Maharashtra, and the Kadambas of Goa. The dynasty reached its apogee under the rule of Singhana II (AD 1210-1247). During the reigns of his successors, the Yadavas fought relentless battles with the Hoysalas of Dorasamudra, the Paramaras of Dhara and the Kakatiyas of Warangal. The capital of the Yadavas during the centuries of its prominence was located at Devagiri, modern Daulatabad in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra State, hence the name. The dynasty fell when it succumbed to the invasions by the armies of the Sultans of Delhi, thus heralding Islamic rule in the South.

Gold punch-marked coins of this dynasty are well known to numismatists – as they have a prominent punch of a six-petal lotus, they are often called ‘Padmatankas’ (‘Lotus-marked’). Apart from the gold issues, the Yadavas also struck small silver coins. The credit of bringing these to light goes to Dr A. M. Shashtri. At present, we know of coins of Seunachandra II (silver), Bhillama V (gold & silver), Singhana II (gold & silver), Mahadeva (gold & silver), Krishna alias Kanhara (gold & silver), Amana (gold & silver) and Ramachandra (Ramadeva) (gold & silver)¹³⁴.

The Last of the Yadavas

In comparison to the imperial Yadavas, the history the Yadavas in their twilight is obscure. The turning point came when, in AD 1296, Malik Gurshasp, the nephew of the sultan, Jalāl al-Dīn Firūz Khiljī of Delhi, invaded Devagiri, the Yadava capital, during the rule of the Yadava ruler, Ramachandra a.k.a. Ramadeva.¹³⁵ The details of this first ever Muslim invasion of the Deccan are gathered from Perso-Arabic sources, most important of which is the *Tārīkh-i-Firishtā* by Muhammad Qasim ‘Firishta’, written in the early 17th century and translated by Capt John Briggs in the early 19th century as ‘The History of the Rise of Mohammedan Power in India’. Another important source of information is the *Futūh-us-Salātīn* or *Shāhnāmāh-i-Hind* by Abd al-Malik ‘Isami, written in 1350.

According to these sources, the Turks caught Ramadeva unaware, besieged him and inflicted a heavy defeat on the Yadavas. The Yadava army, so it seems, had been away from the



¹²⁹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVI, p.235

¹³⁰ Sambodhi, Vol. 3, No.2-3, p.46

¹³¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XVI, p.238

¹³² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. VIII, p.43

¹³³ Epigraphia Indica, Vol XVI, p.235

¹³⁴ Chandra Shekhar Gupta has added Singhana I and Jaitugi I to this list with the remark that their ‘coins have come to light recently’, vide *Nidhi*, Vol. II, Indian Coin Society, Nagpur, 2007, p.91, note 22.

¹³⁵ Shrinivas Ritti, *The Seunas (The Yadavas of Devagiri)*, Karnatak University, Dharwad, 1973, p. 188.

capital on a campaign under the command of one of Ramadeva's sons. The prince rushed back to the aid of his father but, before he could reach Devagiri, Ramadeva capitulated and agreed to be the Sultan's vassal, paying him a colossal tribute. Brigg's translation of Firishta gives the name of this prince as 'Shunkul Dew'¹³⁶, but Isami describes him as 'Bhilam'.¹³⁷ Subsequent historians have taken 'Shunkul Dew' to stand for 'Shankara Deva'. Malik Gurshasp returned to the north with his booty, which he subsequently utilised to oust his uncle and proclaim himself as Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh in 1298.

Ramadeva died in 1312 and was succeeded by a son who proved recalcitrant to the Khiljī rule and stopped paying the tribute. 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad retaliated by sending his general, Malik Kāfūr, against the rebellious Yadava king. Isami describes the king to be the 'accursed Bhilam'.¹³⁸ He further adds that when Bhilam knew about Kāfūr's advance, he fled and while Kāfūr re-established control over Devagiri, he 'neither killed nor captured anybody'. Firishta does not mention the name of this king, but adds that he was put to death by Kāfūr. So far as the Deccan is concerned, Firishta's account then jumps six years to 1318, where he describes the rebellion of 'Harpal Dew', the son-in-law of Ramadeva, and the bloody end he met at the hands of Qutb al-Dīn Mubārak, the successor of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Khiljī.

Who succeeded Ramadeva?

Recently an inscription of a king named 'Singhana', dated AD 1316 and describing the king with typical Yadava epithets, was discovered at Kamati, near Solapur. It shows that a king named 'Singhana' succeeded Ramadeva and he ruled at least up to 1316. As two kings named 'Singhana' are known to have preceded him in the lineage, this Singhana was correctly ascribed as Singhana III.¹³⁹ The discovery of the inscription of Singhana thus throws up a conundrum – following Firishta, standard works on Yadava history continue to mention the name of the successor of Ramadeva as 'Shankara Deva', whereas the inscription mentions his name as 'Singhana'.

The issue of the name of Ramadeva's successor was resolved after a close and careful examination of sources related to the last epoch of the Yadavas, by M. S. Wabgaonkar who put on record that the original name of the son of Ramachandra was 'Singhana' and not Shankara Deva.¹⁴⁰ In a contemporary Marathi literary work belonging to the canon of the heterodox Hindu 'Mahanubhava' sect, the name of the son of Ramadeva or Ramachandra is also mentioned as 'Singhana'.¹⁴¹ Why then, one would wonder, is there this confusion between 'Singhana' and 'Shankara'?

According to Wabgaonkar, the source of this confusion is traced to another mention of the prince found in a poetic work by Amir Khusraw Dehlawi, the courtier and administrator of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khiljī, who was also a virtuoso musician, poet and a renowned Sufi. It is named 'Āshiqā' or 'Deval Rānī wa Khizr Khān'. Here Khusraw describes the story of princess Dewal Rani, the daughter of the king of Gujarat, who was promised in marriage to the son of Ramadeva but whom the Khiljī sultan married off to his own son, Khizr Khān. In this work, the name of the Yadava prince betrothed to Deval Rani is mentioned as 'Sanghana', or 'Sankhana'.¹⁴² Ostensibly written as سنګهن , it can be easily seen how this word can be misread as 'Sankhal', 'Sankal', or 'Sankar'

¹³⁶ *History of the rise of Mahomedan Power in India*, Vol I, First edition London 1829, reprint Calcutta, 1966, p.172

¹³⁷ *Futuh-us-Salatin or Shah Namah-i-Hind of Isami*, ed. Agha Mahdi Hussain, Aligarh Muslim University, 1977, pp. 402-404.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.514-515.

¹³⁹ A.N Kumbhar, 'Mahamandaleshwar Singhanadeva (Tertiya) Yacha Kamti Shilalekh' in *Samshodhan Taranga* (Marathi), Navabharat Prakashan Samstha, Mumbai, 1988.

¹⁴⁰ See - *Vidarbha Samshodhan Mandal Varshik*, Vol. 13, the Journal of Vidarbha Sanshodhan Mandal, Nagpur, 1970, pp. 161 – 170.

¹⁴¹ S.G. Tulpule (ed.), *Smritisthala* (Marathi), Anmol Publications, Pune, 1990, pp. 47-48.

¹⁴² vide Sayyad Atahar Abbas Rizvi (ed.), *Khalji Kalina Bharat* (Hindi), Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1955, p.172.

(alternatively 'Shankhal', 'Shankal' or 'Shankar'), particularly in the absence of proper diacriticals (*nuqtas* and *shoshas*), as is often the case with handwritten Persian manuscripts. Equally, it is evident how the same word can be read as 'Singhana'. As we have already noted, in his translation of Firishta, Capt. John Briggs spelled it as 'Shunkul Dew.' It is worth adding that 'u' was often used in Victorian transliterations to denote the short 'a' sound so as not to confuse it with the long 'ā'. Briggs' name, therefore, needs to be rendered as 'Shankal Deva'. From this it is easy to see how successive historians took the name to be 'Shankara Deva'!

Gold coins bearing the names of Singhana and Kāmwaladevi

The type of gold coins being discussed here can be illustrated and described as follows:

Obv: Three symbols placed vertically in a row – from left, an ornamented conch shell or 'Shankha', a sword with a straight blade pointing upwards and an ornamental wheel or 'Chakra'. The shell and the wheel are well known attributes of Vishnu and thus emblems for the Vishnu-worshipping or 'Vaishnava' sects of Hinduism. The ornamentation seen here accentuates their cultic importance.

Rev: Legend in Devanagari in three lines –

Sri Si(n)gha
Na Ka(m)va
La Devi

Bracketed letters indicate the addition of *anuswara*, or a phonetic nasal 'accent', placed as a dot on the top of respective characters. Two images (fig.1 and fig.2 respectively) illustrated here are taken from Baldwin's Auction 46 (Hong Kong), 2 April 2009, lot 1090 and Auction 47 (London), 25 Sept 2006, lot 942. But similar coins exist in the collections of Messrs K V Pandit and S M Oak of Pune, where I had the opportunity to study them in person. An image, comprising an obverse and two different reverses of coins from these collections is also appended here (fig.3).



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

This type of coin has been known to numismatists for a while.

The following table lists its previous publications and attributions:

No	Description	Attribution	Author	Publication
01	Gold, Pagoda, 11 mm, 3.80 g Provenance – Bombay.	Kampilyadeva	Michael Mitchiner	<i>The Coinage and History of Southern India, Part I, Karnataka – Andhra</i> , London, 1998.
02	Gold coin, 11 mm, 3.8 g ;	Seuna Singhana Deva II & Kanchaladevi	A. V. Narasimha Murthy & M. Nityananda Pai	Studies in South Indian Coins, Vol. XIII, 2003, pp. 42 – 44.
03	Gold	Yadava Simghana & Queen Kānchaladevi	K. Ganesh	<i>Karnataka Coins</i> , Bangalore, 2007, p.66, coin no. 7.7.
04	Gold, 3.8 g., 11mm.	Kāmwaladevi Queen / Singhana I (Simharaja)	Dr Chandra Shekhar Gupta	<i>Nidhi</i> , Vol.II, Indian Coin Society, Nagpur, Oct. 2007.
05	Gold, 3.8 g, 12 mm	Kampilyadeva	Govinda Prabhu	http://prabhu.50g.com/southind/kampili/south_kampili.html

It is evident that the reverse of the coins bear an inscription which has two parts, one is ‘Singhana’ preceded by the honorific ‘Sri’, which is obviously a male name. The second part is the name ‘Kāmwala’ followed by the appellation ‘Devi’, indicating reference to a female. Judging by the contents of the table above, we see that past attempts of attributing these coins have resulted from arbitrarily assigning primacy to one of these individuals.

Mitchiner and, following him, Govinda Prabhu, regard the coins to have been issues of a certain ‘Kampilyadeva’, presumably the Nayaka of Kampili. The basis of this attribution is taking the latter part of the attributive legend as primary. On the other hand, Murthy & Pai, Ganesh and C S Gupta, treat the first part of the legend as primary. They recognise the coins as issues of a ‘Yadava Singhana’, treating the second part of the legend to stand for the name of his queen.

There are three major aspects which go against the attribution of these coins to ‘Kampilyadeva’. Firstly, this attribution completely disregards the mention of ‘Sri Singhana’ in the legend. Secondly, it takes the part that reads ‘Kāmwala’ as ‘Kampilya’. This is quite clearly a misreading. And thirdly, the second name clearly ends with ‘Devi’, which is a feminine ending. This becomes inexplicable when we regard the issuer to be ‘Kampilyadeva’, a man! In view of these discrepancies, the attribution of these coins to Kampilyadeva must be ruled out.

Murthy & Pai, Ganesh and Gupta give primacy to ‘Sri Singhana’ in the legend and attribute the coins to ‘Yadava’ (or ‘Seuna’, as per Murthy & Pai) Singhana. Murthy & Pai, and, following them, Ganesh read the inscription as ‘Kānchala Devi’ rather than ‘Kāmwala Devi’. But it may be pointed out on the basis of epigraphic evidence that, during the Yadava period, the character ‘Ch’ was inscribed as an angular projection attached to a vertical shaft. The second character in the second line of the reverse inscription very clearly has a semicircular line attached to the vertical shaft, which evidently stands for a ‘W’ and not a ‘Ch’. I have not come across a character with an angular projection on any of the coins I have consulted, so I would plead for reading the legend as ‘Kāmwala Devi’ and not ‘Kānchala Devi’. C S Gupta also concurs with the ‘Kāmwala Devi’ reading¹⁴³.

There is no doubt about the Yadava origins of these coins as the characters in the legend are exactly similar to those seen on other Yadava coins and inscriptions. Apart from inscriptional similarities, there are other contextual indicators that these are Yadava coins. They include –

1. It is interesting to note that the phonetic sign for the addition of an ‘é’ to the letter ‘D’ to give ‘De’ in ‘Devi’, is indicated by extending it to the left and downwards from

the top of the ‘D’. Epigraphically, this is known as an *Akshara mātrā* as opposed to *Prshṭha mātrā*, where the addition sign remains above the character. The use of *Akshara matra* is very typical of the Yadava period.

2. The Vaishnava symbols of Shankha and Chakra allude to the issuer’s religious leanings. It is worth noting that other Yadava coins prominently bear the lotus mark, also an attribute of Vishnu. The occurrence of other Vaishnava symbols on these coins thus fits in well with Yadava religious propensities. The Yadavas claimed clan links with the mythical ‘Yadu’ lineage, in which Vishnu became incarnate as Krishna.
3. Below the inscription on the reverse is a decorated shaft. This also occurs on most other Yadava coins below the name of the king. Although it has been taken to stand for a *Rājadanda* (royal sceptre), it is very likely that it is yet another Vaishnavite symbol – that of the club or *mūsala*, an attribute of Balarama, the brother of Krishna and another incarnation of Vishnu into the ‘Yadu’ lineage.
4. A textual corroboration comes from the *Dravya Pariksha* of Thakkura Pheru which lists coins by their contemporary nomenclature. Here we find mention of coins called ‘Kauladevi’¹⁴⁴. This is evidently a reference to ‘Kāmwaladevi’
5. The provenance of these coins is interesting. Dr Gupta has reported that such a coin was unearthed from the excavations at Purana Qila, Delhi.¹⁴⁵ The same coins have been reported from the Hastinapur excavations.¹⁴⁶ Both these archaeological sites are not far from the Khiljī capital in Delhi. It would not be unjustified in commenting that these coins must have reached Delhi as part of the Yadava tribute or possibly as part of the plunder that reached the Khiljī capital after the eventual fall of Devagiri in 1318.

Attribution of the coins to Singhana III, the successor of Ramadeva

As more than one king named ‘Singhana’ are to be found in the Yadava lineage, a it is necessary to ask to which of these rulers named ‘Singhana’ do the coins need to be attributed? As we have seen in the table above, past publications are not equivocal about it. Murthy & Pai and, following them Ganesh attributed them to

¹⁴⁴ G.H. Khare, ‘Dravyapariksha of Thakkura Pheru – A study’, JNSI, Vol. XXVIII, Pt.I, 1966, pp. 25- 37.

¹⁴⁵ Chandra Shekhar Gupta, op.cit., p.79.

¹⁴⁶ Shailendra Bhandare, in personal communication.

¹⁴³ Chandra Shekhar Gupta, op.cit., pp. 81-82.

Singhana II while C. S. Gupta attributed them to Singhana I. In my view -

1. Singhana I was a feudatory and not an independent ruler, so he is unlikely to have issued a gold coin with a powerful statement of authority, such as the legend mentioning not only him but his queen as well.
2. Most gold coins contemporary to Singhana I and II were punch-marked – indeed the technique survived well during the sovereign rule of the Yadavas. Coins of Singhana II (AD 1210 – 1247) have been identified and they are mainly of Padmatanka type. The name of his queen was Jetadevi¹⁴⁷ and no queen named Kāmwaladevi is known to be associated with this Singhana. In any case it seems implausible that Singhana II would have struck coins in association with any other queen, apart from the one who he was crowned with, i.e. his ‘chief queen’.
3. The earliest instance of using the die-striking technique during the Yadava rule comes from the reign of Krishnadeva or Kanhara. Coins of this type are very rare and are published by Chandra Shekhar Gupta¹⁴⁸. It is noteworthy that, like the coins of Singhana and Kāmwaladevi, coins of this type, too, bear the name of Lakshmi, the queen of Krishnadeva. Thus, considering the type and minting technique of this coin, it appears to be a later issue, possibly later than the reign of Krishna, rather than earlier.

Thakkura Pheru’s text, which we have discussed above, describes the ‘Kauladevi’ coins in a verse contextually aligned with descriptions of other Yadava coins like the issues of Bhillama, Singhana, Kanhara, Mahadeva and Ramadeva. This makes it amply clear that the ‘Kauladevi’ coins may not have been removed far in time and space in terms of their issue from coins of these other kings. It is therefore more plausible to regard them as the issue of Singhana III.

Acknowledgements

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RECLAIMING ‘ROYALTY’: THE EARLIEST MARATHA COINAGE IN THE NAME OF A MUGHAL EMPEROR

By Shailendra Bhandare, University of Oxford



Introduction

In the late Mughal - Early Modern period of Indian history, it is not often that a group of coins turns up and forces us to rethink and re-investigate processes and events long-engrained in ‘textbook histories’. But the case discussed here is an important example of this.

A majority of these coins may have come from a hoard, and first turned up in the Mumbai market

around 1999. They have subsequently been steadily trickling in small parcels and also as individual pieces both into Western and Indian markets. The early arrivals were said to have come from

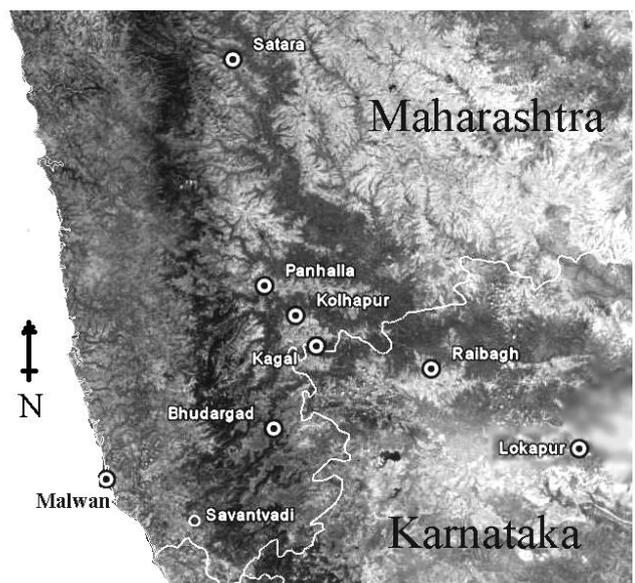
¹⁴⁷ Brahmanand Deshpande, *Devagiriche Yadav* (Marathi), Samartha Publication, Aurangabad, 1975, p.125.

¹⁴⁸ ‘Gold Coins of Two Yadava Queens’ in *Nidhi*, Vol. II, Indian Coin Society, Nagpur, 2007, pp. 89 -90.

Gokak, a town in the Belgaum district of Karnataka so it is likely that the hoard had been found somewhere close by. Most of them are struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar and dated to his RYs 2 to 6. A few coins are also struck in the name of Muhammad Shah, dated to his RYs 2 and 3. The mints they represent are:

1. Panhalla – inscribed with and without epithet ‘Qil‘a’ and also as ‘Qil‘a Nabishāh Durg urf Parnāla’
2. Kolapur – with additional location descriptor ‘Sarkār Raibāgh’, and without it
3. Malwan – with epithet ‘Bandar’
4. Kagal – with additional location descriptor ‘Raibāgh (?)’
5. Bhudargad
6. Satara – with epithet ‘Qil‘a’
7. Lokapur

All coins, excepting one, are silver rupees. Some mints have been represented better in recent parcels while some are of much less frequent occurrence – indeed a couple are unique coins. All the mints are located in a small geographic tract located in the south-western corner of Maharashtra-Karnataka borderlands (see map).



The dates on these coins make it clear that they were struck at a juncture when the region had ceased to be a part of the Mughal Empire for almost a decade and the Marathas had been in charge. So it will be best to describe these coins as ‘quasi-Mughal’ issues struck by the Maratha authorities. It will be worthwhile to describe the coins to begin with. They are described by mint and a small historical and topographical introduction is given for each mint town. After the coins have all been described, we will proceed to the historical analysis.

Description of the coins by mint

1. Panhalla

The hill fort of Panhalla is located to the north-west of Kolhapur city. It is situated 2700 feet above sea-level, although, from Kolhapur, the ascent is only 700 feet. Bhoja I, a 12th century king of the Shilahara dynasty ruling at Kolhapur is credited with fortifying it for the first time. However, the area surrounding it is steeped in antiquity – minor groups of cave temples, dated to the Early Historic period (c. 1st-2nd century AD) are found in the vicinity of Panhalla. Noteworthy amongst them is the Parashar cave located in the same hill as the fort and also a group at the far end of the Mesai plateau, which lies to the immediate north-west of the fort. Shilahara inscriptions refer to the fort as *Padmanāla Durga*, while a late *purānic* text named ‘Karaveera Purāna’, describing the ‘antiquity’ of the region describes it as *Pannagālaya*, or ‘Eagle’s Nest’.

The Shilahara kingdom was absorbed into the empire of the Yadavas of Devagiri in the mid-13th century. The latter, in turn, succumbed to Islamic conquest in the early 14th century. The area around Panhalla was briefly under the control of the Delhi

sultanate, and then the Bahmani sultanate of Gulbarga. The latter fragmented into regional Deccani sultanates in the 16th century and Panhalla passed under the rule of the ‘Ādil Shahi kingdom of Bijapur.

In the mid-17th century, the area witnessed a regional resurgence in Shivaji’s ‘nation-building’ activities. Panhalla was captured by Shivaji soon after he killed the ‘Ādil Shahi general, Afzal Khan, in 1659. But in early 1660, another ‘Ādil Shahi general named Siddi Jauhar renewed the pursuit and Shivaji was besieged at Panhalla. He staged a daring escape to the hill-fort of Vishalgad on a stormy night in July 1660 leaving Baji Prabhu Deshpande, his trusted commander, to guard the escape route. Baji Prabhu was killed in a battle with the ‘Ādil Shahi army as he stalled its advance at a narrow mountain pass near Vishalgad, until his master Shivaji reached safety at the top of the fort. The battle has since been celebrated as a Maratha equivalent of the battle of Thermopylae. Panhalla was then retaken by the ‘Ādil Shahi forces.

The ‘Ādil Shahi sultans retained Panhalla until 1673, when a mere sixty of Shivaji’s men managed to recapture it. The fort fell to the Mughals in 1689, but the Marathas won it back in 1692. It remained under Maratha control until 1702, when Aurangzeb’s army wrested it once again. At this juncture, Panhalla was renamed ‘Nabishāh Durg’ by Aurangzeb. In 1705, the fort became the principal seat of Tara Bai, the widow of Chhatrapati Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji. In the years following Aurangzeb’s death in 1707, Panhalla became embroiled in the tussle between Shahu and his aunt, Tara Bai, to gain legitimacy over the Maratha dominion or ‘Swarajya’. But we will examine this phase in detail when we come to the historical analysis.

The coins of Panhalla mint listed here are struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah. In coin legends, the Marathi name ‘Panhalla’ is Persianised as ‘Parnālā’. This form is also seen in Farsi documents such as letters, chronicles and newsletters or *akhbārāts*. Its resonance is also to be found in the title of a Sanskrit poetic work entitled ‘*Parnāl-parwata-grahana-ākhyāna*’, written by Jayaram Pindye, a poet patronised by Shivaji, that describes its capture by the Marathas.

Coins of Farrukhsiyar are of three types: one has the mint-name ‘Qil’a Nabishāh Durg ‘urf Parnālā’; another has it only as ‘Parnālā’ while the third has ‘Qil’a Parnālā’. Of the last, two varieties based on how the reverse legend is placed can be discerned, while one of the varieties can be further divided into two sub-varieties, depending on the arrangement of the obverse legend. Between these types, varieties and sub-varieties, the coins bear AH dates 1130, 1131 and 1132. Also interesting to note is the fact that coins of Type 3/Variety1/Subvariety 2 and Type3/Variety2 coins in the name of Farrukhsiyar, as well as coins in the name of Muhammad Shah, omit the word *sanah* to the right of the word *julus* on the reverse and bear no RY details as a consequence.

Coins in the name of Muhammad Shah bear ‘Qil’a Parnālā’ as the mint-name and are ostensibly of two ‘styles’. One of them is die-linked through the reverse die with a coin bearing the name of Farrukhsiyar and at least a couple have been noted to be die-duplicates. This fact, combined with the narrow date range seen on issues in the name of Farrukhsiyar, leads us to infer that the issue of coins at Panhalla was a short-lived event. The coins may be described as follows:

Coins struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar

Type 1: Mint-name ‘Qil’a Nabishāh Durg urf Parnālā’

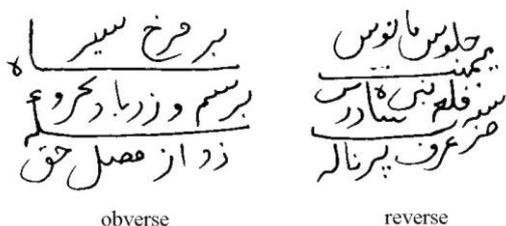
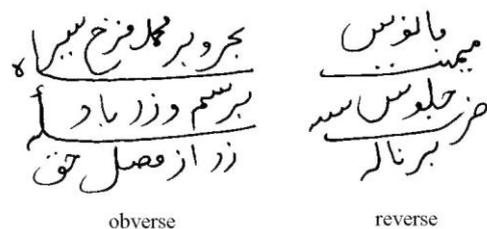


Fig. 1

Obverse: couplet with the name of Farrukhsiyar in three lines: *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sīm-wa-zar / bādshāh baħr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar*. The word *sikka* forms the second divider and *fazl* is inscribed in the third line. The date 1130 is seen below *fazl*.

Reverse: legend in three lines (*mānūs julūs maimanat*)/ (*sanah*) *qil’a nabishāh durg / (zar)b (ur) fparnālā*

Type 2: Mint-name ‘Parnālā’



obverse

reverse



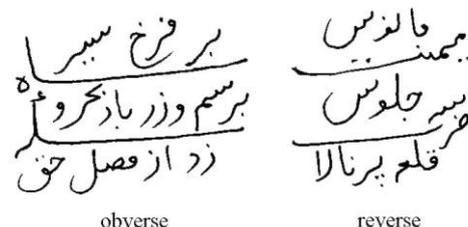
Fig. 2

Obverse: couplet with the name of Farrukhsiyar in three lines: *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sīm-wa-zar / bādshāh baħr-wa-bar muħammad farrukhsiyar*. The word *sikka* forms the second divider and *fazl* is inscribed in the third line. The date 113(0) in placed in the second line. ‘Muħammad’ is added before the emperor’s name.

Reverse: legend in three lines *mānūs / maimanat / julūs (sanah) / zarb parnālā*

Type 3: Mint-name ‘Qil’a Parnālā’

Variety 1: mint-name inscribed as a single line on the reverse
Sub-variety 1: obverse legend similar to Type 1, with *fazl* in the third line and *sikka* as the divider



obverse

reverse



Fig. 3

Obverse: couplet with the name of Farrukhsiyar in three lines: *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sīm-wa-zar / bādshāh bar-wa-bar farrukhsiyar.*

Reverse: Formulaic 'Julūs' legend in three lines – *mānūs maimanat/ sanah julūs/ zarb qil'a parnālā*
Date recorded – 1130 (1131?) on obverse below *fazl*.

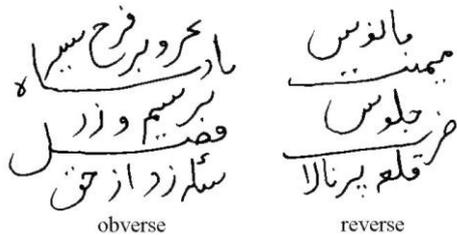
Coin 2



Fig. 4

Same as above but date truncated. Traces of RY5 are seen to the right of *julūs*.

Sub-variety 2: obverse legend arranged differently, with *fazl* forming the second divider and *sikka* in the third line.



Coin 1



Fig. 5

Obverse: couplet with the name of Farrukhsiyar in three lines: *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sīm-wa-zar / bādshāh baḥr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar.*

Reverse: Formulaic 'Julūs' legend in three lines – *mānūs maimanat/ julūs/ zarb qil'a parnālā*

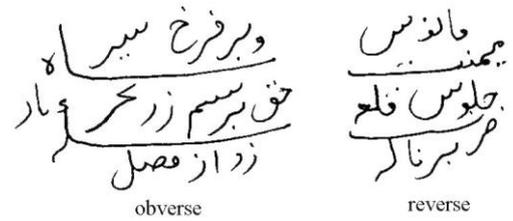
Coin 2



Fig. 6

Same as above but traces of a date in the bottom left field

Variety 2: mint-name in the reverse legend inscribed in two lines



Coin 1



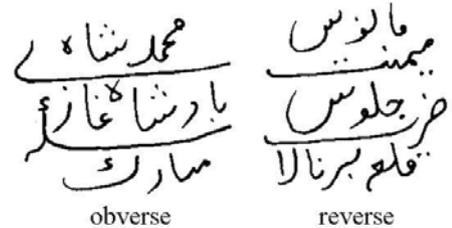
Fig. 7

Obverse: couplet with the name of Farrukhsiyar in three lines: *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sīm-wa-zar / bādshāh baḥr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar.*

Date 11(3?)2 inscribed at 7 o'clock.

Reverse: Formulaic 'Julūs' legend in three lines – *mānūs maimanat/ julūs qil'a/ zarb parnālā*. The epithet *qil'a* is inscribed in the second line to the left of *julūs*.

Coins struck in the name of Muhammad Shah



Coin 1



Fig. 8

Obverse: legend in three lines – *sikka mubārak / bādshāh ghāzī / muḥammad shāh*

Reverse: Formulaic 'Julūs' legend in three lines – *mānūs maimanat/ julūs/ zarb qil'a parnālā*

Truncated AH date 113X to the right of *muḥammad* on the obverse.

Coin 2



Fig. 9

Obv and Reverse: Same as above. Note the similarity between the execution of the reverse die with the coin in the name of Farrukhsiyar illustrated as Fig. 5 above.

Coin 3 (Fig. 10)



Fig. 10

Obverse and Reverse: same as Coin 1, but of a different execution.

2. Kolhapur

Kolhapur, located 16.7°N 74.22°E, is the headquarters of a district of the same name located in the south-western corner of modern Maharashtra State. It is a prominent cultural and religious centre, famed for its cuisine, local industry and also the shrine of Amba Bai, one of the most revered centres of ‘mother goddess’ worship. Locally, Kolhapur is also known as ‘Karaveer’.

The history of the area around Kolhapur goes back to the Early Historic period. Brahmपुरi, located on the banks of the Panchaganga river on the outskirts of the modern city, was a prominent urban centre in the 1st-2nd centuries AD, ruled by the Kura dynasty. Excavations at Brahmपुरi yielded several artefacts, including a famous bronze statuette of Poseidon, of Alexandrian workmanship. In the medieval period, Kolhapur became the seat of the Shilahara dynasty, who initially were feudatories under the Chalukyas of Kalyani, but subsequently became independent. Bhoja I, the Shilahara ruler, is credited with fortifying many forts in the region stretching northwards of Kolhapur, including Panhalla, Vishalgad, Rangna, Chandan-Vandan, Satara.

In days prior to Indian independence, Kolhapur was a small princely state, ruled by Maratha rulers of the ‘Bhonsla’ family who held the title ‘Chhatrapati’ and traced their descent to Shivaji. They were often referred to as ‘Karaveer’ or ‘Karaveerkar Chhatrapatis’. Due to this eminent lineage, in spite of being a small state, Kolhapur was awarded the position of a 19-gun salute state in the hierarchy of Princely India. The Chhatrapati of Kolhapur headed a ‘court’ comprising the heads of several small fiefdoms or ‘Chief-ships’ in the region, who owed allegiance to him. The factors leading to the establishment of Kolhapur state are discussed further when we deal with the historical analysis.

The coins minted at Kolhapur listed here are in the name of two Mughal emperors, Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah. Those in the name of Muhammad Shah have the mint-name as ‘Kolapur’ and similar coins have already been illustrated by Ken Wiggins and KK Maheshwari in ‘Maratha Mints and Coinage’ (Nasik, 1989), p. 65. The date/RY combinations they list are 1132/3 and 1139/8 (illustrated as T1). Wiggins and Maheshwari describe the coins they list as an ‘isolated issue’ and further remark that ‘no other coins of this type from this mint are known’. The coins listed hereunder have 1132/2, thus bringing the date of the issue earlier by a year.

Coins bearing the name of Farrukhsiyar are being noted here for the first time. They have a mint-name that reads ‘Kolāpūr Sarkār Raibāgh’. The word ‘Sarkār’ denotes an administrative subdivision. Conceivably, it acts as ‘descriptor’ to indicate where the place it describes was located. ‘Kolāpūr Sarkār Raibāgh’ would thus mean ‘(the coin struck at) Kolāpūr, located in the administrative subdivision of Raibāgh’. But the legend is arranged in a peculiar way on the coins (see illustrations) – ‘Raibāgh’ appears in the second line above the ‘Zarb’ separator, while ‘Kolāpūr’ and ‘Sarkār’ appear in that order below the ‘Zarb’. The legend could thus also be read ‘Raibāgh Sarkār Kolāpūr’ with the descriptor ‘Sarkār’ standing with ‘Kolāpūr’. It could thus mean ‘(the coin struck at) Raibāgh, located in the administrative subdivision of Kolāpūr’. Indeed, in most instances where coins of

this type have been offered in auction catalogues, they are described as of ‘Raibāgh’ mint, treating ‘Kolāpūr Sarkār’ as the location descriptor. How would we interpret the order of the words in such a case, to ascertain which of the two place-names separated by ‘Sarkār’ is the mint-name and which is the ‘location descriptor’?

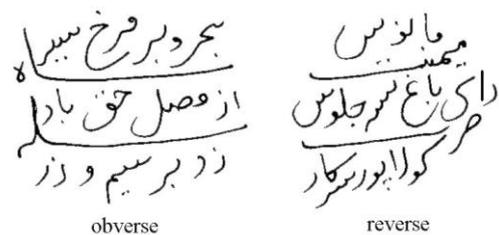
The evidence comes from archival sources. It is a Marathi article, *Swarājyāchi Sanad*, by Dr P N Deshpande, published in *Samshodhaka*, the journal of the ‘Rajwade Itihas Samshodhan Mandal’ (Year 70, Vols 2-3-4, June-Sept-Dec 2002, pp. 79-116), an institute dedicated to historical research and situated at Dhule in Maharashtra, and founded in memory of V K Rajwade, a doyen of Maratha history. It is the translation of a Farsi charter entitled ‘Mahal Raj Kadeem’ (Divisions of the Old State), one of the several papers in the V K Rajwade collection which the institute now owns.

It is a well known historical fact that the Marathas were given charters to collect revenue in the six Deccani provinces by the Mughal Emperor in 1719. The paper published by Dr Deshpande deals with how these provinces were subdivided, who was in charge, in what office of administration and at which place. It also includes a breakdown of the sums of revenue and the specific shares it was collected as. These details are full of ‘location descriptors’ employed to denote places which were administratively important as forts, seats of *jagirs*, or ‘market towns’. ‘Sarkār Raibāgh’ indeed features as an administrative subdivision, covering tracts as far north as ‘Kararabad’ (modern Karad, situated about 60 km north of Kolhapur). The mention of ‘Kolāpūr Sarkār Raibāgh’ features on p. 116. However, the document is not free from errors committed by the person who transliterated it from Farsi into Marathi. There are instances where the word ‘Raibāgh’ has been misread as ‘Ranibagh’. This mistake can easily happen if the word is inscribed in Farsi as two separate words – ‘Rai’ راي and ‘Bāgh’ باغ, as indeed occurs on the Kolhapur coins.

This reference makes it amply clear that the legend on our coins should be construed as ‘Kolāpūr Sarkār Raibāgh’ and not the other way round. The place where these coins are minted is thus ‘Kolāpūr’ and not ‘Raibāgh’.

Having ascertained this, let us proceed to the descriptions of the coins. Coins bearing RY3, 4 and 6 are known, but a point to be noted at the outset is that coins of RY3 and RY6 bear a very close similarity in execution and it is, therefore, likely that RY6 is actually RY2 engraved retrograde.

Coins in the name of Farrukhsiyar



obverse

reverse



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

Obverse: legend in three lines - *sikka zad az fazl-i-ḥaḡ chu sīm-wa-zar / bādshāh baḥr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar*

Reverse: Formulaic 'Julūs' legend with mint-name added, arranged in three lines.

RYs recorded – 3, 4, and 6 (possibly a retrograde 2)

Coins in the name of Muhammad Shah

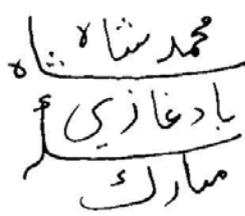
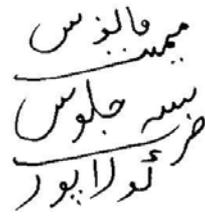
 <p>محمد شاه بانه باد غازی ع مبارک</p>	 <p>میمنه فالوزس سسه جلوس ظر گد لاپور</p>
obverse	reverse



Fig. 16



Fig. 17

Obverse: legend in three lines – *sikka mubārak / bādshāh ghāzī / muḥammad shāh*. AH date placed in lower left hand field, after the word 'Mubārak'.

Reverse: Formulaic 'Julūs' legend with mint-name added, arranged in three lines - *mānūs maimanat / sanah julūs / zarb kolāpūr*

Date/RYS recorded – 1132/2, -/3, -/5 (not illustrated here), 1139/8 (vide KKM-KW, p.65)

3. Malwan

Malwan is a town located 16° 05' N, 73° 46' E on the Konkan coast, in the Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra State. It is the headquarters of a *taluka* and also a port of some historical importance. By far the most significant historical monument at Malwan is the formidable sea-fortress of Sindhudurg, situated on a rocky island a kilometre off the coast. This fort was built by Shivaji in 1664-65. Construction began in November 1664, financed mainly by the plunder brought home from Surat, the wealthy Mughal port that Shivaji sacked earlier that year. It took three years to finish and the fort is spread over 48 acres (190,000 m²) with a two-mile (3 km) long rampart, and walls that are 30 feet high and 12 feet thick. Strategically designed and located to assert Shivaji's naval might between Janjira to the north and Goa to the south, Sindhudurg is described by a contemporary chronicler as a veritable 'Lanka' (alluding to the *Ramayana* epic), created by Shivaji to 'defy the eighteen foreign communities who were regarded as the Lords of the Sea'. After Shivaji's demise, Malwan and the Konkan coast was briefly wrested by the Mughals, but soon became an important outstation in the nascent kingdom of the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis..

No coins minted at Malwan are known either before or after the issues described here. Three coins are illustrated and the mint-name they carry is 'Bandar Malwan', ostensibly alluding to the fact that it was a sea-port. All of them bear the name of Farrukhsiyar and his 2nd RY. One of the coins has an additional curvy line before the word 'Bandar'. It is not certain if its inclusion denotes a word, or is it purely ornamental. If it is a word, it could be rendered as 'Tar', meaning a 'a short boat-ride' in Marathi. 'Tar Bandar' would then mean a port from where such a crossing can be facilitated. This rendering would befit Malwan's character as a port facilitating the short crossing to the fort of Sindhudurg. The coins are described as follows:

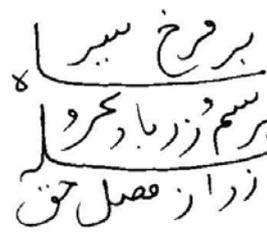
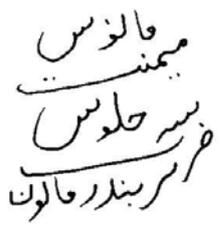
 <p>بر مخ سیرا برسم زر باد محروم ذر از فصل حق</p>	 <p>میمنه فالوزس سسه جلوس ظر سربندر مالوک</p>
obverse	reverse



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

Obverse: legend in three lines - *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sim-wa-zar / bādshāh baḥr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar* arranged as shown in the accompanying illustration. The execution of the inscription is of an inferior quality.

Reverse: Formulaic 'Julūs' legend with mint-name added, arranged in three lines - *mānūs maimanat/ sanah julūs/ zarb (tar?) bandar mālwan*

4. Kagal

The small town of Kagal (pronounced 'Kaa-gal') is located 16.58°N 74.32°E, about 30 km to the south-east of Kolhapur city, in the Kolhapur district of Maharashtra. During pre-independence days, Kagal was the seat of a 'chief-ship' or fiefdom, ruled by the members of the Ghatge family, who owed allegiance to the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. In 1768, the family was split into two branches namely Kagal Senior and Kagal Junior. The history of the family dates back to the 16th century when the founder, Piraji Rao Ghatge, received the titles 'Zunzar Rao' and 'Sarje Rao' ('Valiant' and 'Lion-like' – the latter being a Marathi corruption of Farsi *Sharza*, or lion). He was granted 69 villages around Kagal in *jagir* by the Bahmani sultan. The family subsequently aligned themselves with successive political authorities to safeguard their 'nested rights' and eventually came to be subordinated to the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis. In 1826, the British government, mediating through a treaty signed with the Kolhapur Chhatrapati, helped sequester the family's rights to 41 out of the original 69 villages.

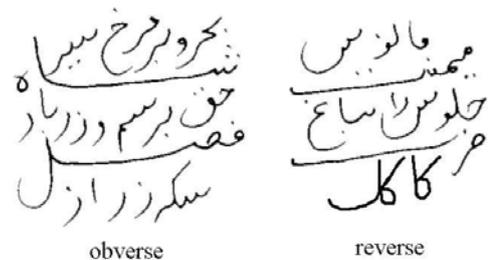
Although ruling only as *jagirdars* or 'fief-holders', the family were considered 'high-status' Marathas and had matrimonial links with many prominent Maratha families such as the Bhonslas, the Sindhias and the Gaikwads. Rajas Bai, the second queen of Chhatrapati Rajaram and a lady who figured in a major event in the course of the political history of Kolhapur state (see further in the historical analysis), was from the Ghatge family of Kagal. Baija Bai, the ambitious wife of Daulat Rao Sindhia, was also née Ghatge. In late 18th–early 19th centuries, two members of the family, namely Sarje Rao and Hindu Rao, played a significant role in Gwalior politics. In the late 19th century, Yeshwant Rao Ghatge of Kagal Senior was adopted into the Kolhapur Chhatrapati

family. He succeeded as Chhatrapati Shahu IV and ruled 1884–1922. He is famous as one of the 'enlightened' princely rulers, and a champion of improved status for the socially underprivileged classes.

Wiggins & Maheshwari list Kagal as one of the Maratha mints, quoting earlier references by Prinsep and M G Ranade (see pp. 62–63 of 'Maratha Mints and Coinage', Nasik, 1989). They quote Ranade to suggest that 'the mint at Kagal was established at the time of Shambhu, (Raja of Kolhapur, 1812–21)'. It is not certain if the bracketed detail is Ranade's information, or whether it is Wiggins & Maheshwari's take on what Ranade mentions. 'Shambhu' is the Sanskritised version of the name 'Sambhaji'. There were two rulers named 'Sambhaji' in the Kolhapur lineage – one ruled 1714–1760 and the other 1812–1821. If we take it that Ranade's original reference mentioned only 'Sambhaji', it could mean any of the two Sambhajis. Indeed, if it were the earlier Sambhaji, the coins being described here would fit Ranade's reference. However, either Ranade or Wiggins & Maheshwari following him, seem to have taken the mention to stand for the latter Sambhaji, as indicated by the bracketed details.

Three coins bearing the mint-name Kagal are recorded here – all are struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar. In the second line of the reverse, there is a word after 'Julūs'. It is executed rather crudely so that its reading is unclear. One possibility is that it is 'Raibāgh' but written as a single word as رايباغ, and not as two separate words, باغ and راي. The 'ر' is placed inside the 'س' of 'Julūs' and is further ornamented with tufts coming out of its top. 'Raibāgh' in the second line thus would appear to be a 'location descriptor'.

Judging by the evidence offered by the 'Divisions of the Old State' document (vide supra) this is indeed a plausible option because we do find mention of Kagal as 'Kagal Sarkār Raibāgh' in that document. However, in instances where it has been transliterated in Marathi, it has been erroneously done as 'Ranibagh' instead of 'Raibāgh'. This is ostensibly because, in the document, the word 'Raibāgh' must have been written as two separate words, unlike on the coins and, in this form, it is easy to mistake it to stand for 'Ranibagh'. The reverse of coin 3 (fig. 23 below) is, however, very different. Instead of 'Raibāgh(?)' after 'Julūs' we see a meaningless squiggle followed by something that looks like an ornamental mark. It is worth noting that, while coins 1 and 2 are obverse die duplicates, coin 3 has a different execution and presumably struck from inferior silver. It is likely that it was struck later than coins 1 and 2. The coins can be described as follows:



obverse

reverse

Coins 1, 2 and 3



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

Obverse: legend in three lines - *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sim-wa-zar / bādshāh baḥr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar* arranged as shown in the accompanying illustration.

Reverse: Formulaic ‘Julūs’ legend with mint-name added, arranged in three lines - *mānūs maimanat/ (sanah) julūs raibāgh (?)/ zarb kāghal*

5. Bhudargad

Bhudargad is a *peta* (administrative subdivision) located in Radhanagari *taluka* of Kolhapur district of Maharashtra State, about 50 km to the south-west of Kolhapur city. The hill-fort of Bhudargad is situated on top of a hill near Patgaon village. It was presumably one of the forts fortified by the Shilahara king, Bhoja, in the 12th century, but very little information is available about the fort during medieval times. Shivaji repaired its fortifications in 1667. A holy man named Mouni Maharaj, one of Shivaji’s spiritual gurus, resided at Patgaon and he frequented the fort for this reason.

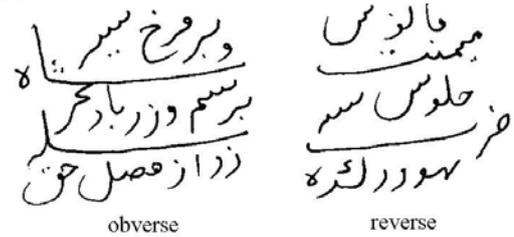
The Mughals laid siege to Bhudargad in 1690-91 but it was relieved by a local feudal family loyal to the Marathas (cf. A.G. Pawar, ‘Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, 22nd session, Peshawar, 1945). During the late 1690’s the fort witnessed further fights between the Mughals and the Marathas. In one of these skirmishes, a Mughal commander is said to have been killed in action. The Marathas captured his colours and donated them to a temple situated on the fort. All through the 18th century, Bhudargad remained under the control of the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis.

In the late 18th century, Bhudargad became involved in the wrangling between the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis and the Peshwa’s henchmen, namely the Patwardhans and the Desai of Nipani. Partly as a result of such political uncertainties, Kolhapur entered into treaty relations with the British in 1812. In 1844, a rebellion against the British garrison broke out at Bhudargad and the nearby fort of Samangad. It was quelled by the rapid action of forces under the command of General Delamotte. The fort was subsequently dismantled. The ‘Bombay Presidency Gazetteer’s ‘Kolhapur’ volume describes Bhudargad as a “bluff rock thirty-six miles south of Kolhapur. It is 2600 feet from north to south and 2100 feet from east to west, and is enclosed by a broken stone and mortar wall with two gateways. Within it 170 people live in thirty-three houses, ten of them tiled and the rest thatched’. In addition to this small habitation, the fort also has three shrines, namely Kedarling, Bhairav and Jakharubai”. The Gazetteer also mentions that “...besides a mansion belonging to the State, a large granary with an excellent courtyard and a cistern built at a cost of Rs. 5000, the chief object of interest is the temple of Bhairav which is about 3000 feet square and consists of a stone and cement shrine, a hall, and a northern veranda. In front of the hall stands a stone and mortar lamp-pillar”. A large freshwater lake, referred to by

locals as ‘Mothe Taley’ (‘Great Lake’) dominates the large plateau atop the hill-fort.

The coinage of Bhudargad mint is being brought to notice for the first time here. Like Malwan, the mint here seems to have functioned very sporadically – nevertheless, it is the only one of these mints from which we know of a gold mohur as well as a silver rupee being struck. Both coins are unique in their own right and clearly struck with dies displaying totally different execution and legend arrangements, particularly for the reverse. No date is seen on the rupee, but the mohur bears traces of 1129 at 6 o’clock. No RY is seen on either coin, but on both coins it is placed to the left of ‘Julūs’ on the reverse and traces of ‘2’ can be made out on the rupee. Also, the mint-name is inscribed differently on both coins – on the mohur, it is ‘Bhudarga(rh)’ whereas on the rupee it is ‘Bhudargh(ar)’. The coins are described as follows:

1. Mohur



obverse

reverse

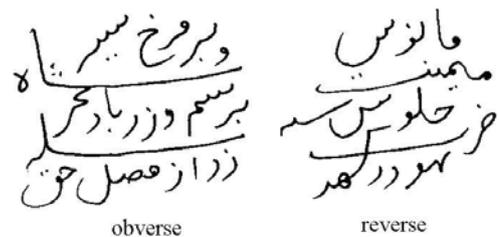


Fig. 24

Obverse: legend in three lines - *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sim-wa-zar / bādshāh baḥr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar* arranged as shown in the accompanying illustration. Date 112(9) placed below ‘fazl’ on the obverse.

Reverse: Formulaic ‘Julūs’ legend with the mint-name added, arranged in three lines - *mānūs maimanat/ julūs (sanah)/ zarb bhūdarga(rh)*. A die-imperfection or a badly engraved ornament rests just above ‘bhūdar...’.

2. Rupee



obverse

reverse



Fig. 25

Obverse: legend in three lines - *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sim-wa-zar / bādshāh baḥr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar* arranged as shown in the accompanying illustration.

Reverse: Formulaic 'Julūs' legend with mint-name added, arranged in three lines - *mānūs Maimanat/ julūs (sanah)/ zarb bhūdargh(ar)*

6. Satara

Satara is a city located at 17.68°N 73.98°E, the headquarters of a district of the same name, to the north of Kolhapur district in present day Maharashtra state. Like Kolhapur, it was also a seat of the 'Chhatrapatis', but belonged to the 'elder branch' of Shivaji's house. However, unlike Kolhapur, the line of the Chhatrapatis of Satara did not survive as a ruling house into the age of 'Princely India'.

Not much is known of Satara till 1663, when Shivaji captured the fort located on a scarp adjoining what was then Satara village. The fort at Satara was named 'Ajinkya Tara' ('Unconquerable Star'). Satara came into sudden prominence when Chhatrapati Rajaram, the younger son of Shivaji, based his seat of government there in June 1699 at the behest of Ramchandra Pant Amatya, one of his trusted advisors, during the Mughal-Maratha conflict. (For more details, see further.). Satara was then sacked by the Mughals, but Rajaram escaped to the fort of Simhagad near Pune, where he died in 1700. His widow Tara Bai continued to hold the reins of the kingdom by ruling in the name of her minor son, also named Shivaji.

In 1708, Shahu the claimant to the Maratha throne won over Satara and crowned himself as the Chhatrapati in defiance of Rajaram's widow, Tara Bai. In the war that ensued between these two claimants, the details and outcomes of which we will see in the section dealing with the historical analysis following the description of coins, Satara changed hands a couple of times. But finally, Shahu retained it as his capital, leaving Tara Bai and her faction based at Panhalla and Kolhapur.

Shahu was aided by a line of able and astute prime ministers or 'Peshwas'. Their activities and Maratha expansionism in the latter decades of the 18th century helped evolve a 'Maratha Confederacy' with the 'Chhatrapati' of Satara as a nominal supremo. The Peshwas ultimately became the de facto rulers after Shahu's death in 1749 as successive Chhatrapatis of Satara were weaklings. In January 1818, the Peshwa, Bajji Rao II, was deposed by the British. The ruling Chhatrapati of Satara at the time was Pratapa Simha whom the Peshwa had kept him under his own charge during the years of flight that preceded his final capitulation. After the Peshwa's fall, Pratapa Simha was taken into British custody. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the architect of the Peshwa's defeat, and later the Governor of Bombay Presidency, envisaged a grand British design in legitimacy for the Chhatrapati. A new 'state' was created for Pratap Simha in order to restore and 'rescue' him from the Peshwa's tyranny. Satara was to be the capital of this state. James C Grant Duff, the famous historian of the Marathas, was appointed the British resident at Satara. The Satara state existed until 1848, when, in the absence of a direct male heir, it was annexed to British India, following the infamous 'Doctrine of Lapse'.

As far as coins of Satara are concerned, Wiggins and Maheshwari listed Satara as a Maratha mint, with coins struck bearing the name of Muhammad Shah with the mint-name as 'Satara', and AH 1147 (AD 1734-35, vide 'Maratha Mints and Coinage', Nasik, 1989, p. 94). Subsequent to their publication, coins bearing RYs 8, 12 and 15 have come to light. The earliest date in the reign of Muhammad Shah in which coins were struck at Satara thus stands at 1727-28. However, Wiggins & Maheshwari mention that "a mint is said to have been established at Satara sometime after 1708...but there is no information available to indicate when the first coins were struck". Unfortunately, no reference is given, leaving us in the dark as to the source of this important detail.

A coin of Satara struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar, dated in his RY3 corresponding to 1715-16, is published here. The publication of this rupee thus corroborates Wiggins & Maheshwari's statement. The mint-name on the coin is 'Qil'a

Satāra' and the word 'Satāra' is written with a terminal 'H'. The coin may be described as hereunder –

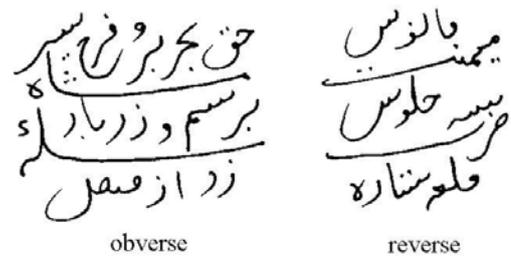


Fig. 26

Obverse: legend in three lines - *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar sīm-wa-zar / bādshāh bahr-wa-bar farrukhsiyar* arranged as shown in the accompanying illustration. Date 11XX placed to the left of 'fazl' on the obverse.

Reverse: formulaic 'Julūs' legend with mint-name added, arranged in three lines - *mānūs maimanat/ julūs sanah 3/ zarb (qil'a) satārah*

7. Lokapur

I published the coin discussed here earlier in JONS 192, in my paper entitled 'The Nawabs of Savanur: History and Coinage'. (p. 33). In that publication, I attributed this coin to the said Nawabs. However, later, I discovered historical information that I was not aware of at the time of the publication. This information comes mainly from Marathi sources (see below) and suggests the attribution should be reconsidered.

Lokapur is a small town situated at 16° 10' N 75° 21' E in the Mudhol taluka of Bagalkot District, Karnataka State. It was part of the erstwhile princely state of Mudhol, bounded partly by the Torgal division of Kolhapur state. Mudhol was ruled by the Ghorpade family, one of the oldest Maratha houses in the Deccan. They first served the 'Adil Shahi Sultanate and then the Mughals, *inter alia* acknowledging the Nizam of Hyderabad as their overlord. Amongst the papers of the Ghorpades of Mudhol, published in the Marathi work *Mudhol Samsthānāchyā Ghorpade Gharanyāchā Itihās* ('History of the Ghorpade House of Mudhol', ed. D V Apte, Pune, 1934), we find two imperial ratifications – one dated 1726 and the other 1736 – confirming the grant of five divisions namely Mudhol, Dhawaleshwar, Machakanur, Jamgah and Lokapur to Piraji Ghorpade, the descendent of Bajji Raje Ghorpade. The first of these charters was issued by Nizam ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I as the Mughal governor of the Deccan, while the second was issued by the emperor Muhammad Shah. Lokapur thus seems to have been a part of the Mudhol territory from the early 18th century.

In 1971, K A Gaikwad published '*Karaveer Sardārānchyā Kaiḥiyati*', an edited Marathi compilation of 'family histories' submitted to the British Indian government by various nobles of the Kolhapur Chhatrapati's court in the years 1845-70, as part of an inquiry into their rights and tenures precipitated by the 1844 rebellion. A reference therein indicates that Lokapur was one of the divisions belonging to the *Saranjam* of Ranoji Ghorpade, the commander-in-chief or 'Senapati' of the Chhatrapati, who was the title-holder between 1735 and 1781. This type of feudal tenure would have meant that Ranoji's family held rights to a share of revenue in Lokapur in lieu of deploying troops towards its safety. Ranoji belonged to the Ghorpade family of Kapshi, a village located to the south of Kolhapur. Whether the Ghorpades of Mudhol and Kapshi were related in any direct way is not known,

but they most likely shared an ancestral stock. The division of Torgal, neighbouring Lokapur, belonged to another noble family of the court, namely the ‘Sena-Khas-Khel’ Shinde Torgalkars.

There is room to believe, therefore, that Lokapur was in the ‘sphere of military influence’ of the Kolhapur Chhatrapatis but it is very doubtful whether they or any of their nobles exercised any direct control over Lokapur. Only a single coin of Lokapur has come to light and it bears the name of Muhammad Shah. It is dated (11)32 and has vestiges of RY2. It is surprisingly similar in execution to the ‘Kolapur’ rupees of Muhammad Shah we have discussed above and the similarity is evident when illustrations of the coins are compared (see figs. 16, 17, and 27 described below). I commented on this similarity in my earlier publication of the coin. However, I am now inclined to think that the similarity is so striking that it appears as if the mint-name ‘Kolapur’ was wrongly engraved as ‘Lokapur’. Such a mistake may sound implausible – however, it can be explained.

The script used by all Maratha regimes to write administrative papers was a running hand or cursive version of Devanagari called ‘Modi’. It is very easy to confuse the letters ‘L’ and ‘K’ in Modi because of the way they are written and it is a common mistake when Modi writing is transcribed into other scripts. To confound matters further, these two come right after each other in the word ‘Kolapur’! It is quite likely that the instruction to inscribe legends on the coins was communicated to the mint in Modi. When the legend was transcribed into Farsi, the common mistake of confusing ‘L’ and ‘K’ must have crept in and the die must have been engraved with the incorrect inscription. This may sound like too many guesses, but we have no other option to explain the striking similarity between the ‘Lokapur’ and the ‘Kolapur’ rupees. The reference suggesting Lokapur was part of a feudal tenure held by a noble family of the Kolhapur court, with no direct rights over owning or controlling it, is too feeble in the face of such similarity. The coin is described as follows:



Fig. 27

Obverse: legend in three lines – (*sikka*) *mubārak /bād(shāh) ghāzī/ (muḥammad shāh)*. AH date XX(3)2 placed in the lower left hand field, after the word ‘*mubārak*’.

Reverse: Formulaic ‘Julūs’ legend with mint-name added, arranged in three lines – *mānūs maimanat/ sanah julūs/ zarb lūkāpūr*. Partly truncated RY2 is seen in the second line.

Historical Context of the Coins

So far we have described coins from six mints, located in close proximity to each other. From the chronological details the coins bear it is evident that they were struck within a short period of time – about 6-7 years between 1715 and 1721. The places where these coins were struck did not have functional mints anytime before. Apart from Kolhapur and Satara, the rest are relatively obscure and do not have much significance. Except Satara, all lay under the control of the house of the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur.

The mints at Kolhapur and Panhalla functioned more regularly in the late 18th - early 19th centuries (vide Wiggins & Maheshwari, pp. 80-81) but the coins that were struck there in these later years did not resemble the early issues we have just discussed. The coinage we are dealing with here thus seems to have been issued within a very specific and limited time period, confined to a geographic area largely under the control of one political authority. What caused such a sudden inception of coinage is a very worthwhile question and, to find answers to it, we must turn to the historical details that relate to the times, the localities and the entities responsible directly or indirectly in precipitating political developments in and around the area concerned. The details produced here have largely been taken from the Marathi book *Karaveer Riyāsat* by S M Garge (Pune, 1968). Some information is also taken from another Marathi source, *Maratheshāhichē Antaraṅga*, by Jaisingh Rao Pawar (Mumbai-Dombivli, 2006)

As we have already noted, the house of the Chhatrapatis of Kolhapur arose as the lesser branch of the house of Shivaji, the pre-eminent Maratha ruler. In June 1674, Shivaji staged a spectacular coronation at the fort of Raigad to proclaim his independence and he became the first ruler to hold the title ‘Chhatrapati’ (one who bears the royal umbrella – an emblem of sovereignty). He had two sons: the elder was Sambhaji and the younger was Rajaram. Sambhaji succeeded Shivaji as the Chhatrapati upon Shivaji’s death in 1680. He had a short but eventful reign – in the early years he had to deal with a scheming stepmother and courtiers. In the following years, he launched several successive campaigns against the Sidis of Janjira, the Portuguese at Goa and the Mughals. By 1687, the Deccani Sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda were absorbed into the Mughal Empire and the Mughal presence had become a permanent feature in the Deccan.

The Marathas remained the only thorn in the Mughal side to assert their might fully in peninsular India. The emperor Aurangzeb moved to the Deccan to launch a campaign to subdue Sambhaji. The Mughals met with good success to begin with – Sambhaji was captured and put to a slow and lingering death in 1689. This dreadful act, however, galvanised the Maratha statesmen in the face of an impending Mughal takeover. As Sambhaji’s son Shahu was a minor, the statesmen decided to nominate Rajaram, Sambhaji’s younger brother, as regent.

Later in the same year, the Mughals sacked Raigad, the Maratha capital, and took Shahu along with Sambhaji’s wife, Yesubai, as prisoners. Shahu remained in Aurangzeb’s captivity for the next 18 years. Rajaram, however, managed to escape from the siege and fled to the ‘Karnatak’ province in the southern part of Shivaji’s kingdom that he had largely inherited from his father. He crowned himself as the ‘Chhatrapati’ at Gingee in Tami Nadu and carried on the campaign against the Mughals. The Mughal army went on the pursuit of Rajaram’s and besieged Gingee in 1690 under the command of Zulfiqar Khan.

Rajaram was aided by several able commanders and statesmen who came up with novel ideas to keep the war against the Mughals going. Tenures were promised to barons in regions beyond effective Maratha control, thus encouraging them to come over to their side. Worthy candidates were decorated with new titles. The Marathas preferred guerrilla tactics and plagued the Mughals by launching a series of quick and devastating attacks. The theatre of their activities spread all over the Deccan. By the late 1690’s the Mughal army was exhausted by the way the war was going. The emperor was ageing and some of his courtiers and generals had become ambitious of asserting their rights. Zulfiqar Khan was one of them.

Gingee fell after a protracted siege in 1698, but the Khan allowed Rajaram to get away in order to safeguard his own interests. Rajaram returned to Maharashtra and founded his capital at Satara in June 1699. The Mughal threat was intensified after his escape from Gingee. They laid siege to Satara in late 1699 but Rajaram managed to flee to Simhadga near Pune. He died in April 1700 and, soon after his death, Satara fell to the Mughals.

Rajaram left two widows, namely Tara Bai and Rajas Bai. Each had a son - Tara Bai's son was Shivaji and Rajas Bai's was Sambhaji. Tara Bai was an ambitious woman. She carried on the fight against the Mughals in the name of her minor son. She was aided by Ramchandra Pant Amatya and Girjoji Yadav in matters of statecraft while Dhanaji Jadhav took care of military campaigns. During the next seven years, Tara Bai successfully tackled the Mughal menace through a combination of strategies involving men, money and marauding. The hill forts in Deccan were Maratha strongholds. The Mughal-Maratha struggle now revolved around their conquest. However, the guerrilla tactics employed by the Marathas ultimately proved a hard match for the slow-moving Mughal army. Out of money and exhausted by the conduct of the Deccan campaign that had lasted an excruciatingly long 25 years, the emperor Aurangzeb breathed his last at Ahmednagar in 1707.

After the Emperor's death, a war of succession ensued amongst his sons, Mu'azzam and 'Azam. The latter was in the vicinity when his father died, so he arrived at Ahmednagar, crowned himself king and took charge of the Mughal camp to embark on a mission bound for Delhi. In this camp was Shahu, the son of Sambhaji, living life as a Mughal captive. 'Azam Shah appreciated the position Tara Bai and her cohort had achieved and thought it prudent to release Shahu, anticipating he would stake his claim to his grandfather's domain thereby striking a discord amongst the Marathas. This would help him to concentrate his actions against his elder brother, Mu'azzam, who had began his southward advance from the Punjab to lay claims to the imperial throne at Delhi. The question of Mughal succession was heading towards a bloody end, and so it did at the battle of Jajau in June 1707, where Mu'azzam defeated 'Azam Shah to proclaim himself Shah Alam Bahadur, the new emperor.

Shahu returned to Maharashtra and, as 'Azam Shah had expected, Tara Bai refused to acknowledge his claim. Maratha statesmen and military leaders were divided in their support for either side. The two factions clashed in a battle at Khed near Pune and Shahu emerged victorious, owing largely to the fact that Tara Bai's commander, Dhanaji Jadhav, changed sides at an opportune moment. In late 1707, Shahu captured Satara. In 1708, he staged a coronation and declared himself the 'Chhatrapati'. Thus, there emerged two contestants for the title: one was Shahu and the other was Shivaji, the minor son of Tara Bai. The hostilities that began in 1708 ended several years later, in 1731, when a truce was made between the two houses. However, the feud was fought bitterly for the first ten or so years.

After the fall of Satara to Shahu, Tara Bai based her government at Panhalla. But Shahu's armies soon won Kolhapur and Panhalla and Tara Bai had to flee to Rangna, a very remote and formidable hill-fort. Shahu invested Rangna but left the siege half-way through because the Mughal emperor, Shah Alam Bahadur, had asked for his support to quell the rebellion of his brother, Kam Baksh, who had declared himself emperor in the Deccan. At this juncture, Shahu made his first efforts to seek legitimacy from the Mughals and asked for 'Chauth' and 'Sardeshmukhi', two revenue sharing rights, in lieu of which he was ready to serve the Mughals, provided they acknowledged him as the Maratha king. Tara Bai who had been bitterly opposed to the Mughals, was alarmed by Shahu's action. Apprehensive that such legitimisation would strengthen Shahu's position, she also opened negotiations with the Mughals, and she tried bargaining for less than what Shahu had asked, being content only with the 'Sardeshmukhi' rights if the emperor would legitimise her claims. Each Maratha faction set up their 'lobby' in the Mughal court to promote its position. Zulfiqar Khan was Shahu's partisan, while the *wazir*, Mun'im Khan, supported Tara Bai. Shah Alam Bahadur was more favourably disposed towards Shahu and ignored Tara Bai's requests, but, in order to avoid further entanglements, chose to leave the matter unresolved and returned to Delhi instead.

In the meantime, Tara Bai left Rangna and made Malwan her base. She made the most of the respite afforded by Shahu's withdrawal to aid Shah Alam Bahadur and reclaimed lost grounds, regaining Panhalla and Kolhapur. At this juncture, two of Shahu's

able commanders, namely Dhanaji Jadhav and Parsoji Bhonsle died. Tara Bai thus felt even more secure and relieved. In 1710, she officially declared her son, Shivaji, the Chhatrapati at Kolhapur. The two factions now effectively stood with the River Krishna as their boundary. To the north, Shahu ruled from Satara and, to the south, Tara Bai at Kolhapur. This was in effect the genesis of the Kolhapur State.

Several Maratha barons controlled tracts of land around these two centres of power virtually independently of either Shahu or Tara Bai, but owing allegiance to one or other faction. The next four years saw a tussle for winning the heavyweights amongst them to the respective sides. In this venture, Shahu was aided by Balaji Vishwanath, an astute statesman who ultimately became his 'prime minister' or Peshwa in 1713. By the following year, Balaji Vishwanath successfully wooed several barons from Tara Bai's faction over to Shahu's side. The most noteworthy amongst them was Kanhoji Angrey, who commanded a naval fleet and controlled much of the north Konkan coast. Kanhoji agreed to owe allegiance to Shahu in February 1714.

The fact that Shahu's position was getting stronger resulted in a dramatic turn of events at Kolhapur. Rajas Bai, the second wife of the late Chhatrapati Rajaram, rose against Tara Bai and imprisoned her along with her son, Shivaji. Rajas Bai's son, Sambhaji, was then proclaimed the king at Panhalla. This bloodless coup took place sometime between 2 August and 25 September 1714 and came to be known as the 'Palace Coup' in the annals of Kolhapur history. Events of such gravity could not have been enacted without the connivance of elder statesmen in Tara Bai's faction. Although Tara Bai was a brave and able lady, she was also impulsive and selfish and lacked political tact. Her trusted men now doubted her ability. The persons who possibly orchestrated the coup included Girjoji Yadav and Ramchandra Pant Amatya. Tulaji Sitholay, the commander of Panhalla fort was also hand in glove with the conspirators.

The new king carried on being antagonistic towards Shahu, but now the feud had lost its grit. Ramchandra Pant Amatya, the most senior statesmen in the Kolhapur court, died in 1716. At the same time, Shahu's prime minister Balaji Vishwanath was successful in taking advantage of the politics in the Mughal court to achieve what Shahu had been desiring since he was set free almost a decade earlier - the legitimisation of his position as the Maratha king by the Mughal emperor. In 1718, Balaji led an expedition to Delhi, where he was granted charters acknowledging Shahu as the master of his 'dominion' or *Swarajya* and conferring upon him the rights to collect revenues for the six southern provinces of the Mughal Empire, with a provision to retain a share as 'Chauth' and 'Sardeshmukhi'. Having achieved this legitimisation, Shahu's approach to Kolhapur was conciliatory. In the deal Balaji concluded with the Mughals, a clause for Kolhapur to be left to its own fate was also added.

In subsequent years, Shahu's kingdom grew leaps and bounds thanks to a line of very able Peshwas, whereas Kolhapur remained a small state with a court full of 'pygmy' barons. As luck would have it, Shahu died without a male heir in 1749, but the next of kin he adopted to become his successor was his arch rival, Tara Bai's grandson. As we have already seen, Shahu's line ended in 1848 with the lapse of Satara, but Kolhapur retained its princely status under British rule. Its rulers were elevated from 'Rajas' to 'Maharajas' in the late 19th century. It merged into the Indian Union in 1948.

Coins and Historical Developments: New Insights

So what do the coins tell us against the backdrop of the historical developments we have just seen? Firstly, an idea of the extent of the kingdom of Kolhapur at the time when these coins were struck can be had from a list in a Marathi reference entitled *Karaveer Chhatrapati Gharanyachya Itihāsachi Sādhanē* ('Sources of the History of the House of Karaveer Chhatrapati', 8 volumes, ed. M V Gujar). In vol. 2, document no. 20 lists the administrative divisions or *subahs* and the forts under the command of Sambhaji, the Chhatrapati of Kolhapur. The same list is reproduced in

Karaveer Riyāsat, by S M Garge (Pune, 1968, p. 116). This document is dated around 1718 and fits in very well with the chronological context of the coins. The details are -

1. *Subah* Panhalla – forts Panhalla, Pavangad, Vilasgad
2. Kolhapur, walled city
3. *Subah* Rajapur – forts Vishgalgad, Gagangad (Bawda), Ratnagiri, Mahimatgad
4. Nargund
5. Torgal – fort Ramgad
6. *Subah* Koppal – forts Koppal and Bahadurbinda
7. *Subah* Tarla – fort Bhudargad
8. *Subah* Ajra – forts Samangad, Kalanidhi, Pravingad, Vallabhgad, Gandharvagad
9. *Subah* Belgaon – forts Mahimalgad, Rajhansgad
10. *Subah* Kudal – forts Prasadhdagad (Rangna), Sindhudurg, Kudal, Santoshgad

This list of divisions and forts in Sambhaji's domains makes it amply clear that the coinage we have on our hands is quite certainly attributed to the Kolhapur Chhatrapati house. The names of three of the six mints, namely Panhalla, Kolhapur, Bhudargad appear in the list, and the fourth mint town Malwan is represented by the mention of the fort of Sindhudurg. Kagal does not feature by name, but this seems to be either an oversight, for Sambhaji's mother Rajas Bai was née Ghatge of Kagal, or a deliberate exclusion as Kagal was not a part of the king's own domains but belonged to a feudatory family.

The dates afforded by the coins also make it clear that they are earlier issues than all other Maratha coins and specifically located in the short period 1714-1721. As we have seen, this was an important period in the history of Kolhapur – in fact a turning point came in mid-1714 with the 'Palace Coup'. The exact date of this event is not ascertained, but the historian, Jaysingh Rao Pawar, has shown that it happened in August-September 1714 (*Marathēshāhichē Antaranga*, Mumbai-Dombivli, 2006, pp. 45-46). The earliest dated coins in the group, of the mints of Kolapur, Malwan, Panhalla and Bhudargad, bear RY2 of the emperor Farrukhsiyar, which would have begun in about May 1714, a date strikingly close to this event. It, therefore, seems certain that the issue of these coins was precipitated by the events of mid-1714 and can thus be viewed as a statement by Sambhaji, the new king at Kolhapur, to assert his kingship.

But the coins go even further in terms of their utility as a source of historical information. Salient aspects, such as the fact that they are struck in the name of Farrukhsiyar, cannot be overlooked in estimating their historical value. The fact that they are struck in the name of the Mughal emperor make them more than just a statement of assertion – it makes them an exercise in legitimacy as well. We know that both the Maratha houses had been actively seeking such a legitimisation for quite some time before these coins were struck. As the coins attest, the new king at Kolhapur and his cohort of administrators, seem to be trying to pip Shahu at the post in declaring their loyalty to the Mughals, thereby making the act of striking coins in the name of Farrukhsiyar as an 'allegiance ritual'.

There should be little surprise if Shahu did not take notice of their motives – he seems to have responded by striking coins in the name of Farrukhsiyar, too and we have the evidence of it in the rupee of 'Qil'ā Satara', dated RY3, following the earliest rupees of 'Kolapur Sarkār Raibāgh' and 'Bandar Malwan'. The course of historical events in 1715-1717 indicates that Shahu had been increasingly keen to have his status legitimised by the emperor, the opportunity for which occurred as a result of political events in the Mughal court. By 1717, Shahu found himself 'at the right place at the right time', with Kolhapur increasingly weakened after the death of Ramchandra Pant Amatya in 1716 and Shahu's position equally strengthened by the ability and political astuteness of his Peshwa, Balaji Vishwanath. What followed was a 'turning point' in the course of Maratha history – Balaji's expedition to Delhi and return, in to the Deccan 1719, with the charters confirming the imperial legitimisation of Shahu's position.

The fact that these coins seem to be the outcome of some important political events, and precursor to some other, during 1714-1718 secures them a place of their own in Maratha history. The mainstay of evidence for Maratha history has been archival evidence, gleaned from correspondence and other papers pertaining to the people involved. Coins have hardly contributed in such a concrete way to chart its undercurrents. The coins published here indicate that, at least in part, Shahu's actions in securing the legitimisation charters were a result of his rivals at Kolhapur attempting to pre-empt him. In their own right, these coins are therefore significant discoveries. They are evidence in understanding how the Marathas 'reclaimed' their royalty.

From a purely numismatic standpoint, these coins are important as the first ever issues struck by the Maratha houses aspiring to 'sovereignty' in the Deccan in the name of a Mughal emperor. It may be worth pointing out that Wiggins & Maheshwari's monograph 'Maratha Mints and Coinage' indeed mentions a few coins that are dated earlier than these as 'Maratha' or 'possibly Maratha' issues. Salient examples include a Rupee of Aurangzeb of Hukeri mint (p. 62, T1) and also rupees of the Baramati mint, struck in the name of Shah Alam Bahadur and Farrukhsiyar (p. 47, T1 and p.48, T2). It must be contended that there is no evidence that either of these places were under any form of Maratha control when these coins were struck. Thus, their attribution as 'Maratha' coins is very much open to doubt. I published a rupee in the name of Aurangzeb struck at Dicholi by a Maratha warlord, Khem Sawant II of Sawantwadi in South Konkan (ICSNL, no. 13, 1992), but he did not strike coins in any sovereign capacity. What sets the coins discussed here apart from any other such issues is the fact that, by this time, the authorities who struck them had become truly independent of Mughal control in the regions the coins were struck. Their issue was, however, the result of a political compulsion.

The outcome of Shahu's legitimisation by the emperor had momentous significance for the course of Maratha history beyond 1718 and has been a subject of much historical debate. It set the 'character' of the Maratha *Swarājya* as a 'vassal state' of the Mughals in at least nominal if not practical terms. The grant to collect 'Chauth' and 'Sardeshmukhi' rights in the six *subāhs* of the Deccan brought the Marathas in direct conflict with another political heavyweight in the region, the Nizam of Hyderabad, who set up his independent state in the region (1724). It also set a 'guardianship' of the Mughal Empire upon the Maratha polity and the Marathas emerged as its champions. Indeed, when the Empire suffered two major foreign invasions in the mid-18th century, the Marathas were called to defend it. The first was the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739, but this ended before the Marathas could reach Delhi. During the second episode, involving the Afghan ruler, Ahmed Shah Durrani, in 1759-61, the Marathas defended the Empire but this ended in the famous debacle at Panipat, where they lost a great many men in its service.

The coinage in the name of the Mughal emperor at Kolhapur and its adjoining territories seem to have continued for a while. This was possibly a last-ditch effort to answer Shahu's success with the Emperor. The coinage almost 'died down' in 1720 with no issues known after 1722. The decade of 1720-30 was a phase mixed with consternation as well as reconciliation between the two Chhatrapati houses. Sambhaji of Kolhapur tried to curry favour with the Nizam, the new adversary of Shahu and his Peshwa. Notwithstanding this, Shahu concluded a treaty with Sambhaji in 1725. But it was soon thrown to the wind. The Nizam was defeated in 1728 by Peshwa Baji Rao at Palkhed and Shahu dealt a final blow to Sambhaji in 1730 on the banks of the Warna River. A final treaty was concluded between Shahu and Sambhaji as a result of this defeat in 1731 (known as the 'Treaty of Warna') and the two houses parted ways forever.

Acknowledgments

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THE ELUSIVE MADRAS ARKOT RUPEE OF MUHAMMAD SHAH

By Dr Paul Stevens



In his outstanding work on the coins of British India¹, Major Pridmore listed a rupee of Muhammad Shah issued from the Arkot mint (Pr. Madras 134), although he admitted that the name of the ruler was not visible on the coin that he published. Subsequently a number of authors² have published papers discussing possible candidates that might fill the gap left by Pridmore's description, but not satisfactorily filled

by the coin that he described. However, none of these papers really provided descriptions of coins that unambiguously showed the name of Muhammad Shah and the lotus mark on the reverse that indicates a British mint (Madras or Chintadripetta). A friend of mine³ has recently sent me a photograph of an Arkot rupee that appears to show the name of Muhammad Shah and therefore to fill this gap in the catalogue of Madras rupees, and this coin is published herewith.



Photo from Hemanth Chopra

The coins weighs 11.41g and shows the expected *Muhammad Shah Badshah Ghazi* etc legend on the obverse with the lotus mark of the Arkot (Madras) mint on the reverse. The Emperor's name seems clear.

In the past, in the absence of a date, it has not been possible to distinguish between the coins of Muhammad Shah and those of Ahmad Shah unless either the end of the Emperor's title is visible (as in Ahmad Shah Bahadur) or the beginning of the Emperor's name, as on the coin reported here.

Pridmore suggested that the arrangement of the decorative dots might provide a way to distinguish the coins of the two Emperors. It is noticeable that the reverse of this coin has a large round dot above the *julus* and a large square dot under the word *julus*. Whether this arrangement of dots can be used to identify the Muhammad Shah rupees must await the discovery of more specimens, although there is another rupee in the Fitzwilliam museum, Cambridge, which also appears to be an Arkot rupee of Muhammad Shah and has the same dots on the reverse.



Photo of Coin from Fitzwilliam

Acknowledgements

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BHAUNAGAR, ALSO A MINT FOR GOLD AND SILVER?

By Jan Lingen



There are some coins with the mint-name Surat in the name of Shah Jahan III, which show curious Hijri dates:



1) Rupee Shah Jahan III, mint Surat, AH 117(1, 2, 3, 4 or 6)/ Ry. Ahd. The Hijri date looks like 1171, but this cannot be correct. It is probably a 3 or 4 but a 6 could also be possible and even a 9, particular as there exist coins with later dates.



2) Rupee Shah Jahan III, mint Surat, AH 1180/Ry. Ahd. This is a most curious date as, by that time, it was the 7th or 8th regnal year of Shah 'Alam II. Who was responsible for the issue of this coin? Imitating the mintname on coins is not a novelty in India; it happened very often. The pseudo-mintname, Shahjahanabad, was used by many issuing authorities from Jaisalmir to Maratha mints like Bagalkot. Therefore I suggest that the rupees of Shah Jahan III of Surat mint, with the later dates, were issued by another authority than the Nawab of Surat.



3) In the CNG, Triton IX, Auction date: 10 January 2006, lot 1772, the following mohur is listed:
INDIA, Mughal Empire. Shah Jahan III. 1759-1760. AV Mohur (11.06 g, 12h). Surat mint. Dated AH 1175; RY "ahd"-1 (1760 AD). "Struck money through the world through the grace of God, emperor of the world Shah Jahan"; AH date / Legend with regnal year and mint "Surat" below; palm symbol. Wright -; Hull -; BMC -; KM 478.6.

4) Alan S. DeShazo on the South Asian Coin Group (SACG) added on October 25, 2006 the following message: *Images of a Surat rupee of a "Shah Jahan" struck at Surat in 1180 H have been added to the album Alan S. DeShazo. Shah Jahan III had a brief reign in 1173-1174 H and rupees of his are known from a number of mints dated 1173 and 1174 with the regnal year ahd (one). From Surat there are also known a few rupees dated after his deposition dated 1175, 1178 and 1180 and all are also dated regnal year ahd. The events at Surat at this time are very complicated just as they were elsewhere in the crumbling Empire. The British were much involved in Surat at the time this rupee was struck. It would be interesting to know what was the basis for the issue of these "Shah Jahan" coins.*

The accession date of Shah Jahan III is 8 Rabi' II AH 1173 (29-11-1759) and deposition 29 Safar AH 1174 (09-10-1760). Shah Jahan III ruled less than one year (lunar as well as solar year). Correct dates for this ruler are therefore 1173/Ry. Ahd and 1174/Ry. Ahd.

A neighbouring State issuing copper coins in the name of Shah Jahan III was Bhaunagar, The published coins of Bhaunagar are known in copper only and published in the Indian Museum Catalogue Calcutta (IMC), vol. IV (Oxford, 1928), p.174-175.



The coins were produced in the name of Shah Jahan III at least up to 1825. A paisa with the date 1825 within a frame is known (KM218.2; Pridmore 274, 276), an obvious imitation of a similar rupee issued between 1825-1831, by the British East India Company from the Bombay mint (illustrated here).



Bhaunagar is located right opposite Surat on the Gulf of Cambay. The British struck rupees with the mintname Surat at Bombay; it is quite possible that Bhaunagar had Surat rupees struck at their own mint too. The copper falus are all in the name of Shah Jahan III, so it is not unlikely that this may have happened also with the coins in gold and silver.

This presumption is not without foundation. In Hamilton's East India Gazetteer, 1828, under the heading Bhownugger the following statement is found: *One curious and not very creditable manufacture has long been established here, which is a mint for the fabrication of base money, where every sort of rupee current on the west side of India is so well counterfeited that even native bankers have been deceived. In 1812 the Raja was not only suspected of conniving at the practice, but also for sharing in the profits.*

If native bankers were deceived by the coins of Bhaunagar, it would not be copper coins, but gold or silver currency. Moreover, the Gazetteer mentions that the fabrication of "every sort of rupee current on the west side of India" took place at Bhaunagar.

Pridmore (pag. 97) mentions that: *Following an insurrection in 1759, the Company obtained possession of the mughal castle and fleet at Surat. They received the annual subsidy for the fleet's protection and flew the mughal's colours at the castle, but a native Governor still retained charge of the city and controlled the mint. Soon after gaining this influence at Surat, an agreement was made with the Nawab that rupees coined by both were to circulate at par within each other's territory and they were mutually pledged to preserve the standard. This concurrent circulation of both coins meant that, in future, there could be no real inducement for the Bombay rupee to be carried away for recoinage at Surat.*

However, the Nawab did not keep his pledge and in October 1762, reports show that many bad rupees had lately been issued from the Surat mint. In April 1765, the Bombay government complained to Surat of the 'Rupees of your mint being of late much debased' and received a reply from the Chief there, who ascribed it to the fact that the mint was under no proper officer. The debasement affected the trade of Bombay, for the petty shroffs in the bazaar started to refuse certain classes of rupees. After the Bombay Council had called upon the principal merchants and shroffs to give their opinion, a Consultation on the 28th April 1767, directed publication to be made that the Bombay and Surat rupee would pass current at their full value of eighty pice to a rupee.

The claims about the debasement of the currency at Surat happened between 1759 (AH 1173, the beginning of Shah Jahan III reign) and 1767 (AH 1180). It is just from this period that rupees in the name of Shah Jahan III, with posthumous Hijri dates with year Ahd, are known. It is unlikely that the Nawab of Surat, in charge of the old Imperial Mint, would have struck posthumous rupees.



While the seven-petalled 'flower'-mark within the loop of *jalūs* on the Surat rupees seems to continue without change, the posthumous Shah Jahan III rupees show different marks., like a 5-petalled flower or an Alif, as can be seen in the two following illustrations.



The mint at Surat was closed by the British on 31 October 1815 (AH 1230). With the Treaty of Bassein (31 December 1802) between the British and the Peshwa, the Gogo Parganah (in which Bhaunagar is situated) was ceded to the British East India Company. Till then the mint at Bhaunagar was essentially a Maratha mint, with a local Thakur in charge.

It is evident from the Bombay Mint Proceedings (Item 244, dated 20 July 1836) that the British tried their utmost to suppress the minting at Bhaunagar. After much consultation, an order to close the mint at Bhaunagar was finally issued by the Collector of Ahmadabad, on 7 April 1832. The Thakur, however, appealed to the Government on 27 July, 1833 against the order, representing "that he sustained a loss of rupees 5,000 by the stoppage of his

mint and that as it had supplied the currency of his Kattywar villages the people there as well as those in the town of Bhownuggur suffered an injury by its suppression”

Nevertheless the Thakur was forced to give in and an agreement, dated 8 September 1840, was enforced by which the Thakur relinquished the prerogative privilege of a mint for an annual financial compensation.

In C.U. Aitchison: A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads relating to India and Neighbouring Countries, Vol VI: Western India States & Baroda (Delhi, repr. 1983), page 181 states:

Agreement, dated the 8th September 1840, between the Honourable East India Company and the Thakoor of Bhownuggur, Rawal Wujesingjee Wukhut Singjee....

Article 2.

And whereas an order was issued by the Honourable the Governor in Council of Bombay for stopping the coinage of money at Bhownuggur, now the Thakoor, in consideration of the annual payment to him and his hereditary successors by the East India Company of the sum of Company's Rupees (2,793-6-5) two thousand seven hundred and ninety-three six annas and five pies, hereby agrees to relinquish all and every description of coining money of every kind, both at Bhownuggur and its dependent villages as well as in his (the Thakoor's) Kattywar possessions, hereby binding himself to abstain from coining copper, or any other sort of coin, both in the abovementioned places and everywhere else, and moreover hereby renounces all claims on account of the said Mint arising antecedent to 1st December 1836.

Conclusion

It is proposed that the posthumous gold and silver coins in the name of Shah Jahan III are most likely ‘counterfeit’ issues of Bhavnagar mint.

In addition to the posthumous Hijri dates, combined with the year Ahd (first year), they also show different marks within the loop of the letter *ṣīn* of *jalūs* and may also be slightly debased.



MODERN INDIAN MEDALS OF THE BOHRAS

By Michael Mitchiner

The Bohras form a minor group among the Muslim community in India. Their rise was linked with sea trade between Yemen and the Gujarat region of western India, mainly during the period between the rise of the Sulayhids in Yemen (AD 1047: AH 439) and the rise of the Gujarat Sultanate (AD 1396: AH 799).

The missionaries from Yemen belonged to the Musta‘lite sect of the *Ismā‘īlīs*, and thus to the Shi‘a division of Islam.

Nowadays the Bohras live mainly in the Gujarat to Bombay region of western India and they are also represented in and around Delhi, as well as in Calcutta.

In order to appreciate the Bohras and the kinds of inscriptions, which characterise their medals, it is appropriate to discuss some aspects of their history.

The Revelation of Islam

Muḥammad, son of ‘Abdullah, son of ‘Abdul Muṭṭalib, son of Hāshim, of the tribe of the Quraish, was born around AD 570. His father died before Muḥammad’s birth, and his mother, Amina, died when Muḥammad was six years old. Muḥammad was brought up by his uncle, Abū Ṭalib, who was the head of the Hāshimi clan of the Quraish, and the father of Muḥammad’s

cousin, ‘Alī. As a boy, Muḥammad looked after his uncle’s goats. As a youth, he began managing trading caravans. At the age of twenty-five, Muḥammad married Khadija, who was a rich widow of forty. Muḥammad managed her caravan. By now, he would have had a good understanding of trade and trading conditions.

In his fortieth year, Muḥammad went through a prolonged spiritual experience, which left him convinced that he was a Prophet (*nabī*) and a Messenger (*rasūl*) commissioned by Allāh to re-establish the pure religion of Adam, Noah, Moses and Christ. When he received a revelation, Muḥammad would wrap himself in a blanket and was able to concentrate only on the revelation during those few minutes. Afterwards, he would dictate what had been revealed, and his followers would write this down. These dictated revelations would later become the Qur’ān (Koran).

The basis for this creed, Islam, is an uncompromising monotheism. He rejected the Christian concept of the Trinity, and the Jewish concept of the Chosen People, just as he rejected the numerous Arabian idols. Allāh must be worshipped direct, and the pious are the closest people to Allāh.

Abū Ṭalib did not accept Muḥammad’s creed, but he continued to give Muḥammad the protection of his clan. In AD 619, Abū Ṭalib died, and so did Muḥammad’s wife, Khadija. Abū Jahl, the new head of the Hāshimi clan of the Quraish, publicly withdrew clan protection from Muḥammad. Following an invitation from the Aus and the Khazraj in Medina (Yathrib), Muḥammad went to Medina in 622. His move to Medina marks the commencement of the Hijra (Hegira), the Muslim chronology. The Hijra was actually established as an era by Caliph ‘Umar, who placed the departure from Mecca on the first day of year one – thus, 1 Muḥarram AH 1 (16 July 622). This antedated the actual departure from Mecca on 4 Rabi‘ I, AH 1. Muḥammad reached Yathrib (Medina) on 16 Rabi‘ I.

Muḥammad performed his first, and last, Hajj pilgrimage in March 632. Soon afterwards, he developed a fever and died on 14 or 15 May 632.

The Qur’ān was now complete. It included both the early revelations of Muḥammad, and also some of his later teachings. Late historical references in the Qur’ān include the northern campaigns of 626 to 630. The Ḥadīth was later composed as a commentary on the Qur’ān (‘Umar 1993; ‘Alī 1967).

The Four Pious (Patriarchal; Orthodox) Caliphs

Following debate in Medina among the local nobility and the companions of the prophet, Abū Bakr of the Quraish tribe was appointed as the first Khalīfa (Caliph; Successor) to Muḥammad.

After learning of Muḥammad’s death, many tribes and clans across Arabia decided to sever allegiance to Islam. Abū Bakr fitted up eleven military columns and campaigned for a year to establish law and order under an unchallengeable central authority. Abū Bakr went on to campaign in lower Iraq and Syria during 634. He died on 13 August 634.

The period of allegiance to ‘Allāh and His Messenger’ by means of persuasion had ended under Abū Bakr. The Muslim domain was now a state with a central authority, the taxation to sustain it, and the military power to ensure compliance.

‘Umar (634-644) had been nominated as successor by Abū Bakr during his last illness. ‘Umar had a stern sense of justice and he led a simple and pious life. The three-day Battle of Qudsiya (November 635) brought Iraq and Madain under Muslim control, and all of Syria was added by the Battle of Yarmūq (20 August 636). Egypt was conquered during 640 to 641. The spoils of war were enormous. ‘Umar gave rewards to his followers, in amounts graded according to rank. All Arab slaves were purchased and set free. Baṣra and Kūfa were founded around 638 as cantonment towns. ‘Umar took the title *Amīr al-Mu‘minīn* (Commander of the Faithful), as an addition to his title Khalīfa (Caliph; Successor). Both titles were to be perpetuated in later history and coinage. He turned the Muslim portion of Arabia into a purely Muslim state by purchasing the lands of non-Muslims and settling them elsewhere. ‘Umar was assassinated by a Persian slave in November 644.

The leading ‘Companions of the Prophet’ elected ‘Uthmān (644-656) as the next caliph. He was elected at the age of seventy, and was later martyred at the age of eighty-two. Abū Bakr and ‘Umar had lived simple lives as ordinary citizens in Medina, without any bodyguards, and they had debated all affairs of state with the chief Companions of the Prophet. ‘Uthmān favoured advisors from his own clan, neglecting the claims of the Bani Hāshim, which was the Prophet’s clan. ‘Uthmān kept his armies in the frontier provinces, which left him with little personal protection in Medina. Disaffected Muslims came to Medina and assassinated ‘Uthmān on 17 June 656.

‘Alī, son-in-law of the prophet, was present in Medina when ‘Uthmān was assassinated. Pressed by the rebels, ‘Alī (656-661) accepted the appointment as Caliph six days after the murder of ‘Uthmān. The rebels, led by Ṭalḥa and Zubair, and accompanied by the prophet’s widow, Ayesha, set out for Baṣra. ‘Alī pursued them and defeated the rebels at the Battle of the Camel (656). Ṭalḥa and Zubair were killed. Ayesha was sent back to Medina with the respect due to her.

‘Alī moved his capital to Kūfa. The Muslim world, apart from Syria, acknowledged ‘Alī as caliph. Syria was administered by Mu‘āwīya, who had a strong standing army. Armed conflict ensued on a limited basis, and was complicated by the revolt of the Kharijites (Separatists) within ‘Alī’s territory.

In 658, ‘Amr ibn al-‘Ās, who had earlier conquered Egypt for ‘Umar, re-conquered Egypt for Mu‘āwīya.

At the beginning of 661, Kharijite (Separatist) militants hatched a plan to assassinate the three leading Muslims, namely ‘Alī, Mu‘āwīya and ‘Amr. They only succeeded in assassinating ‘Alī, on 25 January 661.

‘Alī’s supporters nominated ‘Alī’s son, Hasan, as caliph. However, Hasan abdicated in favour of Mu‘āwīya on 26 July 661 and retired to Medina. Hasan was poisoned in 664 (AH 44), probably on the orders of Mu‘āwīya.

This marked the end of the Pious (Patriarchal) Caliphate and the start of the dynastic caliphate. Mu‘āwīya was the first caliph of the Umayyad dynasty.

The patriarchal caliphs, just discussed, were:

Abū Bakr	AD 632 to 634	AH 11 to 13
‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb	634 to 644	13 to 23
‘Uthmān ibn ‘Affān	644 to 656	23 to 35
‘Alī ibn Abi Ṭalib	656 to 661	35 to 40

Then followed the brief caliphate of Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī for a few months during 661 (AH 40).

The beginning of the Umayyad caliphate, until the massacre at Karbalā in AD 680

Mu‘āwīya ibn Sufyān, of the Quraish tribe, had allied with Muḥammad before the Muslim conquest of Mecca. He was a brother-in-law of the Prophet and had acted as his secretary. Caliph ‘Umar had appointed Mu‘āwīya to be governor of Syria in 639. Mu‘āwīya was the acknowledged caliph from 661 until his death in 680. His caliphate was largely a period of peace.

Mu‘āwīya had nominated his son, Yazīd, to be his successor. Yazīd (680-683) was generally accepted as the new caliph when his father died in 680. However, the people of Kūfa invited Ḥusain, son of ‘Alī and Fāṭima, to become their caliph. Followers of Yazīd terrorised Kūfa. Ḥusain came towards Kūfa, along with his family and followers to a number of around seventy persons. The followers of Yazīd surrounded Ḥusain’s retinue at Karbalā, which is some twenty-five miles from Kūfa. Almost all were killed during the course of the next few days. The dead included Ḥasan’s teenage son, Qāsim, and two of Ḥusain’s three sons, whose ages ranged from teenage to infancy. Ḥusain’s middle son, ‘Alī Zain al-‘Abidīn, was very ill at the time. He was spared, along with Ḥusain’s sister, Zainab, who was caring for him. ‘Alī Zain al-‘Abidīn was Ḥusain’s son, traditionally by a daughter of Yazdegard, the last Sasanian king of Iran. No other male survived the massacre, which took place on 10 Muḥarram 61 (10 October 680). Yazīd was apparently unaware of the massacre, but he took no steps to punish those responsible.

The massacre at Karbalā marked the schism between Orthodox Islam (Sunni) and the Shi’a. The Sunni majority continued to acknowledge the caliphate, under such dynasties as the Umayyads and their Abbasid successors.

The Shi’a no longer acknowledged the caliphate. The Shi’a recognised ‘Alī, son-in-law of the Prophet as their first Imām, followed by ‘Alī’s sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusain. The Shi’a took no further part in the later political problems of the Umayyads and the Abbasids.

The Shi’a schism

‘Alī had married Fāṭima, who was the daughter of the prophet Muḥammad. Thus, ‘Alī was Muḥammad’s son-in-law. The Shi’a do not recognise the Caliphate, including any of the Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs. ‘Alī, the fourth of the Orthodox Caliphs (Abū Bakr, ‘Umar, ‘Uthmān, ‘Alī) is recognised as the first Imām of the Shi’a.

There was also a rift in the concept of orthodoxy between the Caliphate (Sunni) and the Shi’a. The Shi’a gave continuing authority in religious doctrine to the Imāms who, according to some beliefs, were able to mediate between God and man. The orthodox Sunnis hold that revealed religion, and hence doctrine, was completed with the death of Muḥammad.

Following ‘Alī, the first Imām, his son, Ḥasan, was the second Imām, followed by ‘Alī’s younger son, Ḥusain, who was the third Imām. Ḥusain’s son, ‘Alī Zain al-‘Abidīn (who survived Karbalā), was the fourth Shi’a Imām, and the succession continued to a total of twelve Imāms.

The Shi’a, who give special honour to Ḥasan and Ḥusain, describe the martyrdom of Ḥusain and his family in the many poems that have been written about the events at Karbalā. The Shi’a in India hold mourning rituals during the month of Muḥarram. These include the holding of mourning assemblies where eulogies and poems are recited, and the display of miniature representations of the sepulchre at Karbalā (ta’zīya). On 10 Muḥarram, the anniversary of the massacre, the ta’zīyas are taken in procession to the burial ground, which is known, for that purpose, as Karbalā, and there they are buried with full rites (‘Umar 1993).

The Shi’a commonly identify their sect on coins and medals by the epithets they use. A common epithet used on coins and medals is “‘Alī walī Allāh” (‘Alī is the friend of God). The most frequently used epithet on modern Indian medals is the phrase “Fāṭimah, ‘Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusain”. Another slogan on medals is “Ya Ḥusain (Hail Ḥusain)”.

Following the events at Karbalā, the Shi’a were sidelined from mainstream Islam. They were persecuted by succeeding Umayyad and Abbasid caliphs, and had to seek refuge in outlying regions of the Islamic world. These included such regions as Azerbaijan and southern Iran.

The Twelve Shi’a Imāms (Ithna ‘Asharias: Twelve Imām Shi’a)

Those who hold traditional Shi’a beliefs acknowledge the Twelve Imāms of the Shi’a. For this reason, they are commonly known as the Ithna ‘Asharias, or Twelve Imām Shi’a. This title distinguishes them from later breakaway Shi’a sects.

1. ‘Alī, the Caliph: Murtaḍa Aṣad-ullāh al-Ghālīb (Chosen, Lion of God, Victorious). He died in 661 (41) and is buried at Najaf (Iraq). The epithet “‘Alī walī Allāh (‘Alī the helper of Allāh)” is frequently encountered on Shi’a coins and medals, reflecting the honour given to ‘Alī as the first and the greatest Imām.
2. Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī : Mujtaba (Approved). He died in 664 (44) and is buried in Medina.
3. Ḥusain ibn ‘Alī : Shahīd-i Karbalā (Martyr of Karbalā). He died in 680 (61) and is buried at Karbalā (Iraq).
4. ‘Alī II, Zain al-‘Abidīn ibn Ḥusain (Ornament of the Pious). He died in 713 (94) and is buried in Medina.

5. Muḥammad al-Bakir (Explainer of mysteries). He was born in 676 (57) and became a man of great learning and ascetic austerity. He died in 731 (113) and is buried in Medina.

6. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq ibn Muḥammad al-Bakir (the True). He was born in Medina in 699 (80) and became a scholar, well versed in jurisprudence and piety. He died in 765 (148) and is buried in Medina.

7. Abū al-Ḥasan Mūsa al-Kāzim ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. He is also known as al-'Abd al-Ṣāliḥ (Holy Servant) and 'Āzim (Patient). He was born in Medina in 746/7 (129) and died in Baghdad in 799 (183), in a prison where he had been confined by the caliph, Harūn al-Rashīd. He is buried in Baghdad.

8. 'Alī III, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Riza (Acceptable). He was born in Medina in 770 (153) and became a scholar, poet and philosopher of pure character. He died in Tūs (Khorasan), where he was buried near the tomb of the caliph Harūn al-Rashīd, in 817 (202). The town formerly called Tūs is now Mashhad.

9. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad al-Jawād. He is also known as al-Taḳī (Pious). He was born in 811 (195) and became known for his piety and generosity. He died in 835 (220) and is buried in Baghdad.

10. 'Alī IV, Naqī (Pure). He died in 868 (254) and is buried in Sāmarrā (Iraq), where he had been kept prisoner by the caliph.

11. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī. He is also known as al-'Askarī ('of the army'), due to his long residence at Sāmarrā as a prisoner of the caliph. Another name is al-Hādī (Director). He was born at Medina in 845/6 (231) and became noted for his piety and noble character. He was a notable poet. He died in 874 (260) at Sāmarrā (Surra-man-ra'a), where he had long been a prisoner, and is buried in Sāmarrā.

12. Muḥammad al-Māhdī (Guide). He is also known as al-Māhdī al-Muntaẓar (the awaited Mahdi) and as al-Qā'im (the permanent Imām, until the end of time). He was born in 869 (255). This five-year-old son of Ḥasan al-'Askarī is believed to have entered a cave near his home in Sāmarrā, searching for his father, and never came out. That was shortly after his father's death in 874. Tradition holds that he is still alive, and his return is awaited, to re-establish the true Caliphate.

The Shi'a have not appointed any later Imāms. The subsequent religious leaders have been known as the Mujtahids. In the twentieth century, the most important Mujtahids in Iran were given the title Ayatollah. After Mecca (Mekka), the shrines at Karbalā', Najaf and Mashhad are the most revered Shi'a pilgrimage sites.

The Ismā'īlis

On the death of the sixth Shi'a Imām, the Ismā'īlis branched off from the Shi'a as a new sect.

The sixth Shi'a Imām, Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (b. 699, d. 765) disinherited his son, Isma'il, for being a drunkard. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq appointed his younger son, Mūsa al-Kāzim, to be his successor as Imām. Isma'il died before his father Ja'far, who gathered Shi'a notables in Medina for Isma'il's funeral. All this occurred during the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr (754-775: 136-158).

Those Shi'a who considered that Isma'il had been the legitimate, heir to the Imāmate refused to accept Mūsa al-Kāzim as the new heir to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. These persons were henceforth known as the Ismā'īlis. They declared that the legitimate heir to the Imāmate, through the rule of primogeniture, was Isma'il's son, Muḥammad ibn Isma'il. The Ismā'īli branch of the Shi'a is descended from this fracture.

The Ismā'īlis claim legitimacy for their Imāms who are descended from Isma'il. The Ismā'īlis go on to give higher powers to their Imāms, and some claim that the Ismā'īli Imāms are divine incarnations, or close to that status, and that they can alter the provisions in the Qur'ān to suit the needs of time and place.

The Ismā'īlis spread widely across the Islamic world, and they had some successes in the political field. They include among their number, the Carmathians of the Persian Gulf who sacked

Mecca in AD 930, the Fatimid caliphate in Egypt and North Africa (AD 909-1171), and the Imāmate of Alamūt whose followers are more popularly known as "The Assassins" (AD 1090-1256).

Ismā'īlis are often known as the "Seven Imām Shi'a" in contrast to the traditional Shi'a, who are the "Ithna 'Asharias", or "Twelve Imām Shi'a" (Twelvers). In either case, the first six Shi'a Imāms are the same for all the Shi'a.

The Seven Imāms of the Ismā'īlis (Seven Imām Shi'a)

1. 'Alī, the Caliph: He died in 661 (41).
2. Ḥasan ibn 'Alī: He died in 664 (44).
3. Ḥusain ibn 'Alī (Martyr of Karbalā'). He died in 680 (61).
4. 'Alī II, Zain al-'Abidīn ibn Ḥusain. He died in 713 (94).
5. Muḥammad al-Bakir. (He died in 731 (113)).
6. Ja'far al-Ṣādiq ibn Muḥammad al-Bakir. He died in 765 (148).
- x. Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq. He should have been successor to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, but he predeceased his father in 762 (145).
7. Muḥammad al-Maktūm (Unrevealed) ibn Ismā'īl ibn Ja'far al-Ṣādiq.
- x. Ja'far al-Musaddaq. He is an Unrevealed Imām.
- x. Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb ibn Ja'far al-Musaddaq.

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far was the last of the "Unrevealed Imāms". The details of the Unrevealed Imāms differ according to different sources. This is the Fatimid version, and it has been a subject of debate.

Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh, son of Muḥammad al-Ḥabīb, founded the Fatimid dynasty. He took the titles 'Ubaidallāh and al-Māhdī (Guide) after establishing himself in North Africa.

The geographical focus for Ismā'īli political aspirations was thereafter mainly in the south. Their political successes lay in Bahrain-Oman (Carmathians), in North Africa and Egypt (Fātimids), and later in Yemen (Sulayhids), whence sea trade took Ismā'īli influence to Western India where Ismā'īlis became established as the Bohras.

The Fatimids (909-1171: 297-567) and the rise of the Musta'li Ismā'īlis

The Fatimid Caliphate in Egypt was the high point in Shi'a political achievement, but they were Ismā'īlis, rather than traditional Shi'a. The Fatimids gave prominence to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq, the sixth Shi'a Imām and father of Ismā'īl. They then traced the Imāmate through Ismā'īl's son, Muḥammad, and went on to claim direct descent from Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl (see above). The legitimacy of Fatimid descent, and thereby of Fatimid claim to the legitimacy of the Fatimid Imāmate, was strongly contested by the Abbasids, who were Sunnis. An acrimonious debate ensued between Cairo (al-Qāhirah, the Fatimid capital) and Baghdād (the Abbasid capital).

The Fatimids put forward a clear ideology and an elaborate theology. Their theology continued to develop by virtue of the presence of a divinely guided leader, who was the Fatimid Imām. Being also the ruler (Fatimid Caliph), this leader (Imām) could ensure justice for all his subjects. As the Imām, he was God's representative on earth. The combining of Church and State in the person of the Fatimid ruler-Imām was integral to the administration and ideology of the Fatimids.

Ismā'īli missionary efforts in Yemen had earlier produced little result. The Fatimids sought to dominate the Indian Ocean trade. Eventually, this aim was helped when an Ismā'īli regime was established in Yemen under the Sulayhids (1047-1138: 439-532).

In 1012 (443), the Fatimid ruler al-Hākīm (996-1021: 386-411) gave up the title Imām and restricted himself to being the Amir al-Mu'minīn, the latter being the title used by all caliphs since the time of Caliph 'Umar (634-644: 13-23). Al-Hākīm's relinquishment of the title Imām caused confusion among the Ismā'īlis, some of whom considered that he had transcended human form and become the incarnation of God. But, by then, the Fatimids were already in decline.

The Fatimid succession was disrupted in 1094 (487) when al-Musta'fī (1094-1101: 487-495) was placed on the throne, against

the claim of his elder brother, Nizār. Al-Musta‘lī put Nizār in prison, where he died. This split between two factions caused the division of the Ismā‘īlīs into the Musta‘lī branch and the Nizārī branch of the Ismā‘īlīs. Ismā‘īlism disintegrated in Egypt following the assassination of the Musta‘lī ruler al-Āmir (1101-1130: 495-524) in 1130.

There arose a belief among the Musta‘līs that al-Āmir had produced a son named al-Ṭayyib, who had gone into hiding on the death of his father. Just as the “Hidden Imām” of the traditional Shi‘a is expected to come again, so there is a Musta‘lī Ismā‘īlī belief that al-Ṭayyib will come again at the end of time.

Al-Ṭayyib, the “Hidden Imām”, was the last Imām of the Musta‘lī Ismā‘īlīs. Thereafter, religious leadership and teaching were in the hands of a preacher whose title was the Dā‘ī, a title which means preacher. He is also known as the Dā‘ī Muṭlaq, or Absolute Preacher. Al-Ṭayyib is still commemorated as the last, and hidden, Musta‘lī Ismā‘īlī Imām. His full Fatimid titles appear on some modern medals of the Bohras. He is both Imām and Caliph, his caliph title being Amir al-Mu‘minīn, Commander of the Faithful.

Following the assassination of al-Āmir in 1130, several rival Imāms were put forward by various groups. Ismā‘īlism disintegrated in Egypt into religious anarchy. The Dā‘ī of the Musta‘lī Ismā‘īlīs moved his seat from Egypt to Yemen.

After this time, the Ismā‘īlī traditions were continued in two main regions. The first region was Yemen, in the south. The Yemeni Ismā‘īlīs went on to influence the rise of the Bohras in Western India.

The second region where Ismā‘īlī traditions continued was the mainland of Iraq-Iran, in the heartland of the Muslim world. In this mainland region, the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī Imāmate was to be continued in Iraq-Iran by the Imāms of Alamūt.

The Bohras (Boharas; Vohoras; the “Traders”)

The Bohras arose as an Indian sect of Shi‘a Muslims. More particularly, they belonged to the Ismā‘īlī Shi‘a, and to the Musta‘lī branch of the Ismā‘īlīs.

The Bohras are most numerous in Western Central India, especially in such cities as Surat, Broach, Baroda and Bombay. The headquarters of the Daudi Bohras, the principal sub-sect used to be in Surat (Enthoven 1922; Singh 1998, 2003), but is now in Bombay (Glassé 2001). The Bohras have also expanded across lesser towns and villages in western central India. They tend to have a more laid-back approach to Islam than the majority of Sunni and Shi‘a Muslims, and they tend to give a higher status to their women.

The Bohras trace their origin to immigrants and converts made in the eleventh century by Ismā‘īlī missionaries from Yemen. Tradition holds that ‘Abdullāh was a holy man who was sent as a missionary by Yemeni Ismā‘īlīs. He came from Haras, in Yemen. He landed at Cambay around 1067 (460) and later had audience with the Rajput ruler, Siddharaja Jai Singh (1094-1143), of Patan (Gujarat). The tradition goes on to record that, as a result of miracles, the king and his subjects embraced Islam. There is no doubt that the Bohras prospered in Gujarat, but the conversion of the ruler has not been verified. Siddharaja’s successors, Kumarapala (1143-1174) and Ajayapala (1174-1177) appear to have been Hindus, but Bhima II (1179-1242) appears to have been a Muslim. Be the traditions as they may, the Bohras gained a significant foothold in Western India during the period of medieval trade and missionary activity promoted from Yemen.

The Ismā‘īlī Bohra faith prospered in Gujarat from that period until the time when Gujarat became a Muslim state under the rule of the first sultan of Gujarat, Muẓaffar Shāh (1396-1411: 799-814). He was a Sunni Muslim. Muẓaffar Shāh repressed the Bohras and they suffered further persecutions under several of the later sultans; notably, Aḥmad I (1411-1442: 814-846), Maḥmūd Baiqara (1458-1511: 862-917) and Maḥmūd Shāh III (1537-1554: 943-961). Meanwhile, in 1539 (946), the Bohras moved the seat of their chief preacher, the Dā‘ī, from Yemen to Gujarat. There

were later lesser episodes of Bohra persecution until the freedom of the Bohras was established by the British.

As a result of the various episodes of repression, some of the Bohras converted from their original Ismā‘īlī Shi‘a beliefs and embraced orthodox Sunni Islam. The Sunni Bohras continue to form a minor group among the Bohras. They also include some converts from Hinduism.

The principal, and the most prosperous, group is known as the Daudi Bohras. They have retained their Ismā‘īlī Shi‘a beliefs and practices. In common with other Shi‘a, they observe Muharram as the month of mourning for Ḥusain. They try to go on pilgrimage to Mecca and to Karbalā’. Like other Shi‘a, they also give honour to Fātima, ‘Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, but do not acknowledge the orthodox caliphs. Their Ismā‘īlī practices include giving honour to their preacher, the Dā‘ī. He is also known as the Mulla Šāḥib, and he recently moved his seat from Surat to Bombay. They also continue to honour the Musta‘lī Ismā‘īlī “Hidden Imām”, al-Ṭayyib.

The name Daudi Bohra comes from a division among the Bohras, which occurred in the late sixteenth century. The authority of the twenty-sixth Dā‘ī, Syedna Dāūd ibn Ajabshāh, was acknowledged by all the Shi‘a Bohras. He had been appointed to office from Yemen. Following his death in 1588, the Bohras in western India appointed as twenty-seventh Dā‘ī, Dāūd ibn Quṭubshāh. They notified Yemen of this appointment. Yemen put forward a different candidate, appointing Sulaimān to be the new Dā‘ī. Sulaimān was sent from Yemen, but when he arrived in western India only a few of the Bohras accepted his authority as the new Dā‘ī. Sulaimān later returned to Yemen, where he settled in Najrān, which is now in Saudi Arabia. Sulaimān’s successors recently moved their seat from Najrān to Baroda in the twentieth century. Since the division in 1588, the Ismā‘īlī Bohras comprise the majority who follow Dāūd ibn Quṭubshāh (27th Dā‘ī) and his successors, and the minority who follow Sulaimān (27th Dā‘ī) and his successors. They are known, respectively, as the Daudi Bohras and the Sulaymani Bohras.

Medals of the Bohras (Daudi Bohras)

The Daudi Bohras add the name of the medieval Imām, al-Ṭayyib, to the list of Shi‘a holy persons invoked on their medals: thus, Muḥammad, ‘Alī, Fātimah, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, al-Ṭayyib. Their Kalima is otherwise the same as that used by the Shi‘a: “There is no God except Allah: Muḥammad is the Prophet of God: ‘Alī is the friend of God”.

The name of the Dā‘ī is often placed on medals. The present Dā‘ī is Syednā Muḥammad Burhān Uddīn. He travels widely. The title Syednā, derived from Sayed, is used by all the Dā‘īs of the Daudi Bohras. Some medals also include the title “Dā‘ī”. The medals are often dated, and they were sometimes issued for specific occasions.

The Dā‘īs sometimes use the higher title, Dā‘ī Muṭlaq (Absolute Preacher), and the title Mulla-ji, but only the first of these two titles has been observed on their medals. Danish Moin, at the IIRNS, was the first to identify some of these medals as being issues by the Bohras.

The inscriptions on the medals appears to be partly Arabic and partly Urdu. The transliterations and translations that follow are, in places, provisional.

In the name of al-Ṭayyab, the last Imām

AH 1352 (AD 1933)



Obv.

Centre: *al-ḥaḡ* (attribute of God) / *lah da 'wa* (God's invitation)
Margin: *lā illah ala allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh 'alī walī allāh*

Rev.

Centre: *al- 'aṣr* (time of) / *wa waldah* (born) *ṣāhib* / *sanat h 1352*
Margin: *al-imām al-ṭayyib abū 'l qāsim amīr al-mu 'minīn ṣalawāt allāh 'alī yah* (may the peace of God be upon him).

Silver, die axes 12; 31 mm, 11.54 g

Al-Ṭayyib is commemorated as the last, and "hidden" Musta'li Ismā'īlī Imām. His full Fatimid titles appear on this Bohra medal. He is both Imām and Caliph, his Caliphal title being Amīr al-Mu'minīn, Commander of the Faithful. Al-Ṭayyib, according to the Musta'li Ismā'īlīs, was the hidden son of the Fatimid ruler, al-Amīr (AD 1101-1130; AH 495-524). He went into hiding when his father was assassinated in 1130 (524), and some believers expect him to return again.

In the name of the Dā'ī, Syednā Ṭāhar Sayf Uddīn

AH 1382 (AD 1962)



Obv.

bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm / *muḥammad 'alī fāṭimah ḥasan ḥusain* / *al-ṭayyib ṣ 'a* / *tāl rasūl allāh ṣalah*
Lower margin: *burak l walday al-ḥusain fī thalath fī walda wa qabara wa mashahadah*

Rev.

ḥasanāt al- 'ayad al-zahabī / 1382 / *al-faḡat al-matbarakat* / *niḡat ḡarīḡ al-imām al-ḥusain* / *tasbīḡ 'aam al-khamsīn* / 1382
Lower margin: *ḥasanat al-dā'ī al-fāṭī syednā ṭāhar saif al-dīn ta 'a*

Silver, die axes 12; 29 mm, 5.90 g

Good works golden festival 1382, for silver donors, giving precious metal for the tomb of Imām Ḥusain / Universal praise, fifty-fold / In goodness the Dā'ī of the Creator, Syednā Ṭāhar Saif Uddīn. In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Compassionate, Muḥammad, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan, Ḥusain, al-Ṭayyib / May the Prophet of Allah, (i.e. Muḥammad) bring future peace. Blessings have been born in Ḥusain, the third (Imām), born and buried and martyred.

In the name of Syednā Muḥammad Burhān Uddīn, the present Dā'ī of the Daudi Bohras

AH 1397 AD 1977



Obv.

Musta'lite formula: *bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm* / *muḥammad 'alī fāṭimah* / *ḥasan ḥusain* / *al-ṭayyib*

Rev.

Margin: *fī 'amaid dā'ī al- 'aṣr al- 'ulamī[?] al-jāh syednā muḥammad burhān al-dīn* / *sanat h 1297*

Centre: *Sakina / Girl Guides / Silver / Jubilee Year / 1952 to 1977*

Silver, die axes 12; 35 mm, 35.20 g

The Bohras run the Sakina Girl Guides, which celebrated its silver jubilee in 1977. This troop of girl guides is based in the northern part of Mumbai. The word 'Guides' is misspelt 'Guirds' on the medal.

Issued by the pillar (*al- 'amaid*) of the Dā'ī of this time (*al- 'aṣr*), with the dignity (*al-jāh*) of the 'Ulamā, Syednā Muḥammad Burhān Uddīn.

AH 1414 (AD 1993)



Obv.

Centre: *syednā / muḥammad burhān al-dīn / salwa allāh 'amrahu* / *sanat h 1414*

Margin: *lā illah ala allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh 'alī walī allāh*

Rev. Compact religious inscription

Silver, gilded, dieaxes 12; 35 mm, 10.00 g

Syednā Muḥammad Burhān Uddīn, may the peace of God preserve him.

AH 1418 AD 1997



Obv.

Centre: Crown / *tazkira al-milād 86 al-maimūn* / 2 lines not read) / *sanat h 1418 / 1418 * HONGKONG * 1997*

Margin: *SOUVENIR * IN COMMEMORATION OF 86th MILAD MUBARAK* (birth celebration) *OF SYEDNA MUHAMMAD BURHAN UDDIN (T.U.S.) **

Rev.

Centre: *allāh / muḥammad 'alī fāṭimah / ḥasan ḥusain / al-ṭayyib*
Margin: *dā'ī allāh al-amīn shams al-da 'ayah al-muṭlaqīn ḡajjī amīr al-mu 'minīn 'abdat[?] al- 'ulamā* / *al-muwahḡidīn syednā muḥammad burhān al-dīn*

Silver, die axes 12; 39 mm; 16.85 g

The Dā'ī of Allah, the Guardian, Sun of the Dais Muṭlaq, Ḥajjī, Commander of the Faithful, Slave of the 'Ulamā and the Muwahḡidīn (Believers in the One God), Syednā Muḥammad Burhān Uddīn.

Undated



Obv.

Centre: Kalima, ending *'alī walī allāh*
 Above: *bismillāh al-raḥmān al-raḥīm*
 Below: *fī al-'aṣr / syednā muḥammad burhān al-dīn ṭa'a*

Rev.

Centre: *allāh muḥammad 'alī fāṭimah ḥasan ḥusain al-ṭayyib*
 Margin: *786/11. / al-hamm ṣakk[?] 'alī muḥammad wa 'alī...[?] muḥammad wa bārik wa silm[?]*

Silver, selectively gilded; die axes 12; 32 mm; 9.81 g

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TWO MEDALS COMMEMORATING THE IMĀMATE OF KARĪM, AGA KHAN

By Michael Mitchiner

The Aga Khans belong to the Nizārī Ismā'īlī sect of Shi'a Muslims. The rise of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs during the Fatimid period is discussed above in a companion paper on 'Modern Indian medals of the Bohras'.

The Nizārī Ismā'īlīs had no political influence after the fall of Alamūt (the Assassins) at the hands of the Mongols. They continued to profess their faith during the period when most of their followers lived in the Iraq-Iran region.

In 1818, Fath 'Alī Shāh (1797-1834: 1212-1250) of Iran bestowed the title Aga Khan on the Imām of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs. His name was Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī Shāh. In 1841, the same Aga Khan had to flee from Iran after leading an abortive uprising against Fath 'Alī's grandson, Muḥammad Shāh (1834-1848: 1250-1264), the new Shah of Iran. The Aga Khan fled to Kandahar, and then to Bombay.

The Aga Khans, and their followers, gained a following in Western India, where they still have establishments in such places as Bombay and Daman.

Muḥammad, the third Aga Khan, selected his grandson, Karīm, to be his successor, passing over Karīm's father, who was called 'Alī ibn Muḥammad.

Karīm, born on 17 December 1936, and educated at Harvard, is the fourth to bear the title Aga Khan. He is also considered to be the forty-ninth Imām of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs. He has been living in Paris for several years (Glassé 2001). The two kinds of medal catalogued below commemorate jubilees in his Imāmate.

Karīm Aga Khan – Tenth anniversary as Imām (1957-1967)



Obv.

Bare-headed bust of Aga Khan, right. Around: *H.H. THE AGA KHAN SHAH KARIM AL HUSSAINI. IMAM-E-ZAMAN*

Rev.

Emblems; around: *1957 1967 TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF IMAMATE*

Silver; die axes 12; 32 mm, 10.30 g

Karīm Aga Khan – fortieth anniversary as Imām (1957-97)



Obv.

Crowned emblem, with small ruby insert on the crown.
 Above: *1957 1997*
 Below: *FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF IMAMAT*

Rev.

CLARE RD. CO.OP CREDIT SOCIETY LTD. / IMAMAT DAY / MUBARAK / MUMBAI

Silver, gilded, with ruby insert, rectangular 42 x 27 mm; 20.11 g

Issued by the named Credit Society in Mumbai to celebrate Imamate Day, 1997.

Reference

Glassé, C., *The concise encyclopaedia of Islam*, Stacey International, London 1989, revised edition 2001

THE MUGHAL MINT OF 'ALAMGIRNAGAR, COOCH BEHAR

By Nicholas Rhodes

It was in AD 1661 that Mir Jumla commenced his invasion of Assam. His first success was the conquest of Cooch Behar, which was achieved on the 19th of December in that year. The invasion was not opposed as most of the inhabitants had fled in terror. King Prānanarāyāna himself went northwards to Bhutan, only returning two years later after the Mughals had finally retreated. The city was renamed 'Ālamgīrnagar, and a mosque was built, apparently by demolishing the principal temple.

An early act was to strike coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor, but very interestingly they copied the main features of the coins of Cooch Behar. The legend is in the Persian language,

but uniquely for a Mughal coin, it is written in Bengali script. Two distinct varieties of the coins are known, as follows¹⁴⁹:



1. *Obv:* *Aora/ngjeva Vā/daśāha Āla/magira*, in 4 lines. ‘+’ symbol after the *Je* in the 2nd line.
Rev: *Jarava/ Ālamgi/ranagara/ Sana 4*, in 4 lines.
2. *Obv:* As last, but ‘x’ symbol after the *Je* in the 2nd line.
Rev: As last, but different die.

Wt. 4.95 & 4.91 respectively.

All the known specimens are either dated year 4 or, more frequently, have no date visible. There is, however, no reason to believe that the coins were struck in any year other than regnal year 4, which was the year of the conquest. In practice the coinage probably ceased by about May/June 1662, when year 5 started.

The weight standard is that of the half *Narayani* rupee of Cooch Behar, so the coin was clearly intended only for local circulation. It was probably not intended as a celebratory issue, commemorating the conquest, as in that case, surely both gold and silver coins of Aurangzeb’s normal types would have been struck in order to demonstrate dominance in the economic as well as the political arena¹⁵⁰.

This type, however, did not circulate for long, as it has never turned up in hoards of Cooch Behar coins that have been published, or which I have seen. When pieces have appeared on the market, however, over a dozen pieces have appeared at once, and they are mainly in very fine condition. Unfortunately, no details of the precise circumstances of discovery are available, but it is probable that the surviving pieces were buried in one or more hoards at the time of the withdrawal of Mughal forces around AD 1663, and this type of coin was not accepted in circulation after then.

Interestingly, although it was two years before the Mughal forces finally left, it seems that coins continued to be struck in the name of King Prana Narayana within a year of the Mughal invasion, even while Cooch Behar was apparently still in Mughal hands, and while the king was still absent in Bhutan.

The coins of the latter part of the reign of Nara Narayana are dated with the actual date of issue, although the date is rarely legible as it is usually off the flan. Specimens are known for almost every year from 140 to 161 in the Cooch Behar era¹⁵¹. These dates are normally converted into Christian era dates by the addition of 1510, so that the dates on the coins correspond to AD

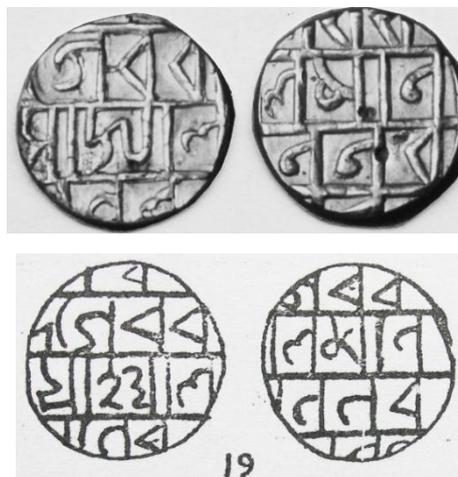
1650-1671. This is strange, because Prana Narayana is known to have died in 1665 AD, two years after returning from Bhutan in AD 1663. This either means that many of the coins are posthumous, or that the meaning of the Cooch Behar dates changed between the seventeenth century and the nineteenth century, when the local era was used in many documents, and the conversion factor is certain. An alternative is that Prana Narayana actually died in AD 1671, but that is not a possibility for many reasons. Coins struck in the name of Prana Narayana in c.AD 1662 would have been issued early in the Mughal occupation and are probably dated either 152, if we take the normal conversion factor, or 158 if we assume that 161 corresponds to the year of the king’s death in AD 1665. In fact, 152 is one of the most common of known dates, whereas 158 is one of the few gaps in the date series. It is probable, therefore, that this gap can be explained by the Mughal occupation. Why the Cooch Behar era should have shifted by about six years is something which has yet to be explained, and indeed was not even suspected until the discovery of the dated coins of Prana Narayana.



Half rupee of Prana Narayana dated CE 159, probably struck during the Mughal occupation¹⁵².

However, rare coins of Prana Narayana are known dated 159 and 160 in the Cooch Behar era, and one or both of these pieces must have been struck during the Mughal occupation. A unique full rupee is known dated 160, and it is possible that this was a special coin, struck to commemorate the return of the king from Bhutan in AD 1663. The date 161 is again a common date, struck after the departure of the Mughals, and before the death of the king in 1665 AD

Apart from the coins described above, a few rupees of full Mughal weight, c11.5g, appeared in Lahore in the early 1980’s. One example was brought to the UK by Bob Senior, and I took the photograph, shown below, at that time. It is immediately clear that this rupee is a modern forgery, as the style is totally different from the originals, and the details of the design were copied, either from the original photograph published by Banerji, or from the drawing made by myself from that photograph and published in 1974, also shown above¹⁵³. It is worth noting that at that time, the only known example of this half rupee of Aurangzeb was that published by Bhattasali, and that piece was hidden in a private collection.



¹⁴⁹ This type was first published by R.D.Banerji in ‘Ālamgīrnagar, A New Mughal Mint’, *JASB*, NS.XXXIII, 1920, pp.85-86.

¹⁵⁰ For an example of a celebratory coin of Aurangzeb, c.f. "A Tibetan Coin struck in the name of Aurangzeb", *ONS Newsletter*, No.156 (Summer 1998), p.19-20.

¹⁵¹ For an analysis of the dated coins of Prana Narayana, c.f. Dr. N.C.Chowdhury, ‘Coins of Prānārāyana of Cooch Behar’, *Mudrānuśilana, Articles of the Seminar on Coins of Bengal and North-East India*, ed. Samaresh Bandyopadhyay, The Asiatic Society, Kolkata, 2006, pp.94-104. A coin possibly dated 158 was listed in this article, but on further examination, this reading is very unlikely.

¹⁵² My thanks to Noman Nasir of Dakha for supplying the photograph of this rare date.

¹⁵³ N.G.Rhodes, ‘The Coinage of Cooch Behar’, *ONS Information Sheet*, No.10 (Nov. 1974).

As can be seen, there are several errors common to both illustrations, but these are due to a lack of clarity in the original photograph published in 1920, which actually illustrates a die-duplicate of No.2 above. For example, there is no 'x' symbol on the obverse, although, it can just be seen on the photograph, but only when one knows what to look for. Similarly the letter 'G' on the reverse, in 'Alamgirnagar' is made to look more like the letter 'N', as the hook to the left of the letter is not easy to see on the photograph. Finally the letter 'A' in 'Alamgir' on the obverse has been reasonably well drawn in my drawing, but has been completely misunderstood on the rupee. This suggests that the rupee copied Banerji's original illustration, rather than my drawing. Once proved to be a forgery, the rupee was returned to Pakistan by Bob Senior, and as far as I am aware, no further examples have appeared.

SOME NOTES ON THE PISCIFORM TALLY PUBLISHED IN ONS NEWSLETTERS 116 AND 118

By V. Belyaev (Moscow), S. Sidorovich (S. Petersburg)



In ONS Newsletters 116 and 118 notes by K.MacKenzie¹⁵⁴ and F.Turk¹⁵⁵ about a pisciform bronze tally were published. The authors attempted to understand the usage of this item and to translate the inscription on the reverse. Unfortunately, both authors have since passed away, so the short notes below are our humble tribute to the memory of these distinguished numismatists.

The item concerned, as was correctly determined by MacKenzie and Turk, is a tally of credence, which was used in military circumstances. However, there are some difficulties with reading and translating the tally's inscription, and with attributing it to a particular dynasty.

Guided by A.Coole's catalogue¹⁵⁶, both authors made mistakes in the reading and translation of the inscription on the tally. The text should be read as follows:

佩
左
武
衛
將
軍
傳

zuo wu wei jiang jun chuan pei

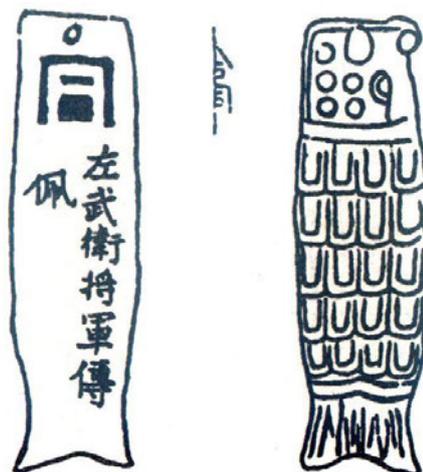
Because their specimens were not in very good condition, MacKenzie and Turk did not read the last character in the first column – *chuan*. But, by the type and by its inscription, this tally is the full analogue of #6937 in Coole's catalogue, where the

¹⁵⁴ MacKenzie K.M.A non-numismatic copper object of the Liao dynasty (?). *ONS Newsletter* 116, 1989. P.7.

¹⁵⁵ Turk F.A. Notes on the Chinese Military Pisciform Tally doubtfully ascribed to the Liao dynasty. *ONS Newsletter* 118, 1989. P.8.

¹⁵⁶ Coole A.B. *Coins in China's History*, Inter Collegiate Press, 1965. P.565, item #6937. Coole's illustration was taken from: *Luo Zhenyu* 罗振玉. *Lidai fupai tulu* 历代符牌图录 (Illustrated catalogue of ancient tallies). 1925. P.21b. In the later edition of Luo Zhenyu's catalogue (Beijing, 1998) this illustration is on page 42.

whole inscription is depicted clearly. Thus without any doubt the last character is 傳 (Pic.1).



MacKenzie translated the inscription as "General Wu Wei of the Left [Army Group] conveys this", while Turk offered his own version: "The Deputy of the garrison of the 'wei' respectfully transmits this tally".

Actually, at the beginning of the legend which is engraved on the tally the name of one of the Imperial guards of the Tang period is shown¹⁵⁷. The complete name of this guard is The Left Martial Guard (accordingly, The Right Martial Guard also existed).

The single character in the second column (and the last in the whole expression) – *pei* ("carrying on the belt").

The system of tallies is described in detail in the medieval sources, for example, in *Xin Tang Shu*¹⁵⁸:

隨身魚符者，以明貴賤...

"The carrying of tallies in the shape of fish, with their help the rank of the owner is determined <literally – distinguish between nobles and commoners – VB, SS>".

And further:

...庶官以銅，皆題其位、姓名。

"...officials [have tally cast from] bronze, all tallies inscribed by rank [of owner], his first name and last name [can be shown]".

...刻姓名者，去官納之，不刻者傳佩相付。

"Those which are carved with the family name and first name [of the owner] should be returned [by the official] when leaving the position; those [on which the official's first and last names are] not carved are passed on and worn [by the new official]".

We see that the tally could be carved with information to identify the owner – his position and sometimes his first and last names. Unfortunately, it is not clear in which cases the names of the bearer were carved, i.e., what was the basis for the decision about the "inheritable" nature of the tally.

Taking into account the meanings of the last character from the first column *chuan* – «to pass on; to spread; to transmit; to infect; to transfer; to circulate», it becomes clear, that this character reflects the "inheritable" nature of the tally, passed on by the official, on leaving his position, to his successor.

Hence, the whole inscription should be translated as:

¹⁵⁷ During the different periods of the Tang there were 12 or 16 imperial guards (6 or 8 titles each Left and Right). See *新唐書 Xin Tang Shu* (The New History of the Tang [Dynasty]), Ch.54, 56.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Ch.25.

“Belt-worn transferable [tally] of the Left Martial Guard general”

Concerning the dynasty period of this tally, the opinions of MacKenzie and Turk were considerably different. The former suggested the Liao dynasty, while the latter dated the tally to the 17th-19th centuries. Unfortunately, both assumptions were incorrect.

The use of the tallies of credence in the shape of fish is known from the history of a few dynasties which existed on China's territory. Tallies of such shape of the kidan (Qidan) dynasty Liao were published, for example, by Wittfogel and Fêng¹⁵⁹. However, the engraved text there was written in kidan script. Moreover, there is a note in the Liao Shi¹⁶⁰, that pisciform tallies which were used in army movements were cast from gold. It is not clear whether kidans used fish-tallies with Chinese inscriptions, but there is a good indication that the tally discussed here should be attributed to the Tang period. This is because all main parts of the text confirm the description of fish-tallies in Tang records: designation of person (general of the Left Martial Guard) and designation of the usage features (worn on the belt and transferable). Moreover, as was noted earlier, in its rectangular shape this tally is almost identical to the specimen from Luo Zhenyu's catalogue. His specimen, made from jade, was placed in the Tang section of the catalogue.

To sum up, we can reiterate that this item is a tally of credence for wearing on one's belt. The tally belonged to the general of the Left Martial Guard. There are no surname and first name on the tally, so it could have belonged to different people occupying the position of general, being passed on to the next occupier of the post. The tally should be dated to the Tang period¹⁶¹.

Book Review

Arab-Byzantine Coins: An Introduction with a Catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection by Clive Foss
Published by Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection and distributed by Harvard University Press, 2008
190 pages, illustrated throughout, card covers, ISBN 978-0-88402-318-0

Since the Arab Byzantine coinage as a whole was given its first comprehensive description by John Walker in his British museum catalogue of 1956¹⁶² there had been a number of increasingly sophisticated treatments by a variety of scholars. Most notable are two books by Nayef Goussous based on his own collection, now belonging to the museum of the Ahli Bank in Amman,¹⁶³ and two books by Tony Goodwin that are also catalogues of museum collections to which he has added introductory sections on the

coinage as a whole.¹⁶⁴ Meanwhile, in 2004, Andrew Oddy wrote a review of research into the Arab-Byzantine coinage¹⁶⁵ since the publication of the British Museum Catalogue - a review that was marred by the absence of illustrations! Now Clive Foss has taken the study of the seventh century coinage of Egypt and Syria a whole quantum leap forward by attempting to place the coins in their historical setting. Indeed, although the title of the book is *Arab-Byzantine Coins*, it deals with the end of the preceding Byzantine period and the years of the Persian occupation in the early seventh century.

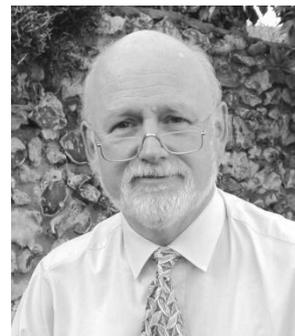
This is a refreshing approach, made all the more important by the fact that too many collectors are more concerned with filling their trays with different varieties than with studying the coins as historical documents. The history of Syria in the Umayyad period is not well documented, and the dating of much of the early Umayyad coinage is uncertain. However, Foss has blended the coinage into the known historical framework and produced an exceptionally useful book. Not all scholars will condone some of what is presented here and, in particular, the role of Mu'awiya as a coinage innovator is not universally agreed. I, however, am in the Foss camp on this.

It must be said, however, that the Dumbarton Oaks collection of Arab-Byzantine coins is not particularly remarkable. Just under 150 coins are listed and there are very few significant rarities. Nevertheless, the collection is an excellent base for the understanding of the early Arab coinage in the Levant and Egypt, particularly as Foss has used his thorough knowledge of the relevant archaeological literature to list recorded find spots of coins. In a field where the archaeological reports are widely scattered this is a contribution of inestimable value.

The main criticism that I have is that the coins illustrating the discussion are printed at various magnifications, almost always larger than life size. The result is that when one comes across a coin that is illustrated 1:1, it looks deceptively small! However, when we reach the catalogue section the illustrations are life-size. Apart from this, there are a few places where a footnote would have been useful.

This is a book which will be read and used by all curators and collectors of early Islamic coins. But, more importantly, it is a book that **must** be read by historians of the seventh century in the Middle East.

Andrew Oddy



¹⁵⁹ Wittfogel K.A., Fêng Chia-shêng. "History of Chinese Society. Liao (907-1125)". *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S.V. XXXVI, Philadelphia, 1949. P.169.

¹⁶⁰ 遼史 Liao Shi (The History of the Liao [Dynasty]). Ch.57.

¹⁶¹ It worth noting that, during the Empress Wu Zetian's reign (AD 691-705) the usual shape for the tallies of credence was that of a tortoise instead of a fish. See 舊唐書 Jiu Tang Shu (The Old History of the Tang [Dynasty]). Ch.25. One tortoise specimen has been studied in detail in Belyaev V.A., Sidorovich S.V. Veritelnaya birka vremen dinastii Tang perioda velikaya Zhou (690-705 gg.) s gorodishcha Aq-Beshim. (A Tally of Credence of the Tang dynasty period Da Zhou (AD 690-705) from the Aq-Beshim site) //

达力扎布主编《中国边疆民族研究》(第二辑) (Studies of China's Frontier Regions and Nationalities), China Minzu University Press, 2009. Pp. 1-10.

¹⁶² J Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post Reform Umayyad Coins*, London, 1956

¹⁶³ Nayef G Goussous, *Umayyad Coinage of Bilad al-Sham*, Amman, 1996; Nayef G Goussous, *Rare and Inedited Umayyad Copper Coins*, Amman, 2004

¹⁶⁴ S Album and T Goodwin, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, Volume 1, The Pre Reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period*, Oxford, 2002; T Goodwin, *Arab Byzantine Coinage* (Studies in the Khalili Collection Volume IV), London, 2005

¹⁶⁵ A Oddy, Whither Arab-Byzantine Numismatics? A Review of 50 Years' Research, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 28 (2004) 121-152

A NEW GOLD HALF MOHUR OF BHARATHA SIMHA OF ASSAM

By Nick Rhodes

The gold coins of the Moamaria rebel, Bharatha Simha, in Assam are among the rarest of all Ahom gold coins, so I was pleased to find a new example recently, illustrated below (enlarged):



New gold half mohur

Obv: Śrī Śrī Kri/shna Pada Pa/rāśya
Rev: Śrī Śrī Bha/ratha Simha/ Nripasya

Diam: 16.5mm; Wt: 5.80 g.

Surprisingly, the new gold coin is completely different both from the only gold specimen previously known¹, and all the known silver half rupees. One unusual feature of the coins of this king is that the half denominations have the title *Narendrasya* whereas the quarter denominations generally have *Nripasya*. The Sanskrit meaning of the two words is identical, so I had assumed that the different choice of words was because of space considerations. This coin is exceptional, in being a half with the legend normally found on the quarter. Another unusual feature of this coin is the

form of the letter 'Bha' in the king's name which is written



instead of the usual form



Only one type of quarter rupee is known with the longer legend, *Narendrasya*, and interestingly that has the same unusual form of the letter *Bha*. This coin is illustrated below (enlarged):



Silver quarter rupee dated 1718 Śāka

Interestingly, this coin demonstrates that there really was insufficient room to put the longer legend on the same side as the king's name on the quarter rupee, as the last letter, 'sya' has strayed onto the reverse. The date of this quarter rupee is 1718 Śāka, so it is probable that the new gold half mohur can be dated to that year, equivalent to AD 1796. It seems that a new, inexperienced die-cutter was employed, and while he was told that different legends should be placed on the two denominations, he got his instructions the wrong way round. The shorter legend on the half mohur worked well, but the longer legend on the quarter denominations gave him some problems. It is interesting to see that this die engraver did not engrave any dies for full rupees or mohurs, and a new engraver produced all the dies for the following year.

¹ A coin in the Berlin Museum, c.f. Rhodes, N.G. & Bose S.K. *The Coinage of Assam, Volume II, Ahom Period*, Kolkata and Guwahati 2004, p.107, coin no. W.2.1.

SOME INDIAN SULTANATE COINS

By Stan Goron & Paul Stevens

1. Two silver half tankas of Shams al-Dīn Īltutmish, (AH 607-633; AD 1210-1235), Dehli types.

Half tankas of the Sultans of Dehli are very rare and seldom found. Two different types are presented here. The first is similar to G&G D39 but has two dots in the margins of both sides. The coin illustrated as D39 has no marginal dots on the obverse and groups of three dots in the reverse margins. The coins weigh 5.36 g.



Īltutmish half tanka, variety of G&G D39

The second half tanka is an unpublished type and has legends similar to the full tanka, D35. It weighs 5.28 g.



Īltutmish half tanka, new type

Obv: *al-sultān al-a'zam / shams al-dunyā wa'l dīn / abū'l muẓaffar ĩltutmish / al-sultān*

Rev: Kalima and *al-mustanşir bi-amr allāh / amīr al-mu'minīn*

The coin has quite a large area which is not struck up but the legends are certain. Part of the marginal legends are visible, including the mintname *ḥaḍrat d(ehlī)*. A small part of the marginal inscription where the date should be can be seen but not enough to read. The full tanka, D35, which also quotes the caliph as *al-mustanşir bi-amr allāh* is known dated AH 625.

2. A new type of silver tanka of Īltutmish, Bengal type.



Obv. *al-sultān al-mu'zzam / shams al-dunyā wa'l dīn / abū'l muẓaffar ĩltutmish / al-sultānī yamīn khalīfat / allāh nāşir amīr al-mu'minīn*

The legend is enclosed within a dotted border.

Rev. Kalima in three lines with marginal inscription around. The Kalima is enclosed within a double border of a linear circle and then a dotted circle. The date is visible in the margin. The first two numbers 62- are clear; the last part of the date (which comes first on the coin) looks more like *thamān* (8) rather than the usual *ithna* (2) – see illustration below.



The part of the date in question

It could be an oddly engraved *thalāth* (3), which would fit in better with the series. From the year 624, the style of the tankas struck in Bengal in the name of Īltutmish changes, as can be seen from G&G D42-50.

Obituary

We regret to report the tragic death of ONS member Thomas Lautz as a result of an accident while on a recent visit to China. Thomas had a range of numismatic interests and was in charge of the numismatic collection of the Kreissparkasse, Cologne, Germany. Our sympathies go to his family. May he rest in peace.

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