

ONS



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ONS News

From the Editor

Ever since its inception, the ONS has published the full addresses of members in the membership list and, for new members, in the Journal too. Now that most members have access to e-mail, we have decided that it would be simpler and more secure not to continue in this way but to publish here and in the membership list only e-mail addresses and, if desired, town and country data. Full address information will continue to be kept by the Membership Secretary and Regional Secretaries for their respective regions. Of course, any member who wishes to have his full address details published may continue to do so.

London Meetings

The next ONS meetings will be on Saturday 25 April, 21 August and 4 November 2009 at the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, London starting at 11 am.

At the meeting on 25 April Robert Bracey is giving a talk on Wima Kadphises. Paul Stevens will be giving a talk entitled 'Mughal-style coins of the Bombay mint.' The rest of the meeting will be Show and Tell.

Details of the other meetings will be given later in the year. But if any members would like to give a talk they are welcome to contact either Peter Smith or Robert Bracey at the following addresses: Peter Smith at pnsmith755@aol.com

Robert Bracey at Robert@kushan.org

Jena meeting 2-3 May 2009

This year's two-day meeting will take place in the Senatssaal of the University of Jena.

A varied programme is on offer. Two talks will be on the history of oriental numismatics: in the 10th century, the Heinrich Siebold Collection broadened the scope of the Oriental Coin Cabinet as far as Japan; a hitherto unknown film fragment will be shown about the work of Nicholas Lowick, a pioneer of modern Islamic numismatics, who died in 1986.

A second thematic focus is the political upheaval in the Islamic world between the 10th and 11th centuries, a period in which the conflict between the Shia' Fatimids in Egypt and the Abbasids in Iraq reached its peak. Three papers on this period deal with the numismatics of Egypt, Syria and northern Mesopotamia. Iran is represented by two talks, one on an early Islamic mint and the other on the political interplay in Shiraz during the early Ilkhan period, while the numismatics of Anatolia is addressed by two contributions on the iconographic and linguistic diversity of the region.

The programme of talks is as follows:

Saturday 2 May

14.00. Norbert Nebes und Stefan Heidemann, Jena: Begrüßung und Einführung / Welcoming address and Introduction

14.30. Dirk De Boer, Probstzella: Die Siebold-Sammlung ostasiatischer Münzen und Amulette im Orientalischen Münzkabinett Jena – Ein Arbeitsbericht / The Siebold-Collection in the Oriental Coin Cabinet Jena – a progress report.

15.00. Stefan Heidemann, Jena: Eine neue iranische Münzstätte frühislamischer Drachmen sasanidischen Stils: Isbahan / A new Iranian mint for early Islamic drachms in Sasanian style.

15.30. Lutz Ilisch, Tübingen: Uqailiden und Marwaniden, Beispiele unterschiedlicher Herrschaftsorganisation anhand der Münzprägung / Uqaylids and Marwanids, examples of different concepts of governance with the help of coin issues.

16.00. Kaffeepause / Coffee Break

16.30. Atef Mansur, Sohag/Ägypten: Islamic numismatics and the conflict between the factions of the Fatimid Caliphs al-Musta'li and al-Nizar / Der Konflikt der Anhänger des Kalifen al-Musta'li und an-Nizar gespiegelt in der fatimidischen Münzprägung.

17.00. Stefan Moeller, Halle: Ein byzantinischer Gusskupfer aus Antiochia des 11. Jahrhunderts? / An 11th century Byzantine cast copper from Antioch ?

17.30. Volker Popp, Bernkastel-Kues: Nicolas Lowick (1940-1986) - bisher unbekanntes Filmmaterial über seine Arbeit in der Golfregion / Unknown footage of his work in the Gulf region.

19.00. Abendessen u. informelles Treffen / Dinner and informal meeting.

Sunday 3 May

9.30. Mohammed Younis, Jena: The Salghurid coinage of Shiraz citing Abish Khatun and the Ilkhans / Die Münzprägung der Salghuriden in Shiraz - Abish Khatun und die Ilkhane

10.00. Kaffeepause / Coffee Break

10.30. Necdet Kabaklarli, Istanbul: Animal figures on Ottoman copper coins minted in Bursa / Tierdarstellungen auf osmanischen Kupfermünzen aus Bursa.

11.00. Johann-Christof Hinrichs, Bremen - Antalya: Mehrsprachige Münzen aus dem muslimischen Kleinasien, die auf einen nichtarabischen Stempelschneider hindeuten / Multilingual coins of Muslim Asia Minor which point to a non-Arab die-engraver.

11.30. Diskussion unbestimmter und besonderer Münzen / Discussion about unidentified and unusual coins.

12.30. Schlußdiskussion / Final discussion.

13.00. Mittagessen.im 'Schwarzen Bären' / Lunch at the 'Schwarzer Bär'

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New and Recent Publications

Islamic Mints, by Ömer Diler

A corpus in 3 volumes, quarto, 1818 pages, 8 maps. Card covers. Limited print run.

Distributed by Spink: price £225, trade terms apply.

“Ömer Diler began to work on Islamic Mints in the 1970s, his aim being to incorporate all the mints in Islamic history and geography between the Hijra and the beginning of the last century (c.1920s). His starting point was E. Zambaur's famous work, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams*, and his aim was to take it to its most extended limits. He thought that to finish and publish this work was a dream never to be realised in his lifetime. This sadly proved to be true; after a life dedicated to numismatics, Ömer Diler died in 2005. It is now a posthumous work, a corpus in three volumes of nearly 2000 pages, covering about 1845 mint names, mint

inscriptions, minting years of gold, silver and copper issues; (also phantom mints that seem to exist but actually do not), an index of Islamic Dynasties, another of Islamic States. Consequently, the book is a vast accumulation of hand-picked information, meticulously checked and counter-checked from a bibliography of approximately 1990 entries, from source books and sales catalogues and with historians and curators of Islamic Numismatics. In short, this work is a long list of mints, their common and uncommon issues and their historical background. Had the author lived, there were sure to have been numerous additions. Nevertheless a life-consuming study should not be left in the dark. Hence, the book has been published such as it is. Dr Michael Bates says ‘It is the fate of corpuses ... to begin the process of obsolescence on the day of their publication.’ True, although works of voluminous scope live longer lives.”

Available from Book Department, Spink & Son Ltd., 69 Southampton Row, Bloomsbury, London WC1B 4ET.

Telephone +44(0)20 7563 4046 Fax: +44(0)20 7563 4068

Email: books@spink.com

And no doubt other outlets in due course.

H. Edmund Hohertz: *A Catalog of the Square Islamic Coins of Spain, Portugal and North Africa* has just been published. This catalogue/identification guide for square Islamic coins has 400 entries organised by issuing dynasty, from the Muwahhid (starting AH 524 /AD 1130) through Nasrid, Hudid, Hafsid, Marinid, Wattasid, Sa’dian Sharifs and ending with the Ottomans (last square coin in AH 1232 /AD 1816). While most coins were struck in silver, the few square gold and bronze coins, including the round to octagonal bronze Nasrid fals, are included. A brief history of millares, the Christian imitations of the Muwahhid dirham, is given along with some illustrations.

Each coin entry is accompanied by legends written in Arabic and English, sizes, masses, and references. Hundreds of simple line drawings illustrate many of the coin entries. Tables include thumbnail sketches, legends, rulers, dates on coins, correlations with Vives, Hazard and Medina numbers, mint names, a map and bibliography.

ISBN: 9781590981139; Price: \$25 US plus shipping. Purchases can be made through The Wooster Book Company: www.woosterbook.com/additional/islamiccoins.html

The Numismatic Chronicle 2008, published by the Royal Numismatic Society, London, includes the following items of Oriental interest:

“The copper coinage of Umayyad Iran” by Luke Treadwell

“A hoard of early mediaeval Khwarezmian drachms from the Kuiuk-kala hill fort” by Michael Fedorov & Andrew Kuznetsov.

“L’activité monétaire de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales néerlandaise au 17^e siècle” by Jean Elsen in auction catalogue 99 (28 March 2009) of Jean Elsen & ses Fils s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsens.eu; www.elsens.eu) The auction includes two very rare VOC coins (lots 2760, 2761): a half Batavian crown of 24 stuivers, 1645; and a half dukaton of Brabant, 1638, Brussels, with the countermark of a horseman.

“A Tibetan 5 Sho coin, dated 15-49 in gold” by Wolfgang Bertsch in *The Numismatic Circular*, March 2009, Vol CXVII/1, published by Spink & Son Ltd, London. The author considers this piece to be of dubious status.

A new book has just been published in Izmir, Turkey on the figural dirhems of the Seljuqs of Rum, struck during the period AH 699-701. The book has been written by Gültekin Teoman, Üstün Erek and Erol Olcaş. It is A4 in size, 119 pages and covers 152 coins with plenty of good illustrations. The price is \$38 plus postage. ISBN 978-605-60543-0-3. For more details please see the following website: <http://www.osmanliparalari.com/kitap/anadolu-selcuklu-dirhem-figurleri/anadolu-selcuklu-figurlu-dirhemleri.htm>

Clive Foss: *Arab-Byzantine Coins: An Introduction*, with a Catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (ISBN 9780884023180). It is hope to include a review of this work in the next Journal.

Other News

Baroda Museum

On 15th February 2009, India's first private coin museum was inaugurated by the Chief Minister of Gujerat, Shri Narendra Modi. This museum has been set up through the personal efforts of Mr S.K.Kapoor, and covers 5,000 sq. feet, with fine display cases, a library, a conservation laboratory, space for reserve collections and room for further expansion. The museum is open to all, and visitors are most welcome:

Shree Mudra Nidhi Coin Museum, Village: Rayanatalavadi, Nr. Ajwa Gardens, Vadodara (Gujerat). Tel: 95 2668 291195 or 9427453263 or contact Mr.Kapoor directly on 9427346344



The opening ceremony



A view of the Baroda coin museum gallery

Central Asian Roundtable, London

Judith Kolbas is organising a Central Asian Numismatic Institute which will be under the aegis of the Central Asian Forum of Cambridge University. She is now in the process of collecting a board and putting together by-laws. The first project will be a universal catalogue of Samarqand and Bukhara using digital scans of coins and published material incorporated into a database accessible on a website in English and Russian. The region is broad, including the Caucasus and Xinjiang; and the time span is from the earliest coinage to that of the 19th century.

One of the first activities she wishes to hold is a roundtable at the Royal Asiatic Society on 7 September 2009, at which people are invited to speak informally on developments in their area of interest or present a short paper. It will start at 10:30 for coffee

and introductions, break for lunch at a local Indian restaurant, then reconvene at 1:30 for the discussion. There is no fee for the roundtable, but lunch will be at one's own expense. The address of the RAS is 14 Stephenson Way, London NW 1, a five-minute walk from Euston station.

Any member who is interested in attending [redacted] k

Jamshedpur Coin Museum Hall

Tata Steel has gifted the Jamshedpur coin club a Coin Museum Hall at its clubhouse premises. The Hall was due to be inaugurated by Shri. H M Nerurkar, C.O.O., Tata Steel, on 29 March 2009 at 5.00 pm, followed by a coin exhibition.

Articles

SOME 'ALID REVOLTS

By Yahya Jafar

This article describes coins¹ issued during three 'Alid rebellions against the 'Abbasids during their first period

The first 'Abbasid period (AH 132-218) saw several rebellions by the 'Alids in an attempt to seize power, which, as they considered, had been usurped from them by their cousins, the 'Abbasids. Both, the 'Alids and their cousins, the 'Abbasids, had cooperated effectively to topple the 'Umayyads (AH 41-132); however, once success was achieved, the 'Abbasids quickly seized power unilaterally, denying the 'Alids any share in it.

It is worth noting that the 'Alids are descendants of Imam 'Ali b. Abi Talib (AH 35-40), the Prophet Mohammed's cousin, husband of his daughter, Fatima, and the fourth and last of the Khulafa al-Rashidun, "the Rightly Guided Caliphs", that succeeded the Prophet Mohammed. The 'Alids considered that descendants of Fatima, the Imams al-Hasan and al-Hussain, and their descendants, were the natural successors to the caliphate since the Prophet was not survived by any male children. However, the 'Abbasids, who were descendants of al-'Abbas, the Prophet's uncle, argued that, under Islam, females do not succeed in position. Hence, after the defeat of the 'Umayyads, the struggle began for the caliphate and, hence, for the leadership of the Islamic world.

Although most 'Alids were forced to recognise Abu'l 'Abbas al-Safah (AH 132-136) as the first 'Abbasid caliph, the 'Alid brothers, Muhammed and Ibrahim b. Abdallah b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. 'Ali b. Abi Talib, never paid homage nor pledged allegiance to the new caliph and went underground promoting their cause, *da'wa*. After gathering much support, they decided to appear and rise in rebellion against the 'Abbasid caliph, who was by then al-Mansur (AH 136-158), simultaneously in Madina and al-Basra. However, for some reason Mohammed b. Abdallah, known as "al-Nafs al-Zakia" = "The Pure Soul", appeared early in Madina on 1 Rajab 145 and declared his revolt.

A little later, in mid-Sha'ban 145, his brother, Ibrahim, rose in rebellion in al-Basrah; however, the caliph, al-Mansur, saw the opportunity of ridding himself of both brothers whom he had feared and anticipated such actions from. Al-Mansur sent an army to Madina, defeated and killed Mohammed b. Abdallah after a fierce battle in late Ramadan of the same year.

After consolidating his position in al-Basra, al-Ahwas, Faris and Wasit, Ibrahim b. Abdallah, without much military experience, and against the advice of some of his followers, decided to move towards Kufa where most of his Shia' followers were. However, he was intercepted by an 'Abbasid army and was on the verge of defeating it when a stray arrow killed him, which led to the 'Abbasids losing the battle. Ibrahim was killed on 23 Dhul Qu'da 145, beheaded and his head was first taken to the caliph, then circulated in Kufa, in the month of Dhul Qu'da',

¹ All coins shown are from the author's collection.

thereby ending a rebellion that lasted less than three months. During this period, Ibrahim b. Abdallah issued one dirhem in al-Basra, Fig. 1, which has on the obverse the usual legend with the mint and date, while the reverse has “Allah Ahadun Ahad”, “God is Uniquely One”, and its outer margin cites from the Quran (Sura #17, verse #81), “Truth hath come and falsehood has vanished away. Falsehood is surely bound to vanish”², which appears to be the first time that this verse appeared on coins.



Fig (1)

لا اله الا	الله
الله وحده	احد
لا شريك له	احد

Obv. Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالبصرة سنة خمس و اربعين و مئة
 Rev. Margin: جاء الحق و زهق الباطل ان الباطل كان زهوقا

Another serious rebellion took place closely after the struggle between the brothers, al-Amin (AH 193-198) and al-Ma'mun (AH 198-218) and took advantage of the weakened regime that resulted from that conflict. A disgruntled military commander, Abu'l Saraya al-Sari b. Mansur, also nicknamed “al-Asfar”, rebelled in Kufa on 10 Jumada II 199, promoting the cause of the ‘Alids through Mohammed b. Ibrahim b. Ismail b. Ibrahim b. al-Hasan b. al-Hasan b. ‘Ali b. Abi Talib, known as Ibn Tabataba. This uprising gathered a lot of support and it presented a serious threat to the ‘Abbasids. The latter, therefore, sent an army to quell the rebellion. That army, however, was defeated by the Kufans and so was a second army that was sent for the same purpose. Meanwhile, Mohammed b. Ibrahim died, reputedly poisoned by Abul Saraya because Mohammed proved too difficult to handle. As a replacement, Abul Saraya then promoted a young ‘Alid, Mohammed b. Mohammed b. Zaid b. ‘Ali b. al-Husain b. ‘Ali b. Abi Talib. Eventually, it took the veteran ‘Abbasid army commander, Harthama b. A’yun, to lead an army against Abu'l Saraya and defeat him in a series of fierce battles, after which the latter was beheaded on 1 Rajab 200.

It is interesting that it was Abul Saraya, the ‘Alid army general, that issued dirhems in Kufa dated AH 199, (Fig. 2), rather than the ‘Alid himself. This goes to indicate that Abu'l Saraya was in control. On the reverse of that coin, Abu'l Saraya is described as “Fatimi al-Asfar”, thereby showing his allegiance to the cause of the ‘Alid descendants of Fatima al-Zahra’, as well as carrying on the outer margin the Quranic legend (Sura #61, Verse #4), “Surely Allah loves those who fight in His way in firm rows, as if they were solid edifice”.



Fig (2)

² All Translations of the Holy Quran are from Mufti Mohammed Taqi Uthmani's version.

لا اله الا	فاطمي
الله وحده	محمد
لا شريك له	رسول
	الله
	الاصفر

Obv. Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالكوفة سنة تسع و تسعين و مئة
 Rev. Margin: ان الله يحب الذين يقاتلون في سبيله صفا كانهم بنيان مرصوص

After defeating the ‘Abbasids in the first two campaigns against him in 199, Abu'l Saraya appointed governors in al-Basrah, al-Yeman and elsewhere. He chose Zaid b. Musa for al-Basrah and Ibrahim b. Musa for al-Yeman. Both were brothers of the eighth Imam of the Shia’, the ‘Alid ‘Ali b. Musa b. Ja’far b. Mohammed b. ‘Ali b. al-Hussain b. ‘Ali b. Abi Talib, known as ‘Ali al-Ridha.

After the news of the defeat and death of Abu'l Saraya in AH 200, Ibrahim b. Musa left Makka for Sanaa, which enjoyed a large community of Shia’ followers. Learning of the imminent arrival of Ibrahim, the ‘Abbasid governor in Sanaa decided to leave without giving battle and thus Ibrahim entered and occupied Sanaa easily. However, he treated the people viciously by confiscating money and property as well as brutally killing many, thereby earning the title of “al-Jazzar”, (butcher). Ibrahim issued a dirhem in Sanaa in AH 200 as in Fig. 3. Unfortunately, only fragments of words appear in the obverse margin of the two coins, Figs. 3 and 4, and despite much effort to try to read them, I had to concede defeat. However, I am grateful to my friend, Mohammed Limbada, who managed to decipher the text and arrive at the correct Quranic legend (Sura #9, Verse #128), “Surely, there has come to you from your midst, a Messenger who feels it very hard on him if you face a hardship, who is very anxious for your welfare, and for the believers, he is very kind, very merciful”.



Fig (3)

لا اله الا	جا
الله وحده	محمد رسول
لا شريك له	الله مما امر به الامير
	ابراهيم بن رسول الله
	الحق

Obv. Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم [...] بصنعا سنة مئتين
 Rev. Margin: لقد جاءكم رسول من انفسكم عزيز عليه ما عهدتم [حريص عليكم بالمؤمنين رؤوف رحيم]

It is believed that the phrase, “Ibn Rasoul Allah”, (Son of the Messenger of God), appeared here for the first time on coins. However, from then on, it was frequently used on coins issued by many of those who claimed ancestry to the noble house of the Prophet Mohammed, as Ibrahim b. Musa did.

In an unprecedented surprise move, in the month of Ramadhan 201, the caliph, al-Ma'moon (AH 198-218), appointed Imam ‘Ali b. Musa b. Ja’far, Ibrahim’s brother, the eighth Imam

of the Shia' Twelvers, also known as 'Ali al-Ridha, as his heir. This was an obvious political move designed to calm the restless 'Alids during a much weakened period of the 'Abbasid dynasty, as al-Ma'moon was only 31 years old then, while 'Ali b. Musa b. Ja'far was 55 years old and, hence, unlikely to survive him. Obviously, this act, although meeting with the disapproval of most 'Abbasids to the point that they nominated al-Ma'moon's uncle as an alternative caliph in Baghdad, met with the approval of the 'Alids and, hence, the recognition of al-Ma'moon as caliph. This included Ibrahim, who was then appointed by al-Ma'moon, the designated 'Abbasid governor of al-Yeman.

It must have been before Ramadhan 201 that Ibrahim issued another dirhem, which is believed to be unpublished, as it could not have been struck after his recognition of the 'Abbasid caliph, since it carries Ibrahim's name only, where he describes himself as "Mansur al-Yeman", "the one who is supported in Yeman", presumably to show that he was in control of al-Yeman.



Fig (4)

لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له	منصور محمد رسول الله مما امر به الامير ابراهيم بن رسول الله اليمن
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Ob. Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الد[رهم]...[بصنعا سنة [احد]ى [ومنته]ان
Rv. Margin: [لقد جاءكم رسول من انفسكم عزيز عليه ما [عهدتم حريص عليكم بالمؤمنين رؤوف رحيم

Subsequently, al-Ma'moon decided to move to Baghdad from Khorasan, accompanied by his heir, 'Ali al-Ridha, who died en-route in Safar 203, seemingly poisoned by the caliph in order to please the 'Abbasids and regain their support. Ibrahim was amongst those who held the caliph responsible for the death of his brother. He moved to Baghdad and died there in AH 210, presumably, he, too, poisoned by the caliph.

THE DĪNĀRS OF AMĪRĀN, ATĀBEK OF KHŪZESTĀN*

by A.V. Akopyan (Moscow)
and F. Mosanef (Tehrān)

The coinage of the atābeks of the late 'Irāqī Seljūq sultāns is still not a well researched area of Islamic numismatics. This paper is concerned with the newly discovered coins of the atābek of the Sultān Tuḡhril III (AH 571–590 / AD 1176–1194).

The earliest piece (*coin no. 1*) is in the collection of Tübingen University, no. FC5F5 (base gold, weight 2.18g, diameter 20 mm, die axis 12h).³ Three further base gold dinars of the same ruler have also been discovered recently:

coin no. 2 (weight 2.05g, diameter 21 mm, die axis 12h); *coin no. 3* (weight 2.05g, diameter 21 mm, die axis 12h); *coin no. 4* (weight 2.04g, diameter 21 mm, die axis 12h).

The legends were engraved in the Kūfī script typical of the Seljūq period.



Coin no. 1



Coin no. 2



Coin no. 3



Coin no. 4

Obverse of coin 1: Legend in the centre of the coin:

لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
المستضئ بأمر الله
المعظم أتآبك
اميران

There is no God but Allāh / He is alone, no associate to Him / al-Mustaḏī bi-Amr Allāh / the great Atābek / Amīrān.

* An early draft of this paper was erroneously published in the previous *Journal* and we would ask readers to ignore that earlier publication. We apologise for any inconvenience caused.

³ We would like to express our thanks to Dr. Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen) for the image of this coin that he kindly put at our disposal, and for important discussions on this paper.

Obverse of coins 2–4: Legend in the centre of the coins:

إله V الله
وحده V شريك له
الناصر لدين الله
المعظم أتاك
أميران

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

Marginal legend of obverse is indecipherable.

Reverse of coins 1–4: Diamond-shaped symbol above the legend:


محمد رسول الله
السلطان الأعظم
الملك المعظم
ظفر

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

Marginal legend of reverse:

ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله

It is He who has sent His Messenger with guidance and the religion of truth to manifest it over all religion.⁴

The coins bear the names of the ‘Abbāsid caliphs al-Mustaḍī bi-Amr Allāh (AH 566–575 / AD 1170–1180) and al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (AH 575–622 / AD 1180–1225), as well as the ‘Irāqī Seljūq Sulṭān Ṭuḡhril III (AH 571–590 / AD 1176–1194). Thus coin no. 1 can be dated to AH 571–575 while nos. 2–4 must have been struck in AH 575 or later. The symbol engraved in the upper half of the reverse is similar to the  known, thanks to the drawing by Kouymjian, for one type of ḍīnār of the İldegīzid Abū Bakr (AH 587–571 / AD 1137–1175).⁵

The person named on these coins as *mu‘aḏam atābek* is Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān b. Shamle (شرف الدين اميران بن شمله),⁶ son of the atābek Amīr Aydoḡdı b. Kaṣṭūqān (ايدغدی بن كسطوقان).⁸ Also known as Amīr Shamle,⁹ he was descended from the Afshārī Turkmāns. Amīr Shamle and his son, Amīrān, were atābeks of Khūzestān during AH 550–590, and a brief history of them follows.

Amīr Shamle was an ally of the powerful atābek, Ḥaṣṣbek b. Balankarī. In Ṣafar of AH 548 Ḥaṣṣbek and his atābeks were killed by the newly crowned sulṭān Muḥammad II (AH 548–555 /

AD 1153–1160), and only Shamle escaped.¹⁰ In AH 550 atābek Shamle with a force of Afshārī Turkmāns defeated the caliph’s army, compelling Malikshāh b. Maḥmūd (governor of Khūzestān) to cede Khūzestān. In due course Shamle became one of the most powerful rulers of his time.¹¹

When sulṭān Muḥammad II attacked Baghdād in AH 551, Shamle supported the atābek İldegīz, who attacked Jibāl and Rayy. But İldegīz could not defeat İnānj, the governor of Rayy, and retreated along with Malikshāh b. Maḥmūd.¹² In AH 553 atābek Shamle won a battle in Bādūrayā,¹³ after which he executed the amīr Qāymāz al-Sulṭānī. The caliph then sent another army to engage Shamle, who withdrew to Khūzestān. In the same year the sulṭān, Muḥammad II, fell ill, and his brother, Malikshāh, started to attack cities in Jibāl and part of ‘Irāq. When he came to Khūzestān, Shamle would not permit him to pass through his country. In the ensuing conflict between them, atābek Shamle lost control of Khūzestān and his forces escaped to one of his strongholds.¹⁴ For some time afterwards he was at the court of Malikshāh in Iṣfahān.

In AH 555 Malikshāh was poisoned in Iṣfahān by the caliph’s orders, after which atābek Shamle returned to Khūzestān.¹⁵ In AH 556 he threatened atābek Zangī of Fārs, in an attempt to prevent him allying with İnānj of Rayy in the struggle with Shams al-Dīn İldegīz (AH 531–571 / AD 1137–1175).¹⁶

In AH 561 the caliph al-Mustaḥjīd declined to read the *khuṭbah* in Baghdād in the name of sulṭān Arslān Shāh, and atābek Shamle attacked Baghdād by the order of İldegīz.¹⁷ In AH 561–563 atābek Shamle attacked al-Baṣra, Wāsiṭ and Fārs; he had some success in Southern ‘Irāq, but Fārs remained in the hands of Zangī.¹⁸

The power of atābek Shamle continued to grow, and in AH 568, when Shams al-Dīn İldegīz and Jahān Pahlavān were in Adharbayjān, Shamle’s army under the leadership of his nephew, Ibn Sankā (ابن سنكا), attacked and captured Nahāvand.¹⁹ But in Sha‘bān of AH 569, by which time Ibn Sankā had moved on to ‘Irāq, he was defeated by forces of the caliph al-Mustaḍī. Ibn Sankā was arrested, executed, and his head was sent to Baghdād. Shamle now tried to assert his independence, encroaching on the caliph’s territories and also in the area around Khūzestān. But he was defeated by İldegīz and captured with his son in the battle of Qarmīṣīn²⁰ in AH 570.²¹ Shamle died two days after the battle, and his son, Amīrān, became ruler of Khūzestān.²²

At that time, Amīrān was atābek of malik Muḥammad b. Ṭuḡhril II and teacher of the son of Malikshāh b. Maḥmūd in Khūzestān. When Arslān Shāh died in AH 571, his elder brother, malik Muḥammad, was in Khūzestān. After the crowning of Ṭuḡhril III b. Arslān Shāh by Jahān Pahlavān İldegīzid (AH 571–582 / AD 1175–1186), malik Muḥammad sought help from Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān in his struggle against Jahān Pahlavān. But atābek Amīrān declined, and malik Muḥammad with his atābek İlqafshat b. Qāymāz Ḥarāmī occupied Iṣfahān and accumulated forces numbering some thousand horsemen. Jahān Pahlavān soon

⁴ Qur’ān IX:33, reading of this marginal legend made by Dr Lutz Ilisch.

⁵ 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. 351.

⁶ Ṣadr al-Dīn ‘Alī al-Ḥusaynī, *Akhbār al-dawlat al-seljūqīyya*, translated by Z. Bunyatov, Moscow, 1980, part 38, p. 146. The patronym was read by Z. Bunyatov as ‘Shimlu’.

⁷ The reading ‘Aytogdı’ was given by Z. Bunyatov, *Izbrannye sochineniya v trekh tomakh*, vol. 2, Baku, 1999, p. 44. This nickname is derived from the Turkish *ay* ‘moon’ and *doḡdı* ‘young, new’ and may mean ‘[born in] the beginning of the month (when moon is new)’. It seems that this name was common among Turks, cf. the name of Mamlūks’ amīr Jamāl al-Dīn Aydoḡdı (transliterated as ‘İdgadi’ in: *Histoire des sultans Mamlouks, de l’Égypte, écrite en arabe par Taki-Eddin-Ahmed-Makrizi, traduite en français par M. Quatremère*, Tome premier, Paris, 1837, p. 70).

⁸ *Histoire des Seljoucides de l’Iraq par al-Bondari d’après ‘Imad ad-din al-Katib al-Isfahani*, texte arabe publié d’après les Mss d’Oxford et de Paris par M. Th. Houtsma, Leiden, 1889, p. 287. This Kaṣṭūqān is mentioned also in: *op. cit.*, p. 230 and in *Tarih-i Al-i Selçuk*, Ankara, 1951, p. 230.

⁹ This name is possibly derived from the Arabic *shimla* ‘overall cloth,’ or ‘cloak’.

¹⁰ Ibn al-Āthīr, *Al-kāmal fī al-tārīkh*, edited by Abū al-Qāsim Halat, Tehrān, vol. VII, AH 1355 / AD 1976, part 20, p. 212; ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Khaldūn, *Al-kitāb al-‘ibār*, Tehrān, vol. IV, AH 1383 / AD 2004, p. 147.

¹¹ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, p. 291; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

¹² Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, p. 317; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹³ A district in ‘Irāq, cf. Le Strange G., *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 66–67.

¹⁴ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 21, p. 38–41; Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, p. 38–40.

¹⁵ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 21, p. 81–82.

¹⁶ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 21, p. 96.

¹⁷ Z. Bunyatov, *Gosudarstvo atabekov Azerbaydzhana*, Baku, 1978, p. 51.

¹⁸ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 22, p. 267–268.

¹⁹ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 23, p. 47–48.

²⁰ Qarmīṣīn is the city between Hamadān and Khulwān pass, in modern Kermānshāh province, cf. Yāqūt al-Khamawī, *Kitāb mu‘jam al-buldān*, Cairo, AH 1323, part VII, p. 63.

²¹ al-Ḥusaynī, *op. cit.*, comments on p. 238. See also: Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 9, p. 134; Abū al-Faraj ibn al-Jauzī, *Al-muntazam fī tārikh al-mulūk wa al-ūmam*, Hyderabad, AH 1340–1357, ch. X, p. 255, Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī, *Mir‘at al-zamān fī tārikh al-‘āyān*. Hyderabad, 1951, vol. VIII/1, p. 330.

²² Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 23, p. 115–116.

arrived and defeated malik Muḥammad, who escaped to Khūzestān. Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān forbade him to enter his lands for fear of Jahān Pahlavān.²³ Eventually malik Muḥammad was arrested by the atābek of Fārs and sent to Ṭughril III.²⁴ Amīrān remained loyal to Jahān Pahlavān and accepted Ṭughril III as a sulṭān.²⁵

In AH 589 caliph al-Nāṣir took control of some parts (called ‘castles’ by ibn al-Āthīr) of Khūzestān and ruled in this area with a certain Sūsiyān b. Shamle (سوسيان بن شمله), a local governor and possibly one of Shamle’s sons.²⁶ In AH 590 Amīrān b. Shamle died and a certain Ibn Qaṣṣāb, vizier of the caliph al-Nāṣir, offered to attack Khūzestān. It was an ideal opportunity, as after Amīrān’s death his brothers were quarrelling and there was civil war in the province. He attacked Khūzestān in AH 591 and captured Tūstar (Shūstar) and all the cities and strongholds held by the brothers of Amīrān. Ibn Qaṣṣāb captured the brothers themselves and sent them to Baghdād, and so more than forty years of Atābek rule in Khūzestān came to an end in AH 591.²⁷

It should be noted that another person named Amīrān is known for the time of Ṭughril III. He was the amīr Amīrān ‘Umar b. Jahān Pahlavān (the Īldegīzid), and no coins of this Amīrān are known. As he began his struggle for power in AH 582 after the death of his father, he cannot be the Amīrān mentioned alongside the caliph Mutaḍḍī bi-Amr Allāh (*vide* coin no. 1), who had died in AH 575. Moreover, Amīr Amīrān ‘Umar would probably have named his father on any coins, since he was claiming to be his successor during the struggle with his brothers. Similarly, Sharaf al-Dīn Amīrān, whose rule began in the time of Jahān Pahlavān, may have omitted the name of his father from his extant coins because he was defeated by Jahān Pahlavān.

Of particular interest is the tamgha depicted on the coins of Amīrān b. Shimla and of Abū Bakr b. Jahān Pahlavān. As the Īldegīzid tamghas commonly encountered on coins are the trident and bow, this other tamgha may have belonged personally to Jahān Pahlavān and so been used on the coins of his atābek and of his son. However, it should be noted that there are no known coins of Jahān Pahlavān himself which bear this tamgha.

A NEW EARLY COIN TYPE OF ‘ALĪ B. JA’FAR, EMIR OF TIFLIS, BEARING THE NAME OF THE CALIPH AL-TĀ’Ī LI-LLĀH

By Irakli Paghava and Severian Turkia

This paper publishes a previously unknown early dirham of ‘Alī b. Ja’far, Emir of Tiflis. The coin is, as far as we know, unique and was auctioned by Gorny & Mosch²⁸ in their sale 169-173 (13-17 November 2008), lot 9030. The provenance of the coin is unknown to us.

The coin is as follows (the effaced or barely legible legends are reconstructed and marked by underlining; the obscure legends are put into square brackets]):



Fig 1. (enlarged)

AR? (no metal content analysis performed); weight: 2.43 g; diameter: 17.9-18.1 mm; die axis: 7 o’clock.

²³ al-Ḥusaynī, *op. cit.*, p. 146–147.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 24, p. 40.

²⁶ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 23, p. 106.

²⁷ Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit.*, part 23, p. 116–117.

²⁸ <http://www.gmcoinart.de/>.

Obverse:

In the centre:

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
[... - ?]

Traces of the marginal legend around? (visible at 7-11 o’clock).

Reverse:

In the centre:

...
رسول الله
الطابع لله
الامير المظفر
علي بن جعفر

There are traces of a marginal legend or a linear circle around (visible at 7-8 o’clock).

Coin Type

‘Alī b. Ja’far’s dirham bearing the name of the caliph al-Tā’ī li-llāh, and dated AH 386 (996/7) was first published by D. Kapanadze back in 1944³⁰ (diameter 27-28 mm, weight 3.84 g³¹). Another specimen was reported by Ye. Pakhomov in 1957 as preserved in the Moscow State Historical Museum (the provenance not indicated)³². G. Japaridze, who carried out a complex analysis of all the then known coin types of ‘Alī b. Ja’far³³ could not obtain this specimen for a *de visu* study, as the aforementioned museum was closed for an overhaul, but the scholar managed to detect the coin’s paper imprint and metrology data (diameter 27-28 mm, weight 4.62 g) in the late Ye. Pakhomov’s card register, stored at the Numismatic Department of the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg (Leningrad, at that time)³⁴. Judging by the imprint, Japaridze came to the conclusion that both coins were of the same type, but were clearly struck using a different pair of dies³⁵. I. Jalaghania, another Georgian scholar, who dealt with the Kufic coins minted in Tiflis, reported in her 1979 book one more coin of AH 386, preserved in the “Yerevan Historical Museum”, while also referring to Pakhomov’s card register³⁶. However, Japaridze found no imprint or any other information on such a coin in the latter³⁷. Moreover, there is no such coin in the numismatic collections of the History Museum of Armenia³⁸. Therefore, probably only two specimens of this type were available before.

However, the new coin, being the third one to bear the name of the caliph al-Tā’ī li-llāh, and published here, is of a different type. In contrast to the afocited coins published more than half a century ago by Kapanadze and Pakhomov, and then studied by Japaridze, this coin is different in the following respects (in addition to its distinct metrological characteristics and crudity):

²⁹ The word وحده is written as وحده. On the AH 386 dirham published by Kapanadze there is وحده و (Managadze 2000:36, #46).

³⁰ Kapanadze 1944. The coin was purchased by the publisher in December 1932 and had come from a group of “Arabic” dirhams discovered somewhere in the environs of Tbilisi (former Tiflis) (*Ibid.*:183). Now the coin is preserved in the State Museum of Georgia, Hoards #5129 (Japaridze 1991:134; Japaridze 1998:98).

³¹ Kapanadze 1944:185.

³² Pakhomov 1957:39-40; Japaridze 1991:135; Japaridze 1997:207, footnote 10; Japaridze 1998:98, footnote 9.

³³ Japaridze 1991, 1997, 1998.

³⁴ Japaridze 1991:135; Japaridze 1997:207, footnote 10; Japaridze 1998:98, footnote 9.

³⁵ Japaridze 1991:135; Japaridze 1997:207, footnote 10; Japaridze 1998:98, footnote 9.

³⁶ Jalaghania 1979:64.

³⁷ Personal communication with Dr. G. Japaridze.

³⁸ Personal communication with Dr. R. Vardanyan (Numismatic department of the History Museum of Armenia, Head).

- The obverse central legend contains an extra 4th line at the bottom: the graphemes in the 4th line are of a slightly diminished size/finer as compared to those of the top 3 lines, particularly the top one, but the impeccably parallel orientation of the 4th line with regard to the lines on top of it, and its distinctness from them, rules out both the double strike and overstrike possibilities (of which there seem to be no other signs at all). Unfortunately, only a small fragment of the text is discernible; at the moment we cannot read this bottom line;
- Although the periphery of both obverse and reverse of this coin are effaced almost completely, some traces of a margin can be seen at 7-11 o'clock on the obverse traces, which in our opinion do not look like a linear border, but rather like the remnant of a circular legend, adjoining the central legend, with the linked Kufic graphemes making up a circle (the previously published coins with the name of the caliph al-Tā'ī' li-llāh had linear circles separating the central legend from the two marginal ones³⁹);
- The coin type first published by Kapanadze has 4 annulets on the inner side of the linear circle on the obverse, at 12, 3, 6 and 9 o'clock⁴⁰; but this coin has none, at least at 9 o'clock, where the periphery of the coin is less effaced and hence would probably present the annulets, provided they were there;
- The word **وحده** in the second line of the Shahadah fragment visible on the obverse is written as **وحدله**. On the AH 386 dirham published by Kapanadze there is **وحده**⁴¹.

In our opinion, the distinct features outlined above provide sufficient grounds for acknowledging this coin as a separate, and hence, new 7th type of 'Alī b. Ja'far's coinage.

Type Conversion Table

Different scholars have, for various reasons, designated the coins of the same types differently⁴², so we publish below (p. 9) a type conversion table. However, it is probable, that even more new types from the at least 30-year reign of 'Alī b. Ja'far (996/7 or possibly before – 1027/8, possibly before/through 1030) will show up in the course of time; so it would be reasonable to use some alternative system instead of, or in addition to, simply designating the coins of different types by consecutive numbers. We propose to identify the coin types by the dates they bear, or by their major distinguishing feature in the case of coins for which we do not know the year of minting (cf. the *Table*).

Dating

It is not possible to determine precisely when this new coin type, published here, was struck as the date will probably have been in the outer, marginal legend (probably of the obverse), which is completely effaced/off-flan. But we still can establish an approximate time for when it was minted. Two facts are helpful: the caliph's name, which is indicated on the coin, and the latter's somewhat crude fabric.

In terms of reign chronology, the last coin of 'Alī b. Ja'far's predecessor, Ja'far II b. Mansūr, is dated AH 374 (984/5)⁴³, while the earliest coin of 'Alī b. Ja'far is the dirham in the name of the caliph, al-Tā'ī' li-llāh and dated AH 386 (996/7). The next coin type bears the date xx4, i.e. 394 or 404⁴⁴, and already bears the

name of the caliph, al-Qādir bi-llāh⁴⁵. Al-Tā'ī' li-llāh was deposed by the Buyid, Bahā' al-Dawla, in favour of al-Qādir bi-llāh in AH 381 (991). But al-Tā'ī' li-llāh survived the coup d'état, and this fact undoubtedly contributed to the legitimist opposition movement in favour of the former caliph. A number of Muslim rulers, like the Samanids and even some Buyids, evidently, including 'Alī b. Ja'far of Tiflīs, refused to recognise al-Qādir bi-llāh and continued to exercise *sikka* and *khutba* in favour of al-Tā'ī' li-llāh. Al-Qādir bi-llāh's power was not consolidated until AH 390 (999/1000) and became even stronger after the death of al-Tā'ī' li-llāh in 393 (1003)⁴⁶. Therefore, we may conjecture that this coin in the name of 'Alī b. Ja'far and al-Tā'ī' li-llāh was struck at some time in or after AH 374 and not later than AH 393.

However, it is possible to narrow down the time period for the striking of this coin. In connection with the approaching silver crisis, 'Alī b. Ja'far coins were gradually degraded in terms of both silver standard and the shape and weight, the former decreasing and the latter two becoming ever more irregular and variable⁴⁷. While the AH 386 dirham looks like a more or less classical, broad Kufic dirham, of sufficiently refined workmanship⁴⁸, this coin with its missing date is of a, by far, cruder fabric and more irregular shape (the latter fact may point to a different minting technique as well). The two coins of the 386 type weigh 3.84 and 4.62 g and have a diameter of 27-28 mm⁴⁹; the discrepancy in their weights even prompted Pakhomov to consider these coins to be indicators of the silver crisis, despite their so far regular round shape⁵⁰. Keeping this in mind, the fact that the new coin published here weighs 2.43 g, and, while far from being perfectly round, has a "diameter" of roughly 18 mm takes on a special significance. Of course, the trend certainly was not that straightforward: for instance, the unique coin, representing 'Alī b. Ja'far's first coin type in the name of al-Qādir bi-llāh (minted not earlier than AH 394⁵¹, i.e. after the death of al-Tā'ī' li-llāh, and hence after the minting of any coins in the name of the latter) weighs 4.12 g and has a diameter of 23 mm. Nevertheless, the comparison of the coin dated AH 386 with the one we are publishing here provides, in our opinion, sufficiently solid grounds for conjecturing the latter's attribution to the period after AH 386 (996/7).

Therefore, in our opinion this type of 'Alī b. Ja'far coins was issued at some point within the period AH 386-394 (996/7-1003/4)⁵².

Type Reconstruction

Despite the differences indicated above, both types are pretty close to each other, at least in terms of the central legends. This helps us in an attempt to reconstruct the missing legends on this new type. The marginal legend on the obverse will probably have contained the mint place (Tiflīs) and minting year, as on the 'Alī b. Ja'far coins of the following types: 386, 394/404, mansūrī, like 413, 413, 418. And of course, there is at least **محمد** to be expected in the first line of the reverse central legend.

³⁹ Kapanadze 1944:185; Japaridze 1991:135, plate, #1 (an error: the obverse is shown twice); Japaridze 1997:207, plate 1, #1; Japaridze 1998:98-99, plate 1, #1; Managadze 2000:36, #46.

⁴⁰ Japaridze 1991:135, plate, #1 (an error: the obverse is shown twice); Japaridze 1997:207, plate 1, #1; Japaridze 1998:98-99, plate 1, #1; Managadze 2000:36, #46.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Japaridze 1991, 1997, 1998; Turkia 2008.

⁴³ Molchanov 2001, 2003a, 2003b.

⁴⁴ Japaridze 1991:138; Japaridze 1998:100; Japaridze 1997:208.

⁴⁵ Lang 1955:15-16, plate I, #10; Japaridze 1991:137-138; Japaridze 1998:99-100; Japaridze 1997:208.

⁴⁶ Kapanadze 1944:187-188; Lang 1955:14; Japaridze 1991:137; Japaridze 1998:99; Japaridze 1997:207-208.

⁴⁷ Turkia 2008:7-8.

⁴⁸ Judging by the coin first published by Kapanadze (Kapanadze 1944). Unfortunately we had no access to another coin of this type (Japaridze 1991:135; Japaridze 1997:207, footnote 10; Japaridze 1998:98, footnote 9).

⁴⁹ Kapanadze 1944:185; Pakhomov 1957:39-40; Japaridze 1991:135; Japaridze 1997:207, footnote 10; Japaridze 1998:98, footnote 9.

⁵⁰ Pakhomov 1957:39-40.

⁵¹ Japaridze 1991:138; Japaridze 1998:100; Japaridze 1997:208.

⁵² It would have taken the news of al-Tā'ī' li-llāh's death in 1003 some time to reach Tiflīs, so, theoretically speaking, the die with his name engraved could have been used even during the first months of 1004.

Table. The Coin Types of 'Alī b. Ja'far, Emir of Tiflis (Conformity Guide)

The Coin Types for 'Alī b. Ja'far, Emir of Tiflis				
According to G.Japaridze*	According to S.Turkia & I.Paghava	Taking into account the new type being published here this (attempting to observe the minting chronology)	New designations proposed	Caliph Acknowledged
I	I	I	“386”	at-Tā'ī' li-llāh
-	-	II	“386-394”	at-Tā'ī' li-llāh
II	II	III	“394/404”	al-Qādir bi-llāh
V	III	IV	“mansūrī”	al-Qādir bi-llāh
VI	IV	V	“like 413”	al-Qādir bi-llāh
III	V	VI	“413”	al-Qādir bi-llāh
IV	VI	VII	“418”	al-Qādir bi-llāh

* Japaridze 1991, 1997, 1998
Turkia 2008

Conclusion

By way of conclusion we may note that the discovery of the already somewhat degraded new coin type of 'Alī b. Ja'far, which was probably minted within the period AH 386-393 (996/7-1003/4), expands our understanding of the contemporary economic situation in the Tiflis Emirate and may attest to the already occurring silver famine. Moreover, it also points to a continuance of 'Alī b. Ja'far's political stance as a supporter of the deposed caliph, al-Tā'ī' li-llāh, and hence in opposition to the party of al-Qādir bi-llāh.

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A DIRHEM OF THE MIZYADIS

By Yahya Jafar

This article introduces and describes a dirhem of the Mizyadis of Hilla which is, perhaps, the first coin ever published for this dynasty

The Mizyadis or Bani Mizyad is a branch of the famous Arab tribe, Bani Asad. Being ardent Shia' muslims, they were supported by the Buwayhids, then ruling Iraq, who in the mid-fourth Hijri century helped them to establish their dynasty, which was founded circa AH 350 by Sana al-Dawla Ali b. Mizyad al Asadi. The tribe, initially, inhabited areas around Misan, in the central part of Iraq. In AH 405, the tribe relocated to the small town of al-Neel which was located in the vicinity of the current location of Hilla. Their successive leaders, who became to be known as the "Kings of the Arabs", are as follows (all dates AH):

1. Sana al Dawla Ali I b. Mizyad circa 350-408
2. Noor al-Dawla Dabis I b. Ali 408-474
3. Baha al-Dawla Mansur b. Dabis 474-479
4. Saif al-Dawla Sadaqa I b. Mansur 479-501
5. Noor al-Dawla Dabis II b. Sadaqa 501-529
6. Saif al-Dawla Sadaqa II b. Dabis 529-532
7. Mohammed b. Dabis II 532-539
8. Ali II b. Dabis II 539-545
9. Muhalhil b. Ali II 545- ?
10. - 558

At times, the Mizyadis controlled large amount of lands in their vicinity. They co-existed with the Buwayhids, Hamdanids, Uqaylids, Seljuqs and, sometimes, paid allegiance to the Fatimids of Egypt. It was reported that the tribe subsisted mainly on looting and pillaging, especially victimising those on the pilgrimage route to Mecca. Moreover, the Mizyadis, especially from Dabis II's rule onwards, usually sided with and aided the Seljuqs, whenever there was a dispute with the caliph. They frequently, challenged the caliph's authority and threatened to move and occupy Baghdad, the centre of the Abbasid caliphate. Eventually, after the Abbasid caliphs regained their independence from the Seljuks, the caliph al-Mustanjid bi-Allah (AH 555-565) led an army, attacked and defeated the Mizyadis at Hilla in AH 558, reportedly killing more than 4,000 of them, dispersing the remainder and thereby ending their dynasty.

In his book "Mu'jam al-Buldan", al-Hamawi cites three locations which are called Hilla. However, as far as this article is concerned, the Hilla referred to is that of the Mizyadis. It is briefly described by al-Hamawi as follows: *Hilla is a large town located between al-Kufa and Baghdad and was previously called "al-Jami'ayn". It was first built and inhabited by Saif al-Dawla Sadaqa b. Mansur b. Dabis b. Ali b. Mizyad al-Asadi in the month of Muharram 495. It was previously desolate land frequented by predators. He came to it with his family and troops and built in it grand homes and lavish dwellings, and so followed his people and it became the refuge for many. It was frequented by merchants and became one of the best places in Iraq during the life of Saif al-Dawla.*

It was both Sadaqa I and his son, Dabis II, that played significant political roles in the Abbasid-Seljuq struggles. Although they were, essentially, in conflict with the Abbasid caliphs, they both were killed by the Seljuqs.

Now, although the dirhem in question is somewhat double struck it retains all its significant information, which is clearly visible and readable. It was struck by Baha al-Dawla Mansur in Hilla in the year AH 476. It is, therefore, suggested that, at the time of its production, Hilla had already been founded and had a mint. Hence, it is probably prudent to suggest that Hilla was founded by Baha al-Dawla Mansur b. Dabis, nearly twenty years earlier than suggested in the chronicles, which state that Hilla was founded by his son, Sadaqa and, up to now, accepted by historians as such. Perhaps Mansur initiated the move and settlement to Hilla while his son, Dabis, being the more famous character and longer ruling, expanded its development and, hence, ultimately took the credit.

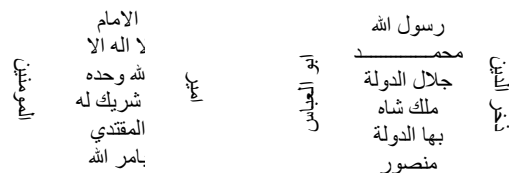


(illustration enlarged)

The dirhem's calligraphy closely resembles in style the Seljuk coinage of that period which was issued in Madinat al-Salam, Baghdad. This may suggest that the die-cutter used was from the Baghdad mint. Moreover, the content closely resembles

the legends on such coins that were issued by mints under caliphal control. These are characterised by using the name and only one title for the Seljuq sultan, being in this case "Jalal al-Dawla Malikshah (AH 465-485) and including the Abbasid caliph of the period, al-Muhtadi bi-Amr Allah (AH 467-487), and his heir, "Thukhr al-Din Abu al-Abbas", who later became the caliph al-Mustazhir bi-Allah (AH 487-512), with the addition on the reverse of the name of Mansur with his honorific title, Baha al-Dawla. It is to be noted, that the issue of silver dirhems during Seljuk rule in Iraq is very rare, especially in the vicinity of Baghdad. The writer believes that the reason for this is that the then administrative authority, being the Seljuqs in this case, were unwilling to deal with two metals for their coinage. Moreover, it is suggested that, in view of the size and weight of this coin, it was possibly issued as a commemorative coin.

The Format and legends on this coin are as follows:



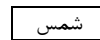
Obv Margin [بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم] بحلة سنة ست وسبعين واربعمائة
Rev Margin: (Quran XXX, 4-5)
4.27g, 31mm

A SMALL HOARD OF İLDEGIZID PERIOD COINS

By A. V. Akopyan & B. Sahakyan

A hoard of copper coins have been found near city of Aparan in the Aragatzotn district of Armenia (about 50 kilometers north-north-west of Yerevan). This city has a mixed population of Armenians and Kurds. The hoard was unearthed on the territory of a Kurdish burial, probably in the Kurdish grave. The coins were in a decorated jug. Before the coins could be inspected, some of them were presented or sold by the finders.

The inspected part of the hoard contains twenty six copper coins of the İldegizids, four Georgian copper coins of Queen T'amar (1184–1213) and one Byzantine anonymous follis. In addition to the coins, there were also some domestic items in the hoard. The period of striking of the coins in the hoard is 1161–1213 and the content is typical for the monetary circulation of Armenia in the 12th century AD⁵³. The İldegizid coins from the hoard are listed below with types – where possible – according to D. K. Kouymjian.⁵⁴ All of these coins were previously known and are listed below in a general way, except for the remarkable coin with the countermark "Qizil Arslan" (coin 18). Along with Shams al-Din İldegiz (AH 531–571/AD 1137–1175) who used the countermark⁵⁵

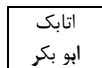


⁵³ Many hoards of İldegizids' coins are described in the following studies – Pakhomov Ye. A., *Monetnye klady Azerbayjana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastey Kavkaza.*, Vols 1–9, Baku, 1926–1966. [*Monetary hoards of Azerbaijan and other republics, lands and districts of Caucasus*]; Mousheghian Kh., Mousheghian A., Bresc C., Depuyot G., Gurnet F., *History and Coin Finds in Armenia, Coins from Garni (4th BC – 19th AD)*, Wetter, 2000; idem, *History and Coin Finds in Armenia, Coins from Ani (4th BC – 19th AD)*, Wetter, 2000; idem, *History and Coin Finds in Armenia, Inventory of Coins and Hoards (7th AD – 19th AD)*, vols I–II, Wetter, 2003; Vardanian A. R., *Some Peculiarities of Coinage in Dvin in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries II* The Numismatic Chronicle, 161 (2001), P. 199-205.

⁵⁴ Kouymjian D. K., *A Numismatic History of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjan based on the Islamic Coinage of the 5th/13th Centuries*, Columbia University, Ph. D. Dissertation, 1969.

⁵⁵ Kouymjian, *op. cit.*, P. 310.

and Abū Bakr (AH 587–607/AD 1191–1211) who used the countermark⁵⁶



Qizil Arslān (AH 582–587/AD 1186–1191) is the third known Īdegizid ruler who used countermarking.

Coins of Īdegiz and the Seljūq sultān, Arslān (AH 556–571/AD 1161–1176).

These coins were struck during the reign of Sultān Arslān. Ye. A. Pakhomov noted, that coins of Īdegiz without the name of the Seljūq sultān may have been struck in Ganja, and those with his name – in Ardabīl.⁵⁷

No. 1 (24 mm, 8.1 g) – on the one side اعظم ايلدکز and the Īdegizid tamgha – a trident to left; on the other side only part of the words سلطان ارسلان are visible (type 1).

No. 2 (25 mm, 8.0 g) – on one side are parts of the words اعظم ايلدکز and trident to right; on the other side, سلطان ارسلان can be seen (type 2).

No. 3 (23x26 mm, 7.1 g) – on one side, part of the kalima in a linear circle can be seen; on other side, [ايلدکز] سلطان ارسلان تايبك ايلدکز (type 8).

No. 4 (24 mm, 8.4 g) – on one side are parts of the words سلطان ارسلان بن طغرل and trident to left; on the other side اعظم ايلدکز (type 9B).

No. 5 (27.5 mm, 6.1 g) – on one side are parts of the words سلطان ارسلان and trident to right; on the other side, الاعظم ايلدکز (the exact type is undetermined).

Coins of Qizil Arslān and an unidentified 'Irāqī Seljūq sultān.

These coins may have been struck during the whole reign of Qizil Arslān.

No. 6 (24 mm, 6.3 g) – part of the words تايبك قزل ارسلان on one side; the other side is worn (the exact type is undetermined).

No. 7 (27 mm, 7.7 g) – only one word is readable سلطان on one side; parts of the words تايبك قزل ارسلان اعظم on the other side (exact type is undefined).

No. 8 (26 mm, 9.7 g) – only one word is readable سلطان on one side; parts of the words تايبك قزل ارسلان on the other side (the exact type is undetermined).

No. 9 (25 mm, 5.35 g) and **no. 10** (25 mm, 6.5 g) – only parts of the words are legible تايبك قزل ارسلان; the other side is worn (the exact type is undetermined).

Coins of Qizil Arslān and the Seljūq sultān, Sinjar (AH 584–587/AD 1188–1191).

These coins were struck in AH 584–587.

No. 11 (26 mm, 8.3 g) – only the words بن سليمان are legible on one side, and part of words تايبك قزل ارسلان اعظم on the other side (type 26X).

No. 12 (24 mm, 5.8 g) – تايبك قزل ارسلان اعظم is visible on one side, on the other side only part of the word سنجر is visible (type 26A).

No. 13 (25.5 mm, 8.2 g) – on one side are parts of the words سلطان سنجر بن سليمان; on the other side, the partial inscription اعظم تايبك قزل ارسلان is visible (type 26A).

No. 14 (26 mm, 7.65 g) – on one side parts of the words سلطان سنجر are visible; on the other side, the partial inscription اعظم تايبك is visible (type 26A).

No. 15 (26 mm, 8.8 g) – on one side the inscription سلطان سنجر بن سليمان is visible; on the other side, part of the inscription تايبك قزل ارسلان اعظم is visible (type 26A).

No. 16 (26 mm, 7.2 g) – on one side, only part of the word سنجر is visible; the other side is worn (the exact type is undetermined).

No. 17 (25 mm, 8.9 g) – on one side, parts of the words سلطان سنجر are visible; on the other side, parts of the inscription اعظم تايبك قزل ارسلان are visible (type 26A).

A Coin of Īdegiz and the Seljūq sultān, Arslān, countermarked by Qizil Arslān.

No. 18 (26 mm, 7.0 g) – on one side parts of the words سلطان ارسلان تايبك are visible; the other side is worn, with square countermark in two lines



Coins countermarked by Qizil Arslān were hitherto unknown.



Coin No. 18

Coins of Abū Bakr (AH 587–607/1191–1211 AD).

No. 19 (23 mm, 5.4 g) – one side اعظم تايبك can be fully read within a plain and dotted circle; on the other side – ابو بكر بن محمد in a plain circle, the word محمد written very crudely (type 41A).

Unidentified coins.

No. 20 (23 mm, 6.6 g) and **No. 21** (27 mm, 7.9 g) – on one side اعظم تايبك is visible; the other side is worn.

No. 22 (24 mm, 5.3 g) – the inscription on one side is undecipherable; the other side is worn.

No. 23 (24 mm, 6.5 g) and **no. 24** (25.5 mm, 6.0 g) – on one side only the word سلطان is visible; the other side is worn.

No. 25 (24 mm, 8.4 g) – on one side only the ligature ʎ is visible; the other side is worn.

No. 26 (25 mm, 6.0 g) – both sides are worn.

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE CHARACTER BAO 寶 ON COINS OF MONGOL ULUSES

By V.A. Belyaev and S.V. Sidorovich

Being rare and known from very few types, Islamic coins with the Chinese character *bao* 寶⁵⁸ provide special evidence for research because they give additional information on the complex subject of relations between the uluses of the Great Mongol Empire.

At present, three issues of medieval coins are known which contain, within their legends, the Chinese word *bao*:

- i. copper and silver coins of the Salghurid queen Abish bint Sa'd;
- ii. silver coins of Khotan with the tamgha of Qaidu;
- iii. silver coins struck during the last third of the 13th century, with the word *bao* written in Mongol square phags-pa script.

The coins of Abish, in contrast to the two other types mentioned, provide clear information regarding names, dates, and

⁵⁶ Kouymjian, *op. cit.*, P. 334.

⁵⁷ Pakhomov Ye. A., *Monety iz reskopok gorodischa Oren-Kala // Materialy i issledovaniya po arkheologii SSSR*, 133 (1965), P. 92 [*Coins from Excavations of the Settlement of Oren-Qala*].

⁵⁸ Belyaev V.A., Sidorovich S.V. Stavka Velikogo Hana i ulusy po numizmaticheskim dannym (The Court of the Great Khan and Uluses by Numismatic Data). // 5th International conference "Coins and Monetary Circulation in the Mongol States of the 13–15th Centuries" (MNC): Volgograd, 18–23 September 2006. Proceedings of the 4th (Bulghar, 2005) and 5th (Volgograd, 2006) MNC. - Moscow, 2008. P.201.

mint, and this gives us a good opportunity to look for explanations for the rare appearance of the Chinese word on these medieval Islamic coins.

All the copper and silver coins of Abish (hereafter, unless otherwise stated, we are referring to coins with the character *bao*) were struck in Shiraz (Fig.1).



Fig.1. Silver dirham of Queen Abish bint Sa'd. Mint Shiraz, AH 665/AD 1266-67 W=2.59 g, D=21.5 mm. ZENO #23.

Until recently the only date known for these was AH 665⁵⁹; now, however, we know of coins dated 666 and, supposedly, 667⁶⁰. There is no consensus of opinion regarding the appearance of the Chinese character *bao* on Abish's coins. R.J.Hebert in his investigation of Abish bint Sa'd's coinage wrote⁶¹:

"... Not so well-known is the use of the Chinese character PAO meaning "precious; rare; valuable; treasure; bullion; a jewel" and the use of which on the coins is said to have led to disturbances among the people and the removal of the responsible official."

Steve Album offers some more details, but he does not explain the reasons for the appearance of the *bao*⁶²:

"According to the Ilkhan historian Vassaf, the Mongol governor Inkiyanu, assigned as co-ruler alongside Abish, was recalled and sent back to China for the indiscretion of having placed "a secret symbol" in the Chinese script on the coinage of Shiraz."

On the other hand, if we are to follow the information given by Lambton, Angyanu (Inkiyanu) could not have been involved in the issue of coins with the character *bao* in AH 665-666, as he did not appear in the province of Fars (capital: Shiraz) until later. With reference to Wassaf, Lambton reports⁶³:

"In 667/1268-9 Abaqa sent Angyanu to Fārs as governor. He restored order and established an administration. According to Wassaf, he made good appointments and gave adequate allowances to the tax-collectors and others."

The following paragraphs are quoted directly from Wassaf's manuscript⁶⁴:

"[After wars, rebellions, squabbling and executions, which have lead the country into disorder and mess,], in AH 667, Inkiyanu [or: Ankiyanu] was made Governor of Fars by order of Abaka-khan. Inkiyanu was a powerful and clever Turk. In a short period he was able to size up the situation in a country. He himself with perspicacity appointed governors of areas and endowed garrison commanders [city guards], officials and dabirs according to their rank. He considered that, if governors and tax collectors were not provided with proper welfare, they would not be worthy of trust. When he sent a tax collector or governor to

some place, the latter signed an undertaking by which he would be generous in the administration of justice; if anyone deviated from what they had agreed, they would be harshly punished and even executed. In that way he collected much property and strengthened the country.

... A few noble grandees escaped to the Ilkhan and claimed that Inkiyanu in Shiraz was ravaging property and destroying possessions, and had a fervent wish for power in his thoughts. As proof of all that, they presented a coin which he had issued during his government and which, under the Padishah's name, depicted some character in Chinese script, and also the list of property which he had taken into his possession without good reason. The Ilkhan ordered that Inkiyanu should appear and be questioned.

When his guilt was proved, he claimed, that 'a property which I collected is a property of the Padishah, while I am only a treasurer, so as soon as he will desire, I will pass it to other slaves [i.e. subjects of the Padishah]'. But negligence and disorder in this area are such that I am only an insignificant slave, while Shiraz and its affairs are great'. Speaking thus, he avoided death, but the Ilkhan sent him with an embassy to Kibla-khan⁶⁵. This is the custom: when the [Ilkhan] is angry with an amir, then for punishment he is sent with an embassy to the qa'an, for the journey there is difficult and dangerous, or he is sent to wage war against rebels."

Thus, there are certain problems when comparing known facts and reports:

- coins were struck in AH 665-666 – the dated specimens are unambiguous about this. However, Wassaf's note on Inkiyanu's responsibility for that issue contradicts these dates, because Wassaf, himself, reports about the appointment of Inkiyanu as governor of Fars later, in AH 667.

- as evidence of "the fervent wish for power", Shiraz' grandees, when reporting to Abagha, presented a coin with a Chinese character. It is not clear how the placing of that character on the coin (even if it is suggested that Inkiyanu was responsible for that) can serve as an expression of the wish for power.

We see that all the authors in question mention the peculiar role of the *bao* character on the Salghurid coin. When referring to Wassaf, they point to some official whose involvement in the issue did not have very pleasant consequences. However, the role of the character and the reasons for its appearance remain unanswered.

Judith Kolbas offers her own version about the character *bao*⁶⁶:

"An extraordinary symbol, the Chinese *pao* character for the "money", sat in the centre of the obverse. Presumably, this reflected the dynasty's cultural and trade contacts with the Far East. One route of communication may have been overland since the Salghurids were a Turkman tribe from the steppes and had established themselves in Fars in 543 H/1148 AD. Another and probably more important route was by sea. The Salghurids encouraged trade with China through the gulf via their entrepot contacts on the Malabar Coast of India."

Judith Kolbas' version was supported by Chinese researcher, Tong Cheng⁶⁷. In his work, he examined in detail information regarding the appearance of Chinese merchants and travelers in the 13th-14th centuries in the area of the Persian Gulf known to Chinese and Iranian sources. He also studied the particular activity of the Atabegs of Fars (Salghurids) in the establishment of supervisory functions over the international trade which flourished

⁵⁹ Album S.A. Checklist of Islamic Coins. / 2nd ed. Santa Rosa, 1998. P. 96. №№1930, 1932; ZENO (Numismatic on-line database <http://zeno.ru>) №23.

⁶⁰ ZENO №36900 and №39955 accordingly.

⁶¹ Hebert, R.J. Abish bint Sa'd and her Coinage. // Hamdard Islamicus. Vol. IX. No. 2. Summer 1986. P. 30.

⁶² Album S. A Checklist of Islamic Coins. / 2nd ed. Santa Rosa, 1998. P. 96.

⁶³ Lambton A.K.S. Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia (Part II) // Studia Islamica, N.65, 1987. P. 104.

⁶⁴ Faḍlullāh b. 'Abdullāh Shīrāzī. Tā'rikh-e Waṣṣāf al-Hadra dar Aḥwāl-e Salāṭīn-e Moghol. Teheran 1338. Pp.192-195. The translation of the quote from the Farsi (Persian) language was provided by L.G.Lahuti (Institute of Oriental Studies, Moscow), for which the authors express their sincere gratitude.

⁶⁵ The Great Khan (Qa'an) Khubilai, AD 1215-1294.

⁶⁶ Kolbas, J. The Mongols in Iran: Chingiz Khan to Öljeitü 1220-1309. London and New York 2006. P. 169.

⁶⁷ Authors express their gratitude to Dr Tong Cheng (程彤) from the Shanghai International Studies University, who kindly presented the text of his report 伊利汗国法尔斯地区“宝”字钱币考释 (The study of Mongol Coins *bao* from the Province of Fars), which was read in September 2007 at the Fourth Seminar of Iranology in China, Beijing University.

via trade centres on the islands of the Gulf. Tong Cheng concluded as follows:

“The local government of Fars minted *bao* on the coins in order to make those Chinese businessmen recognise and accept them so as to promote their commercial activities. The *bao* coins reflected the prosperity of the trade between China and Iran in that era.”

Such conclusions in our opinion are not well-founded. During the Mongol period, there were fundamental changes to the Chinese monetary system. One such change was the approval of silver as a measure of value⁶⁸. However, silver did not receive a monetary function but was used only as bullion. The main circulation currency in that period in China was paper money. Hence merchants, who were paid in silver coins for their goods, were not concerned about the design of the coins, because in China in any case they would have been melted into ingots. Moreover, the trade took place in both directions; money earned was used for buying goods that were taken by merchants to China. Hence, there was no sense in striking coins with a Chinese character specially for trade with China. Besides, even if we suggest that the author of the coin legend knew about the usage of this character on Chinese cash coins and had specially included it in the legend of Shiraz coins, any resultant punishment for the use of *bao* was unlikely. The character *bao*, meaning “coin” or “treasure”, which can be found on billions of Chinese cash coins, in no way can be considered a “secret character”.

First of all, it is worth looking at the meanings of this character, which the above-mentioned authors understand differently. The main meanings of the character *bao* as a noun are:

- 1) jewel; jewelry stone ...
- 2) treasure, wealth, value ...
- 3) coin, money.
- 4) imperial seal.
- 5) regalia.
- 6) game of chance.

We actually see, mentioned above, the meanings “jewel”, “treasure”, and “money”. These coincide with the interpretation of this character in Chinese numismatics. Starting from AD 621, this character appeared in coin legends, and remained there until the 20s of the 20th century. The famous Soviet numismatist A.A. Bykov wrote the following about the first coin of the Tang dynasty with the legend 開元通寶 *kai-yuan tong-bao*:

“On the obverse of the first Tang issues of cash coins there are 4 Chinese characters, one by each side of the hole. The whole inscription means: “Circulating coin of the beginning of the reign”.

A similar interpretation has been followed by all Western numismatists – the word *bao* in their publications is read as “coin”, “jewel”, “treasure”. In Chinese numismatic dictionaries the meaning “coin” is represented by the above-mentioned expression, *tong-bao*, which leads us to the suggestion that, in the medieval period, the word *bao* had no independent meaning as “coin”.

The researchers, mentioned above, who wrote about this Chinese character on Salghurid coins, have used the same meaning for the character *bao*, as is traditionally accepted in Chinese numismatics. At first glance, the attempt to explain the appearance of this character with the meaning of “coin” as connecting Mongol vassals with the Great Khan’s ulus seems to be logical. The practice of including the word for “coin” in Arabic script is known for some earlier issues, for example, silver-washed copper dirhams of Samarqand AH 624 with the legend “*Chingiz’s coin. Chingiz khan*”⁶⁹ or the Otrar copper dirhams of the middle of

13th century – “*mengu khani*” (“khan’s coin” in Mongol)⁷⁰. So the appearance of the same word “coin” (but now in Chinese) should be not very unusual.

However, in Chinese medieval sources the word *bao* was never used with the meaning “coin” or “money”. In most cases the word used for this was *qian* 錢⁷¹. For example, in the “Old History of Tang”⁷² the expression *tong-bao* (“currency coin”, according to the traditional point of view) can be found only 9 times, always in the legend of the coin *kai-yuan tong-bao*, whereas the word *qian* (coin) is found 990 times. It is worth noting that, when the text speaks about the coin legend, the word *qian* is always added: - *wu-zhu qian, kai-yuan tong-bao qian, kai-yuan qian*. For example, here is a typical quote from the “Old History of Tang”⁷³:

廢五銖錢，行開元通寶錢。 “To stop [usage] of coins 5 zhu, [to begin] usage of coins *kai-yuan tong-bao*”

Thus to translate the word *bao* in the Chinese coin legend as “coin” would make the expressions not very suitable, e.g. “to begin to use coin ‘currency coin of the beginning of the reign’”. This convinces us that *bao* does not mean “coin”, at least not, in medieval times. The meaning “coin”, which can be found in dictionaries, appears to be late, and is based on the use of this character in coin legends for more than 13 centuries.

We have already noted that the Chinese character *bao* played some particular role, and that that role was mentioned first of all in the historical source of Wassaf. While reporting to Abagha about Inkiyanu’s guilt on two main points – 1) “*ravaging property and destroying possessions*”, 2) “*in his thoughts is the fervent wish for power*” – Shiraz’s grandees presented the evidence. On the first point – “*the list of property which he took into his possession*”; on the second point – “*a coin, which he issued during his government and under the Padishah’s name depicted some character in Chinese script*”. What can the relationship be between “*the fervent wish for power*” and the Chinese character *bao*?

The answer to that question can be found in the meaning of *bao* as “imperial seal” (“seal of a ruler”). The imperial seal is a symbol of royal power and mandatory attributes. The Mongol rulers of Iran used seals of Chinese type, with the character *bao* in the text (Fig.2-5).



Fig.2. The *bao* seal stamp on a safe-conduct, AD 1267 or at latest of AD 1279, issued by Abagha to a papal embassy on its way back to the West. Text: 輔國安民之寶 *fu guo an min zhi-bao* - “The Seal [to Attest the Mandate] to Support the State and to Bring Peace for People”⁷⁴.

⁶⁸ 彭信威 *Peng Xingwei*. 中國貨幣史 *Zhongguo huobi shi* (The History of Money in China). Shanghai, 1965. 上海人民出版社 Shanghai renmin chubanshe. P. 554.

⁶⁹ *Davidovich E.A.* Denezhnoe hoziaistvo Srednei Azii posle mongol’skogo zavoevaniya i reforma Mas’ud Beka (XIII v.). (The Monetary System in the Central Asia After the Mongol Invasion and the Reform of Mas’ud Beg [13th century]). Moscow, 1972. P.16.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* P.18.

⁷¹ Initially the word *qian* had the meaning of a weight unit; however, during the Tang dynasty, it received the second meaning – “coin”.

⁷² 劉昫 *Liu Xu*. 舊唐書 *Jiu Tang Shu* (The Old History of Tang).

⁷³ *Ibid.* Ch. 1.

⁷⁴ *Mostaert A., Cleaves F.W.* Trois documents mongols des Archives secretes vaticanes. // *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. Vol. 15, No. 3/4. (Dec., 1952). P. 483. Image source: Planche I from above reference.



Fig. 3. The bao seal stamp on the Arghun letter, AD 1289, to Philippe IV the Fair, king of France. It is the same seal as used by Abagha (see Fig. 2)⁷⁵.

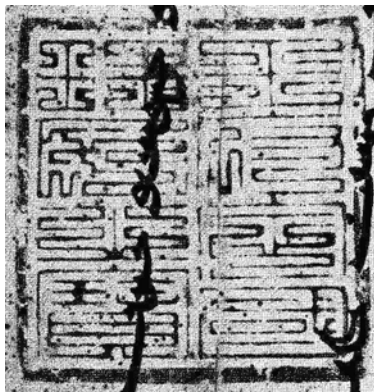


Fig. 4. The bao seal stamp on the Ghazan Mahmud letter, AD 1302, to Pope Bonifacio VIII. Text: 王府定國理民之寶 wang fu ding guo li min zhi-bao – “The Seal [to Attest the Authority] of the Headquarters of His Royal Highness to Establish a Country and Govern [its] People”⁷⁶.



Fig. 5. The bao seal stamp on the Öljeitü letter, AD 1305, to Philippe IV the Fair. 眞命皇帝天順萬事之寶 zhen ming huang-di tian-shun wan shi zhi-bao – “Seal of the Truly Mandated August Emperor for Whom Heaven Indulges the Ten Thousand Things”⁷⁷.

The Chinese seal is an important part of the Chinese traditional legacy and culture. The question about the more or less accurate dating of the beginning of its usage in China remains open. However, it is a well-established fact that seals appeared in China no later than the Spring and Autumn period (5th-8th centuries BC)⁷⁸. There is written evidence that, from the Zhangguo period (3rd-5th centuries BC), seals were used as a tool for certifying authenticity. Originally, the character *xi* 璽 was used to designate the imperial seal, but, later, the character *bao* began to be used for the same meaning. The etymology of this character⁷⁹ and the study of sources shows that, originally, *bao* was used solely in the meaning “jewel”, “treasure”. From the end of the 6th century, this character was used for the description of seals of higher rank (“treasury seal”) and, from the 7th century, it can be met in Chinese historical sources directly with the meaning “imperial seal”⁸⁰. Beginning from that time, the character *bao* was placed in the inscription on imperial seals. Seals of lower ranks, even those belonging to members of imperial rank, were called *yin* and *ji* (印 or 記, respectively), with similar placement in the seal’s inscription (Fig. 6, 7)⁸¹.



Fig. 6. The stamp of the yin seal of Alaha-beki⁸².

⁷⁵ Mostaert A., Cleaves F.W. Les Lettres ... Document B. Image source: Bonaparte R. Documents ... Planche XIV, N2.

⁷⁸ Wong Yan Chun. The Origin and Development of Chinese Seals. / In “The Art of Chinese Seals through the Ages. Zhejiang Provincial Museum and the Art Museum”. The Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong, 2000. P. 32.

⁷⁹ Gerner F.J. T’ung Pao: An Analysis. // The East Asia Journal. Issue 7 (vol.2, N4). September 1995. Pp.28-31.

⁸⁰ The conventional opinion is that the replacement of the term for imperial seals from *xi* to *bao* took place during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian in the beginning of the dynasty of the Great Zhou founded by her (AD 690-705). However, the practice of using the word *bao* for the naming of seals had already taken place during the Sui dynasty (AD 581-618); to that fact points such a source as Suishu: 皇帝八玺，有神玺，有传国玺，皆宝而不用 - «8 Imperial seals are sacred seals, are inherited seals, are treasures and are not in use». See 隋书 Suishu (The History of Sui). Annals, chapter 6, Etiquette, part 6.

⁸¹ As an example can be presented the firman (financial document) of the period of the Ilkhan khan, Gaykhatu (AD 1291-1295). On the document were stamped the red stamps of the Chinese-style seal, which is seal *yin* not *bao*. This seal, sent by Khubilai, was entrusted by Gaykhatu Khan to his vizier and minister of finances, Sadr al-Din Ahmad Khalidi Zanjani, who had the right independently to approve certain documents in the name of the khan. See: Soudavar A. Art of the Persian Courts. New York, 1992. P. 34.

One more interesting example of the Chingizid seal of the lower rank (not related to the *bao* type) is the seal of the third daughter of Chingiz Khan Alaha-beki (Alangaa) – see: 丁学芸 Ding Xueyun. 监国公主铜印与汪古部遗存 Jianguo gongzhu tongyin yu wanggu bu yicun (The Copper Seal of Princess-regent – the Relic of the Ongut Tribe). // 内蒙古文物考古 Neimenggu wenwu kaogu (The Cultural Monuments and Archaeology of Inner Mongolia). 1984, №3. Pp. 103-8.

⁸² See note 20 for reference. Image source: photo by authors, Inner Mongolia Museum, Hohhot, China.

⁷⁵ Bonaparte R. Documents de l’Époque Mongole. Paris, 1895. Planche XIV, N1; Mostaert A., Cleaves F.W. Les Lettres de 1289 et 1305 des ilkhan Aryun et Öljeitü à Philippe le Bel. Harvard-Yenching Institute, Scripta Mongolica Monograph Series I, 1962. Document A. Image source: Vallaud P. Catalogue Grands documents de l’histoire de France. Paris, 2007. 130 p.

⁷⁶ Mostaert A., Cleaves F.W. Trois documents ... P.483. Image source: Planche III from above reference.

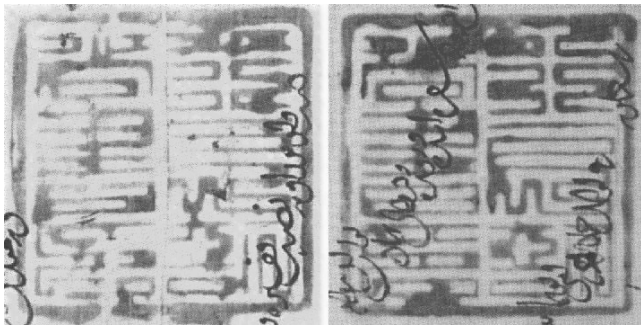


Fig.7. The stamp of the yin seal from the Gaykhatu's firman⁸³.

The Mongols became familiar with seals with the help of Uyghur Ta-ta-tong-a 塔塔统阿, who was captured by them in AD 1204 during the defeat of the Nayman. In the biography of Ta-ta-tong-a from Yuanshi the following is written⁸⁴:

“帝曰：“忠孝人也！”問是印何用，對曰：“出納錢穀，委任人材，一切事皆用之，以為信驗耳。”帝善之，命居左右。是后凡有制旨，始用印章，仍命掌之。”

“The Emperor asked him how the seal was used. [Ta-ta-tong-a] answered him: “It is used as a certificate [of authenticity of the khan's decree] in all matters when collecting taxes and appointing people to positions...”. The Emperor approved it and ordered [Ta-ta-tong-a] to remain in his retinue. After that, in all cases, when imperial decrees were issued, the seal was used. [Ta-ta-tong-a] received the order to continue using the seal as before”⁸⁵.

The Mongols adopted the practice of using seals⁸⁶ and regarded them as a symbol of power. In the list of 10 different titles of Chingiz Khan (quoted in the Mongol historical records of Guushi Darma⁸⁷), in the second place is *qas dayibu* - «jade throne» (*dayibu* – from the Chinese 大寶 *da-bao* «Great Treasure» - a figurative expression which means the throne of the emperor⁸⁸). This is one more example of the usage of the word *bao* as a representation of the regalia of power.

Bazarova showed that⁸⁹:

«... the word *qas* 'jasper, jade' is an established epithet of the khan's (emperor's) regalia. The Jasper Imperial seal as a symbol of the khan's (emperor's) power embodied the real power of its possessor. The expression *qas bau tamay-a* is a hybrid of Turkic (Uyghur) (*qas* 'jade', *tamay-a* 'seal') and Chinese (*bao* 'treasure') words. The appearance of this notion unconditionally relates to the Yuan period – this is the name of the Mongol emperor's seal.»

Ilkhan rulers received *yarliqs*⁹⁰ for the reign and the state seal from the Great Khan (Qa'an). Yule, in his commentaries to Marco Polo's book writes⁹¹:

⁸³ See note 20 for reference. Image source: *Soudavar A. Art ...* P. 34.

⁸⁴ 元史 Yuanshi (The History of Yuan). Beijing, 中華書局出版 Zhonghua shuju chuban, 1976. Ch.124.

⁸⁵ The English translation of the above quote from Yuanshi is made on the basis of the Russian translation by Munkuev in his commentaries to “Meng-da-bei-lu”: *Munkuev N.C. 蒙鞑備錄 Polnoe opisaniie mongolotatar* (The Complete Description of the Mongol-Tatars). Moscow, 1975. Pp. 125-126.

⁸⁶ See, for example, *Endicott-West E. Mongolian Rule in China. Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty.* / Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series. Harvard University Asia Center, 1989. Note 104, p.155.

⁸⁷ *Shiregetü Guushi Dharma. Altan kürdün mingghan kegesütü bichig* (Book of the Thousand-Spoked Golden Wheel). 1739. (Mongolian).

⁸⁸ *Bolshoi kitaisko-russkii slovar* (The Large Chinese-Russian Dictionary). / Ed. I.M.Oshanin. Vol.1-4. Moscow, 1983-84. Character № 8414.

⁸⁹ *Bazarova B.Z. Mongolskie letopisi – pamiatniki kultury* (Mongol Historical Records – the Relics of Culture). Moscow, 2006. Pp. 147-150.

⁹⁰ *Yarliq* – official decree issued by a khan or qa'an in the Mongol states. *Yarliqs* include written decrees, orders, commands, and injunctions of khans to their own subjects and to rulers of vassal states (sometime only

“Hulaku, third son of Tuli, and brother of two Great Kaans, Mangku and Küblái, had become practically independent as ruler of Persia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, and Armenia, though he and his sons, and his sons' sons, continued to stamp the name of the Great Kaan upon their coins, and to use the Chinese seals of state which he bestowed upon them.”

On the basis of the above, we can state that the sense of the character *bao* in the coin legend does not directly relate to the meaning “money” but means “treasure” with the very concrete additional meaning of “imperial seal”, “the symbol of power”. This character on the coin indicated the legal possession of real power and, therefore, the right to strike money, thus attesting the legality of the coin issue. Thus, this part of the coin legend received the new meaning – “legal [tender]”.

One more piece of evidence for such a view is provided by Mongol paper money. Paper money were introduced in China during the Tang dynasty. However, only during the Mongol period did it get the status of state money and the name *baochao* which, taking into account the above-mentioned meaning of the character *bao*, is translated as “legal paper money”.

The forging of paper money were punishable by death. However, the collection of decrees known as “Yuan Dian Zhang” reports a curious case, when, in AD 1270, some forger manufactured forged money to the amount of 950 strings. At the moment of his arrest the red state seal had not yet been put on the paper money. Because of that, the forged money was deemed not ready for circulation and, instead of being executed, this man was sent into lifetime exile to the far region⁹².

Many more examples can be quoted but the size of the article does not allow us to present them in detail. However, we are certain that the character *bao* on Chinese coins and paper money expressed the legal status of the money, via reference to the imperial seal. It was placed on Salghurid coins with exactly the same meaning.

Now we can understand what was the problem with the appearance of the character *bao* on coins struck by Abish bint Sa'd in AH 665-666.

Abagha, although the supreme ruler of the Hulagids, reigned without the *yarliq* of the Great Khan. Let us consider how this happened. In AH 663 Hulagu died and the Mongol amirs in Persia appointed Abagha to the throne. Rashîd al-Dîn reports⁹³:

“... has certified rights of Abagha Khan to the succession of the throne and as heir, but he declined in favour of his other brothers. His brothers with an easy heart kneeled, saying ‘we are slaves, and esteem you as our father's heir. Abagha Khan said: ‘Khubilai Qa'an is my elder brother, how I can sit [on the throne] without his permission?’. The princes and amirs said: ‘Having you, who are the elder brother among other princes and whom, in accordance with old customs, rules, laws and good legends Hulagu Khan during his lifetime appointed as heir, how can somebody else sit on the throne’. And all agreed without dissimulation. On Friday, the 5th day of the month of shun[?]in the year huker, which was the year of the bull, corresponding to the 3rd of ramazan in the year 663⁹⁴, by selection of khojja Nasir al-Din Tusi, ‘may Allah forgive him’, under the sign of the Virgo constellation, Abagha Khan was enthroned near Chagan-naur in the area of Perahan and [they] carried out all the ceremonies which were established for such a case”.

fictitiously dependent). See, for example: *Usmanov M.A. Zhalovannye akty Dzhuchieva ulusa XIV-XVI vv.* (The Bills of Granting of the Ulus of Juchi 14-16 C.). Kazan, 1979.

⁹¹ *The Travels of Marco Polo.* The complete Yule-Cordier edition. London 1920. Vol.I. P. 77, note 10.

⁹² 大元聖政國朝典章 *Da Yuan shengzheng guochao dianzhang* (Decrees on Holy Government of the Ruling Dynasty Great Yuan). Beijing, 中國廣播電視出版社 Zhongguo guanbodianshi chubanshe, 1998. P. 792.

⁹³ *Rashîd al-Dîn Tabib. Sbornik letopisei* (A Compendium of Chronicles). Vol. 3. Moscow, “Ladimir”, 2002. P. 66.

⁹⁴ June 19, 1265 A.D.

And further:

“Despite possessing the crown and the throne, but before the arrival of messengers from His Majesty Khubilai Khan and receiving the yarliq in his name, he reigned from his throne.”⁹⁵

«... in the first day of the month rabi`-al-awwal of the year [6]69 (18.10.1270) he encamped in the city of Maragha, and on Thursday 20th of the same month (6.11.1270) he arrived at the [river] Chaghatu, the court of khatun. At the same time arrived ambassadors from the Qa'an and brought for Abagha Khan a yarliq, crown and gifts, in order that he become the khan of the lands of Iran instead of his glorious father and following in the steps of his father and grandfathers. On Wednesday 10th of the month of rabi`-al-awwal year 669 (26.11.1270) which corresponded to the year of the horse, he, for a second time, according to terms of the Qa'an's yarliq, sat on the throne in the Chaghatu place»⁹⁶.

The New History of the Yuan reports the same events as⁹⁷:

是冬，世祖使命至，锦以冠服，册封为汗。阿八哈乃重行即位礼焉。

“7th year of the period zhi-yuan⁹⁸. In the winter [of AD 1270] the mission of Shi Zu arrived, [brought] an embroidered head-dress and dresses, bestowed the title Khan. Abagha one more time was enthroned, thus following the ritual.”

If we put together all the known dates, we will see that the character *bao* was placed on Salghurid coins before the appointment of Inkiyanu in Shiraz. Hence, he could not have been responsible for issuing these coins. But most importantly – the character representing the legacy of the khan's power appeared at a time when Abagha had not received the yarliq for his reign from Khubilai and thus he did not have the right to possess the *bao* seal. So, there are two problems for the Salghurids with the appearance of the character *bao* on coins:

- Monetary regalia (*qa'an al-'adil* and *bao* on one side of the coin and *atabek Abish bint Sa'd* on the other side) states that the Salghurids are direct subjects of the Qa'an without any reference to the Ilkhans. Of course, it was a reflection of the situation *de jure*, because Abagha did not have Khubilai's yarliq at this time. However, *de facto*, Abagha's name had already appeared in the legend of Ilkhan coins struck, for example, in Baghdad⁹⁹, and on the coins of the Ilkhan's vassal, Taqi al-Din 'Abd Allah, Ayyubid of Hisn Kayfa¹⁰⁰.

- The Imperial seal could be granted only by the Qa'an. Accordingly, any unauthorised use of the character with the meaning “Khan's seal”, in coin legends (as coins from ancient times were always the instrument of state propaganda) was inadmissible. Moreover, this took place not in one of the Great Empire uluses, but on coins of the Ilkhan's vassal, the local Türk dynasty.

The reconstruction of events is presented in Table 1. With the appearance of Inkiyanu in Shiraz the issue of coins was cancelled. Thus, when the amirs blamed Inkiyanu for having claims to power, they actually reported to Abagha that he had removed coins with the Khan's character from circulation. The Inkiyanu's action can be explained. He found that the occurrence of the symbol of the imperial seal did not follow the imperial rules, and so he stopped the issue of the coins.

Table 1

Hijra date	AD Date	Event
19 rabi`-al-akhir	8 February 8 1265	Hulagu passed away.
3 ramazan 663	19 June 1265	Amirs enthroned Abagha.
Beginning of 665	October 1266	Shadi <i>bitigchi</i> ¹⁰¹ and Timur arrived in Shiraz for yearly tax collection and to receive funds from the Fars' Treasury ¹⁰² .
665	1266-67	Beginning of issue of coins with the character <i>bao</i> . Probably Shadi <i>bitigchi</i> and Timur were responsible for this issue.
666	1267-68	Continuation of issue of coins with <i>bao</i> .
667	1268-69	Appointment of Inkiyanu as governor in Fars.
667	1268-69	Inkiyanu found the use of the character <i>bao</i> illegal and cancelled the issue of coins.
Between 667 and 669		Complaint by amirs against Inkiyanu, recalling him to Abagha for trial. Inkiyanu was sent with embassy to the Great Khan in China.
10 rabi`-al-ahyr 669	26 November 26 1270	Enthronement of Abagha in accordance with Khubilai's yarliq.

Currently, from the known sources, it is not possible to explain why such serious mistakes were allowed in the “protocol” of Abish's first coins. But our interpretation of the character *bao* allows us to explain the meaning of the Chinese word in the Salghurid coin legends. Moreover, we now have an opportunity to resolve the contradictions in the sources and publications concerning some events in Shiraz in AH 665-667.

The next type of Mongol coin of Islamic type with the character *bao*, which we can consider is the silver dirham with the Qaidu tamgha, struck in Khotan (Fig.8).



Fig.8. Anonymous silver dirham, mint Khotan, with Chinese character *bao*. W=1.65 g, D=18-19 mm. ZENO #7215.

Originally it was impossible to think that Qaidu, who was an uncompromising opponent of Khubilai, could place together with his tamgha the Chinese character which means “coin, money, treasure”. However, this contradiction can be resolved if we approve the version reported above, that the word *bao* in the coin legend tells us about the right to have the imperial seal and, accordingly, about the legality of the ruler who issued the coin.

⁹⁵ Rashid al-Din Tabib ... P. 67.

⁹⁶ Ibid. P. 86.

⁹⁷ 新元史 Xin Yuanshi (New History of Yuan). Ch. 110.

⁹⁸ AD 1270

⁹⁹ Ömer Diler lists gold dinars struck in Baghdad in AH 665 (type A-67), 666, 668, 669 (type A-68). See Diler Ö. Ilkhans. Coinage of the Persian Mongols. Istanbul 2006. Pp.258-259.

¹⁰⁰ Copper fals, struck by Taqi al-Din 'Abd Allah (AH 647-663?) in Hisn Kayfa, Diler Ö. Ilkhans. Coinage ... P.274.

¹⁰¹ *Bitigchi, bitikchi, bitkechi* – Turkish word “scribe-secretary, minister”. See: I. de Rachewiltz. Personnel and Personalities in North China in the Early Mongol Period. // Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient. Vol. IX, Part I—II, 1966. Pp. 100-102.

¹⁰² Lambton A.K.S. Mongol Fiscal Administration in Persia (Part II) // Studia Islamica, N.65, 1987. P. 104.

The Ugedayids, to whom Qaidu belonged, possessed an imperial seal with Chinese inscription. Besides this, in Yuanshi is reported, that Ugeday's widow during her regency disposed of this seal¹⁰³:

後以御寶空紙付奧都刺合蠻使自書填行之。

“*[Turakina-khatun] gave-up to ‘Abd al-Rahmān¹⁰⁴ blanks with the Imperial seal, so that he had the possibility to issue any decrees in the name of the Khan’s court.*”

This information is very clearly confirmed by the decree of Turakina-khatun with the stamp of the Imperial seal *huang-di zhi-bao* 皇帝之寶 (Fig.9).

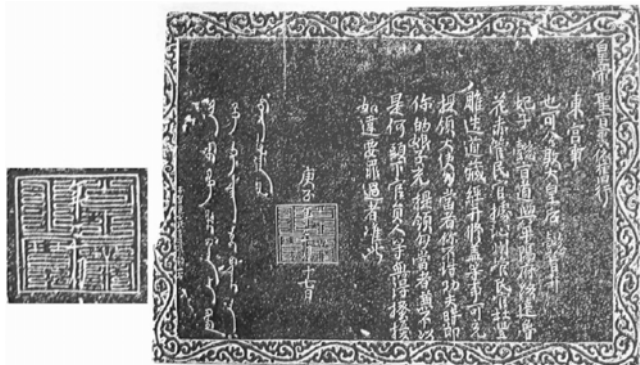


Fig.9. The decree of Turakina-khatun and the stamp of the *bao* seal. Text: 皇帝之寶 *huang-di zhi-bao* – “The Seal of the Emperor”¹⁰⁵.

It is direct evidence that the imperial seal of Chinese type could be used by leaders of the Ugedayid clan.¹⁰⁶ When Qaidu placed the character *bao* together with his tamgha he was declaring the legality of his claims to power by reference to the imperial seal of Ugeday.

The third coin with the Chinese word *bao* is an anonymous coin with title *Padishah al-a'zam al-'adil* (Fig.10).



Fig.10. Anonymous silver dirham with Chinese word *bao*, written by Mongol script phags-pa. Obverse.: *padshah / al-A'zam / al-'Adil*. Reverse.: *Allah / baw (Phagspa)*. W=3.18 g, D=18 mm. ZENO #1819.

The word *bao* is written in phags-pa script. This indicates that the coin could not have been issued before AD 1269, the date this Mongol script was introduced, or maybe not earlier than AD 1271 when Khubilai's decree about the usage of phags-pa script on seals was issued¹⁰⁷. Hardly any of Khubilai's opponents were permitted to use the Yuan state script. So this coin was most probably issued by the Great Khan, Khubilai, a conclusion

supported by the “supreme” title¹⁰⁸ in the coin legend and the use of the phags-pa script.

The main conclusions of this work are as follows:

The *bao* character on Mongol coins is the symbol of legality of the ruler who issued the coin. This regal symbol is directly related to the meaning of this “treasure” character in the sense of the “Imperial (or Khan) seal”.

Such an interpretation allows us to explain the appearance of the *bao* character on coins of the Salghurid queen, Abish bint Sa'd, and on anonymous Khotan dirhams with the Qaidu tamgha. Regarding the anonymous dirham with the *bao* character written in Mongol phags-pa script, it is very probable that this coin was issued by the Great Khan, Khubilai.

The interpretation proposed here permits us to look at the usage of the word *bao* in the legend of Chinese coins of the 7th-20th centuries in a different way. We believe that monetary regalia on Chinese coins were expressed not only by the use of the reign title in the coin legend, which indicated the ruler who issued the coin; the second part of the monetary regalia was the *bao* character, which because of the regal attributes that its use implied, confirmed the legality of the reign and thus the legality of the money.

NEW DATA ON THE COINAGE OF THE QUBA KHANATE

by A. V. Akopyan and A. A. Molchanov (Moscow)

The Quba khanate in Northern Azerbaijan arose in the middle of 18th century (after the death of Nadīr Shāh Afshār of Persia in AH 1160/1747 AD). The khanate was independent for more than half of century, and in 1810 was incorporated into the Russian Empire. The capital of the khanate was the city of Quba (nowadays in the north-east of the Republic of Azerbaijan), not far from the Caspian coast. In Quba, the minting of abbasī coins (the common denomination for the coinage of the Northern Azerbaijan khanates) began at the end of the 18th century.

Up to now, dated abbasīs for only seven years were known – AH 1191,¹⁰⁹ 1213,¹¹⁰ 1214,¹¹¹ 1220,¹¹² 1221,¹¹³ 1222¹¹⁴ and 1223.¹¹⁵ No copper coins of Quba were known. On some of the coins of Quba the date is omitted. Except for the first coins struck in the time of Fath^c Alī Khān (AH 1171–1203/ AD 1758–1789), all other coins were struck in the time of his son, Shaykh^c Alī Khān (AH 1206–1225/ AD 1791–1810). Coins of Quba are very similar

¹⁰⁸ For example, Wassaf used titles “the just Pādishāh and Khāqān”, when he wrote about Khubilai. See *Spuler B. History of the Mongols*, based on Eastern and Western Accounts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. London, 1972. P. 165).

¹⁰⁹ Krause Ch. L., Mishler C. *Standard Catalog of World Coins. World Coins Listings By Date and Mint 1701–1800*. 3rd Edition. Iola, 2002, p. 77. We do not know any other reference for coins of this year, and the source of this data is obscure. It is also strange that coins of this year are some 20 years distant from the coins of other years.

¹¹⁰ Pakhomov Ye. A. *Monetnye klady Azerbaydzhana i drugikh respublik, kraev i oblastey Kavkaza*. Vyp. VIII. Baku, 1959, p. 95, addition to No. I-235. [*Monetary Hoards of Azerbaijan and Other Republics, Lands and Districts of Caucasus*]. Krause, *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹¹¹ Pakhomov, *Op. cit.*, Vyp. VII, Baku, 1957, p. 86. No. 1862; Vyp. VIII, p. 95, addition to No. I-235.; Radzhabli A. *Numizmatika Azerbaydzhana*. Baku, 1997, p. 167. [*Numismatics of Azerbaijan*]; Krause, *Op. cit.*, p. 77.

¹¹² Pakhomov, *Op. cit.*, Vyp. II, Baku, 1938, p. 59, No. 538.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*; Radzhabli, *Op. cit.*, p. 167; Sinitsina Ye. A. *Denezhnoe obraschenie Azerbaydzhana (Gyandzhinskogo, Karabakhskogo, Shemakhinskogo, Shekinskogo, Bakinskogo, Derbentskogo, Kubinskogo khantsv) vo vtoroy polovine XVIII – perv. chetv. XIX v.* PhD dissertation. Baku, 1992, p. 260. (Russian State Library, no. 61:93-7/149-1). [*Monetary circulation in Azerbaijan (Ganja, Karabakh, Shemakhi, Sheki, Baku, Derbend, Quba Khanates) in the second half of the 18th – the first quarter of the 19th century*].

¹⁰³ Yuanshi ... Ch. 146.

¹⁰⁴ Abdurrahman (‘Abd al-Rahmān, 奧都刺合蠻 *ao-du-la-he-man*) – the Central Asian merchant, who in AD 1239 was appointed as tax collector in the Northern China by Ugeday. See: In the service of the khan. Eminent Personalities of the Early Yuan Period. Ed. Igor de Rachewiltz et al. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz Verlag, 1993. P.202.

¹⁰⁵ *Janchiv E. Songodog mongol ...* P.26.

¹⁰⁶ See: *Cleaves F.W. The Sino-Mongolian Inscription of 1240*. // Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 23. (1960 - 1961). P. 68.; *Janchiv E. Songodog mongol bichgiyn omnoh yein dursgaluud (The Historical Monuments of the Classical Mongol Script)*. / *Corpus Scriptorum*. Tomus 2. 2nd ed. Ulaan-Baator, 2006. (Mong.). P. 26.

¹⁰⁷ Yuanshi ... Ch. 57.

to the contemporary coins of the other khanates of Northern Azerbaijan in their design, style of striking and weight. In their crude manufacture and careless style of inscriptions the coins of Quba are particularly close to the coinage of the Derbend khanate, which was allied with the Quba khanate.

Although the Quba khanate was one of the most powerful states in the Southern Caucasus its coinage is one of the rarest among the coins of the khanates. According to the researches undertaken by Ye. A. Sinitsina, in the collection of the Azerbaijan History Museum there are only six coins of the Quba khanate, and there are none of these coins in Russian museums.¹¹⁶ The hoards and isolated finds of these coins are very rare and, even in the hoards, abbasīs of the Quba khanate are represented only by a few coins. The only exception is the large hoard from Quba, 1934, containing 248 coins of the khanates, including 111 (45% of the hoard's coins) Quba coins of AH 1220 (19 pcs), AH 1221 (19 pcs), AH 1222 (8 pcs), AH 1223 (54 pcs) and with date missing (11 pcs).¹¹⁷

Published below are six coins of the Quba khanate which are the only ones that were found by A. A. Molchanov of the Moscow Numismatic Society during the last thirty years.¹¹⁸

Coin 1. Abbasī of AH 1215 (size 23×26 mm, weight 2.26 g). *Obverse:* the evocation يا صاحب الزمان “Oh, Lord of Time” in an ornate cartouche. *Reverse:* within a rounded cartouche with triangular setting, an indistinct evocation like يا عزيز “Oh, ‘Azīz” (possibly a distortion of the die engraver inscription يا على “Oh, ‘Alī”); below – ضرب قبه ١٢١٥ “Struck of Quba 1215”. The coin is countermarked on the reverse with رائج.

Coin 2. Abbasī of AH 1220 (size 25×26 mm, weight 2.25 g). *Obverse:* – the evocation يا صاحب الزمان in an ornate cartouche. Countermarked on the reverse with رائج. *Reverse:* in an ornate cartouche, an indistinct invocation to ‘Alī (?); below – ضرب قبه ١٢٢٠.

Coins 3a and 3b. Abbasīs of AH 1220 (coin 3a: size 25×26 mm, weight 2.22 g; coin 3b: diameter 26 mm, weight 2.3 g). *Obverse:* – the evocation يا صاحب الزمان in an ornate cartouche. *Reverse:* ٠٢٢١ (the date is written retrograde) in an ornate cartouche below the indistinct invocation. Countermarked رائج.

Coin 4. Abbasī of AH 1221 (size 24×26 mm, weight 2.20 g). *Obverse:* – the evocation يا صاحب الزمان in a round cartouche. *Reverse:* ١٢٢١ in a round cartouche below the indistinct invocation.

Coin 5. Abbasī, date missing (size 25×26 mm, weight 2.05 g, the coin is holed). In terms of overall design, this coin is very similar to coin 1. *Obverse:* – the evocation يا صاحب الزمان in an ornate cartouche. *Reverse:* ضرب قبه in a round cartouche below the indistinct invocation.



Coin 1



Coin 2



Coin 3a



Coin 3b



Coin 4



Coin 5

In addition to the common inscriptions found on the coins of the khanates: يا صاحب الزمان devoted to the Hidden Imām (as on the coins of Derbend, Ganja, Shekī and Shirvān khanates) and يا على devoted to ‘Alī, the first Imām of Shī‘ites (as on the coins of Ganja khanate), on the coins of the Quba khanate occurs the variant inscription يا عزيز (Oh, the Most Honorable, one of the 99 names of Allāh). The same inscription يا عزيز is also present on the coins of Ganja, as a development or deliberate variation (possibly made for the recognition of coins with different weights) from the inscription يا كريم (Oh, the Bountiful, also one of the 99 names of Allāh, used by Karīm Khān Zand on his “anonymous” coinage), cf. coin 6.



Coin 6. Abbasī of Ganja, AH 1189, with evocation يا عزيز

¹¹⁶ Sinitsyna, *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

¹¹⁷ Pakhomov, *Op. cit.*, Vyp. II, p. 59, No. 538. The further history of these coins is unknown; we have not located them either in a museum or in private collections.

¹¹⁸ All of these coins are now in a private collection (Moscow), except coin 3b, from Oriental Coins Database zeno ru, No. 18005.

THREE HISTORICALLY IMPORTANT INDO-GREEK AND INDO-SCYTHIAN COINS

By Robert Senior

1) *Strato and Agathocleia* Drachm AR 16mm dia. 2.13 gm



Obverse: Conjoined busts of Strato and Agathocleia with Strato to the fore. Strato wears a diadem with straight tie ends. Around is the Greek legend:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ [ΚΑΙ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ]

Reverse: Helmeted Athena standing left with shield and spear on left shoulder and Nike in outstretched right hand. Monogram below in left field. Around is the Kharosthi legend:

Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasas Agathukriyae

This unique drachm is special for the following reasons:

- 1) It is the only known drachm denomination with conjoint busts of this couple.
- 2) It is only the second known coin to bear this reverse legend with this obverse.
- 3) This is a unique reverse type for this obverse. The reverse is known only from the rare Bop série 22 which has a young boy's portrait and was issued by Strato alone. The monogram on this coin is shared only by this série 22 of these early issues.

Very few coins have survived that bear Agathocleia's name in Kharosthi and they seem to be the initial issues of the Strato and joint Strato and Agathocleia series. Those coins bearing this monogram with young portrait and this reverse design are extremely rare and must have immediately followed on from this coin. That issue may have been struck alongside the rare série 32 bronzes. The monogram next appears on a commoner series with a mature portrait and accompanying bronze denominations (série 27, 28, 31).

2) *Gondophares-Sases overstruck on Soter Megas* Æ tetradrachm 23 mm dia. 7.53 gm

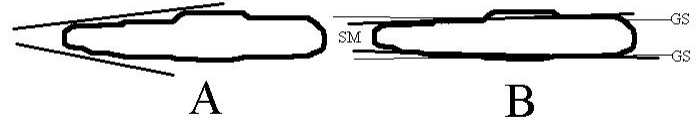


Obverse: Diademed king mounted right with right arm outstretched. Gondopharid symbol before, + below horse. Corrupt Greek legend around.

Reverse: Zeus right holding vertical sceptre, nandipada in left field, B between Zeus' legs and legend around:

[*Maharajasa mahatasa tratarasa de*] *vavratasa Guduvharasa Sasasa*

This is issue S242.622T with the undertype of Soter Megas being B17.1vT (p. 221 Vol II, ISCH). If one turns the G-S coin anticlockwise through 90 degrees one can clearly see the body and hand of the deity on the Soter Megas coin. On the reverse of the G-S coin one can clearly see the ..ΑΕΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ.. of the Greek legend from the SM coin between 1 and 5 o'clock plus the tamga and forepart of the horse.



There was a possibility that the SM coin was struck *over* the G-S coin but with only the edge of the coin being struck by the SM dies (see A). However, the coin flan as originally struck by the SM dies ended up wedge-shaped with one side of the coin thicker than the other and when the G-S dies were applied to the flan only the middle and thicker part of the flan was re-struck leaving the thinner part of the SM flan untouched (see B). The plane of the field of the SM flan obverse (mounted king side) disappears under Zeus and his sceptre (G-S reverse) whereas if the SM coin had been misstruck as in 'A' then parts of the mounted horseman would have also appeared superimposed upon Zeus and his sceptre.

The 'Taxila' type of Soter Megas (B13.1T), which has the same design as the G-S coin, has been reported by Joe Cribb as being known overstruck ON this G-S type and therefore indicating that the Gondophares-Sases type pre-dated or was possibly contemporary with the Soter Megas type. This new find demonstrates that they were definitely contemporaries.

This latter fact has a bearing on the chronology of the period and the dating of these kings. As I see it, and have often demonstrated, based upon the Vikrama era equalling the Azes era:

- 1) There was one king Azes ruling c. 57 – 12 BC
- 2) Gondophares I was a contemporary of Azes, who then succeeded him in Gandhara and who, in turn, was followed by his nephew, Abdagases (the latter king himself never taking the title Gondophares). These two kings ruled consecutively until c. AD 19/20.
- 3) Gondophares-Sases succeeded Abdagases and is the 'Gondophares' of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, ruling from c. AD 19 – 45+.

The earliest coins bearing the name Sases, without his usual titles, come from Sind province (ISCH S245) and these are contemporary with issues of Kujula Kadphises (ISCH B4) - which must fall around AD 20. The coins of Soter Megas follow those of Kujula and this overstrike would place the issue at least around AD 45+ though, potentially, even before that date.

I have suggested also that a contemporary or predecessor of Gondophares-Sases was the Kshaharata Satrap, Nahapana (S303-11), whose coins were overstruck by Gondophares-Sases' Sind issues. Nahapana was followed by Chastana (S313-6) and the latter had a brother, Damaghsada (both being sons of Ghsamotika – see S318-320). Issue S318 (see also ISCH Vol. IV p. 27) is in the form of a countermark struck over issues of Soter Megas (of the same type as this present undertype) so as not to deface the portrait. This was presumably because SM was still regnant and not to be offended. This would place these Damaghsada coins around the same time as the Gondophares-Sases coins and, to my mind, confirm that the rule of his brother, Chastana, falls during the main reign of Gondophares-Sases. This I think is further confirmation that the era used for dating the inscriptions and founded by Gondophares-Sases.

3) *Posthumous Eukratides coin overstruck on a coin of Spalirises* Æ sq. 26mm 8.05 gm



Obverse: Helmeted bust of Eukratides right with Greek legend around on three sides.

Reverse: Dioskouroi mounted right, monogram above spears, Kharosthi legend above and below

The overtype corresponds to issue ES 30 (The Coinage of Hermaios and its imitations struck by the Scythians plate XXII) and on table 9 p. 69 I calculated that these coins were probably struck in the period from c. 55/50 BC. Osmund Bopearachchi first drew attention to this issue of overstrikes with coin 45 of the Smithsonian Collection, but which had an indistinct monogram. That coin was overstruck on a coin he identified as the joint Spalirises with Spalagadames issue. This coin however is clearly overstruck on a coin of Spalirises as sole king – issue S73 – with substantial portions of the obverse legend ..ΒΑΣΙΛΑ..ΠΙΛΑΙΡΙΣΟΥ. being visible on the reverse of the Eukratides imitation and parts of the 'Zeus enthroned' visible on Eukratides' bust on the obverse (turned 90 degrees). Since Spalirises immediately preceded Azes (c. 57 BC) and they even issued a joint coinage together, this overstrike confirms the sequence and chronology of these imitations. One of these joint issue silver coins, previously in my collection, was itself overstruck on a posthumous Hermaios issue – the higher denomination to these posthumous Eukratides issues (Oriental Numismatic Studies 1996, p. 14).

A NEW ASSAMESE QUARTER RUPEE AND A DANGEROUS FORGERY

By Nicholas Rhodes

In our book *The Coinage of Assam*, Vol.II, S.K. Bose and I published, as no. 66 on p.124, a dangerous modern forgery of a gold mohur of Shiva Simha and his queen, Ambika, dated to regnal year 24. At that time we did not know of any similar coin in silver. Recently, however, a silver quarter rupee has surfaced that must have served as the prototype of this gold forgery.



Gold Forgery

Genuine Silver Coin

(illustrations enlarged)

Both coins have identical legends, and appear, at first glance, to have been struck with the same pair of dies. On closer examination, there are a few differences, which seem suspicious, but the similarity of the dies is remarkable. It seems likely that the false dies used to strike the gold coin may have been produced by some mechanical process, perhaps involving laser duplication from an original silver or gold coin – but perhaps not this actual silver specimen. Looking at the particular features:

1. At the bottom of the obverse, where one would expect a continuation of the dotted border, there are no such dots, although there is enough room on the flan. The silver specimen also shows no dots, but the flan is short at that point.
2. At obverse left, the gold die has an additional dot inserted, making the dots more crowded than appears natural.
3. The inner border line to the right of the letter Śi of Shiva, is angled rather differently and clumsily, when compared to the original.
4. The lower left stroke of Si in Simha is more hooked on the forgery than on the original.
5. On the reverse, the inner border line at top left is angled rather differently.
6. The left vertical stroke of the letter Ma in Śrīmad is awkwardly re-engraved at a slightly different angle from the original. Several other letters show signs of having been re-engraved.
7. The field on the forgery is heavily scored with lines that are not present on the original.

On the other hand, several flaws on the original die are to be found on the forgery, such as the diagonal line below the Śi of Shiva on the obverse, and some tiny dots to the left of that line. Also, apart from the re-engraving and enhancement of certain features, and the unnatural crispness of the impression of the die on the coin, the forgery is extremely convincing and dangerous. Such forgeries of Chinese coins are now frequently found in China, but this is the first time that I have seen such technology used to produce an Assamese coin. Coin collectors and scholars must all be aware that sophisticated technology is available in India to make dangerous forgeries, and series other than Assamese may also be targeted.

THE PUNE HOARD OF GOLD COINS

By Amol N. Bankar and Shailendra Bhandare

Pune – a brief history

Pune (18°15' N, 73° 85'E), spelled earlier as 'Poona', is a growing metropolis, situated 120 miles east/south-east of Mumbai on the Deccan plateau. The earliest evidence of human settlement at Pune comes from a megalithic stone circle located on the Alandi road near Bhosari, and is dated to the protohistoric period. Cave temples dating to the Early Historic period (c. 200 BC - AD 200) are found within the city's modern borders. The Pataleshvar Temple at Bhamburda is one of oldest surviving monuments located in the heart of the modern city of Pune. Based on the palaeography of the inscriptions and architectural remains, some scholars have dated this monument to c. 8th-9th century. Two copper plates of the Rashtrakuta, ruler Krishna I (dated AD 758 and 768) give us information about the donation of several villages in the 'Punaka Vishaya' (Pune region).

During the late medieval period, Pune became a part of the kingdom of the Yadavas of Devagiri (Daulatabad). The Yadavas succumbed to the invasions of the Khilji Sultans of Delhi and from AD 1327 onwards, Pune was ruled in succession by the Delhi Sultans, the Bahmani rulers and the Nizamshahi sultans. It became part of the Mughal Empire by the mid-17th century AD. In the Islamic period the city finds mention as a 'Qasbah', indicating

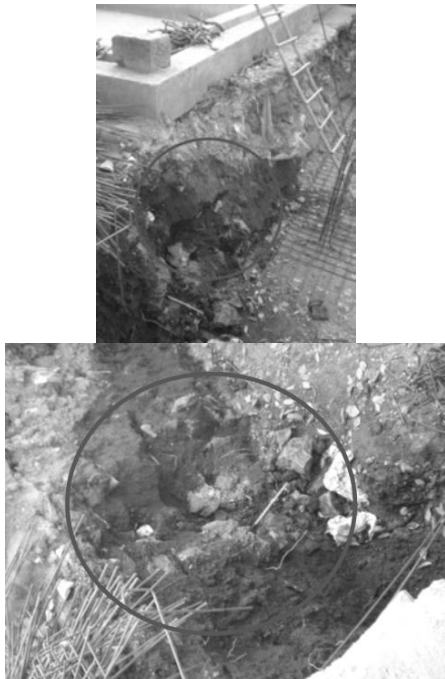
it was a market town and the seat of an administrative subdivision.

In 1595 Sultan Burhan Nizam Shah ennobled a Maratha warrior, named Maloji Bhonsale, with the title of 'Raja', and granted him the *Jagir* (fiefdom) of Pune and Supe and the charge of the forts and districts of Shivneri and Chakan. Maloji's son, Shahaji Bhonsale, a gallant and capable general, rose to distinction in the service of the Nizam Shahi and, later, Adil Shahi Sultans. He acquired vast territory as *jagir* covering western Maharashtra, Karnataka and part of Tamilnadu. He gave a part of his *Jagir* including Pune, Supe and Chakan to his wife, Jijabai, and son, Shivaji. Shivaji based himself at Pune in 1645 and famously carried out his 'nation-building' activities in the vicinity, defying his Adil Shahi overlords. In 1662 the Mughals occupied Pune and Shivaji was forced to surrender the territory around Pune to them when he signed a treaty with Jai Singh, the powerful noble of Emperor Aurangzeb, in 1665. Pune remained in Mughal hands till the early 1700's when the Marathas won it back.

In 1674 Shivaji proclaimed himself a 'Chhatrapati' or sovereign ruler and he laid the foundation of the Maratha 'Swarajya' that later evolved into the Maratha Confederacy. It dominated the Indian political horizon for most of the 18th century and the early decades of the 19th century. The Brahmin prime ministers or 'Peshwas' of Shivaji's descendants became the *de facto* supremos of the confederacy. Pune became the seat of the Peshwas and thus the nerve centre of pan-Indian politics throughout the 18th century. The city thrived under Peshwa rule and developed through the establishment of urban markets and residential spaces, a water supply system and the construction of several temples.

In January 1818, the city came under British control as the last of the Peshwas was defeated and deported to Bithoor, on the banks of the Ganges. During the 19th and 20th centuries Pune played a significant role as a centre for various socio-religious reformist movements that constituted the 'Indian Renaissance' and also of the National Movement.

The find and its location



The place where the hoard was found

On 7 November 2008, while digging earth for the construction of a swimming pool being built by the Pune civic body, a labourer named Shivappa Godekar, accidentally hit his spade against an old copper pot containing gold coins, buried almost six-feet below the ground. Unable to contain his excitement, Shivappa called out to three other labourers. The men thought they could sell the coins

and return to their villages to live comfortably. The next day, the three men approached Suraj Bhan Agarwal, proprietor of 'Ganesh Jewellers' in Khadki, a suburb of Pune. The jeweller told the men to come back after three days to collect Rs 4 lakh and kept the treasure with him. However, a constable from the Crime Branch of Maharashtra State Police, namely Bapusaheb Jadhav got news of the treasure. The police acted swiftly and the labourers were arrested by the ADS (Anti-Dacoity Squad) of the Crime Branch, Pune, along with the shop owner. The hoard was retrieved, but it is likely that some of its contents may have escaped confiscation.



Police giving information about the coins during the conference

The site where the hoard was unearthed is in the vicinity of the historical 'Shaniwar Wada', the mansion of the Peshwas and the epicentre of 18th century political activity in Pune. The plot of land was the property of one, Bajirao Barve, and his mansion stood on the site in 1857. News in a local Marathi newspaper, 'Jñāna-Prakāsh', dated 23 July 1857 reveals that this mansion was up for auction in that year. A British buyer desired it for its architectural worth but he was outbid by local merchants, who used the plot to construct an asylum for sick and poorly animals. The asylum eventually closed and a school was constructed on the site in last 40-50 years.



The copper pot that contained the hoard

Description of the Hoard:

The hoard contains 846 coins, which can be divided into three broad classes –

- 1) 813 Venetian Ducats, from the period 1684 – 1764
- 2) 26 Mohurs of the Mughals, from the period 1663 – 1768
- 3) 7 Mohurs in the name of the Durrani ruler, Ahmed Shah, dated 1759-1760

A) Venetian Ducats in the Pune Hoard:

There are 813 Venetian Ducat in the present hoard, which can be classified according to the following issuers. It was not possible to analyse the coins by ruler because, for practical reasons, the police would not let the coins be examined in greater detail.

1. Marc Anthony Guistimani (1684-1688)

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Along the periphery the legend - S.M.VENET (Abbreviation of Saint Mark and Venice); on the left M.ANT.IVUSTIN on the right continued by DVX (Abbreviation of Duke or Doge) to the right of the vertical banner.

Reverse: The Standing figure of Christ in Glory facing forward with right hand bent upwards within convex lens known as a 'Mandorla' with 5-pointed stars inside the field. The legend SIT.T.XPE.DAT.Q.TV.REGIS.ISTE.DVCA in exergue. It stands for "Sit Tibi, Christe, Datus, Quem Tu Regis, Iste Ducatus and translates as "To thee, O Christ, Duchy, which thou rulest, be dedicated".

2. Silvestro Valier (1694-1700)

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Along the periphery the legends - S.M.VENET on the left and SIL.VALERIO on the right continued by DVX to the right of the vertical banner.

Reverse: same as in Sr. no. 1.

3. Giovanni Cornaro (1709-1722), KM 1372

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Along the periphery the legends, S.M.VENET, on the left IOAN.CORNEL, on the right continued by DVX to the right of the vertical banner with a cross on top.

Reverse: same as in Sr. no. 1

4. Alvise Mocenigo III (1722-1732), KM 1379

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Here the staff is held only by the kneeling figure. Along the periphery the legend S.M.VENET on the left, ALOYS.MOCENI on the right continued by DVX to the right of the vertical banner with a cross on top. A star precedes the family name i.e. MOCENI and a point follows it.

Reverse: same as in Sr. no. 1.

5. Carlo Ruzzine (1732-1735), KM 1384

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Along the periphery the legend S.M.VENET on the left, CAROL.RVZINI on the right continued by DVX to the right of the vertical banner with a cross on top.

Reverse: same as in Sr. no. 1.

6. Peter Grimmani (1741-1752), KM 1401

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Along the periphery the legends, S.M.VENET on the left, PET.GRIMANI on the right continued by DVX to the right of the vertical banner with a cross on top.

Reverse: same as in Sr. no. 1.

7. Francesco Loredano (1752-1762), KM 21

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Along the periphery the legends, S.M.VENET on the left, FRANK.LAVRED. on the right continued by DVX to the right of the vertical banner with a cross on top.

Reverse: same as in Sr. no. 1.

8. Marco Foscarini (1762-1763), KM 45

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Along the periphery the legends S.M.VENET on the left, M.FOSCARENVS on the right continued by DVX to the right of the vertical banner with a cross on top.

Reverse: same as in Sr. no. 1

9. Alvise Mocenigo IV (1763-1778), KM 71

Obverse: The Doge receiving the gonfalon at the hands of Saint Mark. Here the staff is held only by the kneeling figure. Along the periphery the legends, S.M.VENET on the left, ALOYS.MOCENI on the right continued by DVX to the right of the vertical banner with a cross on top. Points flank the family name i.e. MOCENI.

Reverse: same as in Sr. no. 1.

The major part of the hoard consists of issues of Alvise Mocenigo IV (1763-1778), Giovanni Cornaro (1709-1722), Carlo Ruzzine (1732-1735), Francesco Loredano (1752-1762), Peter Grimmani (1741-1752) and Alvise Mocenigo III (1722-1732); only a few

coins of other issuers occur in this hoard. It is interesting to note that most of the Venetian coins from this hoard are pierced with single or double holes. These must be the *sulakhi* kind we find mentioned in Marathi sources (see below).

B) Mughal Coins from the Pune hoard:

Coins are described per rulers, mints and dates. They have been given a serial number to match with the illustrations. All coins are Mohurs (Ashrafis) weighing in the range of 10.8-11.6 gm

Aurangzeb (AH 1068 – 1118, AD 1658-1707)

Obv: Couplet in three lines – *sikka zad dar jahan chu mihr muneer / shah aurangzeb alamgir*

Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

1. Multan (mint name at the bottom on rev, without epithet) - 1073/6



2. Lahore, Dar al-Saltanat - 1108/41



3. Burhanpur (mint name without epithet) - 1109/42



4. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 1110/43



Shah Alam Bahadur (AH 1119-1124, AD 1707-1712)

Obv: Legend in three lines – *sikka mubarak / shah alam bahadur / badshah ghazi*

Rev: Formulaic legends, with RY and mint details

5. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat (Reverse bears only the mint name and with 'Mubarak' from obverse legend inscribed below it) – 1121/3



6. Burhanpur, Dar al-Saroor – 1124 / 5



Farrukhsiyar (AH 1124-1131, AD 1713-1719)

Obv: Couplet in three lines – *sikka zad az fazl-i-haq bar seem wa zar / badshah bahr wa bar farrukhsiyar*
 Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

7. Burhanpur, Dar al-Saroor – 1125/2



8. Akbarabad, Mustaqir al-Khilafat – 1718 / 6 (wide flan, possibly a 'Nazarana' Mohur)



Rafi-ud-Darjat (AH 1131, AD 1719)

Obv: Couplet in three lines – *sikka zad dar hind ba-hazaran barakaat / shahinshah bahr wa bar raf'i al-darjat*
 Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

9. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 1131 / Ahd



Rafi ud-Daula Shah Jahan II (AH 1131, AD 1719)

Obv: Legend in three lines – *sikka mubarak / badshah ghazi / shah jahan*
 Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

10. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 1131 / Ahd



Muhammad Shah (AH 1131-1161, AD 1719-1748)

Type 1:

Obv: Legend in three lines – *sikka mubarak badshah ghazi muhammad shah*
 Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

11. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 113 (1 or 2?) / 2



Type 2:

Obv: legend in three lines – *sikka mubarak sahib qiran thani muhammad shah badshah ghazi*
 Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

12 - Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 113 (1 or 2?) / 2



Ahmad Shah Bahadur (AH 1161-1167, AD 1748-1754)

Obv: Legend in three lines – *sikka mubarak badshah ghazi ahmed shah bahadur*
 Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

13. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – (11)61 / Ahd



14. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – (1)161 / Ahd



15. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – - / 6



16. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – - / 6



Alamgir II (AH 1167-1173, AD 1754-1759)

Coins of Alamgir II in the hoard are of three types:

Type 1:

Obv: Legend in three lines – *sikka mubarak badshah ghazi alamgir*

Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

17. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 11(6)X/ Ahd



18. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 11XX / Ahd



Type 2:

Obv: Legend in four lines – *sikka mubarak / abu al-adil aziz al-din / alamgir badshah ghazi / khallada allah mulkahu wa saltanahu*

Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details, arranged in a different manner

19. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – - / 2



20. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – - / 2



21. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – - / 2



Type 3:

Obv: Couplet in four lines – *sikka zad bar haft kishwar hamchu taban mihr wa mah / shah aziz al-din alamgir ghazi badshah*

Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint-details, arranged in a different manner (undivided mint name and epithet in second line) and 'khallada mulkahu (wa saltanahu?)' added as the top line.

22. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 1170 / 4



23. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 1171 / 5



24. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – - / 6

Shah Alam II (AH 1174-1121, AD 1759-1806)

Type 1:

Obv: Couplet in three lines - *sikka zad bar haft kishwar ba-sayah fazl alah hami din mohammad shah alam badshah*

Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

25. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – - / 5



Type 2:

Obv: legend in three lines – *sikka mubarak/badshah ghazi/shah 'alam bahadur*

Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

26. Sawai Madhopur - -/8



C) Durrani Coins in the Pune Hoard:

Ahmad Shah Durrani (AH 1160-1186, AD 1747-1772)

Obv: Couplet in four lines – *hukm shud az qadir bechun ba-ahmed badshah / sikka zad bar seem wa zar az mah ta ba mah*

Rev: Rev: Formulaic 'Julus' legend, with RY and mint details

27. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – XX(7)3 / 14



28. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – XX(7)3 / 14



29. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – X(1)73 / 14 (there are traces that suggest the obverse die was re-engraved to change 1172 to 1173)



30. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – 1173 / 14



31. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – (1)173/14



32. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – XXX3 / 14



33. Shahjahanabad, Dar al-Khilafat – X(1)74/15



Historical Gleanings from the coins in the Pune hoard

A) Venetian Ducats

The seaport of Venice was founded by refugees from the Hun invasion. From the 12th to 18th centuries, Venice was ruled by a ‘Doge’ selected democratically from a college of statesmen. Till the state was subjugated by Napoleon in 1797 it maintained an enormous foreign trade involving the possessions of many islands in the Mediterranean. In 1797, the Venetian republic was conquered by Napoleon and, by the treaty of Campo Formio (17

Oct 1797), Venice was ceded to Austria. Later, upon the defeat of Austria by Prussia in 1860, Venice became part of the United Kingdom of Italy.

The coin-name ‘ducat’ is derived from the Latin ‘ducatus’. The first issue of this coin is thought to have been under Roger II of Sicily, who, in AD 1140, coined ducats bearing the figure of Christ, and the inscription,

SIT.T.XPE.DAT.Q.TV.REGIS.ISTE.DVCA

standing for ‘Sit tibi christe datus quem tu regis iste ducatus’ (or roughly, “O Christ, let this duchy which you rule be dedicated to you.”) This seems to be a reference to Matthew 22:19-21.

In AD 1274 the Doge of Venice, Lorenzo Tiepolo, began minting a gold coin with the image of the Doge kneeling before St. Mark, the patron saint of Venice, on the obverse and the figure of the infant Christ in a nimbus on the reverse. In the obverse depiction, St Mark is shown handing over a long sceptre – called the Godolfin – to the kneeling Doge. The inscription, naming the Doge, was arranged around this image, partly in exergue and partly aligned with the Godolfin. The ducat weighed in the range of 3.25 to 3.5 grams and was struck in high-grade gold (99.7%). Although generally referred to as a ‘ducat’, the specific denominational term for the Venetian ducat was ‘Zecchino’ or ‘Sequin’.

Ducats find many literary references, the most famous being those in Shakespeare’s plays like ‘Romeo and Juliet’ and ‘The Merchant of Venice’. In ‘The Merchant of Venice’, Antonio’s good name was used as credit for the loan of 3000 ducats from Shylock to Bassino.

Venetian ducats in India

A good overview of the influx of Venetian ducats into India was penned by Sanjay Garg in his paper ‘Venetian gold flow to India’, in ‘Foreign Coins Found in the Indian Subcontinent’, eds. David MacDowall and Amiteshwar Jha, IIRNS, Nasik, 1995, pp. 101-110. The following information is taken largely from this survey.

By the late 13th century, the city-state of Venice controlled trade throughout the Mediterranean. Through this trade, the Venetian ducats reached most areas of the Middle East plus India, Egypt and Africa. For here, at last, was a coin that allowed any nation of the world to trade with another and have a uniform method of payment. A few references culled from literary sources refer to the use of Venetian coins at places like Aden (1609), Isfahan (1615), Mocha (1629 and 1689), Basra (1640), Bandar Abbas (1647) and the port of Medina (1700) lying between Venice and India. Because of the purity of its metal and its consistently maintained weight standard, the Venetian gold ducat conquered the markets of the Muslim orient.

It has been estimated that, even during the ‘Great Bullion Famine of the 15th century’, Venice exported the equivalent of one metric ton or more of gold annually to the Levant. The production of the Venetian mint varied considerably over time; on average, about 500,000 ducat coins (about 1750 kg of gold) were minted per year in Venice. There were no ducats minted in 1671-1675, however, and other years saw the minting fall below 200,000 (1660-63, 1737, 1740-42, 1745, 1797). Minting rose to above one million ducats a year in 1715, 1753, 1784 and 1785. It is estimated that the minting of ducats accounted for as much as 20% of the worldwide production of gold coin in the seventeenth century and about 10% in the eighteenth century. The coin was mandated to weigh 3.56 grams in AD 1284. This was lowered to 3.53 g in 1491, to 3.51 g around 1519 and to 3.50 in 1526; it remained unchanged at 3.50 g for the next three centuries.

Venetian ducats owe their popularity in India largely to their arrival into the country at a particular moment in time. In 1498, Vasco da Gama ‘discovered’ the sea-route to the Malabar Coast, thus opening up the maritime trade in spices. As the coins weighed 3.50 g they were equal in weight to the South Indian currency system which was dominated by gold Hoans and fractions thereof (‘Pagodas’ and ‘Pardaos’ as noted by the Portuguese), struck by the Vijayanagara empire. Currency under the empire was efficiently controlled and produced and thus trade and commerce were effectively monetised. But the fall and

plunder of Vijayanagara in 1565 to an alliance of Deccani Sultanates resulted into the collapse of the imperial system that regulated the production and distribution of the gold coins.

The Venetian coins, being of a desired metallic purity and standard and of the same weight as the Vijayanagara coins, readily fitted in the vacuum left by the fall of the empire. Indian merchants often insisted on payment in Venetian ducats. The obverse motif of the Doge kneeling before St Mark was understood by the Indian population to be a divine 'Diad', a Hindu god and his consort. The divinity of the reverse design was evident in the resplendent stars that surrounded the image of the infant Jesus. These depictions earned the ducat its Indian names – 'Putali' (from Marathi/Kannada 'putalā' = 'statuette') in peninsular India, and 'Budki', 'Butki' or 'Bugtee' (from Perso-Arabic 'but', meaning 'image') in the north. In southern India, the coins became popular by the name of 'Sanar Kasu' (Literally 'toddy tapper's coin') in Tami Nadu, and 'Vil-Kasu' in Cochin. The name 'Sanar Kasu' refers to the fact that, while drinking toddy, the consumer often sat on his haunches next to the tapper, and the latter poured toddy from the spout of his container into the bowl which the drinker held aloft to drink it. This position uncannily matched the figures of St Mark and the kneeling Doge; hence the name!

Chronologically the earliest Venetian coin found in India is a ducat of Doge Bartolomeo Gradenigo (AD 1339-42) while the latest belongs to Doge Ludavico Manin IV (1789-97). This indicates a steady flow of Venetian ducats into India within a few decades after they were first minted. Concomitant with this influx is the establishment and the decline of the Vijayanagara empire in the south.

The ducats entered local circulation with relative ease and sometimes the demand outstripped the supply, prompting indigenous authorities to 'manufacture' their own ducats. The Author of *Busateen us-Salaateen*, an Adil Shahi chronicle, records that, by order of Muhammad Adil Shah, 'Putalis' were also minted from the Adil Shahi mints, along with Pagodas and other gold coins. The *Sabhasad Bakhar*, a chronicle narrating Shivaji's exploits, mentions 300,000 'Putalis' amongst other coins while enumerating the contents of Shivaji's treasury. It also states that several bags full of 'Putalis' were obtained by Shivaji when he plundered the Mughal port city of Surat in 1664 and 1672. The shape of the coins was perfectly circular and the flans were thin. These attributes, added to the fact that the obverse and reverse depictions were 'exotic' to the Indian eye, helped the coin to be used in traditional jewelry. Indian imitations of Venetian ducats were struck from the 15th to the 19th century and the Venetian design continues to remain popular in western and southern India for making necklaces with several of these coins strung together in a row. In Maharashtra and Karnataka they are fashioned into 'Putalyaanchi Maal', while in Tamil Nadu, the necklace is called 'Kaasu Malai'. Coin dies, some even of contemporary manufacture are employed in local Sarrafa markets to strike these copies.

There are some records of the Maratha period which reveal two types of 'Putalis': *Sulakhi* (pierced) or *Binsulakhi* (un-pierced). *Sulakh* is a Marathi corruption of Perso-Arabic 'surakh' which literally mean a 'hole'. The value of an un-pierced coin was at all times more than the pieced ones. One letter in the archives of the Khasgiwale, a prominent banking house in Pune, records the amount of Putali's taken in *Tola's* (1 *Tola* = 11.66 grams). This literary evidence conclusively proves that the Venetian coins were used as coined bullion. Tavernier had mentioned, at Surat, gold ducats, "which have a face on one side" were seldom melted but sold to distant merchants from the places such as Tartary, Bhutan, Assam, where woman used them as ornaments, suspended from their hair on their foreheads. Beside this it also served all functions of a conventional currency, they served as a measure of value, mean of payment, media of exchange and storage of wealth. Like any other currency of the period, the Venetian coins were accepted on the basis of their intrinsic value. Surat Factory records reveal that one Venetian sequin was equal to 4 rupees in the 17th century. It is possible that, being the capital

and a very important town of the Maratha Confederacy, Pune may have ended up being a centre for elite consumption of the ducats for use in ornaments.

Seven hoards of Venetian ducats have been found in different places in Maharashtra viz. Arnala Bandar (Thane), Bitargaon and Chikhhal Thana (Solapur), Kelshi (Ratnagiri), Naur (Ahmednagar), Patan (Satara), Nasik (Nasik) and Sawantwadi (Sindhudurg). But no coins prior to 1539 have been reported from Maharashtra. The hoard containing 75 Venetian coins from Naur is said to consist of imitations. In 1989, 120 Venetian coins were recovered from Nasik including issues of Alvise Mocenigo IV (1763-1778) and Paul Rainer (1779-1789).

B) Mughal and Durrani Coins:

At the outset, it must be said that, historically, the more interesting contents of the hoard are the Mughal and Durrani mohurs and not so much the Venetian ducats. Apart from highlighting the influx of Venetian gold into peninsular India, nothing much can be said about the ducats from a historical perspective. Worth mentioning is the fact that the latest of the ducats, those struck in the reign of Alvise Movenigo IV (1763 - 1778), are broadly contemporary with the latest of the Mughal mohurs, one struck in the 5th RY of Shah Alam II, corresponding to 1765-66. This would indicate that the hoard must have been buried not much later than this date, possibly in the latter half of the 1760's decade.

The most interesting aspect of the Mughal mohurs is their chronological distribution and also the fact that they are from north Indian mints. Chronologically, a distinct 'gap' is seen between the 2nd RY of Muhammad Shah (1720-21) and the first RY of Ahmed Shah Bahadur (1748-49), as far as the distribution of the mohurs goes. Two aggregates can be separated on either side of this gap – coins struck in the period 1697/98 to 1721/22 on the one hand, and coins struck between 1748/49 and 1768/69 on the other. The Durrani coins sit chronologically in the second aggregate. One coin, struck in the 6th RY of Aurangzeb, corresponding to 1662/63 also occurs in the hoard, but it seems to be a one-off representing 'residuality' in circulation.

Relatively rare coins are found in the midst of both these aggregates – the mohurs of Rafi al-Darjat and Shahjahan II in the first aggregate and the Durrani mohurs in the second. This indicates a possibility that the aggregates were withdrawn out of circulation in two separate instances, closer to the latest dates encountered in each aggregate – one in the early 1720s and the second in the mid-1760s. It is this possibility that makes the hoard historically more interesting – these chronological junctures are close to two events of momentous significance in Maratha history. The first is the grant of the charter of *Swarājya* and also of the right to collect specific shares of revenue termed 'Chauth' and 'Sardeshmukhi' given to the Marathas by the Mughal Emperor, Rafi al-Darjat, in 1719. The second is the battle of Panipat in which the Marathas suffered a massive defeat at the hands of the Durrani ruler, Ahmed Shah. The hoard thus seems directly connected with Maratha activities in the north and it is not unlikely that its contents are savings and spoils brought back to Pune after one or more north Indian campaigns.

The Maratha expedition to Delhi 1719

The grants of charters of *Swarājya* and 'Chauth and Sardeshmukhi' resulted partly as an outcome of politics in the Mughal court in Delhi and partly as the result of the ideas about sovereignty and legitimacy harboured by the Maratha Chhatrapati, Shahu (r. 1708-1749). During 1717-18, intrigues brewed in the Mughal court between the emperor Farrukhsiyar and two of his most powerful courtiers, the Sayyid brothers, namely Husain Ali and Abdullah. They had played a key role in enthroning Farrukhsiyar as the emperor in 1712, which was achieved after ousting the reigning emperor, Jahandar Shah, an uncle of Farrukhsiyar and the son and successor of Shah Alam Bahadur. But in the five years following the emperor's installation, the Sayyids had repeatedly come to loggerheads with him for various

reasons. Sayyid Husain Ali was appointed in charge of the Deccan in 1714 and, as part of his duties, had confronted the Marathas on several occasions. His brother, Sayyid Abdullah, remained in Delhi. In 1716, the feud between the Sayyids and the emperor reached such a point that Abdullah feared for his life and called Husain Ali to Delhi to help him. Husain Ali thought it prudent to end the rivalry with the Marathas and have them on their side in case a conflict erupted with the emperor.

The Maratha situation had been precarious as well. Shahu, the Maratha king was released from Mughal captivity soon after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707. He had had to fight his way on two fronts – one was with the dowager Queen Tarabai, his sister-in-law, for reclaiming his right to the Maratha throne. He also had to fight the Mughal garrisons to claim tracts of land that either had been a part of his grandfather, Shivaji's, territory, or needed to be under his control for strategic reasons. His generals waged successive campaigns of guerrilla warfare against the Mughals, but their approach was mainly to achieve opportunistic gains in terms of money rather than establishing firm rule in territories further away from their war-ravaged homelands in Maharashtra. This is where they came into conflict with Mughal officers who found the repetitive Maratha incursions quite a nuisance. Shahu's attitude towards the Mughals was, however, characterised by awe rather than bitter enmity and hatred. He had spent his formative years in close companionship of Aurangzeb, who was rather fond of him. He thus held the office of the emperor in high esteem.

In 1715, Shahu's rival, Tarabai, was deposed as a result of a bloodless coup and her faction was severely weakened. Shahu was also aided by an astute Brahmin prime-minister, or 'Peshwa', named Balaji Vishwanath. He was instrumental in garnering the support of many Maratha barons for Shahu, and his involvement ensured that Shahu ultimately could claim his rights. In spite of his success, Shahu somehow felt a curious need to further legitimise his succession, and his view of the Mughal emperor meant that this legitimisation was sought through Mughal intervention. The accomplishment of this goal came closer when Husain Ali sued for peace and asked for Maratha support. Husain Ali agreed to arrange for the emperor to legitimise Shahu and his kingdom, referred to as his 'Dominion' or *Swarājya*, and also accord him special rights to collect revenues in six Deccan provinces or *subahs* on the emperor's behalf, with a share in the collection which was referred to as 'Chauth and Sardeshmukhi'. In lieu of both these revenue shares, the Marathas agreed to deploy troops in the service of the Mughal emperor. A demand to release Shahu's family members - including his mother, half-brother and a wife - who had been languishing in Mughal captivity for more than ten years, was also made to Husain Ali.

Although Husain Ali kept the emperor informed of his intentions to become reconciled with the Marathas, the emperor was not very pleased with this decision. He suspected foul play and summoned various courtiers to Delhi to bolster his position. Alarmed by these moves, Sayyid Abdullah made fervent calls to his brother to come to Delhi immediately. Husain Ali thought it prudent that a Maratha contingent accompany him. Balaji Vishwanath was asked to lead the expedition and, accordingly, more than 15,000 Maratha troops set off towards Delhi in June 1718.

When the Marathas appeared at Delhi, the trouble brewing between the Sayyid brothers and the emperor increasingly worsened. On 27 February 1719, the brothers besieged the palace and deposed the emperor. He was blinded and put to death two months later. Rafi' al-Darjat, the youngest of the three sons of Prince Rafi' ush-Shaan, an uncle of Farrukhsiyar, was chosen by the Sayyids to be the next emperor. He was only about 19 years old. A court was held a few days later and the new emperor granted the charters of *Swarājya* and of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi rights to the Marathas as promised. The charter of *Swarājya* was granted on 3rd March and that for the revenue rights on the 15th. Shahu's family members were also set free and they joined the Maratha camp. The Marathas then began their return to the Deccan

The political situation in Delhi remained turbulent for the entire year of 1719 subsequent to the Marathas' departure. The emperor Rafi' al-Darjat died of tuberculosis on 11 June 1719 but, as he had desired, his elder brother Rafi' al-Daula was installed on the throne with the name Shahjahan II. But he was a weakling as well and died on 18 September. The Sayyids then installed Prince Roshan Akhtar, the grandson of Shah Alam Bahadur through his fourth son Jahan Shah on the imperial throne as Muhammad Shah. When he was installed on the throne, it was decided that his reign would be reckoned from the dethroning of Farrukhsiyar.

In addition to these kings, 1719 saw the installation of one more claimant raised to the Mughal throne – Nikusiyar, a grandson of Aurangzeb was enthroned at Agra in May 1719 at the behest of another court faction. However, the Sayyids managed to reconcile with the faction and the king was deposed. The political machinations of the Sayyid brothers finally caught up with them with the new emperor Muhammad Shah refusing to act as their stooge. Husain Ali was killed in a skirmish in October 1720. His brother, Abdullah, did try to outmanoeuvre the emperor by installing yet another prince on the throne, namely Muhammad Ibrahim, who was the elder brother of Rafi' al-Daula and Rafi' al-Darjat, on 12 October 1720. But Muhammad Shah inflicted a defeat on the Sayyid faction at Hasanpur in November 1720. Abdullah was captured and was put to death in 1722. The puppet emperor, Muhammad Ibrahim, was deposed and imprisoned in the Red Fort. He died several years later in 1746.

The Maratha contingent returned to the Deccan and Shahu accorded a hearty welcome to his prime minister. It is said that the Peshwa brought back 3 million rupees and 'a large number of presents of robes and curios of various kinds'. G S Sardesai describes the importance of this first ever Maratha expedition to Delhi in the following words: "The social results of this Maratha venture into the North were no less important. It gave a new turn and a fresh vision to Maratha ambitions... The Marathas for the first time experienced the remarkable difference in food, dress, manners and ways which hereafter widened their outlook and excited their greed for conquest and expansion".

Maratha Campaigns in North India 1748-61

The emperor Muhammad Shah died in 1748 and was succeeded by two emperors, namely Ahmed Shah Bahadur (1748-54) and Alamgir II (1754-59). The politics in Delhi during the reign of these two kings revolved around three factions – the Mughal officials, the Afghans in India and from across the Indus, and the Marathas. This phase ends with the fateful Third Battle of Panipat which took place in January 1761.

Amongst the Mughal officials, a key player in the first half of the ten-or so year period after the accession of Ahmed Shah was Safdar Jang, the powerful vizier. In the latter half, Ghazi ud-Din, who succeeded Safdar Jang as the vizier after his death in 1754, also played a significant role. Other Mughal officials worthy of mention are Mir Mannu and Adina Beg, successive Governors of the Punjab, Mughlani Begum, the wife of Mir Mannu, and Malika Zamani, the mother of Muhammad Shah.

The Afghans could be divided into settlers in India and their trans-Indus mentors. The interaction between these ethnically related groups became a key feature in North Indian politics leading to the battle of Panipat. The former group was collectively labelled 'Ruhelas' or 'Rohillas' and a key player amongst them was Najib Khan, a Machiavellian conspirator. Ahmed Shah Durrani, who captured Kabul and proclaimed himself the king of the Afghans in 1747 came to be idolised by the Afghan settlers in India.

The Marathas were represented by members of the Peshwa's household and his officers. The chief architect of Maratha presence in North India, after their first expedition to Delhi in 1718-19, was Peshwa Baji Rao, who carried out several successful campaigns in Malwa and Bundelkhand. His career was cut short by his sudden death in 1740, en route to rid the Mughal emperor of the menace of Nadir Shah. His son, Balaji Rao, alias Nanasahab, succeeded him as the Peshwa. Most campaigns in the

north during his reign were undertaken by Raghunath Rao, the second son of Bajji Rao. Towards the end of the phase, Sadashiv Rao, alias Bhausahab, the son of Bajji Rao's brother Chimaji, led the grand Maratha expedition against Ahmed Shah Durrani.

Amongst the officials of the Peshwa, the Sindhias and the Holkars were the chief North Indian campaigners. The Sindhia troops were first led by Jayappa, who was murdered in 1755. After him, his brother, Dattaji, and son, Jankoji, took charge of affairs. The Holkar troops were led by the veteran Malhar Rao who was a trusted commander and friend of the Peshwa, Bajji Rao. Malhar Rao fought in the battle of Panipat but managed to escape alive. Apart from Sindhias and Holkars, other noteworthy Maratha players were the Hingne brothers, who functioned at the Mughal court as diplomats, and revenue farmers or *kamavisdars* appointed by the Peshwa, namely Govind Rao Bundeley, Naro Shankar, Vitthal Shivadeo etc.

The reign of Ahmed Shah Bahadur 1748-54

After the accession of Ahmed Shah Bahadur, the main event that led to entanglements between these various factions was a war that ensued during 1750-51 between the Vizier, Safdar Jang, in charge of the province of Awadh, and his neighbours, the Bangash Afghans. The vizier concluded a deal with the Marathas and subjugated the Bangash with the help of Sindhia and Holkar. A part of this deal was also to secure the vizier's position in the court against other schemers who allowed antagonism to brew between the vizier and his master, the emperor. As the Bangash were close to a total defeat at the hands of the vizier, the Afghans under the leadership of Najib Khan exhorted Ahmed Shah Durrani, who had recently established himself as the king of the Afghans, to invade India and save his brethren from Mughal tyranny.

The Durrani king had already launched two expeditions into the Punjab after his investiture. In the course of the first ever incursion, the Afghans suffered a defeat and had to retreat. They were more successful the second time and managed to force the Mughal governor, Mir Mannu, into agreeing to pay an annual tribute. In response to Najib Khan's appeal, Ahmed Shah appeared in the Punjab in early 1752. Mir Mannu found no help from Delhi and ceded the provinces of Lahore and Multan to Ahmed Shah in March 1753. Intimidated by the presence of the Durrani king in the Punjab, the Mughal emperor summoned the vizier and his Maratha allies to come to his rescue. He offered another treaty to the Marathas and sought to buy their protection in return for hard cash and the cession of revenue rights in the north-western provinces of the empire. But the vizier did not appear at Delhi in time and, before he could ratify the deal, the emperor caved in to the Afghans, agreeing to Mir Mannu's move to cede the two Punjabi provinces to them.

In the meantime, the political situation in the Deccan made the Peshwa recall his troops to the south. After they left, the feud between the emperor and the vizier took a serious turn. The emperor dismissed Safdar Jang in May 1753 and an open war erupted between them. At this time, Ghazi ud-Din Imad al-Mulk, a resourceful young man with ulterior motives, joined the emperor. Together they made fervent appeals to the Peshwa to send troops to aid the emperor. The Peshwa obliged and dispatched Raghunath Rao with Sindhia and Holkar to Delhi. But before the Marathas could make it, the war between the emperor and his vizier ended with both parties suing for peace out of financial and military exhaustion. Safdar Jang retreated to Lucknow, his principal seat, where he died in 1754, leaving his son, Shuja ud-Daula, in charge of the affairs.

Meanwhile, Sindhia and Holkar, who had been asked to come to the emperor's aid, became embroiled in succession disputes in Rajput states. An outcome of this involvement was Jayappa Sindhia's murder in 1755. Raghunath Rao, who was sent by the Peshwa with a huge army, could not achieve much apart from spending time in undertaking pilgrimages to north Indian holy cities. Furthermore, a deal between the Holkar and Ghazi ud-Din, the new aspirant at Delhi, meant that the Marathas also

became involved in an imperial campaign against the Jat ruler, Suraj Mal. Ghazi ud-Din harboured the ambition to be the most powerful man in Delhi and his master, the emperor, was surely an impediment in realising it. With the help of Holkar, he threatened to overpower the emperor. The Marathas plundered imperial retinues and closed in upon Delhi to present heavy demands on the emperor. On 31 May 1754, the emperor acceded to the demands and appointed Ghazi ud-Din as his vizier. But soon afterwards, Ghazi ud-Din declared the emperor was unfit to rule and deposed him. He installed Aziz ud-Din, a grandson of Shah Alam Bahadur, as Alamgir II on the imperial throne. A few days later, the deposed emperor, Ahmed Shah, was blinded and put to death. Ghazi ud-Din offered huge sums of money to the Marathas to keep them on his side in all these intrigues. The Maratha commandant at Delhi, namely Antaji Mankeshwar, and the diplomat Hingne brothers were corrupt and they tried to make enough use of their offices for personal aggrandisement. In August 1755, Raghunath Rao returned to the Deccan not having achieved anything major out of his two-year sojourn in the north.

The Reign of Alamgir II (1754-59)

In the meantime, Mir Mannu, the Mughal governor of the Punjab, died at Lahore in November 1753. The emperor Ahmed Shah appointed his wife, Mughlani Begum, in charge of affairs. But as the province had been ceded to Ahmed Shah Durrani, the begum hardly needed the ratification from the Mughal emperor. To set the record straight and to assert his own right, Ghazi ud-Din set off on an expedition to the Punjab in early 1756. He sent Adina Beg, an able general, to Lahore and captured Mughlani Begum. Adina Beg was in turn appointed the Mughal governor of the Punjab.

These developments were no doubt seen by the Durrani king as an affront. Furthermore, influential parties in the Mughal court, led by Malika Zamani the mother of Muhammad Shah, regarded Ghazi ud-Din as a Maratha stooge. They colluded with Najib Khan, the Rohilla, to get him ousted. Najib Khan once again appealed to the Durrani king to invade India. Accordingly, Ahmed Shah Durrani decided to move towards the Indus and based himself at Peshawar. He then sent his son, Taimur Shah, to oust Adina Beg from Lahore. The Afghans defeated Adina Beg and recaptured Lahore. They pursued the Mughals all the way up to the Sutlej and reached Sarhind in January 1757.

When the news that the Punjab had been left leaderless reached Ahmed Shah, he thought it prudent to annex the province to his kingdom. When the news of the Shah's imminent arrival reached Ghazi ud-Din, he sought counsel with the Shah. Ahmed Shah demanded 10 million Rupees in tribute. The vizier was broke so he pleaded with the Shah to spare him and his puppet, the emperor. The Shah however decided to march upon Delhi. He entered Delhi in late January 1757 where the *khutba* was read in his name. He looted the city relentlessly for more than a month and left for Kabul in April. As a last rebuff he attacked the holy city of Mathura and staged a bloody massacre there.

The Peshwa, alarmed by the Durrani incursion, once again dispatched Raghunath Rao to the north. He arrived in Delhi in August 1757 and took charge of the city. Najib Khan, Ahmed Shah's arch partisan, was captured but he managed to persuade Malhar Rao Holkar to plead on his behalf and walked away free. In late October 1757, Raghunath Rao led the Maratha troops out of Delhi on a campaign to flush the Afghans out of the Punjab. This campaign is often regarded as the apogee of Maratha rule in North India. In March 1758, the Marathas occupied Sarhind and expelled Abdus-Samad Khan, the Durrani governor. Later in that month, they reached Lahore and successfully expelled the Durranis under Taimur Shah from the city. The Marathas resided in Lahore for two months and then left for Pune. In July 1758, Maratha troops under the command of Tukoji Holkar and Sabaji Sindhia reached Attock on the Indus and planted the Maratha banner on the fort. They remained in charge of the region for a little more than three months.

In August 1758, Raghunath Rao appointed Dattaji and Jankoji Sindhia in charge of affairs in the north. Dattaji arrived in Delhi in December 1758 and spent the first three months of 1759 at Delhi trying to acquaint himself with his new allies. His chief duties were to prop up Ghazi ud-Din, the vizier, and to restrain Najib Khan. But Dattaji and Ghazi ud-Din hardly saw eye to eye and Dattaji often acted independently of the vizier's counsel.

Dattaji had to secure the Punjab on the west, which he did by appointing his officers at Lahore. Reining in Najib Khan meant taking him head-on in the Rohilla heartlands to the east of Delhi and the Marathas pursued a campaign against the Rohillas with renewed fervour. The arch schemer, Najib Khan, in the meantime renewed his parleys with the Durrani king yet again. At this time, he also managed to achieve an alliance of other Rohilla chieftains and vehemently pleaded to Shuja ud-Daula, the Nawab of Awadh, to join the 'Islamic' alliance against the Marathas to save Delhi from falling into their hands. Ahmed Shah could not afford losing the Punjab for ever; it was a rich province and losing it would mean loss of revenue. He decided to set off for India and the Durrani-Maratha struggle entered its final phase. His troops managed to get rid of the Maratha garrisons in the Punjab. He managed to wrest Lahore back in November 1759 and skirmishes between his advance troops and the Marathas soon stretched across the Sutlej.

Another twist to the story took place in November 1759 – the vizier in Delhi, suspicious that the emperor Alamgir II would turn to the Afghan king, managed to murder him in cold blood. A prince was installed on the throne with the name Shahjahan III. The son of Alamgir II, namely Ali Gauhar who had been campaigning in Bihar, declared himself emperor as Shah Alam II on 22 December 1759.

In January 1760, the Afghans crossed the Yamuna River and headed for Delhi. A skirmish took place between the Marathas and an Afghan advance party at Barari Ghat in which Dattaji Sindhia was killed. Soon afterwards, the Afghans occupied Delhi and Ahmed Shah appointed Ya'aqub Ali as his governor. He was strapped for cash and tried vehemently to raise funds. But he could not find ready money and none of the Indian rulers he approached paid him any tribute, so he lingered on at Delhi.

Meanwhile the news of the Maratha retreat and Dattaji's death reached the Peshwa in February 1760. He decided to send his cousin, Sadashiv Rao alias Bhausahab, along with a huge army to drive the Afghan invaders out of North India. Najib Khan's appeal to Shuja ud-Daula bore fruit and Shuja decided to join the Afghan alliance. The Marathas reached Delhi in August 1760 and managed to drive the Afghans across the Yamuna. Sadashiv Rao occupied the city but his financial condition had now become little different from that of his enemy. With Shuja on the enemy side, the Marathas could not get their tribute from provinces across the Ganga-Yamuna divide. Money lenders had all closed business owing to the volatile situation of recent years. Money became extremely tight in the Maratha camp and Sadashiv Rao had to remove the silver lining on the ceiling of the imperial audience hall to fund his army. At one time, both parties sued for a truce but the hot-headed Sadashiv Rao refused its terms and decided to fight the Afghans till they were expelled beyond the Indus. The Marathas could not find a safe supply route across the Ganges and the Yamuna so they continued their northward march on the left bank of the Yamuna. They secured a major victory over the Afghans at Kunjpura in October 1760. But soon afterwards, Ahmed Shah managed to cross the Yamuna River to land on its left bank, thereby cutting off Maratha supply lines from Delhi. The Marathas immediately turned southwards while the Afghans marched northwards seeking them.

The two armies came face to face at Panipat in November 1760. Sadashiv Rao had no alternative but to break through the Afghan lines as his survival depended on that move. The final combat took place on 14 January 1761 in which the Marathas lost heavily. Sadashiv Rao perished in the battle along with Vishwas Rao, the young son of the Peshwa, and many other prominent commanders and noblemen. Ahmed Shah returned to Delhi but it was to prove a 'pyrrhic victory' for him, because he was

financially and militarily exhausted. He left Delhi in March 1761, never to return to India. The second and final Durrani occupation of Delhi lasted for just over a year.

The contents of the Pune hoard and the historical context: Maratha issues of Delhi?

The coins of the 'second chronological aggregate' from the Pune hoard are effectively drawn from this interesting phase of Maratha history. Noteworthy are the coins struck by the Durrani king, Ahmed Shah, in Shahjahanabad. The date/R.Y. details on these coins make it clear that they were struck during the second Durrani occupation of Delhi. As such their occurrence in the hoard is directly linked with the fateful events leading to the battle of Panipat. They are quite scarce coins and the numbers in which they occur in the Pune hoard points to the possibility that they were saved from circulation and brought to Pune, most likely by someone who returned home from the famous battle, after the Maratha debacle.

The contextual occurrence of one other type of coins vis-à-vis the Durrani mohurs is interesting, to say the least, and it is in suggesting an attribution for these coins that hoard evidence and historical narrative can be constructively employed. They are mohurs of a particular variety, struck in the name of Alamgir II, R.Ys 4, 5 and 6 (Type 3 listed in the Catalogue). R.Y 6 is the last R.Y for Alamgir II, and this should mean that they were struck in 1759 and were chronologically followed by the Durrani coins. But these coins have a markedly inferior execution than all other coins in the hoard. This indicates that they were conceivably struck at a 'non-imperial' workshop. The 'non-imperial' authority in charge during these years at Delhi was the Marathas. The date/R.Y combinations seen on these coins correspond to the years in which Raghunath Rao conducted his Punjab campaign and it is plausible that the coins were struck under Maratha authority. As an aid in bringing forth this insight into attributing the coin type, the contents of the Pune hoard are singularly significant.

The historical backdrop for the second aggregate of coins in the Pune hoard is thus more interesting than the first, because in this case, historical details provide interesting insights for the attribution of a particular class of coins. The contents of the hoard and contemporary happenings are thus brought into much better contextual alignment with each other.

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THE COINS OF THE CEDED AND CONQUERED PROVINCES OF THE BENGAL PRESIDENCY – SAUGOR (LATER SAGAR) AND RELATED MINTS

By Dr Paul Stevens

Introduction

As stated in preceding papers¹, the British added further territories to their Bengal Presidency following the third Mahratta war in 1818, and these included the mint at Saugor. The present paper will discuss the entries in the records of the East India Company, held in the British Library (IOR), relating to Saugor and various other mints, and will attempt to combine this information with the associated coins.

The First British Issues from the Saugor Mint

When the British acquired Saugor in 1818, they found a working mint, with a full work-force, that had been in operation for many years, having been established in 1782/83 (Sambat 1839), although some authorities give 1779, based on Prinsep. As Maheshwari and Wiggins⁵ have pointed out, Prinsep seems to have made a mistake about this and actually gave the date as 1782 as well as 1779.

The IOR records contain an entry showing the mint output for several years prior to the British takeover².

Sambat Year (AD)	Value of coins produced (Rs)
1863 (1806/07)	378,888
1864 (1807/08)	400,738
1865 (1808/09)	94,379
1866 (1809/10)	274,384
1867 (1810/11)	148,787
1868 (1811/12)	98,716
1869 (1812/13)	314,405
1870 (1813/14)	167,023
1871 (1814/15)	49,502
1872 (1815/16)	27,662
1873 (1816/17)	39,600

As can be seen from the table above, mintage in the last few years of Maratha rule was very low but the same entry reveals that, in the eight months before the British took over, the output increased to 163,167, presumably as a result of the war and the need for cash to pay the troops. The same entry then shows the mint output for the first few years of British rule.

From 10 th to 31 st March 1818	62,501
April 1818	93,751
May	61,618
June	82,566
July	92,896
August	71,142
September	51,575
October	43,778
November	82,285
December	73,745
January 1819	22,078
February	21,292
March	29,261
April	17,199
May	21,350

The coin produced at Saugor was called the Saugor Balashahie and was said to contain '80 ruttees of silver and 10 ruttees of alloy'³.

The source of the silver was also given:

'Of about 800,000 rupees coined since the commencement of the British administration, it is calculated that 350,000 rupees have been coined from dollars brought from Calcutta via Benares and melted down here, 50,000 rupees from crude bullion brought from the same direction, 200,000 from Serenuggur rupees melted down, 100,000 from Nagpur rupees and 100,000 from various other rupees in circulation in the district. Benares also formerly supplied the greatest quantity of bullion consumed at this mint.'

Rupees from many other mints in the area were also in circulation (for modern names see^{3a})

(Nagpoor, Serenuggur, Jalound, Seronge, Rathgurh, Bhilsah and Gurrah Kotah rupees)

and the other local mints were given as:

'Rathgurh, Bhilsah, Bhopal, Seronge, Jhansi, Tirhee, Serenuggur, Punnah, Chutterpore, Eisagurh, and Gurrah Kotah, and the rupees of the under mentioned places mix sufficiently into the general circulation to entitle them to equal consideration in their effect on the currency. Nagpore, Chandah, Sohagepore, Sudhourah, Jalound and Oojain'.

All of these rupees were of lower quality than the Saugor rupee and this caused some concern to the authorities, who quickly decided that they should introduce the Farrukhabad or Banares rupee into the newly acquired territories. This, they decided, would require the establishment of a new mint but where should this be sited? At least three options were considered, Saugor, Jubblepore and Husingabad (see below for further discussion).

Amongst the earliest entries in the records, referring to the Saugor mint, is a discussion of the salaries paid to the mint employees. At the time that the mint was taken over by the British the salaries were based on the number of coins produced by the mint. Since the mint output had increased, the salaries had also increased and Mr Maddock suggested that the employees should be paid a fixed salary in future. After some discussion this was agreed⁴.

The mint establishment was reported to be

'One Darogah, one assayer, two weighers, one engraver, two melters, two stampers, and twenty five smiths'. In addition 'I Jemadar and 7 Sebaudars at a monthly salary of 25 rupees per mensem are kept up for the protection of the mint'

At the same time, Mr Maddock noted that:

I take the opportunity of noticing a complaint which has been more than once preferred to me by the Darogah. He says that the coinage, greatly increased as it is, would be half again as expensive, but that a mint [that] is working at Gurrah Kotah has imitated the dye of the Saugor rupee and that half as much specie as is monthly coined at Saugor is issued with the same impression at Gurrah Kotah, but being somewhat inferior to the Saugor standard serves to depreciate in character the Saugor currency and from its close resemblance to the rupee of the mint, is productive of much confusion in all mercantile transactions. He requests that the abuse may be rectified.

There is, therefore, no doubt that the Saugor mint was kept in operation following the British takeover, and that it, thus, falls into the category of a transitional mint, although, by 1819, the output had begun to tail off again. It is also clear that the Saugor rupees were extensively copied, albeit crudely, in a mint at Gurrah Kotah (see below for further discussion).

The coins produced during this time must have been those showing the regnal year 55 of which there are two types recorded by Maheshwari & Wiggins and a quarter rupee is known⁵. Crude examples of these were presumably the output of the Gurrah Kotah mint.



An entry in the records of 1825 contains the following statement⁶:

...an application has been made to me by one or two of the head shroffs to permit the old mint to remain open till the coinage of the new mint has come into full play. To this application I was led to give a discouraging reply.

This reveals that the old mint at Saugor remained operational nearly until the new mint was opened in 1825 and this is further confirmed by a quote from Presgrave (eventually Mint Master of the new Saugor mint) who stated in 1833⁷:

...It does not at first sight appear why the prices of bullion and foreign coins, whose intrinsic values are perfectly known, should thus vary in the Market as compared with the coinage of the Honorable Company but this fluctuation, it is known, does exist and may be exemplified in the Balashy rupee, formerly the Mahratta coinage of this city and continued under the Honorable Company's Government until the opening of the present Saugor mint.

The Balashy rupee has been for many years the current coin of this part of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories. The natives therefore have been long accustomed and still continue with few exceptions to make it the medium of all their transactions. It is inferior to the Farruckabad rupee. The difference in intrinsic value may be taken at 10 per cent. It generally however passes for more than its assay value. Sometimes the difference is not more than 4½ or 5 per cent. At others, as during the collection of land revenues, it falls, or rather, the Farruckabad rupee becoming more in demand rises consequently in premium to a difference of 12½ or 13 per cent.

In addition to the silver coins, there are copper coins known dated RY 55⁸. No entry has been found in the records referring to the issue of copper coins, but it seems likely that these were issued during the British period together with the silver coins.



Copper Pice. Photo from Maheshwari & Wiggins

Rupee dated 1819

Prinsep was the first to record the fact that the word 'Saugor' was placed on rupees to help prevent forgery but this coin was first fully published by Prashant Kulkarni⁹ and the present information should be read in combination with his paper.

Maddock reported in June 1819¹⁰:

The Darogah of the mint had frequently complained to me that the Saugor rupee was imitated by that coined at Gurrah Kotah and that this was done so much from system that if any slight alteration was made in the device of the Saugor rupee it was certain to be copied in a few days at the Gurrah Kotah mint. The rupee which was coined there, he stated, was inferior in value to the Saugor one, and therefore as it was almost impossible to distinguish between them, the credit of the Saugor mint, and the value of its coinage, were injuriously affected by this imitation.

On my questioning him regarding the inferiority of the rupees coined by him in the present year, to those of older date, he urged in excuse that he could not be answerable for all rupees that were circulated as Saugor ones, for that the Gurrah Kotah rupees passed universally for Saugor rupees, and that it was often difficult even to persons skilled in the examination of money to distinguish them. He ended by desiring that some additional inscription might be made in the dye in characters that would not be understood by the Gurrah Kotah people, and that unless something of this kind were done, he could not be responsible for the Saugor coinage.

As I remained in doubt whether this exercise was well grounded or whether the coinage was really deteriorated, I immediately procured 50 rupees coined that morning from the mint, and sent them to Mr Newnham to request he would procure them to be assayed. He forwarded them to the Accountant General conceiving that the point would be best ascertained in Calcutta.

I thought it impossible to allow the operations of the mint to go on, while the Darogah disavowed his own responsibility and that it was necessary either to shut up the mint or comply with his request respecting an additional inscription. I was told that it would be likely to alarm and distress the shroffs if the mint was closed. I therefore gave up that idea and directed to be inserted on the rupee in very small characters on one side the word "Saugor" in English and the year of our Lord on the reverse. I at the same time requested Captain Stewart to procure directions to be sent to Gurrah Kotah to prevent any further attempts at imitation. Although there are several objections to be made to an innovation in the appearance of the coin, they were perhaps less than what might have been urged against shutting up the mint, and what I have done on the occasion will, I trust, be approved by His Lordship. I am of opinion however that a mint such as Saugor, the superintendence of which is in the hands of a native officer, can be expected to show a proper degree of regularity under this Government. Formerly the whole business of coining was introduced between the shroffs and the Darogah, and the Government scarcely interfered in their transactions. The Darogah and all his establishment were paid a percentage on the coinage and could not be called the servants of Government. Now they receive regular salaries, and though their responsibility is not diminished, they feel much less interest in their own operations than formerly.

Were it not that the Gurrah Kotah rupees would continue to pass for Saugor ones, and that a deteriorated coin would thus be forced into circulation, I should consider it advantageous to stop the present coining at Saugor, whether a mint on an amended principle may be established here or not. Indeed if the examination of the rupees that have been sent down to Calcutta proves them to be inferior to the former standard of the mint, I shall be obliged to have recourse to that measure and probably to dismiss from office the greater part of the persons employed in the establishment.

Thus, it is clear that we can assign the very rare coins with the word Saugor and the date 1819, to this event.



Sohagpur Mint

When the British acquired the new territories in 1818, as well as Saugor, mints were operating at Sohagpur and Jubblepur. The mint at Jubblepur was closed immediately and no coins appear to have been issued whilst the mint was under their control. However, the mint at Sohagpur continued to function for a time and a small number of coins were issued during this time¹¹:

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 26th December and to subjoin such replies as I am able to furnish to the queries contained in it.

1st. There is at present no mint in the districts under my superintendence. There were formerly two, Viz. one at Jubbulpoor and the other at Sohagpur in the Duchunteeer or Southern Valley of the Nerbudda. The mint at Jubbulpoor was suppressed immediately after the transfer of the district to the British Government; that at Sohagpur was suppressed by me some months ago.

2. The coin which was struck at the Sohagpur mint is denominated the Sohagpur rupee. Its gross weight and fineness is said to vary, but I could not understand the explanations which I received on this point. The coin is an exceedingly

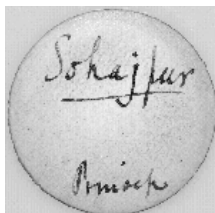
debased one, and the establishment of the mint appears to have been on a most objectionable footing in every respect.

4th & 5th. I subjoin also a statement of the monthly coinage at the Sohagpur mint during six months of the present Mahratta year of account commencing with the first Shaboon, corresponding with the 7th June 1818. I have not obtained any account of the coinage of preceding years, but I suppose that this is not of much importance as the mint has been suppressed. The coinage has probably been considerably less in that portion of the present year during which the mint was in operation, than in the corresponding months of some years previous, owing to the disturbed state of the country before the commencement of the campaign in the hills.

Month	Coinage
Shaboon	15,857
Rumzan	12,438
Shawal	4,728
Zeekaad	4,551
Zilhig	8,877
Moohurrun	9,129

10th. The Sohagpur rupee is current in the Duchunteer and in the Western Pergunnahs of that district. It is the principal currency and the revenue is at present paid in it.

Prinsep identified coins emanating from Sohagpur and these are currently in the British Museum (shown below with a photo of Prinsep's ticket – kindly provided by Shailendra Bhandare with the permission of Joe Cribb)



Ajmir Mint

There had been a Mughal mint at Ajmir since the time of Akbar and this continued to operate under the Marathas¹².

Several entries in the records refer to the possibility of opening a mint at Ajmer, initially in 1818¹³, and in 1819 the Calcutta Mint Committee went so far as to recommend that a mint should temporarily be established at Ajmir¹⁴. Although the Bengal Government agreed with this suggestion, they postponed making a final decision¹⁵, and this never appears to have taken place.

The New Mint at Saugor

In 1819, the Calcutta Mint Committee reviewed the information that had been collected and proposed an overall strategy for the coinage of the territories outside of Bengal¹⁶:

1st the abolition of the Benaras rupee

2nd The limitation of the currency of the Upper Provinces to a rupee of the value of the present Farruckabad rupee

3rd The carrying into effect the alteration of the standard of that rupee as already sanctioned.

4th The discontinuance of the mint at Farruckabad

5th The coinage of the new Farruckabad rupee at the Benaras mint and consequent improvement and extension of that

establishment. Should these arrangements meet with the approbation of Government, we conceive it would be found advantageous to give them as early effect as possible, as the difference of standard at present existing and the distant situation to which bullion is necessarily sent to be coined into Farruckabad rupees, entail much inconvenience and expense on the remittance of treasure to the Upper Provinces on public account. Their enforcement is not indispensably connected with the following propositions, which do not perhaps admit of so early a decision.

6th The substitution of the new Farruckabad rupee for the currencies of the newly acquired territory

7th and the temporary establishment of a mint in Ajmer and one at Saugor to convert the present currencies into that improved coin.

The Bengal Government approved most of these recommendations and in 1820 confirmed the plan to build a new mint at Saugor¹⁷. At the same time they stipulated that this new mint should be capable of producing between 20,000 and 25,000 rupees per day and that Captain Presgrave of the 26th Native Infantry should become the Assay Master on an allowance of 600 rupees per month (in addition to his military pay). Henceforth, Presgrave was the key driving force in establishing and operating the new Saugor mint. His first job was to build the necessary machinery and he was sent to the Calcutta mint to undertake this task. However, the Calcutta Mint Master (Saunders) was not able to help very much because he had limited room in the Calcutta mint and all of his mechanics were fully occupied in repairing the machinery of that mint. Saunders therefore suggested that Presgrave should look for a company in Calcutta who could manufacture the machinery at an estimated cost of less than Rs 10,561. Presgrave duly approached Messrs Kyds and Co. and Messrs Calman and Co. for estimates for building the required machinery¹⁸. They both submitted estimates (Kyds for Rs 12,000, later reduced to Rs 9930, and Calman for Rs 8570) and Messrs Calman and Co were selected¹⁹.

Having got the machinery under way, Presgrave next turned his attention to the mint building itself. He considered the existing mint building at Saugor to be totally unfit for the purpose and presented his own plans for a new building. Although the plan itself is not contained in the records, Presgrave wrote a very full description that gives a good idea of what the mint would have been like²⁰:

References to the plan of the Saugor mint

The chimnies a. a. a. of the melting room furnaces are to be independent of the walls of the rooms, though placed close to them. They are to be 5 feet square at the bottom and to be carried up tapering to a height of 32 feet. The spaces for the flues to be one foot square within and of the same area from the bottom to the top. An arched opening one foot square to be left in three sides of each chimney at the distance of four feet from the ground, that thereafter three furnaces may be attached to each chimney.

The chimnies b. b. and bases for the annealing furnaces, to be built as in the plan up to the level of the floor of the rolling mill rooms, and the two hollow spaces to be filled in with rubble. On these will afterwards be built the furnaces. The chimnies are from this floor to be carried up tapering to the height of 25 feet, the flues to be one foot square within and of the same area throughout. An arched hole of 1 foot square to be left in the side (towards the room) of each chimney at the height of 30 inches from the floor. The space c. between the base of the furnaces to be arched over, leaving an open communication between the capstan rooms below, though perfectly level with the floors of the laminating rooms above. The beams to be laid exactly as in the plan of the floor. No other distance will answer for the admission of the vertical wheels or the machinery they are to receive. The floor to be boarded with stout planks. The doorways d. d. d. towards the mint yard and outer veranda, to have iron bars fixed in them, that the men who work at the capstan may have a free

circulation of air though, at the same time, they can have no thoroughfare into the mint, the entrance to the capstan rooms being by the outer doors e. e. e. e. The door f. to be the only communication from the laminating rooms (above) to the mint by the means of stairs of either wood or masonry.

The walls of the (lower or) capstan rooms to be built up 9 feet, when the beams (which are one foot thick) are to be placed on the walls. The walls of the laminating rooms (above) to be 12 feet high. No wall or partition to be built between the laminating rooms, the whole to be open from one end to the other, which will give a space of 62 feet by 30 for the accommodation of the rolling mills, annealing furnaces, cutting presses and shear blocks.

All the spaces towards the veranda and marked across with a single line, to be arched over as doorways but they are afterwards to be closed up with masonry. The advantage of this will be that they may be opened at any future period, should circumstances require it, without injury to the buildings. It may be found advantageous to fill them up with open work for the purposes of ventilation.

All the doorways to the interior of the mint and those not marked across with a single line should have strong doorways and doors.

The outer veranda to consist of nicely squared posts with a strong plate of timber on their tops to support the burgahs on which the tiles are to be laid.

The burgahs to be placed so close that a large square flat tile (generally 1 foot square) may reach from the centre of one to that of the other. Two layers of tiles set in good line to form the roof of these verandas, which are to be enclosed between the posts with strong wooden lattice or rail work, and to be afterwards divided off with kutchha brick partitions into offices or store rooms as necessity may suggest.

None of the floors to be made of pukka work excepting those of the two wings in the front of the building, Viz Mint Master's and Assay Master's offices.

Presgrave estimated that the cost of this would be about Rs 25,000, and with some modifications, notably to strengthen the building, this plan was accepted. The building was proposed to be sited at

*'a spot near where the old and new sheer Mow roads cross each other, about a mile to the south of Mr Maddock's house'*²¹

Things started to become a little more difficult after this. First of all, the Banares mint found that it desperately needed new laminating machines and asked if they could appropriate the machinery that had just been built for the Saugor mint. This was authorised and further machinery had to be built for Saugor. This seems to have been undertaken by another company called Jessop & Co. because they informed the Calcutta Mint Committee in 1821 that the machinery had been ready for some time and requested that it should be moved to the mint²².

The second delay was caused by the length of time it took to build the mint building itself.

In view of these delays Presgrave, in 1821, was assigned to the vacant position of Assay Master at the Farrukhabad mint²³ and he asked if he could take a number of articles prepared for use at Saugor, with him, by boat, to his new job²⁴. These items were listed as:

- 2 large assay furnaces
- 50 Europe fire bricks
- Assay beam and scales
- Glazed box for scales
- Two cases for assays
- Two iron trays for assays
- Anvil, tongs, pokers etc
- One new cutting machine
- One milling table
- Cupel moulds

At last, in 1824 the Collector of Farrukhabad, who was in charge of the mint at that time, was ordered to shut the mint at Farrukhabad and to let Presgrave chose whatever machinery he needed to take with him to Saugor²⁵.

The new mint at Saugor opened in 1825 with the following establishment²⁶:

Role	Cost
Two English Writers	80
General Superintendent	100
Jumma Khurch Nuwers	20
Wassil Bakee Nuwers	20
Import and Export Bullion Accountant	20
Cash Keeper	50
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Presses	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Refiners	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Laminating Room and Rollers	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Dross Spillings etc	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Milling	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Coins	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Artificers and Mistrus	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of materials such as iron, wood, charcoal	20
Mutsuddee	10
Superintendent of Annealing furnaces	20
Mutsuddee	10
Besides the above a due proportion of carpenters, blacksmiths, bhusteas and lascars estimated at	130
Foreman	
Assistant foreman	50
	750

The coins produced were Farrukhabad rupees that can be distinguished from those produced at the other mints (Banares, Farrukhabad and Calcutta) by the absence of privy marks (see Pridmore).

Originally Presgrave had been appointed to the position of Assay Master at the Saugor mint, and the Agent to the Governor General was to be the Mint Master. However, when Presgrave eventually arrived he found himself both Mint Master and Assay Master mainly because no one else knew anything about the operation of the mint²⁷.

In 1826 the production of copper pice at the Saugor mint was approved.

The first copper coins may have been the rather crude 'Ek Pai Sikka' coins first described by Kulkarni²⁸, although these may have been struck in the old Saugor mint.



The coins have on the obverse a Persian inscription *Sanah julus 45 Shah Alam Badshah* with a trisul in the seen of *julus*. On the reverse is the legend *Ek Pai Sa (or Sata) Masa* (= This coin weighs seven Mashas).

Later copper pice were struck with much greater skill (see below). An entry in the records dated 1833 gives the output of copper from the various Bengal Presidency mints, including Saugor²⁹

Number of Pice Produced in Rupee Value

	Calcutta	Banares	Saugor
1813 to 1825,6	587,785		
1815 to 1820		593,657	
1820 to 1823		253,320	
1823 to 1826		89,000	
1826/27		74,161	
1827/28		214,267	6898
1828/29	105,192	78,336	
1829/30	170,200	85,399	82,700
1830/31	402,116		40,828
1831/32	567,416		73,207
1832/33	268,976		79,755

Closure of the Saugor Mint

In 1828 the Bengal Government issued a resolution that the Saugor mint should be abolished³⁰.

Resolved the mint of Saugor be abolished and that the establishment attached to it be discharged.

Ordered that the Agent to the Governor General in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories be directed to remit to the Benaras mint any bullion or uncurrent coin which may be in balance in the Saugor mint, and to send to Benaras such part of the machinery as, on communication with the Mint Master at that place, it may appear to be useful to transfer.

Mr Maddock will at the same time be instructed to report in what manner it may appear to him expedient to dispose of the buildings and such part of the machinery and stores belonging to the Saugor mint as cannot be advantageously transferred to Benares.

Ordered also that the above resolution be communicated to the accountant General that he may submit to Government any observations or suggestions relative to the business of the treasuries in the Saugor and Nerbudda territories which it may appear necessary or useful to submit with reference to the abolition of the mint.

But this closure was postponed soon afterwards³¹.

An interesting problem arose a little later in 1828 when Presgrave was promoted to the rank of Major. It appears that the regulations did not allow anyone above the rank of captain to be employed in the mint, but since nobody else could be found to replace Presgrave and since the mint was on the point of being closed, the Governor General passed a special resolution to allow him to continue in the job³². The authorities then became worried about what would happen if he was promoted further³³

...With respect to the prospect of Major Presgrave's promotion to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, the Vice President in Council deems it unnecessary to anticipate what may be determined on that occasion.

In 1830 the Mint Committee again agreed that the mint could be closed and at the same time the output of the mint, both on behalf of Government and on behalf of individuals, was published³⁴.

Statement of Coinage (and Charges) from 1825/26 to 1829/30 of the Saugor Mint

Year	Honble Company's Coinage	Indl's Coinage
1825/26	114,089	11,450
1826/27	438,419	41,477

1827/28	72,403	750,959
1828/29	13,966	535,538
1829/30	102,097	575,679
	740,974	1,921,103

This was followed in 1831 by an instruction to the Agent to the Governor General in the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories to close the mint³⁵ but again this was overturned and it was agreed that the mint should stay open until 1st May 1833³⁶. In fact the mint stayed open until later in 1835, by which time the new steam powered mint at Calcutta had come into full operation. The machinery was disposed of in early 1836 and the dies were defaced and sent to Calcutta^{36b}.

Impact of Nagpur rupee

The activities and problems of the Nagpur mint have been investigated in some detail by Kulkarni³⁷, and entries in the records of the EIC held in the British Library also refer to the problems that the authorities were having with the poor quality of the rupees produced at Nagpur. This was all the more annoying for them because the Nagpur mint was under the control of the British Resident (and this begs the question of whether or not Nagpur should be considered a transitional mint, like Dehli). Kulkarni published papers revealing that one proposed solution to the problem was to strike Nagpur rupees at the Saugor mint, although the authors of the papers were unsure whether or not this had actually been carried into effect. Entries in the records of the British Library reveal that, in 1826, the mint at Saugor was instructed to coin 14 anna pieces, which would equate to the Nagpur rupees, but by 1832 this order had not been put into effect³⁸. The Calcutta authorities did not agree with the view that this should now happen (in 1832) and informed Saugor that the original order should continue to be suspended³⁹. So it would appear that Nagpur rupees (or their equivalents) were never minted at Saugor and that the authorities relied on their ability to produce sufficient Farrukhabad rupees to drive the Nagpur rupees out of circulation. Eventually the problem was solved by closing the Nagpur mint, but not until 1854, and even then the Nagpur rupees proved so popular that they commanded a premium over other types of rupees, leading to a substantial problem of forgery⁴⁰

Coins Produced at the new mint

Pridmore has catalogued the coins produced at the new Saugor mint.

Silver

The only silver coin that was recorded by Pridmore was the rupee denomination. However, in 1831, Presgrave requested that further dies should be sent from Calcutta for 'rupees, four annas and eight anna pieces', a requested that he repeated later in the year⁴¹. This appears to show that half and quarter rupees were struck at Saugor, although none have been identified.



Copper

The earliest copper coins issued from the new mint appear to be the rather crude type described above although these may have been issued from the old mint. Later issues gradually improved in quality until the last issues, which are of such high quality that Pridmore considers that the dies must have been produced at Calcutta. However, this seems unlikely because the Calcutta authorities did not appear to know very much about Saugor pice

when they wrote to Presgrave asking him to identify any Saugor pice amongst 6 that they sent⁴². He replied in May 1835⁴³:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of 23rd April and for the information of the Mint Committee to inform you that of the five specimens of pice only one (No. 4) is of the coinage of the Saugor Mint. The remaining are, three of the Benares Mint and one a forgery upon the Benares coinage.

	Grains	
No.1	95.25	37 sun
No.2	94.7	37 sun
No.3	95.5	37 sun
No.5	96.4	37 sun
No.6	98.6	Sun 45, A Saugor Pice

*The above pice I have returned with this letter
I have enclosed three specimens of the copper coinage of Saugor Viz*

- No.6 *First Coinage. From 1826 to April 1833 bearing sun 45 and the Tirsoolee on both sides of the coin*
- No.7 *Coinage of 7 months in 1833 bearing 45 sun. On these the tirsoolee is only on one side of the pice*
- No.8 *The last coinage. 200 maunds of copper sanctioned by Government after the coinage had been discontinued*

The pice bear no private mark but are known and easily recognized by their general appearance. All Saugor pice bear the sun 45. The same is borne by the Farrukhabad rupees, whilst all the pice coined at Benares and, I believe, in Calcutta too, bear sun 37.

It may not be out of place here to state that a most extensive and barefacedly open manufacture of almost all kinds of copper pice has been carried on for the last 20 years or more at Nagoud, a town in the Rewah country, also in various other villages in that neighbourhood and in Boondilkhund.

In consequence of the appearance of base pice intended for circulation as Saugor Mint pice, I was not unsuccessful in discovering four shops (at Nagoud) and several coiners, some of whose dies were seized.

The profession of the proprietors of these shops is to coin 'Bissennaut' pice', that is Rewah pice which they did by authority of the Raja. However, under this blind they have carried on for years a far more lucrative manufacture, that of forging all kinds of pice. This manufacture is not limited to the town and neighbourhood of Nagoud, although the term Nagoudia is applied to all spurious coins whether gold, silver or copper in this part of India. The name arises from the fame of the particular place for the manufacture of base coin.

So long as the petty Rajahs of the surrounding states are permitted to have mints and strike their own coin, encouragement will be afforded to the fabrication of base money.

The system, amongst the petty Rajahs, is to have an enclosed piece of ground containing houses for the accomodation of coiners. Within this enclosure, any, and as many, people who will pay two rupees a month for every anvil they employ, may live and work at making pice for any merchant who may bring copper and pay them for their labour, an understanding existing between the Rajah (who does not trouble himself about what is coined) and the coiners, that if any of the latter are traced out as forgers and application is made for them by the British authorities, the Rajah will not protect but deliver them up. At the same time he will himself offer them no molestation or hinderance, they, with their risk before them, taking their own precautionary measures to avoid detection by strangers. In this way they coin for merchants the Rajah's pice openly and in the day, whilst the fabrication of pice requiring circumspection is carried on away from public observation and during the night.

I beg to enclose specimens of some of the forgeries that have been practiced upon the Benares and Saugor mint



From the information contained above, Pridmore identified three varieties of pice, which can be distinguished by the symbol in the seen of *julus* on the obverse:



Acknowledgements

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A BRITISH INDIAN COPPER TRIAL PIECE

By Nicholas Rhodes & Indrakumar Kathotia



The above copper coin was found in the bed of the river Shipra, close to where the river joins the Ganges near Banares in Uttar Pradesh. It had suffered a degree of corrosion due to long immersion in the river, so the field has a slightly pitted appearance. It can be described as follows:-

- Obv: *Pau Anna* (1/4 Anna) in Undu. Traces of legend above, perhaps reading (*Nam*)*ūnah* (Trial piece). Perhaps some more writing below, but nothing is legible. All within circular border.
- Rev: Blank.
- Diam. 20 mm. Wt. 6.94 g.

The coin is nicely struck in a plain collar, and is clearly intended to be a quarter anna, equivalent to a single pice, but the design is too simple for it to be a coin. The weight approximates to 108 grains, assuming that little weight was lost due to corrosion. The questions that arise are what is it and who struck it, why and when?

It has been suggested that it must be a token, but we disagree. Any token would normally have the issuer's name prominently displayed, and would tend to be thinner and lighter. This piece is very well struck and the quality of engraving is excellent. Our strong feeling is that it was produced in one of the British Indian mints for some reason. The legend at the top is hardly visible, but we tentatively read it as (*Nam*)*ūnah*. The 'ū' and the 'nah' can be faintly, but clearly, seen. The initial 'Nam' cannot be seen, but it can easily be imagined how the surface corrosion has rendered this part of the legend invisible. If this reading is correct, it would prove that this is a trial piece, probably produced in order to test the minting process with new machinery, and perhaps to indicate a possible simple reverse design. Certainly it cannot be a pattern for a complete coin, as that would surely contain some mention of the issuing authority. It is not impossible that a word, or words, are below, but nothing can be made out because of the surface corrosion..

One interesting matter for consideration, is the use of the denomination '1/4 Anna', rather than '1 Pice'. One aspect of Indian coinage which the British found unsatisfactory was the different values assigned to different silver rupees, and the fluctuating nature of the relative values of copper and gold coins compared with silver. Only gradually did the British move towards a pan-Indian tri-metallic coinage standard, although on the copper coins, the denomination, when present, was initially expressed in 'fulus' or 'pai sikka'. Only in 1831 was a copper coin produced in Calcutta with the denomination 'Half Anna', but such pieces were proposed as early as November 1795 with 'quarter anna' and 'eighth anna'. Unfortunately we have not seen any examples of such specimens, and it is not certain if actual pattern pieces ever progressed beyond the design stage. After a few days it was decided to change the values to 'one pai sikka' and 'half pai sikka', as these denominations would be better understood by the majority of people.

The question now should be raised as to which mint might have produced this piece. Our preference tends towards Banaras, as being reasonably close to the find spot, whereas Calcutta is far away.

Pridmore records several occasions on which pattern pieces for machine made copper pieces were produced in Banaras. Such

patterns were produced in 1806, 1809, 1813, 1821 and 1827 and perhaps on other occasions. Pridmore illustrates one comparable silver trial piece for a rupee, struck in 1822 to try out the new milling machine; interestingly, this piece uses the Urdu word *Namūnah* but gives the Banaras mint name and has the date and purpose described. Hence this new copper piece may have been struck in c1820/21 when new machinery was installed in the Baranas mint by Jessop & Preen of Calcutta. The coins struck at this time show a prominent feature of a plain circle near the rim enclosing the design, exactly as found on this piece, and some of the pieces ultimately struck have a diameter of 20mm. One argument against such a late date is the use of only Urdu writing. By this time, the British were striking multilingual copper coins, in order to make them as widely accepted as possible, although Urdu was used on its own for silver and gold coins until 1835.

In conclusion, we suggest two possible occasions when this piece might have been struck:

1. It could possibly be an early trial piece produced in Calcutta in November 1795, before the order to change the denomination to 'ek pai sikka'.
2. Perhaps more likely, it could have been struck in the Banaras mint as a trial piece around 1821, after the new machinery was delivered to the Banaras mint, and before appropriate dies had been produced, but with a sample of what the denomination expressed in Annas might look like.

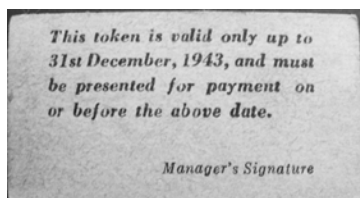
In either case, as the design was not, even tentatively, approved for currency, it is likely that no specimens were forwarded for formal approval, or retained for record purposes. This particular piece may have been retained by a mint employee, and consigned to the river as a religious donation.

NEW TEA GARDEN TOKENS FROM NORTH BENGAL & SYLHET

By S. K. Bose

Since my paper entitled 'More Finds of Eastern India Tea Tokens' was published in the Autumn 2007 issue of the ONS Journal¹¹⁹, in addition to one more rare cardboard token of the North Bengal Tea Garden, a number of new tea tokens also surfaced between December 2008 and January 2009. The latter relate to tea gardens in the Sylhet district in Bangladesh. The sole reason for such frequent discoveries rests on the fact that, though during the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, as many as one hundred and sixty eight tea gardens were functioning in the Sylhet district,¹²⁰ so far, tokens of barely sixty gardens have been noticed by numismatists. We know that almost all the gardens during the said period used "close-circuit" coins or tokens in lieu of small coins, so many more tokens probably await discovery. In recent years, a good number of articles have been published in various journals and books on the subject. This has created a lot of interest not only among collectors, but also among researchers, who are working on the history and evolution of tea and the labour forces connected with the tea industry.

Karballa Tea Estate



Reverse

¹¹⁹ S. Goron, Editor, *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, No. 193, London Autumn 2007, pp. 33-34.

¹²⁰ A. C. Choudhry, *Shrihatyer Itibriya* (Bengali), Sylhet, 1317 B.S.(1910-11 A.D.), Part I, Parishistha 'kha', p.13.



Obverse

This token from the Karballa Tea Estate was issued during the Second World War and it bears the validity date of 31st December 1943. We furnish below the details of the piece as noticed by us. As mentioned above, this is a cardboard token, very similar to a traditional Indian railway ticket.

The obverse bears the following legends: In the background 'Andrew Yule & Co. Ltd.' is printed five times each at the top and the bottom in green ink. In between, *Dui Paise* (in Bengali) with a line drawing a border around it is also printed in green ink. Once again, the following legend has been over-struck in black ink on the upper side:

“ ANDREW YULE &
CO. LIMITED
KARBALLA
TEA ESTATE”

And the lower portion bears the legend:

“ PICE 2
Date.....

2399 (this is the printed serial number)”

The reverse contains a warning about the last date of validity, which reads as follows:

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

In 1941, as an after-effect of war, there was a significant shortage of rice. As a result, it was agreed that, in order to reduce the burden, tea labourers working in Darjeeling district should be compensated by additional payments in cash. The rate was fixed at the rate of two pice (i.e. two paise) for an adult for full *hazri* work and one pice for a child¹²¹. This was a *temporary allowance*, in addition to the ordinary wage on *hazri*. From June 1943 onwards, in the Dooars area of North Bengal, the compensatory allowance was paid at the rate of one anna per *hazri* for adults and half an anna for a child. All these factors compelled the garden to issue hard-board tokens of two annas, one anna, half anna (two paise) and one pice denomination. As the allowances were temporary in nature, the tokens had to be used within a specific time period.

The Sylhet Tea Company — Malmicherra token



¹²¹ P. Griffiths, *The History of the Indian Tea Industry*, London, 1967, p.314.

Obverse

**THE SYLHET TEA CO LD.
MALNICHERRA
SYLHET**

Reverse

**THE SYLHET TEA CO LD.
9 PIES
SYLHET**

While the first and third lines, both on the obverse and reverse, are in an arc, the central lines are straight.

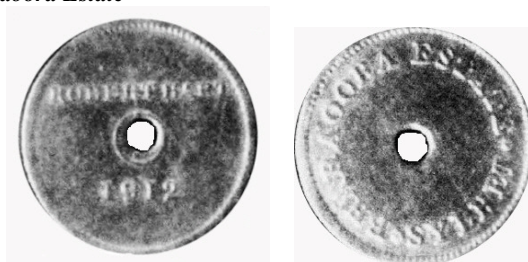
This was the first garden to be established in Sylhet. In 1856¹²², an attempt was made to survey Sylhet to ascertain if tea could be cultivated there. It was found that the wild tea plants were already in existence in Sylhet and the climate was indeed suitable for plantation. After the formation of the North Sylhet Tea Company, the Malnicherra Tea Garden was established in 1856. This popularised the concept of tea gardens in the district. The garden was situated under the Jayantiapur police station at a distance of 3.5 miles (5.6 km).

Kurmah Tea Estate



This beautiful token relates to the Kurmah Tea Estate. The obverse and reverse bear the same legend. A scroll design around the central hole adds to the attractiveness of this brass piece. This garden is located in the Moulvibazar district (originally a part of the Sylhet district, Bangladesh). The diameter of the token is 30 mm. As this type of token with a diameter of 25 mm has also been noticed, we assume that the smaller-sized token was meant to pay women or child labourers.

Bharaoora Estate



Two tea tokens of the Bharaoora Estate were first noticed by Scaife (No. 40). His tokens were originally dated 1881 but subsequently partially deleted by a plain line and a new date, 1901, stamped on. Pridmore subsequently recorded these tokens in his book under Sl.No.14 and 15, along with two more tokens dated 1881, under Sl. No. 12 and 13. The sizes, according to him, were 33 and 25.5 mm.. Scaife, however, mentioned the sizes as 32 and 19.5 mm.. We suggest that the sizes of all the above tokens are 33, 25.5 and 19.5m., meant for male, female and child labour respectively. It appears from the above image¹²³ that tokens were again struck in 1912. The legends of all the tokens are identical (except the countermarks when present). The legends run as follows:

Obv. BHARAOORA ESTATE above and SYLHET below.

Rev. ROBERT HART in a straight line above the hole and the date below. The tokens are made of brass. Interestingly, R. Hart and O. Sheffield was the owner of the garden.

We have also come across a tea garden token with almost the same name of the company but with SUTAPARA as the name of the garden.



Obverse
BARAOORA
COMPANY

Reverse
9

(Below the hole)

SUTAPARA
1908

PIE

We are yet to identify the exact location of this garden, which is probably also in Sylhet district ¹²⁴.

SULTANS OF BENGAL: TWO GOLD TANKAS OF SHAHZADA BARBAK

The rot set in as far as the later House of Ilyas was concerned when Rukn al-Din Barbak (AH 864-879; AD 1459-1474) appointed a large number of Abyssinian to the army as well as to other important positions. It was not long before the latter, known as Habshis, began to assume a dominant role in the politics of the state. They formed the sultan's bodyguard and indulged in many political machinations.

Rukn al-Din Barbak's successors were not able to curtail the strength of the Habshis. Jalal al-Din Fath Shah tried to do so but fell victim to a Habshi plot in the year AH 893, led by the commander of the palace guards, Khwajasera Sultan Shahzada.

Sultan Shahzada then declared himself sultan, giving himself the title Ghiyath al-Din Barbak Shah. His reign was short, the sources varying in quoting a period of two and a half months to eight months before he was killed by Malik Andil, another Habshi army commander. Malik Andil then ascended the throne as Saif al-Din Firuz Shah.

Shahzada Barbak's silver tankas, all very rare, are known from the mints of Dar al-Zarb, Fathabad and Khazana (G&G B641-644). In our book *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, JP Goenka and I mentioned the existence of a gold tanka, but not having had access to it, were unable to provide either an accurate description of it or an illustration.

JP Goenka has kindly provided the illustration of the following gold tanka of Khazana mint.



The obverse legend reads:

¹²² A. C. Choudhry, op. cit. part I, part II, p.32.

¹²³ I am thankful to Ms. Ritu Joshi, Nashik, for providing me with the required information.

¹²⁴ The author is grateful to S.M. Iftekhar Alam, Dacca and Nicholas Rhodes, London, for their informative support.

*ghiyāth al-dunyā wa
al-dīn abū al-muzaffar
barbakshāh al-sultān
khalīda allāh mulkahu*

This is all enclosed within a circle and a decorative border.

The reverse, also within a circle and the same type of decorative border has the Kalima, the mintname, Khazana, and the date, year 893. The Kalima is inscribed in two lines, with *muḥammad* starting the second line on the right.

Paul Stevens has provided an illustration of a second gold tanka of this ruler, struck at the same mint and in the same year but which shows certain differences.



This coin shows some stylistic differences and some differences in layout. On the obverse, the word *wa* begins the second line rather than forming the end of the first line in the first coin. On the reverse, the Kalima is engraved in three lines instead of two. The mintname is also engraved rather differently. The numerals of the date are larger.

The weight of neither coin is currently available but would be expected to be around 10.8 g.

SOME SAFAVID COINS OF BAGHDAD AND MOSUL

During the first part of the reign of Isma'il I (AH 907-930; AD 1502-1524), the Safavids struck coins at various mints in eastern Anatolia as well as in what is now Iraq.

Yahya Jafar has kindly provided illustrations of some coins struck in Baghdad and Mosul during this period¹²⁵.

Baghdad had previously been under the authority of the Jalayrids (AD 1400-1411), the Qara Quyunlu (AD 1411-1469) and the Aq Quyunlu. The Safavids captured the city in AD 1508 (AH 914). They held it until AD 1534, when it was captured by the Ottomans under Sulayman I.

Two silver coins are presented here, which must have been struck very soon after the Safavid capture of the city, as they are both dated AH 914.



This is 2 shahi piece, weighing 18.76 g and with a diameter of 28 mm. The obverse bears the ruler's titles and the mint, viz:

*al-sultān al-'ādil
al-kāmil al-hādī al-wālī
abu'l muzaffar isma'il bahādur
khalīda allāh mulkahu wa sultānahu fī
balad Baghdād*

The reverse has the Shia' Kalima within a slightly ornate cartouche, with the names of the twelve *rashidun* in the margin. The date can be clearly seen in the bottom margin, a little to the

right. Not all coins of Isma'il I bear a date, nor a mint for that matter, but when they do, it is usually to be found on the obverse close to the mintname. Dates engraved on the reverse, i.e. the Kalima side, occur much less frequently but are known for other mints.



This is a one shahi coin of the same issue, struck in AH 914. It weighs 9.23 g and has a diameter of 24 mm.



This is gold ashrafi, struck in Baghdad in the year 919. Gold coins of the early Safavids, with a few exceptions, are much rarer than one would expect. This coin weighs 3.6 g and has a diameter of 17 mm. The obverse bears the ruler's name, mint and date within a central circle, with the rest of his titles in the margin. Within the circle can be seen:

*shāh isma'il khān
darb baghdād
919*

There may be another word at the top of the inscription but which is not struck up, possibly *bahādur*. The margin shows part of a similar legend as found on the silver shahi coins. The reverse has the names of the 12 *rashidun*, arranged in mill-sail fashion within a scalloped circle, with the Kalima placed in the margin.

Baghdad remained lost to the Safavids until late in the reign of 'Abbas I (AH 995-1038; AD 1578-1629). Silver abbasis are known struck in the years 1031, 1033 and 1035.



Two varieties of abbasi struck in Baghdad during the latter part of the reign of Shah 'Abbas I

Baghdad remained in Safavid hands during most of the reign of 'Abbas' successor, Safi I (AH 1038-1052; AD 1629-1642). Abbasis are known for the years 1038, 1041, 1044, 1046 and 1047. They are relatively common.



Abbasis struck in Baghdad during the reign of Safi I, dated 1038, 1040 and 1044



Abbasis struck in 1044 (date at bottom), 1046 and 1047

¹²⁵ The illustrations of the coins of 'Abbas I and Safi I are provided by the Editor.



Abbasi struck during the reign of Safi I but with very different layout; no date visible.

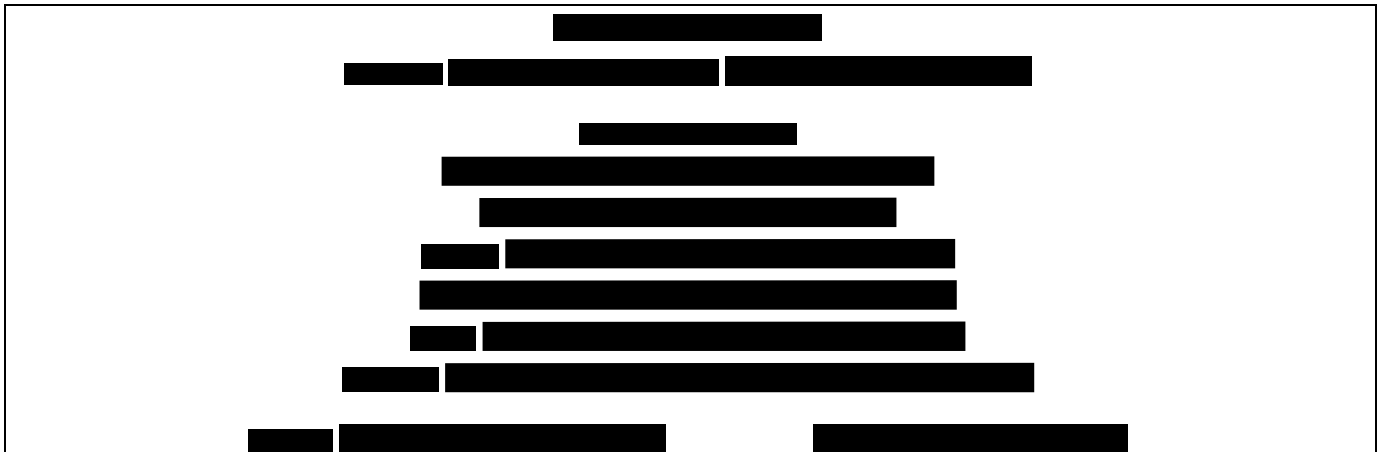
Mosul, on the site of the ancient Nineveh, was conquered by the Safavids from the Aq Qyunlu in AD 1508 and lost to the Ottomans in 1535. Safavid coins of this mint are very rare.



Published here is a gold coin, weighing 1.59 g, 13 mm in diameter, struck in Mosul. On the obverse in a square is the three-line legend *isma'īl shāh mūṣul*. The ruler's titles continue in the margin. The reverse has the Shia' Kalima in a square.

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