



ONS News

London Meeting and AGM

The 2008 AGM took place at the British Museum on Saturday 15 November 2008. In addition to the formal proceedings, the following talks were given :

Robert Bracey: 'Policy, patronage and the shrinking pantheon of the Kushans'

Paul Stevens: 'EIC mints in Bengal 1765-1790'

Stan Goron: 'The coinage of Qandahar / Ahmadshahi from Nadir Shah to 'Abd al-Rahman'

Nicholas Rhodes: 'The coinage of Samudrah Pasai & Acheh'



Eager participants at the London meeting on 15 November waiting for proceedings to start



More eager participants at the London meeting



Robert Bracey expounding on the Kushans



Paul Stevens making a point about the Bengal mints

Cologne Meeting

This took place on 15 November 2008 at the Römisch-Germanisches Museum with 18 people attending.

Mr Ganske began the meeting by informing everyone about the *Philatelia und MünzExpo* that was currently taking place. Mr Brockmeier then gave a talk about Denmark's erstwhile colony at Tranquebar. He covered the founding of the Danish East India Company (DOC), its subsequent revival, the creation of the Danish Asiatic Company (DAC), its dissolution and sale for £20,000 to the EIC and gave the historical background to all these events. The chequered history of the colony was made clear – apart from periods of war, it had a constant battle to make

business profits. During a period of 34 years, for example, only 7 ships reached Copenhagen. The obtaining of the right to strike coin was established and there was a discussion on how to recognise the Danish coins (rupees). With reference to the various types of Arkot rupee that were known, Mr Brockmeier pointed out that a flower and its continuation as a trident were probably the mint marks of the Danes, as Jan Lingen had previously suggested.

Mr Hüther then presented a rupee of Nadir Shah with an Ottoman countermark in the form of a small tughra. This could have been done during the reign of Sultan Mahmud to authorise the use of the coin in his territories during a shortage of silver currency.

Mr Bronny gave a presentation on the coins of Bhutan and their history. He pointed out how difficult it was at times to determine the precise nature of the coins because of omitted dates, and erroneous and crude engraving. He mentioned how hard it now was to get such coins and the increasing prices as a result of the increasing number of tourists to the country.

Lunch was taken after that and this was followed by recommendations on numismatic literature, coin identification and other coin activity.

The next meeting will be held on Saturday, 14 November 2009, commencing 8.30 at the same venue. For more information please contact Nikolaus Ganske, nikolaus.ganske@t-online.de



*Participants at the recent meeting in Cologne
(photo: B. Czolbe)*

The 3rd ONS Seminar, India

The 3rd ONS Seminar on Indian Numismatics, jointly organised by the Oriental Numismatic Society and the Numismatic Society of Calcutta took place on 25 December 2008 in the Royal Bengal Room, City Centre, Salt Lake City, Kolkata. The Seminar was presided over by the well-known scholar, Mr S. K. Bose. In his welcome speech, Dr Dilip Rajgor introduced the ONS and its activities. Later, Mr Bose asked the invited scholars to present their papers, which were discussed at the end of each presentation. At the end, Mr Ujjawal Kumar Saha offered a vote of thanks. The Seminar was well attended by over 70 people comprising scholars, numismatists, coin collectors and university students.

The following ten papers were presented at the seminar:

Rajesh Somkuwar: "A new variety of Satavahana coin from Vidarbha"

Devendra Handa (in absentia): "Numismatic imageries: some observations"

Ujjawal Kumar Saha: "A Roman dynastic seal/ring with Gupta Brahmi inscription"

P. Bhatia (read by Dilip Rajgor): "Treasure trove finds of cowrie shells and Indo-Sassanian coins in Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan"

Binoy Kumar Kundu: "A unique coin of Shams-ul-Din Yusuf Shah"

Russel Haque: "A unique scalloped tanka of the Sultans of Bengal"

N G Rhodes (read by S K Bose): "Trade across the Himalayas: the numismatic evidence"

S K Bose: "The Ahom king, Gaurinatha Simha, and his coins with special marks"

Sukhvinder Kalsi: "Coins, legitimacy and trade: an aspect of Tripura coins"

Prashant P Kulkarni: "Recent forgeries of Indian coins"



A good attendance at the Kolkata seminar



Russell Haque (3rd from left) presenting his paper



S K Bose during his talk on coins of Gaurinatha Simha

The 12th Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table to be held at Gonville and Caius College, Trinity Street, Cambridge

Provisional Programme

Saturday 4th April 2009

10.30 Coffee

11.15 Session 1 – chairman Andrew Oddy

James Howard-Johnston
Reflections on the Middle East in the seventh century
Wolfgang Schulze
Symbolism on the Syrian Standing Caliph coins – a contribution to the discussion

13.00 Lunch in college
14.15 Session 2

Stefan Heidemann
The standing caliph type – the object on the reverse
Tony Goodwin
Standing caliphs revisited
Ingrid Schulze
Illustrations of modern forgeries of standing caliph coins

16.00 Tea
16.30 Session 3

Steve Mansfield
Heracleian folles of Jerusalem – 614 or later?
Tasha Vorderstrasse
Monetary circulation in Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt
Charlie Karukstis
Were any Pseudo Byzantine emissions of municipal origin?

19.00 Dinner in a city centre restaurant

Sunday 5th April 2009

9.30 Session 4 – Chairman James Howard-Johnston

Robert Hoyland
New theories on Umayyad coins in Syria
Marcus Phillips
Tabariya and pseudo-Tabariya – the single figure type

11.00 Coffee
11.30 Session 5

Andrew Oddy
Constantine IV as a prototype for Early Islamic coins
Ingrid Schulze
The al-wafa lillah coinage

13.15 Lunch in college
14.15 Round table discussion of coins (or photographs) brought by delegates.

For more information and details of accommodation and prices please contact:

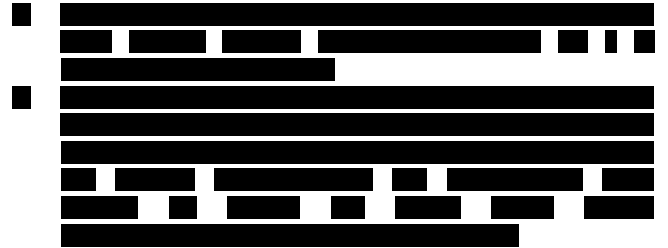
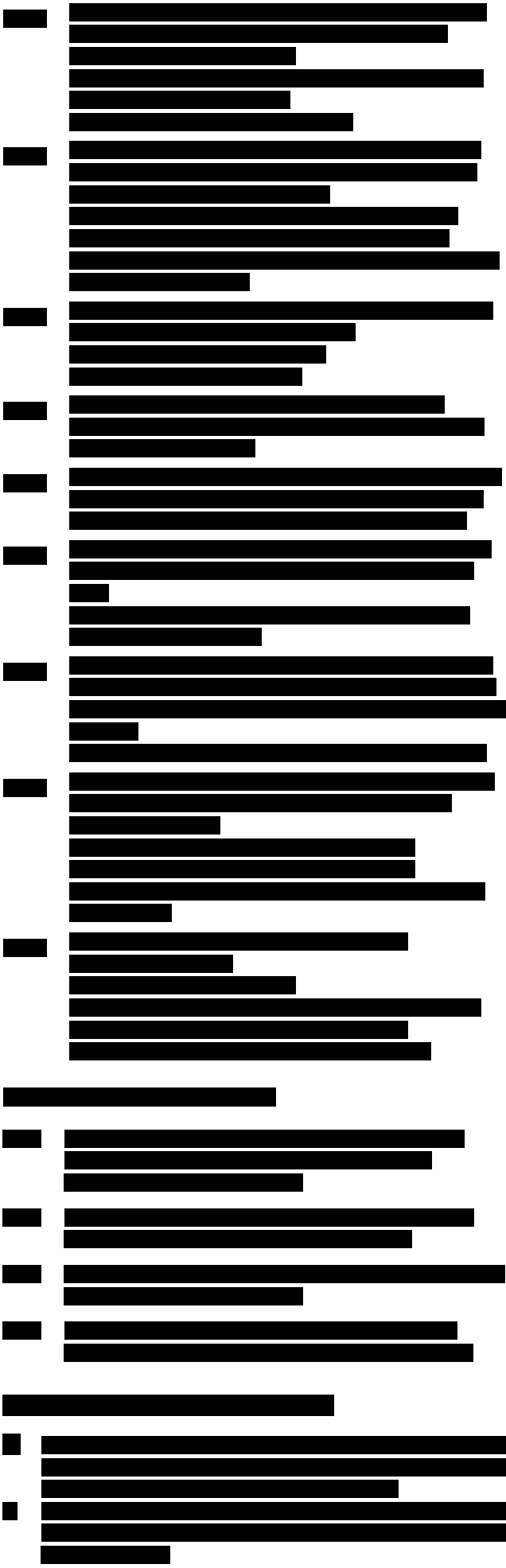
Marcus Phillips, PO Box 348, Biggleswade, Bedfordshire SG18 8EQ, UK senmerv@freenet.co.uk

Jena meeting May 2009

The next ONS in Jena will take place on the weekend of 2 and 3 May this year in the Senatssaal of the local university. Anyone interested in giving a talk or just attending should contact Stefan Heidemann as below. Stefan can also provide information about available accommodation. His contact details are:

[Redacted contact details for Stefan Heidemann]

[Redacted text, likely a list of names and titles, corresponding to the speakers mentioned in the schedule.]



New and Recent Publications

‘Olifanten op Parthische munten’ (Elephants on Parthian coins) by Patrick Pasmans in *De Muntmeester*, Jaargang 3, Nummer 4, December 2008. In Flemish published by the Diestse Studiekring voor Numismatiek, Diest, Belgium. www.muntmeester.be

Monnaies indo-scythes et indo-parthes. Catalogue raisonné. By Christine Fröhlich. Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2008. ISBN 978-2-7177-2393-9

This catalogue of the 499 coins in the Cabinet des Médailles of Indo-Scythian or Indo-Parthian kings is fully illustrated and accompanied by a lengthy overview.

A new volume covering coin finds from the site of Kashmir Smast, M. Nasim Khan, Elizabeth Errington, Joe Cribb. *Coins from Kashmir Smast: New Numismatic Evidence*, University of Peshawar, ISBN 978-969-9270-01-7, 2008. The volume includes colour illustrations of the coins.

Articles

THE PROLONGATION OF YAZĪD B. USAYD’S¹ REIGN IN THE NORTH-WEST OF THE CALIPHATE

By Severian Turkia and Irakli Paghava

The objective of this short paper is to report the ‘Abbāsīd fulūs minted in the name of Yazīd b. Usayd in AH 164. This is a previously unknown year for this ruler.

Three coins are published. All of them originate from the Mtkvari (Kura) riverbed in the territory of Tbilisi (former Tiflīs)². All three fulūs are of the same type, but struck with three different pairs of dies. The type, as determined from all three specimens, is as follows:

Obverse:

A border comprising three circles: two thin ones close together and a thicker one beyond; 5 small annulets at 6, 8, 11, 1:30 and 4 o’clock in the space between them.

In the field, a three-line legend and two symbols. From top to bottom:

A crescent open upwards at 12 o’clock, close to the innermost circle.

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له

[There is no god but Allāh alone, he has no associate]

A rosette at 6 o’clock.

¹ It may be more correct to read the name as Asīd (communication from Dr Michael Bates), but we are retaining here the traditional name for the sake of continuity.

² Now the coins are preserved in a private collection in Georgia.

There is a marginal legend between the annulets located at 11 and 1:30 o'clock³ partly off-flan and effaced on all three specimens. It remains unread.

Reverse:

A border comprising one fine and one thicker circle with the marginal legend between them.

In the field, a three-line legend and 2 symbols. From top to bottom:

A star at 12 o'clock (missing or indiscernible on Specimen 1, *Fig. 1*, possibly because of a die defect).

محمد
رسول
الله

[*Muhammad is the Messenger of Allāh*]

A rosette at 6 o'clock.

The marginal legend, starting at about 2:45 o'clock:

مما امر به الامر يزيد بن اسيد اعز الله نصره سنة اربع و ستين و مية
[*By the order of emir Yazīd b. Usayd, may Allāh exalt his victory!*
Year 164]

The individual coins are as follows (the legends off-flan are replaced with "..."; those barely discernible are underlined>):

Specimen 1 (*Fig. 1*):



Fig. 1

Æ, Weight (uncleaned): 1.49 g; diameter: 18.8-19.6 mm; die axis: 9 o'clock.

Obverse: In the field:

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له

The star at 12 o'clock missing or indiscernible possibly because of a die defect.

Reverse: In the field:

محمد
رسول
الله

Marginal legend:

مما امر به الامر يزيد بن اسيد اعز الله نصره سنة اربع و ستين و مية

Specimen 2 (*Fig. 2*):



Fig. 2

Æ, Weight (uncleaned): 1.47 g; diameter: 19.1-19.5 mm; die axis: 12 o'clock.

Obverse: In the field:

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له

Reverse: In the field:

محمد
رسول
الله

Marginal legend:

مما امر به الامر يزيد بن اسيد اعز الله نصره سنة اربع و ستين و مية

Specimen 3 (*Fig. 3*):



Fig. 3

Æ, Weight (uncleaned, some incrustation): 0.86 g; diameter: 16-17 mm; die axis: 8:30 o'clock.

Obverse: In the field:

لا اله الا
الله وحده لا
شريك له

Reverse: In the field:

محمد
رسول
الله

Marginal legend:

مما امر به الامر يزيد بن اسيد ... ص ... سنة اربع و ستي ...

To the best of our knowledge, no other fulūs in the name of Yazīd b. Usayd and dated AH 164 have been published before. As a reliable source of information on the chronology of his reign⁴, the following copper coins in the name of Yazīd b. Usayd have previously been noted⁵: AH 142 - Barda'a; AH 143 - Barda'a⁶; AH 159 - Barda'a, Dabīl; AH 163 - Barda'a. Generally, it was considered that the last reign of this governor lasted during AH 163 (779-780) only⁷. In addition to these coins, Kh. Mushegyan published a fals excavated in Dvin (Dabīl)⁸, stated as [*Barda'a, AH 164*] and with the following marginal legend on the reverse:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلّس ببردعه سنة اربع ستين و مية

also apparently entirely within square brackets⁹. It is unclear, what the author meant by the square brackets in the case of this coin. If the legend was more or less legible, then why put it in square brackets, and if it was not, what was the reason for stating the

⁴ Vasmer.

⁵ *Mushegian*: 64-68, 189, plates VI-VII, 59-60, 62, 64; *Pakhomov*: 60-62, 73-74, 76; *Shamma*: 229-230, 234; *Mayer*: 138-139, 150-151.

⁶ Shamma also seemingly lists a Barda'a fals with the date AH 145 (*Shamma*: 229, 3), but this is probably a mistake, or at least one of the references is to "Tiesen. no. 736", but Tiesenhausen's 736 is in truth a dirham of Al-Kūfa AH 145 (*Tiesenhausen*: 73, 736).

⁷ *Vasmer*: 386.

⁸ Diameter 20 mm, weight 1.3 g, die axis 1 o'clock (*Mushegian*: 68, 37).

⁹ The Arabic legend is split between the two lines, and there is one right bracket on every line (*Ibid.*). As the text is in Arabic, i.e. written from right to left, the first-line right bracket is the opening bracket, but the second-line right bracket does not serve as the closing bracket, and might constitute the misplaced left bracket.

³ The marginal legend that is not extended for the whole of the circle seems to be an extreme rarity on Kufic coins.

mint place and date? The latter could have been reconstructed from a similar specimen, but no such specimen is indicated. Therefore, a certain amount of caution should, in our opinion, be shown regarding the attribution of this coin. However, its design, as described, resembles the design of the coins published in this paper of ours: obverse - "a rosette below; along the edge two concentric circles, a small annulet in five places above, an unclear trace of legend beyond the circles"; reverse - "above and below a mark (plate XV, fig. 96); ... A circle at the edge."¹⁰. Our coins also have two inner concentric circles and annulets in five places as well as the unclear legend outside the circles, between 11 and 1:30 o'clock (unfortunately, Mushegyan did not specify either the length of the legend on his fals nor its location, nor whether it extended the whole length of the circle) on the obverse; the star and the rosette, as well as one concentric circle on the reverse (theoretically, Mushegyan may have interpreted the star as the rosette). We cannot exclude the possibility that Mushegyan's fals is the same type as our coins, but was misinterpreted, perhaps due to its bad state of preservation, as indirectly indicated by the use of the square brackets.

Our fulūs do not bear the mint name (in contrast to all the other known fulūs in the name of Yazīd b. Usayd), unless the mint name is indicated in the marginal legend on the obverse, which remains unidentified. So one cannot ascertain where these coins were issued: evidently, somewhere in the north-western part of the caliphate, judging by the ruler's name and the date and the fact that the fulūs in the name of the same ruler and dated just one year earlier (AH 163) were minted there, namely, in Barda'a. Hitherto, Yazīd b. Usayd's fulūs are known only from Barda'a and Dabīl mints. In design terms, our coins without the mint name (?) share some features with both Yazīd b. Usayd's Dabīl fulūs¹¹ of AH 159 and the AH 159 and 163 Barda'a ones¹², namely: these copper coins have two fine inner concentric circles, while there generally are no circles at all demarcating the central and the marginal legends on Yazīd b. Usayd's Barda'a fulūs, in contrast to the Dabīl ones. On the other hand, Pakhomov published (without providing an illustration) a Barda'a fals¹³ of AH 159 which differed from the other AH 159 Barda'a fulūs that we know (and have images of)¹⁴ in terms of having 5 annulets, like our coins, while the Dabīl fulūs do not have any annulets at all. The first part of the Shahāda on the Barda'a fulūs of both varieties dated AH 159 is also similarly distributed among the lines, i.e. with ʿ in the second line, but not so on the AH 163¹⁵ Barda'a and AH 159¹⁶ Dabīl fulūs¹⁷. We consciously ignored the design elements like rosettes and stars in the field as it was impossible to make any trustworthy observations based on the published illustrations alone.

The find location may point to the mint place, since the copper coins of the time probably tended not to go too far from the place where they had been issued. As it is unclear whether the fals from Dvin was of the type we are publishing now, we shall consider the find place reliable only for the 3 coins from modern Tbilisi, former Tiflis, published in this paper. This may be a very

indirect indication that the fulūs of this type were minted in Tiflis. In addition to the well-known Umayyad and Abbasid silver coins of Tiflis, we also have Kufic fulūs struck there¹⁸. Finds of fulūs in eastern Georgia, e.g. Tbilisi (Arabic, Tiflis) and Rustavi are frequent enough¹⁹, which proves the active role of these copper coins in the monetary circulation of the time²⁰. However, the fulūs found in eastern Georgia, probably because of their bad preservation defy attribution: only single specimens were attributed to the Umayyad dynasty, dating back to the 730s, whereas the majority may be dated to the first half of the 9th century.²¹ It seems impossible to ascertain where they could have been minted.

Of course, for the time being, an attribution of Yazīd b. Usayd's fulūs of AH 164 to Tiflis mint is just an assumption which may be either confirmed or refuted in the future. These fulūs could also have originated from the Dabīl or Barda'a mint. We shall have to wait for more specimens of this type to be found, hopefully with legible obverse legends, before we can draw any better conclusions.

Anyway, the existence of the fulūs bearing the date AH 164 (780-781), previously unrecorded for Yazīd b. Usayd, provides a solid basis for prolonging the reign of this governor in the north-western provinces of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate for at least part of one more year.

References:

1. *Jalaghania* - [Jalaghania I. Foreign coins in the monetary circulation of the 5-13th cc. Georgia. Tbilisi, 1979.] (Source language Russian: Джалагания И. Иноземная монета в денежном обращении Грузии V-XIII вв. Тбилиси, 1979).
2. *Mayer* - [Mayer T. (Editor). Sylloge of Coins of Caucasus and Eastern Europe. Wiesbaden, 2005.] (Source language German: Mayer T. (bearbeitet von). Sylloge der Münzen des Kaukasus und Osteuropas. Wiesbaden, 2005.)
3. *Mushegyan* - [Mushegyan Kh. The Monetary Circulation of Dvin according to Numismatic Data. Yerevan, 1962.] (Source language Russian: Мушегян Х.А. Денежное обращение Двина по нумизматическим данным. Ереван, 1962).
4. *Pakhomov* - [Pakhomov Ye. The Coins of Azerbaijan. Issue I. Baku, 1959] (Source language Russian: Пахомов Е. Монеты Азербайджана. Вып. I. Баку, 1959).
5. *Shamma* - Shamma S. A Catalogue of Abbasid Copper Coins. London, 1998.
6. *Tiesenhhausen* - [Tiesenhhausen W. The Coins of the Eastern Caliphate. Saint Petersburg, 1873.] (Original language Russian: Тизенгаузен В. Монеты восточного халифата. Санкт Петербург, 1873.).
7. *Turkia* - Turkia S., Paghava I. An Unrecorded Early Post-reform Fals minted in Tiflis. In: Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society no. 191. Spring 2007:6-8.
8. *Vasmer* - [Vasmer R. The Chronology of the Governors of Arminiya under the first Abbasids. Proceedings of the Board of Orientalists under the Asian museum. Vol. I. Leningrad, 1925:381-400.]. (Original language Russian: Фасмер Р. Хронология наместников Армении при первых Аббасадах. Записки коллегии востоковедов при Азиатском музее, Т. I. Ленинград, 1925:381-400).

A DĪNĀR OF THE ĪLDEGIZID RULER AMĪR AMĪRĀN ʿUMAR

by A. V. Akopyan and F. Mosanef

The coinage of the Īldegizids²² (AH 531–622/ AD 1137–1225) who ruled in the central parts of Īrān as well as Adharbayjān, Armenia

¹⁰ The original text, respectively "внизу розетка; у края два концентрических круга, над которыми в пяти местах маленький кружок, вне кругов неясный след надписи" and "сверху и снизу знак (табл. XV, рис. 96); ... У края круг." (*Mushegian*: 68, 37, plate XV, fig. 96).

¹¹ *Mayer*: 138-139, 1207; *Mushegian*: 66-67, plate VII, 62, plate XV, 96.

¹² *Pakhomov*: 76; *Mayer*: 150-151, 1256-1262 (#1261 may be an exclusion, as the the image is not good enough to make any firm conclusions; *Mushegian*: plate VII, 64 is too bad in terms of reproduction quality as well).

¹³ *Pakhomov*: 73-74.

¹⁴ *Mayer*: 150-151, 1256-1261.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*: 150-151, 1262.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*: 138-139, 1207; *Mushegian*: 66-67, plate VII, 62, plate XV, 96.

¹⁷ Mushegyan's fals from Dvin (former Dabīl) excavations was published as a coin of Barda'a (*Ibid.*: 68, 37). However, no illustration is provided, and the attribution may be wrong. The presence of two concentric circles may indicate that that fals originated from the Dabīl mint, albeit the annulets point more to Barda'a.

¹⁸ *Shamma*: 233 (Tübingen University Collection, AM10B3); *Turkia*.

¹⁹ *Jalaghania*: 48.

²⁰ It is also noteworthy, that starting from the mid-9th c., small fragments of cut dirhams were also used for petty payments, as proved by the hoards (*Ibid.*: 54-55).

²¹ *Ibid.*: 56.

²² Also known as Īl-Deñizids, Eldigüzids or Atābeks of Adharbayjān.

and Arrān was mainly described by D. K. Kouymjian,²³ S. J. T. Tabātabā'i²⁴ and M. A. Seyfeddini.²⁵ Although the coinage of the Īdegizids *en masse* was investigated quite thoroughly - hoards with such coins being abundant and found quite frequently,²⁶ some new numismatic evidence contributing to the history of that dynasty has been recently discovered.

This relates to a base gold dinar, weighing 2.05 g and measuring 21 mm in diameter. The inscriptions of the coin were engraved in the *Kūfī* script style typical for the Seljūq period.



The *dīnār* of Amīr Amīrān 'Umar

Obverse:


لا اله الا الله
 وحده لا شريك له
 الناصر لدين الله
 المعظم آتابك
 اميران

There is no God but Allāh / He is alone, no associate to Him / Al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh / the great Atābeg / Amīrān.

Reverse: Diamond-shaped symbol above the legend

محمد رسول الله
 السلطان الاعظم
 الملك المعظم
 طغرل

Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh / The supreme Sultān / The great Malik / Ṭuḡhril.

The coin is in good condition and quite well struck, but what can be seen of the marginal legends on both sides is undecipherable. The symbol engraved in the upper segment of the reverse is similar to the pattern  known, thanks to the drawing by Kouymjian for one type of *dīnār* of Abū Bakr.²⁷ It is interesting to note that, on this coin, Ṭuḡhril III is titled not only as *al-sultān al-ʿaẓam* but also as *al-malik al-muʿaẓam*, which is uncharacteristic of Īdegizid coinage²⁸. The titles *malik*, *al-malik al-muʿaẓam* and

malik al-umara are common on Īdegizid coins but referred always to an atābek.²⁹ Ṭuḡhril III had the title *malik* before his coronation in AH 571,³⁰ but it is known that Sultān Masʿūd used this title on his coins (*al-sultān al-ʿaẓam Masʿūd malik al-ʿaẓam*) and generally the title *malik al-islām* was common for the Seljūqs.³¹ It is also noticeable that atābeg Amīrān is cited on the coin without any *nasab*.

Īdegizid coinage was normally struck in copper at many mints, but the only mint actually mentioned on any coins is Ardabīl. According to the areas of finds some sub-types of these coppers can be distinguished that were possibly struck in Tabrīz, Dvin, Ganja, Bardaʿa or Baylaqān³². This copper coinage can be divided into "regular-struck" coins minted to a standard weight and shape and possibly used by denomination (some of them bear the word "dirhām" in the legend), and "irregular-struck" coins that were possibly valued according to weight and at a higher rate than the market price of copper. There are a few exceptions such as the billon dirhams of Shams al-Dīn Īdegiz³³ (struck in Salmās and Urmīya) and three known specimens of gold *dīnārs* struck by Abū Bakr.³⁴

To help determine a possible date for this gold coin we first set out some Īdegizid political history. Amīr Amīrān 'Umar³⁵ mentioned on the coin was the second son of Atābeg Jahān Pahlavān (AH 571–582/ AD 1175–1186), born of his second wife, Īnānj Khātūn, the daughter of Amīr Īnānj.³⁶ As Jahān Pahlavān was still alive, Amīrān 'Umar and his elder brother, Īnānj Mahmūd, were jointly ruling over Rayy, Hamadhān and 'Irāq al-Ajam. After the death of Jahān Pahlavān in AH 582, his sons had to submit to their uncle, Qizil Arslān, who mostly supported Abū Bakr, the elder son of Jahān Pahlavān from his first wife. Soon, however, Īnānj Khātūn, together with sons, Īnānj Mahmūd and Amīrān 'Umar, as well as the loyal atābegs and ghuḷāms, rebelled against Qizil Arslān. They were also joined by the 'Irāqi Seljūq Sultān, Ṭuḡhril III (AH 571–590/ AD 1176–1194) who was residing in Hamadhān at that time. In a battle near Hamadhān they defeated Qizil Arslān.³⁷

In his struggle against the Seljūq Sultān, Qizil Arslān had the support of the 'Abbāsīd court in Baghdād. In AH 583³⁸ the Caliph, Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (AH 575–622/ AD 1180–1225), sent an army under Jalāl al-Dīn ibn Yunūs to assist Qizil Arslān. Jalāl al-Dīn, however, decided to engage Ṭuḡhril III in battle and was defeated by the latter somewhere between Hamadhān and Hulwān.³⁹ At the end of that same year, AH 583, the Caliph's second army led by Mujāhid al-Dīn Khālīs al-Ḥaṣṣ marched from Baghdād to Hamadhān. Ṭuḡhril III left Hamadhān but Qizil Arslān arrived in

²⁹ *Ibid.* P. 300–333.

³⁰ Šadr al-Dīn 'Alī al-Ḥusaynī. *Akḥbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*. Translated by Z. Bunyatov. Moscow, 1980. Part 38, P. 146.

³¹ Tabātabā'i S. J. T. *Op. cit.*, P. 515.

³² Pakhomov Ye. A. *Monetnoe obraschenie Azerbaydzhana v XII i nachale XIII veka // Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeya*. Vyp. XXVI. Numizmaticheskij sbornik. Ch. 2. Moscow, 1957. P. 86–89. [*Monetary Circulation in Azerbaijan in 12th – beginning of 13th cc.*]

³³ Albun S. A *Checklist of Islamic Coins*. Santa Rosa, 1998. P. 95.

³⁴ Kouymjian D. K. *Op. cit.* P. 349–357.

³⁵ We should note, that another person with the name Amīrān is known for this time, viz. Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān b. Shimla (*Akḥbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, Part 38, P. 146). He was an atābeg of Malik Muḥammad, the elder brother of Arslān Shāh, who died in AH 571. After the crowning of Ṭuḡhril III by Jahān Pahlavān, Malik Muḥammad, with the help of Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān, tried to fight against Jahān Pahlavān but was soon defeated by him. Therefore, this coin that bears the name of Ṭuḡhril III cannot have been struck by this Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān.

³⁶ *Akḥbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, Part 39, P. 148.

³⁷ Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Sulaymān ar-Rāwandī. *Rāhat al-Šudūr wa āyat al-Surur*. Edited and translated by 'Abbās Eghbāl, Tehran, AH 1386/ AD 2007. P. 342.

³⁸ According to Ibn al-Āthīr in AH 584. *Al-Kāmal fī at-Tārīkh*. Edited by Abū al-Qāsim Halat. Tehran, AH 1355/ AD 1976. Part 23, P. 207–208 and 'Abd al-Raḥman ibn Khaldūn. *Al-Kitāb al-'Ibār*. Tehran, AH 1383/ AD 2004. Vol. IV. P. 175.

³⁹ *Akḥbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, P. 152; *Al-Kāmal fī at-Tārīkh*, part 23, P. 208.

²³ Kouymjian D. K. *A Numismatic History of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān based on Islamic Coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th Centuries*. Ph. D. Diss. Columbia Univ., 1969. P. 288–368.

²⁴ Tabātabā'i S. J. T. *Sikkehā-ye Islāmī Irān āz āghāz tā khomelat moghūl*. [Tabrīz], 1373 AH. P. 547–565. [*Islamic Coins of Iran from Early Times until Mongol Attacks*].

²⁵ Seyfeddini M. A. *Monetnoe delo i denezhnoe obraschenie v Azerbaydzhan v XII – XV vv*. Vol. I. Baku, 1981. P. 13–88. [*The Coinage and Monetary Circulation in Azerbaydzhan in 12th – 15th cc.*].

²⁶ On numerous hoards containing Īdegizid coins see: Pakhomov Ye. A. *Monetnye klady Azerbaydzhana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastey Kavkaza*. Vols. I–IX. Baku, 1926–66. [*Coin Hoards of Azerbaydzhan and Other Republics, Lands and Districts of Caucasus*]; *Oriental Hoards*. Edited by N. M. Lowick. Vol. III. London, 1977; Mousheghian Kh., Mousheghian A., Bresc C., Depeyrot G., Gurnet F. *History and Coins Find in Armenia, Coins from Garni (4th BC – 19th AD)*. Wetteren, 2000; idem. *History and Coins Find in Armenia, Coins from Ani (4th BC – 19th AD)*. Wetteren, 2000; idem. *History and Coins Find in Armenia, Inventory of Coins and Hoards (7th AD – 19th AD)*. Vols. I–II. Wetteren, 2003.

²⁷ Kouymjian D. K. *Op. cit.*, P. 351.

²⁸ *Ibid.* P. 314–324.

the city and concluded a peace with Īnānj Mahmūd⁴⁰ (perhaps, also Amīr Amīrān ʿUmar – ?). Afterwards, Īnānj Khātūn married Qizil Arslān. In the month of Ramadhān, AH 586, Ṭughril III was captured by Qizil Arslān.⁴¹ From this time onwards Qizil Arslān became sole ruler, but only for a short time – in the month of Shaʿbān, AH 587, Īnānj Khātūn assassinated him.⁴²

After the death of Qizil Arslān, Abū Bakr began to win over the rulers of Nakhchevān, Ganja, Arrān and Adharbayjān to his side.⁴³ In Rabīʿa II, AH 588, Ṭughril III was released from prison⁴⁴. He then collected an army and moved against Īnānj Mahmūd and Amīrān ʿUmar.⁴⁵ On 15 Jumādā II, AH 588,⁴⁶ Ṭughril’s army defeated Īnānj Mahmūd near Qazwīn. Īnānj Mahmūd fled to Adharbayjān⁴⁷ (or, according to another source, to Rayy⁴⁸). These events led to Īnānj Khātūn offering herself in marriage to Ṭughril. The Sultān agreed but, shortly after the marriage, he poisoned Īnānj Khātūn, suspecting her of conspiring against him.⁴⁹

At this, Īnānj Khātūn’s sons fled to Adharbayjān where they seized Tabrīz without a fight. However, Īnānj Mahmūd and Amīr Amīrān ʿUmar were soon defeated by Abū Bakr in battle somewhere between Tabrīz and Nakhchevān.⁵⁰ Īnānj Mahmūd made for ʿIrāq and Amīrān ʿUmar escaped to Shirwān. There, the latter married the daughter of Shirwānshāh, Akhsitān I ibn Manūchihr III (*ca.* AH 555–594/ AD 1160–1197)⁵¹ but in his political affairs he was also supported by Tʿamar, the Queen of Georgia (AD 1184–1213).⁵² Now supplied with new forces, he defeated Abū Bakr near Baylaqān. Then he entered Ganja where he was enthroned by the Georgian Amīrs on the famous throne⁵³ of the Seljūqs.⁵⁴ He stayed in Ganja twenty two days and died in AH 590, probably poisoned by one of Abū Bakr’s allies.⁵⁵

Thus, there are two different periods when Amīr Amīrān ʿUmar was in close relations with Sultān Ṭughril III: I) the rebellion against Qizil Arslān and Abū Bakr in AH 582–583; II) the marriage of Ṭughril III with Īnānj Khātūn in AH 588. During the second period one of the brothers was definitely outlawed, while the second one could have stayed with their mother. Hence, the dīnār bearing the names of both Amīrān ʿUmar and Sultān Ṭughril III will have been struck during the first period, i.e. in AH 582–583.

Regarding the dīnārs of Abū Bakr bearing the title “Sultān” but without any precise proper name at the same time, Kouymjian suggested that those could had been struck between AH 596–607,⁵⁶ i.e. in the period between the death of Khwārazmshāh Tekesh (on whom Caliph al-Nāṣir had bestowed the title “Sultān of ʿIrāq” in

AH 594/ AD 1194⁵⁷) and the end of Abū Bakr’s reign. Therefore, the dīnār published in this paper can be considered the earliest known İldegizid gold issue.

INDO-GREEK CHRONOLOGY c.200-145 BC

by Jens Jakobsson

Introduction

This is an attempt to evaluate Bactrian chronology from c. 200-145 BC. The roles of Eukratides I and Menander I, as well as Justin’s enigmatic ‘Demetrius, king of the Indians’, will be central. The article will argue that Justin’s Demetrius belongs to the period late in Eucratides’ reign and cannot be identified with Demetrius I, that there were two kings named Antimachos whose rules were not related, and that Bopearachchi’s chronology from 1991 (BNBact) is with some adaptations still the best reconstruction.

Bactrian chronology, 2nd century BC

One such adaptation was made by Bopearachchi himself: he moved the death of Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus, to c.185 BC (moving the consequent kings as well). Demetrius was a young man in 205 BC when Antiochus the Great besieged Bactria (Polybius, *Histories*, XI.34). He succeeded his father, Euthydemus, peacefully and went on to make conquests in Arachosia, the Kabul valley and Gandhara. A reign of fifteen years accords well with how he ages slightly on his coin portraits.

The relationships between the kings who followed Demetrius I have been treated elsewhere (Jakobsson, 2008), and the relative chronology of this group is well established. It seems likely that Antimachos I and perhaps Agathokles were dethroned by Eukratides I. This was one of the most important Bactrian kings, but only one source mentions Eukratides’ relations to other Greek kings.

‘Almost at the same time that Mithridates ascended the throne among the Parthians, Eucratides began to reign among the Bactrians; both of them being great men [...] Eucratides, however, carried on several wars with great spirit, and, though much reduced by his losses in them, yet, when he was besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he repulsed, by continual sallies, a force of sixty thousand enemies. Having accordingly escaped, after a five months’ siege, he reduced India under his power. But as he was returning from the country, he was killed on his march by his son, with whom he had shared his throne, and who was so far from concealing the murder, that, as if he had killed an enemy, and not his father, he drove his chariot through his blood, and ordered his body to be cast out unburied.’
Justin (*Epitome* XLI:6¹)

This paragraph has been the subject of much criticism. Justin was a late Roman historian whose work *Epitome* is essentially a collection of anecdotes from the historian, Pompeius Trogus; his account is often vague, sensational and incoherent. It is frustrating that Eucratides’ relations with important kings whom coins have shown were his contemporaries are neglected.

But Justin had a good source, and perhaps his account can be reconciled with the numismatic evidence. That Eukratides came to power around the same time as Mithradates I (c.170-165 BC) poses no major problems, but his Indian war is far more problematic. Justin apparently meant that Eukratides’ conflict with Demetrius occurred at the *end* of Eukratides’ reign, as Eukratides had already carried on several wars before the conflict and was murdered after this last Indian campaign.

The siege could be a true episode (though the figures are certainly exaggerated!), picked from Trogus’ account; one

⁴⁰ *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, P. 153.

⁴¹ *Tarih-i Al-i Selçuk*. Ankara, 1951. P. 79.

⁴² *Al-Kāmal fī al-tārīkh*, part 24, P. 40.

⁴³ *Rāhat as-Şudūr wa āyat as-Surur*, P. 363; *Akhbār al-Dawlat as-Seljūqīyya*, P. 154–155; *Tarih-i Al-i Selçuk*, P. 80; *Istoriya i voskhvalenie vencesoscev*. Translated by K. S. Kekelidze. Tbilisi, 1959. P. 56 [*Istoriyani da azmani sharavandetani = History and Praising of Monarchs*].

⁴⁴ *Al-Kāmal fī al-Tārīkh*, Part 24, P. 82.

⁴⁵ *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, P. 155.

⁴⁶ *Rāhat as-Şudūr wa āyat as-Surur*, P. 364; *Al-Kāmal fī al-Tārīkh*, Part 24, P. 82–83.

⁴⁷ *Akhbār al-Dawlat as-Seljūqīyya*, P. 156.

⁴⁸ *Al-Kāmal fī al-Tārīkh*, Part 24, P. 98; *Al-Kitāb al-ʿIbār*, P. 176.

⁴⁹ *Tarih-i Al-i Selçuk*, P. 81; *Istoriya i voskhvalenie vencesoscev*, P. 58; Rashīd al-Dīn. *Sbornik letopisey*. Translated by O. I. Smirnova. Moscow–Leningrad, 1952. Vol. I. Book 2. P. 100 [*Jāmiʿ al-Tavārīkh = Compendium of Chronicles*].

⁵⁰ *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, P. 157.

⁵¹ *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, P. 157; *Istoriya i voskhvalenie vencesoscev*, P. 57.

⁵² *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, P. 157–158; *Istoriya i voskhvalenie vencesoscev*, P. 57–59.

⁵³ The throne was established in Ganja by Muḥammad Tapar.

⁵⁴ *Akhbār al-Dawlat al-Seljūqīyya*, P. 158–159; *Istoriya i voskhvalenie vencesoscev*, P. 64–65.

⁵⁵ *Istoriya i voskhvalenie vencesoscev*, P. 64–65.

⁵⁶ Kouymjian D. K. *Op. cit.* P. 353.

⁵⁷ ʿAtā-Malik Juwaynī. *The History of the World Conqueror*. Translated by J. A. Boyle. Cambridge, 1958. Vol. I. P. 312.

possible reconstruction would be that Eukratides was besieged after a defeat, but, having withstood the siege, was eventually rescued by reinforcements loyal to his dynasty. Justin has also omitted, but does by no means exclude, that Eukratides may have ruled in parts of India already before this war!

Eukratides died after 150 BC, and if Justin's account was correct, then his opponent could not possibly have been Demetrios I. Apart from Justin's account, there are numismatic indications against even placing Eukratides contemporary with Demetrios I:

- a) Euthydemos II, Agathokles and Pantaleon all issued nickel alloy coins. This was unique for these kings and conveniently places them after Demetrios but before Eukratides. (Bopearachchi 1991).
- b) Very few Bactrian bronzes of Eukratides appear to have been found². Earlier Bactrian kings issued numerous bronzes, while none are known for those after Eukratides, so it seems reasonable that the decrease in bronze output started only after the death of Demetrios I.

Together these arguments are so decisive that there may be no need to point out that Demetrios I was hardly an *Indian* king; he clearly ruled from Bactria and issued no bilingual coins. Or for that part, that Eukratides would rarely have survived a siege against such terrible odds unless he was already an established ruler who had secured enough loyalty to give him reliable backup resources. Justin's Demetrios was clearly a later king, and his identity will be discussed last in the article.

Reconstructions of Bactrian chronology

However, most current reconstructions (see Table 1) place the conflict between Eukratides and Demetrios early in his reign. Starting with **Wilson**, he has analysed Justin's passage meticulously (2004b) and suggests that its chronology may be distorted. He specifically points out that the Indian coins of Eukratides prove that he conquered India long before his death, but, to this author, Justin does not necessarily exclude this (see above).

However, Wilson suggests that Justin's chronology could be reversed to better fit the numismatic evidence, so that Eukratides fought first with Demetrios, and then his 'many wars'. Wilson and Assar (2007) have also suggested that the 'several wars' that Eukratides' fought may refer to his career as a general before becoming king, but since Justin says that these wars *weakened* Eukratides' he probably does not refer to Eukratides' actions before he became an important Bactrian king.

Bopearachchi (1991 and 1998) has separated Demetrios I and Eukratides in time, but still reverses Justin's chronology and places the Indian war first in Eukratides' career. Bopearachchi dates the Bactrian king Demetrios II to 175-170 BC and identifies him with Justin's Indian Demetrios. The problem is that Demetrios II was probably one of the last Bactrian kings (Wilson, 2004a, Senior, 2004) whose coins were not found in Ai Khanoum. Apart from this, Bopearachchi's Bactrian chronology seems reasonable. He allows sufficient time for Euthydemos II, Pantaleon, Agathokles and Antimachos I in the space between Demetrios I and Eukratides I.

Senior's chronology (2004) does, on the other hand, give Euthydemos I a later and very long reign (220-186 BC), and, as a consequence, several of his successors are placed as contemporaries during the short period of 175-165 BC, even though some of these rulers issued a relatively substantial coinage and there are no overstrikes from the period to support prolonged conflicts between these kings³. Senior suggests that there were no less than five Bactrian kings in the first years of Eukratides' reign.

Senior's reconstruction also relies on the existence of joint kings, where both kings issued coins: he has Euthydemos II ruling alongside his father Demetrios I. There are, however, few examples of Hellenistic princes who issued coins while their fathers were alive, and in Bactria there are two specific cases

where this was not the case. The first is the Heliodotos inscription (Rougemont, 2005), where king Euthydemos I is honoured after a victory. His son, Demetrios I, is bestowed with the honourable epithet 'Kallinikos', but, despite apparently being his father's general, he is not yet king⁴. The second example is the tax-receipt of Antimachos I Theos (Rea, Senior, and Hollis, 1994), where the joint king Eumenes never issued any coins at all. Euthydemos II is also usually placed after Demetrios I because of the nickel alloy coins (see above).

Senior's chronology accepts all these difficulties to allow for the traditional interpretation of Justin: that the reign of Demetrios I ended with the rise of Eukratides, a reconstruction that was presented already by Rawlinson in 1912. While Senior's studies of later Indo-Greek (and Scythian) kings are the most precise analysis available, this author believes that Bopearachchi's BNBact is a better reconstruction of Bactrian chronology.

Apollodotos I and Antimachos II in India

While the Bactrian kings, Pantaleon and Agathokles, issued the first bilingual, 'Indo-Greek' coinage in the Kabul valley and Gandhara shortly after the death of Demetrios I, Apollodotos I was the first king whose centre of power was outside the Hindu Kush. Even though nothing is known about his identity⁵, it seems likely that he was a Bactrian governor in India, who made himself independent (from Agathokles?) following the death of the young Euthydemos II and the apparent unrest in Bactria. It is not impossible that the so-called Indo-Greek era, from 186/5 BC (cf Wilson, 2008), may have been connected with Apollodotos I and his foundation of a new kingdom, perhaps around 180 BC⁶. Large finds of his coins with a multitude of monograms indicate his importance.

Apollodotos I was succeeded by Antimachos II, and also here Bopearachchi's old chronology (160-155 BC) seems best. Senior (2004) has suggested that Antimachos I and II may be the same king, despite different epithets. Senior is right to point out that early Indo-Greek coinage could be very different from Bactrian: Agathokles' square Indian drachms with Hindu motifs have for instance nothing in common with his regular Attic coinage⁷. However, the tax-receipt supports the existence of two Antimachos, and this could perhaps be proven decisively by studying the Antimachos bronze issues (Table 2).

Antimachos I Theos issued two types of bronzes: the first (BNBact series 5) being a regular round type, obviously meant for circulation in Bactria. In addition, there is a cruder type (BNBact 6-8) lacking the signs of Greek celatorship: regular shape, monograms and unambiguously Olympic motifs. These coins were monolingual but apparently issued outside Bactria, probably in Arachosia⁸, and were adapted from local types. They are similar to the crude Indian bronzes of Pantaleon and Agathokles, except that the latter also have Brahmi inscriptions. Parts of Arachosia had been under Seleucid rule and were probably more familiar with Greek script.

On the other hand, Antimachos (II) Nikephoros also issued bronzes in India: these are regularly square, have monograms and Olympic motifs. The Nikephoros bronzes were probably issued *farther* from Bactria than the BNBact series 6-8; despite this, they are more Hellenised and technically sophisticated. The existence of two very different bronze types issued *outside* the Hindu Kush indicates not only that Antimachos II Nikephoros was indeed a separate king, but also that he was later than Antimachos I Theos, since, in Nikephoros' time, Greek celators were established outside Bactria.

This is, in fact, in line with what the tax-receipt tells us. The emergence of this document in 1996 made Bopearachchi adapt his chronology to synchronise the rules of Antimachos II and his father Antimachos I to 174-165 BC (Bopearachchi 1998), but since the elder co-regent, Eumenes, never issued any coins, he and the younger co-regent, Antimachos, may just have been youths included in a royal cult and not yet allowed to coin⁹. Such was the Seleucid policy – there are for instance no coins known for Antiochos, the co-regent son of Antiochos the Great who predeceased his father. Also, the new Antimachos document

(Clarysse and Thompson, 2007) *could* be interpreted as dated in 157/6 BC, year 30 of the Indo-Greek era (see Wilson, 2008, for arguments that this document is not necessarily earlier than so), in that case by Antimachos II.

Antimachos II seems to have survived the death of his father and brother and escaped to the court of Apollodotos I, perhaps an ally of Antimachos I¹⁰, where he eventually succeeded Apollodotos I. A final indication that Antimachos II must have been the successor of Apollodotos I, not a contemporary in a different kingdom¹¹, is that their coins circulated together throughout the Indo-Greek realms. Senior (2004) lists twelve hoards containing both (out of sixteen hoards).

Menander and Eukratides

Antimachos II was, in his turn, succeeded by Menander I, whose first issues were struck using three of Antimachos' monograms. As a consequence of dating Antimachos II c.160-155 BC, Menander's reign cannot begin as early as 165 BC, an alternative suggested by Bopearachchi (1998, under 'Menander'). His underlying premises for this early date are that Eukratides extended his title to Basileus Megas on his coins before 162 BC (this is proven by the imitation of such coins by the Seleucid usurper, Timarchos, who ruled 162-160 BC). Eukratides also made inroads into India where he issued bilingual coins with bidirectional legends (with 'Megas' title), which made Menander adapt the legends on his own coins from a unidirectional to a bidirectional version, though somewhat different from that of Eukratides¹². This progression seems reasonable, but the timeline is based on the assumption that Eukratides adopted the title 'Megas' *because of* his conquests in India. Consequently, Bopearachchi dates Eukratides' first Indian coins to c. 162 BC.

The title 'Basileus Megas' ('Great King') was, however, of Achaemenid origin and likely reflects Eukratides' ambitions to compete with the powers in Iran. He assumed it just about the time of the death of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV Epiphanes (164 BC), which caused a power vacuum in Persia. Not only Timarchos but also Kamnaskires I of Elymais and the kings of Parthia styled themselves 'Great Kings' approximately at this time. Eukratides' wars with the Parthians are well known through Justin and Strabo (*Geography* 11.11.2).

We are, therefore, free to place Eukratides' Indian expansion long *after* he styled himself 'Great King', and so keep the date 155 BC for Menander without any problems¹³. Also, Eukratides' Indian silver is rather scarce, and, if we assume that silver was struck to pay soldiers, it seems as though his conquests outside the Hindu Kush were not permanent enough for him to employ local troops. This is similar to the Indian coinage of Pantaleon and Agathokles, which consisted almost exclusively of bronzes.


There are quite a large number of Eukratides' Indian bronzes, but many of these were posthumous imitations by later, nomad rulers. So Eukratides may have made his conquests in India c.155 BC, perhaps killing Antimachos II in the process, but pressure on other fronts prevented him from defeating Menander as well (see Bopearachchi, 1991).


Demetrios of India

This leads us to Eukratides' war with Demetrios. There are perhaps three possible interpretations of Justin XLI:6:

a) That Eukratides actually fought with an Indian king Demetrios. There is only one possible candidate: Demetrios III Aniketos, even though he is usually placed far later than 150 BC (Bopearachchi c.100 BC, Senior c.65 BC. Kraay [1985] does however suggest him as a candidate for Justin's Demetrios). He issued very scarce bilinguals which adhere to Menander's later standards, but this only proves that Demetrios III postdates Menander's numismatic reforms, which could have been finished around 150 BC – not that he ruled after Menander's death.

Senior (1998 & 2004) has summarised the justifications for dating Demetrios III late, but is aware that this is tentative. There are no hoard findings for Demetrios' coins, and his single

monogram  (BNBact 117) is unique; it is not necessarily a late

version of the common monogram  (BNBact 107) as Senior has suggested. Demetrios III used a reverse of standing Zeus, which was used by Heliokles II, but also by Heliokles I in Bactria not long after 150 BC. One of his drachms has deformed Greek letters, but such deformations are known for early kings such as Antimachos Theos (see above) and Nikias (c. 130 BC). Until this early dating is refuted, it must remain an important hypothesis (see Jakobsson 2008).

Demetrios III apparently wanted to be portrayed as a descendant of Demetrios I; they share the same epithet and on his bronzes he also used the elephant crown of his famous namesake. The very fact that Demetrios III issued bronzes with portraits may support an early dating: Eukratides, Menander and Nikias did so, but very few later Indo-Greek kings. In this scenario, Menander (whose role is of course omitted by Justin) may have promoted the Euthydemid prince, Demetrios III, as an anti-king to get back at his enemy, Eukratides. Demetrios III won an initial victory, but was defeated after a brief rule (for instance 147-146 BC).



A bronze of Demetrios III Aniketos. (Wikipedia, public domain)

b) The second scenario would be to identify Justin's Demetrios with the Bactrian king, Demetrios II, as Bopearachchi attempted, but with the improved dating c.145-135 BC. Demetrios II was a young man whose portraits were variable and often off-centre, many of them apparently struck in makeshift mints. He had no epithet (which might indicate subjugate status) and used Athena as a reverse, just like Menander. Senior and Wilson see him as a descendant of Eukratides, but he may instead have been Menander's brother, attacking Eukratides in Bactria. That might possibly make Justin's mistake (or simplification) of calling him 'king of the Indians' understandable.


c) The third alternative, impossible to prove, would be a grave error on Justin's part: 'Demetrios' is the wrong name.

Zoilos, Eukratides' vassal

Whatever the identity of Justin's Demetrios, the outcome was that Eukratides not only maintained himself but also became master of India. It is, however, unlikely that Eukratides ruled all of India just before his death: his coins have almost never been found in the Punjab, and none of his weak Bactrian successors issued a single Indian coin.

The key to this dilemma may be Zoilos I Dikaios, who also ruled in the Paropamisadae and Arachosia (Bopearachchi, 1991). Through overstrikes of Menander over Zoilos it is now known that the kings were contemporaries (Senior, 2004), likely enemies. Zoilos also used the early bronze standards from the time before Menander's reforms, but usually his late, bidirectional legend arrangement.

There is, however, one overlooked exception: BNBact series 5 are Indian drachms with a younger portrait and the same bidirectional arrangement as *Eukratides'* rare Indian silver¹⁴, with

which many specimens share the monogram  (BNBact 44). These should be Zoilos' earliest coins, apparently struck to celebrate a victory, as the reverse has Nike perched upon the shoulders of Heracles (the Euthydemid reverse, the dynasty that Zoilos may have belonged to). Their close relation to Eukratides' Indian coinage gives us a rare and important insight into Indo-Greek politics: Zoilos was not only Menander's enemy but Eukratides' vassal¹⁵.



This specimen of Zoilos' drachm with Greek legend of Eukratides' bidirectional type is better struck than those in BNbact, which have the same inferior quality as Eukratides' Indian coins. (engcoins.com, mail bid sale 75, lot 653)

Thus the 'conquest of India' of Eukratides' last Indian campaign could have referred to how Eukratides installed Zoilos as Indian king (though Menander undoubtedly maintained himself in the Punjab). After Eukratides' murder and the civil wars in Bactria, Zoilos was, therefore, in a position to quickly gain control over whatever Indian lands Eukratides had kept under personal dominion – this explains why there were no Indian coins issued by Eukratides' successors – but on his own was eventually defeated by Menander.

Conclusions

This article has suggested that Justin – like many ancient sources – was more prone to omissions than to downright distortions of history. In this case, he may have simplified a complicated power struggle between Eukratides and Menander, a conflict partially fought through intermediaries who were vassals or subjugate kings. Similar intrigues are well-known from the contemporary Seleucid civil wars, and there are good parallels to Justin's omissions: the Jewish sources, of course less familiar with the intrigues of Greek kings, often simplify these wars. Josephus, just like Justin, a later historian from a different culture, did not fully realise how Alexander Balas and Alexander Zabinas were impostor puppet-kings controlled by the Ptolemies; to him they were real Seleucids in a genuine dynastic war¹⁶. How was Justin to separate pawns from kings in long forgotten Indian wars?

I have attempted to prove that numismatic knowledge may be adapted to comply with Justin's account as well as fill in some of the blanks, rather than used to dismiss his chronology. There has also been a tendency, still found even in some of the best reconstructions today, to see the remaining historical fragments as coherent, which they unfortunately are not. Large stretches of Bactrian history are a blank, and even though Demetrios I was a well-known and important king we cannot make the default assumption that Justin's account was about him.

Notes

¹ Translation by Rev. John Selby Watson, 1853

² BNbact, series 10-12, lists four specimens, compared to around 200 pieces of Bactrian silver. No Bactrian bronzes are listed in the ANS collection (Bopearachchi 1998).

³ This is not to say that Senior is wrong to assign a long reign to Euthydemos I who issued far more coins than his successors; but perhaps he could be moved to c. 230-195 BC, or Eukratides' accession could be moved to 165 BC (cf Wilson and Assar, 2007).

⁴ Demetrios I may have minted some very rare bronzes *without* royal title in the Indian provinces (Handa, 1996).

⁵ It could perhaps be argued that he was an ancestor of Menander I or Eukratides II, with whom he shares the epithet Soter and deities on coins. There are no indications that connect him with the Euthydemid dynasty.

⁶ The date 186/5 could be antedated, perhaps to place him as the direct successor of Demetrios I? Cf the Seleucid era which antedated the kingship of Seleukos I from c.305 to 312 BC (see Jakobsson, 2008).

⁷ On the other hand, the two very different Attic and Indian coinages of Theophilos may belong to two separate rulers (Jakobsson, 2007).

⁸ Bopearachchi (1998, under Antimachos I). Already Tarn (1951) noted that Antimachos Theos may have ruled in the south, and mentions his coins being found in Gedrosia. It certainly makes sense if Antimachos I

held sway in different territories outside the Hindu Kush than his rivals Pantaleon/Agathokles (see Jakobsson, 2008).

⁹ Thanks to Mark Passahl for this suggestion.

¹⁰ The best indication for this possibility is geopolitical: the territories of Antimachos I and Apollodotos I did not overlap, while both king shared territories with Agathokles. Therefore the two kings – who also both wear the same kausia hat – may have split the Bactrian and Indian dominions of Agathokles between them. It is unlikely but not impossible that Antimachos Nikephoros was a third Antimachos, perhaps Apollodotos' son.

¹¹ Only one of over 25 monogram-like symbols used by Apollodotos I was inherited by Antimachos II or Menander I, though some of Antimachos' monograms (all in all seven) appear to be variations of these. This could imply some sort of crisis in the Indo-Greek kingdom – perhaps Antimachos II became king after Apollodotos I fell in battle and mints were temporarily lost.

¹² Eukratides version has the lower line flat, Menander rounded.

¹³ It is of course true that Eukratides' Attic coins with Megas legend had been struck with bidirectional legend since at least 162 BC, but these never circulated in India, and Bopearachchi emphasizes that Eukratides' conquests of Indian mints and issuing of *Indian* coins were important to Menander's reforms.

¹⁴ In Greek. The Kharosthi inscription probably resembles Menander's, with the lower line rounded.

¹⁵ As a minor ruler in the territories between Eukratides and Menander, Zoilos could hardly have been the enemy of *both* these important kings.

¹⁶ Cf Josephus, *Ant Jud*, 13.2.1, 13.9.3.

References

- Bopearachchi, O., *Monnaies Gréco-Bactriennes et Indo-Grecques (BNbact)*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991.
- Bopearachchi, O. (ed), *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, The collection of the American Numismatic Society, part 9: Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins* American Numismatic Society, New York, 1998
- Clarysse, W. and Thompson, D.J., 'Two Greek Texts on Skin from Hellenistic Bactria' *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 159 (2007), 273-239
- Handa, D. (ed.) 'A Note on an Interesting Greek Coin in the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur', *Oriental Numismatic Studies vol.1*, (1996) 9-10
- Hannestad, L., 'The Bithynian Kings and Greek Culture', in: *Aspects of Hellenistic Kingship*, (Studies in Hellenistic Civilisation VII), Aarhus University Press, Cambridge, 1996, 67-98
- Jakobsson, J., 'Relations between the Indo-Greek kings after Menander part 1', *JONS* 191 (2007), 25-27
- Jakobsson, J. 'The Greeks of Bactria Revisited', *Nomismatika Khronika*, (2008 - in printing)
- Kraay, C. 'Demetrios in Bactria and India', *Numismatic Digest, Vol. IX* (1985)
- Rawlinson, H.G., *Bactria, the history of a forgotten empire*, Probsthain & co, London, 1912
- Rea, J.R., Senior, R.C. and Hollis, A.S., 'A tax receipt from Hellenistic Bactria', *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 104 (1994), 261-280
- Rougemont, G. 'Nouvelles Inscriptions Grecques de L'Asie Centrale', in: *Afghanistan Ancien Carrefour Entre L'Est Et L'Ouest*, Bopearachchi, O. (ed.), Musée Archeologique Henri-Prades-Lattes, Brepols, 2005, 127-136
- Senior, R.C. and MacDonald, D., *The decline of the Indo-Greeks*, Monographs of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, Athens, 1998
- Senior, R.C., 'The Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian king sequences in the second and first centuries BC', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society* 179 (2004), supplement
- Tarn, W.W., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1951
- Wilson, L.M., 'Two Coinage Types of Eukratides II and the Murderer of Eukratides I', *JONS* 179 (2004a), 26-28
- Wilson, L.M., 'Demetrios II of Bactria and hoards from Ai Khanoum', *JONS* 180 (2004b), 12-13
- Wilson, L.M., and Assar, G.R.F., 'Re-dating Eukratides I relative to Mithradates I', *JONS* 191, (2007), 24-25
- Wilson, L.M., 'Antimachos of Bactria: coins, documents and eras', *JONS* 194, (2008), 20-22

Thanks to Mark Passahl for valuable input.

Table 1. Reconstructions of Bactrian and Indian chronology from Euthydemos I to the death of Eukratides I. All dates BC and approximate. Predominantly Indian kings in *italic*.

Bopearachchi (1991)	Bopearachchi (1998)	Senior (2004)
Euthydemos I 230-200	Euthydemos I 230-200	Euthydemos I 220-186
Demetrios I 200-190	Demetrios I 200-185	Demetrios I 186-170
Euthydemos II 190-185	Euthydemos II 185-180	Euthydemos II joint king
Pantaleon 190-185	Pantaleon 185-180	Pantaleon 175-165
Agathokles 190-180	Agathokles 185-170	Agathokles joint king
<i>Apollodotos I 180-160</i>	<i>Apollodotos I 174-165</i>	<i>Apollodotos I 175-165</i>
Antimachos I 185-170	Antimachos I 174-165	Antimachos (I+II) 170-160
Demetrios II 175-170	Demetrios II 175-170	Eukratides I 171-139
Eukratides I 170-145	<i>Antimachos II 174-165</i>	Demetrios II joint king
<i>Antimachos II 160-155</i>	Eukratides I 171-145	Eukratides II joint king
<i>Menander I 155-130</i>	<i>Menander I 165/55-130</i>	<i>Menander I 165/0-135/0</i>
<i>(Zoilos 130-120)</i>	<i>(Zoilos 130-120 or earlier)</i>	<i>Zoilos I 150-140</i>

Table 2. Antimachos bronzes. **Olympic** symbols are in bold. *The thunderbolt, while clearly an attribute of Zeus to a Greek, could of course be universally understood.

Inscription	Shape	Monograms	Motif
‘Basileos Antimachou’	Round	Yes	Nike / elephant
‘Basileos Antimachou’	Rectangular, irregular	No	Thunderbolt* / elephant
‘Basileos Antimachou Nikephorou’ / ‘Maharajasa jayadhasa Amitmakhasa’	Square	Yes	Aegis / wreath

ARDASHIR II KUSHANSHAH AND HUVISHKA THE KUSHAN: NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR THE DATE OF THE KUSHAN KING, KANISHKA I*

by Nikolaus Schindel

The question when to date the Year One of the Kushan king, Kanishka I, still remains one of the most disputed problems in the entire historiography of Central Asia and India.¹ It goes without saying that a reliable solution can be found only once all relevant sources are collected, critically reviewed, and compared with one another. However, two years ago when working on the coins in the collection of Aman ur Rahman (Dubai), I came across several specimens of the otherwise rare Kushano-Sasanian ruler, Ardashir II, which might add some important new insights (fig. 1, 2).

Here and now is not the place for an in-depth study. Considering whether it is better to present this new evidence only in the context of a full re-evaluation of the Year One question, or presenting my basic idea in the form of a short note, I came to the conclusion that it might be more helpful for other colleagues to have the basic idea available even before a detailed study can appear. I therefore confine myself to a very short presentation of the basic outlines, leaving aside most literature save for the numismatic references. It is not disrespect for the work done by other scholars that it is not cited here, but just the wish to keep the present presentation as short and concise as possible.

The coins under discussion here depict on the obverse the bust of a king wearing a crown consisting of a bird’s head and wings; the inscription is not clear. The same applies to the reverse legend. The depiction, however, thanks to the new coins, can be understood perfectly well.



Fig.1 Ardashir II, Æ, Göbl 1984, type 1029, Aman ur Rahman coll., Dubai



Fig.2 Ardashir II, Æ, Göbl 1984, type 1029, Aman ur Rahman coll., Dubai

On the right, a beardless standing figure with a mural crown consisting of three strokes is depicted, wearing a long garment and a cloak. Without doubt, this figure is female, and its identification as Anahita by Göbl seems convincing. To the left, the Kushanshah can be identified from the basic elements of his crown also depicted on the obverse. He is bearded and wears a tunic, a cloak and trousers. Ardashir stretches out his right hand in a gesture of adoration, while his left hand rests on a scabbard. Exactly the same depiction of the ruler can be found on other Kushano-Sasanian issues such as the dinars of Ohrmazd I Kushanshah,² as well as on Sasanian coins from Ohrmazd I Shahanshah onwards.³ The person on the right – clearly the goddess Anahita – holds in her right hand the object on which this paper will focus, in her left a long sceptre.⁴

Now, let us look in detail at this object. It has the form of a half ellipse and is about double as high as broad. On its top, there is a little dot; at its base, there is straight line. To the left and right, two short strokes are depicted. Attached to its right end are broad, ribbed ribbons. Coins like fig. 2 prove beyond doubt that the ribbon is attached to the crown, and not to the right arm of Anahita (which would not make sense from an iconographical point of view). Exactly the same treatment of the diadem ribbons – a very important element in Sasanian art which features much less prominently under the Kushans – can be seen on the dinar of Peroz I (fig. 3).



Fig.3 Peroz I, AV dinar, Göbl 1984, type 555, British Museum, London

Considering its form on the Ardashir II coppers and also the context in which it used – clearly an investiture scene, a common motive in Sasanian and Kushano-Sasanian coinage – there can hardly be any doubt that we are dealing with a crown. Even if the obverse legends, as stated above, are not clearly enough legible, the closely related issues of Ardashir I Kushanshah certainly contains the word “Kushan”.⁵ Therefore, it seems safe to assume that this is also the issue of one of the Sasanian rulers governing parts of the Kushan Empire. It is therefore logical to assume that what we see is in fact a Kushan crown handed over to a ruler of Iranian stock.

Unlike Sasanian Iran, Kushan crowns are not as clearly personal. Without going into too much detail, suffice it to say that there are two different basic types of Kushan crowns: from Vima Kadphises to Huvishka, semicircular crowns (fig. 4), sometimes adorned with minor symbols or elements are used; from Vasudeva I onwards, triangular dotted crowns are the rule (fig. 5).⁶



Fig.4 Huvishka, AV dinar, Göbl 1984, type 153, Historical Museum, Bern



Fig.5 Vasudeva, AV dinar, Göbl 1984, type 500, Historical Museum, Bern

The crown on the Ardashir II issues clearly belongs to the former group. We do have also the depiction of the later Kushan crowns on the rare gold issues of the Kushanshah, Peroz I (fig. 3). This proves that the Sasanians knew both basic forms, and that there was not just one single generic form of Kushan crown for the Sasanians. Considering the great importance of crowns in Sasanian Iran, we can be sure that the depiction of headgear, even of adversaries, was not just random. The rock reliefs of Shapur I, for example, show the Roman emperors with the laurel wreath typical of Imperial Rome in the 3rd century, be it on statues or on coins, other than the Antoninianus (where the radiate crown served only the purpose of marking the denomination, without ever being an actual *insigne imperii*). Whereas on the 4th century

rock relief from Taq-i Bustan, the dead emperor Julian is depicted with the elaborate diadem typical of contemporary coinage and also imperial depictions in other media.

We are, therefore, well advised to assume that also the depiction on the Ardashir II copper coins features a contemporary Kushan crown. The dating of Ardashir I and II is not absolutely clear, but a comparison with Sasanian imperial issues reveals that they have to be dated after the death of Shapur I, i.e. after 270, most probably in the 270s or in the 280s, almost certainly not later.⁷ We, therefore, have a Kushano-Sasanian ruler in the 270s or 280s who is handed over a crown which cannot be later than the reign of Huvishka. Considering that this might be an allusion to an actual event – the most likely assumption would be a military victory of the Sasanians over the Kushan which resulted in the establishment of Kushano-Sasanian rule –, and also taking into account that, in the main Kushano-Sasanian series which commence most probably shortly after 300, the later Kushan crown is depicted (Peroz I with all probability belongs to the earlier part of the series),⁸ to me the conclusion is inevitable that the last candidate for this defeat, as well as for having been the original owner of the crown depicted here, can only be Huvishka. No one will claim that Vima Kadphises reigned in the 270s, and neither is Kanishka a plausible candidate for such a late dating.

Since the basic elements and the overall treatment of the object in question prove that we are dealing with a crown, since on a Kushano-Sasanian coin in the context of an investiture it can be only a Kushan crown, and since Huvishka is the only plausible candidate, we shall have a closer look at this crown. On the top of many of his earlier crowns, one can make out three concentric semicircles. These clearly are reduced to the dot we can see on the Ardashir II bronzes, since more detail was simply impossible due to the small size of the crown on the dies. The fact that the crown is much higher than on Kushan coins can easily be explained by the die cutter’s wish to make it figure more prominently; actual crown caps of comparable height can be found only on Sasanian issues of Khusro I and Ohrmazd IV, i. e. from the later 6th century, and even there they appear to be merely a numismatic convention. The strokes to the left and the right of the crown cap also require a short comment: the earlier coins of Huvishka feature two horns attached to the diadem above the forehead, and it seems obvious that the two strokes on the Ardashir II coins are supposed to represent them, even if – most probably influenced by the mural elements on Sasanian crowns – they are shown separated from each other. But on a coin produced by a Sasanian artist, minor variations are to be expected, as can be observed also from the use of the prominent ribbons both on the Ardashir II coppers as well as on the Peroz I dinars.

What possible impact does all this have on the question of Kanishka’s Year One? There are still several opinions ranging from AD 78 to AD 232. One of the ideas quite popular nowadays is a starting date of AD 127.⁹ If we assume this, and if we take into account the evidence of the Indian inscriptions dated in the Kanishka Era, then Huvishka was certainly dead in AD 191 at the latest. Since, from a numismatic point of view, it is impossible to date Ardashir II earlier than the 270s, we have to assume a gap of at least 80 years between his death and the issue of these coins. Moreover, since during that long period of time, triangular dotted crowns like the one of Vasudeva I were worn by the later Kushan kings, the re-emergence of such an obsolete crown form is highly implausible, as – to reiterate this point – the Peroz I dinars prove that there was nothing like a “typical” Kushan crown modelled, say, on that of Vima or Kanishka as “founders” of the empire. If the crown form was contemporary in ca. 300, then we have to assume that the same holds true also in the 270s or 280s. Assuming Year One falls in 227 AD, than Huvishka’s reign would stretch from approximately 253 (26 Kanishka Era) to ca. 291 (64 Kanishka Era, the first attested date of Huvishka’s successor Vasudeva I).¹⁰ The Ardashir II coins then would fall in the middle of his reign, which would be perfectly in accord with the data for Huvishka.

When approaching the problem of Year One as a numismatist, my concept was first to try to arrive at a

methodically reliable absolute dating of the Kushano-Sasanian issues. The next step is to connect Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coinages. It goes without saying that this can be achieved only through a sober system analysis. But even if single spotlights such as the one presented here cannot replace an in-depth study, they are still relevant and carry a great weight. I hope that these observations on the crown on the Ardashir II coins will stimulate my colleagues working in the field of Kushan studies, even if a tremendous amount of work and discussion remains to be done until a really reliable and – hopefully – universally accepted solution for the question of Year One can be found. The depiction of the crown of Huvishka on the coins of Ardashir II Kushanshah, together with many other pieces of numismatic evidence already presented by Robert Göbl, in my opinion, strongly advocates a dating in the early 3rd century, that is to say at the present state of research in AD 227.



Fig. 6 Ardashir I, Æ , Göbl 1984, type 1028, Aman ur Rahman coll., Dubai

Notes

* I have to thank Aman ur Rahman, Dubai, for his permission to publish the three coins from his collection here. My best thanks are also due to my colleagues with whom I discussed this topic, especially Michael Alram, Fabrizio Sinisi and Klaus Vondrovec. The basic idea put to paper here has already been presented in a lecture entitled “The Year 1 of the Kushan King Kanishka I”, delivered at the 6th European Conference of Iranian Studies, organised by the SIE in Vienna 2007.

¹ The only methodical, relevant, general study and work reference for Kushan coins remains the system reconstruction by R. Göbl, *Münzprägung des Kušānreiches*, Vienna 1984, with important additions and corrections in R. Göbl, *Donum Burns. Die Kušānmünzen im Münzkabinett Bern und die Chronologie*, Vienna 1993. A good overview on the main problems can be found in the various articles in M. Alram/D. E. Klimburg-Salter (eds.), ‘Coins, Art and Chronology’. *Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, Vienna 1999. More recent treatments are e. g. J. Cribb, ‘Money as a Marker of Cultural Continuity and Change in Central Asia’, in: J. Cribb/G. Herrmann (eds.) *After Alexander. Central Asia before Islam*, Oxford 2007, p. 333-375, as well as in this journal H. Loeschner, ‘Notes on the Yuezhi – Kushan Relationship and Kushan Chronology’, at http://www.onsnumis.org/publications/Yuezhi-Kushan_Hans-Loeschner_2008-04-15.pdf (26. 11. 2008).

² Göbl 1984 (as note 1), pl. 114, type 1026f.

³ R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, Braunschweig 1971, type I/1.

⁴ The type is Göbl 1984 (as note 1), pl. 114, no. 1029. Göbl p. 46 describes, on the evidence of the few and not really well-preserved specimens available to him, the scene as an investiture, but claims that Anahita holds “...in der Rechten Investiturkranz...” which is clearly wrong, especially considering the treatment of the diadem on other Kushano-Sasanian coins

⁵ The transcription in Göbl 1984 (as note 1), tab. XIV, no. 31 might seem a little bit unclear, but taking into account that coin Pahlavi in this period is generally not too easily legible, coins like fig. 5 prove the occurrence of the word “Kushan” (*kwš'n* in Pahlavi) beyond doubt.

⁶ Cp. the overview in Göbl 1984 (as note 1), tab. IVf. The developments under Huvishka and their possible repercussions are not discussed here since the basic question is which century we are dealing with; additionally, a detailed treatment is out of the range of this short note.

⁷ Nikolaus Schindel, ‘Adhuc sub iudice lis est? Zur Datierung der kushanosasanidischen Münzen’, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 113/114, 2005, p. 228f., where I have placed his issues approximately in the reign of Wahram II; p. 223, 226 against dating Ardashir I Kushanshah in the period of Ardashir I Shahanshah.

⁸ A secure dating of the Peroz I dinars can be achieved only after a careful re-examination of the system reconstruction of Kushano-Sasanian coinage as a whole; his issues anyway are markedly different from Ardashir I and II, whereas they bear close resemblances to issues of the earliest ruler in the main series, namely Ohrmazd I Kushanshah. Therefore, they plausibly also were struck shortly after 300, which would make them just 20-20 years later than Ardashir II’s coppers.

⁹ This date was first proposed by H. Falk, ‘The *yuga* of Sphujiddhvaja and the era of the Kusānas’, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7, 2001, p. 121-136. However, it has to be repeated again and again that Falk, in fact analyzing his source, arrives at the date of 227, and that it is only because “hardly anyone would accept AD 227 as the date for the accession of Kanishka I to the throne” that he feels compelled to look for an interpretation which enables to him to stick to a 2nd century dating. I refrain from any comments whether this is compatible with the sound methodology of an historian.

¹⁰ J. Cribb, ‘The early Kushan kings: new evidence for Chronology. Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I’, in: Alram/Klimburg-Salter (as note 1), p. 183.

A FRACTIONAL AL-HAKIM BILLON COIN OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ

By Graham Cawser

Muhammad Bin Tughluq was the second ruler of the Tughluq dynasty. He came to power in AH 725 following the death of his father, Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq, an act in which he himself was implicated. His reign is well known for its numismatic innovation, most notably the unsuccessful introduction of a brass token coinage in AH 730. Following the failure of this experiment, Muhammad continued to make changes to the coinage, bringing about a complete change in the style of the later billon and copper issues.

In AH 741 Muhammad initiated a new series of coins in the names of the Abbasid caliphs. It is suggested that Muhammad’s move to introduce these coins was motivated by guilt for his involvement in his father’s demise. Whatever his reasons, he clearly felt the need for caliphal recognition of his sovereignty.

Initially Muhammad issued coins in the name of the Egyptian caliph, al-Mustakfi, and did so until AH 744. As it happened, al-Mustakfi had actually died in AH 740, and had been succeeded by al-Hakim II. On discovering this fact, coins were immediately struck bearing the new caliph’s titles.

The coins of al-Hakim II were struck in gold, billon and copper. The first series of billon coins were 9 g tankas dated AH 748, 749, 750 and 751, (Goron and Goenka D446, Nelson-Wright 624 – 625). These coins were struck with the caliph’s titles over both sides, and the date and mintmark on the obverse. This type has *abū* at the top of the reverse and *ahmad* at the bottom. Until now, no fractional coins have been noted of this type.

Some time ago, whilst sorting through a parcel of Tughluq billon coins I came across an unlisted coin of the same design as the D446 tanka. This item, weighing 3.53 g and measuring 13 mm to 14 mm in diameter, also bears al-Hakim II’s titles across both sides within a quaterfoil, in the same style as the tanka, D446. The coin bears the impression of a mint mark, (possibly Nelson-Wright’s mint mark 17, Appendix C of “*The coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi*”) to the left of *abū*, but no date. Produced from high quality billon with a good silver appearance, the piece has clearly seen a good deal of circulation and this will have reduced its weight somewhat. However, the overall fabric of the piece points to it being a coin of 32 ratis.



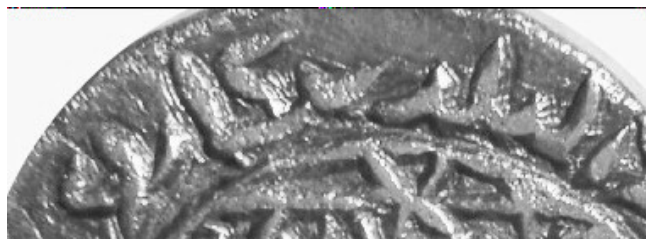
SOME TANKAS OF THE SULTANS OF BENGAL

By Paul Stevens and Stan Goron

Since the publication of *Coins of the Indian Sultanates* by Goron & Goenka in 2001, a number of new types have come to light. Some of these have been published

in previous issues of the Newsletter/Journal (see cumulative index online). Here we present some more new types and varieties.

***Shams al-Dīn Ilyās* (AH 743-748; AD 1342-1357)**



This is a silver tanka of Satgāon with mintname ‘al-Balad Satgānū’, weight: 10.45 g. Only the unit part of the date is visible and appears to be *ithna* – 2, making the date 752. G&G B154 is the usual type for this mint, with the reverse field legend within a circle. The present coin has this legend within a square within a circle, similar to types B151 and B155 for Firūzābād and Shahr-i-Nau respectively. The date 752 was not noted for B154; it would be interesting to know if it exists for this type too.

***Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak* (AH 864-879; AD 1459-1474)**



This would appear to be a variety of B524 with the date reversed and engraved as ‘768’ instead of ‘867’. The coin illustrated in G&G, and which was the only specimen of the type observed when preparing the book, has a decorative border on at least one side. On the present coin, which weighs 10.63 g, no such border is visible.

***Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd* (AH 939-945; AD 1532-1538)**



The coinage of this ruler can be divided into two main series: the *badr shāhī* issues, so called because each side of the coins bears the legend *badr shāhī* within a small central circle; and issues with normal linear inscriptions. The first of these series seems to be the commoner and was struck at a number of different mints (see B890-920 in G&G).

Published here is a new type of silver *badr shāhī* tanka. It was struck at the mint of Mu‘azzamābād and does not bear a date. Mu‘azzamābād is a well-known mint in the Bengal series, common for certain rulers and scarce for others. Up to now

the latest issue from this mint has been an issue of ‘Ala al-Dīn Ḥusain, dated AH 907. The present coin, weighing 10.39 g, has the mintname very clearly engraved at the bottom of the reverse.

ANOTHER NEW MINT FOR THE FISH PAISAS OF THE DOAB

By Barry Tabor

The fish coppers of the Doab region are familiar to all collectors of Indian Native States coins, and the best known are surely those from the Vrindavan (Bindraban) and Mathura area, known as Braj. They have, however, now been published for a growing number of mint places from just below the foothills of the Himalayas to places near the confluence of the Rivers Ganga and Jumna, near Allahabad.

Coins of this kind occur with a horizontal fish facing either to the right (more common) or to the left, often with a variety of other symbols and marks added, and were struck under a number of authorities. Coins from Najibabad, for instance, include copper paisas with horizontal fishes of both types, and with a vertical fish, the Najibabad mint mark under Awadh. Most types are not relevant to a discussion of the copper coin that forms the subject matter of this note, not being from the Braj region, and are mentioned only in passing.

The area around the holy city of Mathura (renamed Islamabad by the Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb) including Vrindavan (Bindraban, Brindaban) is famous for a multitude of nationally and internationally important temples and other pilgrimage sites of many descriptions.



The photograph above shows a newly discovered type, from a mint not previously reported, as far as I can determine. It is a copper paisa weighing about 8.2 g. The diameter is about 17mm, and the flan is of even thickness. The obverse, struck retrograde, shows a part of the Shah Alam ‘Badshah Ghazi’ legend with an attractive five-petaled flower, similar to symbols found on some Maratha issues, on a vertical stalk, inclined right (left if it were not retrograde) from near the top. There is no date visible. The reverse has a fish facing right below the dividing line, with remnants of what might be a regnal year and the usual reverse formulae. Above the dividing line is the mint name, ‘Balsānā’¹, a town that has the more usual alternative spelling of ‘Barsana’². The execution of the dies is bold, but this coin is less aesthetically pleasing than many of its contemporaries from nearby mints, such as Islamabad-Mathura.

Barsana is about 31 miles northeast of Mathura, not far from Aligarh, and, like Mathura, has some important temples and other pilgrimage sites, being in an area that, according to Hindu legends, is closely associated with the early life of Krishna. This coin, therefore may be associated, among others, with the copper coin of Kaman, reported by Shailendra Bhandare in 2007³. This whole area, as mentioned by him in that paper, is of great importance to certain Hindu sects associated with the worship of Krishna as a child and adolescent, as the Braj area is where he grew up. There are a number of pilgrimage tours traditional to the area, and the existence of several mints in close proximity thereabouts must be associated with this activity. Barsana itself, according to legend, was a favourite residence of Radha, ‘paramour’ of the young Krishna, and is included in the pilgrimage tours (‘circumambulation’) noted by Bhandare.

The busy town of Barsana is thus added to the rapidly increasing number of known mint places reported for the fish

paisas of the Doab, and to that of the small, ephemeral mints associated with the pilgrimage circumambulations, that have taken place for centuries, and continue to attract vast numbers of worshippers.

¹The reader will notice three dots over the letter ‘*śin*’ and wonder why this mint name has not been read as ‘Balshānā.’ This is a moot point, but the consensus of the expert advice consulted has been in favour of reading ‘*śin*’ and not ‘*shin*’ here, largely on a contextual basis. We will readily agree, also, that groups of dots are often decorative and not functional.

² Advice and historical information was gratefully received from Shailendra Bhandare and Raju Bhatt.

³ “Kaman and Kosi Two Post-Mughal Mints in the Braj region” by Shailendra Bhandare, *JONS No.193*, Autumn 2007. pp.21-24.

MAKING THE MOST IN ‘TROUBLED TIMES’: JEAN-BAPTISTE FILOSE AND HIS COINAGE

By Shailendra Bhandare

Introduction

In late 18th – early 19th century, the Mughal Empire rapidly fragmented in North India. The authority of the Emperor waned and he became a pawn in the hands of various political powers like the Marathas, the Rohillas, the British and some of his own courtiers. The quest for political power in North India saw a few key players, the chief of whom was the Maratha family of the Sindhias. Under the able leadership of Mahadaji Sindhia, who secured himself as the heir to the Sindhia titles after the debacle of Panipat in 1761, the Maratha supremacy reached new heights in the last two decades of the 18th century. Its apogee came when, in 1788, the emperor Shah Alam II appointed Mahadaji Sindhia imperial plenipotentiary and ‘vice-regent’ (*Vakeel-i-Mutāliq*) – an office which Mahadaji accepted on behalf of his master, the Maratha Peshwa, Madhav Rao II.

The success of Mahadaji was attributed to a new feature on the Indian military horizon – that of Indian troops trained in the art of European warfare. Collectively called the *Gol ki Larhāi* or ‘War of the Circle’, the techniques saw troops fighting in formations rather than using traditional techniques like guerrilla warfare or a ‘free-for-all’ fight on the battlefield. They employed systematically trained soldiers, organised in battalions and platoons (‘Campooos’ and ‘Paltans’ to use the Anglo-vernacular terms), who marched in unison and wore uniforms. The routine of drills, parades and marches gave the contingents the appellation *Kawāyati Fauz* or ‘disciplined army’ (*Kawāyat* – troops drill or parade). Of course, the Marathas under Sindhia were not the only political power to employ such troops. Others, in particular the Nawab of Awadh, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the armies of Mysore under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, each had a part of their armies set up in ways similar to those of the Europeans and trained in the techniques of warfare they employed.

To train Indian troops in European techniques of warfare meant employing European servicemen who could impart such training. This need on the part of many Indian polities in the late 18th century gave rise to an interesting class of Europeans in service in India – the ‘Military Adventurers’ or soldiers of fortune, seeking employment at various Indian courts which set up ‘*Kawāyati*’ contingents for them. Although the history of Indian troops trained in European techniques of warfare goes back to the Anglo-French conflict of 1750-60, the ever-changing political spectrum and uncertainties of the late 18th century meant more and more Europeans came to India to seek employment with Indian powers during the period 1770-1800. Successful ‘early birds’ included Walter Reinhardt, alias ‘Sombre’, a native of Trier in Germany and Rene-Marie Madec (or ‘Medoc’ as he is known to Indians), born at Quimper in Brittany. While Sombre died in India in 1778, Madec went back to Europe after his Indian career in

1779 and was appointed a Chevalier by the French king, thanks to the fortune he amassed while in India. Later adventurers of prominence include Benoit de Boigne (1751-1830), born in Chambéry in Savoy, who was the architect of Sindhia’s victories in North India after 1780. De Boigne retired to France in 1795, leaving the Sindhia ‘Campooos’ in charge of his protégé, Pierre Cuillier or ‘Perron’ (1755-1834). Perron deserted the Sindhia at an opportune moment during the second Anglo-Maratha war and was thus responsible for the Maratha defeat in north India at the hands of the British general, Lord Lake. Then there was the eccentric George Thomas (1756-1802), the ‘Irish Raja’ of Tipperary, who created his own kingdom in the Hansi-Hissar region in Haryana, built a fort and named it, rather romantically, after himself as ‘Georgegarh’!

While all Europeans were addressed as ‘Sahib’ and were collectively called *Firanghies* (‘Franks’), many mercenaries earned vernacular sobriquets owing to their ‘exotic’ presence amongst soldiers and statesmen of late 18th century India. They were often based on assimilation of their European names into Indian languages like Hindustani, Marathi, or Urdu. Thus, for most Frenchmen the honorific ‘Monsieur’ got transformed into the Indian ‘Moosa’. ‘Sombre’ became ‘Samru’, ‘Perron’ turned into ‘Peeru’, George Thomas was better known as *Jahāz Firanghi* and so on. Herbert Compton in his classic ‘A Particular Account of the European Military Adventurers of Hindustan 1784-1803’ (London, 1891), provides an insight into the ‘Indianisation’ of names of Europeans in the service of various Indian rulers.

The person on which this paper focuses is Jean-Baptiste Filose (variously spelled ‘Filoze’, ‘Felose’, ‘Feloze’, ‘Philose’, ‘Philoze’, ‘Filoz’ etc), one of the adventurers in the service of the Sindhia and the successor, in practical terms, to Perron, who returned to France in 1804. There is no detailed biography available of him but an early biographical note appears in ‘The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies’, vol. VIII, July-December 1819. Thomas Broughton’s ‘Letters Written in a Mahratta Camp in the year 1809’ (publ. John Murray, 1813) makes many references to Filose’s activities. By far the best historical source on his exploits is Herbert Compton (vide supra) where he, along with his father and brother, features on pp. 354-356 of the Appendix. ‘Poona Residency Correspondence’, vol. 14 (eds. J N Sarkar and G S Sardesai, Bombay 1951), which deals with ‘Daulat Rao Sindhia and North Indian Affairs (1810-1818)’ is helpful in creating a year-by-year account of Jean-Baptiste’s activities during the period. Important details also come from a rather unexpected source – ‘European and Indo-European Poets of Urdu and Persian’, by Ram Babu Saksena (Lahore, 1941, pp. 278-285 – I am extremely grateful to Jean-Marie Lafont, New Delhi, for drawing my attention to this reference). Saksena quotes information from the columns of the ‘Statesman’ written by an unknown person who writes with the nom-de-plume ‘Hyderabad’ and claims to have a connection with the Filose family through which he seemingly had access to ‘unpublished family papers’. Saksena is candid enough, however, to admit that he cannot vouch for ‘Hyderabad’s account and the veracity of what he says remains uncertain. It is from Saksena’s account that we learn that Jean-Baptiste was not only a military commander but a poet of some repute and that the love of Urdu/Persian poetry ran in the family for the next three generations, a grandson of Filose even publishing his own *diwan* or collection of verses in 1869.

The Filose Family in India – Early Years

Jean-Baptiste’s father was Michel Filose, described as a ‘Neapolitan of low birth’ by Compton, which would make him an Italian, but it is likely that he had French ancestry. Compton also gives his profession as a ‘muleteer’ but Saksena mentions that he was a native of Castellamara near Naples where his ancestors had been bankers and merchants. Later he would be known as ‘Mukeel Saheb’ to the Marathas while Jean-Baptiste was called ‘Jaan Battis’. Michel enrolled in the French army and came to India, most probably in 1770. Soon afterwards, he deserted and sought the life of an ‘adventurer’, seeking employment with

Indian rulers, the first of which was the Nawab of Awadh, who, at this time, must have been Shuja'ud-Daula. Saksena mentions his name as 'Vazir Ali' but this should not be confused with a later ruler of the same name – it is more like an honorific for the Nawab, probably standing for the 'exalted vizier'. While in Awadh service, Michel became friends with Jean-Baptiste de la Fontaine, another French mercenary. Later in 1774, Michel entered the service of Rene-Marie Madec, who was training troops for the Rana of Gohad. While in the service of the Rana, Michel Filose is known to have commanded eight battalions trained in the art of European warfare.

It was at Gohad that Jean-Baptiste was born in 1774 – his parentage was supposedly 'ambiguous' and the circumstance of his birth 'shady' and 'mysterious'; his mother was allegedly a 'common woman of a camp bazaar attached to some of the battalions'. But these descriptions are mainly from British sources – Compton and the 'Asiatic Journal'. 'Hyderabad', the source whom Saksena quotes, mentions that Michel's wife was a Scotswoman named Magdalena Morris whom he married at Faizabad while still in the Nawab of Awadh's employment in early 1774. Michel named his son after his close friend, Jean-Baptiste de la Fontaine, and he was baptised at Agra by Rev. Fr. Vindele SJ. Michel had another son after Jean-Baptiste who was named Fidele – again, in British sources he is said to have been a half-brother of Jean-Baptiste, but according to 'Hyderabad', they indeed were born of the same mother. 'Hyderabad' also says that Fidele was born at Agra while Michel was stationed at Gohad.

In 1782, Mahadaji Sindhia sacked Gohad and the Rana lost his kingdom to the Sindhias. Michel Filose's battalions were disbanded and his whereabouts for the next eight years are not known. Saksena, however, mentions that, as a young boy, Jean-Baptiste was 'adopted' by la Fontaine and remained in his custody. La Fontaine sent him to Calcutta to receive education where he was taught French and Italian. After four years, having seen his ward receive enough education, la Fontaine brought him to Delhi. While at Delhi, Jean-Baptiste learnt Persian and Arabic and also military subjects.

In 1790, we find Michel Filose serving with Benoit de Boigne but ostensibly not at any important level, for even in 1794 his salary is listed as a mere 10 rupees a day. When Mahadaji Sindhia set off in 1793 to Pune to present to his master, the Peshwa, the deeds and titles of the 'vice regency of the Empire' that he had received from Shah Alam II, he took Michel Filose and his contingent with him. It is in these years that Michel Filose successfully intrigued to make himself independent of de Boigne. After Mahadaji's death in 1794 and de Boigne's retirement in 1795, Michel Filose became a trusted commander of Mahadaji's successor, Daulat Rao Sindhia, a young man barely in his 20's. Michel participated with his battalions in the battle of Kharda, fought in 1795 between the Nizam and the Marathas.

Meanwhile, the Peshwa, Madhav Rao II, died suddenly in 1795. As he was heirless, the responsibility for choosing a new Peshwa fell upon Nana Phadnavees, the powerful Maratha elder statesman and de facto ruler at Pune. The legitimate claimant was Bajji Rao II, the deceased Peshwa's cousin once removed, but Nana had a long-standing feud with Bajji Rao's father and was bitterly opposed to Bajji Rao's succession. The plot not to let Bajji Rao succeed led to a series of intrigues which saw several parties scheming against each other and changing sides, particularly by the lure of money, which Nana had in plenty. Daulat Rao Sindhia became involved in these political machinations, too. A key player in these intrigues was Sarje Rao Ghatge, Daulat Rao's father-in-law. Rivalries between Sindhia and Holkar, two prominent elements of the Maratha Confederacy, complicated the matters further. The schisms between the Sindhias and Holkars were resented by Nana Phadnavees who wanted both of them on his side so he could successfully outmanoeuvre Bajji Rao's moves to claim his right. In 1797, things took a turn for the worse when, in spite of tacit assurances from Daulat Rao, Nana was arrested as he arrived at Sindhia's camp at Jamgaon to broker a political deal. The troops involved in arresting Nana were under Michel Filose's command. Nana sought his release by paying the Sindhia off and,

although Sarje Rao was probably the architect of this affair, Michel was largely held responsible for this treacherous act.

Nana took a year to free himself of various political entanglements, but when he did, Michel fled from Pune to avoid his wrath. Michel's troops, comprising eleven battalions, were left in the charge of Fidele Filose, his younger son. Saksena mentions that he eventually reached Italy in 1800 via Bombay and Goa, with three of his children accompanying him, namely Michael (b. 1779), Costello (b. 1782) and Mary (b. 1792).

The Filose Family after Michel – 1800-1805

At the time of Michel's flight, Jean-Baptiste was based at Delhi where the emperor Shah Alam II remained under Sindhia protection. Jean-Baptiste's stay at Delhi may also have been prompted by the fact that his foster father, de la Fontaine, was now serving the Sindhia. Fidele Filose retained eight of his father's battalions in the Deccan and sent three to Jean-Baptiste in Delhi. Even as a teenager, Jean-Baptiste had shown military talent – he received his spurs when he was only twelve and soon afterwards he successfully repulsed a band of soldiers representing Bhambu Khan, the rebellious Nawab of Saharanpur, who had been on a rampage in the vicinity of Delhi (Saksena, p. 282).

While Daulat Rao Sindhia remained at Pune playing his part in Deccan politics, his north Indian affairs were conducted by his courtiers, namely Jiuba Dada Bakshi, Lakhba Dada Lad, Amboji Inglay (also spelled 'Inglia') and Pierre Cuillier, a.k.a. Perron. During 1795-1800, the Sindhia court was plagued by intrigue, involving the late Mahadaji's widows who rebelled for their rights and were supported by a host of statesmen who played their own games against Daulat Rao. Daulat Rao was barely twenty and relied heavily on upstarts like Sarje Rao Ghatge. In 1798, Sarje Rao managed to get rid of a few senior statesmen who supported the widows against Daulat Rao. The most prominent amongst them, named Narayan Rao Bakshi, the son of Jiuba Dada, was killed when Sarje Rao tied rockets to his person and sent him sky-high by igniting them! Such ignominious political acts were committed by Sarje Rao bypassing Daulat Rao's authority. The Sindhia, seeing this as a direct challenge and threatened by Sarje Rao's attitude, asked Fidele Filose and Jan Willem Hessing, two of his European commanders, to arrest him.

In 1801, Daulat Rao left the Deccan and headed north in the midst of a dispute that was brewing between the Sindhias and Holkars. Bajji Rao II, who finally managed to succeed as Peshwa at Pune, arrested and killed Vithoji Holkar at the behest of Daulat Rao Sindhia. In response, Vithoji's brother and the Holkar supremo, Yashwant Rao, attacked Pune and sacked the city. He then went on the Sindhia's pursuit. In the war that ensued, Fidele was accused of treason by Daulat Rao and confined. He slit his own throat while in confinement – the cause of this drastic act is not known: it was either a deliberate act of suicide or the unfortunate consequence of delirium caused by fever.

Jean-Baptiste received three of his father's battalions from his brother, Fidele, in Delhi. While at Delhi, he had trained three more, so now he became the master of six battalions in all. During the troubled years leading up to the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-05), the emperor Shah Alam II asked Jean-Baptiste to help subdue George Thomas, who had set up an independent kingdom of his own. The troops trained by Jean-Baptiste were hardly a match for George Thomas' army and the emperor was so enraged at their performance that even within the purview of the very nominal powers he held, he asked Jean-Baptiste to disband them.

After the news of Fidele's death reached Jean-Baptiste, he went to Ujjain and took charge of the rest of Fidele's battalions. During the Anglo-Maratha War of 1803-05, Jean-Baptiste's troops joined the Sindhia's army and fought British forces under the command of the Duke of Wellington at Assaye (23 September 1803). After the Maratha defeat, he retreated into Rajputana but joined the Sindhia soon afterwards. At this time he reorganised his troops – he now commanded eight battalions, 500 cavalry and, most importantly, an artillery corps comprising 45 guns and their

crew. It was this corps which gave Jean-Baptiste a major military advantage over his rivals later in his career.

***Gardi kā Waqt* or ‘Troubled Times’**

The war in the Deccan ended with the treaty of Surji-Anjangaon, signed between the Sindhia and the British in December 1803. Under the provisions of this treaty, the Sindhia gave up claims to all territory beyond the Chambal River, in the Ganges-Jumna Doab, the Delhi-Agra region and parts of Bundelkhand and Gujarat. He was, however, left free in the tracts between the Chambal and the Narmada, i.e. much of Central India and Malwa.

The second Anglo-Maratha war ended in 1805 with further treaties being imposed on the Sindhia. As a direct outcome, Daulat Rao Sindhia found his wings clipped and the expenses incurred in endless scheming in the years before the war and the war itself rendered him almost bankrupt. In fact, the chief features of his career for a little more than a decade after 1805 is his pecuniary condition and inability either to collect revenue from bellicose subordinates or to pay his troops. As coercion was a chief feature in revenue-collecting, this led to a ‘chicken-and-egg’ situation. The fact that he had lost the fertile tracts north of the Chambal River added to his financial woes. As money became tight, Daulat Rao was obliged to appoint Gokul Parakh, an officer of Kushal Chand Sheth, the chief shroff in Gwalior, as a member of his ruling council (1810).

The only territory that the Sindhia could now eye to raise money was Malwa and regions adjoining it on all sides, where he came into direct confrontation with Yashwant Rao Holkar. Yashwant Rao tried to join the Maratha coalition in the 2nd Anglo-Maratha war only after the Sindhia had been vanquished in the Deccan; his own financial condition was not much better than that of the Sindhia, having suffered losses in fighting the British. Malwa was traditionally ruled by a host of petty chiefs – Rajput Rajas, Zamindars and Maratha officials named ‘*Kamāvisdars*’ who had been appointed as revenue farmers by successive Peshwas, Sindhias and Holkars – all of whom paid tributes and/or revenue shares to their respective overlords. Divisions of estates between families, outcomes of various political alliances and local discord meant that land tenures and revenue entitlements had become considerably muddled. The unrest in the last decade of the 18th century had only contributed to make the situation more anarchic. The fact that Sindhia found himself confined both in a political and an economic sense to this area complicated matters even further.

The chaos that raged in Central India during 1805-1817 lent an apt name to the period – *Gardi kā Waqt* or ‘Troubled Times’. After the 2nd Anglo-Maratha War, British policy changed from adventurism and expansion under the Marquis of Wellesley to neutrality and conciliation under successive Governors-General Cornwallis, Barlow, Minto and Hastings. This helped the ‘Troubled Times’ worsen more than they would otherwise have done. The phase ended with the 3rd Anglo-Maratha war, waged by the Governor-General, the Marquis of Hastings, in 1817-18. This was also called the ‘Pindari War’.

The Pindaris

Another significant element that made the picture even more colourful were the Pindaris – bands of irregular soldiers let loose by the disbanding of troops as both Sindhia and Holkar were progressively drained of resources. The treaties imposed on both these powers after 1805 by the British meant that they lost control over vast tracts of land and consequently were neither in need of nor could they support a significant part of their armies. Parts that were most dispensable were corps which were not ‘elite’ in terms of fighting requirements. Mercenary soldiers who fought by stealth rather than by valour, attached to the army for launching predatory raids against the enemy with a view to causing harassment and who were offered a share in the booty as pay rather than having them on a regular payroll, were such non-elite sections of the Maratha army. The word ‘Pindari’ itself is derived from Marathi *Pendhār*, which means ‘fodder’ or ‘fill-up’.

A good study of the Pindaris was done by Philip McEldowney in his Masters Degree thesis ‘Pindari Society and Establishment of British Paramountcy in India’ (University of Wisconsin, 1966). He also wrote an article entitled ‘A Brief Study of the Pindaris of Madhya Pradesh’, that appeared in ‘The India Cultures Quarterly’, vol. 27, no. 2, 1971 Quarter Two, p. 55-70. From McEldowney’s research, it is evident that the Pindaris were loosely grouped into ‘Sindhia Shahi’ and ‘Holkar Shahi’, after two major polities they had served or were serving. They considered themselves to be a ‘society’, bound not by religion but by a way of life – executing raids, forming bands linked by allegiance to a leader and living through plunder, which was a ‘transient but significant’ resource. They had their own vocabulary for aspects of life they lived – a band was called a *darrāh*, a single raid referred to as *luhber* or *lubber*. McEldowney mentions a number of Pindari leaders, but the most celebrated amongst them were Karim Khan, Amir Khan and Chitu. However, unity was not an asset Pindaris cared much for. They fought amongst themselves much to their own peril.

By their sheer nuisance value, the Pindaris became important players in the ‘Troubled Times’. As they lived entirely through depredation and could make do with no regular income, their bands were an instant, albeit irregular, way for supplying the military market if a fighting force was needed. Many military leaders – Jean-Baptiste Filose being no exception – either sought help from the Pindaris or fought against their bands that were in temporary employment with other political entities in the region. The numbers of Pindaris swelled during the ‘Troubled Times’ – from around 10,000 in 1810 to about 30,000 in 1816. The *luhbers* or raids usually commenced after the Dussehra festival in October. The areas traversed by the Pindaris in the course of a *luhber* were indeed vast – Central India, the Deccan plateau, Gujarat, Rajputana, Telingana and coastal Andhra Pradesh etc. In commencing the raids at Dussehra, the Pindaris were ostensibly following a Maratha model – as much of the Maratha army was recruited from the peasantry, Maratha soldiers engaged in agriculture over the monsoons. The harvest festival of Dussehra was thus a good day to revert to the army way of life and was often celebrated by the launch of a tribute-exacting expedition. W H Sleeman, the celebrated conqueror of the Thugs, writing in 1833 (vide Compton, ‘Military Adventurers...’), describes this practice as ‘Kingdom Taking’. Quite interestingly, he attributes the same label to what Jean-Baptiste achieved during the ‘Troubled Times’, thereby drawing an indirect parallel between his activities and the Pindari raids.

The British attitude to the Pindaris could, to quote McEldowney, be surmised as a ‘black legend’ – amongst the pages of the ‘Poona Residency Correspondence’, they are often labelled as ‘pernicious tribe’, ‘wretches’ etc. To counter the Pindari menace, the British finally had to give up their policy of non-interference and become engaged in what would become the 3rd Anglo-Maratha war. This was principally because, especially with the Holkars, the Pindari entanglement had gone too far – after the death of Yashwant Rao Holkar in 1811, his wife, Tulsa Bai, relied heavily on the Pindaris for the safety of her domains and also of her minor son. Amir Khan Pindari became a trusted Holkar ally and he and his brother, Ghafoor Khan, took the minor Holkar ruler as their protégé. Any attempt to engage the Pindaris would thus mean involving Holkar and his lands as well. Daulat Rao agreed to become a British ally in the Pindari campaign. However, that led to further complications as his own troops were not free from Pindari infiltration. An approach of ‘divide et impera’ was thus taken by Hastings. Some were militarily defeated (vide infra) and some others, like Amir Khan and Ghafoor Khan, were forced into treaties. Their descendents became Nawabs of Tonk and Jaora, respectively, as the age of ‘Princely India’ gradually dawned. After the Pindari war, approximately 20,000 Pindaris were ‘absorbed’ into the peasantry in Malwa.

Jean-Baptiste Filose in Action 1810-1813

We have so far seen the political backdrop of Jean-Baptiste Filose's activities and also a brief biographical account of him and his immediate family. We now come to describe how Jean-Baptiste 'made the most' of events during the Troubled Times.

The first of Jean-Baptiste's conquests was the small town of Sheopur (now Sheopur-Kalān, the headquarters of Sheopur district, Madhya Pradesh), described by Broughton as 'Soopoor'. Under the provisions of the treaty of Surji-Anjangaon, the Sindhia was left free to consolidate his hold on territories south of the Chambal River. The house of Karauli, which lay to the north of the Chambal, had expanded its hold to the south of the river in the years leading to Sindhia's defeat in 1805. Sheopur was ruled by Raja Rudra Das, who belonged to the Karauli clan. It was now Sindhia's turn to oust the Rajputs.

In October 1809, Sindhia's troops marched to Sheopur and lay siege to the town and fort. Jean-Baptiste Filose's battalions played an important part in the siege. Around 13 October 1809, Raja Rudra Das handed the town and fort to Filose along with the adjoining territory yielding revenue of 40,000 rupees per annum. Daulat Rao conferred Sheopur upon Filose as a *jāgir*. Filose subsequently won other *jāgirs* from the Sindhia, but Sheopur remained his primary possession and seat.



Sheopur - Kalan

The *Gardi kā Waqt* saw many of Sindhia's own courtiers turning belligerent and defying his authority. Khandoji Inglay in charge of the *subah* of Narwar was one such. He belonged to the family of Ambaji Inglay, a prominent general under Mahadaji Sindhia. In 1809 Daulat Rao planned a campaign against him. Khandoji was in possession of two important forts, namely Narwar and Sabalgarh, located respectively to the south and to the west of Gwalior, which had now become the Sindhia's principle seat. Sabalgarh had been wrested from the Rajput ruler of Karauli as early as 1795. It had then been assigned to Ambaji Inglay, but after his death, Khandoji had been in charge. Daulat Rao appointed Filose to engage Sabalgarh, which he did after having moved there from Sheopur and laid siege to the town and fort. At the beginning of 1810, Sabalgarh came under Filose's control. Narwar was wrested by the Sindhia by August 1810.

The beginning of 1811 saw Filose involved in a dispute that had remained unsettled for a long time. This was the question about control over Garhakota, a strategic fort located to the south of Sagar ('Saugor'). Garhakota belonged to the Peshwa, but he had agreed to hand it over to the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur, who had played a role in re-establishing Maratha authority in Malwa after the battle of Panipat in 1761. However, turbulent Maratha politics during 1773-1783 meant that the handover never took place. In the years after 1783, Mahadaji Sindhia emerged supreme in Malwa and, along with Garhakota, controlled several other places in the Bhopal-Bhilsa-Sagar tract. The Rajas of Nagpur did not dare to challenge his authority, but they did not let the question of Garhakota out of their sight either. During the 'Troubled Times', the Bhonsla troops found their chance - they struck and laid siege to Garhakota. In March 1811, Daulat Rao asked Filose to march to Garhakota and relieve the siege. Filose at

this time was busy threatening Durjan Sal, a minor Rajput Raja in a region in north-east Malwa called 'Kheechiwada'. This tract was settled by Rajputs of the Kheechi clan and Durjan Sal was a Kheechi chieftain. Operations against the Kheechis would later become a major feature in Filose's career. Upon receiving orders from Daulat Rao, Filose exacted a tract of land from Durjan Sal and moved towards Garhakota via Malthone and Khimlassa, two market towns in Malwa.

In April 1811, Filose invested Garhakota and defeated the Bhonsla troops. It was during the Garhakota campaign that he sought active assistance from the Pindaris for the first time. He had six of his own battalions in the battlefield and drew a further six battalions and a body of cavalry from Dost Muhammad Pindari. They had agreed to share the plunder at Garhakota, but after the fort fell, the Pindaris marched off with all the booty, leaving Filose's troops strapped for cash.

Filose decided to relieve himself of this financial distress by threatening Sagar, which was ruled by a Maratha Brahmin chief whose ancestors had served the Peshwa. He paid 100,000 rupees to Filose as tribute. Filose then began to march towards Chanderi, but changed course and retired to Sheopur instead.

Towards the end of 1811, Filose renewed his campaign against Durjan Sal, the Kheechi chief. A greater part of his corps marched from Garhakota and camped in the Bhilsa region. In November 1811, Filose moved from Sheopur and joined his troops near Bhilsa. Durjan Sal had secured himself in his stronghold, the fort of Bahadurgarh (previously named Oondie), located to the north of Sagar. In December, Filose attacked Bahadurgarh and sacked it with the help of his guns. Durjan Sal fled to another fort in the region and Filose pursued him. He then sought asylum with Shivram Bhau, the Maratha *subāhdar* (later Raja) of Jhansi. Fearing a Sindhia backlash, however, Shivram Bhau refused the request, leaving Durjan Sal to flee south towards the Narmada River.

Filose subsequently annexed all of Durjan Sal's lands to Sindhia domains. He established his own control in the area surrounding Bahadurgarh. He chose to make Bahadurgarh a secondary seat and renamed it 'Isagarh' or 'Fort Jesus'. John Malcolm, in his 'Memoir of Central India' (p.516) mentions it as 'Yesugurh'.

While pursuing Durjan Sal, Filose decided to take the town and fort of Chanderi, where a Bundela Rajput ruler had been ruling. In the first three months of 1812, Filose strategized around Chanderi, winning minor forts and isolating the Raja. In May 1812, he invested the town - it soon fell, the Raja escaped to Jhansi. But the citadel of Chanderi continued to hold on for longer. In the meantime, the Raja opened negotiations with Daulat Rao whether he could be reinstated if he paid him 'gift money'. But before Daulat Rao could be tempted, Filose succeeded in winning over the citadel in July 1812. The Bundela Raja of Chanderi, Mor Prahlad, was rehabilitated in Kailgaon and in 1838 given a *jāgir* at Banpur near Jhansi.

Filose spent the rest of the year exacting tributes from petty chieftains in Malwa, prompted by the never-ending demand for money. In the paying line were the chieftaincies of Narsinghgarh, Rajgarh and Mundowra, all located in the vicinity of Sagar. In December 1812, Daulat Rao acknowledged Filose's efforts by sending him a *khilat* or 'robes of honour'. Filose then spent some time strengthening Chanderi, then proceeded to Isagarh and finally came to Sheopur, his main seat. Sometime in December 1812, his rival, Durjan Sal Kheechi, died, leaving Filose and *inter alia* the Sindhia, the masters of his erstwhile territory in Kheechiwada.

At the beginning of 1813, we find Filose stationed at Sheopur but his troops continued to ravage the country by mounting tribute-exacting expeditions. In January, they marched into Jaipur territory and sacked the town of Unniara. Under the command of Major Aratoon (variously called 'Hartune' and 'Hartoone' - an Armenian in service with Filose), they also entered territories belonging to Karauli and Bundi. In March 1813, news of an uprising at Garhakota arrived. Filose was at Sabalgarh and quickly set off to quell the rebellion. Aratoon settled the fight with Karauli

for 65,000 rupees and joined Filose. After battling the rebels for a few months, Filose managed to re-capture Garhakota in July 1813.



Filose and the Pindaris 1814-1815

Meanwhile the Pindaris had been getting out of hand. Filose had already got a taste of their treachery during the siege of Garhakota, but the unprecedented muddle of financial depravity and political chaos meant that their help was being sought by almost every political entity in Malwa. As they lived off deprecation, their activities gave rise to a serious law-and-order situation. After 1812, the Pindaris began raiding British territories as well and the British authorities became alarmed. In late 1814, they tried to encourage and engage the Sindhia against the Pindaris, so that he could bring them under control. While Daulat Rao agreed, the obvious line he took was to target the ‘Holkar Shahi’ Pindaris, thinking it would further his interests against the already beleaguered Holkar state. As time would tell, he had no intention of reining in those Pindari bands which were helpful to his own military moves. This added considerably to the gravity of the ‘Troubled Times’.

In mid-1814, Daulat Rao asked Filose to ‘act in concert’ with Yashwant Rao Bhau, a senior Sindhia courtier who had been given the task of acting against the Pindari menace. The first target for the Sindhia advance against the Pindaris was Karim Khan – who had once been an ally of the Sindhia but had spent a few years in confinement after the latter found him getting too big for his boots. In 1811, the Sindhia had released Karim Khan in exchange for money and, ever since, he had been the cause of a great deal of trouble. In October 1814, Daulat Rao tried to raise fresh sums of money to pay Filose’s troops so that they could be successfully engaged against Karim Khan. Concerned about whether the money would ever reach him, Filose began parleys with Dost Muhammad, another Pindari leader, to explore if he could be roped in.

Meanwhile the British, ever suspicious of Daulat Rao, realised that he probably had a greater political sway now than ever before. A ‘clean chit’ to pursue Pindaris would mean he might pose a threat to other political entities in the region as well, especially those who had a friendly disposition towards the British, like the Nawab of Bhopal. They were particularly

concerned about Bhopal as they thought Sindhia control over Bhopal would extend his hold to the Narmada River and pose a direct threat to Berar and Nagpur, which were under British protection. The immediate cause of this concern was the presence of Filose’s troops on Bhopal’s borders. The British also did not like the fact that Filose had been trying to make an ally out of Dost Muhammad. Pre-emptively, they placed Bhopal under British protection in November 1814. Daulat Rao lodged a protest saying Bhopal had been a Sindhia dependency.

Filose, at this time, was encamped near Bhilsa. But, in December 1814, things suddenly took a chaotic turn – a skirmish took place between Filose’s troops and those of his ‘running mate’ in the campaign, the Sindhia courtier, Yashwant Rao Bhau. The cause of this infighting was the Pindari bands – Chitu, Namdar Khan and Baksh Khan, who were serving with Yashwant Rao, could not get along with the band of Dost Muhammad Khan, who was with Filose’s corps. Filose inflicted a heavy defeat on Yashwant Rao’s troops and he moved towards Jawad, his patrimonial fief, along with his Pindari bands and the rest of the army. This weakened the Sindhia front considerably. Any designs on Bhopal by the Sindhia were thus temporarily suspended, and Filose was forced to pursue Yashwant Rao rather than train his guns on Bhopal. The quickest way to achieve this was to traverse through Bhopal territory, so he opened negotiations with the Nawab Vazir, Muhammad Khan. Bhopal heaved a sigh of relief.

These negotiations were successful, partly owing to political necessities and partly due to a clever move by the Nawab to appoint a *Firanghie* in his service to act as his emissary. This was Salvador de Bourbon of French origin, whose family had been in India for generations. In Bhopal, Salvador went by his Persian name ‘Inayat Masih’ (Grace of the Messiah). Inayat Masih and Filose met at Sehore and ‘said to have recognised each other, embraced and decided it was futile to continue the battle once the siege had been broken’ (‘The Begums of Bhopal’, by Sharyar M Khan, 2000, pp.63-64). Salvador in all probability played on the ‘French connection’ between him and Filose. This must have been music to Filose’s ears as it would have played on the mixed-race man’s status anxieties! The negotiations thus ended on a happy note – Filose withdrew any threats to Bhopal and Nawab Vazir Muhammad, in turn, allowed him passage through Bhopal territory for pursuing the fugitive Yashwant Rao Bhau.

The beginning of 1815 saw Filose near Ujjain. Other places that belonged to Yashwant Rao Bhau’s officers were invested and taken by Filose’s men – Shujalpur, where Dan Singh had been in charge on behalf of Yashwant Rao, was taken and handed over to Daji Potnavees. Filose needed reinforcements to proceed to Jawad. These came from Dost Muhammad Pindari, who was paid by Filose for the provision of a body of horse. But by February 1815, the storm had begun to abate – Daulat Rao asked Filose to leave Yashwant Rao alone and Filose opened talks with him through a mediator. Moreover, the root-cause of consternation, Dost Muhammad Pindari, who had been antagonistic to the Pindaris in Yashwant Rao’s service, died in February. In March, the two belligerent commanders met and agreed a truce, mediated by their master, Daulat Rao Sindhia. By mid-1815, Filose concluded an agreement with the Pindari leaders offering them land tenures in return for abstaining from plunder and keeping a detachment in the Sindhia’s service. This agreement was ratified by Daulat Rao in June 1815. Under the terms of this agreement, Chitu Pindari got five *mahals* (administrative divisions) namely Nemawar, Rajgarh, Tuleem, Satwas and Khilchipur. Wasil Muhammad, the successor of Dost Muhammad, received Udepur-Basoda, Muhammadgarh-Basoda, Seherwas, Teonda, Bagrode, Dhamnode and Sahwas. By July 1815, Filose had returned to Isagarh, ‘in territory under his own management’ (PRC-14, letter no. 230, dated 6-7-1815, p.275).

The British were not happy with these developments. The Pindaris, in their opinion were a ‘pernicious tribe’ that had to be subdued and not placated with land grants. They were also not happy with the way the Bhopal episode ended. It would have been better for British interests if Bhopal had remained obliged by the protection they had offered and had made the British party to any

negotiations. Instead, Filose had seemingly succeeded in ‘amusing the Nawab’ and they had been forgotten by the Nawab once the Sindhia threat had withdrawn. From papers in PRC it seems that the British were unaware of Inayat Masih’s role in the affair. The Pindari campaign, as executed by the Sindhias, thus did not bring satisfactory consequences to the British.

Filose meets his Nemesis – War with Jai Singh Kheechi 1816-1817

Filose’s enmity with the Kheechis did not end with the death of Durjan Sal and the conquest of his capital, Bahadurgarh (Isagarh). A scion of the Kheechi family, a nephew of Durjan Sal named Jai Singh, was ruling at Raghogarh. This place had once been under Sindhia control after Mahadaji Sindhia sacked it in 1787, leaving its ruler, Balwant Singh, to accept the Sindhia overlordship. But in the 1790’s, Balwant Singh was restored to Raghogarh and its adjoining Kheechi domains. Balwant Singh was succeeded by Jai Singh in 1797. Jai Singh was reputedly a cruel and rapacious ruler and, taking advantage of the anarchy that raged in the last few years of the 18th century, managed to declare his independence. He moved his main seat from Raghogarh to Bajranggarh, where he struck a remarkable series of coins, having legends entirely in Devanagari, struck in his own name and citing no-one else but Hanuman the Monkey God and his grace as the intercessor to grant him his kingdom.



Bajranggarh Fort

In March 1816, Filose renewed hostilities against the Kheechis by attacking Bajranggarh. Jai Singh managed to flee to Raghogarh while Bajranggarh came under Filose’s control. Filose followed Jai Singh to Raghogarh and besieged the fort. Jai Singh was entrenched in the fort but decided to fight back tooth and nail. Filose asked for reinforcements from all quarters – from the Sindhia base at Ujjain in Malwa, from the ruler of Kota and from various Pindari leaders. Jai Singh sent small bands of troops to disturb Filose’s supply and communication lines. In June 1816, Jai Singh managed to stage a daring raid – he got out of the siege and struck at Sheopur, Filose’s principal seat. In this raid, he managed to capture Filose’s son but the rest of Filose’s family fled to Sabalgarh in time. Sheopur remained under Jai Singh’s occupation and, while he tried to raise an army, having stationed himself there, he also opened negotiations with Daulat Rao Sindhia so that he could pressurise Filose to withdraw from Raghogarh.

The Sindhia was none too pleased with these developments and the audacity of a petty chief like Jai Singh. He sent a corps under the command of Govind Rao Nana and 700 Pindari horsemen to aid Filose. After a long siege, Raghogarh fell in September 1816. Jai Singh left Sheopur and appeared at Raghogarh. The Sindhia’s army were in perennial arrears for money and Filose asked for more so that his troops could be paid. While Daulat Rao vacillated, Filose threatened to open negotiations directly with Jai Singh to secure the release of his son, who was being held hostage by the Kheechi chief. When the money, or at least a part of it, did arrive, Filose resorted to conquering small forts (*garhis*) in Kheechiwada to isolate Jai Singh. The latter continued to hold on and plague Filose’s troops

with his ‘hit-and-run’ tactics. But with no firm foothold in Kheechiwada, his strength for waging war was waning. He was forced to go from place to place while Filose and other Sindhia contingents remained constantly in his pursuit. In January 1817, the last fort in his hands, namely Chachaura, fell to the Sindhia. In April-May 1817, it was rumoured he would attack Rahatgarh where Appa Kundra (sic), a fief-holder for the Sindhia, had already been in rebellion. Heartbroken and exhausted, Jai Singh died in 1818. Till the end, he did not surrender and his struggle thus proved to be a fitting rebuff of Sindhia aggression orchestrated by Filose. Amongst other chieftains in the region, Jai Singh thus came to be regarded as a hero.

After Jai Singh’s death, there was a succession dispute between his sons, Ajit Singh and Dhokal Singh. Daulat Rao Sindhia intervened in this and supported the claims of Ajit Singh, having imprisoned Dhokal Singh. In the early 1820’s Dhokal Singh was released after British mediation, and installed at Raghogarh, while Ajit Singh remained a Sindhia feudatory and ruled from Bajranggarh.

Filose’s career after the ‘Troubled Times’

Jai Singh’s battle with the Sindhia came towards the end of the ‘Troubled Times’ and caused considerable trouble to Filose and the Sindhia, who were already strapped for cash to finance these incessant skirmishes. As a result, the Sindhia remained virtually neutral in the ‘Pindari War’, which Lord Hastings launched in 1817-18 to put an end to their depredations. The Pindari leaders, Karim Khan and Wasil Muhammad, were routed in December 1817 at Shahabad. Wasil Muhammad committed suicide and Karim Khan surrendered to Malcolm in February 1818. The Pindari leaders allied to the Holkars, namely Amir Khan and Ghafur Khan, accepted a truce in lieu of payment for the arrears for their troops. With Sindhia remaining neutral and the Pindaris enticed into submission, the British were free to vanquish the Holkars. That happened at the battle of Mehidpur on 21 December 1817, where the Holkar army was defeated, losing all its guns and ammunition to the victors. After mediation by Amir Khan, Ghafur Khan and Tatyia Jog Kibe, the Brahmin *diwan*, a treaty was signed between the Holkars and the British in which they virtually accepted British suzerainty.

In November 1817, a fresh treaty was signed with the Sindhia under the provisions of which he was deprived of any power to enter into alliances with the Rajput states. His army was not to exceed 5000, including cavalry corps, and was to be called the ‘Gwalior Contingent’. Both these clauses limited the Sindhia’s sovereignty severely. Thus the ‘Pindari War’ signalled the extinguishing of sovereign Maratha power, or whatever was left of it, in Central India. The ‘Troubled Times’ ended with these events and peace gradually returned to these parts.

According to the provisions of the treaties the Sindhia had signed, he was disallowed from keeping any Europeans in his service. Although Filose escaped this provision, being of mixed origins, he, himself, could no longer employ Europeans, especially deserters and fugitives from other armies. Some sources mention that Filose fell from grace quite suddenly after 1817 and spent a few years at Gwalior in Sindhia’s captivity. But this phase of ill-fortune must have passed soon and we find W H Sleeman (vide Compton, ‘Military Adventurers...’) mentioning in 1833 that Filose commanded five infantry divisions of the Gwalior Contingent. However, most of the fiefs he had won by his ‘kingdom-taking’ activities during the ‘Troubled Times’ had to be given away to the British during the period 1820-1830 under further treaties to maintain the British subsidiary force that the Sindhia had signed up to in 1817.

Filose’s patron, Daulat Rao Sindhia, died in 1827 without a male heir. His widow, Baija Bai, adopted a boy from the extended family who was named Jankoji and installed as the Sindhia maharaja. Baija Bai acted as regent but she was a very ambitious lady and tried to wield authority beyond her pale. Her regency thus became very unpopular, her relation with her adoptive son being fraught with scheming and intrigue, and he twice escaped to

the British resident, seeking refuge. After British intervention, Baija Bai was forced to give up her regency in July 1833 and Jankoji became *de facto* and *de jure* the Maharaja of Gwalior. He died in February 1843, leaving no male heir and his widow, Tara Bai, had no choice but to adopt a minor boy from the extended family to succeed him. The question as to who would now be the regent saw the Gwalior court embroiled in intrigue once more – the key players this time were Hindu Rao Ghatge, Jankoji's uncle, and Dada Khasgiwale, the Palace Comptroller. While Dada Khasgiwale appeared to emerge supreme in the contest, a secondary affair developed as a result of his machinations.

The Gwalior Contingent, reduced from 5000 to 2000 in 1832, was reordered in 1837. These troops were under Dada Khasgiwale's influence. Suspecting that Hindu Rao was seeking British intervention, Dada replaced all the officers of the Contingent army who were supposedly sympathetic to the British. He also managed to incite the army into a rebellion by playing a patriotic card against the British officers. In December 1843, the soldiers of the Gwalior Contingent attacked British troops at Maharajpur and Panniar. But the British army was far too superior – it swiftly overpowered the Contingent and, in January 1844, Gwalior was made subject to another treaty under which the government was entrusted to the direct control of the British resident, doing away with the idea of having a native 'regent'. Dada Khasgiwale was banished and the boy adopted by Tara Bai was installed on the throne with the name Jayaji Rao.

Filose was the commander-in-chief of the Gwalior Contingent during this period. Although it is not known if he participated in any of the palace intrigues, it is certain that he was in no mood to fight the British troops. Compton writes that the main reason for his inaction in the 1843 rebellion was the fact that he had invested £40,000 in the 'East India Company's papers' and feared the money would be lost had he shown any involvement against the British forces. After the treaty of 1844, Filose was stripped of his command – a consequence that he seems to have gladly accepted – but, unlike most European or semi-European servants of the Princely courts, he did not retire to Europe after his forced retirement. He remained at Gwalior, where he died on 2 May 1846. He lies buried in the family cemetery in Gwalior, near to a chapel he had built.

Ram Babu Saksena furnishes an interesting account of the Filose family. Jean-Baptiste was a poet of Urdu and Persian, as attested by Sir Florence (Florian) Filose, his grandson, whose own poetry collection includes sixteen distiches (*Sh'ayrs*) composed by Jean-Baptiste. His poetic alias was 'Jaan' (Urdu for 'life' or 'spirit') which was an allusion to his Christian name 'Jean'. Jean-Baptiste's full titles, as reported in Urdu/Hindustani were 'Itimad ud-Daula Colonel Jaan Battis Filuse Sahib Bahadur Barq Jang'.

Jean-Baptiste had one son named Julian, born 1797 and died 1840. Julian's wife was named Esperance (1801-1874) and they had six sons – Capt. John Julian (1816-1838), Capt. Simon (1818-1837), Maj. Anthony (1821-1869), Col. Sir Peter (1824-1880), Lt. Col. Sir Florence or Florian (1829-1912) and Lt. Col. Sir Michael (1836-1925). As Julian had predeceased Jean-Baptiste, the latter's titles passed to his grandson, Peter. He was married to Mary Theresa (1834-1872), a woman from Quebec, Canada.

Florence and Michael both remained in the Sindhia's service – Florence was ADC to Maharaja Jayaji Rao while Michael was an architect and designed the grand Jai Vilas Palace, which remains the Sindhia residence and their principle seat in Gwalior to date. Florence's wife was named Marie Ann (1836-1909), while Michael was married to Anne, the sister of Peter's wife, Mary Theresa. Peter's son, Vincent (1861-1888), succeeded to the family titles after Peter's death but, since he died without an issue, they passed on to his cousin, Albert Julian (b. 1852), the son of Florence. The last members of the Filose family left Gwalior in the 1970's (Jean-Marie Lafont in personal communication, 1-11-2008).

Filose's Army

One cannot really discuss Filose without discussing his corps and it is indeed an interesting subject, so a few words on that may be appropriate before we proceed to his coinage.

As we have seen, Jean-Baptiste Filose inherited the nucleus of his corps from his father, Michel, and half-brother, Fidele. After the battle of Assaye, in which the Sindhia armies were defeated, Filose managed to save most of his troops as he retreated into Rajputana. When he rejoined the Sindhia, he reorganised his troops – he now commanded eight battalions, 500 cavalry and, most importantly, an artillery corps comprising 45 guns and their crew. It was the artillery corps which gave Filose a major military advantage over his rivals further into his career. The numerical strength of foot soldiers and cavalry under his command waxed and waned depending on the circumstances and he often employed irregulars such as Pindari bands to aid his operations. Sindhia's pecuniary condition meant that the army was more often in arrears of pay than not – but Filose somehow managed to keep the troops under his control. The battles he fought, particularly the sieges of Sheopur, Chanderi and Bahadurgarh, indicate that he was a good military commander, if not the bravest and the most able, amongst those involved in the 'Troubled Times'.

One of Filose's trusted allies in the campaigns he waged was an Armenian officer named Aratoon (alternatively called Hartune or Hartoone). His rank was that of a 'Brigade-Major' and he played a crucial role in the sieges of Sheopur, Chanderi, Bahadurgarh and Garhakota. His detachments were fast and Filose often sent him running from one end of Malwa to the other to aid, rescue or reinforce the Sindhia's army. Another mixed-race general in Sindhia's army who often aided Filose was named Jacob.



Chanderi

Interesting information is available from PRC-14 about the composition of Filose's troops. Letter 215, dated 25-2-1815 provides details of the army under Filose's command that was pursuing the belligerent Yashwant Rao Bhau. It contained 5 battalions of 600-700 men each, 600 regular horse, 6 gallopers, 5000 horse from Sindhia's main army (under the command of one, Baloji Pant), 1 foot battalion and 500 horse from the Raja of Kotah and 400 horse from Dost Muhammad Pindari. The artillery corps contained 18 6-pounder guns and 4 'large battering guns'. The 6-pounder guns were attached to Filose's own foot battalions.

Apart from regular and irregular Indian soldiers, Filose often managed to entice Europeans into his service. A number of them were deserters from the East India Company's army – one reason why the British were so keen to prohibit native rulers from employing Europeans of any nationality – while others were fortune-seekers turned opportunist soldiers. Letter 254, dated 3-3-1816 for the PRC-14 gives an entertaining account of Europeans in Filose's service. John Flavell, resident of 5, Spring Street, Shadwell – the son of a liquor merchant – sought fortune in India. He first served with Yashwant Rao Bhau, then with Sadiq Ali Khan, then for two years with Chitu Pindari and finally joined Filose during the siege of Garhakota. Filose paid him 40 Rupees a

month and he served with the guns of a platoon named 'Sabzi Paltan'. Another Englishman named George Swinton was the commander of the 'Sabzi Paltan' and was paid 150 Rupees a month. Richard Parker, a 'fine young man', served the park guns for 30 rupees a day. It is said that Filose was fond of him and wanted to get him married, but, being an 'incorrigible drunkard', marriage was not really the thing for Richard! Alexander MacDonald, a.k.a. 'Kaptān Sikander Sahib' was an American by birth but lived in London before he made it to India. He commanded a platoon and was paid 150 rupees per month. A man named 'Renée' commanded Garhakota for Filose; one named 'Worseley' was in charge of Sabalgarh while another one, 'Crawford', was in charge of 'some other fort'. A man named John McGennis was in service with Filose but he quarrelled over pay and changed sides to Yashwant Rao Bhau while the latter and Filose were at loggerheads.

In addition to these men, the letter in PRC-14 mentions there were six Dutchmen 'who spoke very little English' in Filose's service. In all, there were 80 Christians – Armenians, Portuguese, Half-Castes – 'a motley group'. The letter further says that the English are never favoured by Filose; he was a 'Frenchman in his heart and partial to the French'. Armenians, too, were favoured by Filose, but 'they are a stupid lot'!

The Coinage of Jean-Baptiste Filose

None of the biographical notes I have consulted and the papers from PRC-14 make any reference to the fact that Filose struck any coins. The earliest numismatic references to Jean-Baptiste's coins are to be found in two articles, namely 'Notes on Coins of Native States' by Rudolf Hoernle in JASB LXVI, 1897, (pp. 261-274, pl. xxxi-xxxiv) and 'Some rare and unpublished coins of the Sindhias' by R G Gyani, JNSI, vol.1, 1939, (pp. 72-80, pl. X-XI). Hoernle collected much of the information he published from Mr C. Maries, who was the curator of the Museum and superintendent of the Horticultural Garden at Gwalior. Hoernle admitted that his contribution is no more than numismatic 'notes of very desultory nature' and that more research needed to go into the subject. Indeed, there are several mistakes of attributions in his paper. In spite of Hoernle's own warning, at least some of the information given by him helped perpetuate certain attributions for a number of years, as will be seen later. Gyani's contribution makes use of the collection of coins in the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India in Bombay (currently Chhatrapati Shivaji Maharaj Vastu Sangrahalaya, Mumbai) and he discusses rupees of Sheopur, Isagarh and some copper coins.

By far the most systematic attempt of describing Sindhia coins in general was Jan Lingen and Ken Wiggins' seminal monograph 'The Coins of the Sindhias' (Hawkins Publications, London, 1978) and this is where we find descriptions of Filose's coins in a numismatic sense. However, the information in this book is presented in a characteristic 'Wigginsian' manner – with mints arranged alphabetically as the first classification parameter and coins, their types and varieties and a brief historical introduction given under each heading. A section on 'unattributed coins' follows at the end. While this scheme works extremely well as a 'catalogue' for numismatists, there are obvious disadvantages for the historian who may not entirely be familiar with the coins and thus finds the information of interest to him scattered under several mint headings. Thus, Filose's coins are listed under the mints he controlled, and those which Lingen and Wiggins have included are Chanderi, Garhakota, Isagarh, Shadhora and Sheopur. I will adopt a different approach here – I will discuss the mints in the order Filose won control over them thereby giving precedence to historical happenings rather than simple numismatic convenience. In this way, the coinage may be effectively contextualised with the historic developments that have so far been described. Lingen & Wiggins' list is by no means exhaustive – there have been a few additions to the varieties they listed and a couple of 'new' types have surfaced in the past two decades. They will be discussed here in an attempt to bring the numismatic discussion up to date. A complete listing of coins struck by Filose,

along with a few that were not struck by him but serve to understand the respective series better will be found at the end of the paper as Appendix A.

Sheopur

Sheopur was Filose's earliest conquest and his principle seat. It finds a mention in Hoernle's JASB article as 'Çiopur' and, while Gyani describes a coin of this mint, he confuses its location with the town of Shivpuri or Sipri. Both mention the fact that the rupees struck at Sheopur were called 'Topshāhi' (*top*, pronounced 'toh-p' = a cannon in Hindi/Urdu) after the differentiating mark of a cannon that these coins bear on the reverse. The 'topshahi' rupee is also mentioned by Prinsep in his useful tables and a rubbing of a Sheopur rupee is to be found amongst his manuscript folios, now in the archives of the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, with a remark 'Topshahee' in his own hand (fig. 1). Hoernle carefully notes the three dots placed under the muzzle of the gun and refers to them as 'stacked balls'. The mark is thus a faithful representation of the principle strength of Filose's corps – guns and cannonballs.

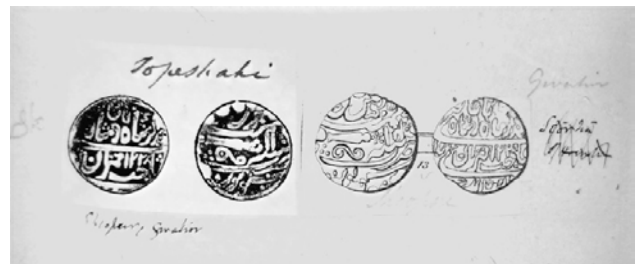


Fig. 1

The cannon became the principle mark on many coins struck by Filose. What is even more interesting from an identity perspective is the fact that he chose to make it his own symbol and, as will be seen later, made little reference to symbols of Sindhia affinity such as the snake on coins struck at mints under his authority.

Judging by the coins, the mint at Sheopur was started about three years after the town and fort came into Filose's hands. Although it is not certain when Filose lost his hold on the Sheopur *jāgir*, it is conceivable it must have happened around this time, i.e. AD 1825-26, just before the death of Daulat Rao, when Gwalior lost a number of tracts towards the upkeep of the 'Gwalior Contingent' army. The AH date on these coins is 1228 and it remains fixed for most of the issues.

The coinage of Sheopur is fairly 'standard' in numismatic terms. There are no variations noted for placement of legend, the mint-mark or its execution. The obverse bears the name of the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Akbar II, with a title '*ṣāhib qirān thānī*' appearing in the middle line. The reverse bears an interesting legend arrangement – the words '*julūs*' and '*mānūs*' are placed in the top line while the middle line has only the cannon mark and the RY. The mint appears in the bottom line. The earliest RY seen on them is 7 (1813-14). It runs, without any major gaps, till RY 20. The reverse legend arrangement evidently makes the cannon mark very conspicuous on the coins and it is no wonder they were popularly named after such a prominent symbol.

After the death of Daulat Rao Sindhia, the issues of Sheopur mint became more sporadic. It struck coins during the reigns subsequent to Daulat Rao, those of Baija Bai as regent, Jankoji and Jayaji Rao. The symbol of the cannon remained on the coins even after Filose's involvement with the town ceased. During the reigns of Jankoji and Jayaji, nagari letters 'Ja' and 'Ji' were placed in addition to the cannon, but, because they fall beyond Filose's tenure, the coins are not discussed here.

Sheopur mint principally produced rupees but a quarter rupee with RY 9 is known from the British Museum collection, so fractions will have been struck as and when required. Hoernle lists a copper paisa as struck at Sheopur – however, the specimen he

examined must have been much worn and the woodcut engraving that he illustrates in his plates does not help us discern any details such as the name of the emperor or any differentiating symbol. Lingen & Wiggins were ambiguous about copper issues of Sheopur, stating the 'Topshahi' design is seen on many copper coins, but since the cannon occurs as a mint-mark on Filose's other issues (vide infra), it is not certain which of these were struck at Sheopur.

Garhakota

The second major conquest of Filose was the fort of Garhakota but, unlike Sheopur, he does not seem to have held it as part of his own fief. Lingen & Wiggins furnished an interesting additional historical detail with reference to Filose's involvement at Garhakota, viz. a village nearby named 'Karnailgarh' (Colonel Fort) after Filose's residence there. The fort remained a Sindhia property until 1861 when it was given to the British as dictated by a treaty following the 1857-58 rebellion.

A reference to numismatic activity at Garhakota comes from Prinsep – in 'Useful Tables', he contends that the 'Gwalior government coined debased *Balashahi* rupees at Gurrah-kota in imitation of the currency of Saugor'. This contention was based on information provided by Mr Maddock, who reported to Prinsep on currencies in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories.

The *Balashahi* generally referred to a series of rupees whose name derived from Balaji Govind Kher, the eldest son of a powerful Maratha *kamavisdar* named Govind Punt Bundeley, who controlled his father's fiefs in Central India and in Bundelkhand. The *Balashahi* were first produced at Saugor (alias 'Ravishnagar'), the principal seat of the Kher family, but struck subsequently at Kalpi, Jalaun, Garha alias 'Balanagar' and Srinagar. If Prinsep's description is to be believed, it is evident that the rupees struck at Garhakota were imitations of the Sagar rupees. The coins have not been identified, ostensibly because it has not been possible to separate them from their 'Saugor' prototypes. But judging by the fact that it was a 'debased' imitation, Lingen and Wiggins ventured a suggestion that they must have been of a variety that had RY55 of Shah Alam and 'Ravishnagar Sagar' as the mint-name. A couple of similar coins are shown here (fig. 2). These bear legends with a considerable degree of blundering and are struck from inferior silver.



Fig. 2

There exist a few other rare coins which have been assigned to Garhakota mint and it is worth discussing them here, because there is a small possibility that they may be Sindhia issues. If they are, there is a chance they may have been Filose's issues. The coins ostensibly look like issues of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur and indeed, Prashant Kulkarni included them as such in his book 'Coinage of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur (Nagpur, 1990, pp. 39-40 and type 13, pp. 127-128). These coins were originally published by H Nelson Wright and he read the mint-name on them as 'Gadharnat' or 'Nagarat'. S H Hodivala corrected it to 'Gadhakota'. The coins reappear in the Nagpur Museum Catalogue, where the mint-name on them is read again as 'Gadharnat' or 'Nagore'. In Kulkarni's opinion, the mint-name on these two coins has been written in two different ways – he

contends that 'there is no doubt that '...hakot' can be read on one of them', on one coin the downward stroke of 'Zar' separates the mint-name into two while, on the other, it is inscribed fully to the left of that stroke.

Having assigned these coins to Garhakota, Kulkarni further contends that they are issues of Janoji Bhonsla (1755-1772), owing to the fact that he was active in the region restoring Maratha order soon after the battle of Panipat in 1761. However, the coins bear a fictitious regnal year '56' on them. It is evident from other Bhonsla coins published by Kulkarni that pseudo-RYs in their 50's was a feature of later Bhonsla coins, dating from the latter part of the long reign of Raghujii II (1772-1815), the successor of Janoji. The fabric and style of the 'Garhakota' coins also differs widely from all other coins struck during the reign of Janoji and is more akin to the later Bhonsla issues. Both these observations may indicate that the coins were struck during late 18th-early 19th centuries and not during the reign of Janoji as Kulkarni contends.

After Kulkarni's publication of these coins as 'Garhakota', a few other specimens turned up. Two are illustrated in the Catalogue (Appendix A) - One of them has the pseudo-RY 56 as seen on the coin Kulkarni published, while the other bears only '5'. The coins are conspicuous by the inclusion of 'arrow' symbols – one placed upside down on the reverse (seen on one coin) and another vertical one on the obverse (on both coins). Kulkarni's picture is of a coin much narrower than those illustrated here, so the chances are that these symbols were truncated on that specimen and that may have been why he does not mention them. Also, as evident from the second coin, the emperor's name is clearly 'Muhammad Shah Bahadur' and not 'Ahmed Shah Bahadur' as Kulkarni contended.

The inclusion of the 'arrow' symbols, if intentional, may suggest a Sindhia connection. The Sindhias striking coins in the Bhonsla style may seem odd but it is not unusual by any means. Kulkarni lists three other mints, namely Sohagpur, Chauragarh and Jabalpur that had been operational in the region. Of these, the mint at Sohagpur reportedly struck 'Nagpore' rupees for distribution to the soldiers of 'Seedeck Alee Khan in 1227 fussillee', as reported by Mr Gordon, the mint supervisor at Nagpur (vide Kulkarni, 'Bhonsla Rajas...', p. 59). 'Seedeck Alee' was in fact Sadiq Ali, a Pindari leader in the service of the Bhonsla Rajas and details in the description given by Gordon reveal that he converted 'Adoni rupees' to 'Nagpore' rupees by counter-stamping them. 'Adoni' rupees came from the Andhra-Telingana regions and must have been brought into Central India as loot from one of the *luhbers* by the Pindaris. This description clearly proves that coins from one part of India could be re-struck to resemble those from another part and, depending on circulatory conditions, they could freely pass as current in a third part - but such were the realities of the 'Troubled Times'!

If the coins are to be assigned to the Sindhias and struck at Garhakota in the early 19th century, there is a likelihood that they were struck by Filose. This may go against Prinsep's mention that the mint at Garhakota struck 'debased *Balashahi* rupees'. However, Prinsep's account and the existence of these coins may not necessarily be deemed mutually exclusive - the mint at Garhakota might as well have struck 'debased *Balashahi* rupees' in addition to coins listed here. Another possibility is that Prinsep may have confused 'Garha' and 'Garhakota' – two places sounding very similar but located some distance away. A similar confusion between Garha and Garhakota is evident in Lingen & Wiggins, while discussing certain coins struck at Sagar. They state that Mr Maddock inserted the word 'Sagar' onto the dies of coins struck at that mint 'to counteract the production of forgeries at Garrah', and add the word 'Garhakota' in a bracket followed by a question mark after it.

It has to be admitted at the end of this discussion that the mint-name on these coins as contended by Kulkarni itself is not entirely free from doubt. On one of the coins illustrated here, the mint-name begins with 'Garha' but ends in an 'r' followed by 't' – there is indeed no sign of '...kot'. Judging from this coin, it is clear why earlier scholars read the mint-name as 'Gadharnat': the

closest it comes to is 'Gad-nārat' or 'Garhā-rat'. There seems, however, little doubt that they must have been struck somewhere in the upper Vidarbha – lower 'Nerbudda' region, between Nagpur and Jabalpur.

Isagarh

Like Sheopur, the tract near Isagarh belonged to Filose as his personal fief and came under his control as early as the last months of 1811. Amongst the coins struck by Filose, the issues of Isagarh are the most varied and also the first coins to be noticed as his issues. Hoernle published a coin of Isagarh in his paper in 1897 but opined that it was struck at 'Sarora or Seorha mint (now closed), a town in Datia State'. He was honest enough, however, to admit that 'this ascription is not certain'. Notwithstanding this, when vol. IV of the Indian Museum Catalogue was published in 1928, we find a rupee and a few copper coins, evidently of Isagarh, listed in section III, p. 344-345, as 'Seondha'. It was not until Gyani's publication in 1939 that the record was set straight and the coins rightfully attributed to Isagarh. Gyani also gives some worthwhile additional information about Isagarh, stating that the district was divided into four *pargannahs* or administrative divisions namely Isagarh, Mungaoti, Kumbhraj and Bajranggarh.

Lingen & Wiggins described the coins of Isagarh in great detail. Going by their classification, we see that the earliest coins struck at Isagarh under Filose's authority bear the characteristic cannon mark on the reverse (Type 01). They are very similar to the issues of Sheopur in terms of legend arrangement, particularly on the reverse. The obverse bears the name of Muhammad Akbar II much like the Sheopur issues and the reverse prominently displays the cannon mark, but no 'cannonballs' are shown stacked below the muzzle. The mint and the RY are placed in the top line, leaving the words '*mānūs*' next to the cannon mark in the middle line, and '*julūs*' following in the bottom line. The earliest RY known for this type is 7; this indicates that these issues follow soon after the functioning of the mint in Sheopur, so the similarity in design is hardly surprising.

The coinage at Isagarh subsequently changes to a different type - Type 02 of Lingen & Wiggins. The discussion here will take into account certain aspects which were missed in Lingen & Wiggins and which attempt to make the listing more comprehensive.

Lingen & Wiggins noted the legend on Type 02 coins to be 'as on 01' but, after examining more specimens, this does not seem to be the case. These coins bear a different legend arrangement on the obverse – in the previous type the top divider was the last 'i' in the legend '*muhammad akbar bādshāh ghāzī*' inscribed in a *majhool* (lazy) form, but in the second type, it is the word '*muhammad*' lengthened between 'h' and the 'm' following it. On one coin (see Catalogue), this is seen very clearly. So it seems that coins of Type 02 can be further subdivided into two varieties, depending on how the obverse legend is arranged, one with '*muhammad*' elongated and the other where it is not elongated. The second line on the obverse of these coins bears the '*ṣāhib qirān thānī*' title and the cannon mark appears here, just above the 'b' of '*ṣāhib*', pointing to the left. On some coins of this type, '37' is seen in the obverse field on the right, so one would presume they were struck in AH (12)37.

The reverse is also arranged in a way dissimilar to Type 01: while the mint-name and the RY are still placed at the top, the middle line now shows '*julūs*' with two totally new symbols, a battle-axe and a fly-whisk, both placed upside down with reference to the rest of the inscription. The bottom line on the reverse has the word '*mānūs*'. Chronological details reveal that these coins were struck in RYs 12 and 13. There is one coin, however, where the RY quite clearly is seen to be '8'. This is probably a die-engraver's mistake, unless it means that the coins of the two types described so far had overlapping issues.

There exists one more variety of Isagarh coinage that seems to bear a close resemblance to the coins listed as Type 02 by Lingen and Wiggins. No coins of this third variety have been seen

with a clear date, but they have two conspicuous features. One of them is the absence of the word '*muhammad*' on the obverse – instead, the inscription in the top line seems to be a crude rendering of '*akbar bādshāh ghāzī*'. The other feature is more significant: on the reverse, just after the 'knot' in the word '*julūs*' and preceding the final 'S', there seems to be a comma-like mark added. The shape of this mark may suggest that it is in fact the Persian letter 'Fe'. It may be a direct reference to 'Filose', in addition to the cannon mark on the obverse. The cannon in the case of these coins still points to the left, as seen on the coins discussed above. This could suggest that these coins follow those of Lingen & Wiggins' type 02 in close succession and I have classified them as Type 3 in the Catalogue.

It is not known when Isagarh ceased to be under Filose's direct control, but it must have been soon after this date. From RY15 onwards, the coins of Isagarh incorporate a snake mark, next to the inverted battle axe. The snake is a Sindhia dynastic totem and a clear indication of direct Sindhia authority. Coins of this type are listed as Type 4 in the Catalogue here, but Lingen & Wiggins mention them as Type 03. While there is a likelihood that these coins were not struck under Filose's command, they still retain the cannon mark on the obverse. Lingen & Wiggins listed coins where the cannon points to the right; however, one specimen has also turned up where it points to the left, listed here as Type 4A. Lingen & Wiggins list one more type (Type 04) with the cannon mark in the same position as before, but with the snake symbol transposed to the obverse, next to the cannon mark, ostensibly to make it more obvious. This must have been done to make a clearer reference to Sindhia authority. Coins of this type have been listed as Type 5 in the Catalogue here.

The copper coins struck at Isagarh are akin to Lingen & Wiggins Types 03 and 04. As they in all probability postdate Filose's involvement, they are not discussed here. The mint at Isagarh, like Sheopur, remained in operation under rulers subsequent to Daulat Rao, namely Jankoji and Jayaji.

Shadhora or Shadhura

The information at our disposal about the Shadhora mint and its coinage is by far the scantiest amongst the mint-towns where Filose was active. There is no reference of Filose's direct involvement at Shadhora but it is likely that he won control over it around the same time he wrested Bahadurgarh (Isagarh) from Durjan Sal Kheechi. The mint at Shadhora seems to have functioned very sporadically as its coins are much rarer than those of the other mints.

Lingen & Wiggins listed two types for Shadhora – type 01 is broadly similar to the early coinage of Filose at Sheopur and Isagarh mints. It bears the name of Muhammad Akbar II in a legend arranged in a fashion similar to that seen on both these mints. Also, the reverse bears the cannon mark prominently in the middle line. But the rest of the legend is arranged differently than the coins of Sheopur and Isagarh – the mint-name is in the bottom line, while the word '*mānūs*' is placed next to the cannon mark. The word '*julūs*' followed by the RY are placed in the top line.

Lingen and Wiggins illustrated one rupee of this type, called Type 1 here. It is from the British Museum collection and it bears AH 1228 on the obverse. The RY detail is not mentioned by them, conceivably because it is quite truncated – however, a re-examination of the specimen makes it clear that it is '7'. The coin would thus date alongside the earliest Sheopur issues and just a few months earlier than the earliest Isagarh issues that we know of. There is another specimen of this mint in the British Museum collection and this coin comes from the collection of 'Col. Biddulph', possibly Col J. C. Biddulph who was the British resident at Gwalior in the 1890's. Since these two seem to be the only known specimens of this type for Shadhora, I thought it prudent to illustrate this coin as well (See Catalogue).

Type 02 for Shadhora listed by Lingen & Wiggins is very similar to their type 04 for Isagarh. Like coins of that type, this one bears the symbols of an upturned fly-whisk and battle-axe on the reverse. On the obverse is the cannon mark and, next to it, a

snake. The only difference between the two is the mint-name – on type 02 coins of Shadhora, the mint-name is inscribed as ‘Shādhora’. On the drawing supplied by Lingen & Wiggins, the mint-name reads ‘Shādhora(a)’, but on two other specimens illustrated here, a clear ‘h’ is seen inserted after ‘Shā’, making it read ‘Shāh-dhora’. In spite of a few coins of this type turning up in recent years, it has not been possible to ascertain the date / RY details. Most likely, Type 2 coins are undated, but probably struck after the region came under direct Sindhia authority, sometimes in the 1820’s.

‘Musagarh’

When I started my research on Filose and his coins, scarcely did I know that it would bring to notice a new mint! But so it did and as usual its discovery poses more questions than it provides answers.

The name of the new mint can be read as ‘Mūsagarh’. There seem to be two types of coins struck at this place – type 1 is exemplified by a single specimen known to me (see Catalogue) and resembles all the early coins of mints listed so far. It is struck in the name of Muhammad Akbar II and bears his name, along with the title ‘*ṣāḥīb qirān thānī*’ on the obverse. Also seen in the second line is the AH date, the first three digits of which can be read as ‘122(x)’. The reverse bears the cannon symbol – as on the coins of Sheopur, Isagarh and Shadhora – and the rest of the legend resembles Isagarh coins. The mint-name, along with the RY is placed at the top. It can be read as ‘(M)ūsagarh’ – the initial knot of the ‘m’ is truncated but it is visible on other coins which are listed below. The RY is truncated beyond identification, as well. In the second line, next to the cannon, is the word ‘*mānūs*’, and in the bottom line ‘*julūs*’ is seen. There are two prominent ‘star’-like symbols on this side of the coin – one is in the second line, to the right of ‘*mānūs*’ and the other is in the third line, to the left of ‘*julūs*’.

I have been able to document three coins of another type of ‘Mūsagarh’ mint and on two of these the initial ‘M’ of the mint-name is clearly visible (see Catalogue). These coins are similar in appearance to the type 02 coins of Isagarh as listed by Lingen & Wiggins. There are, however, salient differences – on the reverse, one sees just the battle-axe, executed somewhat differently than that seen on Isagarh coins. There is no fly-whisk and the cannon mark is retained on the reverse. Specimens illustrated in the Catalogue show the broad end of the cannon with the metallic ‘boss’, the muzzle being truncated. In the top line the mint-name can be satisfactorily restored from the three coins as ‘Mūsagarh’. The RY is placed to the right of the mint-name and, on two coins, it can be read as 12. The AH date is on the obverse and it can be read as 1232 and 123X. The RY12 is seen on two coins dated 123X, but the placement of the digits of the AH date is different on both these coins.

Judging by the similarities seen in fabric and execution, it would not be out of order to hazard a guess that Musagarh needs to be located in the vicinity of Isagarh. No source mentions a place named ‘Musagarh’ in this region, so presumably the name did not survive for a long time.

Judging on purely numismatic grounds, it seems that ‘Musagarh’ must have been the name of Shadhora. Apart from Isagarh, there was no other town in the region which was ‘numismatically active’. The earliest coins of Shadhora have RY7 and even though the RY details are truncated on the early issue of Musagarh, the AH date is very clearly 122x. Assuming Filose did not engage in coining activities before RY7 (the earliest RY seen on coins of Sheopur is also 7), the RY range that could fit with this AH date would be 7-10. It is, therefore, plausible to suggest that the name of Shadhora must have been changed to ‘Musagarh’ sometime soon after RY7. The subsequent type of ‘Musagarh’ coins is dated between RYs 10-15 and that makes them fit within the time bracket Filose must have been in direct control of the place. As we have seen, the subsequent issues of Shadhora are struck under direct Sindhia authority as denoted by the inclusion of the snake symbol on the obverse. It is likely that, at this point, the name ‘Musagarh’ was dropped and changed back to Shadhora.

Finally, it is worth mentioning that the name ‘Musagarh’ is actually a pun – as companion to ‘Isagarh’, or ‘Fort of Jesus’ it could be a reference to ‘Fort of Moses’, but ‘Musa’ was also the Indian version of the French honorific ‘monsieur’, so it could equally stand for ‘Fort of the Monsieur’, in indirect reference to Filose himself. Perhaps the poetic side of Filose is well brought out by this innovative place name!

Chanderi (and Bajranggarh)

Chanderi had ceased to be the important central Indian city that it had been during the Sultanate and Mughal periods. A mint had not been operational at Chanderi until Filose took control over the fort and the town from Mor Prahlad, the Bundela ruler, in 1812. Lingen & Wiggins listed a coin evidently struck at Chanderi by Filose – it comes from the British Museum collection, although they do not give the details where it is located. The coin is of the ‘Topshahi’ type and is similar in execution to the coins of Sheopur, Isagarh and Shadhora inasmuch as it bears a cannon mark on the reverse. The obverse legend arrangement is, however, different and the inscription is divided into three as against the two divisions seen on Sheopur issues. The coin bears RY7 and as such must have been struck immediately after Filose’s conquest, or maybe even while the siege of the citadel was progressing. The mint-name on this one known specimen is unfortunately truncated, but from what is visible, it can be safely surmised that it is ‘Chanderī’.

It is not so much the attribution and discussion of this coin in Lingen & Wiggins that needs a revisit; it is their analysis in attributing the subsequent issue they list as struck at Chanderi. The coin they illustrate is exactly like the coins struck at Bajranggarh by Jai Singh, the Kheechi ruler, except it has the mark of a cannon on the reverse. Two more coins of this type are illustrated here (see Catalogue), the second coin being in the ANS collection, New York. Both these coins show the cannon pointing to the right – I have also seen a coin where it points to the left but have not had the chance to document it for its details.

Lingen & Wiggins’ attribution of these coins to Chanderi is based on a series of references. As for the first statement, Lingen & Wiggins give no source but merely say ‘It has been reported that the *Phulshahi* of Bajranggarh was also struck at Chanderi’. The second reference comes from Richard Burns (‘The Bajranggarh Mint and Coins’, JASB LXVI, 1897, pp. 275-284, pl. xxxiv) who described two Bajranggarh coins dated RY20 that were ‘narrower and thicker than the others’. Quoting ‘an informant of Major Masters’, Burns suggested they had been struck ‘by the Rajah of Chanderi, an ally of Jai Singh’ (p.280). The third reference comes from Prinsep, conceivably from ‘Useful Tables’, quoting his informant, Mr Maddock, that ‘the Gwalior Government issued inferior coin at its provincial mint in Chanderi’.

Lingen & Wiggins attribute these coins to Chanderi, based on ‘such sparse statements’. It evidently follows an assumption that copies of Bajranggarh coin was struck at Chanderi, as given by the first statement. Supporting this assumption are the two other statements: Burn’s mention that the ‘narrower and thicker’ coins dated RY20 are issues of the Rajah of Chanderi and Prinsep’s mention that the coins struck at Chanderi were ‘inferior’ in their contents.

But there are aspects that go against this attribution, too. The first is the fact that, even if we assume Burn’s information to be accurate, his coins have RY20. Jai Singh Kheechi, whose names these coins bear, began his rule in 1797-98 and as such these coins would have been struck in 1817, at the earliest. At this point Chanderi had already been a Sindhia possession for at least 5 years and its erstwhile ruler was settled in his new estate of 31 villages in Kailgaon division. There is no information available suggesting he was an ‘ally of Jai Singh’. Lingen & Wiggins, therefore, remark that Burn’s information is ‘confusing’ but do not translate this observation in attribution terms. Another aspect is the date on the ‘cannon’-marked coin – it is RY18 of Jai Singh, two years earlier than the RY on Burn’s coins, but Lingen &

Wiggins overlook it saying 'in absence of further specimens it is not possible to establish when such coins were first struck'.

By far the most important aspect that Lingen & Wiggins overlook, is the mention that, even though the coins struck at Chanderi were 'Bajranggarh', they were of the 'Phulshahi' type. It is a well-known fact that such names, by which coins were often known in 18th-20th centuries, reflected important features such as the name of the issuer, or the symbols they had. Going by this tenet, the rupees of Bajranggarh copied at Chanderi must have had the symbol of a 'Phul', or flower. Indeed, such rupees were struck subsequent to Bajranggarh becoming a vassal state of Gwalior in the years following the death of Jai Singh. It is very likely, therefore, that the remark made about 'Bajranggarh' copies being struck at Chanderi comes from a period after a 'flower' mark was added to the Bajranggarh coins (i.e. after 1819).

Lingen & Wiggins have also largely ignored the significance of the cannon mark these coins bear. They have quite rightly remarked that it is an 'important feature' and its presence seems to 'place the present issue in succession to the previous cannon issue', but they have not explained why these two types were struck in the names of two different authorities and having totally different appearances and scripts. It is, therefore, appropriate to give the 'cannon' mark the attention in attributive terms that it deserves – it is undoubtedly the mark of Filose. Once we see this in context with the plausibility that the 'Bajranggarh' coins struck at Chanderi were of a different type, we see no reason why these 'cannon'-marked coins should be attributed to Chanderi and not to Bajranggarh proper.

Attributing these coins as Filose's issues of Bajranggarh fits very well with the RY details as well. Bajranggarh was wrested by Filose from Jai Singh Kheechi just after his RY18 (1816) and, thus, the coins of this RY would serve as a template for Filose's issues – he seemingly just added his 'cannon' mark and let the mint function. The fact that he retained Jai Singh's name on the coins must have been due to circulatory reasons – the design of these coins was unique in many ways and as such the coins must have been popular. The narrow fabric and inferior metallic contents of these coins probably reflect an attempt to make money go further by debasing it – a situation Filose and the rest of the Sindhia's army had constantly found themselves in throughout the 'Troubled Times'.

The 'Seorha'-type Coinage

Under this sub-heading, I intend to discuss a series of hitherto unattributed silver and copper coins which amongst coin collectors in India go by the name 'Seorha'- or 'Seondha'-type coins. An attempt to classify and catalogue known varieties is presented at the end of the paper as 'Appendix B'.

At the outset it must be said that this is clearly a misnomer, because these coins have nothing to do with a place named as such! Here it will be pertinent to say a few words about the history of this misattribution. As a mint-name, Seorha first features in Hoernle's JASB article in 1897. It is located to the northeast of Gwalior and, according to Hoernle, was part of Datia state. It seems to be a place of some strategic importance as evidenced by the presence of a major fortress there. But the plates Hoernle appends make it amply clear that the coin he illustrates as 'Seorha' is an Isagarh rupee, so presumably his informant, Mr Maries, was wrong about attributing coins to this mint place and Hoernle himself was wary of the attribution. Notwithstanding this, the mistake was repeated in IMC vol. IV by William Valentine, the cataloguer who listed coins in the IM collection as 'Seondha' and opined that while 'the exact reading of the mint-name on the coin is doubtful...there seems no reason to doubt the attribution given on local authority by Hoernle'. The attribution was carried on in 'Coins of the World 1750-1850', by William Craig (Racine, Wisconsin, 1966, p. 690) but muddled further - Craig lists the very coin as illustrated in IMC vol. IV, but calls it a 'copper Paisa' of Seondha. When 'South Asian Coins and Paper Money (ed. Colin Bruce et al, 1981) was published in 1981, coins of Shadhora mint,

listed under Gwalior State, appear under a remark 'formerly listed as Seondha'.

The colloquial labelling of the coins we are about to discuss as 'Seorha' or 'Seondha' seems to result from the fact that, much like the coins wrongly listed as 'Seondha' in instances listed above, these coins have a pair of symbols on the reverse, to the right of 'julūs'. A comprehensive catalogue of the coins in this series can be found at the end of this section.

As seen in the catalogue (Appendix B) section, these coins can be classified primarily on the basis of the symbols that occur on the reverse. The common symbol seen on all of them is a battle-axe, placed upside down, much like one seen on coins of Isagarh and Musagarh. Other aspects that characterise this coinage are as follows:

Coin types: There are five main types – axe on its own, spear and axe, axe and a mace, axe with a sword, and axe with a sword and with cannon on obverse.

Obverse legends: The coins have two broad obverse legend categories – coins in the first category show the portion '*fazl-i-ḥāmī dīn*' legend in the centre, while coins in the second have '*ṣāḥīb qirān thānī*'. The first legend conceivably refers to Shah Alam II, while the second may be either Shah Alam II or Muhammad Akbar II. Both legends show varying degrees of corruption and differences in execution. Coins of two types, namely 'axe only' and 'axe and spear' have both '*ḥāmī dīn*' and '*ṣāḥīb qirān*' legends. Coins of 'axe and mace' and 'axe and sword' types have only the '*ḥāmī dīn*' legend, whereas coins of the last type, 'axe and sword with cannon' have a corrupted '*ṣāḥīb qirān*' legend. No symbols of any recognisable form, apart from clusters of dots, are seen on the obverse.

AH date: Most coins show traces of either 1198 or 1199 at far left on obverse.

Reverse legend: The reverse legend seen on these coins is the formulaic '*sanah julūs* (followed by RY) *māimanat mānūs zarb...*' inscription met with on most 18th and 19th century coins. What occurs as mint-names in the last line on the reverse of many of these coins is, however, the most interesting aspect.

No identifiable mint-name, or a version thereof, has been noted on these coins, except perhaps the ones of the 'axe and mace' type. On these, the mint-name begins with an 'S'-like letter, followed by a 'W' and then by a couple of other 'S'-letters suffixed with 'Alifs'. Thus mint-name does resemble something like 'Seo...' and may well stand for 'Seorha' or 'Seondha'.

On coins with 'axe only', the earliest issues documented here, dated RY31, do not reveal sufficient details to ascertain what the mint-name is. On coins of this type dated RY32 and 33, the mint-name reads '*falūs*', followed by a couple of more meaningless squiggles. On coins dated RY34, the mint-name is only '*falūs*'. On coins of the second type ('axe with spear'), the word '*falūs*' is seen as mint-name - followed by a single curved line - on coins dated RY32, 33 and 34. But on coins dated 35 and 36, the word disappears and is replaced with a motley selection of unreadable curved lines. This feature continues with coins having RYs 2 and 3. On the coins of the last type, 'axe with sword', we have only RY34 and the mint-name is '*falūs*', executed very much like the RY34 coins of the first variety (axe only).

The word '*falūs*' usually means a copper coin so its occurrence on silver rupees, and that, too, at a position where the mint-name usually occurs requires some explanation. The suggestion one can make at this point is that the word is not '*falūs*', but '*filōs*' or '*filūs*' – ostensibly standing for Filose, the general. Preceded by '*zarb*' it could mean the 'strike of Filose', or in other words '(this coin was) struck by Filose'. This explanation brings this coinage into the scope of this paper and is also helpful in ascertaining, with some degree of plausibility and speculation, when and where these coins may have been struck.

RY details: The RYs are found at their usual place given the formulaic reverse legends of these coins – to the right of the word '*julūs*' on the reverse. The coins have different sets of RYs vis-à-vis the type. On coins with axe only, we see RYs 31-34 and there is a solitary specimen noted with 1(2/3?); on coins with the 'spear

and axe' we have 3(2?) through to 36, then 2, 3. Coins of the 'axe and mace' and 'axe and sword' types, bear only RY 34. Coins of the last type – 'axe and sword with cannon on obverse' show 5 and 6.

Further variations: On coins of type 1, there is a variety noted amongst those dated RY34. Some coins show an inwardly indented circle below the numeral '4' of the RY. Next to this circle, near the die-border, a comma-like shape is seen, that could be regarded as a version of the Persian letter 'Fe'. As we have seen in the case of Isargarh coins, this 'Fe' may well be a reference to 'Filose', in this case an additional one as the mint-name already carries the name 'Filus'.

Coins of Type 5, namely 'axe and sword with cannon on obverse', are executed much differently than all the other coins. While they evidently copy the type inasmuch as the placement of the dual symbol on the reverse is concerned, they have further obverse variations where the cannon occur - Some coins with RY 5 have a 'St Stephen's Cross' placed next to the muzzle of the cannon. The cannon on all coins of this type points to the right.

All these aspects may be summarised in the table below with details of how the legends correlate to different types. 'HD' denotes '*hāmī dīn*' legend while 'SQ' denotes '*ṣāhīb qirān*'.

Type RY	Type 1. Axe only	Type 2 Axe + Spear	Type 3 Axe + Mace	Type 4 Axe + Sword	Type 5 Axe + Sword Cannon
31	HD				
32	HD Mint-name: Filūs	HD Mint-name: Filūs			
33	HD Mint-name: Filūs	HD Mint-name: Filūs			
34	HD Mint-name: Filūs	HD Mint-name: Filūs	HD Mint-name: 'Seo..(ndha'?)	HD Mint-name: Filūs	
34	HD Mint-name: Filūs; Variety: 'Circle' and 'Fe' mark				
35		HD			
36		HD			
2		SQ			
3		SQ			
5					SQ; variety - with cross
5					SQ; variety - w/o cross
6					SQ

Table: Concordance of RY, Mint-names, Varieties and Symbolic Configurations on 'Seorha'-type Coinage

Observations on the coinage

Judging by style and execution, it is evident that the RY34 coins of Type 1 and Type 4 are closely matched. The way the legends have been executed and, in particular, the way in which the word '*filūs*' is inscribed are very similar. It may therefore suggest that coins of Type 4 were struck in close succession to the coins of Type 1 with the additional 'Circle and 'Fe' mark', at the same mint.

Coins of type 5 follow the RY34 coins of Type 1 and Type 4 inasmuch as the choice of symbols is concerned. But from the RY details they bear and also from the fact that they are stylistically different, it would seem they were struck at a later date. If we assume that they were struck at the same mint as Type 1 and 4, we would see a shift in RY reckoning from 34 to 5 / 6, which presumably accounts for a break in production. However, it is equally likely that Type 5 may have been struck at a different mint altogether.

We thus have two options to account for: option 1 would be the proposition that Types 1, 4 and 5 were struck at the same mint, that Types 1 and 4 were struck in close succession and that there was then a break in production. After the break, the tradition of the 'Axe and Sword' symbol was continued but obviously by a different 'hand', which would account for the general change in appearance and, of course, also the inclusion of a new symbol, the cannon, on the obverse. Option 2 would be to consider that Type 5 was struck at a different mint at a later date and the symbolic link was merely an attempt to copy a set of regional coinage.

Coins of type 2 have a different set of symbols on them and show a different execution as well. It is interesting to note that the word '*filūs*' is last used on coins of RY34 in all three types – 1, 2 and 4. For Types 1 and 4 which, as we have seen, form a linear sequence RY34 is the last year. For Type 2, coins continue with RYs 35 and 36 (and further with SQ legends and RYs 2 and 3), but '*filūs*' is conspicuously replaced with a meaningless legend.

A shift in RY is evident in the case of Type 2, where the last double-digit RY noted is 36, and then it changes to 2 / 3. That this shift coincides with a change in obverse legend as well – from ‘*hāmī dīn*’ to ‘*ṣāhib qirān*’ – indicates that, in all probability, it is reflecting the change in reigns of the suzerain authority. It would make sense if this change is assumed to be the Mughal emperors, from Shah Alam II to Muhammad Akbar II, which happened in AD 1806.

But for none of the coin types, do the AH date, the RY and the legend change seem to reflect a factual reckoning. Traces of an AH date on all coins allude to 1198 or 1199, but these can be ignored as a remnant of an earlier coin series on which the ‘Seorha’-type design was based (discussed further). The known set of RYs on coins with ‘*hāmī dīn*’ legend is 31-36 which would correspond to AH 1203/5 to 1208/9 or AD 1793-4, but with such clear indications of a ‘Filose’ connection with at least a few varieties bearing RYs 34 struck in this series, it is evident that the coins would have been struck only after c. 1809-10, the date from which Filose became active. A date in the 1790’s as represented by the RYs, had they been ‘real’, would look out of place.

The inference, therefore, is that, while the legends change from one emperor to another, the RY change that goes with it does not reflect the ‘real’ RYs of the emperor. They are evidently counted from an event other than the coronation of the emperor.

Issue of ‘Seorha’-type coins

These observations help us to formulate a proposition that what we are looking at is in, all probability, a coinage struck at different mints. Considering ‘option 1’, Types 1, 4 and 5 could be issues from one mint. Let us call it ‘Mint 1’. Mint 1 thus may have produced coins of Types 1 and 4 in direct continuation, but then there is a break in production, at the end of which coins of Type 5 were issued. Within type 5, the coins with St Stephen’s Cross added next to the cannons were perhaps the early issues (RY5), followed by coins without the cross (RYs 5 and 6). Assuming ‘option 1’, it is reasonable to propose that Filose was in charge at Mint 1 when this entire series was issued, even after the production suffered a break.

Considering ‘option 2’, Type 5 may have been struck at another mint. We could call this ‘Mint 1A’, although its existence is not fully substantiated.

Coins of Type 2 were probably struck at another mint. We would call this mint 2. Unlike Mint 1, Mint 2 seems to have functioned under Filose only up to RY34 and the subsequent issues were not struck under his direct authority, as evidenced by the omission of ‘*Filus*’ and its replacement with a meaningless mint-name.

The story is different for the remaining type in the coinage, viz. Type 3. Coins of this type were seemingly struck only in one RY, that is 34, and do not show a connection with Filose in any respect. Coins of this type do not link up with the other series in ways which have been outlined above and, indeed, seem to have been struck at a place different from either ‘Mint 1’ (or ‘Mint 1A’) or ‘Mint 2’. The mint-name on these coins seems to be a crude rendering of ‘Seorha’ or ‘Seondha’. This place, according to Hoernle, was part of the Datia state. The mace that appears so conspicuously next to the inverted battle-axe on these coins is a well-known symbol on coins of Datia and Orchha. It would, therefore, be reasonable to propose that coins of Type 3 are issues of the Seorha or Seondha mint and struck under Datia authority.

Copper Coinage

Before we discuss where ‘Mint 1’ (and/or Mint 1A) and ‘Mint 2’ were located, it will be appropriate to take a stock of copper coinage in the relevant types. So far, coins similar to types 2, 4 and 5 have been noted in copper. A feature worth noting is the disappearance of the axe symbol from most copper coins, except one which we will discuss shortly. There are other salient differences, too, as compared with silver issues. However, judging by style and execution, there seems little doubt that they are struck

at the same mints that struck the silver coins in the respective types.

Two coins similar to Type 2 have been noted – one in the Raghuvver Pai collection in Mumbai and the other in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, collection. They look very similar to the silver coins, except for the fact that there is no axe on the reverse and only the spear is seen placed to the right of the word ‘*julūs*’. They both bear RY35, but there are additional numerals ‘15’ just below the RY. Next to the ‘15’ – at least on the Fitzwilliam specimen – there is a mark that could well be a very crude rendering of the Persian letter ‘Fe’. This is similar to that seen on silver coins of Type 1. However, as the mint-name on this copper paisa resembles the same meaningless arrangement of curved lines that deliberately replaces the name ‘*filūs*’ on silver coins, one would wonder if this isolated instance of a ‘Fe’ could be taken as a direct indication of Filose’s involvement. It is more likely that it is an unintentional copying of marks seen on earlier coins of a nearby mint. These coins weigh in the range of 16 g, which makes them ‘Takkas’ in the North Indian denominational system.

There exist a few more ‘Takka’ coins which show close similarity in execution to silver coins of type 1, particularly of RY34. The most conspicuous feature of these Takkas is an inverted ‘flower bud with long stalk’ symbol that replaces the weaponry we see on the silver coins to the right of the word ‘*julūs*’. The mint-name on these coins seems to be ‘*filūs*’, but in forms which are more corrupt than that seen on the silver rupees. By far the most interesting of these Takkas is a piece that has the cannon symbol on the obverse, in the loop of the ‘*mī*’ of the words ‘*hāmī dīn*’ – but it is placed vertically, with the carriage pointing downwards and the muzzle upwards. One of the takkas shows the AH date 1222 on the reverse (see Appendix B) and this is a significant detail. The similarity of execution, particularly of the obverse, for this takka and the silver rupees of Types 1 and 4, dated RY34, is overwhelming and suggests that they could not have been struck far apart in time. The AH 1222 date thus corroborates the observation that the RY run seen on these coins is not an actual reckoning. It also helps to place the issue of these coins much closer to the ‘Troubled Times’. It further shows that the (AH) 1198/99 that occurs on most coins of the Seorha’ series is purely a ‘vestigial’ date and should be disregarded when proposing a chronology for the series.

The only copper coin with the axe present is exactly like the rupees of type 4, which have the ‘axe and sword’ combination and it is dated RY34. It is in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, collection and weighs considerably less than the copper Takkas just discussed, at 3.8 g. This would make it a quarter Takka but it is more likely to be a ½ paisa or a ‘pie’. The mint-name on this unique piece is truncated beyond restoration.

The subsequent copper coins in the series bear a close resemblance to the rupees of type 5. So far, no pieces with a clear RY have been noted, but, unlike the copper coins discussed so far, these have the ‘*ṣāhib qirān*’ legends on the obverse and a clear cannon mark, pointing to the right on the obverse. Next to the word ‘*julūs*’ on the reverse is an upright sword with a rather elaborate hilt. Here again, the axe present on the corresponding silver rupees is omitted and the sword has a straight blade rather than a curved one as seen on the rupees. These coins, too, weigh in the range of 4 g and therefore likely to have been ‘pies’.

The analysis we have seen so far as the issue of the rupees is concerned holds good for the issue of copper coins as well. Takkas with the ‘inverted flower bud’ mark seem to have been struck at the same mint (‘Mint 1’) that struck the silver coins of Types 1 and 4. As in case of silver issues, we have two options – option 1 would mean this was the same mint that struck copper coins resembling Type 5, and option 2 would mean that they, like the silver coins, were struck at a different place (‘Mint 1A’). Copper Takkas with ‘spear’ mark could be safely regarded as issues of ‘Mint 2’.

The observations made so far in regard to establishing a provisional scheme to suggest where the ‘Seorha’-type coins were

struck could be presented as a table as follows. The round dots indicate silver coins and the triangular dots indicate copper coins. The ‘type’ link involving copper coins is not ‘direct’, except in Type 4, but subjective in terms of stylistic comparison as we have just seen.

	Mint 1	Mint 1A?	Mint 2	Mint: Seondha
Type 1	●			
Type 2			● ▲	
Type 3				●
Type 4	● ▲			
Type 5	● ▲- option 1?	● ▲- option 2?		

Identifying Mint 1 (and Mint 1A) and Mint 2

By far the most logical way to determine where these types may have been struck is to revisit the historical data at our disposal and examine the coinage in its context to see what propositions could be made. From coins, we have a picture emerging with the activities of Filose as a ‘peg’ on which to hang the propositions.

Firstly, attention needs to be drawn to the general stylistic ‘feel’ of the coinage – judging by stylistic features, it is evident that these coins are offshoots of Narwar mint coinage. As specific points of comparison one could look at the earliest of these coins, those dated RY31 in Type 1 – the way of execution of ‘*hāmī dīn*’, the placement of dots in the word ‘*alah*’, above ‘*mī*’, and, most importantly, the execution of the curves and the shape of the word ‘*julūs*’ on the reverse – all point to a copying of the coins of Narwar. This would help us to consider a spatial placement of this coinage to the north of Filose’s other domains, the Isagarh-Shadhora-Chanderi belt. To strengthen this proposition, we could look at the only other assignable type in the coinage so far as locating the mint is concerned – Type 3 or ‘Axe and Mace’ which, as we have seen, can reasonably be attributed to Seondha mint, functioning under Datia authority. Seondha (and other Datia domains) lie north of Isagarh, near to the ‘neck’ of the future Central Provinces or Madhya Pradesh (see map p. 20 above). To the immediate west of Datia are Narwar and Sipri, two garrison towns in Gwalior State – we know from coin evidence, vide Lingen & Wiggins, that Narwar currency was already being copied at Sipri. Further to the west lies Sheopur, by far the northernmost located town in the area that Filose directly controlled.

Mint 1 – Sabalgarh?

Having proposed locating the mints in this region, we need to see which place/s in the region would qualify. Needless to say, these places should have a ‘Filose’ connection at some point. One name stands out and fulfils almost all the prerequisites – that is Sabalgarh.

Sabalgarh is located 26.25N 77.4E, to the west of Gwalior and to the northeast of Sheopur. It is now part of the Morena district, but it lay in the Sheopur *Zila* (division) under the Sindhias, where it was the headquarters of a *parganah* (subdivision). The Imperial Gazetteer of India mentions (p. 343) that it was found by a Gujjar named ‘Sabala’ but belonged to the

Jadon Rajput chiefs of Karauli, one of whom, named Gopal Singh, built a massive fort there.



Sabalgarh

In 1795, while Daulat Rao Sindhia was in the Deccan, one of his commanders, Amboji Inglay (also spelled ‘Ingale’ or ‘Ingliā’), attacked Sabalgarh and wrested it from the Raja of Karauli. Amboji had been in Sindhia service for a number of years and was in charge of Narwar. After Lakhba Dada Lad’s removal, Daulat Rao appointed him in charge of Northern Indian affairs. He became so powerful that, in 1796, the British regarded him ‘as a subsidiary chief rather than a servant (of the Sindhias)’. During Daulat Rao’s absence in the Deccan, Amboji managed to amass a huge personal wealth owing much to the fact that he appropriated 14.5 million rupees worth of revenue collections. When Daulat Rao returned to the north on the eve of the Second Anglo-Maratha War in 1802, he asked Amboji to pay the dues. Amboji’s response was to conspire against his master. He brokered a secret deal with the British and offered them the charge of Gwalior fort if they agreed to make him a ‘Raja’ in his own right. He deceived the Sindhia in the battle of Laswari but could not ultimately keep the terms of his treaty with the British.

After the treaty of Surji-Anjangaon was signed in early 1804, Daulat Rao was incensed to see Gwalior included amongst the possessions he would require to hand over to the British. As a consequence he turned to Yashwant Rao Holkar, his arch adversary, to see if they could join hands together against the British. Holkar and Sindhia met at Sabalgarh in mid-1804 to discuss further moves. Amboji in the meantime was arrested by Amir Khan Pindari, the Holkar ally and had to cough up a sum of 5 million rupees to secure his release. Weary of a new Maratha front being formed against them and also of certain dubious moves by Amboji, the British managed to placate Sindhia by offering him Gwalior and Gohad. A new treaty to this effect was agreed between the Sindhia and the British in 1805 at Mustafapur. Yashwant Rao Holkar’s plans of opening a Maratha alliance against the British were dashed. Shrewd Amboji managed to curry favour with the Sindhia and patch up their differences. He died some time after 1809.

Jean-Baptiste Filose and the Inglay family confronted each other when, in 1809, Daulat Rao asked Filose to march on Sabalgarh, which was now held by Khandojee, Amboji’s brother. Filose managed to capture the fort by early 1810 and kept it subsequently under his own command. How long Sabalgarh remained under Filose’s control is not known but it was certainly his possession in 1816-17 as we find his family escaping to Sabalgarh after Jai Singh Kheechi attacked and sacked Sheopur in response to Filose’s siege of Raghogarh.

As Sabalgarh lay under the Inglay family’s control between 1795 and 1810, we could postulate that the earliest of the Type 1 rupees could have been struck at Sabalgarh some time after 1795. As we have seen, the RYs and the AH dates they bear do not corroborate each other and the RYs do not seem to be the ‘true’ RYs of the Mughal Emperor. Judging by Amboji’s ambitions,

they could even be his own RYs, but where this reckoning begins we have no idea. Filose took Sabalgarh in 1810 and the earliest instance of the word 'filūs' appearing on the coins is RY32. Going by this clue, the reckoning must have started not before 1778. Soon after 1810, maybe within two to three years, minting at Sabalgarh seems to have been stopped.

If we regard Type 5 coins as issues of the same mint that struck Types 1 and 3 after a break, it will be logical to postulate that the mint at Sabalgarh was run again at a later date, perhaps in 1816-17 when Filose was fighting a war with Jai Singh Kheechi. If, however, the mints that struck Types 1 and 3, and Type 5 were different, we have to account for yet another mint town (labelled as 'Mint 1A') under Filose's control. Chanchora, located to the south of Narwar could be a candidate. It was a Kheechi fortress that Filose took over just before he sacked Chanderi in 1812.

Mint 2 – where was it?

Ostensibly, this mint would have to be located in the same area as that of the supposedly 'Sabalgarh' issues– the tract largely to the north of Narwar, north-east of Sheopur and west of Gwalior. There are a number of possible candidates: Pahargarh located to the south of Sabalgarh was the seat of a large jagir under the Sindhias; Kolaras was an important market town to the east of Sabalgarh and Himmatgarh, an important fortress to the north of Narwar. However, in the absence of more evidence, all these would remain speculative, much as Sabalgarh is.

Conclusion

Finally it will be proper to summarise what this paper is all about. From a broader historical viewpoint, this is an attempt to put a person and his activities in context with each other. Striking coins is but one of the aspects of Filose's endeavours but it helps us to understand him better. Although often called a 'mercenary', he hardly deserves the label – he was not a turncoat like other European or half-European soldiers in the service of the Indian princes. Indeed, he served the Sindhias for no less than 47 years and his descendents carried on living and working for the Sindhias in Gwalior for three more generations.

Having said that, he seems to have harboured particular political ambitions during a specific period, the years 1809-1817 to be more precise. It is worth noting that he adopted the cannon

as a symbol on his coins – it is no doubt a numismatic way to indicate power, pride, prestige and prerogative. It is thus a true reflection of his *izzat* ('Honour') as a military commander. At the same time, it is worth noting that he does not make any direct reference to Sindhia overlordship – no symbols displaying Sindhia affinity are found on his coins, particularly those he struck at places under his direct control. That he made himself the master of a large tract of land through his military strength cannot be ignored. Although, going by political conventions prevalent at the time, he was always deemed a *jāgirdar* of the Sindhias, he was de facto independent of the Sindhias in territories under his direct control like Sheopur and Isagarh. Even the British resident acknowledged this in his correspondence.

As far as coins are concerned, we now have an exhaustive listing of coins struck by Filose. A type previously attributed to Chanderi has been reconsidered and the Isagarh coinage has been further classified. A new mint 'Musagarh' has been noted. Two series of coins have been discussed, particularly in terms of attribution, in the light of Filose's association. They are Garhakota and the 'Seorha'-type coinage. Unfortunately, for want of evidence, the attribution suggested for both the series has been largely speculative. However, a better classification not only in terms of type characteristics but also in terms of style and execution has helped us in narrowing our focus so far as locating these series is concerned.

Acknowledgements

This paper would not have seen the light of the day without the help of two great collectors of the Gwalior series – Jan Lingen and Satya Bhupatiraju. I am indebted to them for their timely assistance in sending me the images of coins from their collections and also in making helpful comments. Grateful thanks are also due to M/s Paul Stevens (Beaconsfield, UK), Raghuvver Pai and Ashok Purandare (both Mumbai) for further assistance; coins from their collection also feature in the catalogue. Stan Goron, as always, helped finding obscure references, particularly for 'Seorha' in old catalogues like Craig, and Barry Tabor made useful remarks. Last, but not the least, my thanks are due to Jean-Marie Lafont (New Delhi) for his assistance on biographical notes.

Appendix A

**A Catalogue of Coins struck by Jean-Baptiste Filose
c.1810-1817 and related issues**

1. Sheopur

T1



Obv: legend in three lines –

sikka mubārak / šāhīb qirān thānī / muḥammad akbar shāh bādshāh ghāzī

Rev: legend in three lines –

julūs mānūs / sanah / zarb sheopūr; Cannon pointing left to the left of RY

T1 – Rupee; dates known AH 1228 (frozen) / RY 7-20

T1.2 – Quarter rupee (BM collection) – AH 1228/RY9

2. Garhakota?

T1





محمد شاه بهادر
بادشاه غازر
سلم مبارك

ميمند مالوس
سید جلوس
زر کدبارت

Obv: Legend in three lines:

sikka mubārak / bādshāh ghāzī / muḥammad shāh bahādur

Rev: Legend in three lines:

mānūs maimanat / sanah julūs / zarb garha rat or gad (na?)rat

3. Isagarh

T1



محمد شاه بهادر
بادشاه غازر
سلم مبارك

ميمند مالوس
سید جلوس
زر کدبارت

Obv: legend in three lines –

sikka mubārak / ṣāḥīb qirān thānī / muḥammad akbar shāh

bādshāh ghāzī

Rev: legend in three lines –

zarb ‘isagarh sanah / mānūs / maimanat julūs,

Cannon pointing left to the left of *mānūs*

R.Y.s known – 7-11 (AH 1228 frozen)

T2



محمد شاه بهادر
بادشاه غازر
سلم مبارك

ميمند مالوس
سید جلوس
زر کدبارت

Obv: legend in three lines –

sikka mubārak / ṣāḥīb qirān thānī / muḥammad akbar shāh

bādshāh

The word ‘*ghāzī*’ may follow, but has not been seen on any specimens examined. Also, note the top line divider is an elongated ‘*muḥammad*’. Cannon, pointing left placed above ‘*b*’ of ‘*ṣāḥīb*’ in second line.

Rev: legend in three lines –

zarb ‘isagarh sanah / julūs / maimanat mānūs

Inverted battle axe and fly-whisk (*Chauree*) symbols to the right of ‘*julūs*’.

R.Y.s known – -/13, 123(6)/8 (sic)

T3



محمد شاه بهادر
بادشاه غازر
سلم مبارك

ميمند مالوس
سید جلوس
زر کدبارت

Obv: legend in three lines

sikka mubārak / ṣāḥīb qirān thānī / shāh bādshāh...

The legend in the top line is crude and has only the traces of the Emperor's name. A cannon, pointing to the left, is placed in the second line above 'b' of 'ṣāḥīb' in the second line.

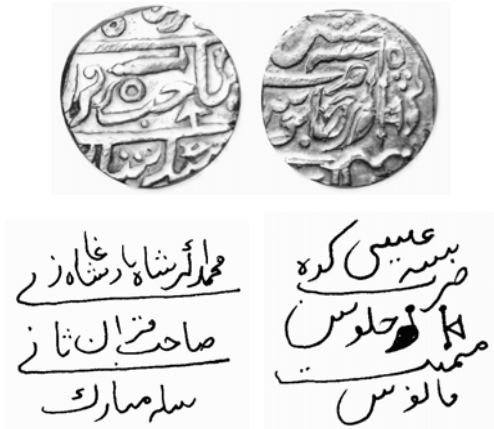
Rev: legend in three lines:

zarb 'Isagarh sanah / julūs / maimanat mānūs.

Inverted battle axe and fly-whisk (Chauree) symbols to the right of 'julūs', and comma-like letter ('Fe' = 'Filose'?) placed to the left of the 'ū' in 'julūs'.

No AH/RV details visible on any specimen examined.

T4 – Struck under the Sindhia's direct control



Obv: same as T1, but cruder execution. A cannon pointing to the right, placed above the 'b' of 'ṣāḥīb' in the second line.

Rev: same as T2, but a snake added to the right of the inverted axe and whisk symbols.

T4A – Struck under the Sindhia's direct control.



Obv: Same as above but cannon points to the left.

RVs known - -/15

T5 – Struck under the Sindhia's direct control.



Obv: Same as T2, but cruder execution. Cannon, pointing to the right, placed above 'b' and a snake to the right of 'ḥ' in the word 'ṣāḥīb' in the second line.

Rev: Same as T2

No dated specimens observed.

4. Shadhorah / Shadhurah

T1



Obv: legend in three lines

sikka *mubārak* / ṣāḥīb qirān thānī / muḥammad akbar shāh bādshāh ghāzī

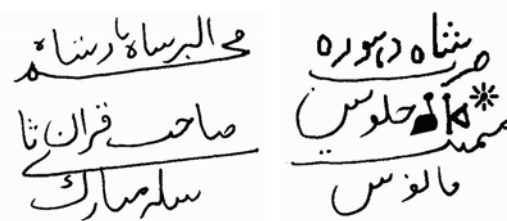
Rev: legend in three lines

Julūs sanah maimanat / mānūs / zarb shādhūrah.

A cannon, pointing to the left, placed to the left of 'mānūs' in the second line.

RVs known – 7?

T2 – struck under the Sindhia's direct control



Obv: Same as Isagarh T2, but cruder execution. Cannon, pointing to the right, placed above the 'b' and a snake to the right of the 'ḥ' in the word 'ṣāḥīb' in the second line.

Rev: legend in three lines

zarb shādhūrah / julūs / maimanat mānūs

Inverted fly-whisk, battle-axe, and 'sunburst' symbols placed to the right of 'julūs' in that order.

5. Musagarh

T1



محمد اکبر شاہ غازی
صاحب قرآن تازی
سلہ مبارک

ضرسہ موسیٰ کردہ
مہمہ مالوس
جلوس

Obv: legend in three lines

sikka mubārah / ṣāhīb qirān thānī / muḥammad akbar shāh bādshāh

Rev: legend in three lines

marb mūsagarh sanah / mānūs / maimanat julūs

A cannon pointing left to the left of mānūs in the second line

Date/Ry known – 122X/-

T2



محمد اکبر شاہ غازی
صاحب قرآن تازی
سلہ مبارک

ضرسہ موسیٰ کردہ
مہمہ مالوس
جلوس

Obv: legend in three lines

sikka mubārah / ṣāhīb qirān thānī / muḥammad akbar shāh bādshāh

Rev: legend in three lines

zarb mūsagarh sanah / julūs / mānūs

Traces of cannon pointing left to the left of *julūs* and an inverted battle-axe placed to its right, in the second line.

Dates known: 1232/12.

6. Chanderi

T1



محمد اکبر شاہ
صاحب قرآن تازی
سلہ مبارک

جلوس مالوس
مہمہ
ضرسہ چاندیری

Obv: legend in four lines

sikka mubārah / ṣāhīb qirān thānī / bādshāh ghāzī / muḥammad akbar shāh

Rev: legend in three lines

julūs mānūs maimanat / sanah / zarb chanderī

A cannon pointing left, placed to the left of *sanah* in the second line.

RYs known - -/7

7. Bajranggarh

T1



यह सिका
पर छाप मह
राज जयसिंघ
की १८ जय
नगर

श्री राघव
परताप
वनपुत्र बल
पयक

Obv: legend in Devanagari in five lines

yah sika / par chhap maha / raja jai singh/ ki 18 ja ya /nagara

Rev: legend in Devanagari in four lines

shri raghava / paratapa pa/ wanaputra bala / paya ke

Cannon pointing right placed at the end of the inscription

RYs known – 18 (refers to the RY of Jai Singh Kheechi)

All aspects same as T1, except that the cannon on the reverse points to the left.

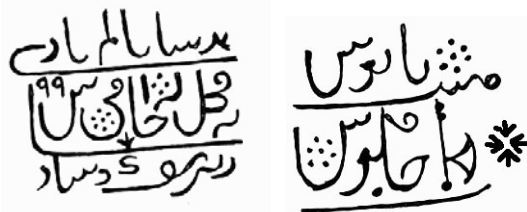
Appendix B

Catalogue of the ‘Seorha’-type Coinage

Note: The listing presented here is not exhaustive by any means. Examined coins showed a lot of die-variations and the presence of a few ancillary marks, which have been noted in appropriate instances. Not all of these are reflected in the line drawings of the legends supplied. Also, the classification and chronology should be deemed ‘tentative’ at best – more varieties may turn up in future. The list is presented on the basis of features discussed in the text – Types 1, 4 and 5 are listed first (‘Mint 1/1A’) followed by Type 2 (‘Mint 2’) and lastly Type 3 (Mint 3 - Seondha?). Copper coins are listed under the nearest matches in silver coin types.

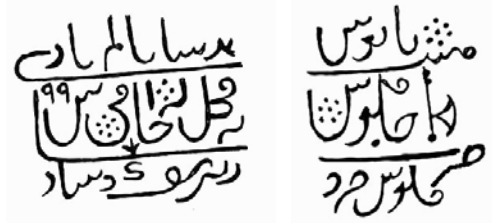
Type 1 – Coins with axe on the reverse (Mint 1 – Sabalgarh?)

Variety 1



Obverse: crudely executed ‘*hāmī dīn*’ legend
 Reverse: formulaic ‘*julūs*’ legend, inverted battle axe to the right of ‘*julūs*’.
 RYs noted – 31
 Variation – three-pronged flower to the right of RY

Variety 2



Obverse: crudely executed ‘*hāmī dīn*’ legend
 Reverse: formulaic ‘*julūs*’ legend, inverted battle axe to the right of ‘*julūs*’. Mint-name reads ‘*filūs*’ followed by two curvy lines.
 RYs noted – 32, 33
 Variations – in the ‘*sīm*’ of ‘*julūs*’ on the reverse: 1. a flower sprig
 2. sword (?) above a rosette of dots.

Variety 3A



Obverse: crudely executed ‘*hāmī dīn*’ legend
 Reverse: formulaic ‘*julūs*’ legend, inverted battle axe to the right of ‘*julūs*’. Mint-name reads ‘*filūs*’, and nothing more.
 RYs noted - 34

Variety 3B



Obverse: crudely executed ‘*hāmī dīn*’ legend
 Reverse: formulaic ‘*julūs*’ legend, inverted battle axe to the right of ‘*julūs*’. Indented circle and letter ‘Fe’ (?) below the RY. Mint-name reads ‘*filūs*’, and nothing more.

RYs noted – 34

Copper Coins:

1.



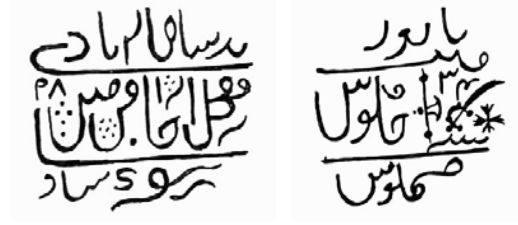
Obverse: crudely executed 'hāmī dīn' legend
 Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, inverted battle axe and sword to the right of 'julūs'. Mint-name reads 'filūs', nothing more.

2.



Obverse: crudely executed 'hāmī dīn' legend. Cannon mark placed vertically in the loop of 'mī' in 'hāmī'.
 Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, inverted floral bud to the right of 'julūs'.
 No dated specimen observed.

Type 4 – coins with axe and sword on reverse (Mint 1 – Sabalgarh?)



Obverse: crudely executed 'hāmī dīn' legend.
 Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, inverted battle axe and sword to the right of 'julūs'. Mint-name reads 'filūs', nothing more.
 RYs noted – 34

Copper coin

1.



Obverse: Same as above
 Reverse: Same as above
 RY noted – 34

Type 5 – coins with axe and sword on reverse and cannon on obverse (Mint 1 – Sabalgarh? or Mint 1A – unattributed)

Variety 1



Obverse: crudely executed 'ṣāhīb qirān' legend, cannon placed above the 'b' of 'ṣāhīb'.
 Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, inverted battle-axe and vertical sword to the right of 'julūs'.
 RYs noted – 5, 6

Variety 2



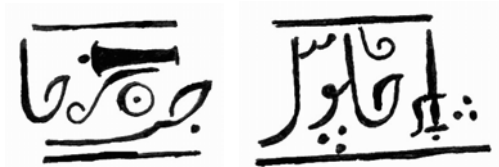


Obverse: crudely executed 'sāhib qirān' legend, cannon placed above the 'b' of 'sāhib'. St Stephens Cross in front of the cannon's muzzle.

Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, inverted battle-axe and vertical sword to the right of 'julūs'.

RYS noted – 5

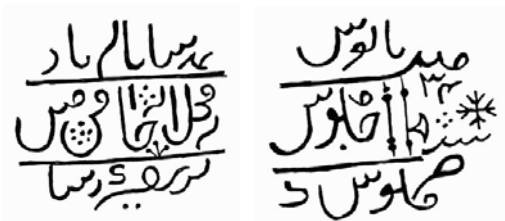
Copper coins



Obverse: crudely executed 'sāhib qirān' legend, cannon placed above the 'b' of 'sāhib'. Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, vertical sword to the right of 'julūs'.

Type 2 – coins with spear and inverted axe on reverse ('Mint 2' – unattributed)

Variety 1



Obverse: crudely executed 'hāmī dīn' legend

Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, spear and inverted axe to the right of 'julūs'. Mint-name reads 'filūs' followed by a curved line.

RYS noted – 3(2), 33, 34

Variety 2



Obverse: crudely executed 'hāmī dīn' legend

Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, spear and inverted axe to the right of 'julūs'. Mint-name is an unintelligible sequence of curved lines.

RYS noted – 35, 36

Variety 3



Obverse: crudely executed 'sāhib qirān' legend

Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, spear and inverted axe to the right of 'julūs'. Mint-name is an unintelligible sequence of curved lines.

RYS noted – 2, 3

Copper coin –

1.



Obverse: crudely executed 'hāmī dīn' legend
 Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, spear to the right of 'julūs'.
 Mint-name is an unintelligible sequence of curved lines.
 RYs noted – 35 + 15?

Type 3 – coins with axe and mace on reverse (Mint – Seo...(ndha?))



Obverse: crudely executed 'hāmī dīn' legend
 Reverse: formulaic 'julūs' legend, inverted mace and axe to the right of 'julūs'. Mint-name reads 'Seo...' followed by unintelligible lines.
 RYs noted – 34

COINS OF THE SIKHS: THE LEAF SYMBOL

By Gurprit Singh Dora

Enough has been written about the symbol of the leaf on the coins of the Sikhs, which was, for the first time, placed on the reverse (mint side) of these coins in the year vs1845⁵⁸ (AD 1788), and continued to remain a distinctive symbol on the coins of the Sikhs till the end of Sikh rule. However, till now, there has been no agreement among historians and numismatists on the type and significance of the symbol of the leaf on these coins.

The real reason is the absence of any kind of recorded historical evidence about the significance of the symbol. Ever since the study of Sikh numismatics started in earnest, there have been efforts by historians and numismatists alike to explore this significance. However, the quest by historians/numismatists has usually been for the "Why". If, instead, we could ascertain "Which", it could help us to reach the "Why". That is, instead of first trying to find out why the symbol of a leaf was put on the coins of the Sikhs, if we try to ascertain which type of leaf was supposed to have been put on these coins, it could subsequently be helpful in ascertaining the real significance of this symbol.

As stated above, this symbol was introduced on the coins of the Sikhs in the year vs 1845 (AD 1788) at the Amritsar mint. Below is the image of a silver rupee of vs1845 of Amritsar mint:



A silver rupee of vs 1845 (AD 1788) from the Amritsar mint
 This is the year in which the leaf
 was introduced on the coins of the Sikhs

Different historians, numismatists, academicians, intellectuals at different times have floated many ideas, thoughts, assumptions; propounded several hypotheses, theories, etc. about the reason why the leaf was placed on these coins, and sometimes about the type of leaf supposedly placed on the coins. Of these, I would like to mention some of significance and some with a bit of rationale behind them.

W.H. Valentine referred to it as a pipal leaf, assuming it to be a favourite sign or mark of the Sikhs. Nothing could be further from the truth. The pipal never was, and is still not, of any religious or social significance to the Sikhs. However, due to a lackadaisical attitude of the historians towards Sikh numismatics, Valentine's opinion prevailed till about a few years back. One reason could be the religious significance of the pipal tree in the Hindu religion and the inability of academicians and intellectuals to identify Sikhism as a religion distinctly different from the Hindu religion. However, historians and collectors of coins of the Sikhs have now started questioning the validity of the assumption made by Valentine.

Saran Singh saw it as a kamal (lotus) leaf. P.L. Gupta assumed the symbol to be that of a "kalagi" (A feather-like ornament perched on the top of a turban at the front, usually of a noble. During the marriage ceremony, particularly among Sikhs, the bridegroom is made to wear the "kalagi" on that part of his turban.). Unfortunately, P.L. Gupta provided no reason for this far-fetched assumption.

The most rational argument regarding this matter comes from Surinder Singh. He sees it as a general symbol of fertility. His argument is supported by the fact that devastating famines in those times regularly afflicted north India. According to him, this symbol could have been adopted after one such famine.

Hans Herrli provides another rational explanation. According to him, the leaf symbol could have been introduced to provide uniformity to the coins of the Sikhs under some directive from the Jathedar of the Akaal Takht.

R.T. Somaiya identified the leaf with that of the ber (zizyphus jujuba) tree. His assumption is based on the fact that there are three ber trees within the Harmandir (Golden temple) complex that are all held in high reverence by the Sikhs. During his numerous visits to Harmandir he saw that all devotees on a visit to the Harmandir make a point of paying obeisance to all the ber trees. This strengthened his belief.



⁵⁸ VS or Vikrami Samvat is the Hindu calendar that started almost 57 years before the Christian calendar. Hence to arrive at the AD year, one needs to subtract 57 from the VS year.



Leaves of the ber tree (Zizyphus Jujuba)

The following excerpts, which have been taken from a narration by Hans Herrli in one of his pieces of correspondence, shed a pretty good light on the importance of these ber trees:

The Dukh Bhanjani Ber:

"A legend says that a leper, the husband of Bibi Rajani, used to sit under a ber tree where he one day saw two crows dipping into the pond and coming out no longer black but white. Ranjani's husband also took a dip in the pond and came out cured from his disease. It was said that hearing the story of the leper, the Guru found that the miracle was the fulfilment of a prophecy of Guru Amar Das. He named the tree Dukh Bhanjani (dispeller of sorrows) and built Harimandir Sahib nearby. Later a gurudwara was built next to the tree and people came to believe that the ber tree would fulfil their wishes and that a bath in the part of the sarovar nearest to the tree would cure their diseases.

The Travels of Guru Tegh Bahadur tell us that trees were venerated by the Sikhs, and that they sometimes even made offerings to them. Sitting in the shade of a tree is a recurring topos of Sikh hagiography, starting with Guru Nanak. On numerous tokens but also on paintings or the murals of Ram Tatwali (in the Hoshiarpur District) Guru Nanak is shown sitting under a tree and, when the Guru came to the banks of the Ravi to die, he sat under a sarhi tree.

Within the Harimandir Sahib complex we find not one but three ber trees: the Dukh Bhanjani Ber, the Ber Baba Buddhaji and the Lachi Ber. When Baba Buddhaji was entrusted with the supervision of the construction of the Sarovar and later the Harimandir, he is said to have sat with piles of tools under the Ber Baba Buddhaji, which extended its umbrella of leaves above him and protected him from the burning sun.

When Guru Arjan Dev supervised the completion of the excavation of the Sarovar and started on the building of the Harimandir, the Lachi Ber offered him a canopy of leaves protecting him from the summer sun.

Around 1740, the Sikh hero, Mahtab Singh Mirankotia, came to Amritsar to punish and kill the Muslim ruler, Massa Ranghar, who had desecrated the Harimandir by transforming it into a dance hall. Mahtab Singh roped his horse to the Lachi Ber and the tree preceded all others in offering him inspiration, assisting him and giving his horse shelter and safety.

Much later – probably for reasons of symmetry or to give it more importance – it was also said that Guru Ram Das sat

under the Dukh Bhanjani Ber during the construction of the Sarovar."

The above narration confirms in unambiguous terms that the ber trees within the Harmandir complex are held in high reverence by the Sikhs. There is no other tree or leaf that is as important to the Sikhs. This alone should be enough to tilt the balance in favour of the leaf on the coins of the Sikhs to be that of a ber (Zizyphus Jujuba). However, before we proceed further, let us first attempt to explore the different possibilities.

It would be only proper to presume that the leaf symbol as introduced in the initial years would be more reflective of the type of intended type of leaf. In due course, with the real importance of the leaf symbol being lost on the die makers, the symbol could have undergone considerable change. A few images of the coins of the early years in which the leaf symbol was introduced are given below:



*A silver rupee of vs 1846 (AD 1789) from the Amritsar mint
Note that the shape and type of the leaf has remained unchanged from the previous year (vs 1845)*



*A silver rupee of vs 1847 (AD 1790) from the Amritsar mint
The shape and type of the leaf has remained similar to that of the previous years*

The symbol of the leaf on all these coins is very similar. No attempt has been made to give it the shape and/or look of any particular leaf. Even then, the leaf is not pointed, as one would expect from a free-hand drawing of a leaf in general. It is as if the die-makers, who were generally Muslim craftsmen, were concerned only with putting a general symbol of the ber leaf on the coin without understanding the significance of the particular leaf. For that reason, although the leaf on these coins is not of any definitive type, it appears to be closer in resemblance to the leaf of the ber tree. The leaf symbol continued in the same type and style till the late seventies on the coins of Amritsar, except for the decorative style in the vs 1858 coins, so-called "Morashahis" and "Aarsis" in vs 1862 etc. (which temporarily replaced the leaf) and the extended tip of the leaf types in the years vs 1865 and 1866 coins. It is definitely not in the least like a pipal leaf – the only other leaf with any religious significance among Hindus. Moreover, it may be noted that, as a leaf, it still stands as a general symbol of fertility, which in no way negates the view held by S. Surinder Singh.

If, as assumed by Herrli, the leaf symbol was put there to provide uniformity to the coins of the Sikhs under some directive from the Jathedar of the Akaal Takht, then the directive should have been immediately enforced upon the Misls at Lahore to place the leaf symbol on coins of the Sikhs from Lahore also. Lahore mint would not have waited till vs 1856 for Ranjit Singh to conquer Lahore and put the leaf symbol on Sikh coins.

In view of the observations made above, I am of the firm view that it was decided to put the leaf of the ber (Zizyphus Jujuba) tree on the coins of the Sikhs and that this should be conveniently acceptable to all. Since the leaf was taken from the ber tree, and the ber tree is situated in the Harmandir complex at

Amritsar, the religious centre of the Sikhs, the decision is more of a religious nature. For that reason, it must have been initially put on the coins of Amritsar only. At that time it may not have been deemed necessary to enforce the decision on the mint at Lahore. The direction to put the leaf symbol on all coins of the Sikhs must have been issued only after Ranjit Singh took control of Lahore in vs 1856 (AD 1799). Since the leaf became a distinct identity of the coins of the Sikhs after that, this also concurs with Herli's belief that the leaf was put on the coins to provide them with uniformity.

Till any evidence to the contrary surfaces in future, which is very unlikely, it would only be rational and correct to accept that the leaf symbol that was decided to be put on the coins of the Sikhs was that of "Ber" (*Zizyphus Jujuba*). The following article on the so-called "Morashahi" and "Aarsi" coins by this author further helps to strengthen this view.

COINS OF THE SIKHS: MORA AND AARSI MYTHS

By Gurprit Singh Dora

Of all the coins of the Sikhs, the coins with the so-called "Mora" symbol are the ones that have always been surrounded by intrigue and controversy. These coins were mainly minted in silver and very sparingly in gold in the year Vikrami Samvat 1862 (AD 1805) along with another series of coins termed "Aarsis" or "Aarsiwallas". These continued to be minted, though sparingly, in vs 1863 and vs 1864.

On the "Morashahi" coins, a two-pronged branch with small berries (more like a sprig), sometimes with two leaves on the lower part of the branch, replaced the normal symbol of the leaf. Some of the coins had two large leaves on a single branch, and either 2 or 4 small leaves in the lower part of the branch. (See the illustrations below).



So-called Mora Shahi coin of vs 1862 (AD 1805) with two-pronged branch with berries



So-called Mora Shahi coin of vs 1863 (AD 1806) with two large leaves and 4 small leaves

On the "Aarsi" or "Aarsiwalla" coins, a symbol that appeared to contemporary historians and numismatists as that of an "Aarsi" (a round vanity mirror worn in the thumb finger by women of that era) replaced the leaf on the reverse. (See images below).



So-called "Aarsi" or "Aarsiwalla" rupee vs 1863 (AD 1806) Mint: Sri Amritsar Jiyo

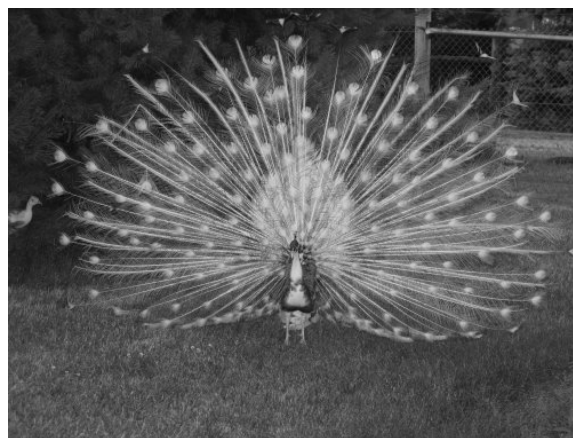
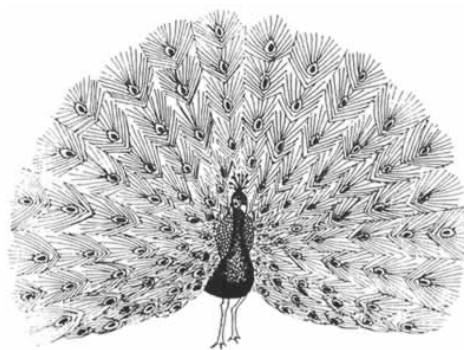
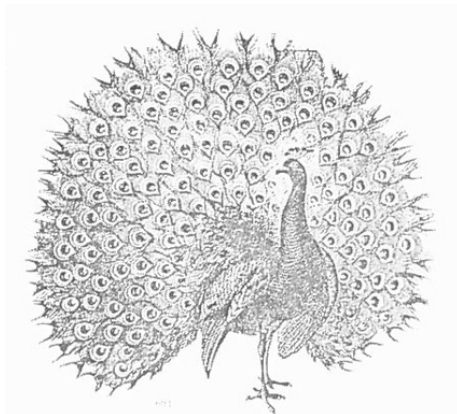
Firstly, about the so-called "Mora shahi" coin:

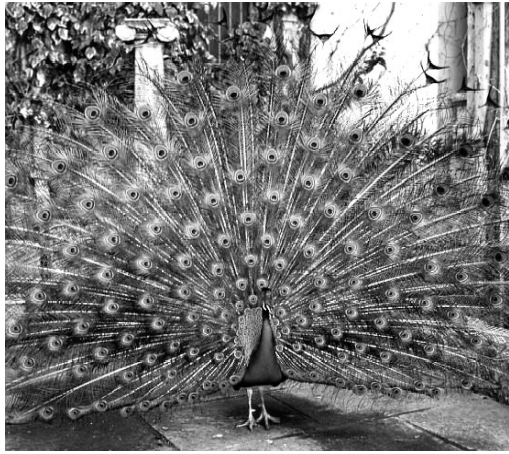
Most of the historians and numismatists alike have tried to add romanticism, folklore, rumour – but no rationale - to the symbol on the "Mora Shahi" coins. This, they say, is the symbol of the tail of a "Mor" (peacock) and hence the name "Mora Shahi" or even "Mora Kanchani Shahi", referring to the dancing girl "Moran" to whom Maharaja Ranjit Singh is said to have taken fancy. Thus, they assert that these coins were minted in the name of this courtesan "Moran". However, while doing so, few have tried to use reason, rationale and actual numismatic facts.

According to Cunningham:

"He (Ranjit Singh) is not only represented to have frequently indulged in strong drink, but to have occasionally outraged decency by appearing in public inebriated, and surrounded by courtesans. In his earlier days one of these woman, named Mohra, obtained a great ascendancy over him, and in 1801, he caused coins or medals to be struck bearing her name."

It is surprising that Cunningham and the other historians, who saw this symbol as the tail of a peacock, could not differentiate between the tail of a peacock and a figure/symbol more like a sprig.





Four Images of peacocks with fully spread tails and the reverse of two different so-called "Mora Shahi" rupees for comparison

It is very much possible that this could have been due to bazaar gossip and Cunningham must have found it plausible in view of the opinion he carried of Ranjit Singh. The somewhat prejudicial attitude of the European, particularly the British, historians towards the Indian rulers helped in reaching a conclusion without authentication. Successive historians, who rarely bothered to seek out the truth and found it convenient to compile from existing works, preferred to accept what Cunningham submitted. Although far from the truth, it did attach romanticism to boring historical and numismatic studies and made the narration more interesting. The only historian who seriously perceived the wrong attached to these coins is S. Surinder Singh in his book "Sikh Coinage: Symbol of Sikh Sovereignty", and he has written in extensive details about the facts related to Mora the dancer and her relationship with Ranjit Singh. It would appear repetitive to narrate those details. Instead it would appear more appropriate firstly to adduce concrete evidence that would directly negate the very relationship of this symbol with "Mora" the dancer.

In this respect, the very fact that this symbol exists as a secondary symbol on the coins of the year VS 1856, even before Ranjit Singh took control over Amritsar absolutely negates the possibility of this symbol having any thing to do with the dancer Mora. A historian does not necessarily make a good numismatist and the same could be true of Cunningham. Had he seen this coin of VS 1856 with the so-called Mora symbol as a secondary symbol, he might have refrained from attributing this symbol to Mora the dancer. The following image of a coin of VS 1856 (AD 1799) with the so-called Mora symbol as a secondary symbol within the "Laam" of "Akaal" is self-explanatory:



Sikh rupee of Amritsar mint of VS 1856 (AD 1799) with the so-called "Mora" symbol within the "Laam" of "Akaal" on the reverse

To add to the facts, Sikh coins do not carry the name of the ruler and are attributed to the blessings of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind, the first and the tenth Guru respectively of the Sikhs - and thus to divine intervention. If an astute statesman like Maharaja Ranjit Singh did not dare put his own name on the coins, how could he possibly allow - even remotely - any symbol pertaining to a dancing girl? This very fact should have been sufficient for historians and numismatists to refrain from assigning any connection of this symbol to "Moran", the dancing girl. However, so much romanticism and folklore was attached to it and the historians found it so interesting that they did not care to search for the truth.

Secondly, collectively seen, all these symbols are closer in appearance to an article of botanical nature (a sprig) than that of a zoological nature (the tail of a peacock). That the leaf symbol was put on the coins indicates that the Sikhs in VS 1845 (AD 1788) had decided to put a symbol on the coins that was botanical in nature. If at all a different symbol was to be put on the coins it had to be of a botanical nature because even Ranjit Singh did not dare defy the tenets laid down collectively by the Sikhs. Under these circumstances it is only correct to assume that this could be a sprig or a two-pronged branch with berries on it.

R. T. Somaiya is of the view that the reverse mark of the Mora Shahi coins shows a bunch of berries of the ber tree and not the tail of the "Mor" (peacock) (ICSN 25). However, there were no takers for his line of thought. Not that there was no substance to it, but the romanticism of "Mora", the dancer, was found to be more appealing to the historians and numismatists. The dull sprig appeared more attractive than the tail of the "Mor" (peacock). In the beginning, I also did not find his assumption appealing. However, recent musings and discussions on the subject compelled me to look at the facts in a different light.

In this context, the first and foremost thing that helped me to deny the relationship of the symbol to "Mora", the courtesan, was the image of the coin of VS 1856, shown above, of Amritsar mint with this so-called "Mora" symbol as a secondary symbol within the "Laam" of "Akaal" in addition to the symbol of a leaf in its normal place.

Secondly, the assertion made by Somaiya that these were berries compelled me to have another, close look at the so-called "Mora" symbol. A few images of the berries helped to affirm the belief that the symbol could only be of a botanical nature. And the closest thing of botanical nature that resembled this symbol was a two-pronged branch with ber berries on it. The only misfit was the size of the berries. The size of the ber berries did not match well with those on the two-pronged branch. A little more exploration becomes necessary here.

There are three sacred ber trees within the Harmandir complex. One is "Dukh Bhanjani" (Dispeller of Sorrows) Beri, the second one is the "Baba Budha Beri", the "Beri" under the shade of which Baba Budha sat and supervised the construction of the Harmandir Sahib and the third is the "Lachi Beri".

The word "Lachi" in Punjabi is devolved from the Hindi word "Ilaychi", meaning Cardamom. The ber berries that grow from this tree are much smaller than the normal berries; they are close to the size of Cardamoms - hence the name "Lachi Beri". This also belies the botanical fact that the wild ber fruit is minimum of 1.25 cm to 2.5 cm. A bunch of fruit of this size on a two-pronged branch would give the semblance of the so-called Mora symbol. Hence, it must be the fruit of the "Lachi Beri" which conveniently match those on the two-pronged branch which is portrayed on the so-called "Mora Shahi" coins.

Thirty, in contrast to the photos of the tails of the peacock posted above for comparison, it would be interesting to compare the image of the ber fruit from the "Lachi Beri" tree in the Harmandir (Golden Temple) precinct with that of the so-called "Morashahi" symbol on the coins. Below, I have put a photo of the "Lachi Beri" loaded with ber fruit, taken by Jeevandeep Singh, a numismatist, and posted on a group dedicated to Sikh numismatics. It is for anyone to see that the comparison is quite revealing.



*Ber fruit in the Harmandi (Golden Temple) precinct.
Photo taken by Jeevandeep Singh. Below, the so-called "Mora
Shahi" silver rupee of the Sikhs for comparison*

However, it took us more than that to finally reach a more convincing conclusion. And, that is when further study of "Aarsi" or "Aarsiwalla" coins became necessary to complement the actual facts about the "Mora" symbol.

The "Aarsi" or "Aarsiwalla" coins

Next, coming to the Aarsiwalla, as stated earlier, the "Aarsi" or "Aarsiwalla" coins were also minted in the year VS 1862 (AD 1805) along with the so-called "Mora Shahi" coins. Since the "Aarsi", the vanity mirror, very nicely complemented the dancer/courtesan "Moran", historians/numismatists found it convenient to accept them as "Aarsi" or "Aarsiwalla" coins. It fitted so nicely that even when, later, some historians/numismatists raised doubts about the veracity of the "Mora Shahi" coins, they conveniently avoided the mention of the "Aarsi" coins. One of the reasons could be the inability of the historians/numismatists to identify this so-called "Aarsi" symbol with anything botanical in nature - or, for that matter, anything else that resembled this symbol.

There was quite a lengthy discussion on the "Morashahi" and "Aarsi" coins on the Internet on one of the groups dedicated to the study of the Sikh numismatics. In the course of the discussions, one of the members posted the images of the ber fruit for comparison with the "Morashahi" symbol. Incidentally, the same member also posted the image of a ber flower.

I have often wondered what is the similarity between the real "Aarsi" and this so called "Aarsi" symbol. I doubt if the historians/numismatists ever tried, or even felt the need, to have a

first-hand look at an actual "Aarsi". In the course of my numismatic ventures I have often come across a few "Aarsis". The actual "Aarsi" has a large round mirror in the center and is decorated along the perimeter. The central mirror has to be big enough for one to see one's face or part of one's face. As stated earlier, an "Aarsi" was worn in the thumb ring to be used as a vanity mirror by the women of that period. Below are an image of an "Aarsi" next to the image of the so-called "Aarsi" Rupee and the image of the "Ber" flower for comparison:



*The image at the top is that of an actual "Aarsi". Bottom left is
an image of the rupee with the so-called "Aarsi" symbol.
Bottom right is the image of the ber flower.*

It is for all to compare the three images. A drawing of the "Aarsi" would have a larger circle with no need for a dot in the centre, as on the symbol on the coin. The vacant area of the circle would be larger. On the other hand, the similarity of the so-called "Aarsi" symbol with the ber flower is striking. This very comparison should be enough to convince a sceptic.

Some additional facts:

1. The fact that some of the so-called "Morashahi" coins have only two large leaves and two or four small leaves below strengthens the belief that the symbols were meant to be botanical in nature.
2. Since both the so-called "Morashahi" and "Aarsi" coins were minted simultaneously in the same years (viz. VS 1862, 1863 and 1864), they need to have a common bond that would not violate the basic guidelines laid down in this regard.
3. In the article, above, on the symbol of the leaf on the coins of the Sikhs, the author has concluded that the leaf on the coins of the Sikhs ought to be that of the ber tree (*Zizyphus Jujuba*). Now these two symbols, viz. so-called "Morashahi" and "Aarsi" symbols, are also being identified with the sprig with the fruit, and flower, respectively of this same tree. That

all three symbols can be derived from the same tree helps to substantiate the argument.

In the light of the observations made above, we can see that the symbols on the so-called “Morashahi” and “Aarsi” coins complement each other very well and are also in accordance with the type of the leaf on the coins of the Sikhs.

Can we hope that this will put an end to the continuing controversy on the subject? It is hoped that, till any new concrete evidence to the contrary surfaces, this offers the most logical conclusion to the ever-continuing controversies and contradictions on the “Morashahis” and “Aarsis”.

SOME EARLY TIBETAN TANGKAS

By Wolfgang Bertsch

In about 1995 I obtained two specimens of an unrecorded Tibetan silver coin from a silver smith in Kalimpong (fig. 1 and 2). The Indian artisan had kept them for many years in a small tin box. Five years earlier I had examined the two coins when they were offered to me for a very high price. According to the owner of the coins they were found among a huge amount of Tibetan Gaden tangkas which reached Kalimpong after 1959. Before melting them down, the Indian silversmiths sorted through the tangkas and took out the pieces which seemed to them to be unusual, in order to sell them to coin dealers from Calcutta or to the few foreigners who visited Kalimpong between 1960 and 1985, when foreign tourists were only allowed to stay two days at a time in that town. In this way the two coins were discovered. In 1999 I purchased another, damaged specimen with three big holes which looked as if it had been nailed to a door for some time. I found this coin in the market of Shigatse (fig. 8). About four years ago I was shown one further specimen with a loop by a Nepalese coin dealer (fig. 7). These are the only examples of this unattractive, but rare coin which I have seen. A further specimen was published by a Chinese and Tibetan author (Zhu Jinzhong and Pu-qiong Ci-ren, 1990) and again by Dong Wenchao (1992; see my fig.6) and Ma Fei Hai (1998, p.371, coin no. 1391).

Parts of the obverse design of this coin were copied from mohars, struck in the name of Ranjit Malla of Bhaktapur (Bhadgaon) which circulated in Tibet as tangkas in huge numbers (fig. 3).

The only inscription found on the Tibetan coin is the figure 45 in what appears to be Tibetan script, seen at 12 o’ clock on obverse. It is not clear whether this figure refers to a Tibetan date, i.e. the 45th year of the 14th cycle (= AD 1791). If this assumption was correct, the coin could be cotemporaneous with the first issue of the Kong-par tangkas and may thus be considered a semi-official or, more likely, a private issue of that period. The coin illustrated as fig. 5 supports this assumption.⁵⁹

The Chinese author Zhu Jinzhong and the Tibetan Pu-qiong Ci-ren (1990) speculate that the coin was minted by the Tibetan Government in 1785, since it is stated in a memorial to the throne by E-hui, dated 14.1.1792, that the Tibetans struck silver tangkas in the 28th, 29th and 50th year of the Qian Long era (AD 1763, 1764 and 1785)⁶⁰. They speculate that the figure 45 on the obverse could refer to the 45th year of Wan Li (= AD 1617) which is the year when the 5th Dalai Lama was born. They interpret the two

rows of three and two pearls to the right of this figure (1 o’clock position) as referring to the figure 23 and believe that the 23rd year of Qian Long could be referred to, which is the year when the 8th Dalai Lama was born during whose rule the coin was supposedly struck (50th year of Qian Long). Furthermore, they read the design elements found at 9 o’clock on the obverse (see fig. 2 and 6) as the Tibetan letters “tha” and “ka”, which they interpret as being an abbreviation of the word “thamka” (“seal”). The speculations of the Chinese and Tibetan authors are evidence of a sound imagination, but I find it quite difficult to accept any of them.

Bibliography

- Bertsch, Wolfgang: “A New Chinese Catalogue of Tibetan Coins by Yin Zheng Min”. *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, no. 188, summer 2006, p. 27-31.
- Dong Wenchao: *An Overview of China’s Gold & Silver Coins of Past Ages – the Gold and Silver Coins and Medals of Modern China*. Beijing 1992.
- Gabrisch, Karl (edited by Wolfgang Bertsch): “The First Coins Struck in Tibet”. *Numismatics International Bulletin*, vol. 34, no. 3, Dallas, March, 1999.
- Ma Fei Hai (general editor): *Zhong guo li dai huo bi da xi (The Great Series of Chinese Money)*, vol. 8, Shanghai, 1998.
- Rhodes, Nicholas: “The first Coins struck in Tibet”. *Tibet Journal*, vol. 15, no. 4, Dharamsala, winter 1990, p. 115-134.
- Zhu Jinzhong and Pu-qiong Ci-ren [Puchung Tsering]: “Qian long wu shi nian zao xi zang ga yin bi kao” (“Examining the Tibetan Silver Tamga, Struck in the 50th year of Qian Long”). *Zhong guo zang xue*, issue 3, Beijing 1990, p. 90-92.



Fig. 1a This part of the coin is read as “tha ka” by Zhu Jinzhong and Pu-qiong Ci-ren.



Fig. 1 Weight: 4.24 g. Diameter: 27.5 x 25.9 mm
Collection: Gylfi Snorrason



Fig. 2 Weight: 4.75 g. Diam: 26.9 x 27.4 mm.
Collection: W. Bertsch



Fig. 3 Mohar (tangka) of Ranjit Malla from which part of the obverse design of the coins of fig. 1 and 2 was copied.
Collection W. Bertsch.

⁵⁹ Since the coin of fig. 5 has a reverse similar in style to the Kong-par tangkas with pointed “date arch” which are believed to have been struck in about 1840, one could also argue that the coins illustrated as figs 1, 2 and 4 may have been struck as late as the 1840s. The central design, consisting of six petals also supports this later date as it may be inspired by the first issues of the Gaden Tangkas, which are believed to have been struck around 1840.

⁶⁰ For a translation of the numismatically relevant passages of the *Qing Ding Guo Er Ka Ji lue* (The Records of the Emperor’s Decisions Regarding Relations with the Gorkhas), which were republished in 1986 with a preface by Wu Fengpei, see Rhodes, 1990, p. 127-130.

A FANTASY OF A TIBETAN 10 TAM PATTERN COIN

By Wolfgang Bertsch



Fig. 4

This type, which is related to the above illustrated coins (fig. 1 and 2), is in the collection of Gylfi Snorrson. The configurations which are placed inside the six trapezia which are arranged around the central flower on the obverse could be considered as Tibetan script. The letters seen in the northwest, north, east, southeast and southwest positions could be read as "ka ca khang (or kha nga) 54", but do not make much sense.



Fig. 5 Obverse: tangka in the style of Ranjit Malla mohar combined on reverse with design of Kong par tangka. Private collection in Nepal.

Here follow illustrations of three specimens which are in the style of the coins illustrated as fig. 1 and 2:



Fig. 6 Dong Wenchao (1992, p. 142, no. 127).



Fig. 7 Collection Gana Shyam Rajkarnikar (Patan, 2002)



Fig. 8 Collection W. Bertsch (purchased in 1999 in Shigatse).

In 1988 a fantasy⁶¹ of a very rare Tibetan 10 tam pattern coin was sold in a mail-bid auction by a North American dealer (The Money Company, 1988, lot 870). I reproduce this coin along with the description given in the auction catalogue (fig. 1).



IT JUST GOT MORE MYSTERIOUS!

870 TIBET. The first known Public Offering of a Genuine Tibetan "Whatzit"! Y-(We don't know Y?) Please see catalog illustration for photos of the first Tibetan Silver Whatzit ever taken into captivity. It appears similar to the Dode Mint Silver One Srang (Y-9), but the legends are entirely different. It came from a mixed Glendinnings London Auction lot, from where many wonderful numismatic treasures have emanated. We offer this interesting piece at auction to the highest bidder, but we would certainly appreciate someone telling us what we have sold. VF. See Photo. (\$150 - up)

Fig. 1 Weight: 10.03 g; diameter. 37.7 mm; thickness 1.4 mm, plain edge.

This lot was bought by Wesley Halpert, who sold the coin to Karl Gabrisch, who owned the genuine counterpart of this forgery; the latter is said to be of Nepalese origin. In 2005 it was sold along with Gabrisch's Tibet and Nepal collection in Hong Kong (Baldwin's et alii, 2005, lot 176; only the genuine coin is illustrated) and is now in the collection of Nicholas Rhodes.

Two further examples of this fantasy were already illustrated and described in a manuscript article by B.N. Shrestha (1973). The first example from the Shrestha collection weighs 10.53 g, has a diameter of 36.9 mm and a thickness of 1.2 mm and plain edge. The second example weighs 21.27 g, has a diameter of 36.6 mm, its thickness is 2.2 mm and it has a milled edge.

A similar specimen was illustrated recently in three Chinese publications as genuine (fig. 2), although this type of coin was identified as forgery by Gabrisch and myself in 1991 (Bertsch, W. and Gabrisch Karl, 1991).

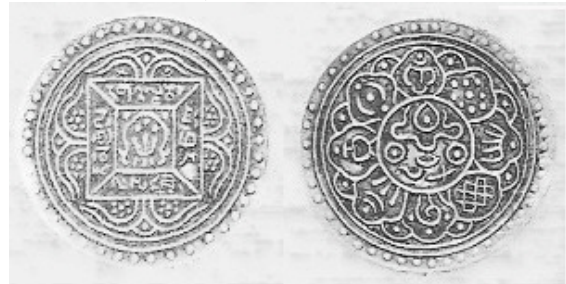


Fig. 2

⁶¹ I prefer to denote the coin under discussion as a fantasy rather than a forgery, since it is not an exact copy of the genuine counterpart and therefore does not qualify as a forgery, in my opinion. In an earlier publication, Mr Gabrisch and myself had discussed this coin as a forgery (Bertsch and Gabrisch, 1991).

Fantasy of 10 tam coin (Jia Lin, 2002, p. 416, no. 22)

While the obverse of this coin is a close imitation of the obverse of the 10 tam pattern coin, but without the inscription tam bcu near the edge, the reverse features the 8 Buddhist emblems in reverse order and displays two curved lines and one cross instead of two peaches in the centre.

The coin which is illustrated in these Chinese publications (Jia Lin, 2002, p. 416, no. 22; Yin Zhengmin, 2004, p. 103, no. 380 and Wang Haiyan, 2007, p. 156) is probably the one which was shown to me in Lhasa in the late 1990s. It was brought to Lhasa from Nepal by a Tibetan, who sold it to a Tibetan dealer from Lhasa, who showed it to me. I pointed out to the Lhasa dealer that the coin was not genuine, but later I heard that he had sold it to a Chinese person at a very high price (Bertsch, 2003, p. 11 and plate XVI, no. 68F). I did not take the measurements of this fantasy, nor are they recorded by the Chinese authors.

The Chinese authors who reproduce this coin as genuine can be excused because they may not have access to western numismatic publications; but they may also prefer to disregard these out of arrogance or distrust.

In order that the reader may be able to compare the fantasy with the genuine coin which served as its model, I reproduce the two known genuine examples of the 10 tam coin (fig. 3 and 4) along with a genuine companion piece of half size with the denomination "5 tam" (fig. 5), which was published in a Chinese catalogue (Yin Zhengmin, 2004, p. 105, no. 387).



Fig. 3

Genuine 10 tam pattern coin (undated). The words tam bcu ("ten tam") are inscribed on the obverse near the edge in the north and south-position. This coin was formerly in the collection of Karl Gabrisch and is now in the collection of Nicholas Rhodes.



Fig. 4

Genuine 10 Tam coin. Weight: 27.63 g. Diam: 26.0 – 27.1 mm. (from the author's collection).



Fig. 5

*Genuine 5 tam pattern coin (Yin Zhengmin, p. 105, no. 387)
Weight: 11.6 g, diameter: 29.2 mm, thickness: 2.1 mm.*

Part of the words tam lnga is inscribed on the obverse near the edge in the north and south position.

Bibliography

- Baldwin's Auctions Ltd., Ma Tak Wo Numismatic Co Ltd, Moneterium (S) Pte Ltd and Ronald J. Gillio Auctions: *Hong Kong Coin Auction*, Hong Kong 1 September 2005, lot 176.
- Bertsch, Wolfgang and Gabrisch, Karl: "10 Tam Coins from Tibet". *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, no. 128, March-May 1991.
- Bertsch, Wolfgang: "The 20th Century Pattern Coinage of Tibet". *Numismatics International Bulletin*, vol. 32, no. 1, Dallas, January 1997, p. 7-18.
- Bertsch, Wolfgang: *Tibetan Fake Coins and Fantasy Countermarks. An Illustrated Introduction to their Identification*. Published by the author. Gunderhausen near Darmstadt (Germany), 2003.
- Gabrisch, Karl: *Geld aus Tibet. Sammlung Dr. Karl Gabrisch. Ausstellung des Münzkabinetts der Stadt Winterthur 27. September 1989 bis 12. August 1990*, Winterthur and Rikon, 1990.
- Jia Lin (or: Gu Lin): *Xi zang jin yin fen qing yu zang bi da guan (Collection of Tibetan Bullion Customs and Tibetan Coins)*. Si chuan mei shu chu ban she (Sichuan Fine Arts Publishing House, Chengdu, 2002, ISBN 7-5410-2119-9.
- Shrestha, Bhupendra Narayan: *Hsüan T'ung coins in the collection of B.N. Shrestha*. Unpublished, Kathmandu, 1973.
- The Money Company: *20th Anniversary Special Rare Coin Auction No. 20*, Mail Bid Auction, Tarzana (California), June 15, 1988, lot 870.
- Wang Haiyan: *Xi zang di fang huo bi* („The Regional Money of Tibet“ or „The Money of the Tibet Region“). Zang xue wen ku (Tibetology Series). Qing hai ren min chu ban she (Qinghai People's Publishing House), Xining, 2007.
- Yin Zheng Min: *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi tu lu (Illustrated Catalogue of the Money of China's Tibet)*, Xizang Renmin Chubanshe (Tibet People's Publishing House), Lhasa 2004, ISBN 7-223-01686-8

A NEW VARIETY OF THE NO-CROSS TYPE SILVER COINS OF DAVIT IV OF GEORGIA

By Irakli Paghava and David Patsia

The aim of this short paper is to publish two new specimens of the no-cross type silver currency of Davit IV, king of Georgia (1089-1125)⁶², these constituting a previously unknown variety in terms of the obverse marginal legends.

There are two major types of Davit IV's silver coins: those with a cross in the obverse centre⁶³ (henceforward the "cross type"), and the ones without it, but with the king's Byzantine title *sebastos* (Georgian form being *sevastosi*) in the centre in lieu of the cross⁶⁴ (henceforward the "no-cross type").

D. Kapanadze is to be credited for the initial publishing of both of the previously known coins of the latter type back in 1956: one of the coins had been brought to the State Museum of Georgia from Svaneti, a province in north-western Georgia, and another

⁶² Davit's reign proved to be an extraordinary success (*Metreveli 1990; Javakhishvili 1983:193-220*). He managed to bend the nobility to his will and reformed both the Georgian Church and secular administration (*Metreveli 1990:76-105, 115-153*). He also reinforced the army, including taking measures like resettling to Georgia about 200,000 Kipchaks from the north Caucasus and creating a 5,000-man strong ghumal corps of converted foreigners (*Anchabadze 1990:103-106*). All the aforesaid made it possible for him to achieve impressive military and political results. Benefiting from an anti-Seljuq "second front" made up by Crusaders, he refused to pay tribute to the Seljuqs, defeated them several times, annexed the Kingdom of Kakheti in eastern Georgia, deprived the Moslems of Tiflis, the city that became the capital of Davit's state, and liberated south-eastern Georgian lands as well, basically completing the unification of Georgia. In addition to that, Davit IV continued his expansion subduing Shirvan and conquering the northern provinces of Armenia, including the city of Ani (*Metreveli 1990:106-115, 186-229*). Davit's reign was a remarkable one in terms of cultural development as well; the king founded an academy at the Gelati monastery, constructed by his orders (*Ibid.:301-310; Javakhishvili 1983:210-220*), and authored an impressive religious poem "Hymns of Repentance", considered to be one of the masterpieces of medieval Georgian literature (*Ibid.:219-220*).

⁶³ *Pakhomov 1909; Silogava 2006:246-249.*

⁶⁴ *Kapanadze 1956.*

As to the ending of the word Sebastos, on this new variety it is Georgian Asomtavruli letter Ⴀ (“ini”), pronounced like “i” in “lid”, which we transliterate with “I”; whereas on the already known variety of the no-cross type coins, as well as on the cross type coins, it is Ⴁ (“yota”)⁷⁵, a now obsolete letter of the Georgian alphabet, pronounced more or less like “y” in “yes”, which we transliterate as “Y”. Ⴀ was commonly replaced with Ⴁ in Georgian written monuments of the 11th century⁷⁶, but certainly not always: for instance, Ⴀ is present at the end of the Byzantine title of the king on many silver coins of similar type (with the Georgian legends on the obverse and the Holy Virgin on the reverse) of Davit IV’s predecessors⁷⁷, like Bagrat IV (1027-1072)⁷⁸ and Giorgi II (1072-1089-1112)⁷⁹.⁸⁰ Therefore, the presence of Ⴀ and not Ⴁ on this coin cannot be considered anomalous either.

The publication of these two new silver coins of Davit IV is a part of our ongoing research into the Georgian coinage of that period.

References:

1. *Anchabadze 1990* - [Anchabadze G. Source Study Problems of the Military History of Georgia. Tbilisi, 1990.] (Original in Russian: Источниковедческие проблемы военной истории Грузии. Тбилиси, 1990.)
2. *Javakhishvili 1983* - [Javakhishvili Iv. Volume II of the History of Georgian Nation. Tbilisi, 1983.] (Original in Georgian: ჯავახიშვილი ივ. ქართველი ერის ისტორიის II წიგნი, თბილისი, 1983).
3. *Kapanadze 1956* - [Kapanadze D. The New Type Coin of David the Builder. “Byzantian Times”, Vol. VIII. Moscow, 1956:338-343.] (Original in Russian: Капанадзе Д. Новый тип монеты Давида Строителя. «Византийский временник», т. VIII. Москва, 1956:338-343.)
4. *Kapanadze 1966* - [Kapanadze D. Novelities of Georgian Numismatics. “Problems of the History of the Nations of the Caucasus, Collection in Memoriam of Academician N. Berdzenishvili”. Tbilisi, 1966:61-68, Plate.] (Original in Georgian: კაპანაძე დ. ქართული ნუმისმატიკის სიახლეები, “კავკასიის ხალხთა ისტორიის საკითხები, კრებული მიძღვნილი აკად. ნ. ბერძენიშვილისადმი”, 1966:61-68, ფოტოგაბეჭდა.)
5. *Kebuladze 1977* - [Kebuladze R. Hoard from the village Tsikhesulori. Collected Numismatic Articles in memoriam D.G. Kapanadze. Tbilisi, 1977:98-108.] (Original in Russian: Кебуладзе Р.В. Клад из села Цихесулори. Нумизматический сборник памяти Д. Г. Капанадзе. Тбилиси, 1977:109-116.)
6. *Metreveli 1990* - [Metreveli R. Davit IV the Builder. Tbilisi, 1990.] (Original in Georgian: მეგრეველი რ. დავით IV აღმაშენებელი. თბილისი, 1990.)
7. *Metreveli 2002* - [Metreveli R., Odisheli J. editors. Studies of Georgian History, Volume 3, Georgia in the 11th-15th C. Tbilisi, 2002.] (Original in Russian: Метревели Р., Одишели Дж. Редакторы. Очерки истории Грузии, Т. III, Грузия в XI-XV веках. Тбилиси, 2002.)
8. *Pakhomov 1970* - [Pakhomov E. Coins of Georgia. Tbilisi, 1970.] (Original in Russian: Пахомов Е.А. Монеты Грузии. Тбилиси, 1970.)
9. *Pakhomov 1909* - [Pakhomov E. The Unpublished Georgian Coins of the 11th C. “The Reports of the Caucasian Museum”, Vol. 4. Tiflis, 1909:XX.] (Original in Russian:

Пахомов Е. Неизданные грузинские монеты XI в. “Известия Кавказского музея”, Т. IV. Тифлис, 1909:XX.)

10. *Silogava 2006* - [Silogava V. Georgian Epigraphics of Samegrelo-Abkhazia. Tbilisi, 2006.] (Original in Georgian: სილოგავა ვ. სამეგრელო-აფხაზეთის ქართული ეპიგრაფიკა. თბილისი, 2006.)
11. *Zhordania 2004* - [Zhordania T. Chronicles. Vol. I. Tbilisi, 2004.] (A reprint of an original publication of Tiflis, 1892. Original in Georgian: ჯორჯანია თ. ქრონიკები. ტ. I. თბილისი, 2004.)

THE MINT OF AL-MA‘ASHŪQ

By Yahya Jafar

This article introduces the Abbasid mint of “al-Ma‘ashūq” which is a palace in the vicinity of Samarra, Iraq

A curious presentation Abbasid dinar⁸¹ dated AH 271 appeared in one of the Spink coin auctions (13 July 1999, Lot #345). Although, then, the cataloguer expertly identified it as being minted in an eastern mint, relying for his assumption on the appearance of the name of al-Mofawwadh ala Allah who was then the heir to his father, the Abbasid Caliph, al Mu‘tamid ala Allah (AH 256-279), who had conferred upon him the control of all territory from Samarra eastwards, the actual mint name was unfamiliar. This made reading it difficult. It was also noted that the title “Amir al-Mu‘minin” unusually appeared in the date formula.

The mint-name was later identified by the late Dr Mohammed al-Jazzar of Amman, Jordan, as “al-Ma‘ashūq”. He did not, however, read the full legend in the inner margin of the obverse, The difficulty was that, not only was this mint unknown, but the whole legend in the inner margin of the obverse was unfamiliar.

I have attempted to read the whole inner legend on the obverse which I believe to be “بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمعشوق و سيعين و مائتين تيركة من امير المومنين سنة احدى و سبعين و مائتين = *bismillah duriba hatha al-dīnār bil Ma‘ashūq tabrika min amīr al-mu‘minīn sanata ihda wa sabi‘īn wa ma‘atain*”. “Tabrika” here is from the Arabic word “Baraka” meaning a “blessing” or “benediction” which was received from the Caliph.

Al-Ma‘ashūq is the name of a lavish palace, situated about 8 km from the town of Samarra, that was built by the Caliph al-Mu‘tamid, who assigned the building task to one of his servants, ‘Ali b. Yahya al-Munajjim. Although, it is not exactly known when its building started, it is believed that this coin provides the completion date as it was, very likely, struck in an in-house mint and distributed to commemorate this occasion. This palace is mentioned in many of the historical chronicles. Mu‘jam al-Buldan⁸² describes it as “*Al-Ma‘ashūq* [which is derived from the Arabic word “Ishq = عشق = Love”- thus al-Ma‘ashūq means “the beloved”] is the name of a great palace on the western side of the Tigris opposite Samarra in the middle of the wilderness which exists until now [the river Tigris has changed its course and the ruins are now on the western side and approximately 1 km away from the river]. It is not in the vicinity of any other building and it is inhabited by some peasants but it is well built and impregnable. Nothing was built as well in that area despite many other palaces which were built in that area. There is a distance between it and Tikrit and it was built by al-Mu‘tamid ala Allah who also built another palace called al-Ahmadi but it no longer exists”. For instance, Ma‘jam al-Buldan also mentions a palace near Samarra called al-Haruni, which was supposedly built by the Caliph, Harun al-Wathiq (AH 227-232), also located on the Tigris and near it on the western side was al-Ma‘ashūq. However, al-Haruni no longer exists.

⁷⁵ *Silogava 2006:248.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.:249.*

⁷⁷ Due to the then silver crisis, the minting of silver coins was ceased in Georgia after the reign of Davit IV until 1230 (*Pakhomov 1970:109*).

⁷⁸ *Silogava 2006:227-237.*

⁷⁹ Davit IV was enthroned in 1089, as some scholars think, after a coup (*Metreveli 1990:95-97, Metreveli 2002:120*), and ruled Georgia till 1125, evidently jointly with his father, Giorgi II until 1112 (*Zhordania 2004:239-241*).

⁸⁰ *Silogava 2006:237-245.*

⁸¹ Now in the writer’s collection.

⁸² Yaquṭ al-Hamawī, Mu‘jam al-Buldan (Arabic)

The ruins of al-Ma'shūq still exist, despite the fact that it was reported that the Buwayhid king, Muiz al-Dawla, ordered that bricks from al-Ma'ashūq were to be carried to Baghdad for the building of his palace in AH 350. No doubt, much of its bricks were pilfered over the ages, yet a substantial amount still exists today. It saw some repairs in recent years by the Iraqi cultural authorities. The built-up area measures approximately 140m x 90m and it can easily be seen on Google Earth, being called "Love Palace", at the coordinates: 34 14 28 42 N and 43 48 30 87 E.



لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
المفوض الى الله

الله
محمد
رسول
الله
المعتمد على الله
ذو الوزارتين

Obverse inner margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمعشوق تبركة من امير المؤمنين سنة احدى و سبعين و مائتين

Obverse outer margin (Quran XXX, 4-5): الله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Reverse margin (Quran IX, 33): محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون
Wt= 4.18gm, dia= 28mm.

CONTENTS OF JOURNAL 198

ONS News including AGM 2008, London, Cologne and Kolkata meetings	1
New members and revised addresses	3
New and recent publications	4
The prolongation of Yazid b. Usayd's reign in the northwest of the caliphate (S. Turkia & I. Paghava)	4
A dinar of the Ildegizid ruler, Amir Amiran 'Umar (A.V. Akopyan & F. Mosanef)	6
Indo-Greek chronology c.200-145 BC	8
Ardashir II Kushanshah and Huvishka the Kushan: numismatic evidence for the date of the Kushan king, Kanishka I (N. Schindel)	12
A fractional al-Hakim billon coin of Muhammad bin Tughluq (G. Cawser)	14
Some tankas of the Sultans of Bengal (P. Stevens & S. Goron)	14
Another new mint for the fish paisas of the Doab (B. Tabor)	15
Making the most in 'troubled times': Jean-Baptiste Filose and this coinage (S. Bhandare)	16
Coins of the Sikhs: Mora and Aarsi myths (Gurprit Singh Dora)	40
Some early Tibetan tangkas (W. Bertsch)	43
A Fantasy of a Tibetan 10 tam pattern coin (W. Bertsch)	44
A new variety of the no-cross type silver coins of Davit IV of Georgia (I. Paghava & D Patsia)	45
The mint of al-Ma'ashūq (Y. Jafar)	47



Printed by Pardy & Son (Printers), Ringwood, UK.