

collectors of decorations and medals and to those with an interest in the social and political history of India. Members of the general public with an interest in how such national honours are awarded or with a curiosity over the meaning of all those bits of coloured silk that are worn on uniforms, will find this a useful and handy work of reference.”

Other News

We regret to report the untimely death on 27 June 2008 of Dr. Rita Devi Sharma, Keeper, Numismatics, Epigraphy and Jewellery at the National Museum, New Delhi. Sanjay Garg writes:

“My association with Rita Sharma goes back to 1988 then she was working in the State Museum Shimla, and had come to the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik to attend the training course 'Practical Guide to the Fundamentals of Indian Numismatics'. I was then working at the institute as research associate and was one of the programme directors of the training course. Immediately after the course I left the institute and joined the National Archives at Delhi, and as a happy coincidence in less than two years (in October, 1990) Rita was selected as the keeper of the National Museum's coin collections.

All of us who knew Rita personally would vouch for her helpful nature and commitment for the academics. Whether it was consulting the coins collection in the National Museum, or obtaining photographs for illustration or research, Rita would even go out of her way to help the person, irrespective of the fact whether he or she was a reputed scholar or a college student.

Apart from her contributions in the field of numismatics, Rita was a expert epigraphist. In fact she was probably one of the last to read Takari script, for which she had written two primers that were published by the Himachal Pradesh Government.

Her expertise extended beyond coins, to the art of jewellery. Visitors to the National Museum still remember the famous 'Nizam's Jewellery', which Rita had curated.

The establishment of the Coins Gallery in the National Museum, was another remarkable feat of Rita Sharma, that she accomplished almost single-handed.”

Auction News

Baldwin's Auctions Ltd and Arabian Coins and Medals (LLC) held their Islamic Coin Auction no. 14 in London on 8 July 2008. It comprised some 700 lots covering a broad spectrum of Islamic coinage. (www.baldwin.sh)

World Numismatic Auctions held their Auction no. 3 on 26 July 2008. This included some rare Ottoman material as well as better items from the William F. Spengler Afghan collection. (www.wnauctions.com)

Articles

A FLOOD OF FAKE BACTRIAN COINS

By Robert Bracey

In the last five months I have seen 164 Bactrian Greek coins, mostly as photographs, from Euthydemus I to Heliocles. The nature of the coins and stories associated with them implied they were part of a hoard from Afghanistan. However, close examination has revealed that the coins cannot be the product of the official mints of these kings. As a substantial number of types are known and more are likely to be identified I have not illustrated them all but instead described the general characteristics (all the images I have can be consulted at www.kushan.org/bibliography/bactrianhoard.php).

New and Recent Publications

Nidhi, Vol. II, October 2007, the Journal of the Indian Coin Society, has a good range of articles in its 154 pages. These include 'Coins and currency systems of the Paramaras of Malwa' by Pankaj Ameta; 'Gold coins of the two Yadava queens' by Chandrashekhar Gupta; and contributions on punch-marked coins, seals and sealings, Vishnukundin coins, Mulak Chanda coins of Raghuji III, tea garden tokens etc.

Medals and Decorations of Independent India, by Edward S Haynes & Rana TS Chhina. Rs 2750. Available from orders@numismaticindia.com

“With India's Independence in 1947 and emergence as a fully self-governing republic in 1950, new awards were created to reward Indian Citizens for bravery and national service. While these new national awards grew out of the historical heritage of the period of British rule, they also represented the unique values of the new republic.

This book presents a systematic overview of the official military, police and civilian awards of the Republic of India from 1947 through to the present day. In addition to presenting a detailed catalogue of official awards, this work also surveys the development of policy on such awards, considers their changing legal status and provides a critique of the policies that governed their creation and bestowal. While focusing on official national awards, the book also provides information on Indian provincial awards, on foreign awards given to Indians, and on awards of the pre – 1947 provincial government of free India. While much space is necessarily devoted to military awards, attention is also given to civilian awards, to the awards of the police and fire services and to the official awards of the Indian Republic.

This is the first book to focus on this important topic and should be of special interest to those in the defence and other uniformed services, to national policy makers, to students and

The Uncleaned Coins

I have seen photographs of two large groups (75 and 80) uncleaned, coated with a thick encrustation of silver sulphide, and have been told of several others, which showed roughly the same proportion of different kings as the four well documented hoards¹. Though initially convincing as a selection from a hoard there are some curious features:

- Within the particular types they lack diversity in terms of style and letter form, many appearing to be struck from the same die.
- Each type is often dominated by a single monogram, and the diversity of monograms seen in actual hoards is missing.
- No peripheral items; foreign coins, coins of other denominations or metals, are present.
- The condition of the coins is far more uniform than might be expected.

For comparison with future groups I have included some sample images of these coins.



Demetrius I w/Heracles reverse (Group 2, coin 103)



Antimachos Theos with Zeus reverse (Group 1 Coin 6)



Euthydemus II with Heracles reverse (Group 2 coin 99)



Euthydemus I with seated Heracles Reverse (Group 1 coin 17)

The Cleaned Coins

Cleaned groups, usually numbering less than ten coins, have been appearing in dealers and auctions since November of 2007. In this condition and seen as individual examples they have aroused considerably more suspicion. Illustrated are four examples of Eucratides coins drawn from different groups. They show the general characteristics of all these coins:

- Depending on the quality of the cleaning, some of the silver sulphide corrosion will remain.
- Small pits are found on the coin, and the coin has what is sometimes described as a ‘porous’ surface.
- The edges are usually smoothed as a result of cleaning.
- The coins appear to be ‘weakly struck’² with detail being far less crisp than would be expected of coins in this condition.
- All the coins have a certain simplicity or elegance of style which does not quite match with the originals (for an example in this case see the faces of the Dioscuri).
- All the cleaned coins seem to be underweight, ranging from 14 to just over 16 grams.

It is worth saying that there are a number of intermediary examples of poor cleaning in groups 1 and 2 and I have had the opportunity to speak to several people involved in cleaning the coins so that it is certain that the cleaned examples and the corroded ones have the same common source.



Group 2 coin 77



Group 4 coin 159



Group 3 coin 158



Group 6 coin 162

Are the coins modern fakes?

A number of people, particularly amongst those involved in cleaning the coins, do not accept that they are a modern forgery. The most commonly cited objection is that the corrosion product on the surface could not have been placed on a modern imitation and that most of the characteristics (porosity, light striking, pits, low weight) which have aroused suspicion in the cleaned examples are a result of the harsh cleaning process required (which is broadly true).

I would not condemn the coins on the basis of those characteristics (it is simply a convenient way of identifying them), nor would I condemn the uncleaned examples purely because of their suspicious deviations from the characteristics of other hoards. However, they can be condemned on the basis of the dies used to strike them. Not only do all of the dies show some stylistic elements not in keeping with the originals, but they all share the same stylistic peculiarities implying the use of a single hand (and see below), and there are far too few dies employed. Hoards which are deposited shortly after leaving the mint are often struck by a limited range of dies, but this cannot be the case for a group such as this which involves the reign of several kings.

The best illustration of this is the so-called 'pedigree' coin of Eucratides on which the dual busts of Heliocles and Laodice appear. Ten examples of this type are known from several of these groups. Comparing these to existing coins from a provisional die study of this series³ shows a marked difference in style, especially around the eyes, chin, and in the breadth of the shoulders⁴. All ten examples employ the same die for the busts of Heliocles & Laodice, and all appear to use the same die for the obverse. This is double the number of examples that are known for any previous die, a pattern inconsistent with genuine coins.



Coin 156 (Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum (1888.12.8.159))

It is always very hard to be certain: perhaps the coins are an ancient forgery, though it is rather elaborate for an ancient forger; perhaps the coins or their dies are produced from casts of genuine coins, though this would not explain their stylistic oddities; perhaps an imitation of a nomadic group or usurper, though it is unclear why they would mix so many kings; or perhaps some fakes have been worked into an otherwise genuine hoard? The most plausible explanation for this group remains that they are a modern forgery produced by a forger attempting to mimic the condition and proportions of a genuine hoard (not entirely successfully).

The Apparent Mule⁵

This coin appears to have an obverse portrait of Euthydemus II and a reverse type of Antimachos Theos. Stylistically the coin does not appear to be genuine, the portrait style, the depiction of the palm leaf, and the rendering of lambda in 'basileus' are all unlike known examples. However, close comparison with the 'Bactrian Hoard' shows that it is indeed a mule struck from dies of two different kings, dies known from this group. The importance of this coin is that it indicates clearly what the small number of dies and similar style already implied, that this group of coins were all struck at about the same time at a single workshop.



The so-called mule



Coin 39



Coin 128

Identifying the Fakes

For any coin which shares a die with one of the coins illustrated, spotting a fake is a simple matter of comparison. For other coins it is more problematic, the lack of a match does not mean a coin is not part of this group as it is not implausible that other dies exist, or may be made. In addition many of the characteristics which would identify this group would also be seen on genuine coins that were subject to similar corrosion and cleaning. However, I would recommend collectors be suspicious of any coin presented with the same general characteristics as those described here.

Notes

1. For a summary of these hoards see table 4 Cribb, J. 'The Greek Kingdom of Bactria, its Coinage and Collapse' in *Afghanistan Ancien Carrefour entre L'Est et L'Ouest* (ed. Bopéarchchi, O & Boussac, M-F), Brepols, 2005
2. I refer throughout to the coins as if they were struck from dies. This is because there are several cases of the same die appearing in a different position on the flan. Most of the features that have caused people to think they are casts are probably the result of cleaning. However, some features such as the apparent gaps in the limbs of the horses pointed out by Lluis

Mendieta (www.groups.yahoo.com/antiquities_science, 4 Apr 2008) are difficult to explain on die-struck coins and the possibility remains that all the coins were produced from casts.

3. I am grateful to Joe Cribb and Jez Stanley for providing data from provisional die studies of a number of Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings against which I was able to compare the pattern of this group.

4. Stylistically the coins are closest (though still distinct) from examples found at Qunduz. This seems to be the case for some other types as well and though it is only a guess the forger may have used the publications on that hoard as a reference.

5. I am grateful to Len Wilson for bringing this coin to my attention.

NOTES ON THE ANCIENT AND MEDIAEVAL NUMISMATICS OF CENTRAL ASIA

By Michael Fedorov

On The Specifics of Money Circulation in Ancient Left- and Right-Bank Khwarezm

B. Vainberg (1977, 90-91) was the first to note a difference between the money circulation of Left- (Western) and Right-bank (Eastern) Khwarezm. She wrote, that after the time of Wazamar (end of the 3rd - first quarter of the 4th century) Khwarezmian copper coins disappeared from Western Khwarezm. "While even at the small Right-bank Khwarezm settlements of that time copper coins are plentiful, at synchronous (judging by pottery) settlements of Left-bank Khwarezm such coins, notwithstanding a painstaking search, were not found". Even at Kunia-Uaz in Left-bank Khwarezm, a "big town in the time of Wazamar and later" in the archaeological strata containing post-Wazamaran pottery there were no coins minted after Wazamar. It looks also as if ancient Right-bank Khwarezm outstripped Left-bank Khwarezm in economic and social development (at least for some time after Wazamar). I was able to compile statistical support for this. Vainberg (1977, 186) gave a list of archaeological sites and types of coins found there. Unfortunately, she did not write which sites were west and east of the Amu Daria. I made two lists comprising sites of Right- and Left-bank Khwarezm. I excluded the sites dating to the time after the Mongol invasion, and to the archaic period. In Left-bank Khwarezm ancient coins were found at 3 (out of 28) sites, i.e. 10.7%. In the Right-bank Khwarezm they were found at 17 (out of 31) sites, i.e. 54.8%. This statistic is impressive and speaks for itself. The number of recorded sites has not increased significantly in the last thirty years so I do not think that the statistics changed greatly after that time. As for Wazamar copper coins, they were found both in Right- and Left-bank Khwarezm and were plentiful at Kunia-Uaz, where they were found together with a sprinkling of Kushan and Parthian copper coins. Apart from Kushan and Parthian copper coins, some early-Sasanian coins were found, for instance a silver drachm of Shapur I (243-273 AD).

Up to the 3rd century, Khwarezm was ruled by the old Yuezhi ruling clans, who had variants of the swan-shaped tamgha. The Khwarezmian throne was then usurped by the ruling clan employing the S-shaped tamgha (**T6** in Vainberg's classification). It lost the throne to the clan of Wazamar with the **T7** tamgha made of two S-shaped tamghas crossing each other and looking like a swastika with roundish ends. Vainberg (1977, 25, 39) wrote that **T6** was connected with the middle Syr Daria because it was found frequently with artefacts of the Kaunchi archaeological culture (Tashkent oasis, 1st-6th centuries) and that **T7** was connected with the middle Syr Daria (being found on the *Kaunchi culture* artefacts) and Central Kazakhstan (being found there on petroglyphs). This means that **T6** and **T7** were brought to Khwarezm by nomads who, like the Yuezhi, had come to Khwarezm from the east, and that chiefs of those tribes usurped the throne of Khwarezm (first the clan of **T6**, then the clan of the **T7** tamgha). Wazamar was an appanage ruler before he inherited

or usurped the Khwarezmian throne. Rulers of this appanage employed the **T7** tamgha on copper coins but, as an appanage ruler, he did not mint silver coins. As Khwarezmshah he minted silver coins with the old swan-shaped state tamgha **T4** which, by that time, was associated more with the capital of Khwarezm than with some ancient dynasty. Wazamar ruled Khwarezm at the end of the 3rd-first quarter of the 4th century AD (Fedorov 2006, 348-349).

E. Hezfeld (1924, 36, 117-119) believed the King of Khwarezm was mentioned in the Paikuli inscription of Narse (293-302). He wrote that Khwarezm was subjugated by Ardashir I (226-243). W. Henning (1965, 169-170) also believed that Khwarezm was under Sasanian sway during the reigns of Ardashir I and Shapur I (243-273). S. Tolstov (1948, 162-163) was quite positive: "Khwarezm was under Sasanian sway no more than the Roman Caesar's realm" and M. D'iakonov (1961, 398) and V. Lukonin (1969, 115) shared his opinion. R. Frye (1957) read the questionable words not as "King of Khwarazm" but as "King Khwarazman" and believed that "Khwarazman" was the name of a king but not of a country. B. Lukonin (1969, 116) supported Frye's reading while B. Vainberg (1977, 90-91) was more cautious. She cited the Arab historian Tabari (839-923) who wrote that Ardashir went from Savad to Sakastan, Gorgan, Abarshahr, Merv and Khwarezm whence he returned to Merv. She also cited the Syrian Chronicle of Arbela which states that Shapur I in 243 carried out a victorious campaign against Khwarezm. But she wrote that even if Khwarezm were subjugated by the Sasanians it was for a short period. It appears that, after Ardashir's campaign, Khwarezm recognised Sasanian suzerainty but soon after regained independence. The fact that Shapur I started his reign with a campaign against Khwarezm shows that, by 243, Khwarezm was independent and Shapur I had to resubjugate it and I believe that this time Khwarezm also regained independence soon enough.

Vainberg wrote that the disappearance of Khwarezmian copper coins from Left-bank Khwarezm after Wazamar could have been caused by the Sasanians. As the invasions of Ardashir I and Shapur I were before Wazamar, it looks as if there was a new invasion after Wazamar when only Left-bank Khwarezm was subjugated and, when the Sasanians withdrew (or were ousted), it became independent both from the Sasanians and Right-bank Khwarezm. Up to and including the reign of Wazamar, Left- and Right-bank Khwarezm comprised one state. I believe that, after Wazamar, there were two states: Left- and Right-bank Khwarezm and this was one of the reasons why copper coins minted in Right-bank Khwarezm did not circulate in Left-bank Khwarezm. Another reason could be that the ousting of the Sasanians from Left-bank Khwarezm was facilitated by the military help of nomads residing between the Caspian sea and Left-bank Khwarezm. The written sources on ancient Central Asia are quite scarce but the mediaeval sources show many cases when the rulers of oases invited nomads in order to strengthen their armies. So Khwarezmshah Hārūn b. Āltūntāsh, preparing in 1033 for the war against the Ghaznavids, invited nomads, led by the Seljūqs, to join his army (Fedorov 2001, 13). And it happened more than once that the military help of nomad tribes resulted in the appearance of new dynasties and states created by these nomads. Thus, in early 1130, the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, harried by unruly Qarluq and Qangly nomads, called on the Khytai nomads to strengthen his army. The Khytais came, dethroned the Qarākhānid ruler, created their own state and only after that did they suppress the unruly Qarluq and Qangly nomads (Fedorov 2004, 325).

It is well known that the nomads were at a lower level of cultural and economic development than the sedentary population of flourishing oases. Thus even in the middle of the 19th century, the Kirghiz nomads had barter trade while, in the adjacent Khoqand khanate, there was highly developed system of monetary circulation (Fedorov 2001a, 230-231). This being so, there may well have been a temporary reversion to barter trade in Left-bank Khwarezm.

New data about money circulation in Southern Sogd (Karshinskii oasis).

Two hoards of copper coins have recently been found in the Karshinskii oasis (Baratova, Suleimanov 2001, 31-42). They consisted of so-called Nakhshhebian coins. On the obverse of such coins there is the head of a king with a peculiar coiffure, while, on the reverse, the king is stabbing a rampant lion with a sword (fig. 1). Single stray finds of such coins in the Karshinskii oasis have been reported before, but these are the first hoards of such coins known and for that reason are very important. The Kafyr-kala hoard comprised 149 coins (3 effaced, 146 Nakhshhebian). The Er-kurgan (ancient Neseft) hoard comprised 47 coins (11 effaced, 35 Nakhshhebian, 1 so-called coin with archer). A. Naymark (1989, 38-43) wrote that, typologically, "copper" coins with archer derived from silver coins with archer, which were minted in Samarqandian Sogd during several centuries, from the second century AD till the end of the fifth century AD. He, therefore, deemed that "copper" coins with archer were Nakhshhebian imitations of the silver coins with archer minted in Samarqandian Sogd. L. Baratova and R. Suleimanov shared Naymark's opinion.



Nakshebian type

However, the standard of the coins with archer deteriorated gradually from good silver to bad billon, and the latest coins looked more like copper. So I believe that both silver and "copper" (or rather billon) coins with archer were minted in Samarqandian Sogd sequentially, silver gradually debasing to the copper issues, rather than in parallel, as suggested by Naymark. A collection of coins found in the Karshinskii oasis (stray finds and hoards), which was sent to the State Ermitazh Museum, comprised 520 pieces. Among them were "more than 500 coins" of the Nakhshhebian type and only "8 copper" coins with archer, i.e. 1.6% (Baratova, Suleimanov 2001, 31, 33, 34, footnote 1). As one can see, the coins with archer are quite scarce in the Karshinskii oasis. This means that copper coins with archer were not minted there. O. Smirnova (Kabanov 1973, 159-171) wrote that the legends of Nakhshhebian coins evolved from being written with separate

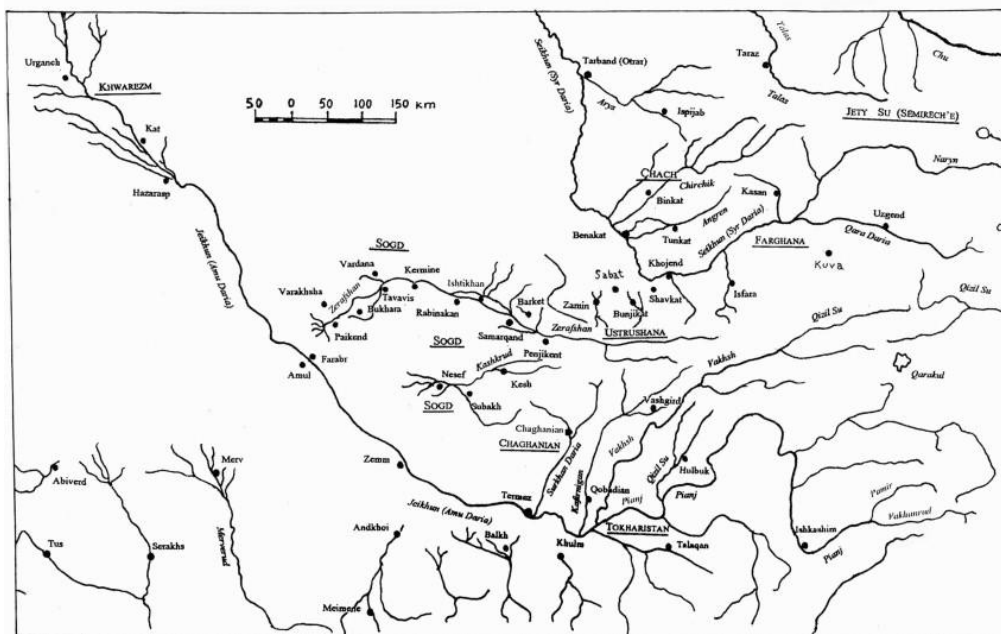
letters to semicursive and that this evolution took about 200-250 years. However, as observed by Baratova and Suleimanov, the Er-kurgan hoard comprised all variants of the legend and this implies that the evolution of the legend took a much shorter time than 200-250 years. They admitted the possibility that "old" (but not 250-200 years old!-M. F.) dies were used together with new dies but wrote nothing about the die linkage evidence associated with these coins. I believe that, simply, among the main bulk of the so-to-speak "new" coins with semicursive legend there were some surviving "old" coins with an obsolete legend written with separate letters.

The hoards provide information on the metrology of Nakhshhebian coins. The first hoard coins weigh from 1.2 to 2.6 g, while the second hoard coins weigh from 1.1 to 2.1 g (unfortunately Baratova and Suleimanov did not care to indicate what coins were chipped and what coins were intact). So the first hoard coins are heavier than the second hoard coins. There are two explanations for such a difference. 1) the second hoard was in circulation for a considerably longer time and the coins lost more weight due to wear. 2) the second hoard coins were minted later than the first hoard coins (which is more plausible). Weight decrease of early-mediaeval coins was a common trend for Central Asia. Hence, earlier coins were, as a rule, heavier than later ones.

The weight histogram of the first hoard gives two peaks (each of 25 coins) of 2 and 2.1 g, which suggests the intended weight standard. The compact group (11 coins and more), constituting 85% of the coins, is between 1.8-2.4 g, i.e. 2.1 plus/minus 0.3 g. I believe that the intended weight standard was the Attic hemidrachm (or triobol). The Attic weight drachm = 4.36g, so a hemidrachm (4.36:2) = 2.18g. The diameter of the coins is between 14.2 and 18 mm, but the majority of coins are 15-16 mm.

The weight histogram of the second hoard gives a peak of 1.7 g (6 coins), which suggests the intended weight standard. There are three peaks of 1.4, 1.6, 1.8 g (5 coins each). The compact group (3 coins and more), constituting 80% coins, is between 1.4-1.9 g. I believe that the intended weight standard was 2/5 of the Attic weight drachm (4.36:5x2=1.74). The diameter of the coins is between 14 and 18 mm, but the majority of coins 15-16 mm.

Now about the term "Nakhshhebian coins". It was introduced in 1961 by S. K. Kabanov (Kabanov 1961, 137-144) because all such coins were found in the Karshi oasis (ancient Nakhshheb), and after that this term was used by other Russian-speaking archaeologists. Baratova and Suleimanov thought that Nakhshhebian coins were minted in the capital of ancient Nakhshheb (Neseft, i.e. Er-kurgan hillfort).



New data on money circulation in early-mediaeval Ferghana and Usrushana.

A hoard of early-mediaeval coins was found at ancient Kuva in Fergana (Baratova, Matbabaev 2004, 20-29). The authors dated the hoard between the end of the 7th and first half of the 8th century. The hoard comprised 19 foreign and 129 local coins (1 silver, 147 copper).

The foreign coins included: 1 drachm of Peroz I (459-484); 3 coins of Usrushana; 1 coin of Bukharan Sogd; 1 coin of Samarqandian Sogd; 1 coin of Penjikent; 3 undetermined coins. There is some mess in the text concerning Chachian coins. On page 21, 7 Chachian coins are described, but in table no. 1 on page 28 there is a photo (tb. 1 no. 3) of one more Chachian coin, which is not described on page 21. So that makes 8 coins of Chach. One coin has a tamgha which I define as the “ram horns tamgha” (since it is composed of the combination of four ram horns). Such coins were also found in a Kanka hoard together with coins which have two emblems: the Chachian trident and Otrarian lion. The latter coins were minted and circulated in the first half of the 8th century. This means that the coins with the “ram horns tamgha” were also minted and circulated in the first half of the 8th century. The Chachian coin (tb. 1/3) not described in the text had, so far as I can judge, the lyre-shaped tamgha. One more coin had the Chachian trident and Otrarian lion. Four coins had the Chachian trident. One more coin is badly worn, but the authors attributed it to the Chachian mintage.

The local coins included, 6 coins of Tutmysh Alpu Qagan (reading by V. Livshits); 124 bronze coins with a square or round hole, having neither legends nor images. This last group divided into two types by weight and size: 87 coins (D. 7-10 mm, average W. 0.43 g), 27 coins (D. 13-15mm, average W. 0.55 g). The authors attributed coins without legends and images to local Ferghana issues. But such coins were issued in the Chu valley too. They are common in the Chu valley, where, apart from stray finds, two hoards of such coins were found (Kamyshev 2002, 51-52). I believe that some of these coins were brought from the Chu valley. My opinion is based on the presence of countermarks on more than 15 coins which I believe legalised the circulation of foreign coins in a realm where they were brought by merchants. It is quite possible that coins brought from the Chu valley were countermarked in Kuva. The countermarks (mostly rectangular) have the Sogdian word **prn** (grace, blessing) or **pn** (coin).

Like neighbouring Chach and Semirech'e, Ferghana did not mint silver coins, and imported silver coins were as scarce in Ferghana as in Chach and Semirech'e. For instance in “Типологический конкорданс” (Typological concordance) of coins found in Semirech'e, compiled by A. Kamyshev (2002, 107-122), there are 2303 coins. Only three of them are silver. The Kuva hoard, a snapshot of money circulation in early-mediaeval Ferghana, is one more substantiation of this. This hoard indicates that the monetary economy was based on bronze coins of both local (mainly) and foreign origin. Imported silver coins were scarce. Unfortunately the authors did not write if or what date was on the drachm of Peroz I from the Kuva hoard. As for the mint monogram it was **ST**.

Another hoard was found at Kultepa hillfort (the ancient town of Sabat) in Syrdar'inskaia oblast' of Uzbekistan (early-mediaeval Usrushana). It comprised jewellery (beads, ear-rings), 42 Sasanian coins and two fragments of such coins (Baratova 2002, 51-58). All coins but one were minted by Peroz I (459-484). Unfortunately the authors did not write if or what dates were on the drachms of Peroz I. The mint monograms were as follows: **AB, AH, AHM, AW, AY, AS, BN, DA, NH/WH, NY, KR/KL, RD/RL, RYW/LYW, ST**.

One drachm was minted by Khusru II (590-628) in 619/620, with the mint monogram **NYH**. This coin indicates the date when the hoard was deposited: after 620, most probably in the 620s AD.

The hoard shows that, at the time when it was deposited (620s AD), coins of Peroz I had been in circulation in Usrushana for at least a century. Such numismatic longevity is not unique in

the region. In Ferghana coins minted by Subkhan Quli Khan (1680-1702) were in circulation for more than 80 years after his death. Deeds of purchase, written in Ferghana (in 1760, 1763, 1782, 1784) described money paid as: “silver tangas of Sayyid Subkhan Quli Khan *current in our time*”, (Davidovich 1964, 170). The Kultepa hoard provides valuable information on the monetary economy in early-mediaeval Usrushana, which in the sphere of silver circulation, was served by imported Sasanian drachms, while copper coins, were minted in Usrushana (Fedorov 2003a, 6-8). Sogdian silver drachms probably also circulated in Usrushana but, to my knowledge, none have yet been found.

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STAR IN LIEU OF CROSS: NOTES ON THE EARLY GEORGIAN-KHULAGID CHRISTIAN DIRHAMS

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The so called Georgian-Khulagid Christian Dirhams¹ were first minted in Georgia, ostensibly in its capital Tiflis² in 680

¹ For the discussion on the term to define coins of this type, refer to I. Jalaghania's work [16, p. 57]: Markov's term “coins minted for Georgia” was quite imprecise as this currency was issued in Georgia, not just for Georgia; while it bears no names of the contemporary Georgian kings (in contrast to copper coins of the latter), there can be no doubt that the Georgian kingdom and Georgians were not just an object, a target market maybe, for these dirhams. In contrast to the previous and the following years of the Mongol sway, they held sufficient political weight by that time to foreordain the emergence of a Christian formula on the coins with all the legends in Arabic and in Mongol. Moreover, Markov's definition did not reflect the coins' main peculiarity: the presence of the Christian formula (and, often, of the cross). Pakhomov's initial definition

(1281/2) or 679 AH (1280/1)³. The obverse of these coins normally bears a 4 or 5-line legend in Classical Mongol Script, with the Ilkhan's name in the third line. Starting with Arghun, the 5th, bottom line is used for the Ilkhan's name in Arabic (a word in Mongol is sometimes inscribed vertically⁴ on the righthand side, cf. *Fig. 19*). The reverse bears a Christian pious formula in Arabic and a cross (normally).

The appearance of Christian elements on coins issued in Tiflis, Eastern Georgia, were probably the result of two historical tendencies: firstly, the religious inclinations of the local population and the nobility⁵; secondly, and perhaps more decisively was the position of Christianity among the Mongols, and particularly their general tolerance, or maybe apathy, or perhaps even ambivalence on religious matters⁶.

“Christian-Khulagid” was justly criticised for not indicating the relationship to Georgia; later on, the venerated scholar changed his opinion calling them “Khulagid-Georgian”, concurring with Kapanadze's epithet “Georgian-Khulagid”. However, the latter, which seems to be commonly accepted nowadays, at least in the works of Georgian scholars, is not accurate enough either. Generally, all coins, issued in the names of the Ilkhans in the territory of the Georgian kingdom or in Georgia proper, the majority of them bearing no Christian formula and/or symbol, may still be called “Georgian-Khulagid”. On the other hand, we disagree with Kapanadze's designation of the denomination ‘drama’ [18, p. 96]. Drama was the term used to indicate Queen Rusudan's silver coins of national type [24, p. 107, #67; Kapanadze 69, p. 82, #80], and can hardly be extended to the silver coinage, to *dirhams* of the Mongols minted in Georgia, bearing legends in Mongol and Arabic, but not in Georgian, and issued in the name of the foreign conqueror. Therefore, we personally prefer to use a rather lengthy compound but precise term: “Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams”.

² M. Sayfeddini, an Azerbaijani scholar, lists a dirham from the collection of the Azerbaijan History Museum issued in the name of Arghun, claiming that it has the mint place Tiflis indicated on it in one of the segments [25, p. 213, table #202]; The image provided is of mediocre quality, but still legible. Nevertheless, we could not read Tiflis on it. Sayfeddini's book [25] was published in 1978, while already in 1969 D. Kapanadze reported a silver coin of this type preserved in the “Historical Museum of Azerbaijan” [18, p. 96]. Kapanadze might have obtained the information directly from Sayfeddini. I. Jalaghania wrote about other specimens with the mint name Tiflis on them referring to [Markov A. *The Inventory Catalogue of Mohammedan Coins of the Hermitage. St-Petersburg, 1896. P. 574.*] (*In Russian Марков А. Инвентарный каталог мусульманских монет Эрмитажа. СПб., 1896. Стр. 574*) [16, p. 56]; Ó. Diler also lists Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams with the mint place on them [8, p. 320, #Ar-223].

³ So called qa'anik type II constitute the previous series issued in Tiflis. The chronology of minting qa'anik type coins deserves separate research and will not be covered in this work, but the earliest known Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham was thought to date back to 680 AH [24; 16]. But since then the situation might have changed: Jalaghania listed a dirham from the Zhinvali hoard in the name of Abagha dated 67x AH [15, pp. 127-128]. It seems that the date can only be 679 AH, as qa'anik type coins were minted previously. No image, however, is provided, so the information cannot currently be verified. In that same book the author also gives a reference to qa'anik type II coin from the Nakhiduri hoard (also without illustrations) dated 680 AH [15, p. 126, #10]. These data contradict each other: it is unlikely that coins so different in type were minted simultaneously or intermittently; the interpretation of the date indicated on the coin may be wrong at least in one case.

⁴ There is an opinion that the legends on the Mongol coins in classical Mongol (“Uyghur”) script were oriented vertically [21, plate VII, #5, 7; 7]; however, taking into account that the word in Arabic and the legends in Mongol are parallel, one may draw the conclusion that it was unproblematic for the latter to be arranged horizontally. On the other hand, the legend in Mongol could be oriented vertically as well, as proved by the extant coins with some words oriented thus in relation to the name in Arabic (cf. *Figs. 14, 19*).

⁵ Christianity gained a solid foothold in Eastern Georgia in the early 4th century.

⁶ P. Jackson's book has a special section *The Mongols and religion*, in which the author demonstrates well the Mongols' “syncretism and inclusiveness in matters of religion” [14, p. 45]. Mongol attitude towards religion as such is well illustrated by Rubruck, describing Mongke's approach to representatives of different confessions and their faith: “He believes in none of them...; and yet they all follow his court as flies do

Many prominent representatives of the Mongol ruling class were Nestorian Christians; some cross-like symbols on the early Mongol coins *may* even be related to Nestorians [26]. In particular, the first Ilkhans, except for Ahmad, gained “a reputation for being at least well-disposed towards Christians” [14, p. 176]. Hulagu, who led the southwestward campaign and established the Ilkhan dynasty, appears to have personally harboured sympathies for Christians⁷. That could be a result of the influence of Dokuz Khatun, his beloved wife, a Nestorian Kereit princess⁸. It is noteworthy that “certainly, Eastern Christians (as well as the smaller Jewish communities) were spared during the massacres in Baghdad and Aleppo” [6]. Nevertheless, Gumilev's “yellow crusade” [10], an apt designation for the military activities of Mongols and their auxiliaries in Iraq, Syria and Palestine against the Caliph in Baghdad and later Mamluks is probably not a fully correct term. Although it certainly reflects the military, political, cultural and religious significance of the process, it is necessary to bear in mind that, despite all their sympathies and affiliation with the Nestorians, in contrast to European Crusaders, the Mongols were less motivated by the prospect of liberating the Holy Sepulchre and other mystic or romantic motives, than by the secular intention of enlarging their (Chingizid) dominions. From this point of view, the response of Sartak's⁹ chief secretary to Rubruck is very remarkable: “Do not say that our master is Christian. He is not a Christian; he is a Mongol”; P. Jackson provides a logical interpretation to this statement: “The essential point to be grasped, however, is that Mongol princes and commanders were Mongols first and foremost; religious allegiances took second place to the task of conquering and governing the empire” [14, p. 100]. However, the advent of Mongol sway certainly ameliorated the condition of Christians residing in the region¹⁰, with respect to equality with Muslims, a former ruling religious group; to more opportunities for promotion to administrative offices and the possibility to preach their faith in public [14, p. 102].

Anyway, Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams were first issued only in the time (and in the name) of Hulagu's son and successor, Abagha. Christian sources speak highly of Abagha's attitude towards the eastern churches. However, “the evidence suggests, in fact, that Abagha had by no means abandoned his ancestral shamanism and that he inclined at least as strongly as his

honey, and he makes them all gifts and all of them believe that they are on intimate terms with him and forecast his good fortune” [14, p. 101].

⁷ Sympathies not preventing him from being interred together with several beautiful young women, being “the last occasion on which human victims are recorded as having been buried with a Chingizid prince... Besides the deference to traditional Mongol belief, the erection of a Buddhist temple at Khoy testifies to an interest in that religion” too [6].

⁸ “Other sources relate the story of Hülegü's supposed infatuation with the daughter of the king of Georgia and his desire to wed her” [6].

⁹ This Jujid prince, by 1256 khan of the Golden Horde, was reputed to be a Christian.

¹⁰ Nevertheless, however paradoxical it might seem, one cannot condemn the European Crusaders' Christian regime for not forming an alliance with the Mongols against the Muslim Mamluks and for adopting a position of benevolent neutrality towards the latter - a policy, which eventually resulted in the extermination of the mainland Frankish states. P. Jackson in the section *A lost opportunity? The choice facing the Latin East in 1260* of his book [14, pp. 119-123] provides a convincing argument on this issue, and we deem it appropriate to present a short synopsis here:

- The Mongols did not offer the Latin states in Syria and Palestine a coalition on equal terms, but “a choice between annihilation and the acceptance of their [Mongol] overlordship;
- By submitting to the Mongols, the Franks would have been deprived of their status of ruling élite and would have been forcibly put on equal terms with eastern Christian “schismatics” and even non-Christian groups (Muslims and Jews);
- No one could have foreseen that the young Mamluk state would acquire internal stability enabling it to pursue an efficient expansionist policy, while the Mongols would become so relatively inactive;
- Anyway, the Franks probably had only very limited resources for an active military campaign against any of the two antagonists.

father towards the Buddhist faith". His Byzantine wife, Maria (Despina Khatun), did not enjoy the influence wielded by Dokuz Khatun during the previous reign either, and one should not exaggerate Abagha's Christian sympathies. For instance, the diplomatic exchange with Christian countries of Europe will have been inspired chiefly by the need to obtain allies against the Mamluks¹¹ [11]. It is quite noteworthy that during the first years following Abagha's enthronement (663 AH / 1265) the Tiflis mint was issuing anonymous *qa'an al-adil* type dirhams [9; 24, pp. 148-170; 16, pp. 48-53]. Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams were first minted only many years later, in 679 or 680 AH, by the end of Abagha's reign, who died in Dhu al-Hijjah 680 AH (April 1282)¹². It is to be noted that "during his last two years the links between the court and the Nestorian hierarchy were established on a stronger footing. Abagha himself confirmed in his office in 680/1281 the newly elected Catholicos Mar Yabalaha III, with whom he was clearly on good terms" [11].

The following Ilkhan, Ahmad Takudar, also minted Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams. Initially, he was a Christian, but converted to Islam [12], and started an anti-Christian policy¹³. Although "Bar Hebraeus testifies to his extraordinary liberality towards the Christian churches" [12], Muslim influence increased dramatically. They gained important positions in the administration [12; 25, p. 200]; Christians, Jews and Buddhists were persecuted [25, p. 200, footnotes 73-75]. The cross on Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams in the name of Ahmad was removed and replaced with the star, this fact also traditionally considered to be one of the overt manifestations of Ahmad's new religious policy [16, pp. 59-60; 25, pp. 201-202]. The replacement allowed the retention of the overall type of these Tiflis dirhams [16, pp. 59-60]. It is, however, certainly unclear why the Christian pious formula remained on the coins. If the Christian cross was intolerable for the administration of the Muslim Ilkhan, so should have been the Christian legend; and vice versa, if the local administration¹⁴ enjoyed a level of independence sufficient to retain the Christian formula, it is strange that they could not retain the cross. Apparently, the established combination came a result of a remarkable compromise between two opposite trends. The Mongols, who were minting silver coins of many different types in other provinces of their realm, still had to adhere to, or tolerate the Christian type in Georgia. The most obvious Christian symbol, however, understandable even for the illiterate bulk of Georgians and Mongols (the literacy level and

preoccupation with coinage-related issues of these new conquerors might have been limited) was eliminated. On the other hand, it may be naïve to think that the cross was doomed to be eliminated as an overt expression of Christianity, while the Christian formula in Arabic, one of the international languages of the region in that epoch, could be spared¹⁵.

Ahmad Takudar's pro-Islamic policy was reversed in the reign of his successor and rival Arghun, son of Abagha. Arghun's reign is considered to constitute the heyday of Buddhism in Iran; but Christian sources also speak highly of him and his favours towards Christians¹⁶. Arghun had one of his sons, subsequently the Ilkhan Uljaytu, baptised in 688 AH (1289) and named Nicholas, in honour of the pope. Muslims were excluded from the state bureaucracy [11]. No wonder that the cross reappeared on the Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams during his reign.

It is worth noting that the king of Eastern Georgia¹⁷ in 1271-1289 was Demetre II the Self-Sacrificer¹⁸. That means that all coins in the names of Abagha and Ahmad were minted during his reign, as well as the dirhams in the name of Arghun until 12 March 1289 (i.e. before Safar 688 AH) when Demetre was executed on the order of the former. In our opinion, the fact that the same Georgian ruler was occupying the throne could mean a certain degree of stability and continuity in terms of internal [minting] policy, and underlines the importance of the external influence exerted by the Mongols and their administration at different times. It is worth mentioning that Demetre II, himself, had a very tense relationship with the Georgian Church: The king and nobles sequestered much of the ecclesiastic property [17, pp. 108-109, 116-118]. Moreover, the Christian king's trigamy served as another stumbling block in Demetre's relationship with the Church [17, pp. 109-110, 116-117]. On the other hand, the well-known Metekhi Holy Virgin Church, constructed in 1278-1289 and still towering in Tbilisi is perhaps a monument to Demetre II's attempts to appease the ecclesiastical circles [17, p. 118].

Having provided a brief historical background for the issue of Georgian-Khulagid Christian currency we can now focus on some specific issues related to these coins. The ones with the star instead of the cross are of particular interest.

Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams issued in the name of Ahmad are quite rare. Pakhomov mentioned 8 from various

¹¹ P. Jackson argues that "the majority of western observers were lukewarm about an alliance precisely because they recognised Ilkhanid ambitions for what they were" [14, p. 6]. Even western authors who favoured cooperation with the Ilkhans "were under no misapprehensions about the impulse behind Ilkhanid diplomacy: the Mongols simply hated the Mamluks more than the Franks" [14, p. 186].

¹² The minting of these coins, undoubtedly may be interpreted as an act aimed at conciliating the Christian subjects of the Ilkhanids; but it cannot be considered the aftereffects of the Mongol defeat at the second battle of Homs in October 1281. Many sources list Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams in the name of Abagha minted several months earlier – bearing the date Muharram 680 AH (April-May 1281), cf. Table 1. However, this could have constituted part of an Ilkhanid campaign to mobilise and weld together their resources on the eve of the new major clash with the Mamluks. Indeed, at least Georgian troops under the command of King Demetre II participated in this battle serving the Mongols well. It also appears that some Knights Hospitaller participated in the campaign [14, p. 168].

¹³ However, this fact apparently did not change his foreign policy much. It was shown that the negotiations Ahmad started with Mamluk Egypt, the old foe of the Ilkhans, constituted a rather less revolutionary act than it was thought before: Ahmad's letters to Qalāwūn were just as uncompromising as the previous ultimata. "Far from abandoning his predecessors' expansionist designs and seeking a peaceful *modus vivendi*, as was once thought, the new Ilkhan was making a fresh endeavour to secure the Mamluks' submission, on the grounds that they could now have no objection to acknowledging the sovereignty of a fellow Muslim" [14, pp. 168-169].

¹⁴ It is not quite clear how immediate was the Mongol control over the mint. More research and discussion on this topic seems to be necessary.

¹⁵ It would not be out of place to mention that "the use of the Cross, *inter alia*, as a magical device to secure protection against spirits in this life, even by the Nestorian communities, already had a long history in Central Asia" [14, p. 270]. Mongols were apparently keen to employ the symbol *pro domo sua*: for instance, having presumably learned from the local Muslims that the Georgian army, when on campaign, was in the habit of carrying a cross aloft, they carried it at the head of their army as well, making the Georgian Amirspasalar (Constable) Ivané complain to Pope Honorius III that the Mongols had tricked Georgians by doing so; "rumours had preceeded them [Mongols] to the effect that they were 'magi' who possessed a portable tent-church and a miracle-working cross and had come to avenge the injuries suffered by Christians at the hands of the Muslims" [14, p. 49].

¹⁶ A remarkable instance of a true episode of Mongol-European military cooperation against Muslim Mamluks took place in Arghun's reign: 800 or 900 Genoese sailors, an impressive figure for the Middle Ages and for medieval European military (even if not so impressive for the Mongol military machine) were present in Mesopotamia on the Tigris in the winter of 689-90 AH (1290-91) with the intention of constructing a fleet of galleys to harass Egyptian maritime commerce in the Indian Ocean; however, internecine quarrels put an end to this project [13; 14, pp. 169-170].

¹⁷ The Georgian Kingdom became *de facto* divided into two parts by 1262, after the anti-Mongol revolt. The state was reunited only in 1329 by Giorgi V the Brilliant [17, pp. 69-75, 171].

¹⁸ Arghun summoned Demetre II after the fall of the latter's friend and protector at the Mongol court, the vizier Bukai. Demetre was fully conscious of the danger but in order to spare the country from devastation, which would have been inevitable in case of disobedience, he did not take the advice of his counselors and surrendered. Demetre was persecuted, but his devotion was remembered by Georgians who called him "Tavdadebuli" – "one who sacrificed himself" [5, p. 119; 17, pp. 112-116].

collections in his corpus of Georgian coins [24, p. 165, footnote 1]; by 1958 there were only 3 coins in the major collection of Georgian coins of the State Museum of Georgia in Tbilisi¹⁹ [16, p. 100, ##475-477]; 1 specimen was published in D. Kapanadze's book [18, plate IX, #104]; and 1 more was in the collection of the ANS (published by D. Lang [20, p. 46, #20, plate V, #9; ANS database online entry address <http://data.numismatics.org/cgi-bin/showobj?accnum=1922.216.271> (?); Fig. 8]). Therefore, taking into account their scarcity, the publication of every single new specimen, including decent images and metrological information, would be helpful. We are delighted to be able to make available for research 4 more specimens of Ahmad Takudar's Georgian-Khulagid dirhams now from private collections (Figs. 9-12, metrology provided in the captions). In addition to that, some more specimens were published recently in *Money of Georgia* album [22, p. 50, #114] (1 specimen), Volume 9 of the *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean* (1 specimen) [4, plate 31, #629] and in *Sylloge of Coins of the Caucasus and Eastern Europe in Jena Oriental Coin Cabinet* (1 specimen) [23, pp. 122-123, #1068]. Additionally, Ö. Diler provided reference to Ahmad's [Tiflis] dirham listed in *Album S. Price List 143, January 1998, California* and another one listed in *Album S. Price List 180, June 2002, California*²⁰ [8, p. 294]. So in total there have been only 22 Georgian-Khulagid dirhams of Ahmad with the star registered so far.

In the past there was a view that Takudar's dirhams were minted only in 683 AH (1284/5) [16, p. 58]; Lang, however, published a specimen from the ANS collection with the date 682 and question mark [20, p. 46, Plate V, #9, Fig. 8]. In our opinion one of the specimens we are publishing now may also bear this date (Fig. 9); at least what remains in the left segment is in our opinion closer to 2 than to 3 (cf. to the specimen dated 683, Fig. 11), and certainly so on the specimen published by Lang (Fig. 8), on the specimen in D. Kapanadze's book published in 1969 [18, plate IX, #104] and on the specimen in the album *Money in Georgia* [22, p. 50, #114]. Thus, it seems that the Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams in the name of Ahmad were indeed minted in 682 AH (1283/4) as well²¹. Moreover, according to Ö. Diler, a coin with even the date 681 Rabi' al-Akhir was listed in *Album S. Price List 180, June 2002, California*²² [8, p. 294, footnote 1825].

A Georgian dirham in the name of Ahmad with quite a peculiar countermark [4, plate 31, #629] also deserves special attention. As was normal for Ahmad's dirhams minted in Georgia, the initial design of the reverse featured the star instead of the cross; but in this case "the cross is a later countermark, obscuring the ornament normally found in place of the cross on the Tiflis dirhams of Ahmad"²³ [4, plate 31]. Evidently, the cross countermark was applied later, after Ahmad's death, during Arghun's reign, assuming this activity was performed at the central mint by the local (Georgian?) administration. Alternatively, it could have been done somewhere else, at any time, by any Christian authority, be it secular or ecclesiastical, as the countermark cross is quite crude, and it should have certainly been quite easy to engrave the cross on the punch. In any case, this fact highlights the importance of religious (Christian)

symbolism for the people of the time, most probably in Georgia, the country where these coins were struck and circulated widely.

As we can see, the religious policy of the Iranian Mongols as well as the religious inclinations of the local population and ruling class were demonstrably reflected in the coinage minted in Georgia in the name of the Ilkhans. And from this point of view it is quite significant, in our opinion, that the cross was also replaced by the star on some of the coins in the name of Abagha, and not only on those minted in the name of Ahmad. As far as we know, this fact was previously unknown in Georgian numismatics. We know about 3 coins like this:

The late Ö. Diler mentioned the existence of such a coin in his major book on Ilkhanid coinage published in 2006 [8, p. 278]. The reference is to *Album S. Price List 123, January 1996, California* [3]. The image is reproduced from this source (Fig. 6) and proves that the star is truly combined with Abagha's name. Another coin is preserved in a private collection in Ukraine (Fig. 5), while the third one is in the private collection of Zurab Gvindjilia in Georgia (Fig. 7)²⁴. The name of Abagha in the third line of the obverse in Mongol is quite clear. (Figs. 5-7).

The date is legible on two specimens out of three and is 682 (?) AH on the Ukrainian specimen (Fig. 5) and 683 AH on Album's specimen (Fig. 6), unfortunately with the month name effaced / off-flan in both cases; on the third coin, preserved in Georgia, on the contrary, the year is effaced but the month is discernible: Rabi' al-Awwal (Fig. 7).

The existence of Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams with the star in lieu of the cross and issued in the name of Abagha, who was not committed to persecuting Christians, seems to be very enigmatic and at the same time meaningful. However, we should not forget that Abagha died on 20 Dhu al-Hijja 680 (1 April 1282) [8, p. 258; 11], while Takudar was duly elected as ruler on 26 Muharram 681 (6 May 1282) and enthroned on 13 Rabi' al-Awwal (21 June), assuming the title Sultan Ahmad [12]. That means, that all his dirhams of Christian type minted in 681 and henceforward (except for the first month or two at most maybe to allow for the news about the change of ruler reaching Tiflis) were deliberately issued in Abagha's name posthumously [16, p. 58]. There was an interregnum for the major part of Muharram 681; it might have taken news up to one month to reach Tiflis. Thus, all dirhams with the cross replaced, whether bearing Abagha's or Ahmad's name, were actually issued during the reign of the latter and apparently reflected his religious intolerance.

These dirhams with the star and Abagha's name, however, make it very difficult to understand why posthumous issues of the coinage should have been struck in Abagha's name in Georgia. Ahmed was certainly already minting coins in his own name in other areas of his realm in 681-683 [27, <http://www.zeno.ru/showgallery.php?cat=1806>; Figs. 13-14; 8, pp. 283, 287-294]. The replacement of the cross by the star seemingly proves that his authority truly extended over Tiflis, so that one cannot claim that Abagha's name was preserved on the coins as a symbol of relative independence from, or rather opposition to Ahmad Takudar. But then it is unclear why Ahmad or his administration should have struck coins in the name of his brother and predecessor.

¹⁹ It is logical to think that more specimens were added to the collection during half a century which elapsed after the publication of I. Jalaghania's book in 1958. However, to our knowledge, none have been published, except for 2 specimens in the *Money of Georgia* album and D. Kapanadze's *Georgian Numismatics* maybe.

²⁰ It is unclear from Diler's text whether the specimen from *S. Album's Pricelist 180, June 2002, California* bears the cross or the star [8, p. 278, footnote 1825].

²¹ The specimen published in *Sylloge of Coins of Caucasus and Eastern Europe in Jena Oriental Coin Cabinet* was published as dated 683 AH; the date interpretation is in our opinion disputable.

²² As already mentioned, it is unclear from the text whether the specimen from *S. Album's Pricelist 180* bears the cross or the star [8, p. 278, footnote 1825].

²³ It is not specified in Diler's book that the cross constitutes a countermark [8, p. 278, footnote 1825].

²⁴ The provenance and appearance of the coins in Ukraine and Georgia absolutely excludes their connection with the dirham put on sale by Album. That means that we can be sure of the existence of three and not two specimens of this sub-type. The reverses with the star are all struck from different dies.

Table 1. Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams minted in 679(?)–680–684 AH (1280/1–1281/2–1285/6).

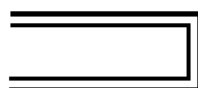
AH Date / AD Date	67x (679?) (1280/1)	680 1281/2	681 1282/3	682 1283/4	683 1284/5	684 1285/6
Ilkhan Overlord		Abagha		Takudar		Arghun
Muharram		A ⁺ JT;E;M1060;S;J7-33	A ⁺ JT;J7-16	A ⁺ L7?	T* _{JT,P}	A ⁺ A120? Ar ⁺ JT
Safar			A ⁺ JT;P	A ⁺ JT	A ⁺ JT Ar ⁺ JM478	A ⁺ M1067?
Rabi' al-Awwal			A ⁺ JT;P;M1061;J7-34.43.52	T* _S ²⁵ MG	T* _{JT}	
Rabi' al-Akhir		A ⁺ JT;E;D Ar ⁺ JM532	A ⁺ JT;P;M1063;D?;Z31257 T* _D ²⁷	A ⁺ L9(Fig.8)?;M1062? ²⁸ T* _D	T* _{A629} ²⁶	A ⁺ JM443,457,463;L8?;10 Ar ⁺ JT
Jumada al-Awwal				A ⁺ P		
Jumada al-Akhir			A ⁺ JT;D?			
Rajab					A ⁺ JT	
Sha'aban						
Ramadān						
Shawwal		A ⁺ JT	A ⁺ JT	A ⁺ D		Ar ⁺ JT
Dhu al-Qi'dah		A ⁺ JT	A ⁺ JT;P;M1065?			Ar ⁺ R
Dhu al-Hijjah		A ⁺ JM451 E				
No month indicated ²⁹	A ⁺ ³⁰ J7-30	A ⁺ J7-21	A ⁺ J7-17	A ⁺ J7-50	A ⁺ JM459 D	A ⁺ JM459
Month effaced or illegible?		A ⁺ P	A ⁺ P;M1066?	A* _(Fig.5) T* _{K104}	A ⁺ JT A* _{A123(Fig.6)} T* _(Fig.11)	Ar ⁺ S? ³¹

Notation conventions:

- * - star; + - cross; A – Abagha; T – Takudar; Ar – Arghun.



- Chronological borders between Ilkhans' reigns.



- Interregnum period: 20 Dhu al-Hijja 680 (1 April 1282) - 26 Muharram 681 (6 May 1282).

In subscript:

- A – Album S. *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean (Volume 9, Iran after the Mongol Invasion* [4, plate 31];
- A120 – Album S. Pricelist 120 [2];
- A123 – Album S. Pricelist 123 [3];
- D – Diler Ö. *Coinage of the Persian Mongols* [8, pp. 294, 320];
- E – Ender C. *Abaka Khan's Silver Coinage that Bear the Date as well as the Month in which they were struck* [9, pp. 33-36];
- JM – Georgian State History Museum inventory list, as cited in Jalaghania I. *From the Monetary History of Georgia of the 13th C.* [16, pp. 99-102];
- JT – Composite Table of dates on the dirhams of various Ilkhans in Jalaghania I. *From the Monetary History of Georgia of the 13th C.* [16, pp. 59-60];
- J7- Jalaghania I. *Foreign coins in the monetary circulation of the 5-13th cc. Georgia*, 1979 [15, pp. 126-129, tables 19-20];
- K – Kapanadze D. *Georgian Numismatics*. [18, plate IX, #104].
- L – Lang D. *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia* [20, pp. 44-48, plate V];
- M – Mayer T. (Editor). *Sylloge of Coins of Caucasus and Eastern Europe* [23, pp. 120-123];
- MG - *Money in Georgia* album [22, p. 50, #114];
- P – Pakhomov E. *Coins of Georgia* [24, pp. 163-165];
- R – Reported in personal communication (in private collections, not studied *de visu*);

²⁵ Listed as 683 in [25, pp. 202, 258, #163a]. In our opinion it looks more like 682. Rabi is legible even on the mediocre illustration provided, so it may really be Rabi' al-Awwal.

²⁶ "blundered date" [4, plate 31], but seems to be [68]2, Rabi ...?

²⁷ [8, pp. 294, footnote 1825] is providing this information based on *Album S. Price List #180, June 2002, California* description without a photo.

²⁸ listed as "681 (?)" [23, pp. 120-121, #1062]. It may well be 682 in our opinion.

²⁹ It is not always clear whether there was really no month indicated on the coin at all, or it was simply illegible or effaced.

³⁰ Probably with a cross, as not indicated otherwise, which would have been probable if such an anomaly were present.

³¹ The date interpretation is in our opinion quite disputable.

- *Figures after the Letters in subscript correspond to numbers on the plates or in the text or tables in the references.*
- *References are divided by semicolon.*
- *If date interpretation is not indubitable, a question mark is added.*

There is a need to summarise the information already available on the dates of the Tiflis issues of that period. We have attempted to draft a summary table on the Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams of Abagha, Ahmad Takudar and the first issues of Arghun. The following references were used:

- *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean* (Volume 9, Iran after the Mongol Invasion [4];
- S. Album's Pricelists 120 and 123 [2; 3];
- Ö. Diler's *Coinage of the Persian Mongols* [8];
- C. Ender's *Abaka Khan's Silver Coinage that Bear the Date as well as the Month in which they were struck* [9];
- *Money in Georgia* album [22];
- I. Jalaghania's *Foreign coins in the monetary circulation of the 5-13th centuries. Georgia* [15];
- I. Jalaghania's *From the Monetary History of Georgia of the 13th C.* [16];
- D. Lang's *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia* [20];
- *Sylloge of Coins of Caucasus and Eastern Europe* [23];
- E. Pakhomov's *Coins of Georgia* [24];
- D. Kapanadze's *Georgian Numismatics* [18];
- M. Sayfeddini's *Monetary History and Circulation in Azerbaijan of the 12th-15th C.* [25];
- Zeno Oriental Coins Database. <http://www.zeno.ru/>
- Coins from private collections or reported in personal communication.

The results obtained (Table 1) are very remarkable and quite unexpected: judging by the dates they bear, the dirhams in the name of Abagha with cross (lifetime and posthumous), dirhams in the name of Abagha (with star) (posthumous), dirhams in the name of Ahmad (with star) and dirhams in the name of Arghun (with cross) were all minted simultaneously or intermittently; for instance, we have the following coins minted in the same year (star on the coin is indicated with “*”, cross with “+”):

- 680 AH: Abagha +; Arghun +
- 681 AH: Abagha +; Ahmad *
- 682 AH: Abagha +; Abagha *; Ahmad *
- 683 AH: Abagha +; Abagha *; Ahmad *; Arghun +
- 684 AH: Abagha +; Arghun +

The reported existence of a dirham in the name of Arghun but dated 680 AH [16, p. 101, #532] is particularly enigmatic. Arghun was enthroned on the day following the execution of Ahmad, his predecessor, i.e. on 27 Jumada I 683 AH / 11 August 1284³² [13]. How could a dirham be minted in his name 4 years prior to his enthronement³³?

While the posthumous issues of Abagha with the cross are nothing new [16, p. 58], it was never pointed out that, according to the dates, some of them were produced even during the reign of Arghun, in Rajab 683 AH and various months of 684 AH (cf. Table 1).

It also seems to be very remarkable that the coins were minted in the name of different rulers and alternately with the cross and the star (cf. Table 1).

There can be two explanations for these discrepancies, perhaps both of them being true to some extent.

Firstly, the dates and month names are indicated on the side with the Christian pious formula, while the names of the Ilkhans are indicated on the opposite side. Therefore, it seems possible that, for example, the dies with later dates were muled with earlier dies bearing Abagha's name, or, the dies with Ahmad's or Arghun's name were muled with the dies with earlier dates. A thorough die analysis is necessary to establish how common such a practice could have been at the Tiflis mint.

Another, perhaps equally credible explanation would be the fact that the dates and month names on the coins of this series are written in words in a limited space in the outer segments of the Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams; frequently they are quite blundered, and sometimes ambiguous. These factors make their reading difficult and interpretation disputable. So, we cannot exclude the possibility that, at least in some cases, the dates read by scholars may be wrong³⁴. We realise this, and acknowledge that Table 1 may be marred by many date-reading errors and is of provisional significance only, as the majority of the listed coins (though not all) were accompanied by no images. The latter would have enabled us to verify the date readings.

On the other hand, of course one could speculate that the Ilkhans were generally less preoccupied with and were exerting less control over what was produced at the mint, which could account for the chaotic picture we see. However, the systematic change of the ruler's name on the coins, indication of the heir apparent in some cases [16, p. 58], the substitution of the cross for the star during Ahmad's reign, all that excludes this version of events.

Publication of a major corpus of Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams with thorough date and die analysis would certainly help in clarifying all these issues.

By way of conclusion, we would like to list the major Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham types, irrespective of the dates the coins bear, as follows (+ or * in parentheses correspond to a cross or star respectively on the coins).

1. In the name of **Abagha** (+)
 - 1a. Minted during his reign (dated 680 AH) (*Fig. 1*)
 - 1b. Minted posthumously (dated 681-684? AH) (*Figs. 2-4*)
2. In the name of **Abagha** (*)
Minted posthumously (*Figs. 5-7*)
3. In the name of **Ahmad** (*) (*Figs. 8-12*)

³² The second enthronement followed the receipt of a yarligh from Qubilai and occurred on 10 Safar 685 (7 April 1286). Arghun ruled till 690 AH (1291) [13].

³³ Later on, Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams were minted in the name of *both* Arghun and his heir and son Ghazan [16, p. 60]. But only one Ilkhanid is acknowledged on these coins.

³⁴ Lang was careful enough to note the following when referring to the dates on Arghun's Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams: “the date formula is so roughly engraved that the following table of dates compiled from the examples in the ANS collection must be considered as provisional” [20, p. 47].

4. In the name of **Arghun in Arabic** but with **Ahmad's name in Mongol?** (+) [16, p. 60]³⁵
5. In the name of **Arghun** with his name both **in Arabic and in Mongol** (+)
 - 5a. With Arghun's name in a correct form, genitive – "**Arghunu**" [20, pp. 47-48] (Figs. 15-17)
 - 5b. With Arghun's name in a grammatically incorrect form – "**Arghunun**" [20, pp. 47-48] (Fig. 18)
 - 5c. A variety **with a cross mark**³⁶ beside the Ilkhan's name, on the obverse (Fig. 16);
6. In the name of **Arghun** and his son and heir apparent **Qazan** (+) [16, p. 60]
7. In the name of **Gaykhatu** (+ **in the 4th line**) [24, pp. 166-167]
8. In the name of **Gaykhatu** (+ **in the 2nd line**) [24, pp. 166-167]
9. In the name of **Baydu** (+) [16, pp. 62-63] (Fig. 19)

The following coins can probably be also put into the Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham³⁷ series³⁸:

10. In the name of **Qazan Mahmud** and **Davit VIII** [16, pp. 69-71]
11. In the name of **Qazan Mahmud** and **Vakhtang III** [16, pp. 73-75]



Fig.1 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Abagha, with CROSS, 680 AH Dhu al-Qi'dah. Weight 2.42, size 21.9-22.9, die axis 8:45.



Fig.2 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Abagha, with CROSS, [6]81 AH, Rabi' al-Akhir. Weight 2.49, size 21.8, die axis 12:00.



Fig. 3 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Abagha, with CROSS, 682 AH Rabi' al-Akhir. Weight 2.41, size 21.9-22.1, die axis 1:30.



Fig.4 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Abagha, with CROSS, 684? AH Muharram. Weight 2.4, size NA, die axis NA.



Fig.5 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Abagha, with STAR, [6]82? AH month effaced. Weight 2.45, size 19-21.5, die axis NA.



Fig.6 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Abagha, with STAR, 683 AH month off-flan. Weight 2.49, size NA, die axis NA.



Fig.7 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Abagha, with STAR, [68]x AH Rabi' al-Awwal. Weight 2.51, size 20.8-21.6, die axis 10:00.



Fig.8 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Ahmad Takudar, with STAR, [68]2? AH Rabi' al-Akhir?. Weight 2.31, size 23, die axis NA. (Lang, plate V, #9).

³⁵ According to Jalaghania, Ahmad is mentioned in the Mongol legend "in almost all the cases" [16, p. 60]. However, we personally have never encountered a single coin like this. Pakhomov also did not list this subtype in his major treatise [24, pp. 165-166].

³⁶ In contrast to the cross beside the Christian formula, it is unclear whether this cross-like mark here has a particular religious significance: some other marks or ornaments are commonly seen in that very place (cf. Fig. 17).

³⁷ There also exist copper coins of Georgian-Khulagid Christian type [24, pp. 161-168; 16, p. 64; 18, p. 96] (we plan to devote a separate research project to this issue in the future). A similar Christian formula was placed on the copper coins minted in the name of Georgian kings Demetre II and Davit VIII, as well as on the coppers imitating Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams, apparently minted in Dmanisi, a city in Eastern Georgia with a presumably high proportion of Armenians in the urban population, and hence additionally bearing an Armenian legend [19].

³⁸ Quite frequently they are not included among the Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirhams [16, pp. 65-75; 15, p. 136; 18, pp. 95-99].



Fig.9 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Ahmad Takudar, with STAR, [6]82? AH month off-flan. Weight 2.42, size 20.6-20.7, die axis 2:00.



Fig.10 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Ahmad Takudar, with STAR, Year? AH Muharram. Weight 2.44, size 21.4-21.9, die axis 1:00.



Fig.11 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Ahmad Takudar, with STAR, [6]83 AH month off-flan / effaced. Weight 2.46, size 20.3-20.5, die axis 9:30.



Fig.12 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Ahmad Takudar, with STAR, [68]x AH month off-flan / effaced. Weight 2.41, size 20-21, die axis 5:00.



Fig.13 Ilkhanid dirham, Ahmad Takudar, 681 AH, Tabriz. Weight 2.42, size 22.3-22.5, die axis NA. Zeno #42166.



Fig.14 Ilkhanid dirham, Ahmad Takudar, 682 AH, Tabriz. Weight 2.48, size 21.2-21.6, die axis 9:00.



Fig.15 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Arghun, with CROSS, 683? AH Rabi' al-Akhir? Weight NA, size NA, die axis NA. (Lang, plate V, #10).



Fig.16 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Arghun, with CROSS, [6]86 AH month? Weight 2.35, size 20.3-20.6, die axis 6:00.



Fig.17 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Arghun, with CROSS, Date? Weight 2.32, size 20-20.3, die axis 9:00.



Fig.18 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Demetre II in the name of Ilkhan Arghun, with CROSS, 686 AH Muharram. Weight 2.50, size 22-22.2, die axis 5:00.



Fig. 19 Georgian-Khulagid Christian dirham, Davit VIII in the name of Ilkhan Baydu, with CROSS, [6]94? AH, Dhu al-Hijja (or Dhu al-Qi'dah?). Weight 2.37, size 20-20.6, die axis 4:45.

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THE MAHĀBHOJAS OF APARĀNTA (WESTERN COAST)

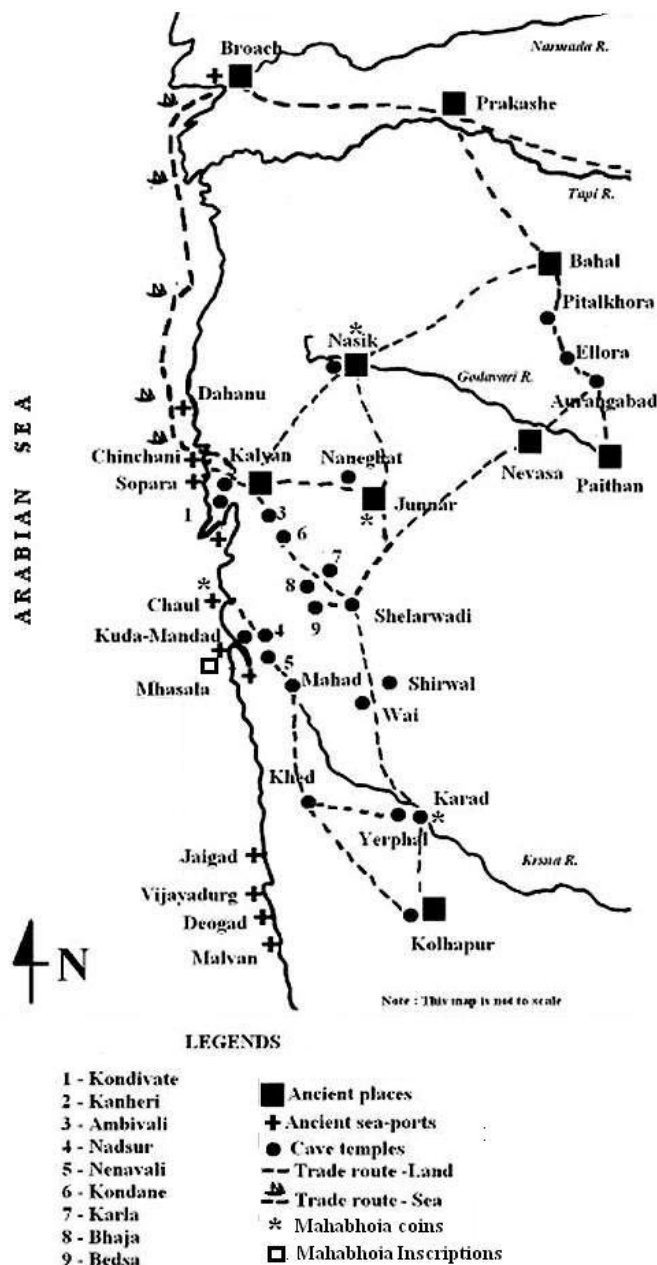
By Amol N. Bankar

The conflict between the two houses

The anonymous author of 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea' describes: "Beyond the gulf of Baraca is that of Barygaza and the coast of the country of Ariaca, which is the beginning of the Kingdom of Nambānus and of all India. That part of it lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria, but the coast is called Syrastrene.....The metropolis of this country is Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza.....The sailing course along this coast, from

Barbaricum to the promontory called Papica opposite Barygaza, and before Astacampra, is of three thousand stadia."

- Periplus Maris Erythraei, Chapter no 41¹



Map of the western coast (1st century AD – 2nd century AD)

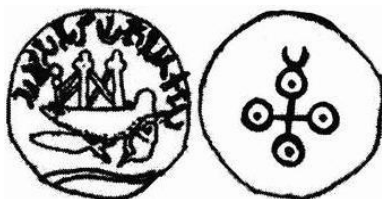
From a geographical and philological point of view, this closely matches the description of Gujarat. The places 'Baraca', 'Barbaricum', 'Syrastrene or Surastrene' and 'Barygaza' can be identified as Dwāraka, Karāchi, Saurāshṭra and Bharuch respectively. Earlier, W.H. Schoff in his critical edition of 'Periplus' has identified the 'Nambānus' mentioned in the above section as Nahāpāna and this identification is considered valid by almost all subsequent researchers. Recently, Dr Bhandare published a portrait coin (with 'younger bust') of Nahāpāna from Jan Lingen's collection with Greek legends 'NAMBANOY'. These legends are very close to the name 'Nambānus' mentioned in 'Periplus' and also linked closely to 'Nahāpāna' in philological terms.² A Jain tradition records that the Sātāvāhana forces used to invest in Bharukacha, the capital of a wealthy king 'Naravahana'³ every year for a long time, but without success. It is obvious that the king mentioned is no other than 'Nahāpāna'.⁴ The date of Nahāpāna has long been a matter of debate. His inscriptions refer to years 41, 42, 45 (Nāsik) & 46 (Junnar) and they are widely

believed to represent the years of his reign than any specific era (i.e. Vikrama or Śaka era).⁵ Joe Cribb has cogently demonstrated that Periplus is dated to 60 - 75 AD. It is also corroborated by the mention of King Malichas of the Nabataeans (Periplus, Passage No 19) and Charibael of the Homerites (Periplus, Passage No 23) ruling in South Arabia.⁶

This period was also noteworthy for other important events of global economic significance. The Empire of Rome in the West attained stability and renewed prosperity under the leadership of Octavian (Augustus Caesar, reigned 29 BC -14 AD) before this epoch. The trade and commerce of the Roman Empire had experienced a boost with this stability, and the citizens of Rome began accruing sufficient disposable income to indulge themselves in luxury goods. Although such an influx was not the sole driving force in the urbanisation of the Deccan, it certainly played the role of an important stimulus for this process. As trade boomed, money flowed through the society and a relatively new class of urban rich came into existence. Countries as far north as Gāndhāra (Afghanistan) came within reach of the residents of Kutch and Saurāshtra through this route. Coins of Bhūmaka and Aubheraka (Aghudaka, Abhedaka) have been found in Afghanistan. The land of Kutch and Saurāshtra is noted for the mercantile leanings of its population. It is also known for a strong seafaring tradition, dating back to great antiquity.⁷ It has been noted from the spread of Kshahārata coins at the ancient remains of Mleiha (33°29'N, 36°22'E), located in the western foothills of the Oman Mountains (near the straits of Hormuz, in the United Arab Emirates⁸). It demonstrates that the Kshahārata kingdom was engaged in active maritime trade right from the days of Aubheraka-Bhūmaka.⁹

Chapter 49 of the Periplus refers to the exchange of Roman gold and silver coins at 'Barygaza' at a profit. The Nashik inscription of Ṛshabhadatta (Ushavadāta), Nahāpāna's son-in-law provides important evidence of circulation of Roman coins in the Deccan. The inscription registers the creation of an 'akshayanivi' (permanent endowment) of seventy thousand *kārshāpaṇas* which are said to equal in value two thousand 'suvarnas'.¹⁰ According to David Macdowall,¹¹ Dr Ajay Mitra Shastri¹² and Dr Dilip Rajgor¹³ the 'suvarna' in the present context refers to Roman gold coins (*aurei*). This inscription also provides important evidence of the relative value of gold and silver at this period in Western India. The ratio of exchange between gold and silver coins seems to have been about 1:35 during the time of Nahāpāna¹⁴. In the Deccan, many Roman *aurei* are found pierced or mounted in pendants, and its imitations in cheap materials, such as lead, baked clay and terracotta (bulla or bullae) indicates a large circulation of Roman coins in this region.¹⁵

Several lead coins issued by Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi and Puḷumāvi are known from coastal areas, which depict a ship with two masts. Dr Shobhana Gokhale had published a coin of Gautamīputra Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi from the British museum collection,¹⁶ which shows a fleet of five ships, including three with double masts. The appearance of the fleet on this coin is interesting as it not only testifies to the brisk maritime trade activity between India and Rome, but also, from an artistic point of view, it depicts the ships in proper perspective. Dr Gokhale points out that the appearance of the naval device on Sātavāhana coins might be a Roman inspiration.¹⁷ Amphora sherds are found in most of the sites of the Sātavāhana period. At Banwāsi, amphoras are depicted on a panel of the stupa.¹⁸ Dr Gokhale reported a Sātavāhana coin from Junnar depicting an elephant and vase on the obverse and a tree in railing on the reverse. The depiction of the vase on the coin is suggestive of the influence of amphoras.¹⁹



Coin of Yajñashri Sātakarṇi (ship with two masts)

Beside the mention of Nahāpāna (Nambānus), a reference is made in the Periplus (Chapter no 52) to two other kings, Sandanas and the elder Saraganes whom the scholars have identified as Sundara Sātakarṇi and Gautamīputra Śiva Siri Sātakarṇi respectively, who were rulers from the Sātavāhana family. The Periplus also records the hegemony of Nahāpāna in this area and refers to the trade activity of Western India with the Red Sea ports, which was siezed by Nahāpāna after defeating the Sātavāhana rivals probably, Sundara Sātakarṇi. The Periplus, which narrates political incidents of the period of conflict, informs us about one 'elder Saraganes'. While 'Saraganes' evidently stands for 'Sātakarṇi', opinions have varied as to what exactly the author meant by the epithet 'elder'. The existence of a 'younger' Sātakarṇi is implicit in the mention. A past tense is used for the reference to 'elder' Sātakarṇi. This indicates that the 'elder' Sātakarṇi was a person of the past, while the 'younger' was still around at the time the narration was being consolidated. This was the epoch of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. It is therefore very likely that the author of the Periplus was making a distinction between Gautamīputra and Śiva Sātakarṇi, as both of them shared the same matronymic. Śiva Sātakarṇi was evidently the 'elder' Sātakarṇi, while Gautamīputra was the 'younger', as perceived by the author of the Periplus.²⁰

Nahāpāna's coins, counterstruck by different Sātavāhana rulers (and vice-versa) are the numismatic evidence of the conflict between the Kshahārata Kshatrapas and Sātavāhanas. Earlier, Dr Jha and Dr Rajgor published some counterstruck coins of Nahāpāna with the following legends:

- 1) 'Raño Siri Sāta' (Siri Sātakarṇi?)²¹
- 2) 'Sava (Śiva) Sātakarṇi' or 'Sava (Śiva)'²² (The inscription was reconstructed by Dr Bhandare²³ as, 'Raño Gotamīputasa Śiva Siri Sātakarṇisa'.)
- 3) 'Raño Gotamīputasa Siri Sātakarṇisa' (15 varieties in III groups)²⁴

For these coins the counterstriking devices (the hill symbol and Ujjain symbol) may be distinguished by many forms and they form various combinations and also display great die variation. The employment of such a number of dies suggests that most likely all the coins were not counterstruck at one point of time; rather, the process went on for a substantial period.²⁵ i.e. different Sātavāhana rulers at different times. This clearly indicates that these Sātavāhana rulers were contemporary to Nahāpāna and one of them succeeded Nahāpāna (i.e. Gautamīputra Siri Sātakarṇi). These pieces of evidence also support the very long reign of Nahāpāna, which is already recorded by the Jain tradition and his inscriptions.²⁶

The Mahābhojas of the western coast

At Kudā, thirteen miles north-west of Mangaon, out of the twenty-eight cave inscriptions found so far, six record gifts by the Mahābhojas.²⁷ They probably belonged to a local dynasty with their capital at Māndad, about a mile north of Kudā. In the past, some researchers had speculated about the title or family name 'Mahābhoja':

- 1) The 13th Rock edict of Aśoka mentions his territories and neighbouring states viz. Āndhras, Pulindas, Bhojas and Pitanikyās (Petenikās?). The Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravala mentions during the fourth year of reign that he defeated the 'Raṭhikas' and 'Bhojaks' and forced them to bow before him (*Raṭhika-Bhojake Pāde Vandāpāyati*).²⁸ According to Dr R.G. Bhandarkar, the Bhojas ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berār and also in other parts of the Deccan. He also adds that, just as the Rāshṭrikas (Raṭṭis, Raṭhis or Raṭhās) called themselves Mahāraṭhis, the Bhojas called themselves Mahābhojas.²⁹
- 2) Dr Shobhana Gokhale also talked about 'Bhojas' mentioned in the rock edicts of Aśoka. Bhojas ruled over the country of Vidarbha. The wife of 'Kṛiṣṇa-Vāsudeva' of the Yādava clan was 'Rukmini', daughter of the Bhoja king, Bhismaka, descended from Mahābhoja. The Bhojas

were also mentioned in 'Rājatarangini' (5.151) composed by Kalhana.³⁰

- 3) Śrīmad Bhāgavatam (9.24.10-11) gives us some indication regarding the clan of the Mahābhōjas, "It has been decided that, among human beings, Babhru is the best and that Devavidha is equal to the demigods. Because of the association of Babhru and Devavidha, all of their descendants, numbering 14,065, achieved liberation. In the dynasty of King Mahābhōja, who was exceedingly religious, there appeared the Bhoja kings".³¹
- 4) According to E.J.Rapson, "Like Mahārāṭhis, another similar title which occurs in Āndhra inscriptions is that of Mahābhōja. Both Mahārāṭhis and Mahābhōjas were evidently high officers of state, probably viceroys, in the Āndhra Empire. The importance of their position is clear from the fact that they are often intimately connected by family ties with the ruling sovereign".³²
- 5) Some other researchers describe Mahābhōjas and Mahārāṭhis as being bureaucrats employed by the Sātavāhanas. They also derive the word 'Bhoja' from the Sanskrit phrase 'Bhukti', which means province. The chief of a province was called 'Bhoja' and bureaucrats of superior rank were called 'Mahābhōja'. One inscription at Kānheri also mentions a rank named 'Bhojiki'.³³
- 6) According to Haripada Chakraborti, "The words Mahārāṭhi and Mahābhōjas seem to be derived from the 'Rāṭhika' and 'Bhoja' evidently ethnic names. They seem to have been created to reward the 'Rāṭhikas' and 'Bhojas' for their war-services".³⁴
- 7) Dr Mirashi noted, "In the Sātavāhana age the Mahārāṭhis and Mahābhōjas were great feudatories or Jamindars. They could issue coins in their own names. From inscriptions of the Sātavāhana age, we find that the feudatories in the Thāne and Kolabā districts were known as Mahābhōjas, while those in the Poonā district were designated Mahārāṭhis".³⁵
- 8) Dr Romila Thapar stated "The Sātavāhana territory was divided into small provinces, each under civil and military officers (Amātya, Mahābhōja, Mahāsenapati, Mahātalavara, Mahārāṭhi). Some were permitted to marry into the royal family, suggestive of their being chiefs of the area, presumably in the hope that this would fortify their loyalty to the dynasty.³⁶ Dr Thapar also talked about frequent mentions of 'Gahapatis' and 'Gāmibhojas' in Jātaka and Pāli literature.³⁷ According to Bose, "Gāmibhojas were the nobles who had obtained a province with the blessing of royal power or received it as a reward".³⁸ A feudatory title 'Gāmikumāra' has been known from many inscriptions, coins and seals. Dr Bhandare has suggested that 'Kumāras' had become the numismatic successors of 'Gāmikumāras' and that the title adopted by the successors was 'Kumāra', which, etymologically, seems to be superior to 'Gāmikumāras'.³⁹ The same might be the case with 'Mahābhōjas' and 'Gāmibhojas'.
- 9) According to Gopalachari, "The proximity of the Thana and Kolaba Districts, which would seem to have been held by the Mahābhōjas, to Poonā and the surrounding districts, held by the Mahārāṭhis, should also be noted. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa gives the meaning 'great prince' to Mahābhōja. Since no Mahābhōja inscription is dated in the fashion in which kings' inscriptions are generally dated, it is certain that they were not independent rulers; and it is very difficult to separate the title from the feudatory titles Mahārāṭhi."⁴⁰
- 10) D.N.Lielukhine pointed out the existence of a much wider circle of local rulers not having the title 'Rājā' or 'Rājño' (Rājān, i.e. king), but having the titles 'Kumāra', 'Mahārāṭhin', 'Mahābhōja' and so on. Each of these 'kings' (Sātavāhanas or Kshahārata Kshatrapas) were interested in consolidating their position within their territories, in

transforming their dependant local leaders into associates, and groups of supporters (*pakṣa*)⁴¹.

At this stage it is not easy to reconstruct their history for the pre-Sātavāhana period. With the foundation of the Sātavāhana Empire, the Deccan was not completely integrated into the empire; a number of local chiefs viz. Kumāras, Mahārāṭhis, Mahābhōjas, Mahāgrāmika, Mahātalavara and Mahāsenapatis ruled in them in a feudatory capacity, enjoying considerable autonomy. Here I would like to quote a reference from the 'Arthashāstra'. Kautilya mentioned the seven limbs (*saptāṅga*) which constituted the state; these comprise the king (*rājān*), ministers (*amātya*), forts (*durg*), treasury (*kosa*), territories (*janapada*), the forces and the allies.⁴² Kautilya also stated the prerequisites for an ideal ally: "The ideal ally is one who has the following qualities: a friend of the family for a long time, constant, amenable to control, powerful in his support, sharing a common interest, able to mobilise his forces quickly and not a man who double-crosses his friends".⁴³



Kudā cave nos. 8-12

The chronology of the Kudā caves is problematic. But the date of the Kudā caves is very important for estimating a proper time-frame for the Mahābhōjas. The dating of the Kudā caves based on architectural, sculptural and mainly paleographical grounds was made by earlier researchers and their conclusions are given as follows:

- 1) According to Fergusson and Bürgess, The Kudā caves belong to the same age as the *Chaitya* cave at Kārle (on the basis of similarities between the sculptures in cave no. VI at Kudā and the wall of the great *Chaitya* cave at Kārle) and that may belong to first century AD.⁴⁴
- 2) Vidya Dahejia gave the inscriptions in caves VIII-XIV, XVIII-XXIV as belonging to Phase I (approximately 90-110 AD). Whereas the inscriptions in caves I-VII, XV-XVII belong to Phase II (approximately 138-150 AD). The dates given by her are somewhere in the first half of the 2nd century AD.⁴⁵
- 3) Dr M.K.Dhawalikar divided the caves into two groups: *Chaitya* cave IX and its associated *Vihāra* Nos X-XIV, forming the earliest group at the site, can be dated to the latter half of the 2nd century. All the remaining caves are placed in the earlier half of the 3rd century AD. (Cave no XV – 200 AD, cave no I – 230 AD, cave no VI -240 AD).⁴⁶
- 4) H. Sarkar placed the Kudā *Chaityas* in the latter half of the first century AD. Some of the caves have been assigned by S. Nagaraju to the 4th century AD. It is highly likely that the ancient settlement was at Mānda, which is about 2 km to the east of Kud. This place can be identified as Mandāgora, which figures in the list of ports on the western coast given in the 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea'. This is corroborated

by the traces of extensive ancient habitation at the site along the margin of the Māndad branch of the creek which has yielded, in the course of surface exploration, Black-and-Red pottery and the characteristic Red Polished ware, both datable to the early centuries of the Christian era. Besides these, there are remains of brick structures probably of the same period.⁴⁷

The assignment of a time-frame in the earlier case was mainly based on the paleography of inscriptions.

- 1) Some of the scholars like Dr Dhawalikar thought that, in the Kudā inscriptions, the tendency toward elongated and cursive forms and flourishes is similar to the Ishvāku inscriptions at Nāgarjūnkonda and hence he placed the Kudā caves in the first quarter of the 3rd century AD.⁴⁸
- 2) According to Gopalachari, “The titles of Mahābhoja and Mahābhoji might have had a similar origin. But since they occur in the Kudā or Bedsā inscriptions, which yield no date or point of contact with any known dynasty, it is not easy to determine the period at which they came into existence. That they existed under the Chutus is certain. As the ornamental alphabet of the Mahābhoja inscriptions at Kudā is found also in the approximately datable inscriptions of Vāsiṭhiputra Siri-Puḷumāvi or his time, and of the minister of the Queen of his successor, Vāsiṭhiputra Siri-Sātakarṇi, it may be ascribed to the second century AD. True, local influences may have played their own part. Two Mahābhoja inscriptions from Kudā do not exhibit the ornamental variety and are earlier than Kudā Nos. 1 and 9. The primitive form of the dental ‘da’ (open to the left), and the ornamental treatment of the medial ‘i’ and ‘u’ signs, of the lower end of the verticals of ‘ka’ and ‘ra’ and the upper end of the verticals of ‘ha’ and ‘la’ and finally the rounded bottom of ‘ma’ and ‘la’, would place No. 19 as very early in the series. No. 17 with its somewhat angular ‘ma’ and cursive ‘da’, which occurs in later inscriptions, represents a transition to the ornamental alphabet. An interval of two generations between the alphabet of No. 19 and the ornamental alphabet may, therefore, be safely postulated. The office and title of Mahābhoja, then, came into existence no later than the 1st half of the first century AD.”⁴⁹
- 3) Vidya Dahejia thought the extraordinary flourishes in the script (especially in Cave no XV, I & VI) to be seen at Kudā to have been a local variation.⁵⁰

The evidence from recent numismatic findings which we are going to discuss are more illuminating and I hope that they will be very useful in solving the age-old problem of dating the Kudā caves. One inscription at Bedsā reads: *Mahābhoya - bālīkāya Māmdavi -/ya Mahārāṭhiniya Sāmadinikāya/(de)yaḍhamma Āpadevanakāsa bitiyikāya* i.e. Pious gift of Sāmadinikā, a Mahārāṭhini, a Māmdavi, daughter of a Mahābhoja, and wife (or second wife) of Āpadevanakā. The earlier published reading was *mahā deviya*, making Sāmadinikā a queen. But there is no room at all for the extra syllable. The Mahābhojas are well represented at Kudā, and several times are referred to as Māmdava, presumably indicating the chief of a tribe in some locality near the Mahād-Rājāpuri region. In any case, it would be difficult to imagine the titles Mahārāṭhini and Mahādevi being held simultaneously, especially when the husband is not called a king. The lady’s name can also be read as Sāmalinikā.⁵¹

Another inscription at Kānheri mentions a donation by ‘Nāgamulanikā’; she is also the wife of a Mahārāṭhi, the daughter of a Mahābhoja chief (and mother of Khamda-nāga-Sātaka).⁵² From these examples it appears that intermarriages between the Mahābhojas and Mahārāṭhis were common and that the wives of the chiefs assumed the corresponding feminine titles. In the early history of the Deccan, we find several examples of intermarriages between powerful houses e.g. Sātavāhana-Mahārāṭhi, Sātavāhana-Kārdamaka Kshatrapas and Ishvāku-Kārdamaka Kshatrapas.

These intermarriages appear to have taken place for the fulfilment of certain political interests or sometimes for peace among rivals. Here I have prepared a list of Mahābhoja rulers found on the inscriptions at Kudā:

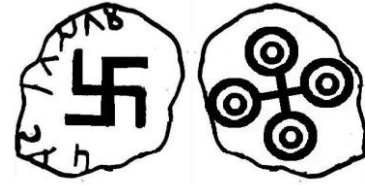
Sr No	Name of Ruler / Royal Person	Details of Inscription
1	<i>Mahābhoja Sādageriya Sudassana</i>	Kudā cave no XIII, inscription No.17
2	<i>Vijayanikā</i> (daughter of <i>Mahābhoja Sādageriya Sudassana</i>)	Kudā cave no XIII, inscription No.17
3	<i>Mahābhoja ? Māmdava Siva(Sīva)ma</i>	Kudā cave no VII, inscription No 12
4	<i>Madava (Māmdava ?) Kumāra</i> (according to Burgess, son of <i>Māmdava Śivama</i>)	Kudā cave no VII, inscription No 12.
5	<i>Mahābhoji Sādageriya Vijayā</i>	Kudā cave no I & VI, inscription No. 1 & 6.
6	<i>Mahābhoja Māmdava Khandapālita</i> (son of <i>Mahābhoji Sādageri Vijayā</i>)	Kudā cave no I & VI, inscription No. 1 & 6.
7	<i>Mahābhoja Māmdava Kochchhiputasa Vilidatta/ Velidatta / Melidatta</i>	Kudā cave no XV, inscription No 20.
8	<i>Mahābhoja Bā (likaya) Māmdaviya</i> (daughter of a certain Mahābhoja)	Kudā cave no XI, inscription No 15.

From the above list it appears that the succession among the Mahābhojas was hereditary. The name of one of the Mahābhojas (sr no 5) includes mention of his *Gotra*, and his mother (i.e. Kochchi → Kautsi). Earlier, Gopalachari had remarked that metronymics were not originally current among the Sātavāhanas. They came into vogue at a later time and then spread among the Ishvāku, Ābhira and other royal families when they began to have matrimonial relations with the Sātavāhanas.⁵³ Recent findings tell us about a new variety of coin of Chhimuka from the Paithan-Nevāsa series. The most important fact about this type is that it gives the metronymic ‘Vāsiṭhi’ for Chhimuka,⁵⁴ which was not known so far. Several pieces of epigraphic evidence show that metronymics were popular among all classes in both southern as well as northern India. Although this is but a single example, we cannot also say that metronymics were not current among the early Sātavāhanas; this is because very few records of those Sātavāhanas have been discovered so far.

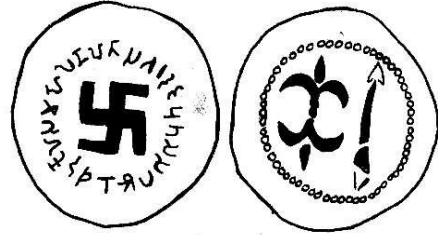
A large number of inscriptions at Kudā mention donations made by the family or ‘*upajivi*’ (retainers) of a Mahābhoja. We also learn that the Mahābhojas employed ‘*lekhakas*’, ‘physicians’ and so on. Similarly, an inscription in the Pal caves contains a reference to ‘Kumārasa Kāiabhoāḍsa’, Chief of a dynasty ruling somewhere in Raigad district at about the same time.⁵⁵

It is certain that Mahābhojas were local chiefs ruling part of the western coast and we have already seen speculation regarding the name or title ‘Mahābhoja’. The problem that needs to be solved is to identify the prefix (?) ‘Māmdavas’. According to Burgess and Indrajī, Māmdava may be either the Sanskrit Māmdavya or Mandapa. They observe: “In the first case the epithet would characterize the Khandapālita as a member of Brāhmanical gotra or race; in the second, it might indicate that he was a lord of a town or Mandapa. The latter seems to be a preferable explanation as Mandapa is a very common name for towns all over India”.⁵⁶ Dr M.K. Dhawalikar disagreed with this possibility. According to him, “It is difficult to agree with Burgess and Indrajī that the Māmdavas were the lords of a town for they style themselves as Mahābhojas. In this connection, it may be stated that a few coins have been attributed, on the basis of their legends, to a people called Māmdavi or Māmdavika. Their coins have been dated on paleographic ground to about the 2nd century BC and

it has been suggested that they were issued somewhere in the Eran - Kauśāmbi - Kanauj area. Varaha Mihira places the Māmdavyas in central India. If the Māmdavas are supposed to have been in central India in the centuries preceding the Christian era, they may have been conquered by the Sātavāhanas in the first century AD under Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. This may appear rather farfetched but there are not a few instances of various families being brought to Maharashtra by the Peshwas from central India in the late mediaeval period".⁵⁷ But it appears that the Mahābhojas were ruling much before Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi and there is hardly any possibility that they were brought to Maharashtra by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Another interpretation suggests that the prefix 'Māmdaviya' signifies that they were chiefs of Māmdava and that 'Māmdava' denotes the name of their capital i.e. modern Māndad. The recent explorations at Māndad (by the Deccan College of Archaeology, Pune) in the vicinity of the Buddhist caves at Kudā provided evidence of habitation during the Sātavāhana period. The area of habitation which is nowadays covered by mud flats could be approached only during low tide. Typical Sātavāhana pottery such as drinking cups and dishes could be recovered from the mud. Shards of a Roman amphora were also recovered. These explorations give us a clue that this could be the Mandāgora mentioned in the Periplus.⁵⁸ During my visit to Kudā caves in June 2008 I also came across small shards of pottery that had surfaced as a result of heavy rains.



Coin of Mahāsenapatis (Sātavāhana affiliation)



Coin of Mahāsenapati Bhāradwājiputra Chuṭukula (Kshahārata affiliation)

- 2) D.C. Sarkar⁶¹ and Dr Bhandare⁶² noted that the Mahāsenapatis of the branch of the Sangamas (Sangrāma or Sagamāna) explicitly shifted their loyalty to Nahāpāna, as indicated by the placement of the Kshahārata dynastic emblem on their coins instead of symbols of Sātavāhana affiliation.
- 3) The Numismatic evidence shows that the occurrence of the bow and arrow on the Junnar issues can be only explained if it is to be regarded as a vestige of the alliance between Nahāpāna and the Kumāras, by now assuming the royal appellation. This is the political implication of the addition of a bow and arrow on the Junnar issues of Nahāpāna.⁶³

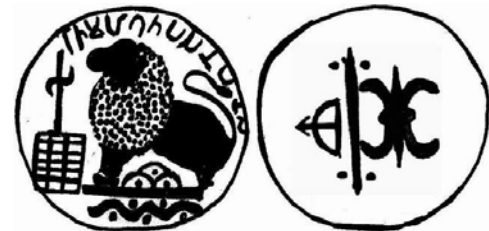


Kudā cave no VI, Inscription No 6

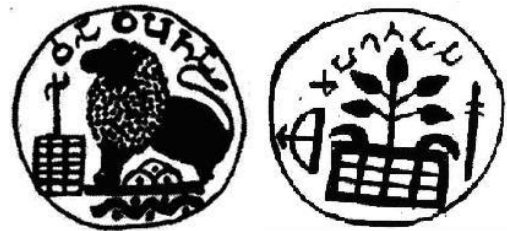
Dr M.K.Dhawalikar proposed that Vijayanikā (mentioned in the Kudā cave no XIII, inscription No.17) is the same as Vijayā (Kudā cave no I & VI, inscription No. 1 & 6), who was the mother of Mahābhoja Māmdava Khandapālita and hence Mahābhoja Sadakara Sudassana is the grandfather of Mahābhoja Khandapālita. He also suggested that Sādakara Sudassana was succeeded by his son-in-law as Mahābhoja, which is not unlikely. However, it seems that nikā (feminine) and nakā (masculine) were terminations common in the names of Mahābhojas and Mahārāthis eg. Nāganikā, Nāgamulanikā, Sāmadinikā, Āpadevanakā, Agnimitrānakā, Mitādevānakā, and so on. As the termination 'nikā' is absent in Vijayā's case there is no reason to consider Vijayanikā as the same as Vijayā. Dr Dhawalikar, while talking about 'Kochchhiputra Velidata' (mentioned in Kudā cave no XV, inscription No 20) referred to a coin of 'Kochchhiputra' in a private collection in Paithan.⁵⁹

The incursion of Nahāpāna into the Sātavāhana territories must have had a crucial impact on the political situation in the Deccan:

- 1) Dr Bhandare demonstrated very well the Kshahārata arrival into Maharashtra, which began with a southward dash along the western coast. This is evident from a coin of Nahāpāna found at Sopārā and the inscription of Ṛshabhadatta (Ushavadāta) at Nashik mentioning provisions made by him at the towns of Shurpāraka (Sopārā), Dahānukanagar (Dahānu), Chechinā (Chinchani) on the western coast.⁶⁰



Coin of Nahāpāna from Junnar

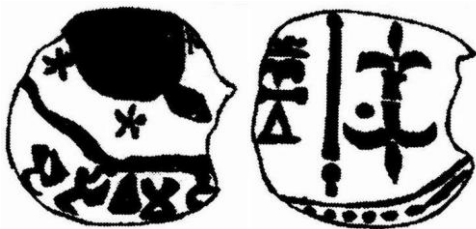


Coin of Vāsīthiputra Isimula from Junnar

- 4) As for various feudatories and independent rulers, they very clearly formed an alliance with Nahāpāna against the Sātavāhanas, who by this time had become weak. Reference to such an alliance is very clear in Gautamīputra Siri Sātakarṇi's Nāsik prashasti, in which he is mentioned as the one who 'won over an alliance of enemies' ('...avajita-Ripu-Saghasa') amongst the many adjectives added to his name.⁶⁴

Like the Mahāsenapatis, the Mahābhojas also appear to have played a major political role in the Kshatrapa-Sātavāhana conflict, obviously for their own benefit. The connection between Nahāpāna and the Mahābhojas can be explained using numismatic evidence. The typical Kshahārata 'thunderbolt and arrow' emblem was adopted by the Mahābhojas and accommodated alongside their own dynastic emblem on the reverse of their coins.

- 1) Earlier it was believed that the Mahābhojas had not issued any coins. In 1994, Dr Shobhana Gokhale published a coin reportedly from Junnar but erroneously identified the tortoise on the obverse as 'Garuda' (eagle). As the inscription on the coin was not visible, probably truncated, she attributed the coin to Nahāpāna on the basis of the motifs of thunderbolt and arrow.⁶⁵
- 2) In 1998, Dr Shailendra Bhandare systematically documented a coin of Sādakara Sudassana (lead, weight 8.20 g) from P.D. Chumbale's collection in his PhD thesis. This coin was also found at Junnar. The obverse shows a turtle with two snakes around, a triangular-headed standard on the left and a fragmentary Brāhmi inscription 'Mahābhojasa Sādakara Sudassana'. The reverse shows an Ujjain symbol. Dr Bhandare also documented a coin of another Mahābhoja ruler, 'Śivama', from the same collection. On this variety the obverse shows a hippocampus, a mythical sea horse, while the reverse has the Ujjain symbol with double orb and double spokes. Dr Bhandare also documented a uninscribed coin of Mahābhoja which had come from Karhād in his thesis.⁶⁶
- 3) The fourth specimen was published by Dr Abhijeet Dandekar of Deccan College, Pune. (lead, diameter 16mm, weight 2.52 g) which was acquired during surface exploration at Chaul. The obverse of the coin shows a turtle with two snakes around, a triangular-headed standard on the left and a fragmentary Brāhmi inscription. The reverse has a thunderbolt and arrow, and a nandipāda topped by a triangular-headed symbol. Initially, the inscription was read by Dr Dandekar as 'sanasasa Mahā' and the coin was attributed to Mahābhoja Sādakara Sudassana.⁶⁷ Later, the reading was corrected as '(Māmdava)sa Siva(Śiva)ma sa' by Shri Padmakar Prabhune. Shri Prabhune attributed this coin to Māmdava Śivama on the basis of his reading and one inscription of Māmdava Kumāra at Kudā cave no VII.⁶⁸



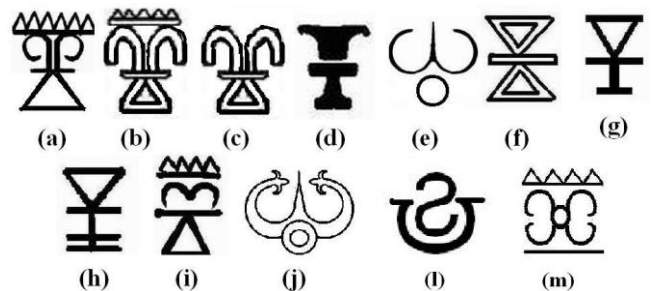
Coin of Mahābhoja Śivama (after P.Prabhune)

Another important element I would like to discuss here is the presence of a hippocampus on a coin of 'Śivama' also depicted in one inscription at Kudā caves. The hippocampus is a mythological creature shared by Phoenician, Greek, Etruscan and Roman mythologies. It is associated with Poseidon-Neptune (or any other patron gods of seafaring traders) and, likewise, it was considered an appropriate decoration for mosaics in Roman 'thermae' (public baths), as at 'Aquae Sulis' modern-day Bath in the UK. There are some Roman coins with the depiction of a hippocampus on them, but no such variety is reported from this area. It is a non-Indian element and the idea must have come with the seafaring Roman traders to the people of the west coast and became so popular that it earned a place on the local coins and inscriptions.



Hippocampus at Kudā cave no XI

From the inscription and coins of the Mahābhojas it appears that the Mahābhojas had adopted a typical symbol as their dynastic emblem (Fig a,b,c,d & i). Dr Dandekar identified it as a nandipāda topped by a triangular-headed symbol.⁶⁹ This emblem appears on coins and inscriptions of the Mahābhojas. In my opinion it is some sort of composite symbol of unknown meaning.⁷⁰ We can find a number of indecipherable symbols in the cave temple inscriptions of western India. These may have been used by minor rulers, local chiefs and merchant-guilds as their insignia e.g. - inscription of Mahārāṭhi Kosikiputra Viṇhudata at Bhaje (fig. 1), inscription of a Gahapati at Junnar (fig. m).



Typical symbol on Mahābhoja inscriptions (a-f); Mahābhoja coins(g-j); other symbols (l-m)

Group A: Inscribed coins of Mahābhoja Sādagerisa (Sādagarasa) Kosiputasa Sudassana



I would like to convey my sincere gratitude to Shri Prashant Kulkarni for providing me the photo of this coin for my research. The details of the coin are as under:

Coin no 1: Lead, shape: round.

Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around, and fragmentary Brāhmi inscription – (VI o'clock) 'Mahābhojasa Sādagerisa (or Sādagarasa) Kosiputasa Sudassana' (See Brāhmi inscription below).

𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀭𑀮𑀯𑀰𑀱𑀲𑀳𑀴𑀵𑀶𑀷𑀸𑀹𑀺𑀻𑀼𑀽𑀾𑀿

Reverse: Ujjain symbol with double orb.

The metonym for Sudasana can be reconstructed as ‘Kosi’, which could be a corruption or misspelling of ‘Kochchhi’ or more probably ‘Kosiki (Kotsi)’. Earlier, Dr Bhandare published a coin with legends ‘Mahābhoyasa Sā(daka)rasa Ko--Sudassana’.⁷¹ The inscription at Kudā cave no XIII, inscription No.17 reads : ‘Mahābhoyasa Sādakara Sudasana’ (See Brāhmi inscription below).

𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀭𑀮𑀯𑀰𑀱𑀲𑀳𑀴𑀵𑀶𑀷𑀸𑀹𑀺𑀻𑀼𑀽𑀾𑀿

The paleography of Sudasana’s inscriptions is very interesting: the letter ‘hā’ is rotated to some degree on the coin as well as in the inscription of Sudassana at Kudā, and the form of the letter ‘da’ is different in both cases. Here we can attribute this particular type to ‘Mahābhoja Sādageriya Sudassana’ mentioned in Kudā cave no XIII, inscription No. 17. It is difficult to talk about the chronology of Mahābhoja lineage, but it is possible that ‘Mahābhoja Sādagara Sudassana’ may predate ‘Śivama’.

Recently I acquired a small lot of 13 Mahābhoja coins from Nāsik. All the coins are made of lead and, as these are not photogenic, separate drawings are provided with each. The details of these coins are as follows:

Group B: Inscribed coins of Mahābhoja Vāsīthiputa Śivama

These are the heaviest coins in this hoard and similar to the coin (weight – 2.52 g) published by Dr Dandekar & Shri Prabhune but with different die variation and heavier in weight. They bear traces of a typical Kshahārata ‘thunderbolt and arrow’ placed alongside the dynastic emblem of the Mahābhojas on the reverse.



Coin no 1: Lead; weight: 4.76 g, shape: round.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around, a triangular-headed standard on the left and fragmentary Brāhmi inscription – (I o’clock) ‘*thi putasa Siva(masa)*’
Reverse: traces of thunderbolt and arrow; and Mahābhoja symbol.

There is one circle with a dot before the Brāhmi letter ‘Pu’ of ‘Putasa’, which could represent the Brāhmi letter ‘Tha’. There are some coins of this type in private collections which have a fragmentary Brāhmi inscription: ‘*rasa Vasithi Putasa*’

Moreover, there are some coins of the Mahābhojas including another variety of ‘Śivama’ in some private collections which have the obverse with turtle with two snakes around, a Nandipāda (or Buddhist triratna) on the left, a swastika on the right and a thunderbolt and arrow on the reverse. The fragmentary Brāhmi inscriptions on the obverse can be read as:

- 1) *putasa Siva (Śiva)ma sa Mahābhoja*
- 2) *sithi putasa Siva (Śiva)ma sa*

These coins show the presence of the metonym ‘Vāsīthi’ of Śivama, so the inscription can now be reconstructed as ‘Mahābhoja Vasithiputasa Siva(Śiva)ma’. Previously, Shri Prabhune had reconstructed the legends as ‘(Māmdava)sa Siva(Śiva)ma sa’, and attributed this issue to Māmdava Śivama, mentioned in one inscription of Māmdava Kumāra at Kudā cave no VII. However, we do not know whether he is the same as ‘Māmdava Śivama’ as the presence of two letters ‘rasa’ before ‘Vasithi’ may point to the probable reconstruction of the inscription as ‘Mahābhoja(sa Sādaga)rasa Vasithiputasa Siva(Śiva)ma sa’ (see the reconstructed Brāhmi inscription below). Also the Sādageri connection of ‘Vasithiputasa Śivama’ will remain conjectural till some more coins with full inscriptions come to light.

𑀘𑀓𑀧𑀭𑀮𑀯𑀰𑀱𑀲𑀳𑀴𑀵𑀶𑀷𑀸𑀹𑀺𑀻𑀼𑀽𑀾𑀿

From the above information we can conclude that the Mahābhojas were feudatories (or associates) of the Sātavāhana dynasty in their earlier days and that they shifted their allegiance toward the ‘Kshahāratas’ in the reign of ‘Śivama’ (this is based on a political transition evident from the numismatic data i.e. the placement of the Ujjain symbol with the thunderbolt and arrow of Kshahārata affiliation).

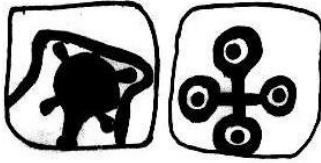
There are some lead, portrait coins of Nahāpāna found along with Mahābhoja coins. They are a local ‘Konkan’ type struck by the Mahābhojas to acknowledge the supremacy of the Kshahāratas. This type has never been found in Gujarat.⁷² There is a copper coin of the same type listed by Dr Jha and Dr Rajgor that was found locally in Sopārā.⁷³ Similar coins are in some private collections in Mumbai and Nāsik.⁷⁴



Coin no 2: Lead; weight: 5.86 gm, shape: round.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around, a triangular-headed standard on the left, swastika on the right and fragmentary Brāhmi inscription – (IV o’clock) ‘*Siva*’
Reverse: traces of thunderbolt and arrow; and Mahābhoja symbol

Group C: Uninscribed coins of Mahābhoja Sādagerisa (Sādagarasa) Kosiputasa Sudassana? (Fractional denomination?)

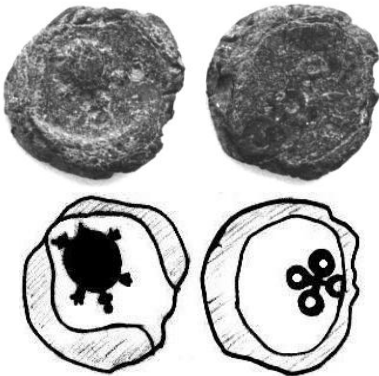




Coin no 1: Lead; weight: 1.22 g, shape: square.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around
Reverse: Ujjain symbol

This particular coin has the same obverse as is found on inscribed coins of 'Mahābhoja Sādagerisa (Sādagarasa) Kosiputasa Sudasana', which we discussed earlier. So this could be a fractional denomination of 'Kosiputasa Sudasana'

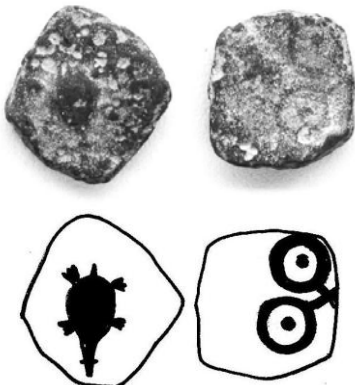
Group D: Uninscribed coins of Sātavāhana affiliation (fractional denominations?)



Coin no 1: Lead; weight: 1.52 g, shape: round.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around
Reverse: Ujjain symbol

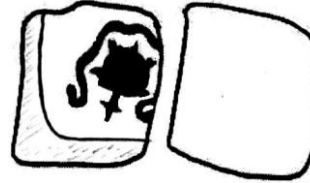


Coin no 2: Lead; weight: 1.40 g, shape: round.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around
Reverse: Ujjain symbol

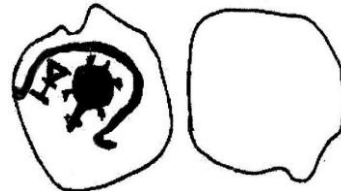


Coin no 3: Lead; weight: 0.95 gm, shape: square.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around
Reverse: two orbs of Ujjain symbol visible

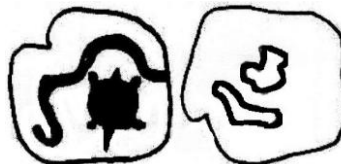
Group E: Uninscribed coins of uncertain affiliation (fractional denominations?)



Coin no 1: Lead; weight: 1.36 g, shape: square.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around
Reverse: Blank



Coin no 2: Lead; weight: 1.35 g, shape: square.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around, a triangular-headed standard on the left, traces of a swastika on the right.
Reverse: Blank



Coin no 3: Lead; weight: 0.90 g, shape: square.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around.
Reverse: unrecognisable figure or legends.



Coin no 4: Lead; weight: 1.77 g, shape: square.
Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around; *Reverse:* Blank

Coin no 5: Lead; weight: 1.98 g, shape: square.

Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around

Reverse: Blank

Coin no 6: Lead; weight: 2.00 g, shape: square.

Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around

Reverse: Blank

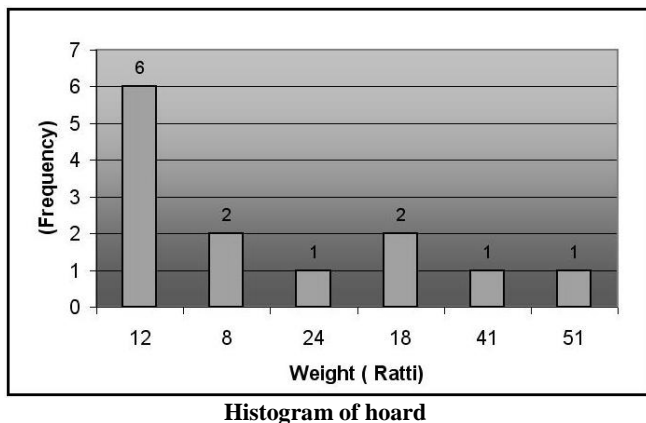
Coin no 7: Lead; weight: 2.77 g, shape: square.

Obverse: Turtle with two snakes around

Reverse: Blank

So far, Mahābhoja coins are known weighing 71, 51, 41, 24, 22, 18, 12, 8 ratti from various find spots viz. Junnar, Karhād, Nāsik, Chaul. The distribution of coins and histogram of my hoard is as given below:

Sr No	Weight in ratti	Frequency
1	8	2
2	12	6
3	18	2
4	24	1
5	41	1
6	51	1



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SOME UNPUBLISHED COINS OF THE BENGAL SULTANS

By S. M. Iftekhar Alam

1. **Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Balban** : Silver Tanka, wt – 10.8 gm, size - 29 mm.



Obverse: السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بلبن السلطان

Reverse: الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

The legends in the obverse and reverse margin are the same which can be read as:

ضرب هذه الفضة بخطة نوديا نخلبور في شهر سنة خمس و سبعين و ستمائة

So, the date is 675 AH and the mint is Nudiya. Interestingly, there is one more word after Nudiya which looks like نخلبور (Nacholpur ?) but cannot be read with certainty. The last part of this word may be pronounced as "pur" (بور). So, probably this word represents the name of another place which ends with "pur".

2. **Ikhtiyar al-Din Ghazi Shah** : Silver Tanka, wt – 10.6 gm, size – 25 mm.



Obverse: السلطان الاعظم فخر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر غازيشاه السلطان بن السلطان

Reverse: يمين الخليفة ناصر امير المومنين

Reverse margin: ضرب هذه السكة بحضرة جلال سناركانو سنة اثنان و خمسين و سبعماية

Therefore, this coin was issued from Sonargaon in 752 AH. On the obverse the name of the sultan is written as "Fakhr al-dunya wa'l din abu'l muzaffar ghazishah" i.e. a mixture of Fakhr al-Din Mubarak Shah and his son Ikhtyar al-Din Ghazi Shah. The

engraving of “Fakhr” instead of “Ikhtyar” is obviously due to the mistake of the engraver. The engraver was so accustomed to Fakhr al-Din Mubarak’s coins (734 – 750 AH) that in a moment of inadvertence he slipped up while engraving his successor’s (Ikhtiyar al-Din Ghazi Shah) coins. Perhaps as soon as this matter came to the knowledge of the royal authority all the error coins were kept aside to prevent them circulating and later melted to destroy the error and to utilise the silver. However, a very small number of the error coins might have slipped into the hands of people some of which still survive like this present coin which is a very interesting example of a die sinking error in the history of Bengal sultanate coins.

3. **Shams al-Din Iliyas Shah** : Copper fractional coin, wt – 2.1 gm, size - 14 mm.



Obverse: السلطان الغازي

Reverse: الياس شاه

Copper, silver and gold are the three known metals used in the Bengal sultanate coinage and among these, copper coins are extremely rare. This particular coin of Iliyas Shah is the only known copper issue of this sultan. The other published copper coins of Bengal sultans are only two types of sultan Sikandar Shah (B220 and B221 of Goron/Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, p - 177) and two types of Rukn al-Din Barbak Shah (B558 and B559 of Goron/Goenka, p – 217).

4. **Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah**: Silver ½ Tanka, wt – 5.3 gm, size - 22 mm.



Obverse: السلطان جلال الدنيا والدين

Reverse: ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

This coin is undated and bears no mint name.

5. **Jalal al-Din Muhammad Shah** : Silver Tanka, wt – 10.8 gm, size - 26 mm.



Obverse, in tughra characters:

جلال الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه السلطان

Reverse, in tughra characters:

خليفة الله ناصر الاسلام و المسلمين

The extreme righthand side of reverse contains the mint name consisting of two words which are vertically positioned (from bottom to top). The first word is *Iqlim* (اقليم) though the upper part of the letter *lam* is separated from its lower part. The second word looks like حظاباد where the *alif* after *ba* is connected to the last letter, *dal*. Actually this word is a crude rendition of *Mu'azzamabad* (معظماباد). The initial *mim* of *Mu'azzamabad* is

angular in shape so that it looks like an initial *ha* (ح). For comparison, see coin types B418 and B459 of Goron/Goenka, p – 202 and 207. For further reference one may go through “Two little known sultans of eastern Bengal”, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 186, where in both the coins of Ghiyath al-Din Nusrat Shah and Nasir al-Din Ibrahim/Shahim Shah, the initial *mim* of *Mu'azzamabad* has the same shape. On these coins the second *mim* of *Mu'azzamabad* can sometimes be traced. However, the ‘*ain* (ع) of *Mu'azzamabad* is completely absent in the present coin. Still, *Mu'azzamabad* is the most plausible reading which is preceded by the epithet *Iqlim*.

6. **Rukn al-Din Barbak Shah**: Silver Tanka, wt – 10.5 gm, size - 29 mm.



Obverse:

ضرب اسلطان الاعدل الاعظم باريكشاه سلطان ابن محمود شاه
سلطان خلد الله ملكه ٨٣ خير اباد

Reverse: Kalima Tayeba followed by خزانة ٨٧٣

Reverse margin has the names of four caliphs in four segments:
ابوبكر الصديق على مرتضى عثمان عفان عمر الفاروق

It is interesting to note that the obverse contains the mint name of Khairabad and the reverse contains that of Khazana. That means Khairabad had the status of an important treasury. So far it was thought that ‘Ala al-Din Husain Shah was the first to introduce a double mintname on his coin in 904 AH (B765 of Goron/Goenka, p - 240). But now it appears that Barbak Shah was the introducer of a double mintname on the coins of the Bengal sultanates. After Husain Shah only Nasir al-Din Nusrat Shah struck coins with a double mintname.

7. **Jalal al-Din Fath Shah**: Silver Tanka, wt – 10.6 gm, size - 24 mm.



Obverse, within a circle:

السلطان ابن السلطان جلال الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر

Reverse, within a circle:

فتحشاه السلطان ابن محمود شاه السلطان ---- شاهي مندازن ٨٨٧

In this coin it is important to note that the mint name has been clearly written as Mandāran (مندازن) whereas the mint name of Mazdaran (مزدزن) on the coin B609 of Goron/Goenka, p - 223 has also been identified as the same place of Mandaran in Hugli District of West Bengal.

8. **Saif al-Din Firuz Shah**: Silver ½ Tanka, wt – 5.2 gm, size – 23 mm.



Obverse: سيف الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فيروز شاه السلطان

Reverse: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ٨٩٣

This coin is dated 893 AH but without any mint name.

9. *Nasir al-Din Nusrat Shah*: Silver ¼ Tanka, wt – 2.6 gm, size – 16 mm.



Obverse: السلطان بن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين

Reverse: رتشا(ه) سلطان (بن) حسين شاه(ه) سلطان محمدآباد ٩٢

This is the first known fraction from the mint of Muhammadabad. In the reverse there is no trace of *bin* or *ibn* before *husain*. Also one digit of the date is missing.

10. *Nasir al-Din Nusrat Shah*: Silver 1/8 Tanka, wt – 1.2 gm, size – 14 mm.



Obverse: within circle - السلطان بن السلطان

Reverse: within circle - نصرتشاه سلطان

This coin bears no mint or date. This is the only known type of one-eighth tanka of Nusrat Shah.

SOME RARE COINS OF LAKSHMINĀRĀYANA OF COOCH BEHAR

By Nicholas Rhodes

The coinage of Lakshminārāyana of Cooch Behar is relatively uninteresting, with no variation in legend or calligraphy. Ninety-nine percent of tankas have the same type of a four line inscription on both sides, within a border of dots, differing only in that, while all coins have the accession year of 1509 Śaka, about fifty percent also have the date 98 in the local Cooch Behar era, with some variety in the form of the digits used. The only exceptions among the tankas³⁹ of this king were listed as nos.17 & 18 in the book by S.K.Bose and myself⁴⁰, and are of extreme rarity. No.17 is a variety with legend in a square area, of which only a single specimen was known, in a private collection in Bangladesh, and no.18 is a variety with an ornamental border of cusped arches, of which two specimens were known. Neither of these rare types has the ubiquitous border of dots, but both only have the accession date of 1509 Śaka. Since the publication of that book, one further example of no.17 and two further examples of no.18 have surfaced. These new pieces shed some new information on these rare types that seems worth recording.

³⁹ In previous publications these coins have been described as rupees, but as the weights are only slightly in excess of 10g, following the weight standard used by the Bengal Sultans, rather than the rupee standard used by the Suris and later by the Mughals, I now suggest that the coins be described as *tankas*.

⁴⁰ *The Coinage of Cooch Behar*, by Nicholas Rhodes and Shankar K. Bose, Library of Numismatic Studies, Dhubri, p.88.



The new example of no.17 is illustrated above, and may have been struck with the same pair of dies as the other known specimen, of which I have only seen a very unclear photograph. When publishing this type before, I thought that there was a letter in the obverse right margin, but it is clear from this new example that the symbol on the right is not a letter, but merely a decorative feature, balanced by a similar feature on the left side. Similarly below the square there appears to be a decorative quatrefoil.



18a



18b



18c



18d

As regards type no.18, all the four specimens now known are illustrated above and it will be noticed that they are all different, which is surprising for such a rare type. Indeed, they are struck with three different obverse dies and four different reverse dies. The differences can be easily identified by counting the number of arches in the ornamental border. No.18a has 14 arches on the obverse and 13 arches on the reverse, whereas no.18b has 14 arches on each side, but the obverse dies are different. Nos.18c and 18d are struck with the same obverse⁴¹ die, with 12 arches, but the reverse dies are different, with 12 arches on no.18c and 14

⁴¹ In this article I have called the side with the king's name the "obverse", whereas we used the other convention of the king's name being on the reverse, in Bose and Rhodes, *op.cit.* Nothing should be read into this change.

arches on no.18d. Although the reverses of nos.18b and 18c both have 14 arches, they are struck with different dies.

It is clear from these specimens that the number of arches probably has no significance. Also the coins are not all struck with particular care, so it is not clear that they are *nazarana* issues. I can only speculate as to why these types should be so rare, or why so many different dies were used for no.18. One possibility is that they were struck for some particular ceremony, perhaps a religious ceremony, which was celebrated on several occasions during the reign, but not as frequently as annually. The absence of the date in the Cooch Behar era may suggest that both rare types were only struck during the first half of the reign. This suggestion is only speculation, as I am not aware of any such ceremonies being recorded.

My thanks to Mr I.K. Kejriwal and Dr N.C. Chowdhury for permission to publish nos.18c and 18d respectively. The other three coins are in my own collection.

THE RANAS OF GOHAD AND THEIR OCCUPATIONS OF GWALIOR FORT – A NUMISMATIC PERSPECTIVE.

By Barry Tabor

Brief history.

During the period of the decline and disintegration of the Mughal Empire, which began towards the end of the reign of Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb Alamgir, in the last 20 years or so of the 17th century, many smaller polities declared their independence, and a number rose to prominence. Of these, some remained local but a few began to dominate large areas of the disintegrating empire. Among these rising powers were the Jats of Bharatpur.



Fig. 1A. Chhatri in memory of Rana Bhim Singh, near Bhimtal, in the Gwalior Fort

Under Raja Suraj Mal (1756 - 1763 AD, AH 1170 - 1177) the power of the Jat confederacy reached its zenith, and he was arguably the strongest ruler in India for a while. At the Congress of Mathura, the Durranis had invited him to take a leading role in the pacification of India after Panipat, but he would not trust the

Rohillas, and could not trust the British or Marathas. It was clear that the Afghans, Mughals, Marathas, Jats and others would never agree matters between them, and the Congress broke up without accomplishing anything worthwhile. In fact, Suraj Mal never seems to have entertained such large ambitions, restricting himself mainly to a power base much nearer home. Although he had toyed with the possibilities of controlling the Delhi Government, and through it, the rest of the empire, he never took any practical steps to achieve this. Instead he sought to join forces with the Jats in the Haryana area, who could help him keep the Rohillas separate from the Durranis (those two Afghan polities were the only groups who trusted each other enough to form an alliance). He also sent an army to besiege Agra, which fell to him in mid - 1761. The city was plundered, and the Imperial forces were not strong enough to take it back, so Agra became a part of the Jat's dominions for a few years. Other areas followed Agra into his net during the next few months. The Mughals, Marathas and others remained suspicious and fearful about the resurgence of the Jats, but at first could do little against them¹. It was during that period that several Jat rulers joined forces with Suraj Mal, but his power was so much greater than theirs that the union, rather than an alliance, has been described as annexation.

Rana Bhim Singh of Gohad (1707 - 1755) was a subordinate ally of Suraj Mal, but had previously been a powerful ruler in his own right. In 1740, he had attacked the Gwalior Fort, which 'Ali Khan, its Mughal Governor, had surrendered without much resistance. For some years, Bhim Singh held Gwalior against the Marathas, but in 1754, the Peshwa's army under Vitthal Shivadeo Winchurkar attacked and recaptured it, and Rana Bhim Singh was fatally wounded during the action and died three days later. Thus, in 1754, Gohad became tributary to the Marathas², instead of to Bharatpur, and his territories were virtually annexed by them. (The date 1754 for the capture of Gwalior Fort by the Marathas is not agreed by Dr. Nathan Singh in his Hindi '*Jat Itihas*' of 2004. p. 359, where we find it quoted as 1756) (1, v).



Fig. 1B. Portrait of Chhatar Singh, mounted.

Thereafter, the fortress remained in the ownership of the Marathas, in the person of the said Vitthal Shivadeo Winchurkar until after the fateful Battle of Panipat, in 1761², and the Jat resurgence described above. In 1763, Suraj Mal was killed in an action against the Imperial forces, not far from Delhi. The fortunes of the Bharatpur Jats never fully recovered, and the Rana of Gohad found himself pretty well master of his own destiny again.

At the Battle of Panipat, the growing power of the Maratha confederacy received a crushing defeat at the hands of the massive invading Afghan army of Ahmad Shah Abdali (Durrani) and his Indian, mostly Pathan allies. The surviving Maratha troops and their leaders retreated in disarray, fled the field under hot pursuit and, with almost every man's hand against them had to 'run the gauntlet' of hostile tribesmen, *ryots* and landholders throughout most of their return journeys to their Deccani homeland³.

For years, the Maratha Sardars had ruled much of the Deccan and northern India. In older, mostly English histories, we read that this subjection brought with it high taxation, illegal cesses and a degree of oppression for the subject peoples, and at times, depredations from the Maratha auxiliaries, the Pindaris. Stewart Gordon⁴ in a more recent study of the impact of the Maratha polity on subject states, using contemporary documentation unavailable to previous writers, has made a close study of this period, and his excellent book, written in more measured tones, has given us a more accurate idea of how well the subject states fared under Maratha administration. Whatever the truth of this matter may be, nobody likes to be a 'subject state', however fair and decent the rulers are. Now the oppressed people (if that is what they were) took their revenge: many retreating Marathas of all ranks, singly or in groups, were attacked, robbed, stripped, and beaten or killed at the hands of their compatriots, and considerable numbers of those who had escaped the bloodbath of Panipat never made it home. The Jat Raja of Bharatpur was almost the only ruler who systematically rendered assistance to the retreating Maratha soldiers, many of whom were returning homewards via Bharatpur territory. Some estimates put the figure of those he helped at over 100,000. He had declined to take an active part in the battle itself, having correctly predicted a Maratha defeat⁵. Panipat had shattered Maratha power, and robbed the Peshwa of most of his capable generals and many thousands of lower ranking officers and soldiers. For a while, the Maratha confederacy was practically impotent, and many expected it would never recover its former greatness. Of course, the same comment is true of the Mughal Empire itself.



Fig.1C: A view of Gohad Fort. (Fig.1A, 1B, 1C All Courtesy Wikipedia, 'Jatland', L R Burdak) (2)

As a result, some of those polities that had been under subjection or tributary to the Marathas and Mughals became restless and took advantage of the discomfiture of their erstwhile suzerains. Some rebelled, or attacked other former Maratha and Imperial possessions, now vulnerable. Among the rebels was Chhatar Singh, the Jat Rana of Gohad, who, unlike his predecessors, was

reduced to the level of a local ruler whom Malleon described as a mere 'Zamindar or landholder', and whose estate apparently consisted of a village and some territory, formerly under Maratha suzerainty. Shortly "after Panipat, he [threw off allegiance to the Marathas,] proclaimed himself 'Rana of Gohad' and seized Gwalior Fort [in 1761]." The conquest of Gwalior Fort by the Jat Rana of Gohad is also confirmed by Dr Ajay Kumar Agnihotri in his Hindi '*Gohad ke jaton ka Itihas*' p. 29^v. This conquest, though undoubtedly spectacular, proved relatively short-lived, and the fortress was retaken in 1767 AD, (AH 1181) by Mahadji Sindhia, after Raghunath Rao, a man of ability - both soldier and statesman, who would later become the Maratha Peshwa - had failed in the attempt⁶. Thereafter, Gwalior Fort remained in Sindhia's possession until Hastings' Maratha War of 1780-84.

Before Hastings' would venture to begin that war, he made careful preparations designed to increase the chances of an English success. Among these was a treaty with the Rana of Gohad, Chhatar (Chhatrapat) Singh, signed in 1779⁵. This was part of Hastings' plan to protect his frontiers with friendly states which would act as a barriers or buffers between the English territories and the central Indian possessions of Sindhia, and other potentially hostile powers⁷. By this treaty, the English agreed to furnish troops to assist the Rana of Gohad against the Marathas. For historical reasons, as we have seen, the Rana of Gohad was already on unfriendly terms with Sindhia, a situation that was in no way ameliorated by the predations of the Pindaris and Maratha regular and irregular forces active within his territories. The English chose Captain⁸ William Popham for this task, and he crossed the River Chambal in February 1780 with a force of three battalions and a small detachment of cavalry, to reinforce and support the Rana's army. In all he had about 2,400 men, and only a few light field guns and one howitzer. He began by attacking and defeating a body of Maratha Horse (possibly Pindaris) who were engaging in plunder and pillage in the Rana's territory. Next, the Rana asked him to reduce a Maratha hill fort at Lahar, about 50 miles west of Kalpi. Captain Popham lost 125 men in accomplishing the task, likely because he had too few and too light artillery pieces to make a practical breach, and too few men to attack in sufficient force⁶. By this time, the rainy season was approaching, and Captain Popham encamped about 10 miles from Gwalior Fort to wait for better weather before continuing hostilities⁹.

Gwalior Fort (Figs. 2 and 3 below), atop the 300 foot high, steep-sided Gopachal Hill, was reputed to be among the most formidable in all India. It was famously described as "*the pearl in the necklace of the castles of Hind,*" (*Taj-ul-Ma'asir*), but because of its massive size it was, like Chitor, Ranthambor, Kumbalgarh, Rothas and others of its ilk, almost impossible to defend without large numbers of troops, certainly in the tens of thousands, effectively to man its long walls. This attack was unexpected, Sindhia's main force was engaged elsewhere, and very few defenders seem to have been in the fort.

While Captain Popham waited for the rains to break, he worked out a scheme for the reduction of the fortress⁹. Presumably, he did this in agreement with the Rana, because during both the planning stages and the attack, he made use of spies and guides supplied by him⁶.

On the night of 3 August 1780, according to English and most Indian accounts, he sent a small advance party to scale the outer and inner walls (about 16 feet and 30 feet high respectively) and secure rope ladders to the battlements, for an escalade by the rest of his troops⁹. The successful scaling took place almost in silence. Even so there were but few of Popham's men inside the walls when the alarm was sounded after one of the attackers had fired shots too soon. However, it is said that the great fortress was taken in about two hours without loss of life among Captain Popham's men, and very little on the defenders' side. By the time daylight came on 4 August, the fortress had changed hands¹⁰. The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. XXII, p.441 says: "*During the Maratha War it [Gwalior Fort] was captured in 1780 by Major Popham's brigade, a surprise assault being made by a party led by Captain*

Bruce, brother to the well-known traveller, who was guided up the rock by a dacoit. The spot where the escalade took place is to the west of the fort near the Urwahi Gate, and is still called the *Faringi Pahar*, or 'white man's ascent.' The fort was then handed back to the Rana of Gohad, but was retaken by Sindhia in 1784.¹⁰



Fig. 2. Old photograph of the Man Mandir in Gwalior Fort. The blocked-up 'windows' are where the Mughal prison used to be. The main gate is below the towers in the foreground. (Copied from "Romance of the Fort of Gwalior")

There is no mention of the Rana of Gohad's army in these and most other English accounts of this victory. However, if we would take issue with English historians who ignored the part played by the Rana and his army, maybe we should bear in mind that a Jat account of the same event states that 'After having taken several other forts Chhatar Singh sent in 1780 an army under Brajraj Singh against Gwalior. Brajraj Singh was killed in the war with the Maratha army commanded by Raghunath Rao, but on 4 August 1780 (2. Sha'ban 1194) the Jats captured Gwalior Fort'. (HH). Should we assume that Captain Popham's men took no part in it, then?

From information supplied by Hans Herli, it would seem that all Jat accounts, like the one quoted above, plainly credit the victory to the Rana of Gohad's army. The truth may well be that both forces were involved⁶. Given that Captain Popham had been sent to Gohad in a supporting role, with only 2,400 men and no battering train, co-operation between the two forces appears to be the most likely scenario. Taking together a number of accounts of the 'battle', it seems likely that there were few troops to defend the fort, many or most of those within the fort may have been 'chaukidars' or night-watchmen, and the military defenders consisted mainly of cavalry encamped without the walls, which were easily overcome by the Rana's army¹¹. The commotion caused by this encounter would have distracted the garrison long enough for Popham's escalade to succeed, after which, having just seen the Maratha cavalry overwhelmed by the Rana's forces, they put up very little resistance. Fighting was over almost as soon as it started, and casualties were astonishingly light. It seems quite possible that the garrison surrendered to Popham almost as soon as he set foot on the fort, and that somebody soon opened the gates to allow the Rana and his army to enter and take over the 'impregnable fortress'. It is not impossible, of course, that treachery was also involved. Muhammad Din's eye-witness account seems to support this interpretation¹¹. Muhammad Din (Dean) was a sepoy in Captain Popham's detachment. Incidentally, we might well ask whether, with the Rana's army on the spot, and with their blood up, the English had any choice but to allow him to take possession. Perhaps it was not a matter of 'handing it to' the Rana, but of Captain Popham not having the troops that would have been needed to prevent him taking it, even if he had wanted to do so.

Meanwhile, efforts by the English to cement an agreement with the Marathas, employing Raghaji Bhonsle II, Raja of Nagpur, as a negotiator, were proving unfruitful, partly because of the Nagpur Raja's equivocating attitude to the peace process. During, and probably partly because of the stalemate, "Hastings

ordered [Gwalior Fort's] restoration to the Rana of Gohad, who duly reoccupied the fort during the same year" (1780)⁶. We have seen that the Rana was, in fact, already occupying the fort on the 4th August, because the forces that had captured it consisted largely of his own men.

On 13 of October 1781, the English signed an agreement with Sindhia, which stipulated, among other things, that the latter was to have returned to him all territory west of the Chambal lost by him during hostilities¹². Also, he was to "leave the Rana of Gohad *unmolested in his possession of Gwalior Fort*, so long as he behaved properly"⁶, which wording also tells us that the Rana's occupation of the fortress was a *fait accompli* before that date¹³.

The terms referred to above contained a contradiction within themselves, as Gwalior is west and south of the Chambal. However, despite this discrepancy, both these stipulations were included in the treaty of Salbye (negotiated in October 1781, ratified in Pune on 20 December 1782, and exchanged on 24 January 1783).

By this treaty, Gwalior and some surrounding territory were plainly guaranteed to the Rana of Gohad so long as he observed his treaty with the English. The Rana, however, did not, we are told, observe this treaty. On the contrary, 'a number of overt acts showing that he was quite prepared to act against the English in a confederacy forming against them were brought to his notice during 1781 and 1782.' These indiscretions (for that is probably all they were) lead to a charge of treachery against him, and the treaty of mutual assistance was regarded by the English as abrogated, which was convenient to the English. In consequence, in 1783, the Rana was left to face the might of Sindhia's military machine without English support.

This decision suited Sindhia well enough, and he sent De Boigne, one of his most successful generals, to invest and recapture the 'impregnable' fortress. After a protracted siege, Gwalior fell to De Boigne late in 1783. (AH 1197)⁶. The fort was actually betrayed by Moti Ram, a Jat officer within the fort, who assisted De Boigne in capturing it. The Rani of Gohad, who had been administering Gwalior on behalf of Chhatar Singh, was in her apartments in the fort at the time it fell, and ordered a fire to be set, which destroyed that part of the fort, with her and her servants still inside¹³.

Not only did De Boigne recapture Gwalior Fort, but an army under Alijah Srinath Mahadji Sindhia attacked Gohad itself, towards the end of 1784. (AH 1198/99) and occupied Gohad Fort on 27 February 1785. (16 Rabi' II 1199 AH). Chhatar Singh escaped to Karauli where he became the victim of a conspiracy at the court. He was brought back to Gwalior where he died in 1785, after being forced to take poison^v. The Gohad chieftaincy then entered a period of anarchy, or 'interregnum', as it is often called. This lasted until Kirat Singh became Rana, but the circumstances and date of that occurrence vary from one account to another. It is clear only that Kirat Singh ascended the *masnad* some time before or, more probably during 1803. Whatever the date of his accession was, he was certainly ruling in 1804, because, as we shall see, some of the territory of his forefathers was taken from Sindhia and made over to him by the English in that year. Kirat Singh was the son of a cousin of Chhatar Singh.

The uneasy peace between the Marathas and the English continued until 1802, when the English again declared war against the Marathas. Mahadji Rao had died in 1794, and his nephew, Daulat Rao Sindhia, was now in charge. Daulat Rao shared his deceased uncle's determination to rule the whole of northern India, but possessed neither his military genius, nor his intellect and strength of character⁶. Gwalior Fort was, at that time, in the hands of Sindhia's ambitious Governor of Gwalior and Gohad, Ambaji Inglija, who 'took note of the rapid advances of the English army', and knew that he could not withstand an attack for long. Rather than risk losing everything, he either changed sides and came over to the English, or pretended to do so, according to which version of events we choose to accept. In any case, the outcome was that he handed the fort with its dependent territory, along with that of Gohad, to the English, after they had agreed to

hand half of it back, for him to rule as an independent chieftaincy⁶. The 'ceded districts were made over to Kirath [Kirat] Singh, successor of Lakinder Singh (sic!)¹⁵ by a treaty dated 17 January 1804 *with the exception of the fortress and city of Gwalior, which the English retained*'⁶. From the plain meaning of the words in italic type, assuming they give a correct account of the proceedings, it is clear that the Rana of Gohad never possessed or occupied the fort on this occasion.

The War between the English and Sindhia was brought to an end by the treaty of Surji-Anjangaon, which was signed on 30 December 1803. Under the terms of this treaty, the English Government obtained from Sindhia possession of the regions that had been taken from the French in the Doab, together with certain territories in central Rajasthan, and to the west, none of which is pertinent here. Mahadji Sindhia was to retain possession of all those districts 'to the south of Gohad, of which the revenues had been collected by him in person or through some officer, nominated on his behalf, or land which was held by him for defraying the expenses of his army'. The erstwhile Gohad territory was returned to the Rana.

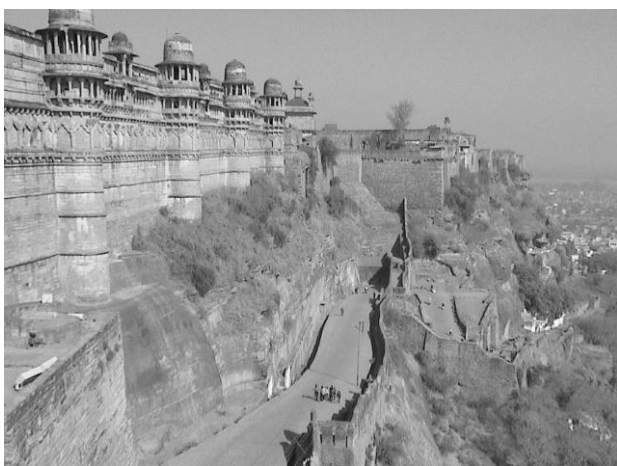


Fig. 3. A view of the Man Mandir taken in 2006, showing the improved approach road to the maingate. The Lashkar area is to the right of the city buildings in the background and to the south of the Fort, and is now an integral part of the city. The fort's fine defensive position, atop a steep 300 foot hill is clear in this view.

Subsequently, a dispute arose with Sindhia concerning a clause in the treaty of Surji-Anjangaon by which he had agreed to renounce all claims on his subsidiaries with whom the English Government had made treaties. Sindhia now insisted that the Rana of Gohad could not be included under this clause, because 'the pretensions of that family had been extinct and their territories [had been] in Sindhia's possession for the past 30 years'. This was incontrovertible, and the English gave way to Sindhia's legal argument and abandoned Gwalior and Gohad to him. In the wake of the war, the English had land north of the Chambal to resettle. To compensate the Rana for his loss of Gohad, and 'in consideration of the fact that the failure in the relevant stipulation of the treaty had arisen through no fault of his', in 1805, they offered to grant him the *pargana* of Dholpur, along with Bari, Rajakhhera and Muttra', north of the Chambal River. Powerless to resist the combined will of the English and Sindhia, he reluctantly agreed to relinquish his claim on Gohad, and accept the offer of Dholpur, and thus the former Rana of Gohad became the Rana of Dholpur, and was installed in 1806. It has rightly been said that the dealings between the English and the Rana of Gohad reflect little credit on either party.

This new arrangement suited both the English and Sindhia because it left the Chambal as a fixed, recognisable border between their territories, which ought not to lead to misunderstandings and disagreements in the future. It seems that the Rana was given little opportunity to do other than agree to move home. Please see the map below (Fig. 4) showing the

relative positions of Gwalior, Gohad and Dholpur, along with the river Chambal.

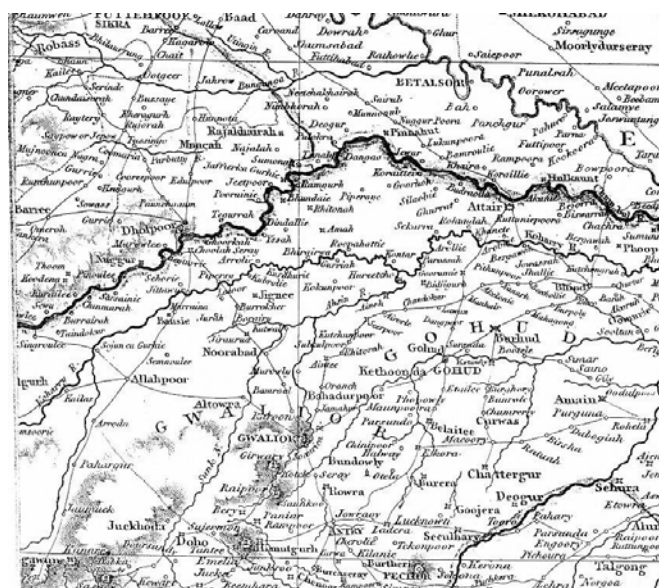


Fig. 4 This map, copied from a map dated 1786, (12), shows the relative positions of Gwalior, Gohad, Dholpur and the River Chambal. (Courtesy Frank Timmermann and Hamburg University Library)

Chronology of the Jat overlords of Gohad. (Dates are AD)

- Bhim Singh, 1707-1754 or 56
- Girdhar Pratap, 1756-1757
- Chhatar Singh, 1757-1785
- Interregnum, 1785-1803
- Kirat Singh, 1803-1805

The chronology above is, I believe, probably the most accurate available, of the last few chiefs and Ranas of Gohad. Earlier chiefs (back to 1505) are irrelevant to our present subject. This chronology was taken from the Wikipedia entry under the article 'Jatland', and it largely agrees with most others available². Chronologies exist showing the reign of Rana Kirat Singh beginning as early as 1785 or 1788, but the correct date is almost certainly 1803. The date of the Rana's move to Dholpur is stated as either 1805 or 1806 in different histories, but it seems that the offer was made in 1805, while the actual move did not take place until 1806. The spelling of the chiefs' names varies from one account to another. I have tried to use the most widely accepted spellings in modern usage.

Documentary and other evidence for the occupations.

First occupation, 1761-1765 AD; AH 1175-1179.

The two Jat occupations of Gwalior Fort mentioned above (1761 to 1765 and 1780 to 1884) are disputed (or at least, ignored) by some Maratha historians. They are, however, a well-documented and properly established part of historical accounts written by English, Jat, and some other Maratha writers. There is concrete (actually stone) evidence for the occupations, within the fort itself, in the form of the Chhatari of Rana Bhim Singh, who was Rana during the first occupation, and which is mentioned above (Fig. 1A). This was erected during the second occupation (Rana Chhatar Singh). There are other buildings and inscriptions inside the fort, also erected by the Jats during the two occupations. (HH)

Second occupation, 1780-1784 AD; AH 1195-1199.

In further support of the fact of the Jat occupations, Hans Herrli, who has made about twenty lengthy visits to India over many years, spending weeks or months each time studying the history and coins in Haryana, Rajasthan and central India, and who has

made a specific study of matters surrounding the Jats and Gwalior, has confirmed that “The Jat Sawaj Kalyan Parishad (Association of Jats in the Gwalior region) organises an annual fair on Rama’s Birthday (Rama Navani) in memory of Gwalior Fort’s occupation by the Jat rulers Bhim Singh Rana and Chhatar Singh Rana of Gohad State.”² This fair, and copious historical studies supported by the Jats, are stated by Hans Herrli to have been a reaction against Maratha authorities and writers trying to suppress the fact that the Marathas lost Gwalior Fort twice to the Bamraulia Jats, whom they regarded as ‘inferior’. Hans has also seen and confirmed the existence of the Chhatri and other memorials within the fort itself, put there by the Jats during the first and second occupations. The Jat group mentioned has a web site (including ‘Jatland’) on Wikipedia, and material on those sites further confirms this version of events².

In the period from 1802 to 1806, however, we find universal agreement that there was no Jat occupation of the Gwalior Fort, and that it was retained by the English from the day they took possession of it in November 1802 until they returned it to Daulat Rao Sindhia in November 1806.

The coins, and numismatic evidence for the occupations

So much for the history, and I apologise if any reader considers that I have spent too long concentrating on matters historical. As coin *aficionados*, we are naturally specifically concerned with matters numismatic, and the question arises as to what numismatic evidence we might have for the two Jat occupations of Gwalior Fort.

First occupation, 1761-1764/65 AD; AH 1175-1179.

Coins were certainly struck in the Gwalior Fort mint during that period, and are quite commonly met with. Although there is a sprig-like mark on the obverse of some (but not all) rupees bearing relevant dates, that mark has not been specifically associated with the Rana of Gohad. In any case, these same coins often bear other small marks, no more associated with the Ranas of Gohad than with the Marathas. Therefore, we must conclude that the first occupation of Gwalior Fort by the Rana of Gohad, Bhim Singh, probably left us no conclusive numismatic evidence. However, we need to remember that the inclusion of distinguishing marks on Mughal style coins issued by Mughal successor states was by no means universal at that time. On balance, it seems appropriate for those coins of Gwalior Fort mint dated within the relevant time period (roughly 1761 to 1764), to be attributed to the Rana of Gohad, Chhatar Singh, and not to Sindhia. This has not been the case, up to now.

Second occupation, 1780- 1784 AD; AH 1194-1198.

The coin shown below in Fig. 5. is a silver rupee weighing about 11.2 g and measuring about 21 to 21½ mm in diameter. The obverse bears the date AH 1195, with the ‘Haft Kishwar’ legends and name of the Mughal Emperor Shah ‘Alam II. In the middle line is the cinquefoil flower with curved stem that we see on the Gwalior Fort rupees struck during the reigns of Mahadji Rao and Daulat Rao Sindhia. The reverse has a portion of the usual formula and Shah ‘Alam’s regnal year 23. In the bottom line is the mint name ‘Gwalior’, quite clear and virtually complete. To the left of the regnal year is the pistol mark typical and diagnostic of coins commonly attributed to Gohad and Dholpur mints before and after the date of this rupee. In this instance, the pistol is not upside-down. This shape of pistol mark was a symbol used by the Bamraulia *gotra* of the Jats. The Ranas Bhim Singh (1707-1756), Girdhar Pratap Singh (1756-1757), Chhatar Singh (1757-1785) and Kirat Singh (1803-1836) belonged to different families, but all were of that clan. (HH, 2) The pistol on this coin, as on all Gohad and Dholpur coins where it is found, is distinct in style, and can be readily differentiated from those on Maratha coins, such as Agra paisas struck under Sindhia’s Governors, where the shape of the pistol is very different. *This* pistol is certainly the mark of the Gohad Rana, and not of Sindhia



Fig. 5. A rupee of Gwalior Fort mint, dated AH 1195, regnal year 23 of Shah ‘Alam II. It bears the Gwalior Fort mint mark of a cinquefoil flower with curved stem AND the pistol mark of the Rana of Gohad’s coins, and later, those of Dholpur State. In all respects, it is similar to the Krause coin numbered KM 5.2, and this suggests that KM 5.2 has been attributed to the wrong mint.

Dating evidence.

The 1st of Muharram (the Muslim New Year) AH 1195 fell on 28 December 1780, and so only four days of AH 1195 fell into 1780 with the bulk falling into 1781. The date 1195 here occurs with the regnal year 23, and this specific date/regnal year combination covers the period 4 April to 17 December 1781. The coin shown in Fig. 5 was therefore struck at least seven months after the fort was ‘handed to’ the Rana of Gohad.

In the 4th edition of “The Standard Catalogue of World Coins 1701-1800”¹⁶ there are illustrations of another example of an exactly similar type, numbered KM 5.2 with the same date, which was plainly struck from a different set of dies from the coin shown above. It, therefore, seems likely that this type of coin was issued in some numbers, although they are not at all common today. Might these coins, which so clearly vouched for the fact that Gwalior had been taken from Sindhia by the Jats have been deliberately collected in, melted down and recoined by Sindhia after he had retaken the fort? Although Krause states that the mintname on the coin they have illustrated is ‘Gohad’, no part of the mintname is visible on that coin, and its attribution to Gohad is not widely supported, and it appears doubtful whether the mint name ‘Gohad’ has ever been correctly read on a rupee of this type. (HH, JL, SB)

Chronology of marks and symbols.

Rupees of Gwalior Fort mint, prior to the occupation, do not show a scimitar to the right of *Julus*. The last recorded date of a Sindhia coin *without* that mark is AH 1191, regnal year 19. The earliest published date of a Sindhia rupee *with* the scimitar mark is AH 1197, regnal year 25. The rupee illustrated in Fig. 5 above, with the pistol mark of the Ranas of Gohad, fits in between these two types, and is distinct from both¹⁶. In addition to this rupee, there are, in the coin cabinet of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge University, three copper coins, illustrated in Fig. 6 below. The first is dated AH 1194, regnal year 2x, and has the cinquefoil flower with curved stem of the Sindhia products from Gwalior Fort mint. It is a Sindhia coin issued before the Jat occupation. The second and third are dated AH 1195, regnal year 23. They are coins bearing the pistol symbol on the reverse, struck during the Jat occupation, and are contemporaneous and co-typical with the rupee in Fig. 5.





Fig. 6. Paisas of Gwalior Fort mint, dated AH 1194 and 1195, (Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge collection, reproduced with the kind permission of Dr Mark Blackburn, Keeper of Coins and Medals Dept. Photographs courtesy of Shailendra Bhandare).

In Fig. 7A and 7B are two coins from the collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The first, (Fig. 7A.) is a copper paisa dated AH 1197, regnal year 25, bearing the Jat pistol symbol on the obverse. The mint name, although somewhat indistinct in this photograph, is clear enough to be read with certainty on the coin itself as Gohad. This coin was struck there before Gwalior Fort was recaptured by De Boigne for Sindhia in 1784. (AH 1198/99). It is apparently listed by Krause under the number KM 2, but this is uncertain, because there is no illustration for that type in any of the Krause catalogues.

The second coin (Fig. 7B.) is a silver rupee dated AH 1185, regnal year 13. It also bears the Jat pistol symbol on the obverse, and the mint name 'Gohad' (GWHAD) in full. It is the earliest coin bearing the Bamraulia Rana's pistol symbol to be published so far. Two other similar Gohad rupees in the Ashmolean collection dated regnal years 8 and 10 (SB), and one dated 1181/9 in my own collection (illustrated below as Fig. 7C.) do not bear this symbol. This is the type shown in Krause catalogues as KM 4. The chronology of these coin dates confirms that documented by historians, and summarised above. The status and identity of Krause KM 5.1 and the date listing associated with it requires clarification. A Gohad rupee published in the JASB-NS for December 1910 is also relevant here.¹⁷



7A. A copper paisa of Gohad mint, dated AH 1197, regnal year 25. (similar to Krause KM 2).



Fig. 7B. A silver rupee, also of Gohad mint, dated AH 1185, regnal year 13. Both coins 7A and 7B bear the pistol symbol.



Fig. 7C. A silver rupee dated AH 1181/9 and of the type that preceded 7B above. This type does not bear the pistol mark. The last reported coin of this type has the regnal year 10 of Shah Alam II. (Fig. 7A and 7B: Photographs supplied by and used courtesy of Shailendra Bhandare, Assistant Keeper, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.)

1802 to 1806 AD.

This time there was no occupation by the Rana of Gohad. On the contrary, the fort is stated universally to have remained in English hands throughout. Some rupees struck during this period bear a mark, which might be a Persian 'kaaf', or 'K' on the obverse. See Fig. 8 below.



Fig. 8. A rupee struck during the British occupation of 1802 to 1804, bearing the date AH (121)7, and regnal year 45 of Shah Alam II, which began on 29 July 1803. The obverse displays a mark like a Persian 'Kaaf', in the loop of the 'L' of 'Fazl'. The name of the Rana of Gohad at this time was Kirat. The date combination covers the period from 9 August 1802 until 22 April, 1803.

According to most of the published chronologies of the Gohad overlords, including the one reproduced above, there was an interregnum from after Chhatar Singh's death in 1785, until 1803. This is reported to have been a period of 'anarchy', unrest and disputation. Kirat Singh is most commonly said to have been 'chosen' as Rana by the nobility of wreck of the Gohad polity in 1803. Under the circumstances of the alliance between the English and the Gohad Ranas, and their joint occupation of the Gwalior area, we may be tempted to speculate that the coin above, which could have been struck during the period immediately following his accession, and that bears what might be a Persian 'Kaaf', could have been intended to commemorate that event. Other, contradictory ruler lists, with different accession dates for Kirat Singh exist, but probably the date 1803 is the most likely². There is equally the possibility that the 'Kaaf' is a remnant of the word 'Kishwar', which appears in the couplet, just below the 'Lam' of 'Fasl'. However, I would like to think it is the former.



Fig.9. This is a Gwalior Fort rupee, dated AH (1)218, regnal year 46 (1803/04) and it shows a sword of a completely different design from that usually seen on rupees of this series, to the right of 'Jalus'. Photograph courtesy Jan Lingen.

Fig. 9 shows yet another type of rupee struck at Gwalior Fort. This one has a straight sword with hand-guard, which resembles those used by officers of the British Army. This design of sword could, therefore, symbolise that this type of rupee was struck under British authority. The date of the rupee is AH 1218, regnal year 46, which date combination runs from 29 July 1803 to 11 April 1804. The English occupation ran from November 1802 to November 1806. A rupee of this type was published by Dr H B Maheshwari, on p.4 of issue 5 (October, 2005) News Bulletin of the Chandrapur Coin Society. Dr Maheshwari refers to this shape of sword as 'European sword', and his coin has the same date and regnal year as the one illustrated above. Neither coin shows enough of the mint name to be read satisfactorily. Additional dates, and a readable mint name may well be found on other coins of this type but, as far as I am aware, none have yet been reported.

The British, on taking over native mints at the end of the Maratha and other wars, did not always materially alter the issues

of those mints, especially if they were earmarked for early closure. This could have been the case here, as Gwalior is close enough to have been supplied with specie from Farrukhabad mint, from which the British, at one point, intended to supply specie to much of British northern India. However, the British sometimes did make design changes to issues from mints in ceded territories, such as the addition of Fasli Era dates on Pune Ankusi rupees. If, as seems likely, the change to the design of the sword was made deliberately, the new design might reasonably be assumed to have had some relevance.

Explanation of the dating of coins struck in the name of Shah 'Alam II

Prince Ali Gauhar (pre-accession name of Shah 'Alam II) proclaimed himself Emperor while he was in Bihar, in AH 1173, as soon as he heard of his father's murder¹⁸. Alamgir II was murdered on 8 Rabi II, AH 1173, and Prince Ali Gauhar heard the news about a month later, and was crowned at Kanauti on 4 Jamad I, AH 1173, (24 December 1759) and took the name Shah 'Alam II. 24 December 1759, therefore, is the date from which his jalus or regnal years ought to have been calculated (JL - table). Meanwhile, Sadashiv Rao Bhau, then in charge at the *Qila i-Mualla*, had enthroned and proclaimed a new Emperor in Delhi, who took the name Shah Jahan (III). A few months later, Sadashiv Rao Bhau deposed Shah Jahan III in his turn (fortunately without murdering him), and proclaimed Shah Alam 'II Emperor for the second time (first time at the capital)¹⁸. Shah 'Alam II later issued orders that his reign should henceforth be reckoned from the day following that on which his father had died. So the first regnal year of Shah 'Alam II officially commenced on 9 Rabi II, AH 1173, which is 30 November 1759, at the behest of the Emperor himself¹⁸. Clearly, with such a confused start to his reign, it is unsurprising that there are coins in existence with 'incorrect' combinations of regnal year and AH date, particularly in the first years of the reign. Date list records indicate that this initial muddle was sorted out almost everywhere before the start of RY3. At any event, the date 1195 with regnal year 23 is a legitimate combination beginning on 4 April, 1781, about eight months after Gwalior Fort had been taken from Sindhia by the English forces. This would have allowed ample time for the Rana to have taken full authority at the fortress, and for the mint to have prepared new dies showing the pistol mark of the Ranas of Gohad. The paisa dated 1194 is clearly a normal issue of Sindhia, struck before the fort changed hands between 14 April (start of year 1194) and 3 August 1780, when the fort was attacked by the forces of Captain Popham and the Rana of Gohad.

There is a gap in the date run of the published and unpublished Sindhia copper and silver coins of Gwalior Fort, which nicely corresponds with these distinct issues of the Gohad Rana. (Lingen and Wiggins numbers 01, 02 and 03 of Gwalior Fort, Krause numbers KM.55, 56 and 57.1 for rupees, and the above coin dated AH 1194 along with KM.54 and Lingen and Wiggins type 04 for the paisas)^{16,20}.

Conclusions.

From the foregoing brief summary of the history, and the evidence adduced from the coins themselves²¹ it appears certain that the rupee and the paisas illustrated above, dated AH 1195/23 are coins of the Rana of Gohad, Chhatar Singh, struck in 1781 AD at the Gwalior Fort mint, while the fort was in his possession. They therefore constitute conclusive numismatic evidence for the second occupation of Gwalior Fort by the Rana of Gohad, Chhatar Singh. This also confirms Gwalior Fort as a mint town of the Rana of Gohad, albeit of short duration.

We cannot legitimately continue to refer to the coins of the Ranas of Gohad as Dholpur State coins, except for those struck after Rana Kirat Singh moved there in 1806. Additionally, whatever mint name they bear, coins struck by that polity after that date, must have been struck at Dholpur mint

The rupee in Fig. 5 above is the same type as KM 5.2 listed by Krause under Dholpur State, Gohad mint, and this attribution is

demonstrated to be incorrect in every particular. Coins of KM 5.1, and any others with dates during the occupation could have been struck at either mint, but the Rana's coins dated after Gwalior had been lost to De Boigne could only have been struck at Gohad. After the loss of Gohad, there can have been no more Gohad Rana's coins struck anywhere, until he moved to Dholpur, at which point all his coins become Dholpur State coins. None of Kirat Singh's Dholpur coins could have been struck before 1806, when he moved there from Gohad.

Coins struck by the Gohad polity up to its capture of Gwalior Fort in AH 1194 can only have been struck at Gohad. Those struck during the occupation could have been struck at either Gohad or Gwalior mints. After Gwalior was retaken by De Boigne, Gohad 'state' coins could only have been struck at Gohad mint, but the city and fort of Gohad came under attack so soon after the Rana lost Gwalior, and the polity was existing under such precarious circumstances, that such coins, if they exist at all, must be very rare. Whether we should refer to the Gohad polity, at any stage in its existence, as a 'state' is a matter for debate.

The coppers of both Gwalior and Gohad mints, except the one dated AH 1197/25, which appears in Krause as KM 2 without an illustration¹⁶ are, I think, published here for the first time.

References.

1. Girish Chandra Dwivedi: *The Jats – Their Role in the Mughal Empire*, New Delhi. 1989. p. 208 et seq.
2. 'Wikipedia' entries for Jats, 'Jatland' and 'The Jat Sawaj Kalyan Parishad'. See also 'Jat Wiki'.
3. James Grant Duff: *History of the Marathas*, reprinted, Delhi, 2000. vol. 2, pp. 111, 112.
4. Stewart Gordon: *Marathas, Marauders and State – Formation in 18th Century India*, Oxford University Press, 1994.
5. James Grant Duff: idem vol. 2, p. 112.
6. Col. G B Malleon: *An Historical Sketch of the Native States of India*, Facsimile reprint, Gurgaon, 1984.
7. "In order to form a barrier against the Marathas, Warren Hastings made a treaty in 1779 with the Rana, and the joint forces of the English and the Rana recaptured Gwalior. This treaty is a document of some curiosity, having been negotiated in the infancy of our acquaintance with the political affairs of Northern India. In 1781 a treaty with Sindhia stipulated for the integrity of the Gohad territories; but after the Treaty of Salbai (1782) the Rana was abandoned on the ground that he had been guilty of treachery, and Sindhia soon possessed himself of Gohad and Gwalior." *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Imperial Gazetteer Vol .11, p. 324)
8. The rank of this officer is variously reported as Major, Captain and Colonel. The confusion possibly occurred because these events were recorded by the writers at different times, some long after the events described, and after Captain Popham had been promoted. His rank at the times of writing have probably been inserted into those accounts.
9. James Grant Duff: idem, p.299.
10. *The Imperial Gazetteer of Indi'*, HMSOSI in Council, Clarendon Press, Oxford, reprint edition, New Delhi, Vol.12, p. 441
11. 'The Travels of Dean Mahomet, A Native of Patna in Bengal, Through Several Parts of India, While in the Service of The Honourable The East India Company' Written by 'Himself', 1794, Letter XXX. www.eScholarship.org/editions.
12. James Grant Duff: idem, Vol.2 pp. 297-299.
13. *The Hind Rajasthan*, compiled by H Mehta, 1896, publisher unknown. pp. 414-415 tells us that, under the terms to which the English and Sindhia were about to sign up, the Rana was to be "allowed to retain the hill-fort of Gwalior and its dependencies.....". This tells us that at that point in time the Rana had already taken possession. If the Rana's forces were not in the fort, from whom did De Boigne "take" it in 1784? The English?
14. Hem Chandra Rai: *Romance of the Fort of Gwalior*, Delhi 1931, p. 62.
15. Several accounts give the name of one or more of the Ranas of Gohad as Lakindar (or Lokinder) Singh. In fact, at the time of Panipat and the first Jat occupation of Gwalior Fort, the Rana's name was Bhim Singh, at the time of the second occupation he was Chhatar (Chhatar) Singh, and at the time of the third Maratha War he was Kirat Singh. Lokinder is a title held by all Jat rulers of Gohad, in the same way that all rulers of Bharatpur were entitled 'Mahinder' or 'Brajinder', and the rulers of Datia were also all entitled 'Lokinder'. There are other examples, as rulers of all Jat houses had titles ending in '-inder' (SB)

16. *Standard Catalogue of World Coins*, 18th & 19th Century editions, and *South Asian Coins...*, 1980 to date, Krause Publications, Iola, Wisconsin, USA.
17. JASB Numismatic Supplement "Notes on some Mughal Coins" by B Whitehead. Coin no CN054, p.674, JASB Dec. 1910, Plate XLV.
18. G S Cheema: *Forgotten Mughals*, Delhi, 2002
19. Kalikinka K Datta: *Shah Alam and the East India Company*, Calcutta, 1965. p. 8
20. J Lingen & K Wiggins: *Coins of the Sindhias*, London 1978. p. 41
21. A very knowledgeable numismatist once told me, "If you want to know the truth, you must go to the coins". I have found it to be useful advice, as coins rarely lie, even though they sometimes 'bend the truth' a little. I pass this advice on as a 'Word to the Wise'

Other Material consulted, cited and quoted.

- (i) *The Call of Gopchal* by Thakur Shri Yashwant Singh, Gwalior
- (ii) Private correspondence with Hans Herrli.
- (iii) *Warren Hastings and British India*, Penderel Moon, London 1947.
- (iv) It has proved difficult to find detailed information concerning the Bamraulia Jats written in or translated into English. There are three histories that are said to be reliable. They are in Hindi, and English translations do not appear to exist. Details below were supplied by Hans Herrli, and are included here because there are certainly a goodly number of readers of the JONS who do read Hindi, and may find these references helpful:-
 1. '*Gohad ke jaton ka Itihas*', Dr. Ajay Kumar Agnihotri, Nav Sahitya Bhawan. (New Delhi, Delhi. 1985)
 2. '*Gwalior ke Qile ka Itihas*', Balwantrao Bhaiya Saheb Sindhia, (Bombay, 1890)
 3. '*Jat – Itihas*', Dr. Natthan Singh, Jat Samaj Kalyan Parishad. (Gwalior, 2004.)

Acknowledgements.

SB, HH and JL. I would like to thank Shailendra Bhandere, Hans Herrli and Jan Lingen for their help in supplying photographs, suggestions, advice and data. Jan Lingen provided a useful table of Jalus commencement dates for the reign of Shah 'Alam II, thus saving me the tedious job of constructing my own. Thank you, Gentlemen.

THE COINS OF THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES OF THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY – A COPPER PICE OF AGRA

By Dr Paul Stevens

In a previous paper¹ I briefly discussed the coins that were minted at Agra after the British captured that place in October 1803. At that time I only knew of silver rupees, although a copper pice was reported to be in the collection of the British Museum. I can now report the discovery of a copper pice that appears to have been issued during the time of British control. The date, AH 1222 (AD 1806-07), is very clear on the obverse and the reverse shows a pistol, typical of the Maratha issues from Agra. This date confirms that the mint was kept in operation for several years after the British took control. The coin weighs 5.74g and measures 18.2-20.9mm



References

¹ Stevens PJE, (2006), JONS 188, p18

CHIANG MONEY OF LAN NA

By Vasilij Mihailovs, Peter Nagl =, Ronachai Krisadaolarn

Little is know about *chiang* money (fig. 1)



fig. 1 Left-sleeve, right-sleeve, front, and rear view of silver *chiang* money, principality of Song

Up to now Kneedler's review published in 1937 is probably the most complete and accurate description available on this form of money [1]:

"This type of coinage ... was apparently the standard coinage of the ancient kingdom of Lan Na, which was founded with its capital at Chiang Mai in the year 1296, and fell before the Burmese and Peguans in 1558. ... The word "chiang", which prefixes the names of many of the cities of the region, means "city", and this accounts for the derivation of the common name of this type of money. ... Typically this money is a silver bar, the ends of which were curved; then a cut was made part way through the center, and the cut made to gape by bending the bar from the center. ... [Pieces] which I have considered as the standard coins of Lan Na, weigh about 1 tamlung, or a little over 4 baht. ... They always contain three marks; near the centre is the figure "4" ...; near the tips of the coin is the stamp which I shall call the royal mark; in the centre is the name of the principality of Lan Na in which the coin was issued. There were a number of these principalities, all owing allegiance to Chiang Mai, but each practically independent and issuing its own money. The writing is in archaic Siamese, a type of script that was introduced in 1296, the year that Lan Na was founded, and according to Mr. W.A.R. Wood, was in use throughout Lan Na within four years from that date. It seems likely that these coins date between then and the fall of Chiang Mai in 1558" [1].

Historical settings

The formation of Lan Na, a kingdom centered in the area which is now northern Thailand, took place in the beginning of the thirteenth century when the strength of the old powerful mainland Southeast Asian empires declined. The kingdom was founded at the end of the thirteenth century by its legendary King Mengrai. It began to grow during the reign of King Ku Na (1335-1385), reached its peak in the middle of the fifteenth century during the

= Peter Nagl (1944-2006) was an outstanding Swiss numismatist better known in the area of ethnographic currency collecting and research. The ingot currency of Thailand was one of his most serious numismatic passions with *chiang* money being the most beloved group in his collection. This research is mostly based on his long-term observations and extensive records.

reign of King Tilokarat (1441-1487), and remained flourishing until the reign of King Kaeo (1495-1525).

As with other contemporary state-like formations, Lan Na had no clear boundaries. Instead, the core, consisting of several major city-states (such as Chiang Mai, Chiang Saen, Chiang Rai, Fang, Nan, Lamphun, Lampang, Phayao, and Phrae), was surrounded by semi-independent vassal principalities. Being successful in war, at the height of his power, the king of Lan Na governed almost sixty major cities, spreading his power as far as to Sukhothai and Tak on the Central Thai Plain to the south, the Mekong River to the east, to southern areas of Yunnan to the north, and to the Salween River to the west.

The terminal stage of the Lan Na kingdom is described in the contemporary records. A chronicle *Tamman mae ku muang lan cang taek* lists eleven causes for the collapse of the Lan Na kingdom. Gradual decline of power and extensive corruption weakened the state so much that it took the Burmese only three days to capture Chiang Mai in 1558. Lan Na never recovered. Burmese occupation lasted until 1774 when Lan Na became a tributary state of Thonburi. Losing several territories in the colonial struggle with Great Britain and France, Lan Na was finally incorporated into Siam in 1933.

Most of the information on Lan Na history is available exclusively in Thai. Among the literature available in European languages, it is worth mentioning short and widely available reviews by Wyatt [2] and Penth [3], an excellent and concise analytical paper by Grabowsky [4] (with an extensive bibliography), and detailed but comparably scarce monographs by Grabowsky [5] and Ongsakul [6]. Research by Wichienkeo and Wijeyewardene [7] should also be mentioned among the most interesting works on Lan Na historical economy; however, it is practically unavailable.

Sources on Lan Na history

The Kingdom of Lan Na has a significant number of contemporary records in the form of stone inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts, both dating back as far as the end of the fourteenth century. The "classical chronicles" of Lan Na are considered to be the Buddhist chronicles written during the golden age of Lan Na, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. However most of the known Lan Na chronicles were written after the restoration of Lan Na's independence from Burmese occupation in the period between 1782 and 1816. Many earlier chronicles were copied and recombined from old and damaged manuscripts at that time. The reproduction and recombination of damaged palm-leaf manuscripts continued until the beginning of the twentieth century.

Palm-leaf manuscript chronicles can be divided into three major categories. The Buddhist chronicles, such as the Mulasasana, Camadevivamsa, or Jinakalamali chronicles, usually start with the story of Buddha and the history of Buddhism, and continue with local folk tales describing the royal dynasties and their role in Buddhism. The temple chronicles, such as the Cho Hae, Doi Tung, or Chom Thong chronicles, also usually start with the story of Buddha and the history of Buddhism, but continue with Buddha's prophecy for the people of this region, the acquisition of a relic of the Buddha, and the construction of a stupa to keep the holy relic in the newly built town. The city chronicles, such as the Chiang Mai, Chiang Rai, Nan, or Phayao chronicles, describe the actions of a hero-king in the kingdom, give the history of his dynasty, contain brief information about the area and highlight the major events taking place in the tributary principalities. The city chronicles are the major source of written historic information available on Lan Na [6, pp. 1-5].

Unfortunately, the vast majority of Lan Na records are unavailable for public research. A few chronicles have been published in Thai, and a smaller number have been translated into English. Because of extensive copying and recombining, as well as amateur transcribing and reading, the degree of reliability of many published texts is low. In the current work we have chosen to build our research primarily on the Chiang Mai chronicle,

which is perhaps the most informative of all Lan Na chronicles available in English. Besides, this chronicle is transcribed from carefully traced manuscripts, read and translated in English by internationally recognised scholars, which gives more confidence in the quality of translation. All the other Lan Na manuscripts referred to in the course of this review have been researched by Grabowsky [4], Ongsakul [6], or Wichienkeo and Wijeyewardene [7].

More than a hundred versions are known of the Chiang Mai chronicle. The majority of these versions are king- or event-based, and represent outline and fragmentary summaries. Several of these texts were probably used as sources for compiling the longer versions, which also exist in about ten versions.

A long version of the Chiang Mai chronicle was published for the first time by Camille Notton, the French consul in Siam. The first three volumes of Notton's translation were printed in Paris between 1926 and 1932 in French, while the fourth volume was issued in Bangkok in 1939 in English. Nothing is known precisely about the manuscript used; however, it may be assumed that it was a single manuscript of seven fascicles missing the last pages of the seventh fascicle. Hearsay says that it was destroyed during anti-French agitation in Chiang Mai in 1940-41. Two more versions of the long version of the Chiang Mai chronicle were published in Thai by an amateur researcher, Sanguan Chotisukharat, in 1971 (eight fascicles, from the manuscript provided by Phra Maha Mun of Wat Cedi Luang in Chiang Mai) and the Chiang Mai University in 1981-1990 (seven fascicles, from the manuscript were found in Wat Methangkharawat in Phrae).

The version of the Chiang Mai chronicle that we use in this work was transcribed, read, and translated at Cornell University by Dr David Wyatt and Dr Aroonrut Wichienkeo from the manuscript provided by Dr Hans Penth, of the Social Research Institute of Chiang Mai. The manuscript is written in old Northern Thai language and script; it consists of eight fascicles and consists of 173 palm-leaves altogether, each inscribed on both sides, five lines per side. The manuscript originates in Chiang Saen where it may have been copied as early as 1878, but it probably dates from 1926. The manuscript was probably copied by three scribes. The author of the manuscript is unknown, but based on the style and content of the chronicle, he was probably an educated local middle-class person not related to the royal family, a male with traditional Buddhist education, familiar with the Burmese and Pali languages, working as a clerk rather than a court-scholar. The first five fascicles of the manuscript are based on the six-fascicle manuscript "History of Lineage of the Kings of Lan Na Thai", an edited compilation of several texts made by a certain monk called Suriyavamsa Bhikkhu of Chiang Saen in 1741, a copy of which is stored in Wat Chang Kham in Nan. The sixth fascicle represents an unknown manuscript common to both the Chiang Mai chronicle and the Nan chronicle. The seventh and eighth fascicles are probably written by the author of the manuscript in Chiang Mai in 1827-1828. [8a, pp.31-40]

Overview of the Economy of Lan Na

Little research has been done on the economy of Lan Na, especially in its earlier periods. Wicks only mentions cowry shells as a means of payment in Lan Na [9]. Cowry shells, or *bia* in Thai, are also extensively mentioned in the chronicles from the very foundation of Lan Na. For example, the fine imposed on King Ramkhamhaeng of Sukhothai caught in lechery with Ua, a lady consort of the King Ngam Muang of Phayao in an uncertain time between 1276/1277 and 1281/1282 was measured and paid in cowries to the amount of 990,000 shells [8b, pp. 26-28]. The sums of money spent during the foundation of Wat Kan Thom in 1290/1291 were quoted as 500,000 and 620,000 cowries as the cost of food and funds for alms respectively [8b, pp.40-41]. Presumably cowries remained the only means of payment in Lan Na until the fourteenth century.

The first time gold is mentioned in the Chiang Mai chronicles as an object of value is in 1270 [8b, p.11], a few years

earlier than silver, which is referred in the same quality only in 1274/5 [8b, p.20]. Until the late fifteenth century gold was an object of wealth rather than circulating money. The Chiang Mai chronicle says, some nobles "served as inspectors and granted permission to traders from other mueangs [small towns - *note by the authors*] to buy goods (such as elephants, horses, slaves, cattle, buffalo, boats, and gold)" [6, p.99]. However, by this time, silver seems to have been used as a means of payment for special cases - in a record dated 1456-1458 King Tilokarat gave 100 *paeng* (unknown measure of weight - *note by the authors*) of silver to a spy he sent to Ayutthaya [6, p.88]. In 1480-1485 various taxes were collected in all three media: gold, silver, and cowries [8b, p.106]. However, even then, transactions involving cowries were not uncommon. Thus, the monastic records in Lampun mention amounts as large as 1,000,000 cowries and 2,000,000 cowries as paddy taxes in 1512 (Wat Suwannaram) and 1509 (Wat Phrathat) respectively [4, p.58].

Although the baht-weight use as a measure of silver was fixed in the sixteenth century when a hundred baht of silver was listed among the other goods sent as tribute to Burma in 1569 [10], the units of weight for silver and gold in those days remain unclear. Gold is systematically referred to in the Chiang Mai chronicle in some uncertain weight units [8b, p.12, footnote 32], with the only additional reference being made in 1545 that King Borommatraicak of Ayutthaya donated 5,000 units of silver to build a funerary monument for King Ket Chettharat (1526-1538) [8b, 115]. Silver "units" of Lan Na were in wide use: in a record dated by 1564 it says that "rice was expensive, 10,000 weight for 50 units of silver", but the weight of this "unit" is not known [8b, p.127].

According to Dr Arunrat Wichienkeo (private communication), who is leading the Thai government project on collection and systematisation of the Lan Na chronicles, the original Thai word translated for "unit" in all Lan Na chronicles known to her is "*ngoen*", which means "silver" or "money". She also states that the only hint to the value of the *ngoen* available in all Lan Na chronicles is the relationship between the cowry shells and the *ngoen* stated in the Laws of King Mengrai: twenty-one *ngoen* were worth 22,000 cowry shells [7, p.22 (English), p.88 (Thai)]. Unfortunately, there are no thirteenth or fourteenth century records linking cowry shells and the weight system used for silver. The chronologically and geographically closest quote perhaps may be dated to the 1450s and is found in the Royal Chronicles of Ayutthaya. The quote states that 800 cowry shells were equal in value to one *fuang* [10, p.16]. This relationship is quite stable - it was 800 cowries per *fuang* around 1510 [10, p.19], 600 to 700 cowries per *fuang* in the 1630's [11], 600 cowries per *fuang* in 1654 [12], 800 cowries per *fuang* in the 1680's [13, 14]. The same rate - about 800 cowries per *fuang* - was also recorded in many documents of the nineteenth century. Therefore, we may assume that the rate of cowries during the reign of King Mengrai (or at the time when the chronicle was written) was also close to the same value - 800 cowry shells per c.1.8g of silver (the weight of one *fuang*). This produces the value of *ngoen* as 2.3g of silver, which was the weight of a 24 *rati* coin, which was a common denomination in the first millennium proto-states of mainland Southeast Asia. The relationship between *ngoen* and *paeng*, however, is also unknown.

Silver coins and bullion in the Ayutthaya of that period were extensively used in ceremonies, such as a gift to the tributary Cambodian monarch in the 1580's [10, pp. 159-160], or donations in religious ceremonies in the 1630's and 1640's [10, pp. 220-226] and 1660's to the 1690's [10, pp.246-247, 325-328], and later in the eighteenth century [10, pp. 408, 447]. Although Chinese records of the second half of the fifteenth century mention silver bullion as a present of the Chinese Emperor to the King of Lan Na [4, p.17], silver is not mentioned among the Ayutthayan trophies captured during the wars with Lan Na throughout the sixteenth century. The Royal Chronicle of Ayutthaya invariably mentions slaves, soldiers, horses and elephants, rarely silver utensils and gold ornaments, but never silver or gold coins or bullion.

During the reign of King Kaeo (1495-1525), merchants from Europe made their first visits to Lan Na, probably, bringing goods from Yunnan. Although there are records that these trade relations continued after the Burmese occupied Chiang Mai, and a merchant, Nicholas Pimenta, even visited Lan Na in 1599 [4, p.20], the economic situation in Lan Na during the Burmese invasion suffered severely. Grabowsky quotes an excerpt from the paper manuscript "The Old Laws of Pap Nang Sa" from Wat Pa Lan in Chiang Mai dated c1500 in support of this decline:

"The aristocrats and the officials should not act wrongly by ruining the foundations of their country. There are three points to be mentioned: [...] they devalued the *bia* by reducing the value of 100 but issued and spent it as 100. The three reasons meant a breaking of taboos. Our country will be in shambles. It happened as follows: Pha Müang Kaeo fixed [the rate] that 98 *bia* should be the value of 100 *bia*. Tao Ai Kao [Phana Ket] decided that 80 *bia* should be the value of 100 *bia*. Tao Cai defined that 70 *bia* should be the value of 100 *bia*. Tao Upañño [Setthathilat] decreed that 60 *bia* should have the value of 100 *bia*. Pha Mae Ku fixed the value for 58 *bia* to be 100 *bia*. Because of the three reasons the rulers and the land were ruined. If less than 10,000 [*bia*] are raised to 10,000 [*bia*]; if less than 1,000 [*bia*] are raised to 1,000 [*bia*]; if less than 100 [*bia*] are raised to 100 [*bia*], this surely will lead to total destruction" [4, p.30].

According to this manuscript, the money had almost halved in value at this time, compared to the past. However, according to an unpublished manuscript researched by Dr Oscar von Hinuber, during the period from 1531/1532 to 1588 the prices for many items had grown more than twenty times, while the wages decreased slightly [4, p.31]. The manuscript also shows that silver money never became the principal means of payment in Lan Na. Instead, cowry shells were the basis of the currency with silver, in some standardised coins or ingots, used only as one form of payment - perhaps, for large sums of money.

Sources on Lan Na during the Burmese occupation mention cowries as the major means of payment, which demonstrates a serious decline of Lan Na. Thus, in 1701/1702 some other local sources [6, p.124] mention sums of 100,000 and 250,000 cowries as the total value of rice and salt respectively which should be paid as taxes to the Burmese by the principality of Chiang Saen. Similar taxes in Chiang Rai, according to the Chiang Rai chronicle (unavailable to the authors, quoted from [6, p.124], were 90,000 cowries worth of rice and 18,000 cowries of money. The salary of tax collectors in Chiang Rai was documented as "50 *bia*, one mat, one mosquito net, one pillow, and houses were built for them and people worked for them".

Little is found in chronicles about the circulation of money in Lan Na during the next hundred years. The Chiang Mai chronicle refers to gold and silver units only in 1816 [8b, pp. 196, 200], and then in the 1820's [8b, p.202, 207, 212]. Starting from the 1850's Indian rupees and Thai baht are mentioned as the the major circulation money. In 1873 the Lan Na king, Inthawichayanon (1873-1896), was found guilty in eleven cases of wrongdoing and, according to the court, had to pay a fine of 466,015 Indian rupees, which he did in instalments over the next seven years [9, p.171]. In the same year, Siam appointed a high-ranking officer to the position of commissioner stationed in Chiang Mai. The yearly allowance for him, his second-in-command, and almost of seventy people of their staff consisted of 13,008 baht [9, p.180]. The annual expenses of Chiang Tung, a town in Lan Na, were expressed as "100,000 rupees per year or about one thousand-plus *chang* (1 *chang* equals 80 *baht* - *note by the authors*)" in 1886 [9, p.188]. Based on the documents, it seems that all payments within Lan Na, a tributary state of Siam, were conducted in Indian rupees until 1899 when the existing system of administrative division was abolished and Bangkok took tighter control over Lan Na. Since 1900 all payments are shown in Thai baht.

Field Research

Kneedler writes the following about the metallic composition of the *chiang* money: "In the coins made of silver, the coins could be made in this way [as described in the first paragraph - note by the authors], but with coins made of other metals or alloys, the coins had to be cast in shape, or partly cast and partly cut. ... The [base-metal *chiang* money - note by the authors] coins are of pure zinc, having been analyzed by the Siamese government laboratory" [1].

Although base-metal *chiang* money ingots (fig. 2) are mentioned by Kneedler, with the exception of the marriage charm (fig. 3), most of those observed by the authors are doubtful.



Fig. 2 Left-sleeve, right-sleeve, front, and rear view of base-metal *chiang* money, unknown provenance



Fig. 3 Sleeve, front, and rear view of phallus money, unknown provenance

Kneedler mentions that the owner of the marriage charm piece he observed "showed them to a lady more than ninety years old, who told him that she had seen in her early youth pieces of this sort given at marriage, probably by the groom to the bride's parents as the *tok* money [another type of Lan Na Thai ingot money - note by the authors] was later used" [1]. The charms of this type are extremely rare, and the authors are aware of three examples only. Based on the quoted excerpt, these charms were still being produced in the first half of the nineteenth century; however, it seems impossible at the moment to determine the time when they started. The tests carried out by the Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence technique for the smaller specimen [15a] show a high degree of metal inhomogeneity in both parts of the charm. The bracelet is found (by weight %) to be 3.0-3.3% copper, 41-51% lead and 45-55% tin, while the phallus is found to be 72-79% copper, 17-22% lead and 3.4-5.3% tin in different points of the surface. The total weight of the charm is 78.1g.

Kneedler also describes charms in *chiang* money shape weighing over twenty baht (i.e. over three hundred grams) with silver on the surface and lead inside. The authors have not observed any of these pieces, which Kneedler considers to be modern imitations. The authors, however, have observed a four-kilogram piece in the shape of *chiang* money. The piece was made from stone and looked old. It did not have any metallic coating, but had the correct legend of Chiang Mai on it. The status of this piece is unknown.

Most *chiang* money was produced in silver. Debased silver issues as well as most of base metal pieces are either considered to be counterfeits, or fantasies.

The table below summarises the information available on the issues of **silver** *chiang* money (weight %):

Reference	[16]*	[15a]	[15b]
Number of ingots tested	10	19	2
Silver content (range, weight %)	25-94	88-98	85.1-85.2
Copper content (range, weight %)	5.0-75	1.1-11	12.6-12.8
Lead content (range, weight %)	0-3.3	0-1.6	2.0-2.1
Trace elements	Gold, iron, tin	None	bismuth

* Eight out of ten specimens reported by Mitchiner and Pollard fall within 90-94% silver, 5.0-7.1% copper, and 0.24-3.3% lead range. The ninth piece demonstrates 65% of silver, 35% of copper, and traces of iron, while the tenth piece varies from 25% of silver inside to 44% of silver on the surface with the remaining elements being copper as well as traces of iron and tin. We are unable to comment on the results of the analysis of the ninth and tenth specimens without being able to examine the analysed pieces.

Ingots in works [16] and [15a] were analysed using the Energy Dispersive X-Ray Fluorescence technique, which has two major drawbacks. Firstly, the analysis is usually limited to one or several points of the ingot's surface, and is, therefore, not representative of the whole ingot. Secondly, due to the difference in chemical composition, the surface of an old ingot shows higher content of silver and lower content of copper and lead than is found in bulk analysis. Therefore, in [15b] two ingots from the group analysed in [15a] were bulk-analysed using the Inductively-Coupled Plasma Mass-Spectroscopy technique. The composition determined for these ingots found in [15a] was 96% silver, 2.6% copper and 1.4% lead, and 92% silver, 5.0% copper and 1.4% lead respectively. Tests of modern counterfeit *chiang* money were made as well (fig. 4). These pieces show almost identical metallic composition to the genuine ingots in terms of silver and copper content. However, in contrast to genuine ingots, most of which have lead impurity, only one counterfeit piece (out of eleven pieces tested) had traces of lead.



Fig. 4 Sleeve view of modern counterfeits of silver *chiang* money, unknown provenance and time period

Silver *chiang* money exist in several denominations weighing approximately 60g-64g, 30g-32g, 15g-16g, 6g-8g, and 3g-4g. Fig. 5] illustrates the denomination set of the ingots weighing 62g, 32g, 16g, and 6.5g. Kneedler considers the 60-64g ingots to be of four-baht, or *tamlung* weight, which agrees well with the figure "4" in one of three marks on every ingot. However, two things should be taken into account before accepting this opinion. Firstly, the same mark (described by Kneedler as figure "4") also appears on some ingots of smaller denominations, and may merely be a monogram or some other textual mark, rather than the denomination. Secondly, Kneedler notes that the ingots represent an overweight four-baht weight, not the correct four-baht weight. The weights of the ingots do not fluctuate considerably, so that the excess weight may be seen as a rule rather than an inaccuracy. The traditional baht weight standard in northern Thailand weighs less than the same weight standard in central Thailand. Therefore, the 60g-64g ingots may be seen as five-baht (northern Thai standard) rather than four-baht (central Thai standard). It should be noted that fractional pieces of *chiang* money are more consistent with the northern Thailand baht weight standard than with the central Thailand one. The fractional pieces are very rare.

"Careful drawings have been made from coins in my collection, to show the place names. I am sorry that I could not get hold of a Chieng Rai coin to copy. It is known, but it is rare. On the other hand, some are pictured which have not been known before, and future collectors may discover still more" [1]. Kneedler's review on *chiang* money lists thirteen different city-names struck on *chiang* money, including one piece, which he was unable to borrow for reproducing in his publication. Currently the authors have observed *chiang* money with over *seventy* different city-names, excluding script varieties.



Fig. 5 A denomination set of *chiang* money weighing one-unit, half-unit, quarter-unit, and eighth-unit, one-unit piece of Chiang Saen, the fractional pieces are of unknown provenance

Most of the pieces are in the authors' private collections, while some others were photographed or recorded with the help of the authors' numismatic network. Some of the city names as they appear on the coins are shown in fig. 6. It should be noted that some genuine specimens with an erased old city name and with an overstruck new city name are known.



Fig. 6 Stamps on the Chiang money issued by the principalities of Khwang (top row left), Khon (top row right), Lap (middle row left), Nan (middle row right), Fairai (bottom row left), and Payao (bottom row right)

The spelling of all city-names known to have produced the Chiang money can be seen in fig. 7a, 7b, 7c.

- | | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (1) ภลว | (2) ขรข | (3) ขวง | (4) คธข |
| (5) คทข | (6) แฉมไค | (7) คทข | (8) ภทข |
| (9) เฟียไค | (10) ขยว | (11) พยว | (12) พทข |
| (13) ขยว | (14) ขยว | (15) ยอขไค | (16) ขไค |
| (17) สขข | (18) สิขข | (19) สิขข | (20) ทลข |

Fig. 7a Drawings of known names of principalities issuing Chiang money (four and more character names)

(7A-1) ก ล ำ ง , Klang; (7A-2) ข ร ๑ ง , Khrong; (7A-3) ข ว ำ ง , Kwang; (7A-4) ค ร ๑ ข , Khrop; (7A-5) ค ว ำ น , Khwan; (7A-6) แ ฉ ม ไ ค , Chaem Tai; (7A-7) □ □ □ □ □ □ , Ta Fang; (7A-8) □ □ □ □ , Trang [the only observed specimen is of questionable authenticity]; (7A-9) □ □ □ □ □ □ , Fairai; (7A-10) ท ย ำ ง , Tayang; (7A-11) พ ย ำ ว , Phayao; (7A-12) พ ร ำ น , Phran; (7A-13) พ ย ำ ก , Phayak; (7A-14) พ ย ำ ว , Phayao [a variety of 7A-11]; (7A-15) □ □ □ □ □ □ , Yom Tai; (7A-16) □ □ □ □ □ □ , Wang Tai; (7A-17) □ □ □ □ □ □ , Sop Fang; (7A-18) □ □ □ □ □ □ , Si Thip; (7A-19) □ □ □ □ □ □ , Si Thep; (7A-20) ท ล ำ ง , Lang

- | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| (1) ภลข | (2) ขข | (3) คข | (4) ทข |
| (5) ขข | (6) ลข | (7) คข | (8) คข |
| (9) ขข | (10) ภข | (11) ภข | (12) นข |
| (13) ขข | (14) คข | (15) แข | (16) แข |
| (17) ขข | (18) ขข | (19) ขข | (20) ลข |
| (21) เลข | (22) ลข | (23) คข | (24) คข |
| (25) คข | (26) แข | (27) แข | (28) สข |
| (29) สข | (30) ทข | (31) อข | (32) อข |

Fig. 7b Drawings of known names of principalities issuing Chiang money (three character names)

(7B-1) □ □ □ , Klun; (7B-2) □ □ □ , Khong; (7B-3) □ □ □ , Khon; (7B-4) □ □ □ , Ngao; (7B-5) □ □ □ , Sai; (7B-6) □ □ □ , Yom; (7B-7) □ □ □ , Dao; (7B-8) □ □ □ , Dawan; (7B-9) □ □ □ , Thun; (7B-10) ท ำ ย , Thai; (7B-11) ท ๑ ง , Thong; (7B-12) น ำ น , Nan; (7B-13) ฟ ำ ง , Fang; (7B-14) ร ค ำ , unread, possibly an abbreviation; (7B-15) แ พ ร , Phrae; (7B-16) แ พ ล , Phlae; (7B-17) ย ำ ง , Yang; (7B-18) ย ๑ ง , Yong; (7B-19) ย ๑ น , Yon; (7B-20) ล ำ ก , Lak; (7B-21) ล ำ ง , Laeng; (7B-22) ล ำ ข , Lap; (7B-23) ร ำ ก , Rak; (7B-24) ร ำ ย , Rai; (7B-25) ร ๑ ด , Rot; (7B-26) แ ส น , Saen; (7B-27) □ □ □ , Saem, probably, mutation of 7B-26; (7B-28) □ □ □ □ , unread, possibly an abbreviation; (7B-29) ส ๑ ง , Song; (7B-30) ท ำ ง , Hang; (7B-31) อ ๑ น , Oon; (7B-32) อ ๑ ย , Ooy

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| (1) ภ | (2) ไ | (3) ค | (4) ข |
| (5) ภ | (6) ข | (7) ข | (8) ข |
| (9) ข | (10) ข | (11) ข | (12) ข |
| (13) ข | (14) ข | (15) ข | (16) ข |
| (17) ท | (18) ท | (19) ท | (20) ข |

Fig. 7c Drawings of known names of principalities issuing Chiang money (two character names)

(7C-1) □ □ , Kok; (7C-2) □ □ , Chai; (7C-3) □ □ □ , Tang; (7C-4) □ □ □ , Thum; (7C-5) □ □ , Tha; (7C-6) □ □ , Pu; (7C-7) □ □ □ , Mun; (7C-8) □ □ □ , Mun, probably, a variety of 7C-8; (7C-9) □ □ □ , Ying; (7C-10) ย ำ , Ya; (7C-11) พ ย , Phayao, an abbreviated legend; (7C-12) พ □ , Phitsanulok, an abbreviated legend; (7C-13) □ □ □ , Rung; (7C-14) □ □ □ , Wang; (7C-15) □ □ □ , Sak; (7C-16) ส ข , unread, possibly an abbreviation; (7C-17) ท ม , Chiang Mai, an abbreviated legend; (7C-18) ท ล , unread, possibly an abbreviation; (7C-19) ท ม , Chiang Mai, an abbreviated legend; (7C-20) □ □ □ , Ing

"I have also drawn as carefully as possible the various royal marks which I have found, including those in the National Museum, and have noted on which coins these different marks appear. This is necessarily a very incomplete list" [1]. There is virtually no information available on the "royal marks" mentioned by Kneedler. In a review of Thai monies, Nawarat Lekakun summarises some of the most common city names with matching marks [17], but this area is still undeveloped. So far nothing is

known about the origin of the marks nor their meaning, if any. In this work the authors only publish a summary of the marks sketched in [1] and [17] with some additional marks from their own observations, see fig. 8 .

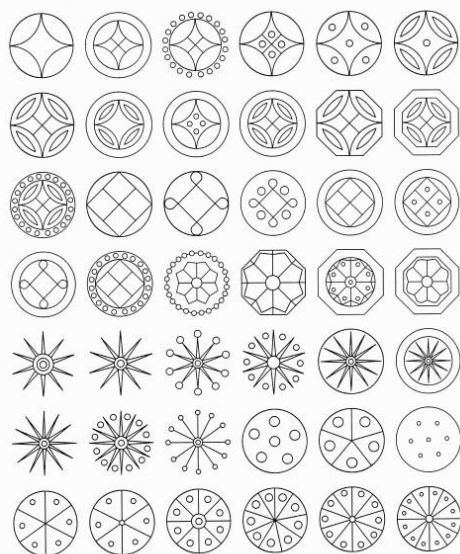


Fig. 8 Drawings of known round marks on Chiang money

Conclusions

The commonly accepted opinion among Thai numismatists is that the issues of *chiang* money in Lan Na took place sometime between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. The major reasoning behind this is that the geographical spread of the principalities, whose names are struck on *chiang* money, form the boundaries described in old Lan Na chronicles. Taking into account the means of payment described in the chronicles, the authors suggest the first half of the fifteenth century as the most probable starting point for *chiang* money. Taking into account the severe and irreversible decline of the great Lan Na civilisation during the Burmese occupation, we suggest that the production of *chiang* money probably terminated with the Burmese invasion in the second half of the sixteenth century, or shortly before that.

Although the material shown in this work reveals some new facts about the monetary system of Lan Na, there remain many unsolved problems. There are no systematic studies about matching the "royal mark", as it is called by Kneeder, with the name of a principality, and also the current listing of the "royal marks" seems to be fairly incomplete. There are several types of related bracelet-shaped ingots made in a different style and using a different weight system from those described in this work (fig. 9) . They do bear the city-name of Chiang Mai on them, and are consistent in their weights and style. There are also a number of other ingots currently attributed to Lan Na, which have not been studied systematically - such as "leaf money", "tok money", "pig mouth money" and others. Needless to say, the chronological information for all these issues currently is a subject for speculation.

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A SMALL HOARD OF CHINESE CASH FOUND IN GUJARAT

By Michael Mitchiner

This small hoard of Chinese cash was found in the Junagadh region of Saurashtra, Gujarat, and observed in Gujarat by the writer, in 2007. One of the eleven cash has been partly cleaned (Yuanfu: 2.95 gm) and all the others have a green patination that is comparable among all the coins.

The cash are interesting for two main reasons. The first is their location and the second is their late date of burial.

Northern Song dynasty

Huang Song 1038-1039

1. Huang Song tongbao 25 mm, 3.25 gm

Jiayou 1056-1063

2. Jiayou yuanbao 24 mm, 3.40 gm

Xining 1068-1077

3. Xining chungbao 30 mm, 7.00 gm

4. Xining yuanbao 24 mm, 3.95 gm

5. Xining yuanbao 24 mm, 3.75 gm

Yuanfeng 1078-1085

6. Yuanfeng tongbao 24 mm, 3.75 gm

Yuanfu 1098-1100

7. Yuanfu tongbao 25 mm, 2.95 gm

Zhenghe 1111-1117

8. Zhenghe tongbao 25 mm, 2.85 gm

9. Zhenghe tongbao 25 mm, 3.80 gm

Southern Song dynasty

Shaoxing 1131-1162

10. Shaoxing yuanbao
rev. Numeral 4 30 mm, 6.15 gm

Yuan dynasty

Not represented

Ming dynasty

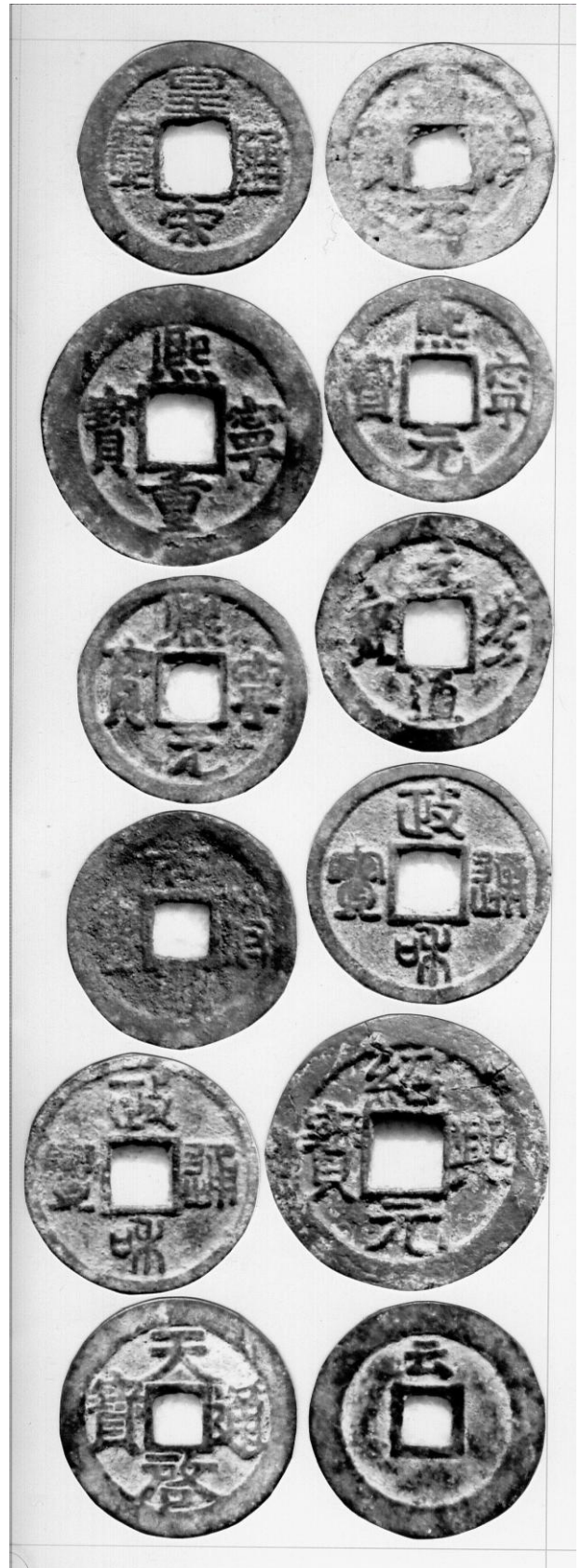
Tianqi 1621-1627

11. Tianqi tongbao
rev. Yun(nan) 24 mm, 3.45 gm

The obverses of all cash are illustrated, in the order catalogued. Both obverse and reverse of the Ming cash (no. 11) are illustrated.

Yuan dynasty cash are rarely found in Chinese export hoards, so their absence from this hoard is not surprising. Song dynasty cash make up the great bulk of Chinese export coins, and they continued to form the bulk of cash circulating outside China until a late period, at least until the time when local derivative cash were minted in such places as Vietnam and Java (Mitchiner 1986). The composition of this small hoard from Gujarat is consistent with the general pattern of cash circulation outside China – a single Ming dynasty cash providing an indication for the date of sequestration, plus Song dynasty cash making up the bulk of the hoard.

By way of comparison, the general composition of the Gujarat hoard shows similarity with the selection of Chinese cash randomly recovered from the beach at Kilwa in East Africa – a predominance of Northern Song cash, a scattering of Southern Song cash, plus a single Ming dynasty cash (Chittick 1974, vol. 2, p. 301).



The interpretation of how these coins reached Gujarat raises several questions, including the evolving pattern of sea trade between India and China. One can begin by looking at the situation during the Song-Yuan period.

Chinese sea trade with South India during the Song-Yuan period

Mitchiner (1998, p. 193) has written the following summary:

“The Chinese were particularly active in the field of maritime trade during the period of the Sung and Yuan dynasties, AD 960 to 1368.

There is a strong tradition in Kerala that Chinese traders donated a certain technique of fishing to the region. This technique can be observed in operation today at Cochin and at Kodungalur. Kerala's trading links with the Chinese were attested by Marco Polo, who visited Kerala at the end of the thirteenth century. He described the cultivation of pepper in Kerala and noted that much of the pepper grown there was being exported to China. No finds of mediaeval Chinese coins have been reported from Kerala.

More tangible legacies of mediaeval Chinese traders can be observed in Tamilnadu, where both pottery and coins have been found. A substantial quantity of characteristic glazed ceramic ware of the Sung-Yuan period (960 - 1368) has been recovered in excavation at Korkai (Korkai museum, which the author visited), which was once the principal Pandya port. Pottery of this kind has also been found at nearby Kayal (Caldwell 1877). Further up the coast, the same kind of pottery has also been recovered in excavation at Arikamedu (Wheeler, Ghosh and Deva 1946).

Two late nineteenth century reports which do not detail the kind of Chinese cash coins found are Elliot's report of 1886 (p. 35) that "*perforated Chinese coins*" were found along the Coromandel coast (Cuddalore to Nellore) and Thurston's report of 1894 (p. 29) that a Chinese coin had been found at Madurai with Roman copper coins, including issues of Honorius and Arcadius.

Four recent finds made in central Tamilnadu have been reported: -

1. Kaveripumpattinam (Seetharaman + inspected by the author) c.1990: Sung dynasty (3 AE) + contemporary inscribed Chinese bell

2. Vikram (Thanjavur district: Sankara Narayana 1971) pre-1971: cash of AD 713 - 1241 (20 AE)

3. Thallikottai (Thanjavur district: Sankara Narayana 1971) pre-1971: cash until AD 1268 (1822 AE)

4. Olayakunnan (Thanjavur district: Sankara Narayana 1971) pre-1971: cash: ancient to AD 1252 (323 AE)

In the thirteenth century, when these hoards of Chinese coins were buried, Thanjavur was the capital of the declining mediaeval Chola kingdom. To the south, the Pandyas had been largely autonomous since the Cholas recognised the Pandya vassal king in 1169. Throughout the 13th century the Pandyas had an independent, powerful and prosperous kingdom. The Cholas declined and their dynasty was finally suppressed by the Pandyas in 1279.

The pottery evidence shows that the Chinese were trading with the Pandyas via their port complex at Korkai and Kayal. The numismatic evidence shows that the Chinese traded in lands that passed from the Cholas to the Pandyas during the latter part of the 13th century.

The resurgent Pandya kingdom flourished and its splendour was described by Marco Polo when he visited the kingdom in 1293. The Pandya king was then able to afford to purchase two thousand horses each year from Arabia at a price of two hundred dinars per horse. The ambassador sent by the Pandya king to the Chinese court at this time was a relative of the chief Arab horse trader. In the 14th century Chinese maritime trade declined during the later decades of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty."

During the Song-Yuan period, the principal traders responsible for sea trade between China and South India were the Chinese traders, themselves. Chinese traders visited South India. This was a period when the Cholas, who had traded extensively in the east, were in decline. It was a period when the Pandyas, who succeeded the Cholas as the principal power in India's far south, were more interested in pursuing their own trade with Arabia and the Gulf, than in sailing to the east.

Chinese sea trade beyond South India during the Song-Yuan period

Chinese traders sailed beyond South India, as far as the east coast of Africa. These voyages would probably have been directly across the open ocean.

There does not appear to be any current archaeological evidence that Chinese traders sailed further up India's west coast than Kerala. In particular, the author is not aware of any Chinese coins, or other Chinese artifacts, dating from the Song-Yuan period (or from later periods), which have been found in the modern states of Maharashtra, or Gujarat.

This makes the hoard now being discussed, a geographically isolated occurrence.

Sea trade between India and China in the early seventeenth century

Sea trade between India and China had a different pattern in the early seventeenth century. European travellers and traders were now visiting India and writing reports on what they saw. Such reports document the new pattern of sea trade. Mandelslo's report was published in Paris, in 1659. Some extracts illustrate the new situation.

Mandelslo sailed into Surat, arriving from Isfahan and the Gulf, on 25 April 1638. He spent most of the ensuing year in western India, and reached Ceylon in 1639. Mandelslo had much to say about the local peoples, and about their social organization and trade. He also said much about the foreign traders he met, particularly the Dutch, English and Portuguese.

Mandelslo's sole reference to the Chinese appears in a passage concerning the "inhabitants of Gujarat" (p. 194), where, after describing the local people, he wrote: "The Kingdom is peopled by Persians, Arabs, Armenians, and those from many other nations: but one finds there very few Chinese and Japanese, because they live so well in their own homelands, that they rarely establish themselves elsewhere".

English and Dutch traders in Surat

Two passages regarding Surat merit attention. One concerns the English, and the other the Dutch.

He wrote (p. 124): "The town (of Surat) is also peopled with Arabs, Persians, Armenians, Turks and Jews, who live there, or frequent it for commerce: but there are no foreigners, at all, who have made such a large establishment as the Dutch and the English. They have their hostels, their shops, their Presidents, their merchants and their factors, and they have made it one of the most mercantile towns in all the Orient. The English, particularly, have established it as the stronghold of all their commerce in the Indies, and a President to whom the factors of all the other bureaux are obliged to render an account. He is assisted by twenty, or twenty-four, merchants and officers, and under his direction the bureau of Agra, where there are a factor, accompanied by six persons: that of Isfahan, where there are a factor and seven or eight other merchants: that of Mazulipatam with fifteen: that of Brodra & Broach with four: that of Ahmedabad with four, and that of Dabul with two persons: who are all obliged to bring themselves every year to Surat, and there to render an account of their administration to the President. The English additionally have a bureau at Bantam, on the Isle of Java, but it has its particular President, who does not depend at all on that of Surat."

The second passage (p. 126) reads: "On the 24 of the same month, two other ships arrived: of which one was called Bolduc, and which was Dutch, being of fourteen hundred tons. It came from the town of Batavia, on the Isle of Java, and was returning to Holland, laden with pepper, and other spices. The other was English, named the Cygne, and had been sent by the factor of Mazulipatam to Persia, in order to seek silks: but the contrary wind, which had kept it riding for four months at sea, had obliged it to make port at Surat; there, where that from Holland had in less time made the whole voyage from Texel to the Indies. Then, I

placed myself in company with the merchants who were going to the port to see their ships. We went on board the Dutch, and we were perfectly well received by the Captain, who let us see all the amenities of his vessel, which was one of the most beautiful and of the largest, which had ever passed out of the ports of Holland.”

On Ahmedabad and Diu

When visiting Ahmedabad, Mandelso commented (p. 139) on the local use of silk: “There is hardly any nation, or merchandise in the whole of Asia, that one does not find in Ahmedabad, where they make a particularly large quantity of fabrics of silk and cotton. It is true that they only rarely make use of their country’s silk, and even less that of Persia; because it is a little too gross and too costly: but they usually employ that of China, which is very fine, mixing it with that of Bengal, which is not so fine, but which is finer than that of Persia, and which is cheaper.”

When describing the towns of Gujarat, he wrote of Diu (p. 193): “The town of Diu, where the Portuguese have three good forts, is situated on the frontier of the Kingdom, on the south coast. They call it Diue, and pronounce the ‘e’ so gently that one can hardly hear it.”

Gujarat’s shipping, and Portuguese trade in relation to Gujarat

Mandelso recorded (pp. 235-7): “Their ships (Gujarati ships) are very badly built, insofar as their artillery can only be placed on the poop-deck, and in the open air. The longest voyages they make, are those to Java and to Sumatra, towards the Levant, and to Aden and to Mecca on the Red Sea. They very often carry more than one thousand persons at one time, who for the most part are going to make their pilgrimage to Mecca, prior to being placed among the number of the Hajji, or Saints, on return. They depart at the beginning of the Moon of March, and return in the month of September; because the storms, which reign from the month of June until that time, on this coast, make them take six months for a voyage, that they could make in two. The merchandise, which they carry to the coast of Aden, consists of cotton, of cloth, of indigo, camphor, tobacco, alvine, sulphur, benjoin, pepper and other spices, of ‘mirobalans’, and many other sorts of preserves, and they bring back very few goods, notably coral, amber, ‘misseit’, of which one makes red tincture, ‘kahwa, and ‘amfion’, which is esteemed as the best in all the Orient; but their best returns consist of moneyed gold and silver. Other ships, which are smaller, and which sail from Surat, Cambay, and Broach to the coasts of Persia, bringing back from there brocades, fabrics of silk, of velvet, camlets, pearls, dried fruits, such as almonds, raisins, nuts and dates, and above all rose water, in which they make much trade. These sail in the months of January and February, and make their return in April, or at the beginning of May. There are other ships, of two hundred and twenty, two hundred and three hundred tons, which carry to Achin on the Isle of Sumatra all kinds of local merchandise, and bring back from there sulphur, benzoin, camphor, porcelain, tin and pepper. These last do not depart until the month of May; because the Portuguese, who forbid on pain of death and confiscation of goods, the taking of pepper to any other place than the towns, where they have established their trade, and who guard the coast against the Malabar pirates, only retire into their harbours at this time, and they make sure that they can make the return in the month of October, before the Portuguese have placed their fleets back at sea. (Malabars and Malabar pirates) The Portuguese, who had for a long time possessed sole commerce with Gujrat, and who had made themselves masters, by means of the forts, which they had built a Daman, Diu and Goa, to maintain themselves against the Malabars, their irreconcilable enemies, bring there (i.e. to Gujarat) lead, tin, vermilion, quick-silver, all sorts of drapery, ivory, sandal-wood, pepper, cardamom, cloves, porcelain, fabrics of China, cinnamon, cocoa, ‘cayro’, and the vases of gold and of gilded enamel, made in Europe, and there they purchase all sorts of fabrics, cotton cloths, indigo, saltpeter, lacquer, sugar, ‘mirobalans’, preserves, ‘bois de lic’, cabinets, and other lacquer work, which they carry to Goa, in order to load

on to their caracks (Portuguese Indiamen), which sail from there for Portugal during the month of January, and in February. There (i.e. in Gujarat), they also purchase butter, assafoetida, ‘amfion’, cumin, cotton and thread in order to carry them to Malacca, to China and to Japan, where they very often traffic with two hundred per cent profit. But since the English and the Dutch have established themselves in the kingdom of Gujarat, they have been constrained to abandon part of their commerce, and to content themselves, with that which they continue to make at Goa, about which we will speak in the second book of this narrative.” Mandelso sailed south from Surat on 1 January 1639, and after calling at Daman, he reached Goa on 11 January 1639.

Discussion

When first seeing these coins in Gujarat, my initial thoughts were that a Chinese trading ship might have sailed up India’s west coast, and left these coins behind in Gujarat. Closer examination of the evidence leads to a very different conclusion. Instead of being a hoard dating from the Song-Yuan period, as the author had anticipated, it is now apparent that the coins were sequestered no earlier than the 1620’s. Instead of being a hoard left behind by a Chinese trader, it is now apparent that this much more likely to be a hoard brought to Gujarat by a trader doing business in the east.

It is worth reiterating that a foreign trader would not have needed to travel as far as China to obtain these coins. The assembly of Chinese cash is reasonably representative of the pool of Chinese export cash that were circulating as far as Sumatra and Java.

The quotations from Mandelso’s narrative provide a picture of the traders who were sailing between Gujarat and the Far East at the period when this group of Chinese cash was brought to Gujarat.

Any group of cash brought back by English, or Dutch, traders would be expected to find their resting place in the Surat, Broach, Ahmedabad area of Gujarat. There is no good reason for linking these traders with a hoard found in the Junagadh region. This leaves Portuguese traders and Gujarati traders as the best candidates for bringing back these coins.

The hoard was found in the Junagadh region, but the exact find-spot has not been documented. The coins were brought by sea-traders, so it is appropriate to consider the local ports. There were two significant ports in this region, each of which lay around seventy-five kilometers from Junagadh. One port was the Portuguese enclave at Diu, situated south-south-east from Junagadh. The other port was Porbandar, situated to the south-west of Junagadh.

For Porbandar’s role in sea-trade during the era of sailing ships, one can consider Hamilton’s (1828) report. The entry in his Gazetteer reads as follows: “Poorbunder. A large and populous town built on a creek of the sea, on the south-west coast of the Gujerat peninsula, fifty-eight miles S.E. from Juggeth Point. This petty maritime state is centrally situated, about half way between Diu, and the north-western extremity of the peninsula. In 1812 it contained eighty inhabited villages, two fortresses, and eleven ghurries or places with four towers. The total population is estimated at 75,000 persons; the number of ploughs 3,000. ... Poorbunder is an emporium for Gujerat and Malwa, with Persia and Arabia. To Muscat the exports are cotton, thread, wheat, oil, and bajeree; the imports from thence, madder, raisins, and sumna. To Bombay the exports are cotton and grain; the imports are sugar, iron, steel, tin, lead, cloths, China-ware, broad-cloths, pepper, spices, rice, &c. in small quantities. The easy access to the Poorbunder territory and towns, and the facility of shipping cotton, give it a preference over any other town on this coast, and its position to the west of Bombay enables vessels to leave it at a later period, and effect their passage at the opening of the monsoon, while the passage to Bombay from the ports more to the eastward is, at the latter end of May, rendered dangerous and precarious, owing to the wind hanging so much to the southward. From its geographical position also, a military force stationed at

Poorbunder is enabled to control a line of coast from Bate to Diu. ...” (Hamilton 1828, 415-6)

When considering the relative candidacies of a Portuguese trader from Diu, versus a Gujarati trader from Porbandar, there is one relevant comment. The Portuguese, more than any other foreign traders, tended to stay within their own enclaves. They rarely had dealings in the hinterlands beyond their enclaves, and their coins are rarely found outside Portuguese enclaves.

One will never know the full story about how these coins came to Gujarat. However, it is interesting to put forward a speculative concept in a single sentence. “A Gujarati sea trader of Porbandar sailed to Sumatra and Java, where he collected a handful of local coins from the furthest limit of his voyage, and he brought the coins home to show his family”. Did it really happen like this? Who knows?

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Appendix

For those who may wish to make their own translation, the extracts from Mandelso's narrative are appended in the original seventeenth-century French.

(p. 194): “Le Royaume est peuplé de Persans, d'Arabes, d'Armeniens, & de plusieurs autres nations: mais l'on y trouve peu de Chinois & de Japonais, parce qu'ils se trouvent si bien chez eux, qu'ils s'établissent rarement ailleurs”

(p. 124): “La ville (ie. Surat) est aussi peuplée d'Arabes, de Perses, d'Armeniens, de Turcs & de Juifs, qui y demeurent, ou qui y fréquentent pour le commerce: mais il n'y a point d'étrangers, qui y aient fait un si grand établissement que les Hollandois & les Anglois. Ils y ont leurs hostels, leurs magasins, leurs Présidents, leurs marchands & leurs commis, & en ont fait une des villes les plus marchandes de tout l'Orient. Les Anglois particulièrement ont établi le fort de tout leur commerce des Indes, & un Président, auquel les commis de tous les autres bureaux sont obligés de rendre compte. Il s'y trouve assisté de vingt ou de vingt-quatre marchands & officiers, & a sous sa direction le bureau d'Agra, où ils ont un commis, accompagné de six personnes: celui d'Isipahan, où ils ont un commis & sept ou huit autres marchands: celui de Mesulipatan avec quinze: celui de Brodra & de Broitschia avec quatre: celui d'Amadabat avec

quatre, & celui de Dabul avec deux personnes: qui sont tous obligés de se trouver tous les ans à Suratta, & d'y rendre compte de leur administration au Président. Les Anglois ont bien encore un bureau à Bantam, dans l'Isle de Java, mais il a son Président particulier, qui ne dépend point de celui de Suratta.”

(p. 126): “Le 24. du mesme mois arriverent deux autres navires: dont l'un s'appelloit Bolduc, & qui estoit Hollandois, estoit de quatorze cens tonneaux. Il venoit de la ville de Batavia en l'Isle de Java, & retournoit en Hollande, chargé de poivre, & d'autres espiceries. L'autre estoit Anglois, nommé le Cygne, & avoit esté envoyé par le Commis de Mesulipatan en Perse, pour aller querir des soyes: mais le vent contraire, qui l'avoit fait roder plus de quatre mois sur la mer, l'avoit obligé à prendre port à Suratta; là où celui de Hollande avoit en moins de temps fait tout le voyage, depuis Texel jusques aux Indes. Je me mis encore en la compagnie des marchands, qui allent au port voir leurs navires. Nous vîmes d'abord le Hollandois, & fumes parfaitement bien recues par le Capitaine, qui nous fit voir toutes les commoditez de son vaisseau, qui estoit sans doute un des plus beaux & des plus grands, qui soient iamais sortis des ports de Hollande.”

(p. 139): “Il n'y a quasi point de nation, ny de marchandises en toute l'Asie, que l'on trouve dans Amadabath, où il se fait particulièrement une grande quantité d'estoffes de soye & de cotton. Il est vray qu'ils se servent fort rarement de la soye du païs, & encore moins de celle de Perse; parce qu'elle est un peu trop grosse & trop chere: mais ils employent ordinairement celle de la Chine, qui est tres-fine, en la meslant avec celle de Bengala, qui ne l'est pas tant, mais qui l'est plus que celle de Perse, & qui est à meilleur marché”.

(p. 193): “La ville de Diu, où les Portugais ont trois bons chasteaux, est située sur les frontières du Royaume, du costé du Sud. Ils l'appellent Diue, & prononcent l'e si doucement, que l'on a de la peine à l'entendre.”

(pp. 235-7): “Leurs navires sont fort mal bastis, en sorte que leur artillerie ne peut estre placée que sur le tillac, & à l'air. Les plus grands voyages qu'ils fassent, sont ceux de Java & de Sumatra, vers le Levant, & à Aden & à la Mecque sur la mer rouge. Ils portent bien souvent plus de mille personnes à la fois, qui vont la plus part faire leur pelerinage à la Mecque, afin d'estre mis au nombre des Hoggoi, ou Saints, au retour. Ils partent au commencement de la Lune de Mars, & retournent au mois de Septembre; parce que les orages, qui regnent depuis le mois de Juin jusques à ce temps-là, sur cette costé, leur fait employer six mois à un voyage, qu'ils pourroient faire en deux. Les marchandises, qu'ils portent sur la costé d'Aden, sont du cotton, des toiles, de l'indigo, du camfre, du tabac, de l'alun, du soufre, du benjoin, du poivre & d'autres espiceries, des mirobalans, & plusieurs autres sortes de confitures, & ils en rapportent fort peu de chose, sçavoir du corail, de l'ambre, du Misseit, dont l'on teint en rouge, du Kahwa, & de l'amfion, qui est estimé le meilleur de tout l'Orient: mais leurs meilleurs retours consistent en or & en argent monnoyé. Les autres vaisseaux, qui sont plus petits, & qui vont de Suratta, de Cambaya, & de Broitschia sur les costes de Perse, en rapportent des brocards, des estoffes de soye, de velours, des camelots, des perles, des fruits secs, comme des amandes, des raisins, des noix & des dates, & sur tout de l'eau rose, dont ils font un tres-grand commerce. Ceux-cy partent au mois de Janvier & de Fevrier, & font de retour en Avril, ou au commencement de May. Il y a d'autres navires, de cens six vingts, deux cens & trios cens tonneaux, qui portent à Achim dans l'Isle de Sumatra toutes sortes de marchandises du païs, & en rapportent du soufre, du benjoin, du camfre, de la porcelaine, de l'estain & du poivre. Ces derniers ne partent qu'au mois de May; parce que les Portugais, qui defendent sur peine de la vie & de confiscation des biens, de prendre du poivre ailleurs, que dans les villes, où ils ont établi leur commerce, & qui gardent la costé contre les pirates Malabares, ne se retirent dans les havres qu'en ce temps-là, & ils font en sorte qu'ils puissent ester de retour au mois d'Octobre, devant que les Portugais aient remis leurs flottes en mer. (Les Malabares) Les Portugais, qui ont long temps possédé seuls le commerce de Gusratta, & qui s'en estoient rendus les maistres,

par le moyen des forts qu'ils avoient bastis à Daman, Diu & à Goa, pour se maintenir contre les Malabares, leurs ennemis irreconciliables, y portoient du plomb, de l'estain, du vermillon, du vif argent, de toutes sortes de draps, de l'yvoire, du bois de sandale, du poivre, du cardamom, des cloux de girofle, de la porcelaine, des estoffes de la Chine, de la canelle, de Cocos, du Cayro, & des vases d'or & de vermeil doré, faits en Europe, & y achettoient toutes sortes d'estoffes, des toiles de coton, de l'indigo, du salpêtre, de la lacque, du sucre, des Mirobalans, des confitures, des bois de lict, des cabinets, & d'autres ouvrages de lacquer, qu'ils portoient à Goa, pour la charge de leurs caragues, qui partent de là pour Portugal au mois de Janvier, & en Fevrier. Ils y achettoient aussi du beurre, de l'assa foetida, de l'amfion, du Cumin, du coton & du fil, pour le porter en Malacca, en la Chine & au Japon, où ils trafiquoient bien souvent avec deux cens pour cent de profit. Mais depuis que les Anglois & les Hollandois se sont establis dans le Royeaume de Guzuratta, ils ont esté contraints d'abandonner une partie de ce commerce, & de se contenter de celuy qu'ils continuent de fair à Goa, dont nous parlerons au second Livre de cette Relation."

COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER, MUHAMMAD KHUDABANDA

Part 2

By Stan Goron

The first part of this article, published in Journal 195, was devoted to coins of type A, struck in the first two years of this ruler's reign. Part 2 will be devoted primarily to type B and C coins, though it will start with a little more information on type A coins.



Half mithqal of Yazd, 2.3 g, year 986. Silver 2 shahi coins of this type are also known.

Coins of type A are also reported for the following mints: Arjish, Dar al-Irshad (Ardabil), Iravan, Ja'farabad and Shemakhi.

Coins of type B

This type has a small cartouche on the obverse containing the mint and date, with the ruler's titles in the margin. The reverse has the Shia Kalima with the names of the twelve *rashidun* in the margin. This type was struck mainly during the period 986-990 AH.



Two shahi of Ardabil, 4.6 g, year 987. Mintname in two lines starting in the lower line.



Two shahi of Ardabil, 4.6 g, no date visible. Mintname in two lines starting in the upper line.



Two shahi of Astarabad, 4.6 g, no date visible, but coins are known struck in 988.



Two shahi of Dar al-Irshad (Ardabil), 4.6 g, year 987.



Two shahi of Fuman, 4.4 g, no date visible.



Two shahi of Ganja, 4.7 g, no date visible, but coins are known dated 988-990. One shahi coins of this type are also known.



Two shahi of Iravan, 4.6 g, year 988. Also known for years 989 and 990.



Two shahi of Lahijan, 4.4 g, no date visible.



Two shahi of Tabriz, 4.7 g, year 987. Date at top of cartouche.



Two shahi of Qazvin, 4.7 g, year 987. Circular cartouche.



Two shahi of Tabriz, year 987. Date at bottom of cartouche.

Type B coins are also known struck in 988, 992 and 994. One variant has the mintname within a scalloped circle.



Two shahi of Qazvin, 4.6 g, no date visible. Mintname within ornamental cartouche. This specimen double struck.



Two shahi of Urdu, 4.5 g, year 988. A similar type is also known struck in 987.



Two shahi of Rasht, 4.5 g, year 990, mintname within scalloped circle and placed at the top.



Two shahi of Urdubad, 4.6 g, year 992, mintname within circle.



Two shahi of Rasht, 4.2 g, no date visible, mintname within circle and placed at the bottom.



Two shahi of Urdubad, 4.7 g, no date visible. Mintname within scalloped circle.

Other mints known for this type are: Isfahan, Kashan (987), Khazana (987), Tehran (988 – presumably this type), Zegam.



Two shahi of Shimakhi, 4.5 g, year 991.

Coins of type C were struck during the period AH 990-995 and are countermarked coins. The countermark is usually *'adl shāhī* followed by the mintname, and was applied both on coins of earlier reigns and earlier coins of Muhammad Khudabanda. Most of the mints were located in Central Iran (Jibal) and Gilan. These include some that do not otherwise feature in the Safavid series, as far as is currently known.



Two shahi of Muhammad Khudabanda with *'adl shahi Ardabil* 992 countermark on one side and *zarb Dar al-Irshad* counterstamp on the other.



Two shahi of Muhammad Khudabanda with teardrop-shaped *'adl shahi Lahijan* countermark.



Two shahi of Muhammad Khudabanda, type A of Barfurushdeh with *'adl shahi Barfurushdeh* countermark.



Two shahi with circular *'adl Lahijan* countermark and *'adl shahi* countermark on same side with earlier *'adl shahi Tabriz* countermark on the other side.



Two shahi of Muhammad Khudabanda with *'adl shahi Isfahan* countermark.



Two shahi with *'adl shahi Lahijan* countermark, *'adl* at top.



Two shahi of Muhammad Khudabanda with *'adl shahi Kashan* 993 countermark within ornamental scalloped circle border.



Two shahi of Muhammad Khudabanda, Ganja, with *'adl shahi Lahijan* countermark, *Lahijan* engraved differently.



Two shahi, type A of Muhammad Khudabanda, Ganja mint, with *'adl Kashan* countermark of quadrilobe shape.



Two shahi of Muhammad Khudabanda with quadrilobe-shaped *'adl Lahijan* countermark.



Two shahi with *Kuchesfan* countermark on previous *'adl shahi Lahijan* countermark



Two shahi with two *'adl Lahijan* countermarks.



Two shahi of Ismail II with 'adl Langarrud' countermark.



Two shahi of Muhammad Khudabanda with 'adl Lashtanisha' countermark

More revised addresses, interests etc.

- 1838 Bruce Fisher, 512 Red Birch Road, Millersville MD 21108, USA
- 1947 Murli Narayan, 35 Terry Lane, Plainville MA 02762, USA
- 1495 Judith Kolbas, 304 West Chestnut Street, No.4 Oxford OH 45056, USA
- 261 Joseph E. Boling, PO Box 29344, Indianapolis IN 46229-0344, USA

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