



ONS News

From the Editor

With this issue we are pleased to publish, in the form of a supplement, the papers given at the 2007 Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table.

Annual General Meeting in London 1 December 2007

The next meeting in London will be the Annual General Meeting at 11.00 a.m. on Saturday 1 December 2007 at the Department of Coins and Medals, the British Museum, Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3 DG. In addition to receiving the accounts for the year ended 30 April 2006 and the report on the year to that date there will be talks including:

Jens Jakobsson - Reconstructing Bactrian history after Demetrius I.

Vesta Curtis - Persis overstrikes and the redating of the coins of Persis.

Paul Stevens - the database of Indian coins that I have been creating for myself and which could be extended to act as a reference resource for anyone interested in Indian coins.

Barbara Mears – a currency in crisis the gold coinage of South India in the early colonial period.

If you would like to give a talk at the meeting please contact either Joe Cribb at the Department of Coins and Medals or Peter Smith at the address shown on the last page of this journal. Moreover, any member who is unable to attend the meeting, but would like to raise any issues at the AGM, can write to the Hon Secretary.

Utrecht Meeting

The annual ONS meeting in the Netherlands took place, as planned, on Saturday 20 October 2007 at the new venue of the Geldmuseum, Utrecht. Thirty-two members attended, mostly from the host country but also some from neighbouring countries.

After the usual welcome with tea and coffee, the meeting got underway in the impressive auditorium of the museum with a number of short talks. Paul Geraads reported on a small hoard of late Indo-Greek kings, which was comprised mostly of coins of Zoilos II but which also contained two coins of Badryasa. Frank Hendriks invited a short discussion on a Chinese amulet and an overstrike on a coin of the Danishmendids. Your editor gave a talk on some countermarked coins of the Savafid ruler, Tahmasp I. This was followed by a report by Nico Arkesteijn on the donation to the Geldmuseum of Thai coins from the collection of the deceased ONS-member, Hans Meesters.

After lunch at the museum, Jan Linggen gave a brief talk on the coins of Portuguese India and then it was time for the auction. Over 150 lots of coins and books were keenly bid for by those attending and also by some sending in previous bids by post or via the internet. All in all, some 500 euros were generated for the

ONS. Our thanks are due to all those who supplied the material for the auction as well as those who took part in the bidding.

Our thanks are also due to the Geldmuseum who most generously enabled the facilities to be made available for the meeting.

The next meeting will take place at the same venue, the Geldmuseum, Leidseweg 90, Utrecht, on Saturday 18 October 2008. Please make a note of this in your diary.



Members eagerly awaiting the start of proceedings



Paul Geraads during his talk

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Lists Received

1. Stephen Album ([REDACTED])
2. Early World Coins ([REDACTED])

New and Recent Publications

After Alexander: Central Asia before Islam, edited by Joe Cribb and Georgina Herrmann; ISBN13: 978-0-19-726384-6 ISBN10: 0-19-726384-4 Publication date: 26 July 2007 UK Price: £65.00 (Hardback) US Price: \$125.00; Product Details: 514 pages; 7 colour plates, many b&w illustrations

Description:

This is a new study of the history, archaeology and numismatics of Central Asia, an area of great significance for our understanding of the ancient and early medieval world. This vast, land-locked region, with its extreme continental climate, was a centre of civilisation with great metropolises. Its cosmopolitan population followed different religions (Zoroastrianism, Christianity, Buddhism), and traded extensively with China, India, the Middle East, and Europe. The millennium from the overthrow of the first world empire of Achaemenian Persians by Alexander the Great to the arrival of the Arabs and Islam was a period of considerable change and conflict.

The volume focuses on recent investigations in Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. It provides a complex analysis of the symbiosis

between the city life based on oases, and the nomadic peoples grazing their animals in the surrounding semi-deserts. Other topics include the influence of the Greek colonists on military architecture, and the major impact of the Great Kushans on the spread of Buddhism and on the development of the Central Asian metropolis. And although written documents rarely survive, coinage has provided essential evidence for the political and cultural history of the region.

The volume includes the following articles:

Introduction, by Georgina Herrmann and Joe Cribb

1. Central Asia, West and East, by John Boardman, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
2. Nomads and the Shaping of Central Asia, by Claude Rapin, CNRS, Paris
3. Nomad migration in Central Asia, by Kazim Abdullaev, Institute of Archaeology, Samarkand
4. The Historical Geography of the Surkhan Darya Region, by Sebastian Stride, University of Barcelona
5. Bactria, Land of a Thousand Cities, by Pierre Leriche, CNRS, Paris
6. The Digital Reconstruction of Ai Khanum, by Guy Lecuyot, CNRS, Paris
7. The Culture of Nisa between Steppe and Empire, by Antonio Invernizzi, Department of Archaeology, University of Turin
8. Termez in Antiquity, by Pierre Leriche, CNRS, Paris & Shakir Pidaev, Institute of Archaeology, Samarkand
9. Town Planning at Paikend, by Grigory Semyenov, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg
10. Ardashir's eastern campaign in the light of numismatic evidence, by Michael Alram, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna
11. The Sasanian relief at Rag-i Bibi (Northern Afghanistan), by Frantz Grenet, Jonathan Lee, Philippe Martinez & François Ory, CNRS, Paris
12. The Fortifications at Gobekli-depe, by Gennadi Koshelenko, Academy of Sciences, Moscow
13. The Bullae of Parthian Gobekli-depe, by Vasif Gaibov, Academy of Sciences, Moscow
14. Gorgan and Dehistan: the North-East Frontier of the Iranian Empire, by Olivier Lecomte, CNRS, Paris
15. Fortifications at Gyaur Kala, Merv, by Vladimir Zavyalov, Institute for the History of Material Culture, St. Petersburg
16. Money as a Marker of Cultural Continuity and Change in Central Asia, by Joe Cribb, The British Museum, London
17. Some Questions regarding the Numismatics of pre-Islamic Merv, by Natasha Smirnova, Pushkin Museum, Moscow
18. Monetary Circulation in Ancient Tokharistan, by Edvard Rtveldze, Institute of Art History, Tashkent
19. Money in Eastern Central Asia before AD 800, by Helen Wang, The British Museum, London
20. Iranian Coins: Symbols of Power, by Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis, The British Museum
21. The Fire Temple at Tash-k'irman-tepe, Chorasmia, by Alison Betts, Department of Archaeology, University of Sydney
22. The Discovery of a Sasanian Period 'Tower of Silence' at Bandiyan, by Mehdi Rahbar, Cultural Heritage & Tourism Organisation of Iran, Tehran
23. Buddhism and Buddhist Art of Bactria-Tokharistan: Excavations at Kara tepe, by Tigran Mkrtychev, Oriental Art Museum, Moscow

“Monnayage arabo-sassanide de Dārābgird” by Malek Iradj Mochiri, in *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān (The International Journal of Ancient Iranian Studies)*, vol. 5, Nos. 1&2, 2005-2006, Iran University Press; www.iup.ir

The Indian Coin Society has published its *Newsletter* 42, Jan-March 2007. This contains the following articles:

“Uninscribed Kāmsikā coins and the origin of coinage in the Narmadā valley”, by R. Kulkarni

“Coins of the city state of Hathodaka in the Narmadā valley” by D. Handa and Major M.K. Gupta

“Vṛṣotsarga or Śūlagava Yajna coins of the Bhadrās” by P. Kulkarni

“Kadiri - a mint and its coinage” by S. Bhandare

Available from Reesha Books International
www.reeshabooks.com

The Numismatic Society of Calcutta has decided to release one yearly journal from 2007 onwards and the first issue was due to be released on 26 August 2007. Members, if interested, may contact mirasbooks@rediffmail.com

The first issue contains a number of articles including the following:

“Money and society in ancient India” by Prof.(Rtd.) B.N. Mukherjee

“A note on Vatasvaka coins” by Prof. Devendra Handa

“Nazarana coins - a view”, by Shailendra Bhandare

“Some coins of Marjit Singh of Manipur” by Nicholas Rhodes

“Sel coinage of Manipur” by S.K. Bose.

Soft cover. Price \$5. Title: Coin.

From Persepolis to the Punjab: Exploring Ancient Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan by Elizabeth Errington and Vesta Curtis, with contributions from Joe Cribb, Helen Wang, St John Simpson and Jean-Marie Lafont, London 2007, hardback, ISBN 9780 7141 1165 0. Published by British Museum Publications, price £65 with special launch price of £40 up to 31 December 2007.

“In this book, the empires of the Achaemenids (550-331 BC), Parthians (238 BC-AD 224) and the Sasanians (AD 224-651), which extended from Iran westwards through Afghanistan to the north-western borderlands of the Indian subcontinent, are explored. Featuring nearly 200 images, research and expertise across several disciplines are brought together to explain the personalities, scripts, empires, dynasties and religions of this complex and multi-faceted region. The interest of the 19th-century European powers in this region has been called ‘the Great Game’ and its effects are explored in this book.”

Available from The British Museum Press, 38 Russell Square, London WC1B 3QQ tel: +44 (0)20 7637 1292; sales@britishmuseum.co.uk; www.britishmuseum.co.uk

Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean, volume 6: *The Egyptian Dynasties* by Norman D. Nicol, 2007, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, UK, 185 pages, including 82 plates. Casebound £60 plus postage, where appropriate.

“This volume contains nearly 1600 coins of the 9th – 16th centuries from North Africa to Great Syria. It covers the following dynasties: Tūlūnids, Ikshhīdids, Fātimids, Ayyūbids, Zengids and Mamlūks. The collections included in the catalogue are those of the Heberden Coin Room and the Shamma Collection. Unlike previous SICA volumes, the coins are arranged by dynasty and ruler because of the large number of distinctive types belonging to each dynasty’s coinage.”

The book is distributed by Spink and may be obtained from their Book Department, Spink & Son Ltd, 69 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4ET, UK; tel ++44 (0)20 7563 4046/4045; fax ++44 (0) 7563 4068. Email: books@spink.com

A new *Catalogue of Elymais Coinage* by P.A. van’t Haaff, is due to be published by Classical Numismatic Group (CNG). The author has provided the following information.

“Information on the coinage of Elymais not easily accessible as it is scattered among a limited number of old or specialised publications. Numismatists primarily use the publications by G.F.

Hill (1930), M. Alam (1986), and D. Sear (1982). The first two cover the full range of Elymaean coinage, but are incomplete, outdated, and lack sufficient details for the specialised collector. Alam only covers Elymaean coins with a name inscribed on them. All of these publications are either difficult to obtain (Hill and de Morgan) or expensive. Further research has been published by G. Le Rider (1965), C. Augé, et al. (1979), R. Vardanian (1986), J. Hansman (1985, 1990), E. Dobbins (1992), and B.R. Bell (2002), but all are difficult to obtain. Le Rider and Augé were important sources of information for this work.

The present book attempts to be a practical guide for collectors and combines available information from the various sources. It contains two parts:

Part One: Characteristics of Elymaean Coinage includes

- * The geographical, geopolitical, linguistic, and artistic aspects of the coinage.
- * The chronology and dating of the rulers.
- * A general description of the coinage of the Elymaean dynasties:
- * Divine symbols that are on all Elymaean coins. The analysis, based on research by Hansman (1985), relates the symbols to the deities that were worshipped in Elymais. No earlier catalogue deals with this subject.
- * Mints and mintmarks.
- * Weight standards.
- * An Easy Finder table for every type.

Part Two: Catalogue provides illustrations and type numbering of the coins of Elymais. The illustrations, which are not to scale, are taken from auction catalogues, literature, and private collections. Many coins of Elymais are small and the details are often unclear. Therefore many of the coin images are supplemented with line drawings. All drawings have been made by the author.

Appendix 1 – Concordances contains a list of the major types and their corresponding attributions in the sources commonly used for Elymaean coins. *Appendix 2 – Sources* list the sources for the illustrations in the catalogue, as well as die links between these coins. Finally, the *Bibliography* refers to the publications that were consulted.’

Numismatic Digest Vol. 31 (2007) has recently been published by IIRNS Publications, PO Anjaneri, Dist. Nashik 422 213 Maharashtra, India. ISBN 81-86786-26-0; pp 256, price IRs 350, US \$20. This volume contains the following articles:

- “A hoard of early local punchmarked coins of Magadha Janapada” by S. Sharma & S. Hirano
- “Some Magadha series I overstrikes from Sasarom” by P. Tandon
- “Yaudheya chronology and coinage: an analysis” by R.D. Mann
- “Some rare Shaḍānana-Shashṭhī / deer-type Yaudheya coins” by D. Handa
- “A new silver coin of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Vijaya Sātakarṇi” by L.B. Varma
- “Coins of the Kadambas of Banavasi” by Dr M. Girijapathi & L. Subrahmanya
- “Padmaṅka of Queen Lakshmi and its attribution” by C. Gupta
- “An Umayyad dinar found in Bangladesh” by S. Hossain
- “Nasik hoard of Mughal gold coins” by D. Moin
- “New mints and coins from Bhopal state” by P.P. Kulkarni
- “The ‘Mansūri’ or ‘Munsooree’ paisa and its use; combining numismatic and social history of India c1830-1900” by J.Lingen & J. Lucassen
- “Coins of Tranquebar with ships’ names” by O. Sejerøe
- “An ivory city seal of Erakachha” by O.P.L. Srivastava
- “A terracotta seal and a sealing from Tilpi (West Bengal)” by S.B. Majumdar

Other News

The Delhi Coin Society is organising an exhibition of coins, medals, tokens and bank notes. Dealers, collectors, scholars and visitors from all over India are coming to attend this exhibition. There will be a coin auction on 1 December 2007 at Babu Seva Sadan, Panchkuian Road, opposite Merto Pillar 40. The exhibition will run from 30 November to 2 December 2007. The contact is Goga Jain, 55, Gole Market, New Delhi-1, tel 01123744204 / 23743041 / 9312318401.

Review

Tribal Coins of Ancient India by Devendra Handa
Publishers: Aryan Books International, New Delhi
ISBN 81-7305-317-0

290 + xxxi pages with 85 coin plates; 25 other illustrations including maps; 4 appendices and 3 tables

Reviewed by Shailendra Bhandare

The so-called 'tribal' coins form a very significant series of coinage of ancient India and Dr Devendra Handa is known to the readers and students of Indian numismatics as one of the scholars who has prolifically contributed to the subject. Early Indologists, like James Prinsep and Alexander Cunningham were familiar with these coins, but the term 'tribal' to describe them was first employed by noted historian, Vincent Smith, and its usage had a marked historiographic bearing. The legends on many coins classified as such indicate that ancient communities were responsible for their issue, and employ either a collective noun for the entire community as the issuer or the name of a leader, who often called himself a 'King', in the legends they bear. The names of some of these communities were readily recognised as Sanskrit origins of Greek derivations employed by the historians of Alexander the Great, who identified them as 'tribes', which played a crucial role in Alexander's campaigns on the Indian borderlands. Hence the word 'tribes' used to describe these communities. Subsequent contributions on 'tribal' coins were made by John Allan, P L Gupta, K K Dasgupta, Bela Lahiri and M K Saran. Dr Devendra Handa is the 'youngest' in the long line of scholars who have worked on this important topic.

In his introductory chapter, Dr Handa offers insights into the nomenclature and draws in worthwhile evidence from the Indian literary tradition to substantiate it. Much of this evidence rests on interpreting terms such as *Jana*, *Gaṇa*, *Janapada* and *Sangha*, employed in ancient Indian literature within specific contexts. In this exercise he refers to attempts by previous scholars in identifying, attributing and classifying the broad range of these coins and gives a survey of how difficult this task has been. He then defines what he means by 'tribal' coins and thus delineates the scope of the book. According to him, "only those coins on which the name of the tribe occurs, either in the genitive plural or in the genitive singular, if appearing or after the name of the king or compounded with some other word, accompanied by the term *Janapada* or *Gana*; or for which there are very strong typological and circumstantial reasons" (p. xxx). Thus Dr Handa limits his study to sixteen 'tribes', namely the Agras, the Ārjunāyaṇas, the Audumbaras, the Kulutas, the Kshudrakas, the Kuṇindas, the Mālavas, the Pauravas, the Rājanyas, the Sāvitrīputras, the Śibis, the Trigartas, the Uddehikas, the Vemakis, the Vṛṣhṇis and the Yaudheyas. These sixteen 'tribes' form the sixteen chapters of the book. A very detailed bibliography comprising primary and secondary historical sources, as well as numismatic publications is to be found at the end of the book.

Each chapter follows a rough outline of contents – it begins with a discussion of the 'History and Antiquity' of the tribe, which although not subtitled the same for every chapter, contains data drawn from the ancient Indian literary tradition in terms of the usage of and reference to the appellation that marks the identity of the tribe. For many 'tribes', a discussion pertaining to archaeological discoveries is also presented. In some cases, ancillary objects such as seals and epigraphs are brought into context with the coins, and discussed. As such, the beginnings of

each chapter give the reader a thorough perspective on the 'tribe' and its history, before one comes to the coins proper. This is by far an aspect of the book which most convincingly demonstrates Dr Handa's erudition and ability to handle the subject, albeit from a conventional point of view.

The coins are discussed, wherever possible, offering a classification into 'class', 'types', and 'varieties'. The legends, motifs and symbols are discussed in great detail, especially for tribes with a varied coinage, like the Kunindas or the Yaudheyas. The classification in general is thorough. Previous attempts at this task are discussed in detail and in some cases, like the Yaudheyas, an entirely new scheme is proposed. Information about coin circulation has been gathered from every quarter and useful indicators of provenance and hoard evidence are given, illustrated, wherever possible, by maps and charts. Some series, such as those of the Agras, the Audumbaras, the Kunindas and the Yaudheyas are much better classified than others, possibly due to the author's aptitude in researching them and the access to material that he has had from official as well as semi-official (trade) sources. Weights and metrology are discussed where pertinent, and sufficient thought and detail is given about minting techniques. However, the absence of a uniformly applicable classifying / numbering system has meant that the utility of much of the discussion regarding coin classification is limited, both from the viewpoint of collectors and future researchers. I am aware that the coins under discussion are very disparate and to achieve such a 'classification umbrella' is indeed a difficult task – however, an attempt in this direction would have proved immensely useful. Also, in some cases data that could usefully have been used as classification adjuncts is discussed only as 'minor varieties', consigning it to words lost in paragraphs rather than accentuating it in charts or title sub-headings. This has resulted in not allowing the full potential of such data to be realised in terms of classification. A good example of this is the series of silver drachms issued by the Kunindas. There are several variations in the symbolic programme of these coins, many of which have only recently been noted. Small symbols occur at specific 'points' in the design, the purpose of which seems more like 'privy marks'. While Dr Handa notes them, he does not highlight the occurrence in classification terms and thus this significant aspect of the coinage is rendered somewhat obscure.

While we are on Kuninda coins, it is worth noting that Dr Handa dismisses one of the Kuninda sub-series as 'modern fakes'. These are the coins with an anomalous reverse legend in Kharoshthi, read by L C Gupta, who originally published them as *Prajāpati Ākhyasya*. In the illustration supplied by Dr Handa, the portion 'Prajāpati' is indeed very clear, while 'Ākhyasya' is not and one would be willing to take on board the point that this may have been a misreading by Gupta. While Dr Handa is perfectly entitled to his opinion regarding the authenticity of these coins, most of the reasons he gives to substantiate it are not very sound – they are *argumenta ex silentio* to say the least. The entire logic of Dr Handa's dismissal revolves around how a legend like *Prajāpati Ākhyasya* cannot possibly exist and be substantiated and thus he concludes that these coins may have been manufactured 'by a person well-versed in Kharoshthi'. While this may indeed be plausible, one still would have to account for several other aspects of the coins, such as their physical condition and the patina they have acquired, before condemning them. I have examined some of these coins in private collections in India, and I see no reason to doubt their authenticity judging by their fabric and physical condition. They indeed are manufactured from a curious alloy and L C Gupta may have been wrong in his publication to indicate that they were made of 'brass, copper and steel'. However, one need not take aspects of *his* reporting to be the diagnostic factor in judging authenticity of the coins – a personal scrutiny and republishing with better analytical skills would work well instead. However, in his inability to make sense of the legend, Dr Handa has done exactly that – in spite of having had an opportunity to examine the coins, he has treated L C Gupta's reporting quite literally and has based many of his own counter-arguments around it.

The appendices deal with particular series of coins which do not, *prima facie*, come under the purview of 'tribal coins' if one takes the definition set out by Dr Handa in the introductory chapter too literally. Each appendix deals with one such series and there are four – 'Mahadeva Type' coins, coins of the Mitra rulers (of the Punjab), 'Chitresvara Type' coins and the series known as 'Almora' coins. The first of these are bi-scriptural silver coins which carry a legend reading *Bhagavato Mahadevasa Rājarāja* or *Rājarājña*. Their find-spots indicate they circulated in a relatively small region of present-day Himachal Pradesh. In type characteristics they are very similar to the issues of the Vemaka tribe and were historically attributed to the Audumbaras, owing to the fact that 'Mahādeva', while literally meaning the 'Great God', is also known as a name/title on coins of the Audumbara series. Here Dr Handa differs with his precursors and offers an opinion that these are not Audumbara issues. In offering this view, he also gives a very thorough classification of the 'Mahadeva' silver coins. However, while disagreeing with the traditionally held attribution, he does not propose a conclusive re-attribution. He 'feels' that the word 'Mahadeva' on these coins 'stands neither for the name of the issuing king nor for the god, Mahadeva'. He then comments that the type characteristics and legend arrangement allow us to date the coins to the 1st century BC, that they are derived from the type of the Indo-Greek ruler Apollodotos II (c. 60 BC), and the attributive aspect for the issuer is 'Rājarājan' ('King of Kings') rather than 'Mahādeva'. While Dr Handa agrees that this could have been the name of an individual, he is sceptical whether the king of a small kingdom would ever have had such a lofty name. But he also ends up contradicting himself just a few sentences later when he states "whosoever the issuer, he was a great king who ruled for a long time and had flourishing trade with the West" (p. 232)!

It will be worthwhile offering some views on this attribution, particularly in the light of two copper coins from the Hermitage (St Petersburg, Russia) collection, accession nos. 871 and 872 (figs. 1 and 2).



Figs. 1 and 2

They weigh approx. 7 gm and, as such, are close to the copper 'Hemi-Obol' coins of the Indo-Greeks. Unlike the silver coins, these bear the legend '*Bhagavato Mahadevasa*' in Brahmi only and have a standing effigy that can be easily identified as Siva. The reverse of these coins is enigmatic to say the least, but it resembles a 'monogram' seen on Indo-Greek coins. Judging by the resemblance in legends and the occurrence of a monogram-like symbol, it is plausible that these coins are the copper issues of the same issuer who struck the silver coins. On these copper coins, the verdict so far as who is 'Mahādeva' to be identified with seems very clear – it is Siva around whom the legend is inscribed and that would mean the coins are struck in the name of the deity much like some other 'tribal' coins discussed by Dr Handa. These coins may indicate that the silver drachms, if regarded as part of the same numismatic picture, may also have been struck in the name of Mahadeva, i.e. Siva. Here in the specific context as the tribe's tutelary deity, Siva may well be regarded as 'King of Kings' (*Rājarājan*), which is reflected in the legends of the silver coins.

The second appendix, on 'Mitra coins', essentially covers the numismatographic debate about attribution of the said series to

other tribes and monarchical states – the Audumbaras and the state of Panchala respectively. Here Dr Handa neatly summarises the views of his predecessors and offers a good classification of the coins of the 'Mitra' series. His view that the 'Mitra' rulers of the Punjab Hill regions (now Himachal Pradesh) had nothing to do with either of these entities is certainly tenable.

The third appendix deals with the 'Chitresvara' coins, known as such from their type which shows a deity standing holding a staff and the legend which surrounds this depiction that reads '*Bhagavato Chitresvara Mahatmanah*'. Dr Handa gives a detailed classification of the coins and comments that they were issued by the Yaudheyas, rather than the Kunindas, as has been the prevailing belief.

As for the 'Almora' coins, discussed in appendix 4, Dr Handa is inclined to attribute them to an independent series rather than regard them as 'tribal' issues. Like appendix 2, the debate in this last appendix also revolves around past attributive attempts and is largely a numismatographic exercise.

The plates accompanying the book leave much to be desired, to say the least. Although their number (85) is large by any estimate, they lack quality and are not numbered adequately. It is commonplace to find in the text references to individually numbered coins in plate illustrations, only to turn to the plates to discover that, while the plate number exists, no individual numbers are given to the coins. The photos are of a mediocre quality, often reproductions from earlier publications and lack requisite details in many instances. The quality of maps and other illustrations is, however, very good. Another drawback of the book is that, in some important cases, Dr Handa has carried on some of the misattributions of his predecessors and thus perpetuated them without adequate inquiry. The most evident example of this is a 'Kuluta' coin of King Veerayasha, attributed as such by Michael Mitchiner, which in reality is a Satavahana coin from the Nasik region (p. 42-43, type V).

In spite of mild criticisms the reviewer can offer, the book is largely a very thorough attempt at covering a significant topic in ancient Indian numismatics. Dr Handa deserves praise from numismatists and historians for making his peerless scholarship in the coinage and history of these particular series accessible to them in this significant monograph. The book has been handsomely produced by Aryan Books International of New Delhi.

Articles

A COUNTERMARK FROM 7TH CENTURY SYRIA IMITATING THE MONOGRAM OF HERACLIUS

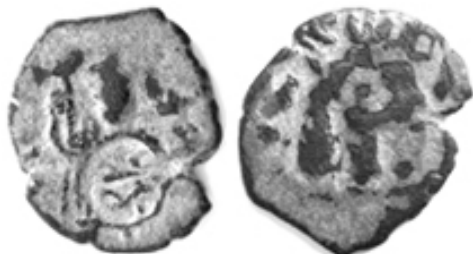
By Wolfgang Schulze

In 2005 an extensive study was published about the countermarks in 7th century Syria from before and after the Arab conquest¹. Such a study can hardly ever be complete and therefore must remain work in progress for the time being. From time to time a new type of countermark appears on the market, or comes to light from the earth where it was hidden for centuries. Furthermore there are some countermarks which hitherto could not be clearly identified. One of those series can now be described without any doubt from four specimens (all in private collections; pictures enlarged):

¹ Schulze, Wolfgang – Goodwin, Tony, Countermarking in Seventh Century Syria, Supplement to ONS Newsletter 183 (2005), 23-54 – in the following quoted as ONSN-S 2005



1. Pseudo-Byzantine coin, weight 2.65 g, diameter 24.3 x 18.2 mm, die axis 5h30, countermark on obverse



2. Pseudo-Byzantine coin, overstruck on a follis of Constans II (class I-5), weight 4.44 g, diameter 24.1 x 21.0 mm, die axis 5h, countermark on obverse



3. Pseudo-Byzantine coin with blundered mintmark Γ HIU and (senseless?) legend WHIΓAICO-IVNOMTAHEIVS on obverse², weight 3.30 g, diameter 24.0 x 20.0 mm, die axis 12h, countermark on obverse
(The gamma actually appears retrograde on the coin)



4. Pseudo-Byzantine coin (unusually thin flan), weight 2.58 g, diameter 34.0 x 28.0 mm, die axis 7h, countermark on obverse

We are looking at a countermark showing two monograms resembling the monogram of the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius (610-641). This monogram was used on countermarks during the last years of Byzantine rule in Syria between circa 633 and 636 in Palestine I to revalue the circulating Byzantine coins because of the serious lack of cash at that time.³ For comparison the two main types of the Heraclian monogram used for countermarking before 636 and two examples of these “original” countermarks are pictured here:



(Type 1 = HRC)



(Type 2 = HR)

Types 1 and 2 correspond widely to Grierson’s classes E and F⁴, Hahn’s Km 1a and Km 1b⁵ and the monograms that Sear describes as nos. 21-3 and 33-4⁶. It is obvious that our new countermark (nos. 1-4) does not fit into this series. Here the “Heraclian” monograms are formed as



Apart from the fact that no countermark with a double monogram is known from the “original” series, both monograms are mutilated and therefore incorrect. In particular the bar is missing on both monograms. Furthermore the host coins are from a later period. We are therefore dealing with a countermark from the time after the Arab conquest in Syria, which fits well into the series established by Goodwin⁷.

The host coins

All four countermarked coins are Pseudo-Byzantine coins of the standing emperor type, struck under Arab rule in 7th century Syria. The prototypes are folles of the Byzantine emperor, Constans II (641-668). Three of them (nos.1, 2 and 4) were purchased in Israel; no. 3 was bought from a Lebanese dealer. This could suggest that the provenance of the countermark is Palestine. But in view of the small number of coins this proposition can not be ascertained.

The countermark

With a diameter of 8 mm, the countermark on the four coins is slightly bigger than other known items: the average of the 7th century Syrian countermarks usually ranges in size from about 4 to 7 mm. It is applied on the obverse of the host coins; this is not

² This type was discussed by Tony Goodwin, A puzzling Arab-Byzantine coin, Numismatic Circular 104, December 1996, 442 and in ONSN-S 2005, 42 fn. 85.

³ Schulze, Wolfgang – Schulze, Ingrid – Leimenstoll, Wolfgang, Heraclian countermarks on Byzantine copper coins in seventh-century Syria, Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, Vol. 30 No. 1 (2006), 1-27; Schulze in ONSN-S 2005, 23 ff.

⁴ Grierson, Paul, Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, Vol. II, Washington 1968, 53 ff.

⁵ Hahn, Wolfgang, Moneta Imperii Byzantini, Vol. III, Vienna 1981, 140 f., Synoptic charts III

⁶ Sear, David. R., Byzantine Coins and their Values, 2nd edition, London 1987, 32

⁷ Goodwin, Tony, Seventh century Islamic countermarks from Syria, ONS Newsletter 162 (2000), 13-16 and ONSN-S 2005, 41 ff. (expanded and updated version). The countermark described here will be classified as the no. A19 in a future compilation.

unusual, although most of the contemporary countermarks are applied on the reverse of the host coins⁸.

Dating

Goodwin has provisionally dated the majority of the countermarks in 7th century Syria after the Arab conquest to the period 660 to 680⁹. We can do the same with the countermark discussed here. The Pseudo-Byzantine host coins of the standing emperor type date from the time between 647 and c.670¹⁰. The obvious conclusion would be to date our countermark too to the end of this period or a little bit later.

However, the question may arise: Is it possible that the imitations of the Heraclian monograms indicate an earlier dating? The use of the “original” Heraclian monogram on countermarks ended in 636. Are the imitations possibly from the very beginning of the Pseudo-Byzantine coinage i.e. about 650? Such considerations are by no means conclusive: we can assume that the Heraclian monogram was still well-known in Syria for decades after the Arab conquest 636/640 and the death of Heraclius 641. Heraclian coins and coins countermarked with the Heraclian monogram remained in circulation in Syria for a long time. Besides, we know of coins of Constans II and Pseudo-Byzantine coins which seem to be countermarked with the “original” Heraclian monogram. In fact, these late issues were overstruck on still circulating older coins already countermarked.



Follis of Constans II, countermark from undertype

All in all, we can assume that the countermark discussed here is contemporary to the other items presented in ONSN-S 2005 and consequently should be dated to the period 660-680.

Purpose

The use of Byzantine-style monograms as countermarks was not unusual during early Arab rule in Syria¹¹. In this context we must remember that, after the Arab conquest, the new ruling class was dependent on Greek bureaucrats and institutions. Up to the middle of the reign of ‘Abd al-Malik (685-705), official documents were written in Greek.

Goodwin concluded that the group of Byzantine-style countermarks was used in a region which regarded the normal Constans II folles as official currency. Otherwise suspect-looking coins (e.g. Pseudo-Byzantine coins) were countermarked before they were put into circulation¹². We can suppose that people cutting the dies for countermarking used Byzantine monograms from anywhere as prototypes without copying them exactly.

But why did the die-cutters place two different imitations of the Heraclian monogram on the countermark discussed here? To answer this question we have to know that the “original” countermark with the Heraclian monogram was often placed twice, three times or even four times on the same coin.

⁸ Goodwin, ONSN-S 2005, 42

⁹ Goodwin, ONSN-S 2005, 49 f.

¹⁰ Pottier, Henri – Schulze, Ingrid – Schulze, Wolfgang, Pseudo-Byzantine coinage in Syria under Arab rule (638-c.670) – Classification and dating (forthcoming in *Revue Numismatique Belge* 2008 – preliminary report in *Journal of the ONS* 193 Supplement)

¹¹ Cf. the nos. A1, A3, A9 and A11 of Goodwin, ONSN-S 2005, 42

¹² Goodwin ONSN-S 2005, 49



Half follis of Heraclius countermarked twice

Possibly the die cutter had such a double countermarked coin to hand and imitated both monograms together on one countermark die.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks to Tony Goodwin, Marcus Phillips, Henri Pottier and my wife, Ingrid, for their helpful information.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDO-GREEK KINGS AFTER MENANDER, PART 2.

By Jens Jakobsson

In part one of this article, it was shown that Philoxenos Aniketos was the leading Indo-Greek king around 100 BC, ruling from Kabul to the Punjab. Table 1 contains a survey of monograms used on his coins, as given by O. Bopearachchi¹ and R.C. Senior². These monograms may in fact have various meanings – mint, city, moneyer have all been suggested – and therefore the analysis of these monograms is mostly quantitative, for, regardless of what a single monogram meant, overlaps of several monograms indicate that two kings were closely connected. The monograms of Philoxenos provide links to many important Indo-Greek kings.

Use by earlier kings	Monogram	Use by later kings
1. Nikias Theophilos	⊗	-
2. Nikias Theophilos	⊠	Artemidoros
3. ...Antimachos II Eukratides I Menander I Zoilos I Lysias Antialkidas Nikias Theophilos	⊕	Diomedes Hermaios
4. -	⊠ Σ	Diomedes
5. Eukratides I	⊕	Diomedes Hermaios Straton I* Heliokles II
6. -	⊕	Diomedes Hermaios Amyntas
7. -	⊕	Diomedes Hermaios Straton I* Polyxenios Heliokles II Archebios Amyntas Menander II
8. ... Eukratides I Lysias	⊕	Diomedes Straton I Polyxenios Archebios
9. -	Σ	Diomedes Straton I* Heliokles II
10. -	⊕ Σ	Hermaios
11. Menander I Lysias Antialkidas	⊕	Hermaios Straton I* Artemidoros

12. ...Eukratides I Menander I Lysias Antialkidas	Σ R	Straton I Heliokles II Archebios
13. -	Σ	Artemidoros
14. -	Σ Σ	-
15. -	Σ	-
16. -	⊙	-
17. -	Σ R	-
18. -	Σ R	-

Table 1. Supposed chronological sequences for Philoxenos' monograms^{1,2}. Dots indicate even earlier use by Bactrian kings. For Straton I, * indicates that these coins were struck with the epithets Soter Dikaios. Kings in **bold** struck Attic coins.

After the death of Philoxenos, around 100 BC, the Indo-Greek realm was fragmented. During the following decades, several rulers seem to have been locked in incessant struggles that ultimately weakened Indo-Greek power in a fatal way. Only few of these kings had dynastical names, and perhaps some of them were usurpers, but a continuity of reverses and titles may indicate that dynasties had survived. But can their relationships be credibly reconstructed?

This article will show that this is possible to some extent, whereas in other cases there are still important unresolved questions. All dates are of course approximate.

The House of Philoxenos

Diomedes Soter (c.100-95 BC), is often said to have succeeded Philoxenos^{1,2} in Paropamisadae, Arachosia and Gandhara, and inherited seven of his monograms. The best images of Philoxenos and Diomedes are found on their Attic tetradrachms with diademed portraits². On these good portraits (which should be realistic) they look very similar, and Diomedes looks the younger of the two.

Similarity between the two, even though the actual features are variable, can also be observed on several analogue (i.e. series with the same portrait pose) Indian series as well. That is, many portraits of Diomedes were designed to resemble those of Philoxenos.



Fig.1 Attic tetradrachms of Philoxenos and Diomedes with diademed portraits



Fig 2. Attic tetradrachms of helmeted Philoxenos and Diomedes with similar features. (Courtesy of Bopearachchi¹)

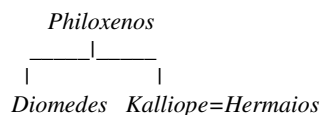
Diomedes used reverses of Kastor and Polydeuktes – previously associated with Eukratides I – on horseback or standing. While his imagery does not resemble that of Philoxenos closely (though Philoxenos also uses a horseman) we can still assume that Diomedes was the son of Philoxenos¹³. Diomedes might have inherited a connection to Eukratides through his mother, and there are several examples where Indo-Greek princes struck coins different from those of their fathers.

The last king in the west was Hermaios Soter (c.100 or 95-80 BC), whose regular reverse was Zeus enthroned and who also struck Attic coins. The middle-aged Hermaios is sometimes believed to have been a Hellenised Saka chieftain³, which might explain the large amount of posthumous Hermaios coins struck by later Sakas.

According to Table 1, Hermaios shared six of the diagrams of Philoxenos, four of which also belonged to Diomedes. A Kalliope, obviously his queen, was portrayed on some of Hermaios' issues, an honour only ever bestowed on three women in the entire Indo-Greek world. So Kalliope was an important princess, and the natural suggestion would be that she was the daughter of Philoxenos, for on his joint issues with Kalliope, Hermaios used a version of the horseman found on the reverses of Philoxenos.

Why was Hermaios highlighting his association with Kalliope? Either the family of Philoxenos was an important ally of Hermaios, or more probably Hermaios wanted to legitimise his reign as the successor of Philoxenos' family through this marriage. The fact that Hermaios assumed Diomedes' epithet Soter could be another indication of this policy.

This gives the following pedigree:



If these assumptions are correct, Philoxenos was succeeded by his heir, Diomedes, but the young king was unable to control the entire kingdom and was expelled from its eastern parts. After a relatively short reign, Diomedes was killed and succeeded by Hermaios, who either had been "magister militum" under Diomedes or already ruled a small kingdom of his own (represented by the two monograms that Hermaios inherited directly from Philoxenos).

¹³ Or younger brother. Kastor and Polydeuktes were symbols of brotherly love (philadelphia). The Pergamene king, Eumenes II, struck coins with the twin gods, apparently to honour his brother and successor Attalos II Philadelphos.

Coins of Diomedes and Hermaios have been found in eastern Punjab as well, for instance in the Sonipat hoard (see pt 1). While this could simply mean that their coins circulated eastwards, it is not impossible that the two kings temporarily held isolated strongholds in Punjab.

That concludes the western parts, for, as mentioned, the coins of Hermaios were continued after his death, probably by Saka tribes that had invaded Paropamisadae but were not yet confident enough to coin in their own name².

The descendants of Menander

The Greek successions east of the Paropamisadae/Arachosia are far more complicated. Not only did the “western” kings make a bid for influence, there were several other candidates. The first of these is Agathokleia (perhaps 105-95 BC)¹⁴, queen regent for her son, Straton I.

Again, the fact that a woman managed to rule in her own right indicates the importance of Agathokleia. She was likely the daughter of one king and the widow of another, though Agathokleia did not directly succeed her deceased husband, for her two monograms were new². It seems as though she and her little son were exiled or captives for a few years before they were able to rebel in the Punjab, probably during Philoxenos’ reign.

Nikias (c.130-115 BC), the relative of Menander I, is a good candidate for Straton’s father. The two kings shared the epithet Soter and a unique en-face version of Athena Alkidemos, as shown in Table 2. For Agathokleia’s father we can suggest either Menander himself, or Zoilos I Dikaios, since the later king Zoilos II Soter was probably a descendant of Straton I.

Sovereign	Reverses (silver)
Menander I Soter	Athena/Owl (no portrait) Athena Alkidemos right, left
Zoilos I Dikaios	Herakles standing (sometimes with Nike)
Nikias Soter	King walking with palm, Athena Alkidemos en face King on prancing horse*
Agathokleia & Straton Soter (kai) Dikaios	King walking with spear, Athena Alkidemos left
Straton Soter (kai) Dikaios	Athena Alkidemos left, right and en-face Athena standing holding Nike
Straton Epiphanes Soter	Athena Alkidemos left

Table 2. Possible relatives of Straton I

All coins (Bopearachchi) except *, first published in pt 1 (courtesy of cngcoins.com).

Alternatively, Nikias was Agathokleia’s father. In that case the husband could have been Theophilos Dikaios, who is difficult to date but probably was a close relative of Zoilos I (see pt 1).

But there is another matter which must be solved before these discussions could be anything more than speculations. The coins of Agathokleia and young Straton, and the king’s earlier issues after he had come of age and her guardianship ended, feature variations of the epithets Soter and Dikaios (sometimes only Soter, or only *Dhramikasa*, the Kharoshti version of Dikaios).

There are, however, also coins with the epithets Epiphanes Soter: here the king is always a grown man and these have been interpreted as the same king’s later issues^{1,2}. The portraits are relatively similar, though the different ages makes this a difficult assessment.

But perhaps Straton/Dikaios and Straton/Epiphanes were in fact two different kings¹⁵, who both ruled around 105-80 BC in adjacent kingdoms. This view is supported by several arguments:

a) Their monograms are different: of eleven Straton/Dikaios monograms¹, and eight (counting Kharoshti letters) of Straton/Epiphanes, there is only one overlap.

b) Their bronzes are entirely different.

c) Straton/Dikaios used four variations of Athena on his silver reverses; only one was used by Straton/Epiphanes.

d) Straton/Dikaios is bearded on his adult portraits, Straton/Epiphanes never so.

e) The king, Heliokles II, seems to have fought Straton I and used almost all of the Straton and Agatokleia monograms⁵. But if Straton I was one king, he must have ruled from boyhood to middle age, and he had already abandoned some of his earlier monograms. So why were they re-introduced by Heliokles II after the death of Straton I?

Heliokles II also overstruck at least six coins of Straton/Dikaios’, one of his bronzes and five of Straton and Agathokleia, the earliest issues⁷. These wars may have been very complicated and gone on for years, but it seems possible that Heliokles II in fact fought two kings named Straton and took over their mints.



Fig 2. Silver drachms of the young Straton/Dikaios and the middle-aged Straton/Epiphanes (www.cngcoins.com, triton X/457 and www.gmcoinart.de, auction 155/175).

If there were two separate kings, we can probably rule out the possibility that Straton/Epiphanes, the older king, was Agathokleia’s husband. Their monograms were, as mentioned, different, and Straton/Epiphanes was succeeded by another young king, Polyxenios Epiphanes Soter (c. 80-75 BC). Polyxenios inherited his three monograms from Straton/Epiphanes, as well as his epithets and the Athena Alkidemos reverse, and was probably his son.

But perhaps Straton/Epiphanes was the brother of Agathokleia? There is a possible numismatic indication to support their connection (Fig 3): Straton/Epiphanes struck a bronze with what looks like a middle-aged female portrait (though Bopearachchi interprets the portrait as Apollo with long, braided hair¹). She is not mentioned in the legend, but this female looks rather similar to Agathokleia’s own portraits. Could this be a sort of obituary for the queen, struck by her brother?



Fig 3. Silver drachm of Agathokleia with young portrait, and posthumous Agathokleia portrait (?) on bronze coin of Straton/Epiphanes. (www.cngcoins.com, mailbids 70/675 and 61/792).

¹⁴ Older works (as early as Tarn⁴, but supported into the 1990s by Bopearachchi and Senior) thought that Agathokleia was queen of Menander I, but it now seems that she was later, even though Straton I belongs to Menander’s dynasty.

¹⁵ Thanks to Mark Passehl (Hellenistica Yahoo Group) for the initial suggestion. In this work, “Straton I” refers to coins of both kings.

However, only a thorough study could solve whether there was one or two kings, and since few scholars have considered the question, information is hard to acquire. Hoard findings must for instance be re-evaluated to see whether Straton/Dikaios' and Straton/Epiphanes' coins were differently distributed.

For Straton I (or the two Stratons) was a key figure, since the dynasty of Menander likely continued until the end of the Indo-Greek kingdom. The important late king, Apollodotos II Soter Megas (perhaps 70-55 BC), used the same Athena Alkidemos reverse and styled himself Soter as well as Philopator. Both Stratons are possible candidates for being that "beloved father".

What we do know is that Agathokleia and Straton/Dikaios, who probably belonged to Menander's dynasty, established themselves in the Punjab and Gandhara around the time of Philoxenos' reign. Overstrikes of Agathokleia and Straton/Dikaios over Diomedes' may indicate the first phase of the conflicts, and, after Diomedes, the king Heliokles II became their main adversary.

A last Athena Alkidemos king was Epander Nikephoros (perhaps 80s BC), a brief ruler who resembles Straton/Epiphanes but overstruck Straton I², which might indicate that, even within the remaining dynasty of Menander, unity was not guaranteed. None of these Athena kings struck Attic coins, and all of them except Nikephoros called themselves Soter after Menander I.

The House of Antialkidas

The third group of kings consists of Heliokles II Dikaios, Archebios Dikaios Nikephoros and possibly Peukolaos Soter Dikaios; they ruled perhaps between 100-70 BC.



Fig 4. Heliokles II and Archebios (www.spink.com, auction 6018/766 and www.cngcoins.com, triton IX/1134).

Heliokles II is an unusually enigmatic king. Various theories have been raised about his relationship with the Bactrian king, Heliokles I Dikaios (c. 145-130 BC)¹, whose coins he copies rather meticulously¹⁶, but the Bactrian kingdom was probably long gone when Heliokles II appeared. After the downfall of Heliokles I, many imitations of his coins were struck in Bactria. Different faces, often crudely represented, appear on these coins and seem to have been fantasy portraits – there was probably only one Bactrian king called Heliokles Dikaios. While Heliokles II might have been a grand-son of Heliokles I, a new explanation for his imitative policy is that he relied on Bactrian mercenaries who held the (posthumous) coins of Heliokles I in very high esteem.

Heliokles II overstruck many kings: single specimens of Antialkidas, Philoxenos and Hermaios are known in addition to the six Straton-related overstrikes², and perhaps these were more due to lack of bullion than enmity.

Heliokles II and Archebios could be understood as sons of Antialkidas, who in his turn was related to Heliokles I of Bactria. These three Indian kings used Zeus as their silver reverse and Herakles on their bronzes. Their portraits were similar – sharp, gaunt features and crooked noses – and even more so their expressions, which were often excessively stern. Heliokles seems to have aged during his reign, but not well: his last coins show an emaciated man with bulging eyes.

When Antialkidas died, his sons went into exile (perhaps into Bactria) and Heliokles II returned only after the death of Philoxenos, to assert his claims against Diomedes and

Agathokleia. He seems to have spent his long and possibly fragmented reign engaged in civil wars all across Gandhara and the Punjab. When Heliokles II died, he was succeeded in Gandhara by his brother, Archebios, who combined the epithets of his father and older brother.

Archebios may have continued the dynastic wars against Polyxenios, the son of Straton/Epiphanes, for he shared Polyxenios' three monograms. Archebios also overstruck coins of Epander, Straton I and twice the ephemeral Peucolaos², who also used a Zeus reverse but whose coins are so few that he is difficult to place. Unlike Heliokles II, known Attic coins of Archebios have been found, but since Archebios shared only one monogram with Hermaios² it seems that, while Archebios held Gandhara and perhaps also Arachosia, he did not rule in the Paropamisadae where Hermaios was succeeded by the Sakas.

Late struggle for unity

At least three important Indo-Greek monograms are last seen on the coinage of Archebios, so perhaps he was the last king in Taxila before the Saka king, Maues, profited from the weakness of the Indo-Greeks and took control of this important city⁶. Maues had probably long gained ground by providing the fighting parties with soldiers and may even have been married into the top Greek echelon, for his son, Artemidoros, was a seemingly regular Greek king².

Maues, however, never ruled in the Punjab so the eastern territories were still in Indo-Greek hands under Amyntas Nikator (perhaps 75-65 BC), an important ruler who probably tried to re-assemble the shattered Indo-Greek realms. His coins have been found in eastern Punjab (c.f. the Sonipat hoard, in pt 1), but he was also the last to issue Attic coins, in the shape of magnificent dodekadrachms found in Qunduz in Afghanistan¹. Amyntas overstruck Heliokles II² and may have been the one who drove him out of the Punjab, but he also shared two monograms with Hermaios in the west and seems to have striven hard to reunite Indo-Greek territories. Perhaps it was, instead, Amyntas who took Taxila from Archebios, soon before Maues' arrival, and who, in his turn, was ousted by the Sakas.

Amyntas used a reverse with the image of an enthroned Zeus, but holding a small Athena, and so united the two deities used by the conflicting dynasties (Amyntas also struck rare coins with Athena Alkidemos). A close contemporary was the less important Menander II Dikaios, whose coins indicate that he thought along the same concordial lines (his name is of course also important). The middle-aged Menander II used a variety of reverses: silver with the riding king, Nike, or enthroned Zeus in front of a Buddhist wheel but also bronzes where Athena performs a Buddhist blessing¹⁷. Menander II and Amyntas have large, pointed noses and receding chins² and could well have been brothers. Seemingly these two kings were eager to at last unite the divided Indo-Greeks, but how is difficult to reconstruct. Were they dynastic kings, the offspring of a union between two dynasties? And what was their relationship to Maues, and to Apollodotos II, who survived Maues and seems to have recaptured Taxila for the Indo-Greeks? If that could even be said to be an accurate description, for some of the later Indo-Greek kings may have been partly Sakas themselves.

This attempt to trace Indo-Greek relationships after Menander ends here, with a number of difficult questions, perhaps an inevitable outcome given the the scarcity of sources.

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¹⁶ Though Heliokles II struck Indian bilinguals and Heliokles I Attic monolinguals. The two kings do not resemble one another.

¹⁷ In fact, almost all of the Buddhist coins traditionally assigned as proof of the first Menander's conversion in the holy Buddhist text *Milindapanha*, belong to Menander II.

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A NOVEL KUSHAN COIN TYPE OF KANISHKA THE GREAT

By Hans Loeschner

In the 1870s Sir Alexander Cunningham came to the conclusion that the Shāh-jī-kī-Dhēri / Royal Mounds near Peshawar should contain remnants of a huge stupa.¹⁸ He had studied the tales of Chinese pilgrims, in particular of Hsüan-tsang / Xuan-zang¹⁹ (*603, †664AD), that "400 years after the death of Siddharta Gautama Buddha" (c.450-370BC²⁰) the great Kushan emperor Kanishka^{21,22,23} had erected a more than 200m high building. After some fruitless attempts, in 1908/9 the remnants of the stupa with c. 87m diameter were found by David Brainard Spooner.²⁴ The stupa probably consisted of a 100-120m high stone/brick base and a multi-story wooden pagoda structure with gilded copper at the stories and iron pole on top, several times destroyed by lightning and rebuilt.¹⁸ Near the centre of the stupa, 0.6m below a paved area, Spooner found the famous "Kanishka casket" containing relics, probably of the Shakyamuni Buddha. A Kushan emperor is shown on the side of the gilded copper reliquary with the sun god Miir and the moon god Mao at his sides, crowning him with wreaths of investiture, Miir having placed a second wreath and Mao still holding a third.²⁵ The posture of the Kushan emperor on the casket clearly points to Kanishka I but a clear attribution is hindered, as John M. Rosenfield pointed out: "If the royal figure on the side of the casket is a King Kanishka, it is probably not Kanishka I because of the absence of a beard. Moreover, the costume differs from that of Kanishka I on his coins: the mantle is fastened on the king's shoulder whereas, on the coins, it is fastened at the chest; the headdress is not found on Kanishka I's coins; the king seems to be wearing those peculiar sideburns which are a feature of the coin portraits of Huvishka ...".²⁶ The Kharoshthi inscription on the casket was translated in three

different versions, not clarifying the issue.²⁷ The style of the casket's emperor costume differs significantly from the time of Kanishka II and Kanishka III coinage and sculptures. Thus, attribution of the casket to Huvishka, shown beardless on his coins, was considered.²⁶

All coins of Kanishka I so far known show a fully bearded emperor; in particular, his first issues, still using Greek language, show an old-looking, fully bearded emperor offering at an altar (Figure 1, Em. 766²⁸).



Figure 1

Fig. 2 shows a novel type of Kanishka I coinage.²⁹ The diameter of the non-magnetic AE coin is 27.0/27.5mm, the weight 11.8g (corresponding to a 3Δ value). The obverse to reverse orientation is 1h. The reverse of the novel coin shows the investiture goddess Nana (Em. 777^{28,30}) and the tamga of Kanishka I.



Fig.2

The novel-type obverse with "Kanishka" in Bactrian language shows a relatively young, impressive and dynamic personality, beardless at the chin. Obviously in the first years of Kanishka I on his coinage known so far, his father³¹ is shown (Fig. 1), in continuation of the previous coinage of Vima II Kadphises (Fig. 3, Em. 762²⁸).



Fig. 3

The crown on the emperor's head of the novel coin obverse differs significantly from the reported ones.^{28,32} The headdress shows the peculiar sideburns which are also visible on the Kanishka casket.

¹⁸ John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*, University of California Press, Berkeley, USA, 1967), pp. 34-36.

¹⁹ Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1884), cited in <http://depts.washington.edu/silkroad/texts/xuanzang.html>

²⁰ There is disagreement among scholars as to the actual dates of the historical Buddha's birth and death. Recent scholarship suggests putting his death around 370 BC, 100 years prior to the great Mauryan emperor Ashoka (273/2-232 BC), whereas traditionally, the death is placed around 483 BC.

²¹ Start of reign disputed: 78 AD²² or 127 AD²³, length of reign c. 25 years.

²² Robert C. Senior, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, Vol. I, II and III (Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, USA, and London, England, 2001).

²³ Harry Falk, "The *yuga* of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kuṣāṇas", *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* Vol. 7, pp. 121-136 (2001).

²⁴ David Brainard Spooner, "Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-Dhēri", *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, (1908/9), pp. 38-59, and (1910/11), pp. 25-32.

²⁵ Photos of Kanishka casket can be found online at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kanishka_casket

²⁶ John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Art of the Kushans*, University of California Press, Berkeley, USA, 1967), pp. 259-262.

²⁷ *The Crossroads of Asia – Transformation in Image and Symbol*, Eds. Elizabeth Errington and Joe Cribb (The Ancient India and Iran Trust, Cambridge, 1992), pp. 193-197.

²⁸ Robert Göbl, *Münzprägung Des Kuṣānreiches* (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna, Austria, 1984).

²⁹ Acquired from Senior Consultants (List Summer 1999, #192).

³⁰ Madhuvanti Ghose, "Nana: The "Original" Goddess on the Lion", *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* Vol. 1, pp. 97-112 (2006).

³¹ Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka The Great", *Silk Road Art an Archaeology* No. 4, pp. 75-142 (The Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, Japan, 1995/96).

³² Robert Göbl, *Donum Burns, die Kuṣānmünzen im Münzkabinett Bern und die Chronologie* (Fassbaender, Vienna, Austria, 1993).

The mantle fastened at the breast seems not to be fixed there and thus could easily be shifted to the shoulder as is the case on the casket.

Therefore the findings of this novel coin justifies the attribution of the reliquary casket of the huge Shāh-jī-kī-Dhēri / Peshawar stupa to the Kushan emperor, Kaniska I the Great.

Acknowledgement:

The author thanks Robert C. Senior for discussions of the manuscript.

A HOARD OF PUNCHMARKED COINS OF MAGADHA JANAPADA FROM DALMAU

By Sharad Sharma

A hoard of silver punch-marked coins of Magadha, classified as Series I (Gupta & Hardaker 1985)³³ was reported from a place called Dalmau in the Rae Bareilly district of Uttar Pradesh a few years back (see Map). The find-spot of the hoard, Dalmau, is located on the banks of the River Ganges and has, in the past, revealed hoards of coins of Kosala Janapada of both heavy weight types (4.0 g +) as well as light weight (2.5 g +) ones. In addition, G/H Series I coins of Magadha Janapada are also previously known from this site³⁴.



Though the exact number of coins from this hoard is not known, I was able to examine a group of 300 coins, all belonging to a single series (G/H Series-I of Magadha), picked at random and this is the subject of the present article. All the coins of the lot belong to the *Karshapana* weight standard of c.3.4 grams.

An important feature of the lot is that many hitherto unpublished varieties (unrecorded 5th mark combinations) (Fig 1) as well as a few classes and groups (new/unrecorded 3rd, 4th marks combinations) (Fig.2) are known for the first time.

Here it may be noted that, out of 36 classes of G/H Series-I in the Gupta/Hardaker Monograph, the first five classes are exclusively known from the Golakhpur hoard. Many coins of the Golakhpur hoard (GH Classes I-V) were four-symbol coins and hence the hoard probably represents the earliest of, and a fairly distinct series of “karshapana” weight standard coinage of Magadha. Out of the next 31 classes, 27 are represented in the present group (Fig. 3). This suggests that most of the classes of G/H Series-I were in concurrent circulation, even at the end of the series. Besides, as many as 2 new classes, 1 new sub-class and 3 new groups are known for the first time from the present group.

³³ Gupta, P. L. & Hardaker, T.R. 1985. Ancient Indian Silver Punch-marked coins of Magadha-Maurya Karshapana Series, I.I.R.N.S., Nasik. The work is referred to in the article as G/H.

³⁴ The author is thankful to Shri B.P. Verma and Shri Ashok Jain for providing all related information about this lot, without which this article would not have been possible.

Another important observation from the lot is that Variety No. 279 of G/H Series-II conclusively belongs to G/H Series-I. The reasons behind this re-classification are as follows:

1. There are only three typical fifth symbol marks in G/H Series-II (elephant to right, a dotted circle between two taurines and scorpion symbol) whereas a total of EIGHT fifth symbol marks are recorded on the coins of this class, from the present lot (Figs 4-5).

2. No coins of any other series (even “other” varieties of G/H Series-II) are found in the present lot.

3. A few coins of G/H279 were also found in the “Bihar hoard”³⁵, which contained G/H Series-I coins of Magadha and “Paila” type terminal issues of Kosala Janapada. This hoard also did not have any “other” G/H Series-II coins.

4. All the coins of this class (G/H Variety No.279) are thicker in fabric and smaller in size and are, in this regard, very much comparable to the terminal classes (Classes XXXV & XXXVI) of G/H Series-I.

5. Gupta & Hardaker have themselves put a question mark (in the reference column) against Variety 279 of G/H Series-II. This suggests that the authors were not quite sure whether this class was found in the Amravati hoard or not and hence their classification of variety 279 in G/H Series-II was tentative, right from the beginning.

Of the present lot of 300 coins, 70 belong to the last three classes of the series. Class XXXV is represented in the lot by 25 coins, Class XXXVI by 23 coins and the new Class XXXVII (old G/H Var. 279) by 22 coins. Thus the coins of these three classes are represented in almost equal numbers. On account of their thicker fabric, smaller size and fairly strong representation in the lot, these three classes may be classified as terminal issues of this series.

As mentioned above, all the coins of the present lot belong to Magadha janapada. According to *Anguttara Nikaya*, Magadha was one of the sixteen mahajanapadas of the time of Buddha and was among the earliest janapadas to issue silver punchmarked coins.

The economic scenario of that time was just graduating from a barter-based transaction system to the use of rare, and hence ‘precious’, metals. Initially they were pieces of irregular shapes and weights worth their bullion value. Subsequently, they were stamped with one or more obscure symbols, the meaning of which is still elusive. Slightly later than the realm of very early economics and trade, they were stamped as coins. In the early stages, there would not have been a very effective administrative machinery to regulate various aspects of coinage, especially in peripheral areas, away from nucleus centres viz. capitals. It is very likely that each such authority, whether it was a powerful conglomerate of guilds of a particular area/river region or a state, adopted a weight standard that best suited its needs. On the whole, the situation in the earliest years of coinage must have been quite unstructured.

The punchmarked coinage of Magadha janapada can broadly be classified into two phases. The first phase coins are known as local issues. The earliest of these were minted/circulated in modern Bihar and belong to a period when Magadha was still just a small janapada, with its capital at Rajgriha. Coins of this phase have one-two-three symbols and are based on a weight standard of 5.8 – 5.9 g. The weight standard then seems to have been slightly reduced to around 5.4 – 5.5 g. and remains stable at this range for quite a notable number of varieties (all being four-symbol types). A further reduction to around 4.7 g seems to have been adopted for a subsequent four-symbol type, depicting a ‘bull’ and a ‘lion’ (besides six armed symbol and sun). After this, a karshapana weight standard is adopted by Magadha janapada once and for all. The Golakhpur hoard represents the earliest of these karshapana weight standard coinages. Both four-symbol and five-symbol coins were found in this hoard, suggesting that the earliest

³⁵ Sharma, Sharad 2005. A Mixed Hoard of Local Punch-Marked Coins from ‘Bihar’ (Distt. Pratapgarh, (U.P.), J.N.S.I. LXVII, 32-36.

karshapana series was a continuum of Magadha's four-symbol pattern, whereafter, a fifth symbol was introduced. These earliest karshapana weight standard coins, having both four symbols and five symbols, as found in the Golakhpur hoard and an unpublished hoard (noticed by the author), have been found in the heartland of Magadha janapada (around Patna), suggesting that these were issued at a time when Magadha had shifted its capital from Rajgriha to Pataliputra but had not yet been able to annex the neighbouring Kashi or Kosala janapadas. The aforesaid local punchmarked coinage of Magadha janapada was classified by P.L. Gupta into six types³⁶. Of these, types V, IV, III and also some of Type II³⁷ are four-symbol coins. Slightly later, karshapana weight standard coins (all being five-symbol coins), classified as Classes VI-XXXVI of Series I in the G/H monograph, seem to have been minted for circulation in newly acquired territories of Magadha janapada (mostly in eastern and central U.P. and northern parts of M.P.), as well as for Magadha's own territory.

The second phase of punchmarked coins of this janapada, popularly known as 'imperial' or 'national' issues, are abundantly reported across the length and breadth of the Indian sub-continent and are classified as Series II-VII in the G/H monograph.

In the Golakhpur hoard, the fifth-symbol marks of some of the five-symbol coins are very experimental, simple and conspicuously small. Hence it is quite debatable as to whether these are really official fifth marks or bankers' marks. Overall, this hoard marks a phase representing the introduction of a fifth official mark. It may be suggested that the fifth symbol was introduced to represent something that had recently become politically or economically significant. In the present state of our knowledge, however, where we are almost clueless regarding the meaning and/or positional significance of punch marks, it would be more informative to analyse this series on the basis of types (set of first four symbols), which seem to be more stable in nature and may represent something more substantial. Such an approach may lead us to a better understanding of this series. Consideration should be given to variations in flan-size and weight among different types, finding of different types together or otherwise in hoards, occurrence of certain bankers' marks on certain types. This may refine the chronology. A similar approach may be adopted for other series of Magadha coins as well.

An enigmatic feature of G/H Series-I of Magadha is that this series never seems to occur together with its "successors" (G/H Series-II onwards). The coins of this series have been found with those of other Janapadas³⁸, but never with its own later coinage. Secondly, although, based on fabric, size, symbols and bankers' marks, many types seem to be earlier whereas others are intermediary and a few are terminal ones, all the types of this series were in concurrent circulation. This clearly indicates that, although new types were continuously being added, older types were not being intentionally phased out of circulation and that, although Golakhpur hoard type coins might have been a bit distant from later classes of this series in period and area, the main later classes, despite their great number of varieties, may not have been in circulation for an inordinately long period. Thirdly, the find-spots of the hoards of this series suggest that they were most certainly in circulation in the newly acquired territories of the Janapada of Kosala (Kasi included). Fourthly, the fact that the coins of this series are almost never found in the hoards of "national" issues, suggests that not only was their issue stopped

but also that they were "withdrawn" from circulation at some point in time. Otherwise at least some specimens of this long series must have travelled with later issues to other parts of the empire. Considering their find-spots, this so-called "withdrawal" occurred probably before Magadha acquired the stature of an empire. Either some major political upheaval or some fundamental changes in meaning/positioning of symbols might have caused the aforesaid "withdrawal from circulation" of this series. "Economic" reasons do not seem to have played a role in this. Firstly, the present series as well as its "successors" were all based on the same weight standard. Secondly, excessive wear of older coins is not seen in surviving coins, so withdrawal on this premise is unlikely. Thirdly, no noticeable debasement in silver content is observed.

Regarding the chronology of G/H Series-I coins of Magadha, we may be helped by the "Bihar hoard", a mixed hoard of G/H Series-I of Magadha Janapada and "Paila" type light-weight standard coins of Kosala Janapada. This hoard was found at a place called "Bihar" in Pratapgarh district of Uttar Pradesh. Many of the Kosalan coins of that hoard were in almost "mint" condition, whereas the G/H Series-I coins of Magadha were fairly well circulated. Besides, coins of G/H Variety 279, (now tentatively assigned by Hardaker in the forthcoming revision of G/H as Class XLI, Hardaker *pers comm.*), which have elsewhere been shown to be a terminal class of G/H Series-I, were also found in that hoard. If "Paila" type light-weight standard coins of Kosala are to be treated as its terminal issues then roughly speaking, G/H Series-I coins of Magadha might have been in circulation shortly before the reign of the Magadhan king, who finally annexed Kosala into Magadha. The Bhir Hoard (1924)³⁹ suggests that around 320 BC, when Chandragupta Maurya came to power, G/H-III & IV were in normal circulation and G/H-V was just being introduced. This indicates that G/H-III & IV may be Nanda period coinage. In view of the sudden cessation of G/H-I from circulation, it may be argued that the Nandas withdrew G/H-I from circulation and, in its place, introduced G/H-III & IV as regular coinage. Since after Prasenjit, only a few 'inconsequential' kings are said to have ruled over Kosala Janapada, it may be suggested that terminal coins of Kosala ('Paila' types) were issued by Prasenjit, who was a contemporary of Buddha, Bimbisara and Ajatshatru. Hence G/H Series-I should belong to Bimbisara and/or Ajatshatru and thus, all pre-karshapana punchmarked coinage of Magadha, should possibly predate Buddha.

Thus, it may be suggested that Prasenjit did not predate the Nandas by much and hence, though Kosala might have been substantially weakened by Ajatshatru, it was finally annexed to Magadha by the Nandas. In view of the contemporaneity of Buddha with Prasenjit, Bimbisara and Ajatshatru, it may then imply that a Japanese tradition⁴⁰ that puts Buddha about a century before Ashoka may not be far from the mark.

In view of this, it may tentatively be concluded that Buddha lived during a time when G/H Series-I was in issuance/circulation and that all pre-karshapana punchmarked coinage predated him. Hence, the Magadhan punchmarked coinage might have commenced not earlier than the later half of the 5th century BC. In the present state of our knowledge however, these are mere conjectures and need to be corroborated from further hoard evidence and/or other sources.

³⁶ Gupta, P.L. 1994. Silver Punchmarked Coins of Magadha, Numismatic Digest 18, 1-18, I.I.R.N.S., Nasik

³⁷ Sharma, Sharad 2004. New Varieties of Four-Symbol type Early Magadhan Punch-Marked Coins, ICS Newsletter 31, 1-2, Nagpur









³⁸ Sharma, Sharad 2001-02. A Mixed Hoard of Local Punch-marked Coins from Bargama, Numismatic Digest 25-26, 1-24, I.I.R.N.S., Nasik;









Sharma, Sharad 2003-04. A Mixed Hoard of Local Punch-marked Coins from Uziarghat, Numismatic Digest 27-28, 1-18, I.I.R.N.S., Nasik










Also pl. refer to endnote No.3 above.

³⁹ Walsh, E.H.C. Two Hoards of Silver Punch-marked Coins found in the Bhir Mound, Taxila, Vol.II, 845

⁴⁰ Bechert, H. 1995. When Did the Buddha Live? Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series No. 165, Delhi

NEW G/H TYPE / COMMENTS	NO. OF COINS	PHOTO (OBV.)
I-VI-A- NEW(?) (The fifth symbol is very close to GH Mark 42 but both the squares are hollow. Hence a new mark?)	1	
I-VI-A- ? (There are 3 fifth symbol marks. GH Mark No. 40, 54 & 72. All three are un-recorded in this Gr.)	1	
I-VI-D-4	1	
I-VI-D-32 (The legs of the scorpion are a bit slanting, which is unlike GH Mark No. 32)	1	
I-IX-A-35	1	
I-X-A-29	1	
I-XI-A-4	1	
I-XIV-B-35	1	

I-XV-A-40	1	
I-XV-A-72 / 36 (This has two fifth symbol marks, i.e. GH Mark No. 36 & 72. No.36 is recorded but No. 72 is not recorded in this Gr.)	1	
I-XVI-A-36	1	
I-XVIII-A-28	1	
I-XVIII-B-29	1	
I-XVIII-B-47	1	
I-XIX-A-35	2	
I-XX-A- ? (The fifth symbol mark is not clear on this coin. Probably an un-recorded mark.	1	

I-XXIII-A- NEW(?) (The fifth symbol seems to be an un recorded 5 th mark). 	1	
I-XXIII-A-35	1	
I-XXIV-A-38	1	
I-XXVI-A-4	1	
I-XXVI-A-30	1	
I-XXVI-A-58	1	
I-XXVII-A- 41(?) The fifth symbol is partly covered by a six armed symbol.	1	
I-XXIX-A-29	1	







































I-XXXII-A-35	1	
I-XXXIV-A-33	1	
I-XXXV-A-4	3	
I-XXXV-A-35	1	
I-XXXVI-A-35	1	
I-XXXVI-A-37	1	
I-XXXVI-A-58	1	
	34	

Fig. 1. New Varieties in the Dalmau hoard

OBVERSE SYMBOLS & REMARKS					PHOTO (OBV.)
					
A new class. Two such coins (with same 5 th mark) were found in the present lot.					
					
A new class. Two such coins were found in the present lot (The other coin has GH Mark No.4 as 5 th symbol). 					
					
The same new class as above (but with slight variation in class mark, i.e. 2 dots in the well), but different group mark (4 th mark). 5 th mark is not clear and hence, tentatively drawn					
					
Very close to GH-I Class XXVII, but with a different six-armed symbol. Such variations of six-armed symbol are very rare. May be classified as a sub-class of GH-I Class XXVII.					
					
A new group mark (4 th mark) of GH-I Class VI					

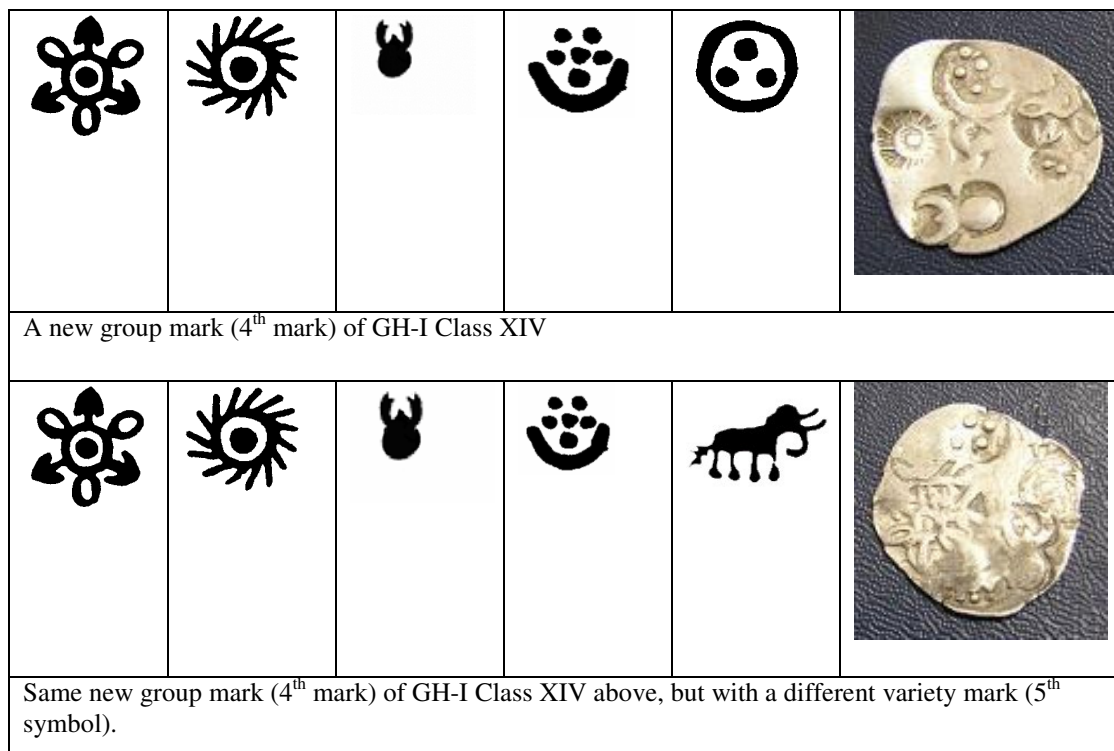


Fig. 2 New classes/sub-classes/groups in the Dalmau hoard

G/H CLASS	NO. OF COINS	G/H VAR	NO. OF COINS	WEIGHT	REMARKS
VI	20	42	1	3.3	
		48	8	3.2 to 3.5	
		45	1	3.4	
		49	3	3.2 to 3.3	
		51	2	3.3	
		54	1	3.3	two fifth symbols
		56	2	3.4 to 3.5	
		60	1	3.3	
		61	1	3.4	
VIII	4	66 A	1	3.4	Addendum of G/H Monograph
		70	3	3.3	
XI	3	86	3	3.3	
XIV	1	98	1	3.3	
XV	4	106	1	3.3	
		109	3	3.3 to 3.4	
XVIII	28	117	1	3.3	
		119	5	3.1 to 3.4	
		120	2	3.3 to 3.4	
		120 A	1	3.5	IIRNS N.D. Vol. 25-26, p.p. 13
		121	1	3.3	
		122	1	3.3	
		122 A	2	3.4 & 3.5	IIRNS N.D. Vol.25-26, p.p. 13
		123	1	3.4	
		124	2	3.4	
		125	2	3.2 & 3.4	
		126	3	3.1 to 3.5	
		128	1	3.2	
		129	2	3.3 to 3.4	

		131	1	3.3	
		132	1	3.3	
		133	2	3.3 to 3.4	
XIX	6	135	1	3.3	
		136	1	3.4	
		137	1	3.3	
		138	1	3.3	
		143 A	2	3.4	Addendum of G/H Monograph
		XX	1	146	1
XXI	12	148	3	3.0 to 3.3	
		149	4	3.3 to 3.4	
		150	1	3.3	
		151	1	3.5	
		154	3	3.1 to 3.4	
XXII	2	157	2	3.3 to 3.4	
XXIII	5	160	3	3.2 to 3.4	
		161	2	3.3	
XXIV	14	165	3	3.2 to 3.4	
		166	5	3.4 to 3.5	
		167	1	3.2	
		168	2	3.2 to 3.3	
		169	1	3.3	
		170	1	3.4	
		171	1	3.4	
XXV	5	175	2	3.3	
		177	1	3.3	
		178	1	3.5	
		179	1	3.3	
XXVI	8	183	8	3.3 to 3.4	
XXVII	12	188	5	3.3 to 3.4	
		189	3	3.3	
		190	1	3.3	
		191	2	3.2 & 3.4	
		194	1	3.3	
XXVIII	13	196	6	3.3 to 3.5	
		197	5	3.3 to 3.4	
		198	2	3.1 & 3.2	
XXIX	11	205	4	3.3 to 3.4	
		206	3	3.2 to 3.3	
		207	1	3.3	
		208	1	3.4	
		211	1	3.4	
		212	1	3.2	
XXX	4	213	1	3.3	
		214	1	3.4	
		214 A	2	3.3	IIRNS Newslines No.26
XXXI	11	219	3	3.2 to 3.3	
		220	2	3.4	
		220 A	2	3.3 & 3.4	IIRNS Newslines No.10
		221	2	3.3	
		223	2	3.4	
XXXII	8	227	1	3.1	
		230	3	3.3 to 3.4	

		230 A	1	3.5	IIRNS Newslite No.26
		231	3	3.3 to 3.4	
XXXIII	10	233	5	3.2 to 3.4	
		234	1	3.4	
		236	1	3.4	
		237	1	3.3	
		237 A	1	3.3	IIRNS N.D. Vol. 25-26, p.p. 15
		241	1	3.2	
XXXIV	9	243	3	3.3 to 3.4	
		244	3	3.0 to 3.1	
		245	3	3.1 to 3.3	
XXXV	21	251	6	3.3 to 3.5	
		252	8	3.1 to 3.4	
		253	6	3.1 to 3.4	
		255	1	3.4	
XXXVI	20	258	10	3.4 to 3.5	
		259	9	3.1 to 3.5	
		261	1	3.4	
	3	NOT CLEAR	3	3.3 to 3.4	
	235		235		

Fig. 3 Existing varieties in the Dalmau Hoard

SL. NO.	OLD G/H TYPE	NEW G/H TYPE (expected designation)	NO.OF COINS	WEIGHT RANGE
1.	II VIII B 1	I XLI A 1	11	3.2 to 3.5
2.	II VIII B 2	I XLI A 2	2	3.3
3.	II VIII B 3	I XLI A 3	1	3.2
4.	II VIII B 4	I XLI A 4	1	3.4
5.	II VIII B 28	I XLI A 28	2	3.3
6.	II VIII B 29	I XLI A 29	2	3.2 & 3.5
7.	II VIII B 35	I XLI A 35	2	3.4
8.	II VIII B New	I XLI A New	1	3.3

Fig 4 b. G/H Class II VIII B: associated varieties found in the Dalmau Hoard



Fig 4 a. Symbols on G/H Class II VIII B 1, now placed in Series I



Fig 5: The eight varieties from Fig. 4b

KAMAN AND KOSI – TWO POST-MUGHAL MINTS IN THE BRAJ REGION

By Shailendra Bhandare

It is not often that a coin has to wait for almost a century for an attribution, but that fate seems to have befallen a particular copper coin that this paper addresses. In part II of his 1894 catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, noted numismatist Charles Rodgers illustrated a copper coin as no. 8842 of the museum's inventory (Fig 1).



Struck in the name of Shah Alam II, the coin bears his 40th regnal year and a composite mint-mark of a fish and a leafy tree on the reverse. Rodgers tentatively read the mint-name, inscribed above the mint-mark, as 'Kanan' and indicated his doubts about the reading by a question mark, on p. 83 of the book. In a subsequent catalogue of the Indian Museum's coin collection, H Nelson Wright corrected Rodgers' entry to no. 8844 and gave a new catalogue number (2492) to the same coin. He, however, did not offer an attribution different from that of Rodgers.

Several years later, in JASB-NS 37, the S H Hodivala penned a short note on this coin (p. 76). To aid his study, he had asked the museum to send him a plaster cast of the coin, which is illustrated in the volume (Pl. III, no. 11). In Hodivala's opinion the mint-name on this enigmatic copper coin was 'Bajanan' and not 'Kanan (?)' as Rodgers and Wright had suggested. He gave his own reasons for this reading, including what he opined was a 'J' (the character *jim*) in the middle of the name.

Hodivala observed that the coin, indeed, was similar to certain specimens of Jaipur State currency that were illustrated by Webb in his 'Currencies of Rajputana', p. 79, Pl. VII, nos. 5 and 6. A similar coin from the Ashmolean Museum collection is illustrated here (Fig 2).



fig. 2

According to Hodivala, the similarity lay in the fact that the overall designs were similar as was the mintmark on the reverse – the fish and tree symbol. Hodivala thus sought to locate 'Bajanan' somewhere near Jaipur but admitted "...the difficulty is that no town called 'Bajanan' can be traced in the vicinity of Jaipur". That is where the debate ended so far as this coin was concerned. The two propositions 'Kanan' and 'Bajanan', however, appeared in the updated Mughal mint list published by R D and Sheetal Bhatt (*Numismatic Studies* vol. 5, ed. Manmohan Kumar, New Delhi, 1997, p. 136 and 147), as if they were two different mints, notwithstanding the fact that they were suggested originally for the same coin and were mere suggestions and not confirmed attributions.

Almost a century later than Rodgers' catalogue of the Indian Museum collections, Ken Wiggins and K K Maheshwari published an article on 'Begum Samru and her Coins', in ND 18 (1994, pp. 243-52). After giving a detailed historical survey of the Begum's activities, the authors discussed her coinage, in which featured the issues struck by the Begum at Sardhana, the main seat of her estate, renamed 'Zebabad' after her Islamic name Zeb-un-

nisa. A map giving details of the estates controlled by the Begum was illustrated in which, not far from Sardhana, a town called 'Tappal' is shown. Wiggins and Maheshwari attributed certain rupees, struck in the name of Shah Alam II, to this mint. They contended that these were also, like the 'Zebabad' coins, the issues of Begum Samru. They noted three AH/R_Y combinations from the coins, viz. 12XX/34, 121X/39 and 1214/40 and illustrated two specimens. The earliest year (R_Y 34), according to them, was the 'probable' date when Tappal was first added to the Begum's estate. The coins have a horizontal dagger mark on the reverse. Wiggins and Maheshwari noted the obvious connection of this mark with the issues of Bharatpur State. In spite of the 'probability' involved in recognising the cession of 'Tappal' to the Begum in regnal year 34 of Shah Alam II and the presence of the dagger mark, Wiggins and Maheshwari concluded that "...the coins are without a doubt the issues of the Begum but the marks on the reverse are similar to those found on the coins of the Jats of Bharatpur".

There are several aspects of the conclusion put forward by Wiggins and Maheshwari that require rethinking. Firstly, they commented that "at least in one case the AH date and the regnal year (on these coins) do not coincide" – this was the instance of 1214 / 40. but when the illustration supplied by Wiggins and Maheshwari is consulted afresh, it becomes apparent that the date 1214 has in fact been misread – '4' is an illusion created by the placement of the numeral in the word 'Alah' with its tapering end and the numeral in reality is '1', making the date 1211. This fits in with regnal year 40 perfectly well.

The second and more important aspect that calls for reconsideration is Wiggins and Maheshwari's reading of the mint-name 'Tappal' itself. The word 'Tappal' has no long vowels in it. Both specimens illustrated by Wiggins and Maheshwari show a word where it is evident that both the first and second characters in the mint-name have an 'alif' added to them, thus making clear that two long 'a's are being indicated. The first character is partly truncated on both coins illustrated by Wiggins and Maheshwari, but notwithstanding that, the mint-name should still read more like '...(x) ā (x) āl' than 'Tappal'. In an editorial note to their paper, Sanjay Garg rightly commented that the last letter in the mint-name was more likely to be 'N' (*noon*) rather than 'L' (*laam*). Judging by the presence of the two 'alifs' and the uncertainty about the last character, the reading 'Tappal' indeed comes under serious doubt, as does the attribution of these coins to Begum Samru.

The fact that the so-called 'Tappal' rupees and the copper coins of 'Kanan / Bajanan' are in fact issues of the same mint dawned upon me when I recently had the chance to examine some new specimens. Amongst them is a copper coin from the British Museum collection (Fig 3), which is similar in all respects to the copper coin from the Indian Museum Collection that Rodgers and Wright published. But on this coin, the mintname is very clear – I propose to read it as 'Kāmān'.



fig. 3



fig. 4

The same mint-name is seen on a rupee exactly similar (Fig 4) to those published by Wiggins and Maheshwari as being of 'Tappal'. This coin bears AH 120X and RY 34. The elusive first letter in the mint-name is visible just enough to make it clear that it is in fact 'kā'. What follows is 'mā' and the last character, following the editorial comment in ND, can be considered to be an 'N' (*noon*). It is evident from both these coins that there is in fact no trace of a 'J' (*jim*) making it certain that Hodivala had been misled in reading the mintname as 'Bajanan', most likely by a poorly made plaster cast that was supplied to him by the Indian Museum. That the quality of the plaster cast was not good is evident when illustrations supplied by Rodgers and Hodivala are compared.

Kaman is located 27°39' N, 77°16' E, about 52 km north-northwest of Bharatpur and 45 km to the east of Mathura. Presently it lies in the Bharatpur district of Rajasthan State, and the Imperial Gazetteer of India mentions it as part of the princely state of Bharatpur. Until 1763, Kaman was under the control of the rulers of Jaipur. In that year, Maharaja Jawahar Singh of Bharatpur won it from Jaipur and it remained in Jat hands thereafter.

Kaman lies in the region known as 'Braj', which, by tradition, is associated with the Hindu god Krishna and his early life. 'Kaman' derives from Sanskrit *Kama vana*, or the 'Forest of Pleasure'. This derivation has its basis in the mythical association of Kaman with a grove in which an adolescent Krishna had amorous encounters with his lover, Radha, and her many friends. Alternatively, it can be derived from *Kadamba vana*, or 'grove of Kadamba trees'. The Kadamba (*Anthocephalus Cadamba*) is a tree that has associations with Krishna and features prominently in some myths.

Kaman thus has a religious importance to devotees of Krishna, particularly to the *Pushti Sampradaya* sect, who worship Krishna in his child form, as he grew up in the Braj region. It lies on a circuitous pilgrimage route (*Parikrama*) that takes in places associated with events in Krishna's life. An annual fair is held at Kaman in the lunar month of *Bhadrapada* (August-September). The town has scores of temples and *teerthas* ('fords', or places to perform religious rites usually located near water bodies like tanks, lakes and rivers), the most prominent being the temples of Radha Govinda and of Vrinda Devi.

Kaman also has a prominent Shiva temple named 'Kameswara Mahadeva' and a mosque with 84 pillars, aptly called 'Chaurasi Khamba'. According to the Imperial Gazetteer, this mosque has an 8th century inscription mentioning the Surasena dynasty, which is traditionally associated with the Braj region.

Judging by its religious importance, it is not entirely unexpected that the town of Kaman should have a mint. As seen from the chronological details on known specimens, it can be safely assumed that the mint was in operation between regnal years 34 to 40 of Shah Alam II (c. 1792-1798). The town was under the control of the Jat rulers of Bharatpur at this juncture and the coins should, therefore, be attributed to Bharatpur State. The mintmarks on the silver rupees, as has already been noted by Wiggins and Maheshwari, are very similar to those found on Bharatpur coins. The details of regnal years known from the silver as well as the copper coin make it certain that the mint struck coins in both metals during this period.

The similarity of copper coins of Kaman to the Jaipur issues is very interesting. It is probably due to the fact that the Jaipur design was very popular in the region and heavy paisas or 'Takkas' of Jaipur were perhaps the most acceptable coin of that denomination amongst those in circulation. The details of dates known from Jaipur coins of a similar type indicate that the occurrence of the 'tree-and-fish' mint-mark on Jaipur coins can be dated to regnal years 32 – 40. This range coincides with the dates seen on the Kaman coins.

During my recent visit to the American Numismatic Society, I noticed a copper coin with a design very similar to that of the Kaman and Jaipur issues (Fig 5).



fig. 5

It weighs 16.9 gm and thus conforms to the 'Takka' weight. This coin brings us to another hitherto unknown mint in the Braj region and prompts the re-attribution of a few other coins. The coin has exactly the same mark as that seen on the Jaipur and Kaman coins – a fish and a leafy tree – and it also has the same layout of the obverse legend, which bears the name of Shah Alam II. The detail of the regnal year, placed to the left of the mintmark, is truncated but a '5' can be made out. Comparing it with the BM copper coin of Kaman mint, this can be restored to 35 or 45, but the former is more likely.

The mint-name on this coin can be very clearly read as 'Kosi'. The 'Ko' has been engraved on its side presumably because the character is written with two 'tall' strokes, one diagonal and the other vertical, and its placement in the normal fashion would make it difficult to fit within the margins of the die with the rest of the details.

Kosi is located in Chhata *tahsil* (division) of Mathura district, Uttar Pradesh. Presently the town is better known as 'Kosi Kalan' or 'Greater Kosi' and is a railway station on the Mathura – New Delhi segment of Northern Railways. Although the present-day states of India in which Kaman and Kosi respectively lie are different, the distance between the two towns is hardly 25 km. Kosi is located on the northern edge of Braj region but like Kaman is considered a part of it.

The mint at Kosi seemingly did not stop at producing copper Takkas alone – a silver rupee and a 'fish'-marked Paisa bearing the same mint-name exist in the Ashmolean Museum's collection. Both are illustrated here (Fig 6 and Fig 7).



fig. 6



Fig. 7

The rupee bears regnal year 36 of Shah Alam II and has the mint-name at the top, engraved in a rather peculiar fashion, with the 'K' almost lying horizontally below the 'S'. The occurrence of the 'fish' mint-mark on the light weight Paisa (c. 7 gm) fits in well with the design trends seen in late 18th century copper coins of the Yamuna plains (Rohilkhand and Braj areas) and the intra-gangetic 'Doab' region, where many mints struck such coins. The RY details on the coin are truncated but an AH date is partially seen on obverse and consists of numerals 2 and 9 on obverse. It may be restored to 1209 and that would mean that coin was struck in 1794-95 AD, which is the same period in which the Takka and the rupees were struck.

Unlike Kaman, Kosi does not have any major religious significance, but is important as a commercial centre, famous for a cattle market and also as a regional hub for agricultural produce, which from Kosi is distributed via local trade to larger cities and towns like Mathura and Delhi.

The existence of a rupee and paisa of Kosi mint make us rethink the attribution of certain rupees, which Wiggins and Maheshwari attributed to 'Gokul'. Needless to say, they consider these coins to be the issues of the Marathas (Sindhias) and comment, without any reference, that "the mint at Gokul is reported to have been set up by Sindhias in 1793". Wiggins and Maheshwari illustrate four coins of 'Gokul', classified as types T1, T1a, T1b and T1c. Coin T1a has a Devnagari character 'Sri' following the mint-name while T1b has it in between the digits of the regnal year. Coin T1c also has it in the same place, although its execution is somewhat crude. The coins bear regnal years 36 and 39 of Shah Alam II.

Gokul is a locality near (and presently within) the city of Mathura and has strong mythical connections with the life of god Krishna. However, a mint at this locality is somewhat unexpected especially when there already had been two mints operating in close vicinity, one in Mathura proper and the other in the nearby town of Brindaban. The mint at Mathura had been running for a considerable number of years - earliest issues bear the name of Aurangzeb and 'Islamabad', the Islamic alias of Mathura, as the mint-name (It is worth noting that there were at least two other places renamed 'Islamabad' during Aurangzeb's reign, namely Chittagong in East Bengal and Chakan in the Deccan, and the issues of these mints cannot be easily separated from those of Mathura). Coins struck while the mint was under Maratha control have a composite mint-name as 'Islamabad Mathura'. The mint at Brindaban - alternatively spelled Bindraban or Vrindavan - was opened around 1780, as evident from the earliest regnal year that coins struck there have, which is 20. Like Mathura, coins of Brindaban also carry a composite mint-name, with 'Muminabad',

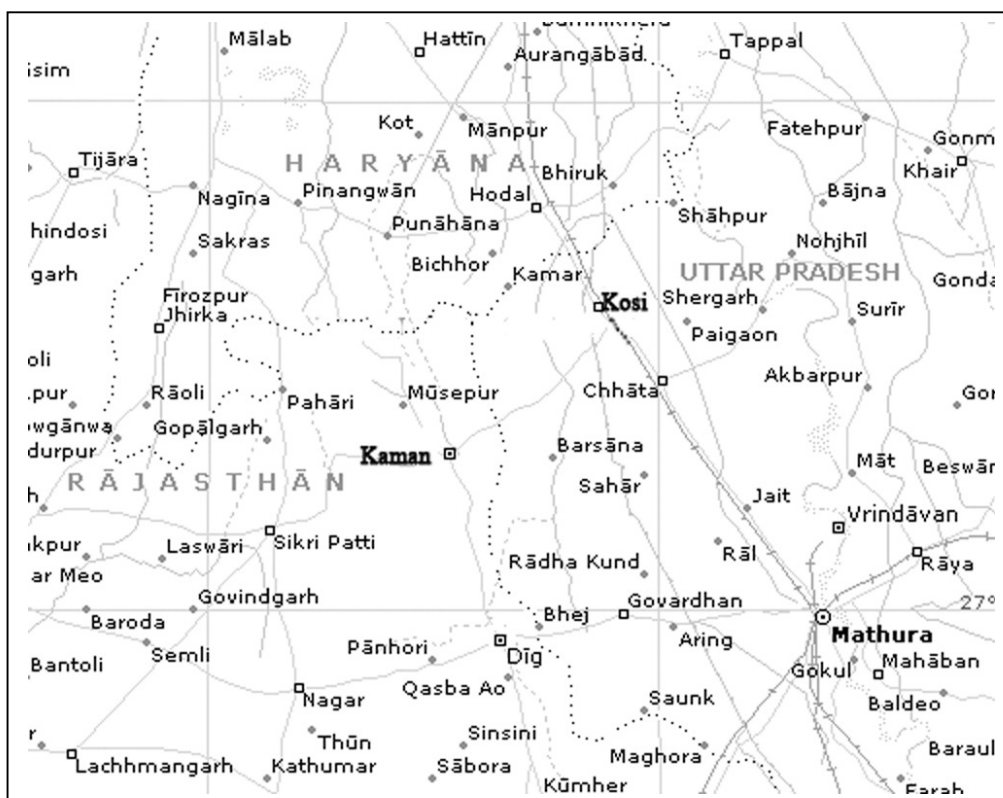
the Islamic alias of Brindaban preceding it. Coins of both these mints struck while the Marathas were in charge bear specific mintmarks and are known in several varieties. Along with the rupees, paisas bearing a similar array of mintmarks are also known. Judging by the fact that both these mints produced an extensive coinage in the very years of the coins ascribed to 'Gokul' mint, makes one wonder why there should be three mints running producing differing coins in a very small area, much of which is practically part of a single city at present.

When examined afresh, the coin illustrated by Wiggins and Maheshwari as type T1c makes it clear that the mint-name is in fact, not 'Gokul' but 'Kosi' (See Fig 8).



Fig. 8

The second character 'Si' is very clearly visible in the illustration they provide and, while the first character is somewhat truncated, it is evident that, much like the Ashmolean coin, it is also engraved almost supine. Two dots placed below the 'Ye' of 'Kosi', (to make it read a long 'i') are also clearly seen.



Coins illustrated as type T1 and T1b have not much of the mint-name visible, but on coin T1a there is a trace of the '...kul' part of the mint-name. The word 'Gokul' would have two letters looking very similar, as the Persian letters 'K' and 'G' are all but the same except for a small horizontal stroke above the diagonal line at the top. The first letter on coin T1a of 'Gokul' quite clearly fits the bill. Wiggins and Maheshwari have seen what follows the first ('Go') as a 'K'. This coin is in the collection of Jan Lingen (Fig 9) and, thanks to Jan, its re-assessment has been possible - what has been seen as a 'K' is very clearly a die flaw (see enlargement, Fig 10).



fig. 9



fig. 10

The loop extending downwards that follows was taken to be the lower part of the 'L' in 'Gokul' by Wiggins and Maheshwari. But it could equally be the terminal 'Ye' coming at the end of the word 'Kosi'. It is the same variety as T1a of Wiggins and Maheshwari, but shows the mint-name to a lesser extent. It would support the proposition that the mint-name on coin T1a is also 'Kosi' as on coin T1c. Unlike the Ashmolean coin and coin T1c of Wiggins and Maheshwari, coin T1a has the first letter 'ko' engraved pretty much upright. When all these aspects are considered in the light of the implausibility of three mints being run simultaneously in close vicinity to each other, it becomes evident that the coins attributed to 'Gokul' should in fact be re-attributed to Kosi.

The town of Kosi at this juncture also lay under the control of Bharatpur, much like Kaman. The Bharatpur connection is distinctly visible in the style and calligraphy of the coins, especially the way in which the 'Hami Din' part of the obverse legend is engraved. On most Bharatpur coins, 'Hami Din' is seen to be written as a single word, with the 'M' of the first word joined to the 'D' of the second, through 'I'. This is exactly the way in which the obverse legend has been engraved on all the Kosi coins. Further, the six-pointed star seen on the regnal year 36 issues is already known as a Jat mintmark and also occurs on the silver rupees of Kaman, albeit differently executed. The presence of the 'Sri' is certainly peculiar to the mint of Kosi amongst all the Jat mints, but it is known on the Maratha issues of Bindraban. Its placement between the digits of regnal year 39 seems to have been imitated from the Bindraban issues, where it first occurs in regnal year 37.

PIERRE SONNERAT'S SOUTH INDIAN COINS

By Hans Herli

In his review of my book: *Gold Fanams*⁴¹ Shailendra Bhandare wrote: "Appendix 3 is entirely in French and as such hardly useful for an Indian audience." Even if only 6 of 17 pages of the appendix are not in English Shailendra Bhandare's remark still points to the unfortunate fact that today hardly any students of Indian coins speak or read French. From about 1720 to the British occupation of Pondichéry in 1763 France was a major political and military power in the Deccan and South India, but French missionaries, naturalists, astronomers and other scholars went on studying and writing about Indian life and history even later and until c. 1830 numerous French officers served in the armies of Indian princes. During the short heyday of French India a number of books on the subcontinent appeared in France but after the loss of its Indian empire the French public's interest in India waned and many scholarly manuscripts remained unpublished. As in the 20th century the French language lost much of its former international importance, a large treasure of valuable source material actually lies fallow in French libraries and archives. This paper is meant to give an example of what kind of information a search of these sources might produce.

Pierre Sonnerat (1748-1814) from Lyon was a naturalist and the nephew of the famous botanist Pierre Poivre. In 1769-1772 he accompanied a French mission to the Moluccas, Philippines and the islands near New Guinea and in 1774 the Académie des

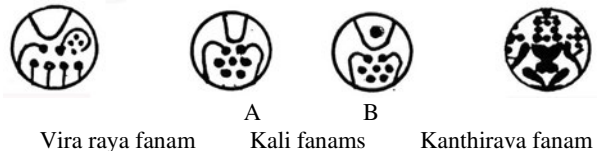
Sciences sent him to the Coromandel Coast where in 1778 he helped to defend Pondichéry besieged by the British. Back in Europe, Sonnerat published his *Voyages aux Indes orientales et à la Chine, fait par ordre du roi, depuis 1774 jusqu'en 1781*,⁴² a book that sold well in the book-shops but which was vehemently criticised by old India hands because the author believed all knowledge and science came from India, which he considered the cradle of the human race. Sonnerat later returned to India where in 1790 he became the administrator of Yanaon (or Yanam), a French possession of 30 km² in the delta of the Godavari river. During the British campaign of 1793 Sonnerat – now also the commander of 6 French sepoys – was taken prisoner and only set free twenty years later, in 1813.

Although the complete title of Sonnerat's *Voyages aux Indes orientales* mentions several other countries, its illustrations are almost exclusively about South India and especially the Coromandel Coast and the territory of the Nawab of Arcot. The illustrations follow the example of Diderot's famous *Encyclopédie* and show the people and their occupations and customs, gods and temples, animals and plants, but also musical instruments and 37 Indian coins. About ²/₃ of these coins are well-known types of the French, British and Danish settlements in India but among the rest there are several pieces that provide us some long forgotten information.⁴³

Gold fanams

The most interesting and least well-known among the coins on Sonnerat's tables are the gold fanams. In the second half of the 18th century these tiny coins, which then usually weighed about 0.34 g (but on the Coromandel Coast often also less) and had a diameter of 6-7 mm, had been an important element of the indigenous South Indian coinage for about a thousand years, but they were now more and more supplanted by the coins of the British presidencies of Bombay and Madras. Today we know a large number of fanams which were probably struck in the south-eastern part of the Indian Peninsula and we also know the names of quite a few mint towns, but as contemporary illustrations are exceedingly rare, only a handful of anonymous fanam types can be safely assigned to known mints in the region.⁴⁴

Among the gold fanams current in South India in the 18th century most types belonged to 3 large groups:



Vira raya fanam

Kali fanams

Kanthirava fanam

The design of a Hoysala⁴⁵ coin showing a standing lion below a crescent, that the rulers of Vijayanagar adopted in the 14th century, spread all over South India. In the west of the Vijayanagar empire the distorted Hoysala design became the obverse of the ubiquitous *Vira raya* fanam of the Malabar Coast and in the east it mutated into the obverse of the *Kali* fanam. Unlike the *Vira raya* the *Kali* design is symmetrical and the people began to interpret it as the

42 Pierre SONNERAT: *Voyages aux Indes orientales et à la Chine, fait par ordre du roi, depuis 1774 jusqu'en 1781* ..., 2 vols, Paris 1782. Although Sonnerat's book was a commercial success complete copies with the 140 plates drawn by the author and engraved by Poisson are actually rare. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris does not have a copy but the internet offers low resolution scans of a complete set of the illustrations made by the Musée de l'Homme. (<http://gallica.bnf.fr> [Sonnerat, Pierre: *Illustrations de Voyage aux Indes*, planches 29+30])

43 Sonnerat was not completely forgotten by numismatists: in his works on the Dutch coinage in India, C. Scholten mentioned Sonnerat and his tables, but due to the fact that the French often used extremely strange transcriptions of Indian words, he was unable to identify several of the mint names. In my text I mainly use the more familiar traditional English forms of geographical names.

44 My map shows Sonnerat's and some other known fanam mints, but the list is far from exhaustive.

45 The Hoysala were a dynasty that in the 12th and 13th century ruled a South Indian empire centred on Mysore.

41 Hans HERRLI: *Gold Fanams 1336 - 2000*, Mumbai 2006 / Shailendra BHANDARE: *JONS No. 187* (Spring 2006) p. 7-8.

image of the goddess Kali, an image in which the former lion stood for the body whereas the crescent either represented the head (A) or the raised arms of the goddess (B).⁴⁶ On most fanams, Kali bears a rosette on her breast. As this design allegedly originated at Tanjore (Thanjavur) the ornament is known as the Tanjore rosette.

Kanthirava fanams, which originally showed on the obverse a stylised image of Narasimha, the fourth avatar of Vishnu, and later a similar figure but without the characteristic traits of Narasimha, were -- like the *Kanthirava* pagoda -- introduced by king Kanthirava Narasa Raja Wodeyar (1638-1659) of Mysore and struck until Haidar 'Ali usurped the power in Mysore in 1761, and again after the restoration of the Wodeyar dynasty (1799-1812).

Although the gold content of the many fanam subtypes varied and had a tendency to decrease in time, Vira Raya fanams contained, in the late 18th century, about 46% of gold, Kali fanams rarely more than c. 35% and often only 22-25% and most genuine *Kanthirava* fanams about 58%.

Sonnerat's gold fanams

In his work, Sonnerat illustrated the Indian coins he knew well, i.e. the coins current in the modern Indian State of Tamil Nadu and some trade coins like the rupees of Surat and Bengal, Haidar 'Ali's pagoda of Seringapatam⁴⁷ or the gold and silver coins of Mangalore.

The fact that Sonnerat drew 12 gold fanams current during his stay in India and that he in most cases mentioned their mints about doubles the number of fanam types known to have circulated in 1781 and that can now be attributed to mints in the territories of Haidar 'Ali of Mysore, the Nawab of Arcot and the foreign settlements on the Coromandel Coast. Without Sonnerat's drawings we would still not know the design of the gold fanams from such important commercial, political and religious centres as Madras, Madurai or Tirupati.

Two once important and still fairly common gold fanams are missing from Sonnerat's table: the Dutch gold fanam of Tuticorin, which then possibly was only current in the far south of the Indian Peninsula, and the Getty fanam of the Maratha Rajas of Tanjore.⁴⁸ As Tanjore saw, between 1749 and the annexation to British India in 1799, several occupations by the British, the French and the Nawab of Arcot, the Getty fanam of the local rulers may, in the second half of the 18th century, have disappeared from circulation or have been restricted to Tanjore proper.

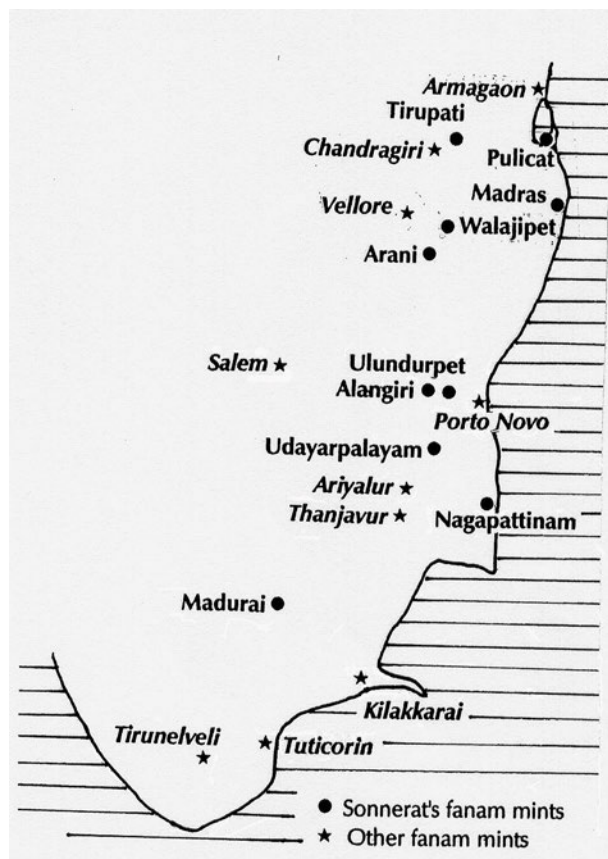


A Kali fanam showing Sonnerat's Madras reverse

46 Various South Indian coins have been called *Kali* (or *Gully*) fanam at one time or other and not one of them shows in reality a goddess. The name is said to have originally referred to the *Kali Yuga* (the age of conflicts), the last and the worst of the 4 great periods of the Hindus. It began after the great wars described in the Mahabharata on the 18th of February 3102 BC and will end in the year 428'999.

47 Sonnerat called Haidar 'Ali *Andernek*, a French corruption of *Haidar Nayaka*.

48 The Getty fanam was a variety of the *Vira Raya* fanam which showed a dagger on its reverse.



The figures quoted in the paragraphs that follow relate to the drawings on the two plates on pages 27 and 28.

Fig. 5 *Fanon d'or de Madras* (Gold fanam of Madras)

Numismatic authors (e.g. Pridmore and Mitchiner) only mention a *Kanthirava* gold fanam of Madras.

The reverse of Sonnerat's Madras fanam does not show a *Kanthirava* but a typical *Kali* fanam design which, like the reverses of the Dutch *Kali* fanams, represents a geometrically stylised and, in its late forms, completely unrecognisable form of the Nagari legend RANGA RAU in 2 lines.⁴⁹ Fanams displaying the distinctive Madras form of the reverse are rare, but can still be found.

Sonnerat's Madras obverse is, unlike the reverse, rather enigmatic. It clearly does not show Narasimha, but seemingly a standing Vishnu. As this form of the god appears on other Madras coins such fanams may once have existed, but they are unknown today; all the actually known fanams with the Madras reverse show on the obverse a *Kali* of the Tanjore type. It is possible that Sonnerat's specimen was a badly struck *Kali* fanam and that his drawing does not represent the true obverse design but what he thought it should look like.

Fig. 7 *Fanon d'or de Négapatnam* (Gold fanam of Negapatnam)

Fanams of Negapatnam (Nagapattinam) were first mentioned by a Portuguese, Antonio Nunes, in 1554.⁵⁰ In a book published in 1590 Gasparo Balbi, a Venetian jeweler who visited the Malabar coast in 1583, wrote: "In this city of Negapatan aforesaid are current certain coin called *fannò*. ... They are of base gold, and are worth in our money 10 soldi each, and 17 are equal to a *zecchin* of Venetian gold."⁵¹ As a *Zecchino* contained 3.44 g gold,

49 The RANGA RAU legend in Nagari script originated on *Kali* fanams of a late Vijayanagar ruler, probably Sri Rangaraya I (1572-1585). In several steps and by a number of mints this inscription was distorted into various purely geometrical designs.

50 Antonio NUNES: "Lyvro dos Pesos da Yndia," 1554 in: *Subsidios para Historia*, Academia Real das Sciencias, Lisboa 1868.

51 Gasparo BALBI: *Viaggio dell'Indie Orientali*, Venice 1590.

the Portuguese fanam of Negapatnam, which remains unidentified, contained 0.2 g gold.

The Dutch took Negapatnam in 1657 from the Portuguese and lost it in 1781 to the British. In 1690 Negapatnam superseded Pulicat as the main Dutch possession in India and its gold fanams are still among the most common genuine Kali fanams. Their obverse shows the Tanjore type of Kali with 2 annulets to the left and 2 dots to the right of the figure. The geometrical reverse design is even farther from the original RANGA RAU legend than the Madras version.

The Dutch Negapatnam fanams were struck in accordance with a treaty with the Maratha Raja Vyankoji (also known as Venkaji or Ekoji) of Tanjore of 11 December 1676. They were the thickest and smallest of the Dutch fanams and originally contained 35% of gold, but in 1700 their gold content was reduced to 33.4% and later to 32.9%. Sonnerat's Negapatnam fanam is a late Dutch type.

Fig. 8 *Fanon d'or de Paliacate* (Gold fanam of Pulicat)

Pulicat (or Paliakate), the site of the first Dutch settlement on the Coromandel Coast (1609), is today a small port in the Nellore District of Andhra Pradesh, 60 km north of Madras. Until 1690, when it was superseded by Negapatnam, and again from 1784 to 1795 Pulicat was the seat of the head office of the Dutch East India Company on the Coromandel Coast. After 1781 the place repeatedly changed possession until it was definitively occupied by the British in 1825.

In 1646 Sultan Abdallah Qutb Shah (1626-1673) gave the Dutch permission to strike coins with "the stamp of the King of Golconda" at Pulicat. We know Dutch gold fanams and several denominations of copper coins with Arabic legends "in the name of Sultan Abdallah", but, as the Tamil die engravers supposedly could neither read nor write Arabic, the coin inscriptions became increasingly corrupted.

According to Scholten⁵², the Pulicat fanam was struck from 1646 to 1781 by the mint at Fort Geldria. The coin shows, on the obverse, a distinctive form of "Kali" and on the reverse a corrupt Persian legend. The reverse of Sonnerat's Pulicat fanam only slightly resembles the known specimens of this rare coin. The fanam may have been a very late specimen or even an imitation struck by some country mint near Pulicat.

According to Dutch sources the Pulicat fanam, a "small fanam", weighed 0.381 g; it was 29% fine and was worth 5 stuiver. 24 Pulicat fanams were equal to 1 pagoda or 6 Guilder.⁵³

Fig. 9 *Fanon d'or de Mangalore* (Gold fanam of Mangalore)

This is the only fanam in Sonnerat's list originating on the Indian West Coast, but as Mangalore pagodas and fanams were trade coins they may well have reached the Coromandel Coast.

Sonnerat's *Mangalore fanam* is Haidar 'Ali's *Bahaduri fanam* of Mangalore and Bednore. It was of gold of $12\frac{4}{5}$ karat (53.333% gold) and weighed 0.33-0.37 g. About 13 Mangalore Bahaduri fanams were equal to a Bahaduri pagoda.

Haidar 'Ali, who occupied Bednore in 1763 and the port of Mangalore in 1764, annexed both cities to Mysore. After his death in 1782, Tipu Sultan, his son, introduced at Bednore – on coins now called Nagar, short for Haidarnagar – his own fanam type, but it is possible that at Mangalore the old type was struck until Tipu's fall in 1799 or even longer.

Fig. 11 *Fanon d'or de Tiroupati* (Gold fanam of Tirupati)

In his *Useful Tables*⁵⁴ Prinsep mentioned a *Chakri fanam of Tripati* (Tirupati), a very base coin which contained only 25%

gold. Prinsep described the design of the Chakri fanam as follows: "A diagram on one side and Tripundra on the other."

The *tripundra* is the mark which Shivaitees bear on their forehead and it consists of 3 parallel and horizontal lines. The mark on the obverse of Sonnerat's coin looks more like a *trisol* than the actual form of the *tripundra*, but it could be an earlier variety of the latter. As it seems impossible to give an interpretation of the design of the reverse it may well be called a "diagram".

Tirupati is today a city of c. 200,000 inhabitants in the Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh. The large and famous temple of Sri Venkateshwara (a South Indian incarnation of Lord Vishnu) in the Tirumala hills above Tirupati is said to be the richest among the many Hindu shrines and allegedly the busiest pilgrimage centre in the world. It seems that the *Chakri* fanam was issued by the Venkateshwara temple and its unconventional design and uncommonly low gold content suggest that it might originally not have been a coin meant for circulation but a medallic souvenir.

Fig. 12 *Fanon d'or du Maduré* (Gold fanam of Madurai)

Gold fanams of the large and important city of Madurai were mentioned in several literary sources before the end of the 18th century, but they remained unidentified by modern numismatists.

From 1693, Madurai was nominally a feudatory of the Mughals and from 1698 of the Nawab of Arcot. In 1736 Menakshi, the last Nayaka queen of Madurai, was deposed by the Nawab Chanda Sahib of Arcot, in 1740 the place fell to the Marathas and between 1743 and 1764 Madurai changed hands several times. From 1764 to 1790, when it was ceded to the British, Madurai was again administered by governors of the Nawab.

Sonnerat's illustration shows a Kali fanam with a reverse design related to the Madras fanam (Fig. 5) and the fanam of Udaiyarpalayam (Fig. 18). He described this coin as "concave on one side and convex on the other, it is worth 7 sols 6 deniers."

In 1675 the Dutch struck fanams similar to the Madurai type at Negapatnam, but as they were 40.6% fine and therefore better than the Madurai fanam of this time (36.5% fine), the issue was shortlived. In 1739/40 the fineness of the Madurai fanam had decreased to 34.5%, c. In 1790 it was 31%⁵⁵ and it later sank to 30%.

Judging by the form of the RANGA RAU reverse, Sonnerat's Madurai fanam can hardly have originated before 1650 and it may not have been the only or the earliest fanam of Madurai.

When Madurai had become a part of the Madras Presidency the local fanam was no longer struck, but we know from documents that a *Madurai fanam* of low fineness was then produced in Travancore, where the type was still current. It seems highly probable that this was not Sonnerat's coin, but the *Madurai vella* or *Suli fanam*, a base Kali fanam showing a fan-like design on the reverse and containing 25% gold. This coin was attributed by Prinsep to Tirunelveli, by Scholten to Tirunelveli and Travancore and by Barbara Mears to the Muslim *Chiuli* merchants of Kilakkarai, a place 20 km southwest of Ramnad⁵⁶, an attribution that seems to be confirmed by the occurrence of *Choely fanams of Kilkarese* worth $3\frac{3}{16}$ Stuivers in Dutch documents.⁵⁷ Tirunelveli (or Tinneveli, as the place used to be called) lies 135 km south-west of Kilakkarai, but as *Chiuli* or *Chulia* were in the far south of India generic designations of Muslim merchants, *Suli* fanams could very well also have been produced in Tirunelveli.

54 James PRINSEP: *Useful Tables illustrative of the Coins, Weights, and Measures of British India*, London 1858, p. 44.

55 Fra PAOLINO DA SAN BARTOLOMEO: *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, Roma 1796.

56 James PRINSEP: *Useful Tables illustrative of the coins, weights, and measures of British India*, London 1858.

C. SCHOLTEN: *Yearbook of the Royal Dutch Numismatic Society* for the year 1935.

Barbara MEARS: "Chiuli fanams of Ramnad", *JONS* 189 (Autumn 2006).

57 C. SCHOLTEN: *op.cit.*

52 C. SCHOLTEN: *The Coins of the Dutch Overseas Territories 1601-1948*, Amsterdam 1953.

53 Fra PAOLINO DA BARTOLOMEO, whose *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* (Rome 1796) is in reality a treatise on southeast India quite similar to the contemporary one of Sonnerat, mentioned a Pulicat fanam with a gold content of c. 40%. This coin remains unidentified, but it clearly cannot be the Dutch fanam of Pulicat.

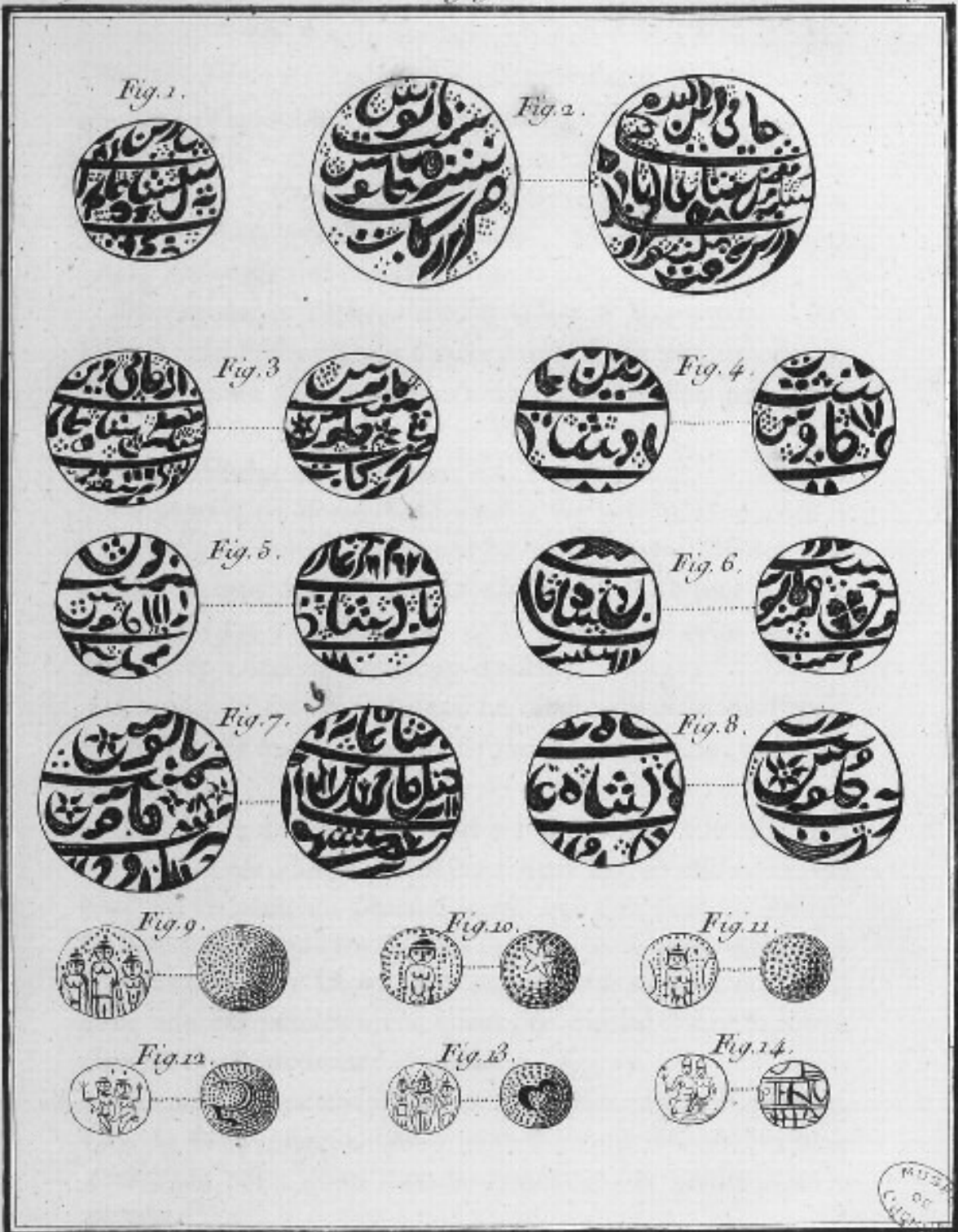


Fig. 1. Roupie marchande de Pondichery.
 Fig. 2. Roupie à coin entier de Pondichery.
 Fig. 3. Roupie d'Arcate.
 Fig. 4. Roupie de Madras.
 Fig. 5. Roupie de Masulipatan.
 Fig. 6. Roupie du Bengale.
 Fig. 7. Roupie ancienne du Bengale.

Fig. 8. Roupie de Surate.
 Fig. 9. Pagode à trois figures.
 Fig. 10. Pagode à l'étoile.
 Fig. 11. Pagode de Porte nove.
 Fig. 12. Pagode de Mangalor.
 Fig. 13. Pagode ancienne d'Arcate.
 Fig. 14. Pago de ancienne d'Andernek.

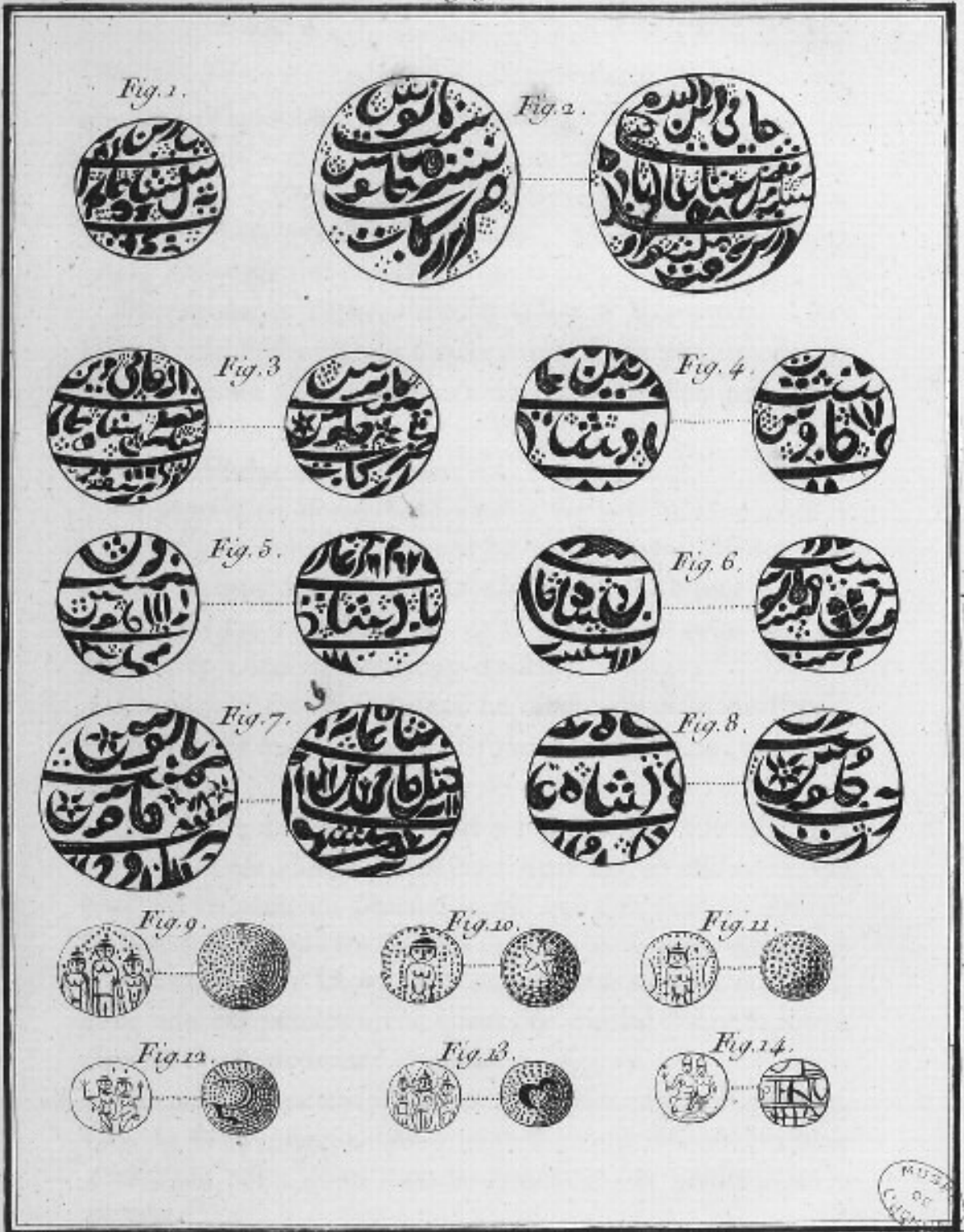


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 Fig. 11. Pagode de Porte nove.
 Fig. 12. Pagode de Mangalor.
 Fig. 13. Pagode ancienne d'Arcate.
 Fig. 14. Pago de ancienne d'Andernek.

Fig.13 *Fanon d'or d'Oulondourpoté*⁵⁸ (Gold fanam of Ulundurpet)

Ulundurpet is a taluk seat in the Tamil Nadu District of Vilapuram, which in 1677, was occupied by Shivaji together with Jinji. It fell in 1691 to Aurangzeb, in 1714 to the Nawab of Arcot, 1750 to the French and 1761 to the British. A fanam of Ulundurpet was mentioned on 14 June 1679 in a treaty concluded between the Dutch East India Company and Vyankoji, the first Maratha Raja of Tanjore. In it the parties stipulated that the toll at Trimeleवास would be paid in large fanams called *Oelondaer*.⁵⁹

Sonnerat's illustration of the Ulundurpet coin shows a scyphate Kali fanam with a blank reverse. Fanams of this general type are quite common. Varying arrangements of points, annulets and short strokes on the left and right of Kali are probably control marks of some form whereas different marks in the "face" of Kali may point to different mints.

Fig. 14 *Fanon d'or de Latchimi dévi* (Gold fanam of Lakshmi Devi)

This one-sided fanam is supposed to show the goddess Lakshmi. It is possible that this fanam was issued by an unidentified temple, but originally it may not have been meant for circulation at all. Until today medals showing Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, are produced and sold to be given as presents during the *Holi* festivities and this fanam may once have served a similar purpose. The Lakshmi fanam has never been published after Sonnerat and seems to be unknown today

Fig. 15: *Fanon d'or de Balatchipoté* (Gold fanam of Walajipet)

Walajipet (or Walajapet), a town a few kilometers east of Arcot, was founded during the reign of Nawab Muhammad 'Ali of Arcot (1749-1795) by Royajee, his *wazir*, and even today one can easily recognise that the town was well planned and that its broad streets follow a grid-pattern. Whereas Arcot was the Nawab's residence and neighbouring Ranipet his military headquarters, Walajipet served as the commercial centre and main market of the Arcot District. The name of the town honours Nawab Muhammad 'Ali, who was known as *Nawab Walajah*. (The title, granted by the British, can be roughly translated as the *most distinguished gentleman*).

Both sides of the Walajipet fanam seem to show some corrupt Persian script and the reverse may contain the word *WALAJI*. A very rare Kali fanam bearing *WAL* on its reverse is actually known, but I have never yet seen a specimen of Sonnerat's Walajipet coin.

Fig. 16: *Fanon d'or d'Alingeri* (Gold fanam of Alingeri)

Alangiri is a village in the Viluppuram District of Tamil Nadu, about 10 km east of Ulundurpet and just west of the larger village of Elevanasur. Unlike most towns with fanam mints, which were political, military or commercial centres, Alangiri does not seem to have ever played an important role during the last few centuries and it is not clear why the place should have been the seat of a mint of at least regional importance.

Sonnerat's drawing does not show the important parts of the obverse of the Alingeri coin, but it probably was a Kali fanam. The blank reverse shows a boss of a shape which I have never yet seen on an actual fanam. According to Sonnerat, the fanam of Alingeri (or Alingiri) was worth 6 *Sols*, which would correspond to a base fanam with a gold content of about 25-30% .

Fig. 17 *Fanon d'or d'Aréni* (Gold fanam of Areni)

Areni, also spelled *Arani* or *Arni*, is a small town in the Tiruvannamalai District of Tamil Nadu, 40 km from Vellore and 130 km from Chennai. Today Arni – once together with Vellore and Jinji a territory owned by the great Maratha leader, Shivaji –

is famous for its silk saris, but in the 18th century the town was a military training centre and depot of the Nawab of Arcot and of Haidar 'Ali.

Sonnerat's Areni fanam is a one-sided, scyphate coin showing a Kali of a type that is actually unknown.

Fig. 18 *Fanon d'or d'Ouléarpaléon* (Gold fanam of Udayarpalayam)

Udayarpalayam, a small town of c. 11,000 inhabitants, is situated in the eastern part of the Perambalur District of Tamil Nadu. Between 1559 and 1736 Udayarpalayam was the seat of one of the 72 *palayams* (chieftainships) governed by a *polygar* (a district governor) in the territory of the Nayakas of Madurai.

The reverse of the Kali fanam of Udayarpalayam looks like a more distorted version of the Kali fanams of Madras or of the Dutch mint at Tuticorin.

Of the 12 gold fanams illustrated by Sonnerat only the coins of Negapatnam and Mangalore – and with some reservations of Madras and Pulicat – can safely be identified with types actually known from collections or in trade. The fanams of Madurai, Ulundurpet and Udayarpalayam belong to large groups which occur with ever-varying marks of which we unfortunately do not know if they are the characteristic marks of a mint, control marks or even marks recently invented by forgers. The coins attributed by Sonnerat to Tirupati, Walajipet, Alingeri, Areni and the Lakshmi fanam represent types that I have never come across among thousands of fanams. We, therefore, find a fairly weak correlation between the gold fanams drawn by Sonnerat in the late 18th century and the pieces a collector might be able to find today. Although Sonnerat may not have chosen his fanams to form a statistically representative sample of the then available coins, it is evident that the 23 illustrations of his 2 coin tables contain most of the major types current on the Coromandel Coast between Pulicat and Ramnad during his stay there. The discrepancies between what Sonnerat and other sources tell us about the fanams current in the 18th and early 19th century and what we see today in trade and – usually rather recent – collections may have different causes but the most important one seems to be the fact that a very large portion of the gold fanams actually offered consists of recent fabrications.

Tamil Nadu and the Kanthirava fanam

It is actually a common supposition that the Kanthirava fanam, which allegedly was also struck by the Dutch at Pulicat (c. 1650) and Tuticorin (c. 1658-1759) and by the British in Madras (c. 1643-1693), was from about 1650 to 1761 and again in the early 19th century not only the prevalent gold fanam in southern and eastern Mysore, where this statement is well documented, but also – together with the Kali fanam – current in the territories of the Nawab of Arcot and on the Coromandel Coast.⁶⁰ This theory seems to be supported by the high proportion of numerous varieties of Kanthirava fanams actually found in international trade and in collections created after around 1950. It seemed therefore strange that among Sonnerat's 12 fanams we do not find a single Kanthirava type. This discrepancy led to a thorough survey with the surprising result that, in what the British used to call the Carnatic and on the Coromandel Coast, Kanthirava fanams were neither found in hoards nor regularly mentioned in documents. Why then would the British and Dutch strike a fanam type far away from where it actually circulated?

In the case of Madras it is almost certain that no Kanthirava fanams were ever minted there. Pridmore knew that gold fanams were struck in Madras, but, as he does not seem to ever have seen such a coin, he erroneously attributed a Kanthirava fanam to Madras.⁶¹

58 *Oulondourpoté* was one of the French place names that Scholten was unable to identify.

59 *Corp. Dipl.* III, p.187

60 See for instance M. MITCHINER: *Non-Islamic States & Western Colonies*, London 1979, p. 153, 216, 231.

61 F. PRIDMORE: *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations to the end of the reign of George VI, Part 4 India, Vol. 1, East India Company Presidency Series c. 1642-1835*, London 1975

A treaty concluded in 1743 between Raja Pratap of Tanjore and the Dutch East India Company granted the latter the right to strike all kinds of fanams at Negapatnam and documents mention Dutch Pulicat, Portonovo, Negapatnam, Madurai and Tuticorin fanams, but none of them were of the Kanthirava type.⁶²

We, therefore, must conclude that in Tamil Nadu neither the mints of Indian rulers nor those of the European Companies struck Kanthirava fanams and that this fanam type occurred in local circulation only in the form of stray pieces.

The fact remains that today a large number of different subtypes of the Kanthirava fanam are offered by dealers in India, Europe and the USA and that quite often these fanams are said to come from the Coromandel Coast. Even if we admit that the official and some unofficial country mints in Mysore produced different Kanthirava types, the numerous Kanthirava varieties available today can again only be explained by the well-known fact that large scale faking of such fanams for collectors has now gone on for quite some time.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE COPPER COINS ISSUED FOR USE IN THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY 1780-1781

By Dr Paul Stevens



In his seminal work on the coins of British India¹ Major Pridmore made the following observation about the copper coins that were issued for use in the Bengal Presidency and that are usually associated with the Fulda mint:

“There are a large number of die varieties and two distinct issues. First series struck on large thin flans, second series on small thick flans. This appears to have been due to different-size cutting tools used in preparing the blanks. It is not intentional. All denominations occur in the two styles. The proofs are perfectly round and beautifully struck. They appear to have been specimens submitted by Prinsep to Government in November 1780.”

In my archival research I have come across a reference to the fact that these coins may have been issued from the Patna mint as well as from that at Fulda:

We have authorised the establishment of mints for the copper coinage at Fulda and Patna and we have approved of standards prepared by our Mint Master for the coin itself².

The discovery of this reference may explain the two different sizes of coin observed by Major Pridmore, although I should add here that, in my experience, the division of the coins into two different sizes for each denomination is by no means as clear-cut as Pridmore states. Intermediate sizes also appear to exist.

¹Pridmore F. The coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Part 4

²Fort William-India House Correspondence (1981) Vol VIII, 1777-1781 Ed Hira Lal Gupta, p536, para 25

Letter to Court, 30th April 1781

62 I would like to thank here Jan Lingen who helped me very much by compiling and translating Dutch texts concerning the striking and use of gold fanams on the Coromandel Coast.

BOMBAY BILLYS: SOME OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE PAPER IN JONS 192

By Hans Herrli

1. Coins #1197 and #1198

The drawings of the obverse and reverse of type 3 (coin #1198) and its description are not quite correct and complete. The drawings should in reality be:



Eleven years ago I published in a paper a fully dated coin of type 3 which shows a fictitious date: AH 1188 / RY 9, as far as I know the only dates occurring on this type.⁶³

'Alamgir II, whose name appears on the obverse of the coin, died in AH 1173 and AH 1188 (14.III.1774 – 3.III.1775 AD) is a date 15 years into the rule of Shah 'Alam II, but it might still be the year when type 3, clearly an outsider within the the series of Bombay Billys, was first struck. The regnal year 9 is a frozen date that # 1198 shares with other types of Bombay Billys.

In India I had the occasion to study hoards with a total of more than 2000 silver 1/5 rupees of all the known kinds and I have observed a number of coins of type 2 with R 9, but never yet one with even a trace of the year AH 1188. I fear that # 1197 is a fiction, some kind of a “shadow” of #1198. The year AH 1188 should most probably be transferred from #1197 to #1198 and # 1197 should be cancelled.

2. Type 5 (#1204 + 1205)

The catalogue lists 2 varieties of type 5: #1204 and #1205, but although, at first glance, they look very similar, the 2 numbers represent two very different coins.⁶⁴

#1205 is a classical flat Mughal type coin struck by hand with dies quite a lot larger than the flan and often showing a fairly irregular shape.



#1204

#1204 is a biconvex, round coin of regular diameter, which always shows exactly the same design. Parts of dotted borders discernible on some specimens prove that the coins were struck with small dies and that practically the entire legend is visible on each coin. These coins may not be genuinely machine struck, but there can be no doubt that they can only have been produced in a centring collar and by using some mechanical device.

The source of the design of #1204, which is definitely the later variety, was not a full die, but a coin of #1205. As a consequence the name of Shah 'Alam, the mint name Munbai and the frozen regnal year 9 have all disappeared from the dies and the coins. Its truncated legends connect #1204 to the earlier #1205,

63 Hans Herrli: “1/5 Rupees or silver Fanams of the Malabar Coast” in *Oriental Numismatic Studies*, New Delhi 1996, plate XI,35

64 In the above mentioned paper I published 1 coin of #1205 (plate XI,32) and two of #1204 (pl. XI,33 + 34). In a hoard of c. 1500 coins I found about 50 pieces of #1204, but it is almost impossible to judge the absolute rarity of a coin based on its representation in a single hoard.

but technically it is closely related to #1206, the Tellicherry 1/5 rupee of 1799. It seems quite possible that #1204 is a direct forerunner of #1206 and that both coins were struck by the same mint.

A last remark: Pridmore translated “*sikka nishin*” on the obverse of the Tellicherry coin #1206 as “*Government coin*” and Paul Stevens repeats this error on his website www.coins-of-india.co.uk. *Nishin* is a Persian word meaning: *marked, impressed, stamped*.⁶⁵ The obverse legend, abbreviated on the coin, should therefore be read as: “*Coin struck at Tellicherry 1799*”.

THE COINAGE OF PANNA, CONTINUED FROM NEWSLETTER NO. 183

By Barry Tabor

Since I wrote about the rupees struck by the Panna Indian Native State at its Chhatarpur mint, for the ONS newsletter No. 183, some new information has become available, and I offer this brief update.

Resume of previous paper.

From the evidence presented in the original paper, I attempted to show that the regnal years on these coins are genuine regnal years of Shah Alam II. I also suggested that all coins with regnal years up to 27 were struck before the break up of Panna State in 1785 AD, and are, therefore, coins of Panna state struck at the Chhatarpur mint. The dates on these coins are genuine when they match the regnal years, but the date AH 1192 remained fixed until AH 1199. Coins dated AH 1200/ 28 and later are coins of Chhatarpur State.

I asked anyone with coins of this series not included in my tables to send details, so that the information could be added to the tables, and made available to all. Two members replied*.





New information.

As a result of their information, and additional coins noted since 2005, there are additional data to be reported:

1). I stated before that the coins with regnal years up to 17 appear to be undated. This is true for nearly all coin specimens seen at that time and since, but there is a date on the dies, which usually falls off the flan. When visible, it is found to the right of the word *Muhammad* in the top line of the obverse legend. It is probable that all dies from this period are dated, but I have only seen a few coins with incomplete dates up to the time of writing, and none with complete ones. Those I have seen are AH 11xx/6, AH117x/6, AH118x/8, AH118x/11 and AH11xx/17. I hope that readers will please let me know if they know of any others, especially complete dates.

2). Coins have been found with four symbols not included in the original study, and they are shown in Table A below. As the result of adding symbol 5 (ii), the original symbol 5 is now designated 5 (i). The other new symbols found have been given numbers at the end of the original table. Readers will see that one of the new symbols resembles a crudely drawn *ankus*, or elephant goad. This could well be the *ankus* symbol reported, but not illustrated by Krause in their SAC and SCWC century editions. An inquiry about this was addressed to Krause Publications.

Table A. New symbols.

	New Symbol No: 5 (ii) Upturned crescent with 3 dots. (Old symbol number 5 becomes new 5 (i))
	New Symbol No: 20 Ankus with 3 dots. This is probably be the ankus symbol reported but not illustrated in Krause’s SCWC catalogues. (Krause Publications did not answer a request for clarification on this point).
	New Symbol No: 21 Scimitar pointing right.
	New Symbol No: 22 Retrograde ‘f’ shape.

3). Four new coin varieties, designated 10.08c, 10.13b, 10.16b and 10.19a are included in the updated Table B below. A coin of Chhatarpur state, dated AH 12(0)3 retrograde with regnal year 30 is also included. These coins are of substantially the same design as Panna coins from this mint, but probably scarcer. Details of coins of this series are also sought by the writer. My e-mail address is at the foot of this note

Conclusions.

On the Panna rupees struck between AH 1190/17 and AH 1199/27, on which the AH dates can frequently be read in full, the dates match regnal years, being 1190, 1191, 1192 and 1199, except that in AH 1192 the date apparently became fixed until AH 1199. In the AD calendar these dates are 1775/6, 1776/8, 1777/8 and 1784/5, the last of which was at the very end of the civil war period, which terminated in AH 1199/1200 (1785 AD) with the break-up of Panna state and the formation of Chhatarpur state, along with a number of others. The other dates were during the last two years of the reign of Hindupat and the accession year of Anirudh in AH 1192. Chhatarpur state may well have begun using matching year/date combinations once more, but evidence is scant at present.

* Jan Lingen and Raju Bhatt sent details of the new coin varieties described above, and I again offer them my thanks. Members with additional information are invited to contact me at barrytabor@aol.com



Two examples of Panna rupees

⁶⁵ See for instance: John T. Platts: *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, 1884, reprint New Delhi 1977.

Table (B) The symbols found in positions (1) and (2), by regnal year.

Reg. Yr.	Position 1	Position 2	KM#	My#	AH date
Absent	None found				
1					
2					
3	Winged dots	Group of 7 dots		10.03a	Off
4	Winged dots (i)	Group of 7 dots		10.04a	Off
5	Lotus	Flower of 7 dots		10.05a	Off
6	Lotus Chakra (6 rays)	Group of 7 dots Group of 7 dots		10.06a 10.06b	11xx 117(9?)
7	Chakra (9 rays) Chakra (7 rays)	Group of 7 dots Group of 7 dots	20 20	10.07a 10.07b	Off Off
8	Chakra (6 rays) Upturned crescent Upturned crescent + 3 dots	Group of 7 dots Group of 7 dots Group of 7 dots	20	10.08a 10.08b 10.08c	Off 118x 118x
9	Winged dots (i)	Trident (i)	15.1	10.09a	Off
10	Winged dots (ii) Winged dots (ii)	Trident (ii) Circle and 8 dots	15.1 15.2	10.10a 10.10b	Off Off
11	Winged dots (ii)	Trident (ii)	15.1	10.11a	118x
12	Group of 5 dots Cross with 4 dots	Trident (ii) Trident (ii)	15.1 15.1	10.12a 10.12b	Off Off
13	Group of 5 dots Group of 5 dots	Trident (ii) Retrograde "f" shape		10.13a 10.13b	Off Off
14	Group of 5 dots	Group of 5 dots		10.14a	Off
15	Group of 5 dots	Group of 5 dots		10.15a	Off
16	Chakra (6 rays) Circle and 8 dots	Group of 7 dots Chakra (6 rays)	15.2 17	10.16a 10.16b	Off Off
17	Upturned crescent Narrow leaf with droplet Cross and 4 dots Chakra AND flower (ii) Narrow leaf with droplet Narrow leaf with droplet	Group of 5 dots Circle and 3 dots Group of 5 dots Group of 7 dots Group of 5 dots Flower (iv)		10.17a 10.17b 10.17c 10.17d 10.17e 10.17f	Off Off Off Off Off 11xx
18	Trident (iii) Narrow leaf with droplet Trident (iii)	Retrograde Nagari "1" Flower (ii) Flower (ii)		10.18a 10.18b 10.18c	1190 1190 119x
19	Ankus	Flower		10.19a	"1196"
20	<i>Off the flan</i> Battle axe	Flower (ii) Flower (ii)		10.20a 10.20b	"1129" 1192
21	Quatrefoil of trident heads Battle axe Chakra Battle axe	Flower (ii) Trident (ii) Flower (ii) Flower		10.21a 10.21b 10.21c 10.21d	- 1192 1192 1192
22	Quatrefoil Opening bud Upturned crescent Opening bud Upturned crescent+3+1 dots	Flower (ii) Flower (ii) Flower (ii) Flower Flower		10.22a 10.22b 10.22c 10.22d 10.22e	1192 1192 119x - 1192
23	Double pennant	Flower (ii)	19	10.23a	1192
24	Double pennant Group of 5 dots Group of 5 dots Double pennant Double pennant Down-turned crescent	Flower (iv) Flower (i) Flower (ii) Flower (iii) Flower (iv) Flower (ii)	19 19 19	10.24a 10.24b 10.24c 10.24d 1024e 10.24f	1192 1192 1192 1192 1192 1192
25	Down-turned crescent Single pennant	Flower (iv) Flower (iv)		10.25a 10.25b	1192 1192
26	Mace Group of 7 dots	Flower (iv) Flower (ii)		10.26a 10.26b	1192 1192
27	Flower of dot and 6 tears	Trident with 2 dots		10.27a	1199

Chhatarpur State coins					
28					
29					
30	Scimitar	Circle and 8 dots			12(0)3 retro

MORE FINDS OF EASTERN INDIA TEA TOKENS

By S.K.Bose

Pridmore's findings on tea garden tokens led the way for further study of this series¹. But with the publication of the book *Coins And Tokens of Assam*², a large number of numismatists and general collectors in India, started showing a gradual interest in the subject. As a result, a good number of tea tokens have been noticed and collected during the last three or four years, which were either noted by Pridmore without illustration but on the basis of Birmingham Mint records, or simply unrecorded pieces, certainly produced by private mints or by the Calcutta mint in India. There is reason to believe that at least 300 to 400 garden tokens, if not more, are still awaiting discovery. These tokens once fulfilled the role of parallel currency in the gardens situated in remote areas of north-east and eastern India³.

The most interesting of recent finds are three cardboard tokens of a north Bengal tea garden, which were issued during the Second World War period. Till recently, it was believed that because, compared to other tea-growing regions, north Bengal tea gardens were better located with regard to road and railway communication with Calcutta, the supply of small coins was adequate in those localities and as a result the gardens had not issued any tokens in the past.

We now furnish below the details of these cardboard tokens from north Bengal and a metallic one from Sylhet (Bangladesh). We know that during the Second World War, not only daily provisions, but also various metals such as iron, tin or aluminium became scarce. It was probably such a situation that compelled the garden to issue cardboard tokens. The obverse of the related tokens bear the following legends:

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) ANDREW YULE &
CO. LIMITED
KARBĀLLĀ TEA
ESTATE ⁴
EK ĀNNĀ (In Bengali)
ĀNNĀ 1 | b) ANDREW YULE &
CO. LIMITED.
KARBĀLLĀ TEA
ESTATE.
EK PAISĀ (In Bengali)
PICE 1 |
| Date.....
1894 (Printed serial No.) | Date.....
4951(Printed No.) |

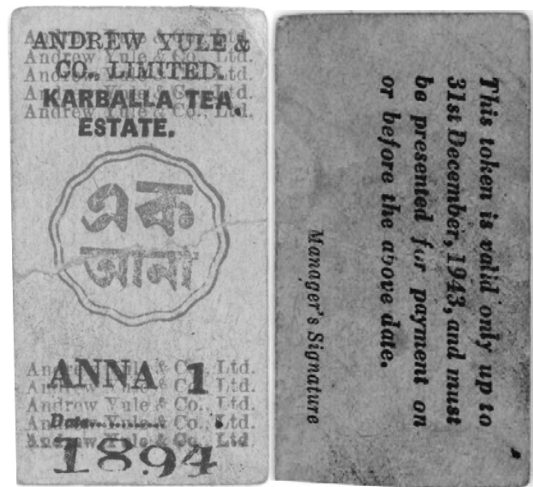
Unlike item a), which was printed in black and red ink, item b) was in black and green. The reverse contains a warning about the last date of validity, which reads as follows:

“This token is valid only up to 31st. December, 1943, and must be presented for payment on or before the above date.”

We illustrate below three such tokens of one *ānnā* (one unused and the other issued for payment to the garden labourers) as well as one *paise* value. Incidentally, just before World War II, in many of the tea gardens, there was a change in the system of paying wages. Instead of payment of full or half *hāzira* (wages payment for the completion of a specific task which was expected to be completed in a day or half by the worker), payment was made for every unit of work completed. This unit was generally one *ānnā*'s (1/16th of a rupee) worth of work, except in the case of plucking, where a unit was equal to one *paise* (*paisā*) i.e. 1/64th of a rupee⁵.

Though it was assumed that tea tokens were in circulation probably up to the end of British rule in India, evidence is pouring in that not only the metal tokens but also paper or cardboard tokens were still in use in many of the gardens even after independence. The scarcity of small coins may have been the

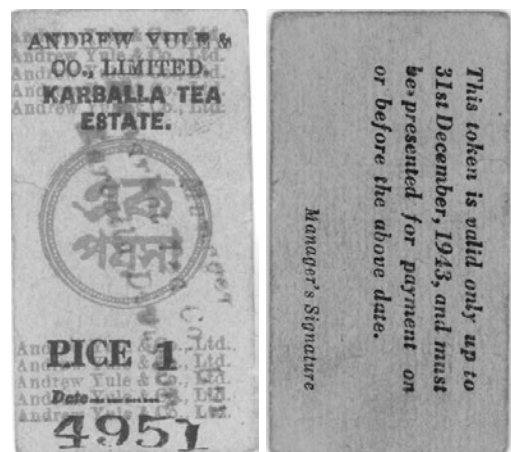
reason for this. It appears that the above ten *paise* (1/10th of a rupee in decimal) token was issued by the Karballa Tea Estate after 1965 and before 31 March 1985, as appears from the obverse and the reverse. We know that the decimal system was introduced in India in 1957. The design of ten *paise*, as appears on the obverse is quite similar to the ten *paise* coin in circulation between 1957 and 1971.



Unused token (one ānnā).
Obverse Reverse



Used Token
Obverse Reverse



Specimen of one paise denomination token
Obverse Reverse

SOME COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER, TAHMASP I: PART 6

By Stan Goron



10 paise card-board token issued under decimal system
Obverse Reverse

The next item is a brass metallic token which was struck by the Gobindpur Tea Estate, Sylhet, now in Bangladesh. At the present time there is no existence of any garden with that name, if the Tea Directory is to be believed. However, we were able to locate the name of this garden in an important book on Sylhet, which was published in 1910⁶ and which listed the names of the tea gardens in Sylhet. The garden was owned by B.N.Sarma and S.M.Choudhury and was located 32 km from the Kamalganj police station⁷. The obverse bears the name of the garden; the reverse is blank.



Token of Gobindpur Tea Estate (Obverse)

From the size of the token it appears that it was meant for the payment of an adult male worker of the garden. We know that the medium size was for women and the smaller one for child labour. The value of the token was determined on the basis of size, the bigger one had the highest face value. In fact, there was disparity in payment to these three categories of workers⁸.

Reference & notes:

- 1) F. Pridmore, *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations*, Vol. II, Part IV, India, London, 204-27 & 244.
- 2) S.K.Bose, *Coins And Tokens of Assam (1715-1937)*, Shillong, 1999, pp.45-65 & 122-27.
- 3) J.V.Scaife, 'Assamese Tea Garden Tokens', *Spink's Num. Circular*, Jan. 1952, p.10.
- 4) This garden is located at Bānārhāt, Jalpaiguri district, North Bengal with an area of about 1000 acres. I am thankful to Shri S. Das, Controller of License Deptt., Tea Board, Calcutta, for providing me with detailed information.
- 5) P. Griffiths, *The History of the Indian Tea Industry*, London, 1967, p. 299.
- 6) A.C. Choudhury, *Śrihatter Itibritya* (in Bengali), Sylhet, 1910, p. appendix-
- 7) part I, South Śrihatter – 24.
- 8) The author is thankful to Mr. Nicholas G. Rhodes for providing useful information on the topic. Mr. Anup Kumar Mitra of Calcutta has kindly allowed the author to publish the '10 paise' token.

In this sixth part I shall be presenting a number of countermarks struck at certain mints during the period of the "second western silver standard" of 6.22 g, which was used from AH 937 to 948.

Countermarking was used extensively in the realms of the Timurids, Aq Quyunlu, Qara Quyunlu and Shaybanids, with coins often bearing multiple countermarks featuring the name of the ruler and/or mint, the denomination (e.g. the very common 'beh bud' of Husain Baiqara, or the 'sarmard' of the Shaybanids). The purpose of the countermarking was probably to raise money, a form of taxation - the coins would be allowed to circulate in the territories of the ruler in question only if they bore his countermark, and a fee or percentage would have to be paid to receive the countermarks. The countermarks would doubtless also have had some political significance.

While late Timurid and Shaybanid countermarks on coins of the first Safavid ruler, Ismail I, are not uncommon, countermarks bearing the name of Ismail himself are very limited. There are some rare early countermarks on gold coins of the Mamluks and the Aq Quyunlu and a few countermarks found on his own silver coins.

The countermarks that are the subject of this article are dated to the period 940-948, different dates at different mints. There are also some without date or without mint but which clearly come from this period. During this period the young Tahmasp I was confronted with a number of incursions into Persian territory by the Shaybanids in the north-east and also had to deal with enmity of the Ottoman sultan, Sulaiman the Magnificent. The resulting military campaigns probably led to the need for extra funds while war with the Ottomans will have cut off one of the main supplies of silver to the Safavid realm. Having said that, I have not been able to find any specific incidents that may have accounted for the countermarking but it is noteworthy that in the year 948 the western weight standard for the shahi was reduced from 6.22 g to 5.25 g.



Isfahan 940 6.11 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I with counterstamp reading 'adl shâh zarb isfahân 940



Kirman 945 6.19 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I, probably Tabriz with counterstamp reading 'adl shâh fi kirmân 945



Kirman 946 6.19 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I of Sari with counterstamp reading 'adl shâh fi kirmân 946



Kirman no date 6.19 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I of Barfurushdeh with countermark reading 'adl shâh fî kirmân



Shiraz 947 6.12 g
Shahi of of Tahmasp I of Barfurushdeh with countermark similar to previous type but the √ of the date is in the upper half of the countermark . 'adl shâ. differently arranged



Qazvin no date 6.09 g
Shahi, probably of Tahmasp I, with countermark reading 'adl shâh zarb qazvîn



Shiraz 947 6.16 g
Shahi, probably of Tahmasp I, with different-shaped countermark reading 'adl shâh fî shîrâz sanah 947



Qumm 947 6.18 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I, dated 940, with countermark reading shâh zarb qumm 947



Shiraz 948 6.10 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I with hexagonal countermark reading 'adl shâhî shîrâz 948



Shiraz 947 6.20 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I of Urdubad 939 with hexagonal countermark reading 'adl shâhî shîrâz 947 All three digits of the date in the lower half of the countermark.



No mint 947 6.20 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I with hexagonal countermark reading 'adl shâhî 947



Shiraz 947 6.20 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I of Arzan 939 with hexagonal countermark as the preceding type but with the √ of the date in the upper half of the countermark.



No mint 947 6.20 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I of Ramhormuz with rhomboid countermark reading 'adl shâh 947



Shiraz 947 6.17 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I with octagonal countermark reading 'adl shâhî shîrâz 947 . All digits of the date are in the lower half of the countermark. The lâm of 'adl is above the shîn of shâ..



No mint 948 6.19 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I with circular countermark probably reading 'adl shâh fî sanah 948



Shiraz 947 6.19 g
As previous countermark but lâm of 'adl intersects the shîn of shâ..



No mint or date 6.09 g
Shahi of Tahmasp I with ornate countermark reading 'adl shâh



No mint visible 6.18 g Shahi of Tahmasp I with square countermark with incurving sides, reading 'adl shâh. There may be a mintname, not struck up at the bottom of the countermark.

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