



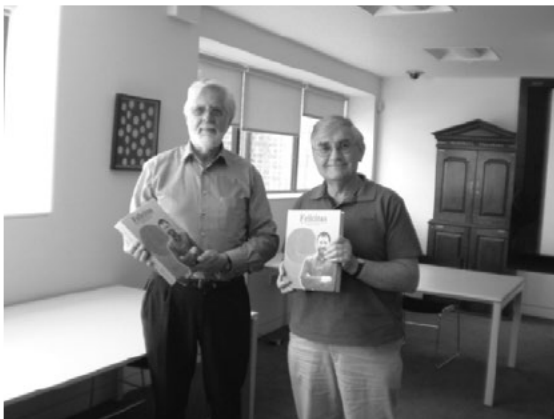
ONS News

Oxford Meeting

This meeting took place on 16 April 2011 at the Ashmolean Museum. The focus of the day was Dr Paul Stevens' extensive collection which resides in the Ashmolean as a long-term loan and the papers drew their inspiration from it. The papers were:

1. 'The first phase of Mughal-Afghan conflict in North India - numismatic insights' - Stan Goron
2. 'The Rohillas - political history, mints and coinage' - Shailendra Bhandare
3. 'The Allahabad mint - coins struck under British control' - Paul Stevens

In addition, the book *Felicitas*, published in honour of Joe Cribb (see below, p. 3) was formally presented.



Jan Lingen and the Editor with the newly published copies of Felicitas



Paul Stevens ensuring that those present learnt how the mintname Allahabad was engraved on Mughal coins



Farhad Sediq, Curator for Numismatics at the National Museum in Kabul, informing the meeting about that museum's collections

Oriental Numismatic Conference in Ukraine

A conference, with the title "RASMIR: Oriental numismatics", will be held in Odessa on 29-31 July 2011 at the facilities of the Odessa National University. This conference is being held under the auspices of the Russian-speaking site on Oriental Numismatics WWW.RASMIR.RU with the support of ZENO.RU., the Odessa National University and the ONS. Specialists in the fields of oriental numismatics, sigillography, history, archaeology, and interface disciplines are invited as well as collectors and other interested parties. Russian-English translation will be made available if required.

The following fields are the subject of the conference:

- Numismatics of Islamic dynasties;
- Numismatics of pre-Islamic Persia;
- Numismatics of China;
- Ottoman numismatics;
- History and archaeology of Eastern Europe in the light of numismatic data.

The organising committee comprises Andrey Krivenko, Irakli Paghava, Alexander Kazarov, Alexey Alyoshin, Alexander Akopyan, Evgueni Goncharov, Yevgen Lemberg and Vadim Yuklyanyuk. More information can be found online at <http://rasmircoins.ucoz.ru/forum/2-5656-1> and the organising committee may be contacted at : [REDACTED]

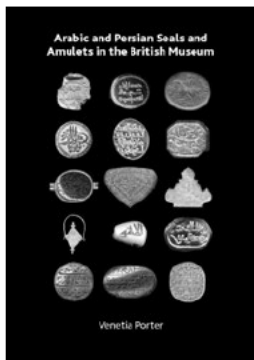
A cultural programme is being planned as an accompaniment to the conference as well as a dinner at a Ukrainian national

This is the first publication on the British Museum's outstanding collection of Arabic and Persian seals and amulets, and is presented by an expert in the field.

Contents:

- Introduction
- Catalogue
- 1. Clay, bronze and lead sealings c. eighth–tenth centuries
- 2. Names
- 3. Names and phrases
- 4. Phrases
- 5. Re-engraved seals and seals with Arabic inscriptions on both sides
- 6. Seals c. 14th century and later
- 7. Dated seals
- 8. Indo-Muslim seals and miscellaneous seals
- 9. Amulets introduction
- Amulets catalogue
- Identification of the materials of the seals and amulets
- Sylvia Humphrey and Janet Ambers*
- Methods of engraving
- Margaret Sax and Nigel Meeks*
- Bibliography
- Concordances

This catalogue is in two parts. The first focuses on the 638 Arabic, Persian and Indian seals in the British Museum covering material from the 8th to the 20th century. The Introduction covers seal practice in different periods and levels of society; the role of the seal and the 'alāma or motto, the use of figural representation on the seals, seal engravers, the forgery of seals. The features of the seals themselves, in particular the palaeography and dating of early Islamic seals, some grammatical features of the inscriptions, and the range of designs present on the seals are analysed. The types and form of Islamic names, the range of phrases that commonly appear and the characteristics of later seals are also discussed. The second part focuses on 170 amulets in the collection preceded by an introduction to the subject.

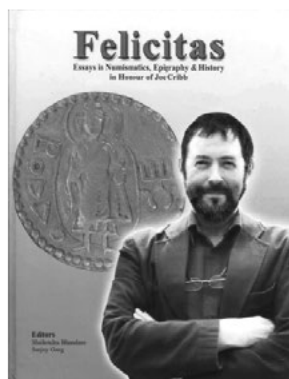


The author:

Venetia Porter is curator of the Islamic collections in the British Museum. She has published widely on different aspects of Islamic art. She curated the British Museum exhibition *Word into Art* in 2006, with its associated catalogue.

Published, 208 pages, every seal and amulet illustrated throughout in colour, PB: 978 0 86159 160 2, £40

It is hoped to publish reviews of both of the above British Museum books in future editions of this journal.



Felicitas: Essays in Numismatics, Epigraphy and History in Honour of Joe Cribb, Eds. Shailendra Bhandare and Sanjay Garg, 492 pages, with illustrations (including 10 colour plates), hardbound. Reesha Books International, Mumbai, 2011 ISBN 81-89752-08-1 Price: INR 2200 (US\$70, £40 abroad) Further information on www.reeshabooks.com or email info@reeshabooks.com

The felicitation volume presented to Joe Cribb on 5th October 2010 at an ONS seminar held in Oxford (see JONS 205) has now been published by

'Reesha Books International', the publishing house owned by Dr Dilip Rajgor, ONS regional secretary for South Asia. The volume contains twenty-one contributions by numismatists and historians covering a wide range of topics in Indian, Central Asian, South-East Asian and Islamic history.

The rights for overseas distribution of the publication are with M/s Todywalla Auctions, Todywalla House, 80, Ardeshir Dady Street, Khetwadi, Mumbai 400 004. For ordering information please contact info@todyauction.com

Gandharan Studies, Volume 4

The fourth volume of *Gandharan Studies* has recently been published. The journal, which frequently includes articles on ancient coinage from the region is edited by Nasim Khan of Peshawar University and this volume is dedicated to Joe Cribb. As the introduction (written by E. Errington & H. Wang) explains, Joe has been supportive and helpful to a huge range of scholars during his time at the British Museum's Department of Coins & Medals and this volume is an opportunity for many of those colleagues to thank him for his contributions. Papers include:

M.Nasim Khan: "Wima Takto-One of Two? Archaeological and numismatic evidence from Gandhara"

R.Bracey and W.A.Oddy: "The analysis of Kushan period gold coins by specific gravity"

Gul Rahim Khan: "Copper coins of Vasudeva and his successors from Taxila"

Q.J. Muhammadzai: "Seals and Sealings from Charsadda (2)"

M.Nasim Khan: "Seals and Sealings from Kashmir Smast and its surrounding areas"

Wannaporn Rienjang: "Religious environs in the Buddhist (?) town of Taxila"

Michael W.Meister: "Gumbat, Talakash Valley, Dir: an Indus temple in Greater Gandhara"

Readers interested in purchasing a copy of the journal should write to Prof. Dr M. Nasim Khan, C/O Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Peshawar, NWFP - Pakistan.

Auction News

Records tumble at Morton & Eden sale

Morton and Eden's specialist auction of Important Coins of the Islamic World, held at Sotheby's on 4 April, not only set new record auction prices for individual coins but has also fundamentally changed perceptions of value within the wider Islamic coin market. The 81-lot sale realised the astonishing total of £6,685,920, making it by far the most valuable coin auction ever held in the UK.

Before this landmark sale, record prices for Islamic coins had stood since the late 1990s, with £308,000 paid for a single gold coin (a Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minin dinar of AH 92 from the Turath Collection, 1999), £528,000 for a set of six Qajar gold coins struck for the Treaty of Turkmanchay (Sotheby's, 1999) and £99,000 for a silver coin (an Umayyad dirham of Jiruft AH 82, also Sotheby's 1999).

Morton and Eden's auction saw all these records broken repeatedly, beginning as early as lot 11, when the first of two Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minin dinars was offered. Like the Turath specimen, this was also dated AH 92 and its auction estimate of £250,000-300,000 was set with this piece in mind. But four or five bidders soon drove the price well beyond this figure, and the lot was eventually sold for £648,000.



Dinar: Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minin AH 92

This record stood for about four minutes, before it in turn was swept away by an astonishing and unprecedented battle for the following lot, another Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minin dinar bearing the additional legend *bi'l-Hijāz*. Not only is this the first instance of a location in Saudi Arabia appearing in the numismatic record, but these extremely rare dinars are probably the earliest dated Islamic objects of any kind to name a place within the kingdom's borders. Bidding began at £300,000 and the price climbed steadily with interest from several quarters, but by the time it had reached about £750,000, it seemed that the lot was now being contested by two determined bidders and the price rose swiftly thereafter. The landmark £1,000,000 was soon reached and just as quickly exceeded, as a combination of decisive bidding and £100,000 increments saw the price shoot up to £3,100,000. The eventual sum paid, including the buyer's premium, was therefore £3,720,000, the second highest price ever paid for any coin at auction.



Dinar: Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minin bi'l-Hijāz

A few minutes later, the record for an Islamic silver coin was broken three times in quick succession and in no less spectacular fashion. All three coins were Umayyad dirhams, the first a piece of Arran AH 90 (£102,000), followed by an issue of Dasht Maysan AH 79 (£114,000) and finally and most dramatically a coin of 'Uman AH 90 which eventually brought the astonishing figure of £1,080,000.



Dirham: 'Umān AH 90

While these exceptional prices have taken the headlines for obvious and very good reasons, the rest of the sale also saw consistently strong bidding with lots regularly making two or three times their pre-sale estimates. Arab-Sasanian coins proved particularly popular with several buyers chasing rarities to unprecedented price levels.

It remains to be seen how the market will respond to these results, and it would clearly be naïve to assume that all Islamic coins have somehow tripled in value overnight. But this sale demonstrates that Islamic coins of great rarity and real historical significance can, under the right circumstances, realise the kind of prices at auction that were previously reserved for the finest Islamic manuscripts and works of art. Indeed, this auction was deliberately timed to coincide with Sotheby's Islamic Week; Morton and Eden worked closely with Sotheby's in the promotion of this sale, and it is felt that this was an important factor in its remarkable success.

All prices quoted include buyers' premiums at prevailing rates. Morton and Eden report that all lots offered in this sale have now been sold.

In California, Stephen Album Rare Coins Auction 10 took place on 22-23 April. The auction comprised 1817 lots, the vast majority of which were oriental. Highlights of the sale were a fine collection of Arab-Byzantine coinage, and an important collection of Mongol coins, including a superb representation of coins of Chingiz Khan, from the Tony Ettinger collection.

Other News

Central Asian Numismatic Institute

The Institute is planning to hold a day-long panel at the XII European Society for Central Asian Studies Biennial Conference, University of Cambridge on 20-22 September 2011. Anyone interested in presenting a paper should contact Judith Kolbas (jgkolbas@yahoo.co.uk). The institute's Annual General Meeting will also be held during the conference. The time and place of the meeting will be arranged once the conference schedule is known. Excellent participation is expected from many countries, and representing fields beyond that of numismatics. More information can be found on the website of the Central Asia Forum (www.cambridge-centralasia.org).

Michael Bates is posting online a reference file, "Names and titles on Islamic coins," which is being transcribed little by little from thousands of 3x5 cards, and from new names and titles encountered in his own research. The file can be found at:

http://numismatics.academia.edu/MichaelBates/Papers/495031/Names_and_Titles_on_Islamic_Coins_An_Index

Anyone interested in chopmarks on coins may like to join the Chopmark Collectors Club. This club of like-minded collectors publishes a newsletter entitled Chopmark News, the electronic version of which is free. The editor of the newsletter is Colin Gullberg, who can be contacted at chopmarknews@gmail.com

Book Review

K.K. Maheshwari, *Imitation in Continuity – Tracking the Silver Coinage of Early Medieval India*, IIRNS Publications Pvt. Ltd., Nasik 2010, ISBN 978-81-86786-28-4, 319pp.

This lavishly illustrated book presents a new guide to the most enigmatic series of the early medieval coinage of northern India, the 'Indo-Sasanian' coinages issued from the sixth to thirteenth centuries.

These coins have confounded many generations of scholars since they were first brought to the attention of the scholarly world by James Prinsep in 1835 (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* volume IV, December, pp. 687-8). This study represents the culmination of work over the last few decades in classifying and attributing the Indo-Sasanian series.

Maheshwari brings together in this book images of Indo-Sasanian coins which he has been assembling over more than a decade. These are accompanied by detailed drawings of the key identification elements derived from the coin images. He uses these images and drawings to present a detailed classification and attribution for the various series of Indo-Sasanian coins derived ultimately from a single prototype, the silver drachms of Peroz, Sasanian ruler of Iran, AD 459–84. His classification system also draws on the metrology and metallurgy of the coins, their find spots and hoarding evidence, together with an analysis of inscriptional and literary sources. He also discusses and evaluates the findings of scholarly research on the series since Prinsep.

This publication reaches far beyond the basic classifications of Cunningham (*Coins of Medieval India*, London 1894), Gopal (*Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India*, Varanasi 1966) and Mitchiner (*Oriental Coins and their Values – Non-Islamic and Western Colonies, AD 600-1979*, London 1979), which are based largely on coin designs and received attributions. It is closer in nature to the studies by Deyell (*Living Without Silver*, Delhi 1990) and Pokharna (*Coins of North India 500–1200 AD – A Comprehensive Study on Indo-Sasanian Coins*, Jaipur 2006). Deyell's intention was not to achieve a full classification, but to present an understanding of the monetary systems within which these coins were issued and circulated drawing on a similar but more limited range of data to that used by Maheshwari, but his subject was broader, covering all coin types of the period. Pokharna's objective was to produce a book similar to that now

being reviewed, but on the basis of more limited evidence. She makes a good attempt at classification, like Maheshwari showing images of the coins with drawings of critical details, but her approach limits itself by only basing its analysis on the evidence presented by hoards.

Maheshwari's classification system deals with the coinages in three categories: 1. the Gadhैया paisas, from their early adaptation from the imported coins of Peroz, through their consolidation into an independent imitative series, lasting several centuries, down to the later stages with inscribed issues; 2. the Chahamana drammas, adding features from north-western Turkish issues to the Peroz design, marked initially with the letter 'se', then with royal initials 'Shri ha', etc.; and 3. the Shri Vighraha and Srimad Adivaraha drammas of the Pratihara empire. Each section outlines the historical context and inscriptional evidence relating to the coins. An appendix analyses all the inscriptional and textual references to coinage in the period in question.

The important step forward made by this book is its intentionally 'holistic' (p. 19) approach to the data, drawing on a wide range of techniques for analysis. He works from both collected and hoarded material to establish the widest basis for establishing his classification, showing a wide range of examples in order to confirm the detail of his system, while also showing the variety of treatments in each grouping. He uses stylistic progression and degeneration of designs and, where appropriate, inscriptions, together with metallurgy and metrology to nuance the sequential elements of his classification scheme. This provides a clear account of the coinage over which the attribution process can be laid. He uses maps to illustrate the distribution ranges of the various groupings in order to evidence their relationships and probable attributions. While scholars will continue to refer to Deyell to understand the broader economic picture and to Pokharna for a view of the contents of individual hoards, Maheshwari's volume will now serve as the best guide to classifying and attributing these coins.

But Maheshwari has provided us with more than just a guide, as his intention reaches beyond the numismatic. He has set out 'to place the coins in their contemporary context' in a way which one hopes will now discourage historians from their simplistic analysis of the economic structure of post-Gupta India.

Maheshwari's study contradicts the widely held view that there was a paucity of money in northern India between the sixth and tenth centuries (the case for this view is best presented by R.S. Sharma's chapter 'Paucity of Metal Coinage, c.500 – c.1000' (pp. 119–62) in his book *Early Medieval Indian Society*, Hyderabad 2001). If one could criticize Maheshwari it might be that he does not take the 'fight' to the historians. He has well made the case that coinage was widely produced and used in northern India during this period, but does not explicitly critique Sharma's case.

The nonsense of Sharma's data is immediately apparent to any coin collector or museum curator. Hoard evidence for the volume of coinage during this period is well known thanks to the work of Pokharna and Bhatia, but Sharma chose to produce statistics on the basis of museum collections to validate his analysis. I was present when he collected the data from the British Museum which he presented on p. 154 of the above-mentioned book. He took the relative quantities of different coin series in the British Museum and other collections as an indication of production levels at different periods, ignoring the practices of collecting. The British Museum's collection aims to collect examples of coins of different types and varieties, so has many examples of the gold coins of the Kushans and Guptas, with their wide range of designs (often collected by die-variety), but has a smaller series of Indo-Sasanian coins because of the lower number of types in the series. Hoard evidence shows that Kushan and Gupta gold coins were issued and circulated in relatively small numbers compared with the Indo-Sasanian coinage. Museum collections have not been constructed to reflect production volumes. Needless to say, I uttered such caveats to Sharma as we counted, but he chose to ignore them. Maheshwari's book overwhelmingly presents the case, extending the argument presented explicitly by Deyell and implicitly by

Pokharna, that the sixth to tenth centuries were a heavily monetised period in northern India.

It is certain that this book will not be the last word on the subject, no matter how diligent, perspicacious and comprehensive Maheshwari's work has been. More hoards and inscriptions will continue to appear, new minor varieties will continue to be discovered and the historical context will continue to be enlarged. I am confident, however, that this book will remain the basis for future analysis for a very long time. I hope that we will hear more from this author on the subject, and I advise him to start by looking at the new book on the Huns and Turks in the northwestern part of the subcontinent which has just appeared: M. Alram, et al. (editors), *Coins, Art and Archaeology II*, Vienna 2010. Our understanding of the Huns in India, the starting point of the Indo-Sasanian coinage, will inevitably require a reassessment in the light of the new evidence being discovered in the northwest.

I congratulate K.K. Maheshwari on what he has achieved in this volume. He has created one of those rare reference works which will serve numismatic scholars, coin collectors, archaeologists and historians. It is a model of the numismatic classification process and its application as a tool for historical research.

Joe Cribb

Corrigendum

In two articles by Yahya Jafar, published in JONS 204 and 206, 'A new Abbasid mint' and 'A new dinar from Sana'a' part of the Arabic legends of the coins became omitted during the file conversion process, a lapse that went unnoticed prior to printing. Our apologies to Yahya for this. The full legends are published here.

1. A new Abbasid mint:



Obv.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Margin:

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالدير سنة اربع و ثمنين و مئة

Rev.

محمد رسول الله
مما امرت به ام جعفر
ابنت ابي الفضل
ياسر

Margin: (*Surat al-Ma'eda/Aya 56*)

من يتول الله و رسوله و الذين امنوا فان حزب الله هم الغالبون

2. A new dinar from Sana'a



Obv.

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له
محمد رسول الله

Outer obverse:

الله الامر من قبل و من بعد و يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله

Inner obverse:

(sic) بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بصنعا سنة اربعم

Rev.

امر به الامام
محمد بن القاسم
بن الحسين الزيدي
بن رسول الله

Margin:

جاء الحق و زهق الباطل ان الباطل كان زهوقا و تنزل من القران ما
هو شفاء

Articles

AN EMERGENCY COINAGE IN ANTIOCH AD 540 - 542

By S J Mansfield

Twelve copper coins are here described that appear to be Byzantine issues from Antioch, dateable, by their mint signatures, to AD 537 - 539. The coins are in fact hybrids, muling obverses based on coins issued, in all but one case, by Anastasius I (491-518) with reverses that sign the Antioch mint in a form first used in 537. The coins could be the products of an unofficial mint operating in the city following its sack by the Persians in June 540.

Introduction

In the early sixth century, the city of Antioch (modern Antakya in Turkey) was one of the great trading centres of the Eastern Roman, or Byzantine, Empire. After AD 512, when the base metal coinage was reformed during the reign of the Emperor Anastasius I, 491-518, heavy copper coins (the follis and its fractions) bearing the name of the city were issued in enormous quantities¹.

In the first half of the sixth century, the prosperity of Antioch suffered a severe decline. Earthquakes struck the city several times during the 520s, one of which, at least, resulted in a large

loss of life². In 532, the Sasanian Persians violated the "everlasting peace" between the two empires, capturing and burning Antioch in June 540³.

At the time of the Persian capture of Antioch, and during almost all of the 12 year period following an earthquake in November 528, the folles produced there bore various forms of mint signature that were abbreviations in Latin or in Greek of THEOPOLIS (City of God), the name by which the city had become known in the hope of protection from future natural disasters⁴. The mint signature with which this article is concerned is ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ. Hahn⁵ dates this mint mark to 537-539, a period which may be a truncated *lustrum* (the period of five years between censuses in the Roman world⁶). The ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ mint mark is referred to as Class 4 in the Dumbarton Oaks catalogue.⁷

Coins with the ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ mint signature seem to have been issued alongside the implementation of a further reform of the coinage by Justinian I (527 - 565). This reform introduced a new system of dating coins according to regnal year and a new portrait type of Imperial portrait.⁸

At Antioch/Theopolis, the new "regnal coinage" of Justinian seems to have been issued later than at Constantinople, perhaps because of a delay in the "bureaucratic transmission of orders"⁹. In any case, the first reformed folles issued at Antioch are dated year 13 (April 539 to April 540) and bear the mint signature ΘΥΠΙΟ. No folles of the following regnal year are known and the issuing of coinage seems not to have resumed at Antioch until 542-543 (regnal year 16). This hiatus in coinage is conventionally, and quite logically, associated with the Persian sack of Antioch, and the issue of regnal year 16 with a Byzantine reoccupation. It is of significance to the arguments outlined in this article that the reformed coinage of Justinian also brings in a novel portrait. At Antioch, as at virtually all the mints, the new coinage portrays Justinian in martial dress - a facing bust wearing a cuirass and a plumed helmet, and holding a shield with the device of a mounted soldier thrusting with a spear. These broad, handsome, coins are well known to collectors¹⁰. They contrast with the rather more non-aggressive iconography of most of the pre-539 profile bust coins produced at Antioch¹¹.

The coins

Writing in 1966, in DOC volume 1¹², on page 140, Alfred Bellinger describes a coin in the following terms: "This is a surprising mule of what looks like a perfectly genuine reverse of Class IV with an obverse of Anastasius with the name so garbled that it must surely be a contemporary forgery". On the coin itself (plate XXXVI, Ae 213), the mint signature ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ can be discerned and Bellinger includes the coin among the regular Class 4 issues of Antioch signed in that way.

Since 1966, a number of other specimens have come to light. Together, they make up a group of coins that are related to the D. O. specimen, either very closely or more distantly, and form the

² Procopius, *History of the Wars*, Book 1, Loeb Classical Library, 1914, Book II, xiv, page 383.

³ Procopius (op. cit.), Book II, viii - ix.

⁴ Hahn, W., *Money of the Incipient Byzantine Empire* (MIBE), *Anastasius I - Justinian I, 491-565*, Vienna, 2000, page 60.

⁵ MIBE (op. cit.).

⁶ Thus, Hahn, in MIBE (op. cit.), suggests that the three mint signatures used during the 12 years referred to (all variants of THEOPOLIS) covered periods of five years, five years, and two years respectively.

⁷ Bellinger, A., *Catalogue of Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore Collections* (DOC), Volume 1, *Anastasius I to Maurice, 491-602*, Washington, 1966.

⁸ Grierson, P., *Byzantine Coins*, Methuen, 1982, (page 60) suggests that the reformed coinage was a "belated application to the coinage of a provision of Novel XLVII of 31 August 537 which ordered that regnal years should be used in the dating of official documents".

⁹ Hahn, in MIBE (op. cit.), page 57.

¹⁰ See DOC (op. cit.), plate XXXVII et seq.

¹¹ DOC (op. cit.), plates XXXV - XXXVI.

¹² DOC (op. cit.).

¹ Grierson, P., *Byzantine Coins*, Methuen and University of California Press, 1982, (page 63).

subject of this paper. All the coins are hybrids, that is, they mule the Class 4 reverse of Justinian showing the ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ mint mark with obverses that name earlier Emperors, either Anastasius I or Justin I (518-527). A catalogue of the known examples is at Annex A. Before trying to identify a possible historical context for the coins, a discussion of the known examples is necessary.

The group as a whole is composed of three types all of which are mules of one kind or another. The distinction between type 1 and type 2 rests on the reverse design.

Type 1a

Obv.: Garbled inscription naming Anastasius. Profile bust right with diadem, cuirass and paludamentum.

Rev.: M between two eight-pointed stars, cross above, officina letter beneath, ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ in exergue.

Nine examples are known, probably all struck with the same obverse die. Three officina (workshop) letters occur: A (one example), B (one) and Δ (seven).

Type 1b

Obv.: Similar type naming Justin.

Rev.: Same.

One example is known: MIB volume 3¹³, N131² (officina Δ).

Type 2

Obv.: Garbled inscription naming Anastasius.

Rev.: M between two crosses on globes, officina letter beneath, ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ in exergue.

Two examples are known, both of officina A. The coins appear to be die-linked.

The dies

Were the dies used to strike the coins products of the regular mint or were they made outside of the regular Imperial mint system? In relation to this, it is type 1a that is key. The obverse dies are without question irregular. As noted above, Bellinger believed that a regular reverse die was used to strike the D. O. specimen. Peter Donald, though, has commented that the Class 1a reverse dies are good copies¹⁴

Unfortunately, the Class 4 follis of Antioch struck between 537 and 539 is a scarce coin, possibly because it had to be squeezed into the third, truncated, lustrum referred to above. Only three specimens in all are illustrated in D. O. and the catalogues of the United Kingdom and French national collections¹⁵. No die-links are observable between the coins described here and specimens of Class 4 in these public collections. For the present, whether the reverse dies are regular or not remains unclear.

For type 1a, there is a long die-link chain of seven specimens struck, without question, from the same obverse die. For the reasons explained in the catalogue, there are doubts about two of the other coins, although I think it probable that only one such die was used. The seven coins that show on their reverses the symbol Δ (for the fourth officina of the mint) were all struck with the same reverse die. Thus, type 1a employs a maximum of three obverse dies, but possibly only one, and three reverse dies. With only one specimen available for study, no die-links have yet been identified for type 1b. The two specimens of type 2 are die-

linked. For the group as a whole, it seems that at least six dies were used.

Type 1b is an oddity. The coin is of good style and seems to have been struck with regular dies. Like Class 1a, it is a mule. If the dies are regular, at least 10 years would have elapsed between the making of the obverse die (which names Justin I) and the reverse (which conforms to Class 4 for Justinian I, i.e., 537-539). This does not necessarily mean that the coin was struck outside of the regular mint system, however. Single dies can survive the end of production of the coins for which they were made and be used mistakenly in the striking of subsequent issues.

Type 2 has a reverse for which there is no regular prototype and is fairly crudely engraved. The obverse names Anastasius. It lacks the cross placed before the Emperor's bust that occurs on products of the Antioch mint and the die used is, very probably, also irregular.

Metrology and die-axes

It is a pity that the data on weights are incomplete. Judging from the coins for which weights are known (which vary from just over 10 grams to nearly 15 grams) little control seems to have been exercised over the weights of the flans produced. Thus, it seems unlikely that there was any attempt to reflect the official Byzantine weight standard. The sample is of course small. All the coins for which die-axes are known were struck at roughly ↑ ↓.

Provenances

Information on provenances is limited. From type 1a, coin number 4 in the catalogue formed part of a Lebanese dealer's stock; number 5 has a glossy green patina that is often associated with coins found in northern Syria, although a Lebanon provenance is also possible; number 8 was found in Bulgaria¹⁶. Coin number 11 (type 2) was found in the vicinity of Rafah in the Gaza Strip¹⁷.

The historical context

It is suggested that some or all of these coins could have been produced in Antioch after the Persian sack of the city in mid-540 and before its reversion to Imperial control during 542-543. Those responsible for its issue might, perhaps, have been some kind of informal city council anticipating the need for a coinage to facilitate trade, albeit at a low level.

During the past 15 or so years, there has been substantial work on the question of whether some of the enormous number of coins found in the Middle East that imitate regular Byzantine issues of the seventh century might be the products of unofficial mints¹⁸. The most important, and the most relevant to this article, has been the work of Pottier on the "Syrian mint" that produced coins based on a wide variety of Byzantine prototypes during the Persian wars of Heraclius (610 - 630) in the course of which Syria was under Persian occupation for extended periods¹⁹.

A number of events following the Persian army's successful assault on Antioch's city walls in June 540 have to be considered, all of which are recorded by Procopius²⁰. The Persians got into the middle of the city and fought with the civilian population slaughtering many (page 335 of the Loeb edition); the survivors were captured and enslaved [341]; the Persian army, except for a small number of men ordered to fire the entire city, withdrew back

¹³ Hahn, W., *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, volume 3, Heraclius to Leo III, Vienna, 1981, plate 54.

¹⁴ Donald, P. J., in private correspondence with the author.

¹⁵ As well as DOC, (op. cit.), see Wroth, W., *Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, 1908, Morrisson, C., *Catalogue des Monnaies Byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (BN), 1970. In fact, DOC illustrates two coins and BN one.

¹⁶ Jekov, G., 'Two Imitations of Byzantine Copper Coins of the Sixth Century', *Numismatika* 1'87 (1987), pages 22 - 25 (in Bulgarian with a resume in French). The article is poorly illustrated which partly accounts for the quality of the reproduction here.

¹⁷ Spaer, A., 'The Rafah Hoard - Byzantine Sixth-Century Folles', *Numismatic Chronicle*, Seventh Series, Volume XVIII (1978), pages 66 - 71, number 51.

¹⁸ Mansfield, S. J., 'A Byzantine Irregular Mint of "Year 20"', *Numismatic Circular*, April 1992, pages 81 - 82; Mansfield, S. J., and Oddy, A., 'The "Year 20" Mint Revisited' (forthcoming); Pottier, H., 'Le Monnayage de la Syrie sous L'Occupation Perse (610-630)', *Cahiers Ernest-Babelon* 9, Paris 2004.

¹⁹ Pottier, 'Le Monnayage de la Syrie', (op. cit.).

²⁰ Procopius, op. cit.

to its encampment (343); in the ensuing fire, many houses at the extremity of the city were not in fact destroyed (345); the whole army went to Apamea (355); all the captives from Antioch were resettled in a new city close to the Persian capital at Ctesiphon (381).

Are these events consistent with the possibility of an unofficial mint located in Antioch issuing an emergency coinage? Parts of the city were left standing and the Persian army withdrew. Thus, there may have been both reason and opportunity to strike a coinage. On the other hand, Procopius says that the entire population was removed. Is this likely though? Modern history suggests that the resources necessary to deport entire populations are enormous and ancient authors often appear unreliable about numbers; for example, the statement by Procopius about the extent of the earthquake death toll²¹. It is quite possible that people remained in Antioch after the Persians withdrew.

The case for an official mint in Antioch in 540 - 542 also rests on:

- the number of dies used, suggesting organised and coherent activity;
- the presence on the coins of the ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ mint signature used on regular Byzantine issues at Antioch about a year, and perhaps only a few months, before the capture of the city by the Persians.

The obverses on the coins show not the iconography of the reformed folles of Justinian but the anachronistic designs of Justin I, and, particularly, of Anastasius I, both of whom are clearly named.

In relation to the Syrian mint during the Persian occupation of 610-630, Pottier²² was able to demonstrate that, in their choice of designs, the issuers were sensitive to the prevailing political situation and, at times when the Persians were more strongly placed locally, they struck coins based on pre-Heraclian prototypes. He had at his disposal a large body of coins and his treatment of the metrology was meticulous. The arguments that can be assembled here for an irregular mint operating 70 years earlier are far more slight. There are similarities, nonetheless, and credit should be given to Tony Goodwin for suggesting to me that a parallel exists²³. At risk of stating the obvious, coins showing the current Emperor Justinian in a martial pose would not be acceptable to a Persian army which, if not actually occupying the city, was still well placed, for some months at least, to intervene.

Conclusion

There is no literary evidence of which I am aware for this possible emergency mint. Nothing relevant can be concluded from the Rafah hoard, the coins in which cannot have been deposited before 573/574.²⁴ All we have is what can be drawn from just the 12 coins described here. Coins might still have been needed even in a despoiled and partly depopulated city. The local economy was probably shattered but human nature is such that people will continue to do business. Whoever produced the coins may have used both redundant regular dies drawn from the old official mint and new dies made by local artisans. In both cases, care seems to have been taken not to offend the Persians - whose permission to strike a coinage may have been needed - by portraying the Emperor with whom they were still at war. The best indication for activity of this kind rests with the type 1a coins for which at least three reverse dies were apparently made.

There are no die-links between the three types. Type 1b might be excluded completely on the basis that it could be the result of poor management practice at the regular mint at a completely different time. Type 2 is known from only one pair of dies and could have been produced under different circumstances although it is interesting that the reverse, without drawing completely on any regular prototype, has the ΘΥΠΙΟΑΣ mint signature.

The provenances present some difficulty for what is predicated as a local Syrian coinage. One example of type 1a was found in Bulgaria and one of type 2 in Gaza. But this is not necessarily inconsistent with the partial depopulation of Antioch and the dispersal of its former inhabitants.

It can reasonably be suggested that the enigmatic coinage that is type 1, and possibly types 1b and 2 also, might have made to meet a short-term, local, need and which could, plausibly, be fixed within the historical context of conditions in the city of Antioch in the months following June 540. If so, the claim made by Procopius that the city was emptied of its population might be wrong. He records that the city was not entirely destroyed. Little more can be advanced with confidence about the coins since other explanations are possible and might, sometime in the future, be made.





²¹ Procopius, op. cit., Book II, xiv, page 383.

















²² Pottier, 'Le Monnayage de la Syrie', (op. cit.).

²³ Goodwin, T., in private correspondence with the author.

²⁴ Spaer, 'The Rafah Hoard', (op. cit.).

Annex A: Catalogue

	Type 1a		
1.	Officina A Obverse die uncertain Reverse die a1 Observed in trade in 1986		(i)
2.	Officina B Obverse die A1 Reverse die b1 Private collection no. 1		
3.	Officina Δ Obverse die A2 Reverse die c1 Private collection no. 1		

4.	Officina Δ Obverse die A3 Reverse die c2 14.67 gms; 180° Private collection no. 2		
5.	Officina Δ Obverse die A4 Reverse die c3 10.28 gms; 200° Private collection no. 2		
6.	Officina Δ Obverse die A5 Reverse die c4 13.46 gms; 180° D. O. 213		
7.	Officina Δ Obverse die A6 Reverse die c5 MIIB 131 ¹		
8.	Officina Δ Obverse die A7 Reverse die c6		
9.	Officina Δ Obverse die uncertain (ii) Reverse die c7 10.03 gms; 180 Private collection no. 3		
	Type 1b		
10.	Officina Δ. MIB N131 ²		
	Type 2		
11.	Officina A Same dies as no. 12 9.94 gms; 180 Private collection no. 2		

12.	Officina A Same dies as no. 11 Rafah Hoard, no. 51 (iii)		
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(i) I observed this coin in Baldwins' trays in 1986. For reasons that make little sense now, I recorded few details and I was unable to photograph the coin. I was convinced that the reverse die was that used to strike D. O. 213a. It seems very likely that the obverse was also die-linked to the rest of the series, but my notes say only "obverse die-link?".

(ii) The obverse of this coin is certainly similar to the coins struck with die A but the reproduction is not good enough to establish a definitive die link.

(iii) Numismatic Chronicle, 1978, The Rafah Hoard (op. cit).

NEW MINT NAMES FOR A MARINID HALF DIRHAM TYPE

By Ludovic Liétard

This article concerns the silver coinage of the last Marinid sultan, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II, who ruled in Morocco from AD 1420 to 1465 (AH 823 - 869). He issued various types of dirhams and fractions of dirhams ([1], [2], [3]), exclusively struck in north Morocco, the known mint names being: Aṣīlā (another spelling is Aṣīlah), Fās, Meknes (Meknāsa), and Tāza.

Recently, in his PhD dissertation, El Hadri [2] published some new types for half dirhams issued by this ruler. He was the first and only person to describe these types and this article focuses on one of them. Coins of this type bear on the obverse side the end of verse 2 of sura 65 of the Qur'an ("And whoever fears Allah, He will make for him a way out"). The reverse side bears the mint name and the name of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq with the title of Commander of the Muslims. The reported mint names are Fās (El Hadri 402) and Aṣīlā (Aṣīlah) (El Hadri 403).

This article completes the description of this type by showing three other mintnames: Meknes (Meknāsa), Tāza and Sāla (also spelt Sla, or Salé). Section 1 is devoted to the description of the type while section 2 introduces the three new mint names.

1. Description of the type under consideration

The type we are interested in can be illustrated by the following half dirham (coin 1, 0.83 g., 14 x 16.5 mm, El Hadri 403) struck in Aṣīlā (اصيلا), also named Aṣīlah.



Fig. 1 (coin 1): a half dirham (obverse) struck by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Aṣīlā (El Hadri 403)

Obverse of coin 1 (Quran 65:2):

و من يتق
الله يجعل
له مخرجا

This obverse bears the end of verse 2 of sura 65 of the Qur'an and can be translated by "And whoever fears Allah, He will make for him a way out". The reverse is described below.



Fig. 2 (coin 1): a half dirham (reverse) struck by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Aṣīlā (El Hadri 403)

Reverse of coin 1:

عبد الحق
اصيلا
امير
المسلمين

The reverse legend can be translated as "Abd al-Ḥaqq, Aṣīlā, Commander of the Muslims". The mint name Aṣīlā (اصيلا) can be observed on the reverse:



Fig. 3: the mint name Aṣīlā

2. Additional mints for this type

The next three coins (coins 2, coin 3 and coin 4) show that this type can also be found with the mint names Meknes (Meknāsa), Tāza and Sāla. All these coins bear the same obverse legend as coin 1 (the end of verse 2 of sura 65 of the Qur'an) so its transcription and translation are not repeated here.

2.1 The mint name Meknes (Meknāsa)

Coin 2 (0.81 g, 13 x 15.5 mm, fig. 4) shows Meknes (Meknāsa) as the mint name.



Fig. 4 (coin 2): a half dirham struck by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Meknes

Reverse of coin 2:

عبد الحق
مكناسة
امير
المسلمين

The reverse legend is the same as on coin 1, except for the mint name. It can be translated as "'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Meknes, Commander of the Muslims". The mint name Meknes (Meknāsa) (مكناسة) can be observed on the reverse:

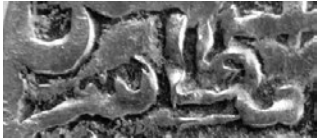


Fig. 5: the mint name Meknes (Meknāsa)

2.2 The mint name Tāza

Coin 3 (0.85 g, 15 x 14 mm, fig. 6) shows Tāza as the mint name.



Fig. 6 (coin 3): a half dirham struck by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Tāza

Reverse of coin 3:

عبد الحق
تازة
امير
المسلمين

The reverse legend is the same as on coin 1, except for the mint name. It can be translated as "'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Tāza, Commander of the Muslims". The mint name Tāza (تازة) can be observed on the reverse:

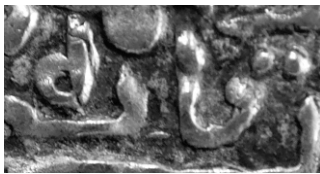


Fig. 7: the mint name Tāza

It should be noticed that this spelling of Tāza (تازة) differs from the spelling (تازى) already reported by Arroyo [1] for another type of silver coin issued by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II. According to Arroyo, the spelling تازة is encountered more often and is more correct than تازى (see [1] page 119 for a short discussion about these two spellings).

2.3 The mint name Sāla

Coin 4 (0.67 g, 16 x 16 mm, fig. 8) shows Sāla (Sālél) as mint name.



Fig. 8 (coin 4): a half dirham struck by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II in Sāla (Sālél)

Reverse of coin 4:

عبد الحق
سلا
امير
المسلمين

Again, the reverse legend is the same as on coin 1, except for the mint name. It can be translated as "'Abd al-Ḥaqq, Sāla, Commander of the Muslims". The mint name Sāla (سلا) can be seen on the reverse:

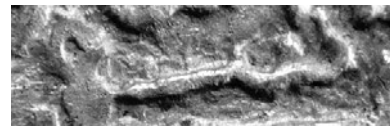


Fig. 9: the mint name Sāla

3. Conclusion

In this article, we have described a type of Marinid half dirham struck by the Marinid ruler, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II. This type was described in El Hadri's recent PhD dissertation [2] with the mint names Fās (El Hadri 402) and Aṣīlā (Aṣīlah) (El Hadri 403). Here, we have expanded the description of this type by showing three other mint names: Meknes, Tāza and Sāla (also named Slā or Sālél).

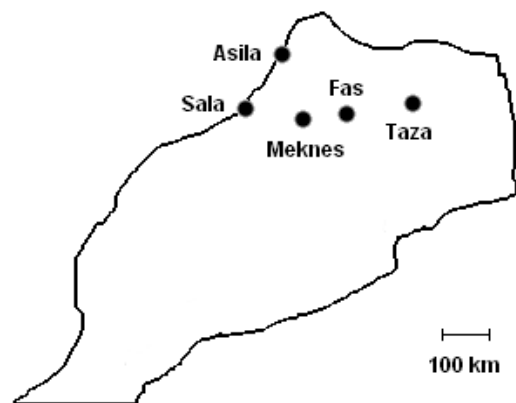


Fig. 10: a simplified map of northern Morocco

Furthermore, it is the first time that the mint name of Sāla is reported on a coin along with the name of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II.

References

- [1] Arroyo, Henri. 'Un trésor de dirhams de la fin de l'empire mérinide', *Revue Numismatique*, VI^e série, Tome XVI, 1974, 115-122.
- [2] El Hadri, Mohamed. *Les monnaies mérinides dans l'histoire monétaire du Maroc (13^{ème} - 15^{ème} siècle)*, Thèse de doctorat d'Histoire, Université Lumière-Lyon II (France), 2007.
- [3] Hohertz, Edmund. *A catalog of the square islamic coins of Spain, Portugal, and North Africa, 1130-1816 A.D.*, The Wooster Book Company, 2008.

A NEW TYPE FOR MARINID OR EARLY WATTASID SILVER COINAGE

By Ludovic Liétard

The Marinid dynasty ruled in western north Africa from AH 614 to AH 869 (AD 1217-1465) and then, in Morocco, they were succeeded by the Wattasid dynasty (AH 831-946 or AD 1428-1549). The silver coinage of both dynasties consists of dirhams, half dirhams, and quarter dirhams. This article introduces a new type of Marinid or early Wattasid silver coins.

In the beginning of the 1970's, 183 silver coins from the same hoard were studied and dated to the end of the Marinid dynasty by Arroyo [1]. This hoard was discovered near Meknes in northern Morocco and consisted of several thousand coins (of which only 183 coins were studied).

Most of the 183 specimens studied by Arroyo can be attributed to the last Marinid sultan, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq II (AH 823-869 / AD 1420-1465). A few of the coins discovered can be attributed to the period of instability, between the Marinids and the following dynasty (the Wattasids). These latter coins are the most recent of the 183 coins studied and Arroyo concluded that the hoard dates from the very end of the Marinid dynasty.

Fig. 1 depicts a half dirham (0.81 g and 12 x 15 mm) of a type defined by Arroyo from the Meknes hoard (Arroyo [1] figure 2, Hohertz [3] 304, Mitchiner [4] 506).

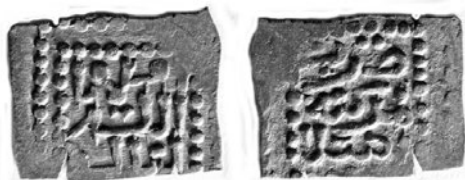


Fig. 1 (coin 1): a half dirham listed by Arroyo

Obverse:

امامنا
الله
تعالى

Reverse:

ضرب
بمدينة
اصيلا

The obverse can be translated by "Our leader is / God / May He be exalted" and the reverse by "Struck / in the town of / Aṣīlā". The mint town is Aṣīlā (اصيلا), situated in the north of Morocco.

I have recently obtained some different silver coins which were bought in the Meknes area during the 1970's. They are similar to coin 1 (Arroyo figure 2) and they bring to light a new type of silver coin to be added to the corpus of Moroccan coins.

The new type

Five coins of this new type have been identified and are illustrated as coins 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 below.

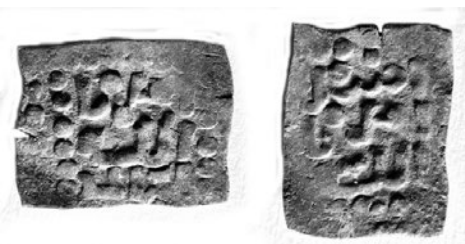


Fig. 2 (coin 2)

Obverse:

امامنا
الله
تعالى

Reverse:

اصيلا
امامنا
الله

The obverse can be translated by "Our leader is / God / May He be exalted" and the reverse by "Aṣīlā / Our leader is / God". Other coins sharing the same type are described hereafter.



Fig. 3 (coin 3)

Obverse:

امامنا
الله
تعا...

Reverse:

اصيلا
امامنا
الله



Fig. 4 (coin 4)

Obverse:

امامنا
الله
تعالى

Reverse:

اصيلا
امامنا
....



Fig. 5 (coin 5)

Obverse:

امامنا
الله
....

Reverse:

اصيلا
امامنا
الله



Fig. 6 (coin 6)

Obverse:

امامنا
الله
تعالى

Reverse:

اصيلا
امامنا
الله

This coin 6 can be considered a variant since the name الله does not fill the entire space of the second line on the obverse. These five coins define this new type as follows:

New type	
Obverse:	
امامنا	Our leader is
الله	God
تعالى	May He be exalted
Reverse:	
اصيلا	Aṣīlā
امامنا	Our leader is
الله	God

The different weights and sizes of coins 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 are given in table 1.

	Size	Weight
coin 2	12 x 9 mm	0.39 g
coin 3	11 x 10 mm	0.48 g
coin 4	11 x 11 mm	0.61 g
coin 5	10 x 10 mm	0.64 g
coin 6	13 x 10 mm	0.42 g

Table 1. Sizes and weights for the coins of the new type

Conclusion

The style and legends of the coins published above are very close to those of coin 1 (fig. 1), which was attributed to the Marinids by both Hohertz and Mitchiner. The obverse legend is exactly the same while the reverse legend differs (but in the same style).

The results shown in table 1 allow us to conclude that these coins are fractions of a dirham (since the full Marinid dirham weighs 1.5 g.) probably of the Marinid dynasty and struck in the north of Morocco (Asilā).

As these half dirhams are anonymous, their attribution to a particular ruler remains to be determined. Moreover, because, according to Arroyo, coin 1 could be dated to the very end of the

Marinid dynasty which coincided with the beginning of the Wattasids and their occupation of Aṣīlā, the possibility that this new type was struck by the first Wattasid ruler, Muḥammad al-Shaykh (AH 876-910 / AD 1472-1504), cannot be discarded.

Furthermore, according to Pena and Vega [5], the mint name which we have read here as Aṣīlā (اصيلا) can sometimes be read as اسلا which may be an alternative spelling for سلا (Slā, or Sālē, also in north Morocco and not far from Aṣīlā).

References

- [1] Arroyo, Henri: 'Un trésor de dirhams de la fin de l'empire mérinide', *Revue Numismatique*, VI^e série, Tome XVI, 1974, 115-122.
- [2] El Hadri, Mohamed: *Les monnaies mérinides dans l'histoire monétaire du Maroc (13^{ème} – 15^{ème} siècle)*, Thèse de doctorat d'Histoire, Université Lumière-Lyon II (France), 2007.
- [3] Hohertz, Edmund: *A catalog of the square islamic coins of Spain, Portugal, and North Africa, 1130-1816 A.D.*, The Wooster Book Company, 2008.
- [4] Mitchiner, Michael: *Oriental coins and their values: the world of Islam*, Hawkins, 1977.
- [5] Pena, Salvador & Vega, Miguel: 'A dirham, presumably Marinid, struck in Sla (Sale, Morocco)', *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, n° 191, Spring 2007.

A NEW COIN TYPE OF DIMITRI I, KING OF GEORGIA: ADDENDUM

By Irakli Paghava, Severian Turkia, Gennadiy Zlobin

In 2009 we published a new coin type of Dimitri [Demetre] I²¹, King of Georgia in 1125-1155, 1155-1156²². Our arguments for this attribution were presented in the original paper²³. Since then, 3 new specimens of this type have come to our attention. These new coins are quite valuable as they

- are somewhat different in terms of design, and hence present a different and individual subtype;
- provide us with an opportunity to read the previously illegible fragment of the legend, and quite an important one.

We, therefore, consider it appropriate to publish these specimens as an addendum to our earlier work.

When we were studying the available specimens of the new type back in 2009, combining and reconstructing the surviving legends and the design elements revealed the following coin type²⁴ (cf. fig. 1):



Fig. 1

Obv.: Marginal legend (off-flan or effaced on all available specimens)?

Within plain circle in centre:

دیمطرى [دلوطرى بن داود]

A thick horizontal line decorated with vertical elliptical pellets.
Unclear Arabic legend (upside down).

Rev.: Unclear marginal Arabic legend.

Within plain circle in centre:

²¹ Turkia-Paghava, 2009.

²² For a general review of the life and personality of this Georgian monarch cf. Stepnadze 1990.

²³ Turkia-Paghava, 2009.

²⁴ Ibid.

محمود بن محمد

Strip of geometrical ornament²⁵.

السلطان المعظم (upside down).

The legible fragments of the legends on the 3 new coins (figs. 2-4) do not differ from the above coin type²⁶.



Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Fig. 4

These new specimens, however, are quite remarkable in terms of the divider design element on the *obverse*; it does not constitute a thick horizontal line embroidered with vertical elliptical pellets, as on the earlier specimens (cf. fig. 1)²⁷, but a strip of geometrical ornaments, which differs in terms of tracery from the geometrical ornament on the *reverse* of the earlier specimens. It may be described as a succession of diamonds with dots between two parallel lines. As to the *reverse* divider element, it is visible on just 2 of the new specimens (figs. 3-4), and is like the one on the earlier specimens (cf. fig. 1)²⁸.

One of the new specimens (fig. 4) also enables us to read the bottom part of the central *obverse* legend. In the original work we paid particular attention to the absence of the standard Arabic epithets eulogizing the Georgian monarch, such as “King of Kings” or “Sword of the Messiah” -

حسام المسيح or ملك الملوك

The new specimen makes it clear that we were wrong, as

ملك الملوك

is legible in the bottom central area of this specimen; cf. fig. 5 for the graphic reconstruction of the *obverse* (rotated 180°) bearing this title.



Fig. 5

The metrological data for the coin presented in fig. 2²⁹ is: weight - 1.29 g, dimensions 10-12 mm, die axis 12 o'clock. Unfortunately, we have no such information for the coins presented in fig. 3³⁰ and fig. 4³¹.

The new specimens show that the design of this new coin type of Dimitri I could vary, providing the basis for distinguishing at least two different subtypes according to the design of the *obverse* divider element. However, the legends (at least the central ones)

²⁵ It may be described as parquet-like.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Currently in a private collection in Georgia.

³⁰ Currently in another private collection in Georgia.

³¹ Auctioned on eBay, unsold; current location unknown.

appear to have remained the same so that the coin type may be reconstructed as follows:

Obv.: Marginal legend (off-flan or effaced on all available specimens)?

Within plain circle in centre:

[ديمطرى] دلوطرى بن داود

Thick horizontal line embroidered with vertical elliptical pellets OR diamonds with dots between two parallel lines.

ملك الملوك (upside down).

Rev.: Unclear marginal Arabic legend.

Within plain circle in centre:

محمود بن محمد

Strip of a geometrical (parquet-like) ornament.

السلطان المعظم (upside down).

Hopefully, more and broader specimens of this type (of both subtypes) will show up, providing the opportunity to ascertain the missing marginal legends as well.

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1. Stepnadze 1990 – [Stepnadze J. *Demetre the First*. Tbilisi: Metsniereba. 1990]. (Original text in Georgian: stefnaZe j. demetre pirveli. Tbilisi: mecniereba. 1990.)
2. Turkia-Paghava, 2009 – Turkia S., Paghava I. “A New Coin Type of Dimitri I, King of Georgia”. *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 200, Summer 2009. P. 9-12.

A UNIQUE HALF DIRHAM FROM THE MINT OF NAKHJAWAN WITH THE ULUGHMANGYL ULUS BEK LEGEND

By Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Janjgava

A comprehensive review of the silver coins with the legend “*Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek*” and the effigy of a mounted archer was published in this journal in 2007³². The paper covered the dirhams and half-dirhams from some 16 different mints in the southern Caucasus and the adjacent region³³ (Table 1).

A recent discovery provides us with the opportunity to extend our familiarity with the this Mongol coin series. By means of this short paper we should like to publish a previously unknown and so far seemingly unique half dirham coin from the mint of Nakhjawan³⁴.



Fig. 1

AR, weight 1.39 g (a fragment is chipped off); dimensions 14.6-15.3 mm; die axis 7 o'clock, fig. 1.

Obv.: A horse galloping to the left, a horseman shooting an arrow backwards, a hare beneath the horse running to the right. Surrounded by a circle of dots (visible at 5 o'clock), traces of a legend at 2 o'clock.

³² Vardanyan A. “Some additions to the coins with the inscription “*Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek*”. *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 190, 2007. P. 7-20.

³³ Notwithstanding many extant coins with illegible/missing mint name [*Ibid.*:15-18].

³⁴ Currently the coin is in a private collection in Iran.

Rev.: In the centre a fragment of standard legend B³⁵:

لا اله الا / الله محمد / رسول الله

with نخبوان above (some unclear graphemes to the right). The whole surrounded by a circle of dots (visible at 12 o'clock).

Both sides seem to have been struck from dirham dies, and not from specially designed dies of a smaller diameter. The obverse of this coin seems to supply a die match with the AH 64x Nakhjawan dirhams published in the earlier work³⁶; the reverse was struck with a previously unknown die³⁷.

Now, with the discovery of this hitherto unique smaller denomination coin from the mint of Nakhjawan, it would seem that at least 3 mints out of 16 (?) issued both dirham and half-dirham denominations (Table 1).

In our opinion, the striking of the smaller denomination may have been relatively common, at least for this series, perhaps more common than one may think judging by the extant specimens, as fewer smaller denominations might have survived compared to the dirham denomination.

References:

¹. Vardanyan A. "Some additions to the coins with the inscription "Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek". *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 190, 2007. P. 7-20.

Table 1. Mints and dates for the coins of Ulugh Mangyl Ulus Bek type.

Mint name	Dirham	½ Dirham	Year (AH)
Akhlāt	X		64x (in/after 643)
Bākūya	X		?
Barzand	X		64x
Bawonq	X		645
Baylaqān	X		645
Dmanīs	X		6xx (64x?)
Ganja	X		642-643
Kīrān/Gīlān	X		6xx (64x?)
Lachīn/Lāchīn	X		?
Lashkar	X		643
Nakhjawān	X	X*	Sh'abān 642, 643
Tabrīz	X	X	642
Tiflīs	X		642
Urmiya	X?		?
Warthān	X	X	642
Wirāwī/Warāwī	X		?

* - New discovery

THE MONGOL CONQUEST OF BALKH ACCORDING TO NUMISMATIC SOURCES³⁸

By Anton Grachev (Moscow)

Introduction

The historical events which happened during the Mongol conquest of Mawerannahr, Khorasan and northern Afghanistan have so far not been studied in detail.

It is paradoxical, but many researchers in this area have limited themselves to a description of chronology taken from known sources (Rashid al-Din, Juvaini) and have ignored contradictions in dates and variants of events. For example, in Bunyatov's book we can see various dates and descriptions of the capture of Marw on one page.³⁹ Contradictions in dates, and variants of events in the written sources cause problems and raise questions regarding the correct reconstruction of the chronology of the mongol conquest. One such question is that of the chronology of the mongol conquest of Balkh.

Analysis of sources

The Mongols captured Balkh in two stages according to some written sources (Juvaini, Juzjani, Rashid al-Din). In early AH 617 (AD 1220/1221), when the Mongols laid siege to Samarqand, Chingiz Khan sent a band of troops in pursuit of Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh.⁴⁰ In command of the pursuing troops were Sabuday Bahādur and Jebe. The Mongols arrived at Balkh in the middle of the spring of AH 617. The nobles and leaders of the city came out to the troops with various gifts. The Mongols appointed a *shihna* (governor) for the town and took guides with them for the campaign in Khorasan.

When Chingiz Khan began his own campaign in Afghanistan, the scenario for the capture of Balkh was similar. The nobles and leaders of the city came out to Chingiz Khan and presented gifts but Chingiz Khan did not accept their surrender. He ordered all the inhabitants to leave the city and sent them into the fields, where, according to Juvaini and Rashid al-Din, they were all killed. Then, Balkh itself was destroyed.⁴¹ This version of events has been used by most researchers in their works.⁴²

In other written sources (Ibn Asir, Yuan-Shi), nothing is mentioned about the first surrender of Balkh. The narrative begins with the campaign of Tolu at the end of AH 617.⁴³ The description of Chingiz Khan's campaign described by Ibn Asir is similar to the events of the first surrender of Balkh in Juvaini and Rashid al-Din, but in Ibn Asir's annals there is no information about the murder of the inhabitants and the destruction of city. Ibn Asir only mentions that some inhabitants of Balkh press-ganged into the "khashar" (irregular troops made up of slaves) for the capture of Marw.⁴⁴

During the analysis of written sources some questions arise:

- Why did the nobles of the city come out with various gifts a second time, if there was a Mongol governor in Balkh?
- When did the Mongols finally capture Balkh?
- Why did Chingiz Khan decide to destroy the city and kill the inhabitants despite their voluntary surrender?

For the answer to these and other questions we need to use additional sources, which can give information about the actual chronology of events. The additional sources in this case are coins.

Coins are a unique source of information because they contain data about the date of issue, the mint of issue and the name of

³⁸ I wish to thank Dr Vladimir Nastich and Dr Vadim Trepavlov for their help in translating the inscriptions of the coins

³⁹ Bunijatov 1986, p. 154.

⁴⁰ According to Juzjani, it was in Rabi' ul-Awwal 617 (May, AD 1200), see Juzjani, p. 988.

⁴¹ Juvaynī, pp.130-132, 143; Rashid al-Din, p.218.

⁴² Pikulin 1977, p.142; Kolbas, p.37.

⁴³ Yan-Shi, p. 157.

⁴⁴ Ibn Asir, p.361

³⁵ *Ibid.*:8

³⁶ *Ibid.*:12-13.

³⁷ *Cf. Ibid.*

rulers (and/or their titles). Indeed, at that time it was the tradition that invaders minted coins with the name of the conquering ruler whenever a city surrendered.

Using data from coins, we can determine when Balkh was captured. To do this, we need to compare the last year of coins issued by the previous ruler and the first year of coins issued by the next ruler.

According to historical chronicles, Balkh was incorporated into the Khwārizmshāh state in AH 608, before the Mongol conquest. Balkh at that time had an organised coinage, consisting of jitals, silver-washed copper dirhams and gold dinars. As far as we know, the latest date for Khwārizmshāh coins struck in Balkh is AH 616.⁴⁵

The Mongols began to strike coins in Balkh from AH 618 (AD 1221/1222). These were silver-washed copper dirhams without the name of the ruler, but containing, in the inscriptions, mention of the name of Nāšir al-Dīn, the caliph in Baghdad, and the "khani" epithet (which means - [coin] of the khan)⁴⁶.

By using this information about dates of Khwārizmshāh coins and Mongol coins we can define the time slot when the city was captured to between AH 616 and 618.

However, there are coins in the name of malik Abū'l-Mahāmid Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī struck at Balkh. The year these coins were struck is not certain because of the unclear style of engraving. In well-known books, different dates are stated for the year of minting: for example, in Album's Checklist it is AH 617, but in "Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen" the year of minting is stated as AH 619.⁴⁷

The question arises: who is this malik and when were the coins struck with his name? Mention of this malik is absent in the main written sources (Juvaini, Rashid al-Din, Ibn Asir). However, in al-Nasavi we find mention of some person with the name – "A'zam Malik" in the section where the arrival of Jalāl al-Dīn in Ghazna in AH 618 is described.⁴⁸ The important point is that the "A'zam Malik" mentioned in al-Nasavi is then "malik of Balkh".

If we turn to numismatic resources, we can find out that the full titles of Malik Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī read as "Malik al-a'zam al-'adl..."

Therefore, we have two interesting facts:

- The titles of Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī from the coins coincide with the name of the person from al-Nasavi.
- Both these characters ruled Balkh during the period from AH 617 to 618.

Based on these facts we can draw the conclusion that Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī, who struck coins in Balkh and "Malik al-a'zam" from al-Nasavi's annals are one and the same person.

Using this conclusion we can answer the question about the date of minting of Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's coins. The date can only be AH 617. An additional argument in favour of this view is the fact that "A'zam-Malik" in AH 618 accompanied Jalāl al-Dīn to southern Afghanistan and then, according al-Nasavi's annals, went to the mountains near Kabul. In Darwaz castle in the mountains, "A'zam Malik" fought against the Mongols and probably died.⁴⁹

We can also reconstruct the chronology of the Mongol conquest of Balkh. Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī became ruler of Balkh after Muḥammad bin Tekesh Khwārizmshāh left Khwārizm. Unfortunately we do not have any details of how he actually became the ruler. In AH 617 he took the decisive step, having broken off relations with the Khwārizmshāh, to have coins struck in his own name. He probably took this decisive step because he agreed to become a vassal of the Mongols when Sabuday's army passed close to Balkh.

Attention should be paid to type MH-2a of Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī coins. This type contain the ancient Turki word

"Turghaq" which mean "watchman, guard".⁵⁰ This word is probably the key to the puzzling history of Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī's rule in Balkh.

According to Juvaini, Chingiz Khan spent the summer of AD 1220 (AH 617) at Narshab, after the capture of Samarqand. From there he began a campaign against Tirmidh in the autumn of that same year. The capture of the city was delayed and Chengiz Khan had to spend the winter in the area, in the region of Kungrat and Shuman.⁵¹

Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī decided to join to Jalāl al-Din, and probably left Balkh at the end of the winter of AH 617. We can suppose that Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī received information about the situation in Mawerannahr from refugees and concluded that any attempt to defend the city would be futile. Apparently he chose to join to Jalāl al-Din, rather than be killed during the storming of the city.

Balkh was captured in the early spring of AH 618; the exact date is unknown. As we know, after the surrender of the city, Chengiz Khan ordered the city to be destroyed and the inhabitants killed. But these events contradict the data from numismatic sources, because we now know coins struck in Balkh dated AH 618 and 619. Which raises the question: what point would there have been in minting coins in a ruined city, without any inhabitants?

Usually, an active coinage was used for economic revival and the support of trade in conjunction with a taxation policy.⁵² In a town where the bazaars and trading have been destroyed, and the people taken into slavery, a coinage no longer makes sense. But, during AH 618-619 (AD 1221-1223) we can observe changes from one type of coin to another. For this period we can identify, in all, four types of coins, which indicates the existence of an active financial and fiscal policy. E.A. Davidovich in her own works comes to the conclusion that the minting of several types of coins in a short time-frame was for the acquisition of additional income via the forced exchange of the "old" type of coins for the "new" types.⁵³

But, what events are described in Juvayni and Rashid al-Din's annals? They are probably guilty of conflating different events into one single event. In Bartold's work "Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion" it is mentioned that Balkh was destroyed later, in consequence of the rebellion of the inhabitants, according to Ibn Asir's annals.⁵⁴ But Bartold does not provide the precise reference for this in Ibn Asir's work. A subsequent search in the Chinese annals "The Travels of an Alchemist, the Journey of the Taoist Ch'ang-Ch'un from China to the Hindukush at the Summons of Chingiz Khan" has provided an interesting result. Ch'ang-Ch'un writes, "We passed the great city of Balkh. Its inhabitants had recently rebelled against the Khan and been removed, but we could still hear dogs barking in its streets".⁵⁵ Ch'ang-Ch'un travelled through Balkh in the middle of autumn AD 1222 (AH 619), so the anti-Mongol rebellion probably took place in the summer of that year. These events are confirmed by the lack of coinage for AH 620 in Balkh.

However, the city was not abandoned. After some time, coinage resumed in the city. We know of silver-washed copper coins which were probably struck in the following two decades and silver coins struck in AH 640, thus providing evidence of attempts to re-activate some form of economic life in the city.⁵⁶ Marco Polo, who passed Balkh in the 70s of the 13th century⁵⁷, described Balkh as a big city with an active urban life. But Marco Polo also mentioned many destroyed houses and palaces in the city.⁵⁸ This means that Balkh was revived after some time but was

⁵⁰ "Drevneturkskiy slovar", p. 120

⁵¹ Juvaynī, p. 129

⁵² Kolbas 2006, pp.35-40; Petrov 2010, p. 139.

⁵³ Davidovich 1972, pp. 37-49.

⁵⁴ Bartold, 1963 p.506.

⁵⁵ Ch'ang-Ch'un, p.111.

⁵⁶ SNAT, p.104

⁵⁷ The certain date is unknown

⁵⁸ Marko Polo, p.220

⁴⁵ Lebedev&Petrov 1997, pp.163-165

⁴⁶ SNAT, pp.102-104.

⁴⁷ Album 1998, p.88; SNAT, p.104.

⁴⁸ Nasavi, p. 119.

⁴⁹ Ibid – p.123.

not able to attain the level of pre-Mongol urban development and trade.

Coin catalogue

Coins of Muḥammad b. Tekish

Type MT-1. (Fig. 1) Mint: Balkh; Date: AH 616
References: ZENO 9273, 69306

Obverse: Inscription in a plain circle

قادرى
السلطان الا
عظم علا الد
نيا و الد ين ابو الفتح

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم ببلخ فى شهر سنة ست

Reverse: Inscription in the plain circle

بلخ
محمد بن السلطان
برهان امير
المؤمنين

Marginal legend: Qur'an, IX, 33



Fig. 1. Reconstruction of Muḥammad b. Tekish dirham, Balkh mint, AH 616

Coins of Muḥammad al-Ḥusaynī

Type MH-1. (Fig. 2) Mint: Balkh; Date: AH 617
References: SNAT 861-863; ZENO 19861, 72121

Obverse: Inscription in a star-shaped cartouche

الملك الا
عظم عمدة
الد نيا و الد ين

Reverse: Inscription in a plain circle

شمسى
ابوالمخا
هد محمد
الحسينى

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم ببلخ فى شهر سنة سبع

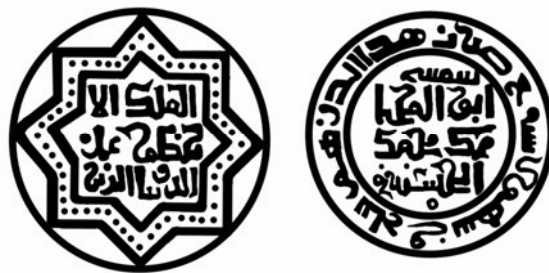


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of type MH-1

Type MH-2a. (Fig. 3) Mint: Balkh; Date: AH 617
References: SNAT 858-860; ZENO 22617, 58722, 67855, 89721;
ANS 1917.216.393

Obverse:

In a central square cartouche:

شاورى ?

Around the central square cartouche:

الملك الا
عظم
عمدة الد
نيا و الد ين

In the top segments:

طورغاق

Reverse:

In a central square cartouche:

ابوالمخا
هد محمد
الحسينى

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا لدرهم ببلخ فى شهر سنة سبع

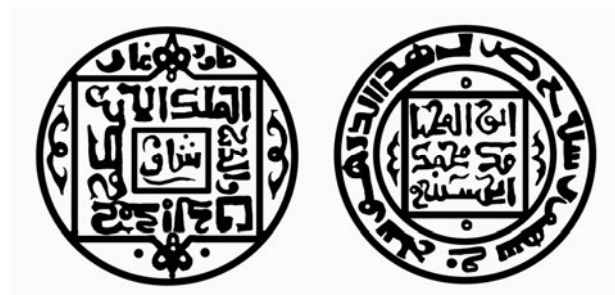


Fig. 3. Reconstruction of type MH-2a

Type MH-2b. Mint: Balkh; Date: AH 617
References: SNAT 857

Obverse:

In a central square cartouche:

خيالى

Inscription around the central square cartouche as on type MH-2b

In the top segments: two dots

Reverse: Inscription in the central square cartouche and marginal legend as on MH-2b

Mongol coins

Type MN-1. (Fig. 4) Mint: Balkh; Date: AH 618
References: SNAT 847-851; ZENO 5655, 7677, 41770, 64544,
89365; ANS 1927.179.19, 1971.89.21

Obverse:

In a central circular cartouche:

حاني
الناصر
لدين الله
المير المومنين

In the segments:

ضرب (!) بهزا / ١ درهم / بيلخ في شهور / سنة ثمان عشر

Reverse:

In the central cartouche:

الا اله الا
الله محمد ر
سول الله

Marginal legend: Qur'an, IX, 33



Fig. 4. Reconstruction of type MN-1

Type MN-2. (Fig. 5) Mint: Balkh; Date: AH 618

References: SNAT 853,854; ZENO 72123

Obverse:

In a central circular cartouche:

حاني
الناصر
لدين الله
المير المومنين

In the segments:

ضرب (!) بهزا / ١ درهم / بيلخ في شهور / سنة ثمان عشر

Reverse:

In the central cartouche:

الا اله الا
الله محمد ر
سول الله

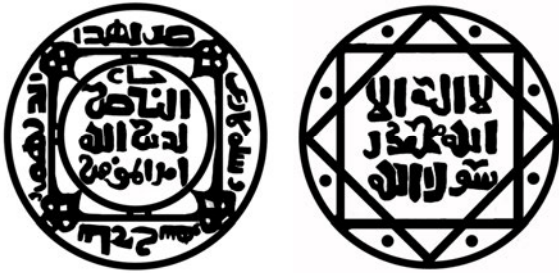


Fig. 5. Reconstruction of type MN-2

Type MN-3. (Fig. 6) Mint: Balkh; Date: AH 618

References: SNAT 852

Obverse:

In the central cartouche:

حاني
الا امام الا عظم
الناصر لدين
الله المير المو
منين

Reverse:

Inscription in a plain circle:

الا اله الا
الله محمد ر
سول الله

Marginal legend:

ضرب بهزا ١ الدرهم بيلخ في شهور سنة ثمان عشر ستما

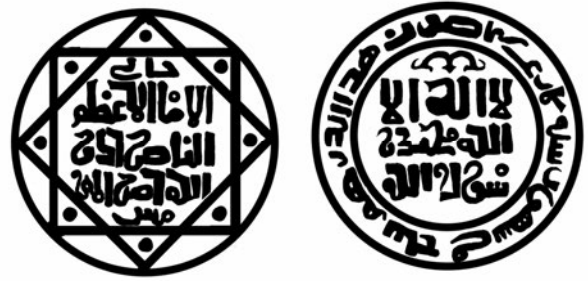


Fig. 6. Reconstruction of type MN-3

Type MN-4. (Fig. 7) Mint: Balkh; Date: not visible, but probably AH 619

References: SNAT 855, 856

Obverse:

Inscription in a plain circle:

حاقاني
الا امام الا
عظم النا
صر لدين الله

Marginal legend:

... بيلخ في شهور سنة ...

Reverse:

Inscription in a plain circle:

الا اله الا
الله محمد ر
سول الله

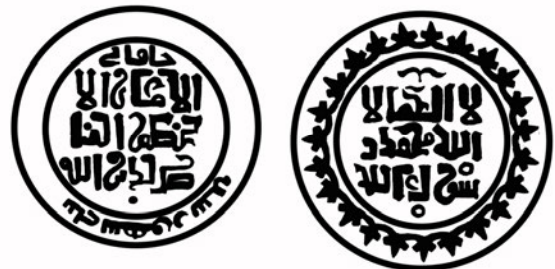


Fig. 7. Reconstruction of type MN-4

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THE ARCHAIC PUNCH-MARKED COINS OF KUKĀḌI, MINĀ RIVER VALLEY. PART I: (DISCOVERY AND SUMMARY OF THE COINS)

By Amol N. Bankar, Pune

Background

Junnar, surrounded by several Buddhist rock-cut temples, is situated on the right bank of the river Kukḍi (Coordinates: 19°12' N, 73°56' E) and is about ninety kilometers north of Pune. It lies in a broad valley of the Sahyādrī ranges about 2000 feet above sea-level. Junnar is forty kilometers from Nāṇeghāṭ, the ancient trade route through which it was linked with the ancient port cities of Sopārā, Kalyān, Čaul and through which it linked these port cities to Pratiśṭhāna, the capital of the Sātavāhanas. It thus connects the hinterland to the coast. The importance of the passes along the Sahyādrī as a means of communication between the Konkan and the interior seems to have been exploited in the early historical period and Buddhist caves are situated at the head of almost every important pass in the region. Junnar, at the head of Nāṇeghāṭ, with 200+ caves distributed in the hills encircling the town within a radius of eight kilometers was the largest monastery establishment. It occupied an ideal geographical position and was,

therefore, utilised equally by transient traders and workers. Its location was also ideal for agriculture. It is situated in the fertile valley of the Minā and Kukḍi rivers, tributaries of the river Ghoḍ. Additionally, the Sahyādrī ranges provided defensive hideouts.



Figs. 1 & 2: Entrance to Nāṇeghāṭ pass and a huge stone jar at its entrance

The ancient name of Junnar is the subject of great debate; in the past, most scholars derived the name Junnar from the Sanskrit word 'Jirṇa-nagara' meaning 'old/ruined city or town'. But Dr Suresh Vasant Jadhav suggested the etymology of the name Junnar was 'Yavananagara' and that it was inhabited by Yavana-Greek merchants. Also, Laeuchli identified 'Omenagara' mentioned by Ptolemy and 'Umehanakata' which occurs in one of the Karla inscriptions with Junnar.¹ The copper-plate inscription of Sinda King Adityavarman dated Śaka Era 887 (AD 965) mentions 'Junnanagara' (old city or town) as the name of Junnar.²

Ancient tracks can still be seen around Junnar and two rock-cut cisterns have been found on the road leading to Junnar. On both sides of the last milestone for Nāṇeghāṭ from Junnar, remains of a number of cisterns have been found. On one side is a large platform with ashlar masonry. Near the parapet is a massive jar hewn out of rock which is said to have been used for collecting toll money and, on the opposite hill, is a small shrine for Ganeśa. The inscribed cave at the head of the Nāṇeghāṭ, linking the hinterland to the coast, records, among other things, gifts such as cows, horses, elephants, villages and money donated by queen Nāgaṇikā during the Vedic sacrifices conducted by her. Nāṇeghāṭ

has also yielded many label inscriptions and low relief sculptures of members of the Sātavāhana dynasty like Simuka, the founder of the Sātavāhana dynasty; Siri Sātakarṇi, his wife, Nāgaṇikā; her father, Tranakayira, and her sons, Hakusiri and Sātavāhana.³ The author undertook several explorations in Junnar and collected pottery, roof tiles and other antiquities of the Sātavāhana period.



Fig. 3: Nāṅeghāṭ Inscription of Queen Nāgaṇikā, wife of Sātakarṇi I

In the year 2009, post-monsoon heavy rain-falls led to the discovery of some archaic punch-marked coins from the Kukḍi and Minā rivers near Junnar. When the water level reduced, the local coin-hunters undertook searches at some unreported locations in these two rivers. Previously, these rivers had been infrequently mentioned in any epigraphical records or ancient texts, except for the single reference of a Śaiva shrine at the village of Pur at the source of the river Kukḍi, presently known as Kukaḍeśvara, built by the Śilāhāra king Jhaṅja at the base of the hill fort of Chāwaṅḍ (also known as Juṅḍa or Prasannaḡḍ), which is cited in one copperplate inscription of the Śilāhāras of North Konkan. The purpose of this paper is to record the coins that were found at the town of Junnar and its vicinity. The locations of the exact find spots are kept secret by the finders of the coins. With the exception of a few types reported earlier from some private collections (see figs 4 & 5)⁴ and a few published varieties⁵, no coins of similar types were known through any excavations. Most of the coins recorded in this paper were discovered during 2009 with a few being seen and also being recorded for the first time. It is estimated that more than 326 coins were discovered but, unfortunately, before the present author came to know about the discovery, the coins had been distributed amongst various coin dealers and sold to coin collectors. The coins published in this paper may not represent all the varieties of the coins from this discovery; it does, however, show a representative sample. I am grateful to Shri Prithviraj Narayan Mate for inviting me to examine the coins in his possession immediately after the discovery and permitting me to document and photograph them.



Figs. 4 & 5: Type XV and XX coins from a Private Collection (photographed in 1993)



Fig. 6: Photographs of coins from the present hoard (in trade, 2010)

The archaic punch-marked coins, especially the issues of some states / settlements located south of the river Narmadā (except Wai-Sultanpur type coins) have a similar weight standard and fabric which may indicate the possibility of trade between them. Most of them have an elephant, executed in a rustic and tribal form. These can be further classified into two broad classes: those with a pair of symbols and those having all four as different marks. Those with a pair can be further classified into several groups such as coins with a tree as a fourth mark, those having an Ω (omega)-like curved line as the fourth mark and so on. Most of these coins have been attributed to 'Kalinga', 'Āndhra' and 'Āśmaka' in an absolutely arbitrary manner by previous researchers. They are represented by important hoards such as Simghāvaram (A.P.), Nanded (Maharashtra) and Sonapur (Odisha). Many are found as stray finds all over the Narmadā valley and the Deccan. When their find spots are plotted, a most interesting fact emerges - the types of these archaic PMCs are specific to valleys of certain rivers. The coins with the tree as the fourth mark are found along the upper Godāvāri valley. Those with the 'omega' mark are chiefly centered along the banks of the Tāpi and those with four different symbols (Sonapur hoard type) are chiefly found in the basin of the Mahānadi (Chhattisgarh region).⁶

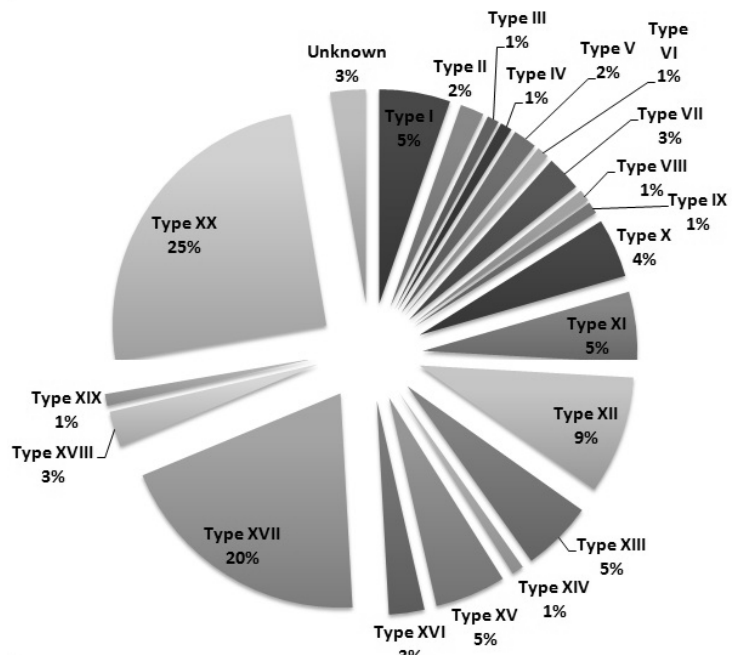


Fig. 7: Type distribution of all 112 coins (coin type and percentage of coins in the hoard)

From the shapes of all the 112 coins that I examined, it seems that the coin blanks were prepared by beating silver globules and then the weight was adjusted by clipping the corners/sides. Generally the coins with a tree as the fourth mark are known from the north

(upper) Godāvāri region (eg. Nanded, Nasik). But this time, these coins are known from the region which is far south of the Godāvāri. All the coins from the Junnar find depict an 'ABCC' pattern i.e. three symbols 'A', 'B' and 'C', of which 'C' is struck twice, thus making four punches in all. The weight of the coins ranged between 1.25-1.55 g. Most of them have an elephant, executed in a rustic and tribal form (symbol 'A'). These coins have a pair of symbols (symbol 'C') and a typical tree (symbol 'B') with or without dots at its bottom. The symbols are struck only on the obverse, the reverse of all the coins being blank. No reverse marks, bankers marks were observed on any of the coins that I had examined. Here I have classified all the 112 coins from this find into 20 major groups (Type I to XX), based on the symbols. The detailed catalogue and summary of the discovery are given below (as most of the coins are of same type and some coins are uncleaned and, thus, not easy to photograph, only a representative selection are illustrated).

Table 1 : - Comparison of archaic punch-marked coins from Nanded, Nasik and Junnar Finds

Sr No	Parameter	Nanded Find ⁷	Nasik Find ⁸	Junnar Find
1	Metal	Silver	Silver	Silver
2	No. of Symbols	Four	Four	Four
3	Symbol Pattern	ABCC	ABCC	ABCC
4	Weight	1.48-1.74 g	1.20-1.70 g	1.25-1.55 g
5	First Symbol (Symbol 'A')	Elephant (with variations)	Elephant (with variations)	Elephant (with variations)
6	First Symbol (Symbol 'A')	Tree with various variations)	Tree with various variations)	Tree with various variations)
A7	Qty of Coins	Unknown (1 Kg?)	Unknown	326+





Table 2: Classification of 112 archaic punch-marked coins from the present discovery

SN	Type	C			
		A	B	3	4
1	Type-I				
2	Type-II				
3	Type-III				
4	Type-IV				

5	Type-V				
6	Type-VI				
7	Type-VII				
8	Type-VIII				
9	Type-IX				
10	Type-X				
11	Type-XI				
12	Type-XII				
13	Type-XIII				
14	Type-XIV				
15	Type-XV				
16	Type-XVI				
17	Type-XVII				
18	Type-XVIII, Var 'A'				
	Type-XVIII, Var 'B'				
19	Type-XIX				
20	Type-XX, Var 'A'				
	Type-XX, Var 'B'				
21	Undeciph. coins	NA	NA	NA	NA

CATALOGUE OF COINS FROM THE PRESENT DISCOVERY

A) **Type I:** This type has A.1, B.1, C.1, C.1 symbols. Minor variations exist.

			
A.1	B.1	C.1	C.1



Coin No I.1: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 13x12 mm.



Coin No I.2: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 13x14 mm.

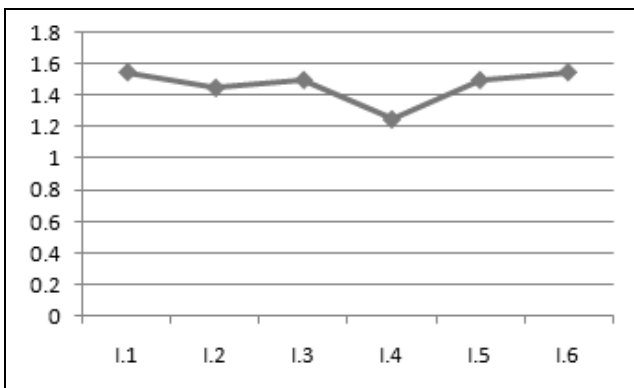


Coin No I.3: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x12 mm.

Coin No I.4: Weight: 1.25 g, Size: 13x12 mm.





Coin No I.5: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x16 mm.

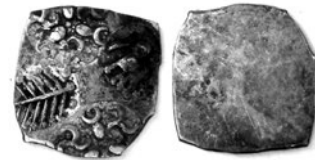
Coin No I.6: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 14x15 mm.



Histogram of Type I coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

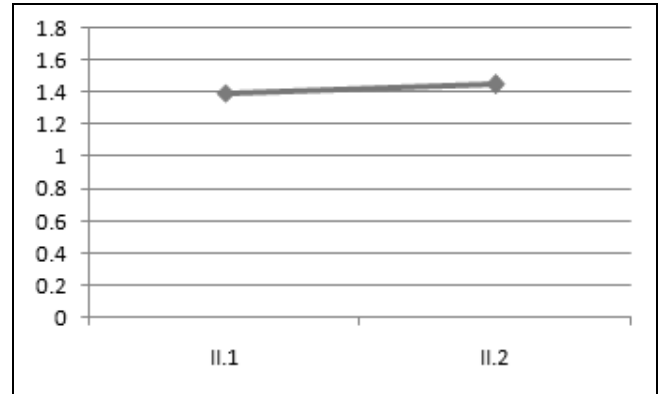
B) **Type II:** This type has A.2, B.2, C.2, C.2 symbols and is similar to Rajgor type 470 (Aśmaka Janpada).⁹

			
A.2	B.2	C.2	C.2







Coin No II.1: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x14 mm.

Coin No II.2: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 16x16 mm.



Histogram of Type II coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)





C) **Type III:** This type has A.3, B.3, C.3, C.3 symbols.

			
A.3	B.3	C.3	C.3



Coin No III.1: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x15 mm.





D) **Type IV:** This type has A.4, B.4, C.4, C.4 symbols.

			
A.4	B.4	C.4	C.4



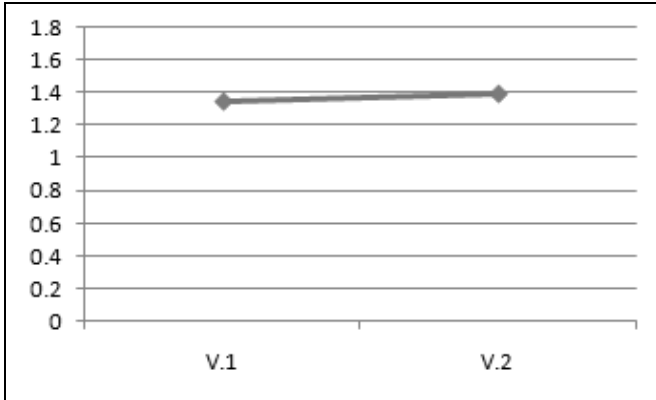
Coin No IV.1: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x13 mm.

E) **Type V:** This type has A.5, B.5, C.5, C.5 symbols. Minor variations exist.

			
A.5	B.5	C.5	C.5



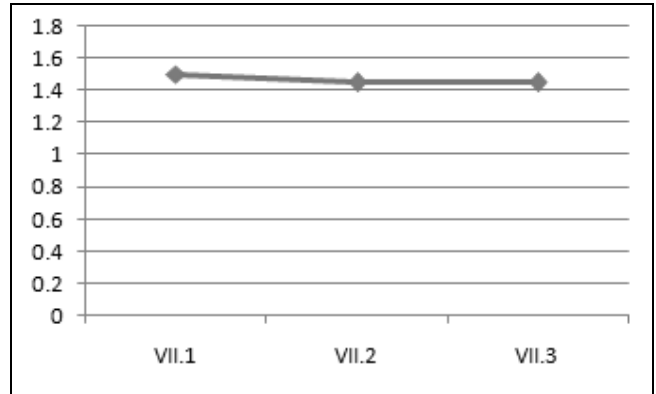
Coin No V.1; Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 17x14 mm.
Coin No V.2; Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x14 mm.



Histogram of Type V coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

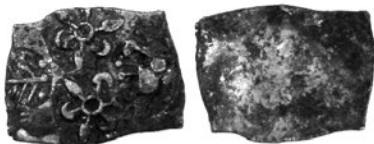


Coin No VII.3; Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x14 mm.



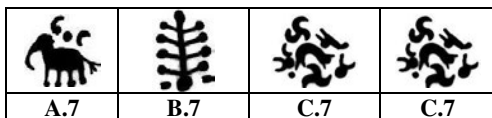
Histogram of Type VII coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

F) Type VI: This type has A.6, B.6, C.6, C.6 symbols. This type is very similar to type 490 of 'Aśmaka Janapada' published by Dr Rajgor¹⁰ and Maheshwari (1982) type 3.¹¹



Coin No VI.1; Weight: 1.25 g, Size: 18x13 mm.

G) Type VII: This type has A.7, B.7, C.7, C.7 symbols. Minor variations exist.



Coin No VII.1; Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 13x13 mm.



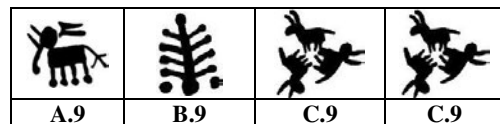
Coin No VII.2; Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x14 mm.

H) Type VIII: This type has A.8, B.8, C.8, C.8 symbols. Minor variations exist. This type is identical to coins of 'Aśmaka Janapada' published by Rajgor (type 471)¹² and Mitchiner (1978, No 4152).¹³



Coin No VIII.1; Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x14 mm.

I) Type IX: This type has A.9, B.9, C.9, C.9 symbols. Minor variations exist.



Coin No IX.1) Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 16x12 mm.

J) Type X: This type has A.10, B.10, C.10, C.10 symbols. Minor variations exist.





Coin No X.1: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x14 mm.



Coin No X.2: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 15x14 mm.



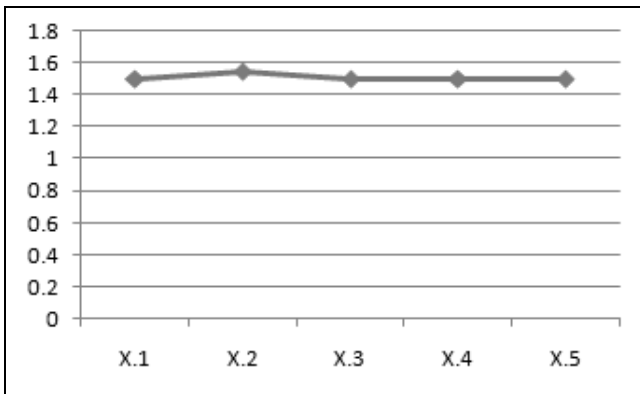
Coin No X.3: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 13x13 mm.



Coin No X.4: Weight: 1.50 g, Size:- 12x12 mm.

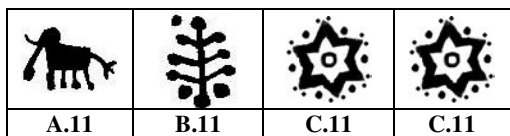


Coin No X.5: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 13x12 mm.



Histogram of Type X coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

K) Type XI: This type has A.11, B.11, C.11, C.11 symbols. Minor variations exist.



Coin No XI.1: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 16x12 mm.



Coin No XI.2: Weight: 1.45 g, Size:-15x12 mm.



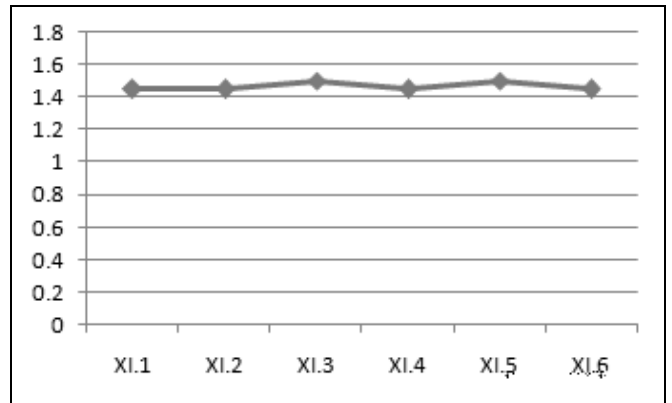
Coin No XI.3: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x12 mm.



Coin No XI.4: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 13x12 mm.

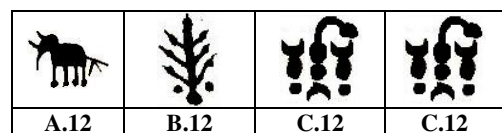
Coin No XI.5: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x14 mm.

Coin No XI.6: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 18x14 mm.



Histogram of Type XI coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

L) Type XII: This type has A.12, B.12, C.12, C.12 symbols with minor variations.



Coin No XII.1: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 15x13 mm.



Coin No XII.2: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x13 mm.

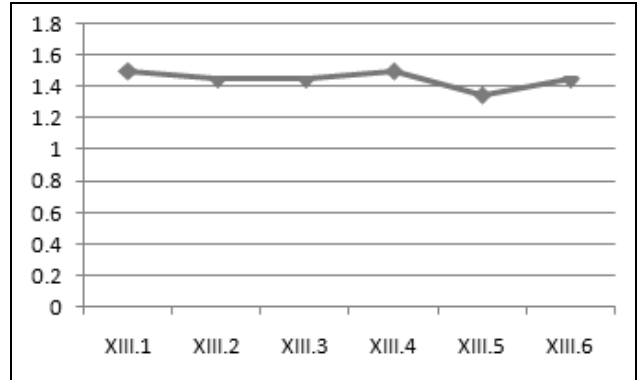


- Coin No XII.3: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 13x13 mm.
- Coin No XII.4: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 15x14 mm.
- Coin No XII.5: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x12 mm.
- Coin No XII.6: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 15x12 mm.
- Coin No XII.7: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x12 mm.
- Coin No XII.8: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 13x13 mm.
- Coin No XII.9: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 15x13 mm.
- Coin No XII.10: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x15 mm.

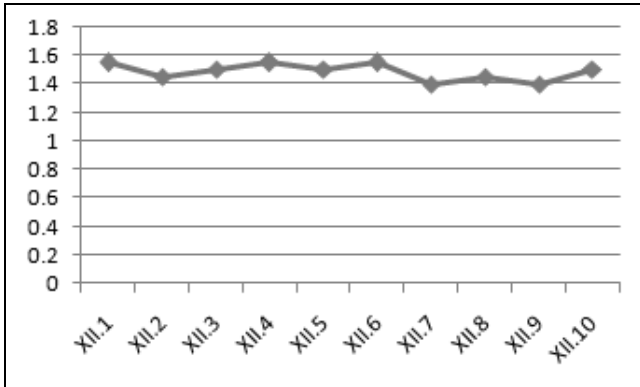


Coin No XIII.3: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x13 mm.

- Coin No XIII.4: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x12 mm.
- Coin No XIII.5: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 14x13 mm.
- Coin No XIII.6: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x15 mm.

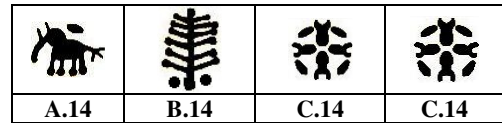


Histogram of Type XIII coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)



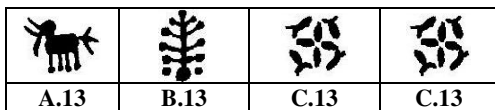
Histogram of Type XII coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

N) Type XIV: This type has A.14, B.14, C.14, C.14 symbols with minor variations.



Coin No XIV.1: Weight: 1.30 g, Size: 15x13 mm.

M) Type XIII: This type has A.13, B.13, C.13, C.13 symbols with minor variations.

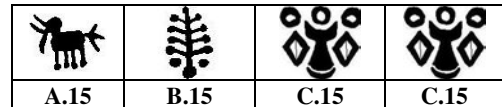


Coin No XIII.1: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 17x12 mm.



Coin No XIII.2: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 17x12 mm.

O) Type XV: This type has A.15, B.15, C.15, C.15 symbols with minor variations. This type is similar to type 485 of 'Aśmaka Janapada' from Prakasha listed by Dr Rajgor.¹⁴

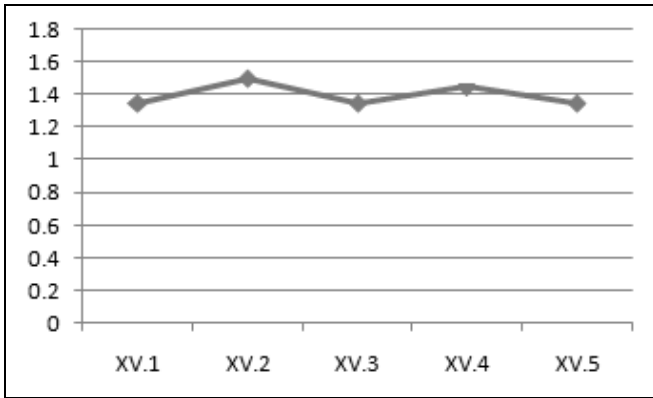


Coin No XV.1: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 14x13 mm.



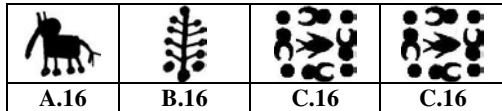
Coin No XV.2: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x12 mm.

Coin No XV.3: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 14x13 mm.
 Coin No XV.4: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x12 mm.
 Coin No XV.5: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 15x12 mm.

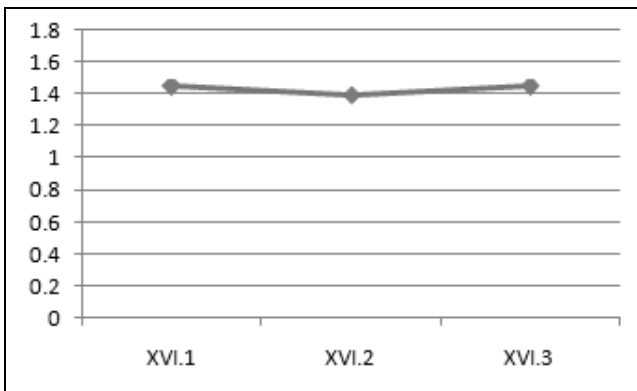


Histogram of Type XV coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

P) Type XVI: This type has A.16, B.16, C.16, C.16 symbols with minor variations.

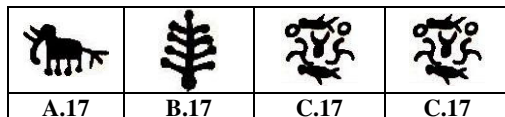


Coin No XVI.1: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x12 mm.
 Coin No XVI.2: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x12 mm.
 Coin No XVI.3: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 12x10 mm.



Histogram of Type XVI coins (x axis: number of coin, y axis: weight in grams)

Q) Type XVII: This type has A.17, B.17, C.17, C.17 symbols with minor variations.



Coin No XVII.1) Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 12x12 mm.
 Coin No XVII.2) Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 14x13 mm.



Coin No XVII.3) Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 13x13 mm.



Coin No XVII.4) Weight: 1.25 g, Size: 14x12 mm.



Coin No XVII.5) Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 13x12 mm.



Coin No XVII.6) Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x12 mm.



Coin No XVII.7) Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 18x10 mm.



Coin No XVII.8: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 12x10 mm.

Coin No XVII.9: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x11 mm.

Coin No XVII.10: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x12 mm.

Coin No XVII.11: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x12 mm.

Coin No XVII.12: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x13 mm.

Coin No XVII.13: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x12 mm.

Coin No XVII.14: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 15x13 mm.

Coin No XVII.15: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x13 mm.

Coin No XVII.16: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x12 mm.

Coin No XVII.17: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 12x11 mm.

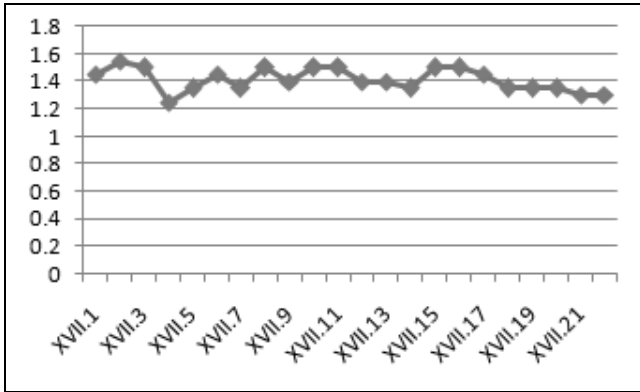
Coin No XVII.18: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 15x12 mm.

Coin No XVII.19: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 14x12 mm.

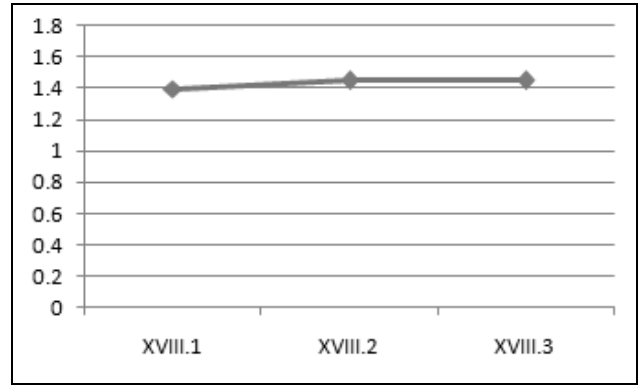
Coin No XVII.20: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 13x12 mm.

Coin No XVII.21: Weight: 1.30 g, Size: 15x12 mm. (with fresh scratch marks)

Coin No XVII.22: Weight: 1.30 g, Size: 12x12 mm.



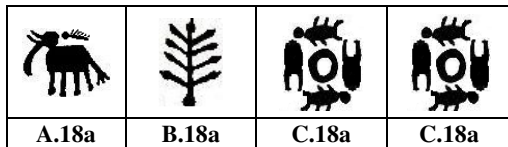
Histogram of Type XVII coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)



Histogram of Type XVIII coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

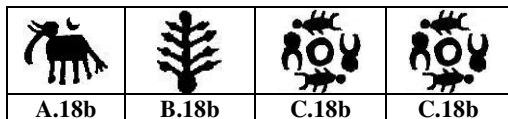
R) Type XVIII: This type has two subtypes: **XVIIIa** and **XVIIIb**.

XVIIIa: This sub-type has A.18a, B.18a, C.18a, C.18a symbols with minor. Here a typical tree symbol appears on the back of the elephant. This type is identical to coins of 'Aśmaka Janapada' published by Rajgor (type 479)¹⁵ and type 1 published by Maheshwari (1978)¹⁶



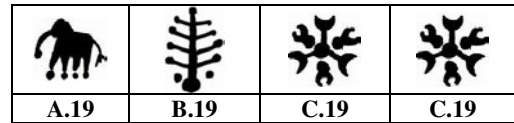
Coin No XVIII.1: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 17x11 mm.

XVIIIb: This sub-type has A.18b, B.18b, C.18b, C.18b symbols with minor variations. Here a crescent appears on his back of the elephant. This type is very similar to type 2 published by Maheshwari (1978) except that the dots at the bottom of tree are not visible¹⁷



Coin No XVIII.2: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 14x12 mm.
Coin No XVIII.3: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x14 mm.

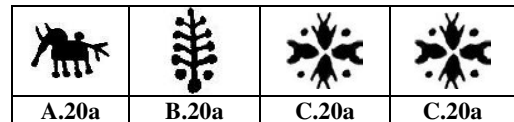
S) Type XIX: This type has A.19, B.19, C.19, C.19 symbols with minor variations.



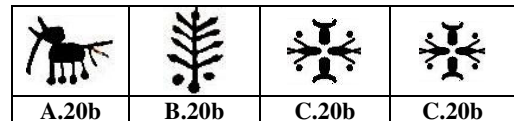
Coin No XIX.1) Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x13 mm.

T) Type –XX: This type has two subtypes: **XXa** and **XXb**.

XXa: This sub-type has A.20a, B.20a, C.20a, C.20a symbols with minor variations.



Variation XXb: This type has A.20b, B.20b, C.20b, C.20b symbols with minor variations.



Coin No XX.1: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 15x11 mm.



Coin No XX.2: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x12 mm.



Coin No XX.3: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 12x11 mm.
Coin No XX.4: Weight: 1.30 g, Size: 14x11 mm.



Coin No XX.5: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x10 mm.
Coin No XX.6: Weight: 1.25 g, Size: 12x10 mm.



Coin No XX.7: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 12x12 mm.
Coin No XX.8: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x12 mm.



Coin No XX.9: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 13x13 mm.
Coin No XX.10: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 12x12 mm.
Coin No XX.11: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x14 mm.
Coin No XX.12: Weight: 1.40 g, Size: 14x10 mm.
Coin No XX.13: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 13x13 mm.
Coin No XX.14: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x12 mm.
Coin No XX.15: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 15x12 mm.
Coin No XX.16: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x10 mm.
Coin No XX.17: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 14x13 mm.



Coin No XX.18: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 15x12 mm.
Coin No XX.19: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x12 mm.



Coin No XX.20: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 14x12 mm.
Coin No XX.21: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 15x11 mm.
Coin No XX.22: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 16x12 mm.
Coin No XX.23: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 15x11 mm.
Coin No XX.24: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 14x12 mm.



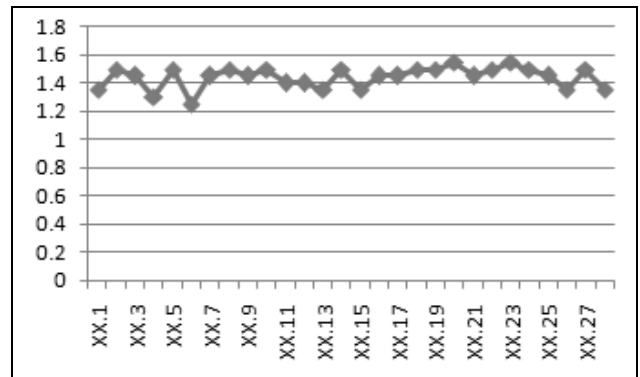
Coin No XX.25: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 13x12 mm.



Coin No XX.26: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 13x11 mm.
Coin No XX.27: Weight: 1.50 g, Size: 12x12 mm.
Coin No XX.28: Weight: 1.35 g, Size: 17x11 mm.

U) Uncertain coins: These are the coins which are corroded and uncleaned, making it difficult to identify the type.

Coin No UN.1: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 13x13 mm.
Coin No UN.1: Weight: 1.45 g, Size: 13x12 mm.
Coin No UN.1: Weight: 1.55 g, Size: 13x12 mm.



Histogram of Type XX coins (x axis: number of coins, y axis: weight in grams)

Table 2 : - Distribution of archaic punch-marked coins from the present discovery

Sr No	Type	Quantity	Percentage
1	Type-I	6	5.36 %
2	Type-II	2	1.79 %
3	Type-III	1	0.89 %
4	Type-IV	1	0.89 %
5	Type-V	2	1.79 %
6	Type-VI	1	0.89 %
7	Type-VII	3	2.68 %
8	Type-VIII	1	0.89 %
9	Type-IX	1	0.89 %
10	Type-X	5	4.46 %
11	Type-XI	6	5.36 %
12	Type-XII	10	8.93 %
13	Type-XIII	6	5.36 %
14	Type-XIV	1	0.89 %
15	Type-XV	6	5.36 %
16	Type-XVI	3	2.68 %
17	Type-XVII	22	19.64 %
18	Type-XVIII	3	2.68 %
19	Type-XIX	1	0.89 %
20	Type-XX, Var 'A'	28	25.00 %
	Type-XX, Var 'B'		
21	Undecipherable coins	3	2.68 %
	Total	112	100.00 %

In the second part of this article, I shall be discussing this find in detail and adding some information on the metrology, the order and variation of applying the punches, the denomination, symbols, attribution of the coins based on various methodologies and the importance of the coins from a historical aspect.

Acknowledgements:

I am very grateful to Dr Shailendra Bhandare, Dr Shobhana Gokhale, Dr Dilip Rajgor (on SACG), Shri Prithviraj Mate and Rajesh Somkuwar for their constant inspiring support. The author can be contacted at: [REDACTED] for more suggestions, discussion and improvement of this topic.

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ANDHARA AND INDO-GREEK FANTASY COINS

By Hans Loeschner

In JONS 204 I published an AE coin showing on one side a 6-armed "Gandharan symbol" and on the other side an elephant walking to right, with a "Mauryan symbol" above (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1: AE coin published in JONS 204

The combination of an elephant and the Mauryan symbol is well known from ca. 200 BC Taxila AE coins (Fig. 2).

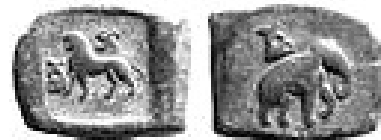


Fig. 2: AE coin allocated to Taxila ca. 200 BC (www.Zeno.ru 29384)

Stimulated by this article, Professor Harry Falk, Berlin, informed me about "Indo-Greek" fantasy coins, with a similar elephant, as found in the bazaars of Peshawar. With his consent these pieces are shown in Figs 3 and 4.



Fig. 3: Ar "Antialkidas" fantasy coin (Source: Harry Falk, Berlin)



Fig. 4: Au "Hippostratos" fantasy coin (Source: Harry Falk, Berlin)

Harry Falk points out that an African - and not an Indian (Figure 2) - elephant is shown on these "Indo-Greek" fantasy coins and also on the "Gandhara" type of Fig. 1.

The "Gandhara" AE piece, obtained from a well-respected coin vendor at low price, definitely is no "business case". Are such fantasy coins study trials for producing "precious" fakes?

Acknowledgements and Comments

The author would like to thank Professor Harry Falk, Berlin, and Professor Pankaj Tandon, Boston, for valuable discussions.

As noted in the JONS 204 article, JONS co-editor Robert Bracey, British Museum, had already raised doubts about the genuineness of the "Gandhara" piece.

THE INDO-PARTHIAN COINS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

By Wannaporn Rienjang

In numismatic nomenclature, the term 'Indo-Parthian' refers to coins issued by the dynasty whose first ruler was Gondophares (AD c.32-60). These coins were issued in an area spanning from the southeast of present day Iran to the northwest of the Indian subcontinent. Along with Greek elements, the Indo-Parthian coins exhibit features found on the coins of the Iranian Parthian dynasty (c. 247 BC to AD 224).

The majority of the Indo-Parthian coins have their legends in a local Indic language or Prakrit on the reverse, and in Greek on the obverse. The Prakrit language used on their coins was written in Kharoshthi script, a script derived from Aramaic. Some later Indo-Parthian coins have legends in Pahlavi (a Middle Iranian language and script). Coins of the Indo-Parthians have been found from Seistan (southeast Iran), Arachosia (around the region of modern day Qandahar), Begram, Kabul, and Jalalabad (southeast Afghanistan), Gandhara and Taxila (northwest Pakistan), Sind, and Punjab/Pathankot, but according to Charles Masson not north of the Hindu Kush.

The British Museum has 686 Indo-Parthian coins. Of these, 588 coins belong to the main collection, acquired from 1838 onwards with the last acquisition in 1996. The rest, 98 coins, belong to the Masson collection (IOLC: British Library India Office Loan Collection). The IOLC coins were collected principally from the urban site of Begram, and to a small extent in the bazaars of Kabul and Jalalabad in the 1830s by Charles Masson, a deserter from the army of the British East India Company, who worked latterly as a 'news-writer' for the Company in Kabul. During his time in Afghanistan, Masson also explored more than 50 Buddhist stupas in the region of Kabul and Jalalabad.

The main collections contain coins of eleven Indo-Parthian kings, distinguished by the names inscribed on the coins. These rulers in an approximate chronological order are Gondophares, Abdagases, Sasan, Sarpedones, Orthagnes, Ubouzanes, Pakores, Abdagases II, Sanabares, Farn-Sasan, and Pahares. The IOLC collection (probably from Jalalabad) contains coins of three Indo-Parthian kings: Gondophares, Abdagases and Sasan.

The Indo-Parthian coins can be divided into 3 main groups. The first group comprises coins of Gondophares and of rulers who make reference to Gondophares in their coin legends, using 'Gondophares' in addition to their given names. These rulers are Abdagases, Sasan, Sarpedones, Orthagnes, and Ubouzanes. The second group are coins of rulers in whose coin legends the word 'Gondophares' does not appear, but their names and coin designs indicate their Indo-Parthian affiliations. These rulers are Pakores and Abdagases II. The last group are coins that contain Pahlavi letters, either as monograms or legends. As with the second group, the rulers who issued these coins make no reference to Gondophares on their coin legends but their coin designs indicate their Indo-Parthian affiliations.

'Gondophares' or *Vindapharna* in Old Persian means 'Winner of Glory' and thus may have been a title rather than a name (Errington & Curtis 2007; Senior 2000). The word 'Gondophares' is used by his successors, Sarpedones, Orthagnes, Ubouzanes and Sasan, in addition to their given names. Coins of Gondophares provide a prototype for those of other Indo-Parthian kings. Gondophares was mentioned as 'kings of the Indians' in the second to third century Apocryphal Christian *Acts of St. Thomas* (I.1-2), and as 'the great king Gondophares' (*Maharaja Guduvhraya*) in the Takht-i-Bahi inscription (Konow 1929). On this inscription, a regnal year of Gondophares is given as year 26 in the year 103 of Azes. If the workable hypothesis is accepted that the Azes era is synonymous with the Vikrama era of 57 BC then year 103 of Azes provides a date for the beginning of the reign of Gondophares of c.AD 20 but the latest discovery of a Yona era (lasting 384 years according to inscriptional evidence), in

which year 1 of Azes equals Yona year 129, suggests that the Azes/Vikrama equation should be reconsidered. Calculations by Joe Cribb (2005:221-2) indicate that the Yona era could be identified with the year founded by Eucratides I in Bactria c.174 BC, resulting in Azes year 1/Yona year 129 equalling c.46 BC. This calculation provides a revised date for Gondophares of c.AD 32 for year 1 of his reign (Errington & Curtis 2007, 53-55, table 1).

There are 213 coins of Gondophares in the museum: 143 in the main collection and 70 in the British Library loan collection (IOLC).

Gondophares' coins are arranged according to Senior's classification in the museum collection as issues of Seistan, Arachosia, Gandhara, and Pathankot. The IOLC coins comprise issues only of Arachosia and Gandhara.

There are 138 Gondophares' coins (copper tetradrachms) of the issue Senior labels Arachosian in the museum: 54 in the main collection and 65 of the IOLC coins. The majority of Gondophares' Arachosian issues in the Museum have a king's bust on the obverse and a standing deity on the reverse (fig.1).



Fig. 1: Arachosian issue of Gondophares.
Obv.: bust of king. Rev.: Nike

Some of the Arachosian issues of Gondophares contain the so-called Gondopharid symbol (fig.2): a symbol which continued to appear on the coins of his successors (fig.3). This symbol resembles the symbol on some coins of the Parthian kings, e.g. Gotarzes (c.45-50 BC), Volagases III and IV (fig.4). The Gondophares symbol was also used by the Sasanian king, Shapur I (AD 240-72/3). Legends on these Arachosian issues (king's bust/standing deity) of Gondophares are written in Greek on the obverse and Kharoshthi on the reverse. Arachosian issues of Abdagases, Sasan, Sarpedones, and Orthagnes also follow the designs of Gondophares. They all have a king's bust on the obverse, and a standing deity on the reverse in more or less the same style as those of Gondophares, with some differences in design such as the bunched hair on the coins of Sarpedones and Orthagnes (fig.5).



Fig. 2: Arachosian issue of Gondophares.
Obv.: king on horseback with Nike in front.
Rev.: Gondopharid symbol



Fig. 3: Gandharan issue of Abdagases.
Obv.: king on horseback with Gondopharid symbol in front.
Rev.: Zeus



Fig. 4: Gotarzes I.
Obv.: bust of king.

Rev.: symbol similar to Gondopharid symbol



Fig. 5: Arachosian issue of Orthagnes.
Obv.: bust of king. Rev.: Nike

The Arachosian issues are the most prevalent amongst the Gondophares coins in the IOLC collection (65 out of 70). With Begram and Jalalabad being the probable provenance of the IOLC coins, this implies that the Arachosian-type coins of Gondophares are more common in circulation in southeast Afghanistan than others such as Gandharan or Pathankot types.

The coins of the later Indo-Parthian rulers are those of Sanabares, Farn-Sasan and Pahares. They make no reference to Gondophares on their coin legends, but their coin designs indicate their Indo-Parthian affiliations. Their coins explicitly exhibit Iranian elements, in that they have Pahlavi letters, either as monograms or legends. Farn-Sasan has particularly strong Iranian connections by having his coin legends written in Pahlavi on both sides, and a fire altar, instead of a deity, on the reverse (fig.6). A coin of one of these later Indo-Parthian rulers, Pahares, was found over-struck on a coin of Vasudeva I, a Kushan king of c. AD 190-227, providing a date of the third century AD for the end of the dynasty.



Fig. 6: Farn-Sasan
Obv.: bust of king. Rev.: fire altar

The British Museum online database

The 686 Indo-Parthian coins are now available online on the British Museum website, where images of the coins are included along with the data associated with them. The records were created by Prof. Dr Nasim Khan, Director of the Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology, Peshawar University, with the assistance of the present author as part of the British Museum's World Collections Programme.

To access the Indo-Parthian coins online:

1. Go to the British Museum website: <http://www.britishmuseum.org/>
2. Click on the 'research' tab at the top
3. Click on 'search the collection database'
4. Click on 'advance search'
5. Select the category 'Cultures/Dynasties/Periods' and type 'Indo-Parthian'
6. You will then be offered a screen with the description of the Indo-Parthian term and the number of related objects in the collections, select that option and 'add the term to your object search'

7. Click on 'search for object' and you will now get the objects displayed with small thumbnails
8. Click on the thumbnails and then the full details of the coin will be displayed

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SOME RECENTLY DISCOVERED COINS OF THE SULTANS OF MADURA, GUJARAT (AND KHANDESH)

By Shailendra Bhandare, University of Oxford

In the years following the publication of 'The Coins of the Indian Sultanates' by Stan Goron and JP Goenka (Delhi, 2001 - 'G&G' hereinafter), a number of new types of sultanate coins have been reported. I have been documenting new coins of some of the sultanate series and now the number is sufficient to warrant their publication. I will also take this opportunity to offer a note on a gold tanka of Aḥsan Shāh, the Sulṭān of Madura, which I published earlier.

A gold heavy tankah of Shams al-Dīn 'Ādil Shāh, Sulṭān of Madura

The Sultanate of Madura, located in the far south of the Indian subcontinent, was perhaps the smallest and shortest-lived amongst the independent sultanates that arose out of the fragmentation of the Delhī Sultanate in the 14th century AD. The province of Madura was first brought under Afghan domination by Malik Kāfūr, the slave of 'Alā al-Dīn Khaljī. In 1334, the governor of the province, Sayyid Aḥsan, rebelled and declared his independence. His master, Muḥammad Tughlaq, the Sulṭān of Delhī, tried to march south to quell the rebellion, but had to turn back as epidemic ravaged his army. There were, in all, nine sultans at Madura who struck coins between 1334 and 1378. The emergent Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar absorbed the sultanate in the late 14th century AD.

The coins of the Sulṭāns of Madura, particularly the gold issues, are noteworthy for their employment of titles and legends each having a uniqueness of its own. Thus, Aḥsan Shāh (1334-1339) calls himself *abū al-ḍu'afāh wa al-misākīn*, or 'Father of the weak and the destitute' on his gold tankas while Nāṣir al-Dīn Dāmghān Shāh (1344-1347) names himself as *wārith-i-mulk-i-sulaimān* ('Inheritor of the kingdom of Solomon'). These titles are not known on any other sultanate coins of India. All gold coins of the Madura Sultans are extremely rare, each type known from less than five specimens.

Goron & Goenka list two gold coins for the seventh Sulṭān of Madura, Shams al-Dīn 'Ādil Shāh, who ruled AD 1347-1358. They are virtually of the same type – the sultan's *laqab* and titles (*shams al-dunyā wa al-dīn, al-ḥalīm, al-karīm*, 'The sun of the religion and the world, the gentle, the generous') appear in a lotus-shaped cartouche on the obverse, while his *qunyat* and name (*abu al-muẓaffar 'ādil shāh*) appear in a circle on the reverse, and the mint and date in the exergue. Judging by the date of issue, there seems to be a decade in between the two coins, and thus G&G suggest that the second coin 'may have been issued to mark ten years of his reign'.

A completely new type of gold tanka was recently acquired by a private collector in Mumbai and deserves publication. This coin is

so far unique (fig. 1), weighs 13.7 g (which makes it a heavy tankah, or perhaps a 'dinar') and may be described as follows:



Fig. 1

Obv.: Within a six-petalled, lotus-shaped cartouche, Arabic inscription in four lines –

السلطان الأعظم
شمس الدنيا و الدين
أبو المظفر عادلشاه
السلطان

al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam
shams al-duniyā wa al-dīn
abu al-muẓaffar 'ādīlshāh
al-sulṭān

Rev.: Within a circle, invocation in three lines –

تعزُّ من
تشاء و تزل
من تشاء

ta-'izza man
tashā' wa ta-zilla
man tashā'

Around:

بحضرت دار الملك معبر في ثمان و أربعين و سبعمياً

ba-haḍrat dār al-mulk ma'abar fi ṭhamān wa arb'ain wa sab'amayāh

In the venerable abode of the realm (of) Ma'abar, during (the year) eight and forty and seven hundred

The invocation is from the Qur'ān, *Sūrah* 3 (the '*Sūrah Āl 'Imrān*'), Verse 26, and it is addressed to Allāh. It means 'Honour whom You will and humble whom You will'. The entire verse goes –

"Say, 'O Allah, owner of sovereignty, You give sovereignty to whom You will and You take sovereignty away from whom You will. You honour whom You will and You humble whom You will. In Your hand is [all] good. Indeed, You are over all things competent."

A part of the next verse (no. 27) from the same *Sūrah* -

يرزق الله من تشاء بغير حساب

irzaq allāh man tashā' ba-ghayr ḥisāb

'Allah provides whom He does without account' – appears on the coins of Humāyūn, the Mughal emperor.

It is interesting to note that the verse opens with Allāh as the source of sovereignty and the coin is struck in the year (AD 748) 'Ādil Shāh ascended the throne. The weight of the coin is very close to being 25% extra to a normal 11 g tanka. In all likelihood, this coin was a special coronation strike.

A note on a gold tanka of Aḥsan Shāh

I published two coins of Aḥsan Shah in ONS 186 with a unique epithet '*abu al-ḍu'afā wa al-misākīn*' ('Father of the weak and the destitute'). An important contextual detail that I discovered subsequently, and which is worth noting, is the fact that the famous traveller, Ibn Battūtah, refers to this title in his book the '*Rihla*'. I refer to the French translation by Messrs C. Defremery and B R Sanguinetti, '*Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*', 3rd Volume, Société Asiatique, Paris, 1855, p. 328-329.

However, there is some incongruence and, judging by the inscriptions on the coin, Ibn Battūtah seems to have got it a bit muddled up, for instead of '*abu al-ḍu'afā*' he gives the coin legend as '*abu al-fukrah*' ('Father of the fakirs') *wa al-misākīn*'. Also, for the reverse legend, he quotes as its beginning the words *sallātāh thāhā wa yāsīn* – 'The offspring of *Thāhā* and *Yāsīn*', which are two Quranic chapters (*Sūrahs*) whose numbers are given to the prophet Muḥammad as his titles. But from the coin we see that it is *aḍḍal al-yāsīn*, or 'Graced by *Yāsīn*'. Ibn Battūtah also mentions that the title *al-wāḥiq ba-tāyid al-raḥmān*, 'The believer in the support of the Merciful', appears on the reverse of the coins – however, on our specimens it is absent.

One cannot be absolutely certain that the information given by Ibn Battūtah is complete and/or accurate and there may be more than one way to account for the discrepancies. He might have misread, misinterpreted or misquoted the details on the coin he describes – after all, he may have been writing only from memory. There perhaps was a coin which had some or all the features he mentions, but it has not turned up so far. There is always a hope of finding more in Indian numismatics!

A unique silver pedigree coin of Aḥmad Shāh I, Sulṭān of Gujarāt

The province of Gujarāt seceded from the control of the Sulṭāns of Delhī in the late 14th century. The event that precipitated the cession was the rebellion of Farhat ul-Mulk, the governor of the province. He was defeated in 1391 by Ḥafṣ Khān, sent by Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad II Tughlaq to quell the rebellion, at the battle of Kambhoi near Anhilwada Patan, the provincial capital. But Ḥafṣ Khān rose against his master in Delhī and assumed his independence with the name 'Muẓaffar Shāh' in 1407. He made Anhilwada Patan his capital.

The city of Anhilwara Patan was founded in AD 745 by Vanraj, a king of the Chavda dynasty, and named after his friend and prime-minister, Anahilla. It was known variously as 'Anahilla-Pāṭaka', 'Anahilpur', 'Anahila-Pāṭan' etc, the '-Pāṭaka', '-Pur' and '-Pāṭan' suffixes to Anahilla's name standing to mean 'Anahilla's City'. In all probability, the Sanskrit name 'Anahilla-Pāṭaka' gave way to the Prakrit (*Apabhramsha*) version 'Anhilwad' or 'Anhilwada'. In the Persian and Arabic languages the name became further corrupted to 'Naharwālā Patan' and that is how it is referred to in Islamic sources.

The name 'Anhilwādā Pāṭan / Naharwala Patan' is often shortened to 'Patan' or 'Pāṭan' (પટણ). This continues to be the modern name of the town which is located in the Mehsana district of present-day Gujarāt State. It is famous for its 'Patola' saris, woodworked mansions and Jaina monasteries. It remained the most prominent of Gujarati cities for almost 700 years, until Aḥmad Shāh I (1411-1443), the grandson and successor of Muẓaffar Shāh, moved his capital to the new city of Aḥmadābād, which he founded on the banks of the Sabarmati River, soon after he became the sultan.

A silver coin, weighing 9.2 g, connecting the early years of the Gujarāt sultanate and its first capital Anhilwada Patan, was recently brought to my notice by Shatrughan Saravagi of Ahmadabad (fig. 2). I am thankful to Shatrughan for his gesture and also for taking the effort to make this historically important coin known to a wider audience by allowing its publication. The coin may be described as follows:



Fig. 2



Fig. 2a

Obv.: Arabic inscription -

ضرب في زمن العبيد الراحي رحمة الله
أحمد شاه بن محمد شاه بن مظفر شاه

*ḍarb fī zaman al-‘abīd al-rāḥī raḥamat allāh
aḥmad shāh bin muḥammad shāh bin muẓaffar shāh*

*Struck in the time of the servant who agrees to the mercy of Allāh
– Aḥmad Shāh, [who is] the son of Muḥammad Shāh, [who is] the
son of Muẓaffar Shāh*

Rev: the Shahāda or Islamic profession of faith in a circle in the
centre. Around, Arabic inscription -

هز العلي بحضرت شهر نهر والا (عرف) پتن خمس
و عشر و ثمانمايا

*hizz al-‘adlī ba-ḥaḍrat shahr nahr wālāh (‘urf) patan kḥams wa
‘ashar wa ṭhamānmāyāh*

*This, the ‘adlī, in the venerable city of Nahrwala (alias) Patan, [in
the year] five and ten and eight hundred*

That part of the marginal legend with the mint-name is shown
enlarged as fig. 2a.

As is evident, this coin was struck by Aḥmad Shāh in AH 815 in
the city of Anhilawada Patan. The AH year 815 spans the period
21-4-1412 to 10-4-1413. The coin has several important aspects to
it and I enumerate them one by one:

1. It is the earliest dated silver coin of Aḥmad Shāh I. A copper coin was noted in ONS 131, bearing the date 813, which corresponds to AD 1410-11.
2. It is struck to the denomination of a silver ‘adlī’, which is otherwise only known in the series of sultanate coins, from some rare issues of Muḥammad Tughlaq, Sulṭān of Delhī (G&G D364-7).
3. It is, so far, the only known coin of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt struck at Anhilwada Patan, probably only months before Aḥmad Shāh moved his capital to Aḥmadābād.
4. As it gives the genealogy of Aḥmad Shāh back to three generations, it is a ‘pedigree’-type coin. Aḥmad Shāh is known to have struck other types of ‘Pedigree’ coins, too (See G&G, p. 360, G5 to G8) – but they are tankas and bear no mint-name. ‘Pedigree’ issues are peculiar to the Gujarāt sultanate and successive kings are known to have issued them. They are all rare and were most likely ceremonial issues.

These are only the factual details which add importance to the coin. There are a few very significant numismatic aspects which feed into a wider historical context, and that need a commentary,

so far as this coin is concerned. A very interesting aspect of the coin is the fact that it mimics the ‘adlī issues of Muḥammad Tughlaq, almost 75 years after they were struck. The similarity is not just in the adoption of the denominational standard, but also in copying the legends, in exact detail if not their exact arrangement - excepting the names of the sultan and the mint. Muḥammad Tughlaq struck silver ‘adlīs bearing the same legends at Delhī and Daulatābād (vide G&G, p. 54, D365-D366). Why Aḥmad Shāh recalled the legacy of Muḥammad Tughlaq after nearly a hundred years, is a question worth asking.

This harking back to the powerful ruler of the past is seen in some other instances of sultanate coins, too. Tāj al-Dīn Firūz Shāh (1397 – 1422) of the Bahmanī dynasty of Gulbarga issued a rare gold dinar (G&G, p.296, BH61) from his capital Aḥsanābād, which emulates similar issues struck almost eighty years earlier by Muḥammad Tughlaq in terms of denomination, coin legends and design. Much like the silver Gujarāt coin we are talking about here, this gold coin also seems a ‘one-off’ issue, perhaps ceremonial and/or commemorative. It is noteworthy that both these coins, albeit struck by sultans of different dynasties and regions, are more or less contemporary in terms of their issue.

The first known gold coin of the Khāndesh sultanate

The geographic designation ‘Khāndesh’ refers to the tract of land that stretches from the northern end of the Western Ghat mountain range to the eastern end of the Satpura mountain range, which is a part of the Vindhya ranges that geographically and historically have divided India into ‘north’ and ‘south’. It is a fertile tract, watered by the Tapi – Poorna river valleys and constitutes the northern borders of the present day Maharashtra State. The province of Khāndesh was granted in tenure by Firūz Shāh Tughlaq in AD 1381 to Aḥmad Khān, a.k.a. Malik Raja, who claimed descent from Caliph ‘Umar. Soon afterwards, he became virtually independent of his Tughlaq overlord and established his capital at Thalner, the provincial headquarters. His rise to kingship was portended by a Sufi holy man named Shaykh Zain al-Dīn, his spiritual guru, who is said to have addressed him as ‘Raja’ Aḥmad. Malik Rāja chose to name his lineage by the appellation ‘Farūqī’, after ‘al-Farūq’, a title of Caliph ‘Umar.

Malik Rāja died in 1399 and was succeeded by Nāṣir Khān. Shaykh Zain al-Dīn, who was Nāṣir Khān’s guru as well, was responsible for granting a divine sanction to Nāṣir Khān’s claims over his brothers. In 1400, Nāṣir Khān wrested the fortress of Asīr, situated to the east of his seat, Thalner, from local rulers. In accordance with the Shaykh’s wishes, he established two new towns on the banks of the nearby Tapi River – one was called Zainābād after the Shaykh himself and the other, Burhānpūr, after Burhān al-Dīn Daulatābādī, the spiritual master of Shaykh Zain al-Dīn. Zain al-Dīn also commanded Nāṣir Khān to move his capital to the new city of Burhānpūr from Thalner. Burhānpūr emerged as a pre-eminent urban centre of the region, first under the Farūqīs and then under the Mughals.

The geographic location of Khāndesh meant it was a ‘buffer zone’ between various sultanates – Gujarāt to the west, the Bahmanīs (and later, its fractions, the ‘Shāhīs’ of the Deccan) to the south and east, and the Sulṭāns of Mālwa to the north. Politically the Khāndesh sultanate was a ‘lame duck’ as for most of its existence it remained either very closely allied to, or a vassal of, the sultanate of Gujarāt. For most rulers of Khāndesh, even the title ‘sultan’ was not usually appended – they were termed ‘Khāns’ and occasionally bestowed with the title of ‘Shāh’ by the Gujarāt rulers. The Farūqī dynasty’s first encounter with Gujarāt happened in Nāṣir Khān’s reign when his armies were defeated by Aḥmad I of Gujarāt in 1429. After 1458, the powerful Maḥmūd I being in charge in Gujarāt, the appeasement went further in the form of further tributes. Maḥmūd in return ‘allowed’ the Farūqīs the use of royal appellations such as ‘Rāja’, ‘Malik’ and occasionally, even ‘Shāh’.

In the early 16th century, the relationship between the Khāndesh and Gujarāt houses, unequal as it was, reached its zenith when ‘Ādil Khān III, the ruler of Khāndesh (1509-1520) secured a

matrimonial alliance with Gujarāt having married a niece of Muẓaffar II (1511-1526), the successor of Maḥmūd I. Together, they secured victories in Mālwa and helped establish the rule of the Gujarāt sultanate at Mandū. The sons and successors of these respective rulers, namely Mirān Muḥammad Khān of Khandesh (1520-1537) and Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt (1526-1535, 1536-1537), were related as cousins. They built up an alliance so strong that, after the sudden demise of Bahādur Shāh in 1537, his mother appointed Mirān Muḥammad Khān as the Sulṭān of Gujarāt and invited him to Champāner, the capital. Mirān Muḥammad travelled from Burhānpūr to Mandū, where his investiture as the Sulṭān of Gujarāt took place. But, soon afterwards, en route from Mandū to Champāner, he died unexpectedly. This marked the apogee of the house of Khāndesh and also the end of a short-lived union between the Gujarāt and the Khāndesh sultanates.

The sultanate of Khāndesh lasted for nearly two and a half centuries until the province was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Akbar's armies in the early 17th century. A total of fourteen sultans, including a few short-lived ones, ruled from Burhānpūr and/or Thalner during this long period.

The coins of the Khāndesh sultans were virtually unknown except for brief notices by C R Singhal, who published copper coins of one of the early and the latest of the Farūqī rulers, namely Nāṣir Khān and Bahādur Khān in JNSI vol. 6 (1944) and vol. 12 (1950), respectively. Several years later, Jayant Hunnargikar published a few more copper coins of Bahādur Khan in ND vo. 20 (1996). Coins of both these rulers were listed as coins of 'Sulṭāns of Khāndesh' by G&G (p. 418).

In the introductory text for their 'Khāndesh' section, G&G remarked –

"No silver coins are known in the name of Khāndesh rulers, but some silver coins were struck at Burhānpūr in the name of Muẓaffar Shāh II of Gujarāt in AH 921-923 and in 926, as were copper coins in 920-923. This will have been during the reign of 'Ādil Khān III, who owed his throne and his wife to the Gujarāt sultan."

These coins are listed by them in the Gujarāt section, as G240-241 (silver) and G280-281, G290 (copper). All these coins have legends with a distinctly stylised calligraphy.

Jayant Hunnargikar in a subsequent article ('Coins of the Khandesh Rulers', ND, vol. 25-26, 2001-2002, pp. 141-148) provided historical evidence to demonstrate that coins struck at Burhānpūr in the name of the Gujarāt sultan should be considered coins of the Sulṭāns of Khāndesh, struck in the name of the Sulṭān of Gujarāt. His main contention is the historical fact that Burhānpūr was the capital of the Farūqīs during this time and was certainly not under the direct control of the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt. The kingdom of Khāndesh was a vassal state of Gujarāt and, although coins were struck there in the name of the Sulṭān of Gujarāt, that would not qualify them as 'Gujarāt sultanate' coins. The Burhānpūr issues in the name of Muẓaffar Shāh II were thus reattributed by him to the Khāndesh ruler, 'Ādil Khān III. In the same paper, Hunnargikar also published copper coins in the name of Bahādur Shāh dated AH 943, struck at Burhānpūr (which are not listed in G&G), which he contended to be the issues of Mirān Muḥammad Khān, the successor of 'Ādil Khān III.

In view of these re-attributions, it is worth revisiting a gold coin, weighing 11.5 g, recently offered at an auction in Mumbai as a gold tankah of the Gujarāt sultan, Muẓaffar II (Todywalla's Auction, no. 32, lot 43, here fig. 3). Judging by the fact that it was struck in the same period as Hunnargikar's copper and silver coins, it should be regarded as the first known gold issue of the Sulṭāns of Khāndesh. The coin was acquired by J P Goenka and is published here with his kind consent.



Fig. 3

Obv.: Arabic inscription in three lines –

المؤيد بتأييد الرحمن
شمس
الدنيا و الدين أبو النصر
*al-mu'ayyad ba-ta'yīd al-raḥman
shams
al-dunyā wa al-dīn abū al-naṣr*

'He who trusts in the support of the Merciful, the sun of the world and of the religion, the father of victory'

Rev.: In a scalloped circle, legend arranged in a calligraphic panel:

مظفر شاه بن محمود شاه السلطان
muẓaffar shāh bin maḥmūd shāh al-sulṭān

'Muẓaffar Shāh (who is) the son of Maḥmūd Shāh, the Sulṭān'

The date 923 is placed at 6 o'clock on the edge of the scalloped circle. In exergue, there is an Arabic inscription which probably begins just below the date but is extant between 10 and 4 o'clock, reading شهربرهانپور *shahr burhānpūr*. The last 'r' of the mint-name is not visible but can be easily restored. What the inscription is between 5 o'clock and 10 o'clock is not certain, but judging by the remnants of the Arabic characters, it is very likely to be ضرب دار السلطنة *ḍarb dār al-salṭanat*. The full marginal inscription may, therefore, be restored as ضرب دار السلطنة شهربرهانپور *ḍarb dār al-salṭanat shahr burhānpūr*, 'Struck at the City of Burhānpūr, the Seat of the Sultanate'.

SOME SULTANATE COINS THAT REFER TO SYLHET

By Russel Haque & Nicholas Rhodes

In an earlier article⁵⁹ one of us published a coin of 'Alā'al-Dīn Fīrūz II (AH 928-29) struck at the mint of Srīhat (modern Sylhet). The purpose of this article is to point out some more coins that may mention the name of Sylhet, and are hence relevant to the early history of the muslim advances towards north-east India.

Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz was the Sultan of Bengal from AH 700-716, and AH 719-720⁶⁰. The western boundary of his kingdom extended up to Bihar. This is corroborated by two inscriptions found in Bihar dated AH 709⁶¹ and AH 715⁶² as well as a reference by Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, the famous Firdausi saint of Bihar, who says that Ḥātim Khān, son of Fīrūz Shāh was the governor of Bihar when Fīrūz died⁶³. In the south, he continued to hold power over the Triveni region, which is attested by an

⁵⁹ Russel Haque, 'Srīhat (Modern Sylhet) – A Newly Identified Mint Town of the Sultans of Bengal', *ONS Journal*, No.202, pp.31-34. (Winter 2010).

⁶⁰ Goron, Stan and Goenka, J.P., *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, p 160.

⁶¹ Abdul Karim, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992 p 59.

⁶² *Ibid.* p 69.

⁶³ *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XLII, Part II, 1956, p 5 and p 179.

inscription dated AH 713⁶⁴. However, the main military event that took place during Firūz's reign was the expansion of the sultanate to the east. The first conquest of Firūz Shāh was of the eastern part of Bengal (*Bang*) which was controlled by Danuj Rai⁶⁵. He established a mint in the region - and coins of Firūz from Bang mint are known for the date of AH 701 and of Sunārgāon mint for the dates AH 705 and AH 710⁶⁶. The second conquest was the area of Sylhet in the year AH 703, under the command of Sikandar Khān Ghāzī. The exact date is given in an Arabic inscription dated AH 918 of the time of 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, sultan of Bengal from AH 899-925⁶⁷. It appears that some parts of Kamrup were also conquered by Firūz Shāh according to Hazrat Sharf-ud-din Yahya Maneri, who mentions that Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bahādur Shāh, another son of Firūz Shāh, was the governor of Kamrup during the time of his father⁶⁸. Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bahādur was the independent Sultan of Bengal from AH 720-724. He established a new mint town in his own name, Ghiyāthpūr, which is identified with a *mauza* of the same name near Enayetpur, about 15 miles south-east of the present town of Mymensingh, Bangladesh⁶⁹. Coins in the name of Firūz, and also Bahādur, have been discovered from Enayetpur (Mymensingh), Kalighat and Kastbir (Sylhet) and Rupaibari (Nowgong district)⁷⁰.

Coins of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Bahādur as independent Sultan of Bengal are known from the mints of Lakhnautī and Ghiyāthpūr. Ghiyāthpūr was given two different epithets, *khiṭṭah* and *qaṣba*. The coins have been published as B105 and B106 in *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates* by Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka. Recently two specimens of a new variety of Bahādur's coin from Qaṣba Ghiyāthpūr have appeared, with complete marginal legends on the reverse.



Obv:

السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بهادر شاه السلطان
بن سلطان

*al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam ghiyāth al-dunyā wa'l dīn abu'l muẓaffar
bahādur shāh al-sulṭān bin sulṭān*

⁶⁴ Abdul Karim, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992 p 62.

⁶⁵ Syed Ejaz Hussain, *The Bengal Sultanate Politics, Economy and Coins (AD 1205-1576)*, p.73

⁶⁶ Goron, Stan and Goenka, J.P., *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, p 161. Both these mints may have been located near Dacca.

⁶⁷ Abdul Karim, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992 p.296.

⁶⁸ *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, vol. XLII, Part II, 1956, p 5 and p 179.

⁶⁹ *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1922, p 416 ff.

⁷⁰ Syed Ejaz Hussain, *The Bengal Sultanate Politics, Economy and Coins (AD 1205-1576)*, p.74.

Rev: الامام المستعصم امير المومنين

al-imām al-muṣṭa' sim amīr al-mu'minīn

Margin:

ضرب هذه السكة قصبه غياث پور من دار سرهت سنة اثنى
عشرين و سبعمائة

*ḍarb hazzah al-sikkah qaṣbah ghiyāthpūr min dār sirhat sanah
athnīn 'ashrīn wa saba'māyah*

The marginal legend indicates the mint to be *Qaṣbah Ghiyāthpūr* and the date is clearly AH 722. However, there is an additional phrase between *Ghiyāthpūr* and *sanah*. The phrase has not been encountered before in Bengal sultan coins. The first word after *Ghiyāthpūr* is من (*min*), which means, inter alia, 'in', the second word is دار (*dār*), which means 'gateway'. The 'alif' and 'dal' of the word 'dār' are joined as a part of the calligraphic style, which is also encountered on other examples of Bengal sultan coins which include the words 'dār' and 'dākhlī'. The third word that follows is quite clearly the name of a place and has been read 'سرهت' *Sirhat*. Thus the phrase would mean "Qaṣbah Ghiyāthpūr in (the) gateway of Sirhat". As mentioned before, this is the first time such a phrase is encountered on Bengal Sultan coinage, and it needs to be looked into in detail. (the upper coin is in the collection of Russel Haque, whereas the lower coin is in a private collection in Calcutta.)

There are two known inscriptions that mention Sylhet. In one inscription dated AH 918, during the reign of the later ruler 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh, while recording the erection of a structure at Sylhet by his governor and general, Rukn Khān, Sylhet is mentioned as *Srihat* - سرهت. In this important inscription the accurate date of invasion of Sylhet by Bengal is given as AH 703, during the time of sultan Firūz Shāh, as mentioned above⁷¹. The second inscription of the same date found some distance away at Deokot, West Dinajpur, West Bengal, records the building of a mosque and minaret by the same general, Rukn Khān, where he is mentioned as Rukn Khān 'Alā al-Dīn al-Sirhatī

رکن خان علاء الدين السرهتي⁷²

So although it was the local usage to render the place-name as "Srihat" in Arabic, elsewhere the epigraphers were not familiar with the name, and it was rendered "Sirhat" in Arabic.

Although Mymensingh (including Ghiyāthpūr) would have been on the natural route from Gaur to Sylhet, we would like to make sure whether it would be plausible for Ghiyāthpūr to be 'in (the) gateway to Sirhat'. The route from Mymensingh to Sylhet would have been either overland or riverine, and in either case it could be regarded as a 'gateway'.

An account of the river system of this part of Bengal (after the change of course of the Ganges) has been given by F.A. Sachse, in the Bengal District Gazetteers, Mymensingh: "The Jamuna, forms the western boundary of Mymensingh and the equally important Meghna encloses it on the east. They are connected by the old channel of the Brahmaputra running through the centre of the district in a south-easterly direction from above Bahadurabad to Bhairab-Bazar. The Dhaleswari, first an old channel of the Ganges and then of the Brahmaputra, cuts across the south-western corner of the district on its way to join the Meghna at Narayanganj. The Dhanu, lower down called the Ghorautra, a fine stream navigable by steamers throughout the year, is a tributary of the Meghna and flows directly southwards from Sonamganj in Sylhet through the eastern thanas of Netrakona and Kishorganj". Sachse also mentions that oranges were bought from Sylhet by 'boat' and sold in the markets of Mymensingh in the cold weather.

⁷¹ Abdul Karim, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992 p.296.

⁷² *Ibid.* p 300.

However, there is also reference of an overland route from Mymensingh to Sylhet. The reference is in *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, an account of Mughal wars with Assam, Cooch Behar etc. Here it is mentioned that ‘Uthmān or ‘Usmān who was one of the *Baro Bhuiyans* or Twelve Landed Chiefs of Bengal⁷³, at the time of the Mughals, had his fort at Bukainagar in Mymensingh. When the imperial Mughal army approached Mymensingh, two of ‘Usmān’s associates deserted him. Seeing that his position had weakened, as a war measure, he is said to have gathered ‘two hundred and fifty Afghans and took them with him to Sylhet via the Laur hills’⁷⁴. Laur or Laud is referred to in an inscription at Sonargaon, Narayanganj dated AH 889, during the time of the later sultan, Jalāl al-Dīn Fath Shāh, which records the building of a mosque. The builder/donor was Muqarrab al-Daulat Malik, who is called Sar-i-Lashkar and Wazir of Iqlīm Muazzamābād and Sar-i-Lashkar of Thana Laud⁷⁵. Laur/Laud was thus a place near Muazzamābād in East Bengal on the route to Sylhet from Mymensingh.

The coin under discussion thus states that it was minted at Qasba Ghiyāthpūr, which is on the way from the capital to Srihat, at a strategically important place which could be regarded as the gateway. It apparently introduces to the general population at Lakhnauti and elsewhere, the new town in the name of the sultan, and tries to give a geographical reference so they could understand its strategic and economic importance. Sirhat or Sylhet, which had only been conquered nineteen years previously, was economically a very important town. It is clear that Bengal imported silver via both overland and sea routes from the east, probably from mines in Yunnan and Burma⁷⁶. The silver reached Bengal via Kamrup in the north, Tripura and Sylhet in the east and Chittagong and Arakan in the south-east⁷⁷. Sylhet was also of importance from the religious point of view, as it was where the famous Sufi saint, Hazrat Shāh Jalāl, was residing at that time¹⁶. So the present coin can be regarded as one of the first productions from Ghiyāthpūr, where an attempt was made to inform the populace about the location and importance of the newly established town in the sultan’s name.

The next type of coin we would like to draw to the attention of readers comes in the names of three sultans, and all three are illustrated below:



These coins do not bear any specific date or mint name, but do contain a phrase that can perhaps be read as *sirhat mardan*, which can be translated as the subduing of Sirhat, or Sylhet. The coins in the name of Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh (no.3) are the most

common, those of ‘Alā al-Dīn Fīrūz Shah II (no.4) are scarce, while those Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd (no.5) are very rare, but all of them are of similar style, and were probably struck in the same place, and over a short period. It can be noted that the word *mardan* is consistently located at the top on the coins of both Nuṣrat Shāh and Fīrūz Shāh and underneath on those of Maḥmūd Shāh, as shown below, but the only diacritical marks to help the correct reading are the 2 dots over the ‘t’ on the coins of Maḥmūd.



‘Sirhat’ as on Nuṣrat Shāh



‘Sirhat as on Maḥmūd Shāh

There is, unfortunately, no way of determining exactly where these pieces were struck, but it is most likely that they were struck at the capital, Gaur, for local propaganda purposes, rather than in Sylhet itself. Comparison can be made to the coins of the Habshi sultan, Shams al-Dīn Muzaḥfar Shah, who struck coins with the legend ‘Kamtah Mardan’ to celebrate the invasion of Kamata, or Cooch Behar, in AH 898 (c AD1492). (all these coins, nos. 5-8, are in the collection of Nicholas Rhodes)

It should be mentioned that at least two readings of this legend have previously been proposed. Blochmann suggested *yad i-Hurmuzd* (by the hand of, or engraved by, Hurmuzd)⁷⁸ which has not recently received support, and seems very unlikely as there are no precedents for such a private name to be included in the legend of a sultanate coin. Later, the reading ‘Tirhut Mardan’ was proposed, initially we believe by John Deyell and Rezaul Karim of Bangladesh, and has been widely accepted by scholars and collectors, but as far as we are aware this reading was not published until Michael Mitchiner and Goron & Goenka included it in their catalogues of the coinage of the sultanates. Although an invasion of Tirhut did take place during the early part of the reign of Nuṣrat Shāh, there is no reason why Nuṣrat Shāh’s successors should have celebrated this campaign. This is the first time that the reading ‘Sirhat Mardan’ has been proposed, and these coins associated with the unsuccessful invasion of the north-east that took place during the years AD 1531-2.

The striking of these coins may have taken place about the same time as the coins of Fīrūz Shāh II, with the Srihat, mint, which is another reason for believing that they were not struck in Sylhet itself, but they still shed light on the history of the period. At this period the military efforts of the Bengal sultanate were certainly concentrated towards the north-east, so we feel that the reading of Sirhat Mardan is much more likely, historically, than Tirhut Mardan, although it should be noted that, in the absence of diacritical marks in the key parts of the inscription, either reading is technically possible.

⁷³ Md Mohar Ali, *History of the Muslims of Bengal*, Imam Muhammad Ibn Sa’ud Islamic University, p.288.

⁷⁴ *Baharistan-i-Ghaybi*, an account of Mughal wars with Assam, Cooch Behar etc, p 110

⁷⁵ Abdul Karim, *Corpus of Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, 1992 p.204.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p.299.

⁷⁷ John Deyell, ‘The China connection : problems of silver supply in medieval Bengal’, *Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds*, p.207-224.

⁷⁸ H.Blochmann, *Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal (Muhammedan Period)*, Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1968, p.93 & Pl.IX No.12, illustrating a coin of Naṣrat Shāh. This reading was also quoted by Abdul Karim in his *Corpus of the Muslim Coins of Bengal (down to 1538 AD)*, Asiatic Society of Pakistan Papers No.6, Dacca 1960, p.120, quoting Blochmann, and agreeing with the latter’s comment that he was doubtful of the reading but ‘it is difficult to suggest anything else’.

A COPPER COIN OF MURSHIDABAD

By Nicholas Rhodes



Copper coins of Murshidabad from the Mughal mint have not previously been published, so it was with some surprise that I recently saw the piece illustrated above:

Obv: *julūs mubārak*

Rev: *zarb murshidābād, (sanah?) 12*

Diam: 17mm; thickness: 5mm; Wt. 11.5g

The coin is unusual in apparently having the regnal year, but no Hijri year or emperor's name, making the attribution uncertain. However, the Murshidabad mint was only called by the name 'Murshidabad' after Murshid Quli Khan moved his capital from Jahangirnagar to Makhshusabad and renamed the latter place after his own name in AH 1116, in the 46th year of Aurangzeb's reign. After Aurangzeb, the only Mughal emperors to rule twelve years or more were Muhammad Shah and Shah 'Alam II, so this coin must presumably belong to one of these two reigns. If it was struck during the reign of Shah 'Alam II, it would be an unrecorded East India Company coin, which seems unlikely. Some copper annas and half annas were struck with the full name of the emperor, the mint name Kalkatta and dated AH 1188, equivalent to Shah 'Alam's regnal year 15, but these pieces weighed c29g and 14.5g respectively. However, it was around the 12th year of Shah 'Alam that instructions went out from the British mint authorities that all coins struck in the four Bengal mints, Calcutta, Murshidabad, Jahangirnagar (Dhaka) and 'Azimabad (Patna), should carry the mint name of Murshidabad, so it is not impossible that this piece is an unrecorded copper issue of one of these other mints, intended for local use.

The alternative is that this coin was struck during the reign of Muhammad Shah (AD 1719-48), so that regnal year 12 would be equivalent to about AD 1730, and this seems a possible attribution, although it is worth pointing out that no other Mughal copper coins from Bengal have been recorded, and there seems no obvious reason why one should have been struck. I have no suggestions as to why such an anonymous copper coin should have been struck, without the emperor's name, but whatever the reason, it is likely that the issue was very short-lived as no other examples have been observed in any collections in Calcutta.

COINS OF THE SIKHS: ZARB SRI AMBRATSAR JIYO

سری امبرت سر جیو

By Gurprit Singh Dora (Gurprit Singh Gujral)

I started collecting coins about 20 years ago. I had never before seen the silver rupees of the Indian subcontinent from earlier centuries till then, and it fascinated me when I first held them in my hand. I started collecting haphazardly and used to buy almost anything that came my way. It was barely a year after I started collecting coins, probably in 1991 or 1992, that I came across a photocopy of the manuscript "Coins of the Sikhs" by Mr. Hans Herli. For the first time, I came to know about the huge variety of

the coins of the Sikhs and I decided to concentrate on the collection and study of these coins.

I had a certain "Chacha Choudhary" as my guide. Chacha Choudhary was not his actual name. "Chacha" is "Uncle" in English. His real name was Sat Prakash Choudhary. It was only out of love and respect that everybody addressed him as "Chacha Choudhary" or only "Chacha". An unassuming, habitually betel-chewing man of nearly 70 years of age at that time, he was an iconic figure among numismatists and collectors of old and antique items in the Punjab. His name was synonymous with numismatics. Almost everybody in the trade seemed to know him.

He once took me to Nabha⁷⁹ to a goldsmith. The goldsmith showed a silver rupee of Amritsar mint of the year vs 1834 and asked Rs.450 (approximately US\$10) for it. Common silver rupees of the Sikhs were then available for around Rs.100 each. I looked at Chacha enquiringly. He told me to pay the demanded price. Once out of the shop, I asked Chacha why he agreed a price more than four times that of a common coin. He told me, "Can't you see, the name of the mint on the coin is "Amratsar" and not "Amritsar"?" Frankly, I could not read the Arabic script then and took his word for it.

Today, in the course of attempting to compile a catalogue of the silver rupees of the Sikhs, based almost entirely on images of the actual coins, I was suddenly reminded of him. I was nearing completion of the chapter on coins of the Misls of Amritsar mint from vs 1832 to 1858, and reviewing the images of the coins and corresponding texts. I was suddenly astounded to realise the importance of the words of Chacha Choudhary.

I was surprised to note that, on all the early coins of Amritsar, the name of the mint is clearly and unambiguously given as "Sri Amratsar Jiyo"

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and not "Sri Amritsar Jiyo"

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as was mostly assumed till now (but see below p. 40). For a layman, the difference is indistinguishable, as it was for me when I was first shown the coin. The difference is of a dot placed below "mr" م of "amrit" and sometimes the very slightly elongated horizontal line between the "mim" م and the "ray" ر to signify the presence of "bay" ب, as illustrated below:

"Amrit" "Ambrat"

امرت امبرت

As is evident from the above illustration, the marked difference between "Amrit" and "Ambrat" in Urdu script is the presence of the dot below in the "Ambrat". This dot is present on all coins of the mint up to the year vs 1844 except for the year vs 1841, when the mintname was engraved in a different way.

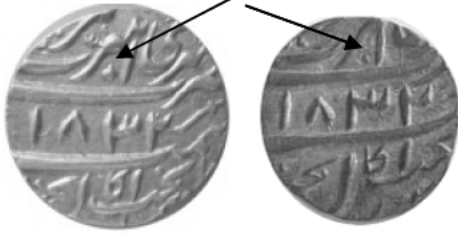
The dot signifying the "Bay" ب completely disappears on the coins of this mint after the year vs 1844, and was replaced by a cluster of dots or other ornamental features. To illustrate this, I am first posting below images of the reverse of actual coins of vs 1832 to early vs 1844, except those of vs 1841:

VS 1832 to VS 1840

VS 1822 (AD 1875)

⁷⁹ Nabha was one of the Cis Sutlej states

The dots and the bend for "Bay" ب to form Amratsar



VS 1833 (AD 1776)

The dots for "Amratsar"



VS 1834 (AD 1777)

The dots for "Amratsar"



VS 1835 (AD 1778)

The dots indicating the mint to be "Amratsar"



VS 1836 (AD 1779)

The dots indicating the mint to be "Amratsar"



VS 1837 (AD 1780)

The dots indicating "Amratsar"



VS 1838 (AD 1781)

The dots indicating the mint to be "Amratsar"



VS 1839 (AD 1782)

The dots for "Amratsar"



VS 1840 (AD 1783)

The dots for "Amratsar"



VS 1841 was a significant year for rupees struck at Amratsar. A number of changes and issues were made, the reasons for which have yet to be determined. Because this is somewhat complicated, it has been considered best to omit this year from the present article.

Below are images of vs 1842 to vs 1844 to demonstrate that the name of the mint continued to remain "Amratsar" till early vs 1844. The dots are not indicated by the arrows in the following images up to the year vs 1844. It is expected that the reader can now make out, on his/her own, the presence of the dot on these coins.

VS 1842 to VS 1844

VS 1842 (AD 1785)



VS 1843 (AD 1786)



VS 1844 (AD 1787)



In the later part of the year VS 1844, the silver rupees of Amritsar mint appear to have been given a final shape. Except for the addition of the symbol of a leaf on the reverse at some point of time in the year VS 1845, there was no distinctive change in the type, design, calligraphy and legend etc., either on the obverse or the reverse, of the rupees of the subsequent years. Such rupees of VS 1844 I have termed "transitional" rupees. The dot was entirely done away with from these rupees of this year and that of the subsequent years. The mint name thenceforth continued to remain "Amritsar" till the end of the Sikh empire. The single distinctive dot was replaced by a cluster of dots or other ornamental features. The images of the rupees of the subsequent years, i.e. VS 1844 (transitional) and onwards are self-explanatory. Without being selective, I am providing the images of the coins from VS 1844 (Transitional) to VS 1857.

The dot replaced by an ornamental cluster of dots



VS 1849 (AD 1792)

The dot replaced by an ornamental cluster of dots



VS 1850 (AD 1793)

The dot replaced by an ornamental cluster of dots



VS 1844 (transitional) onwards

The dot replaced by an ornamental cluster of dots



VS 1851 (AD 1794)

The dot replaced by an ornamental cluster of dots



VS 1845 (AD 1788)
The dot replaced by an ornamental cluster of dots



VS 1846 (AD 1789)
The dot replaced by an ornamental cluster of dots



VS 1847 (AD 1790)
The dot replaced by an ornamental cluster of dots



VS 1848 (AD 1791)

VS 1852 (AD 1795)



VS 1853 (AD 1796)



In the images below, it is left to the readers to see that the single dot representing the letter "bay" of "Ambrat" has been replaced by a cluster of dots or some other ornamental feature, or sometimes is completely missing.

vs 1854 (AD 1797)



vs 1855 (AD 1798)



vs 1856 (AD 1799)



vs 1857 (AD 1800)



It is interesting to note that the name of the mint on all copper coins of Amritsar mint with the Gurmukhi (Punjabi) legend, without exception, has clearly been written as “Ambratsar”. There is not a single copper coin of the Sikhs from Amritsar mint with the name of the mint as “Amritsar”.

“Amritsar” in Gurmukhi (Punjabi) is written:

ਅਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਰ

A MRI T SA R

“Ambaratsar” in Gurmukhi is written:

ਅੰਬਰਤਸਰ

AM BARAT SA R

The word “zarb”, meaning *stamping, coining*, is written thus in Gurmukhi:

ਜ਼ਰਬ

Z(a) R B

The images of copper coins of Amritsar mint illustrated below are self-explanatory (The mint is on the leaf side, and the dash signifies the change of line):



The mint is clearly “Zarb - Sree Am{Leaf symbol}ba(ra) - tsar Jee”.



The mint is clearly “(Za)rb - (Sree) Am{Leaf symbol}bara - tsar Jee”.



The mint is “Zarb - Sri {leaf symbol} Am(ba) - ratsar J(ee)”.



Mint name “(Z)arb Sree - Amb{leaf symbol}rat Sa - (r) Jee”



Mint name “Zarb Sr(ee) – Amb {leaf symbol} ratsa - r Jee”

It is clear from the above images that the mint name was written as “Ambratsar” on all copper coins of “Amritsar” mint. In view of this, the fact that during the initial coinage from “Amritsar” mint, the name of the mint was written as “Ambratsar” on all silver rupees should not come as a surprise.

The letter “*bay*” of “Ambratsar” was earlier noticed by Charles Rodgers in the 19th century and later by Ken Wiggins and Stan Goron in one of their papers for the ONS in the early 1980s. However, in both cases it was merely a transliteration of the legends on the coins. None of them went into detail to discuss the change in later years, and the reason for the same. The reason is simple. For anyone not familiar with the language, a name is only a name unless the name has a meaning.

“Amritsar” is not simply a name but a meaningful word. Most of the Punjabi (Gurmukhi) words have their origin in Hindi words which, in turn, are mostly derived from Sanskrit words. “Amritsar” is composed of two words – “Amrit” and “Sar”. “Amrit” literally means nectar, but in Hindu mythology it refers to the drink of the gods that makes one immortal. “Sar” is short for “Sarover” meaning “pool”. Thus “Amritsar” literally means “Pool of Nectar”.

“Amritsar” is colloquially also known and pronounced as “Ambarsar” or “Ambaratsar”. For this reason, all copper coins in Punjabi (Gurmukhi) script have the mint name as “Ambaratsar” only.

As for the mint name on the silver rupees, it is very much possible that when the Muslim calligraphers were initially instructed to inscribe the mintname on the die, they inscribed the mintname as it sounded to them. The Sikh rulers could not necessarily read the script. Even if they could, they might not have noticed the mistake since, as we have seen above, only a dot is added to “Amritsar” to make it pronounced as “Ambaratsar”. This dot, representing the letter “bay” may have been thought to be merely an ornamental dot. Later, under more stable political conditions in the Punjab it must have come to the notice of those in control that the mint name was actually written as “Ambratsar”, and an amendment must have been made. We have seen that a near final shape was given to the coins from “Amritsar” mint in the year vs 1844. The very fact that the dot was permanently replaced by a cluster of dots or other ornamental features in this year itself indicates that the amendment was knowingly and intentionally made in the name of the mint.

LOCALLY STRUCK COINAGE OF THE MALDIVES: A DIE STUDY OF THE FINAL ISSUES

By Peter Budgen

Introduction

To many numismatists the locally hand-struck coins of the Maldives in the Indian Ocean are somewhat of a mystery. Many of these coins are easily obtainable, but very few detailed studies have been made of them. In recent years the only readily available catalogues are the slim book by Tim J Browder, *Maldivian Islands Money*, published in 1969, and the various volumes of Krause and Mishler's *Standard Catalog of World Coins (SCWC)*. Unfortunately both of these works contain a number of errors and omissions, many only noticed through the benefit of hindsight. However, they do form a good basis for further serious studies.

I was fortunate to have worked in the Maldives in 1975 and was able to assemble a reasonably large and comprehensive collection of these fascinating coins. At that time I had no access to any reference books, but was able to identify different rulers, if not their names, and their approximate reign dates. I subsequently found that I had acquired specimens of most of the different coins struck, apart from the earliest dates. However, I could console myself that even major museum collections do not have many of these either.

In general, coins that were struck in the Maldives are broadly of the same pattern with only a few exceptions. Despite the Maldives having its own language and script, Divehi, all coins have inscriptions in Arabic. The obverse usually carries a shortened form of the reigning Sultan's name. The reverse carries his standard titles along with the Hijri date. The official title of the Sultan was “Sultan of the Twelve Thousand Islands”, but this was not used on the coins. However, the Ottoman sultans' title of “Sultan of the Two Lands and Lord of the Two Seas” probably influenced the Maldivian rulers to adopt the title of “Sultan of The Land and The Sea” on their coins.

The basic denomination in the Maldives was the larin. Originally this was the bent silver wire larin that was first produced in Persia in the early 16th century AD. Because of its purity, it quickly gained popularity in trade around the Persian Gulf and then through to southern India and Ceylon. Wire larins were struck in many different countries, including some in the Maldives. However, in the late 17th century circular, silver coins were first struck in the Maldives. These were also called larins and were of the same weight as the silver wire types at around 4.8g in weight.

Over the next century or so the coinage developed into a regular pattern with eventually two denominations predominating, the double larin and the half larin. The local names for these coins were the bodu (great) and kuda (small) larins. The originally high purity silver content of these coins was soon increasingly debased until all pretence of silver content was abandoned and coins were generally struck from copper or bronze.

While the bodu larins managed to maintain their weight at around 9.0 to 9.6g, the smaller kuda larins were gradually over the years struck with widely varying weights. Even coins of the same date can be encountered with weights varying from around 0.7g to over 3g. A number of numismatists, including Tim Browder, have tried to suggest that there were two different denominations being struck, the ¼ and ½ Larins. However, there is no evidence to back up this theory other than the occurrence of possibly slightly smaller dies for the lower-weight coins. There are no contemporary records referring to two or more smaller denominations, and my examination of large numbers of coins of a single date show that the weights were fairly evenly distributed over the ranges encountered.

The most likely explanation for these widely varying weights is that contained in an article by Raf van Laere⁸⁰ where he recounts an interview with a direct descendant of the last mint master of the Maldives. The minting methods were described both for the issues dated AH 1294 and 1298 and the last series of coins struck between AH 1318 and 1320 (AD 1901-1903). The earlier coinages were apparently not well planned in advance. All coinage metals had to be imported from elsewhere, mainly Ceylon or Calcutta, and there were the inevitable shortages from time to time. The mint master and presumably his predecessors, who were not subject to any government control, were forced either to use metals other than copper or bronze, or strike smaller and lighter coins.

There was a change in minting methods for the AH 1318/1319/1320 coins, as well as changes to the denominations involved. It is these coins that form the subject of my studies in this article.

History

The Maldives are situated in the Indian Ocean just to the southwest of the southern tip of India and comprise a string of some 20 coral atolls stretching from about 7° north to just south of the equator. Each atoll is inhabited but many of the smaller islands within the atolls remain uninhabited. The capital, Malé, is situated in the largest atoll grouping in the central part of the archipelago.

The very early history of the Maldives is rather obscure, but it is likely that the first settlers were Sinhalese fishermen from Ceylon and the southern Indian sub-continent, probably before the 1st century BC. This ethnic grouping is nowadays centred in the southern atolls. Another grouping gradually settled in the northern atolls during the 11th century from Southern India. From early in the 12th century, Arabian settlers concentrated around the Malé atolls.

The Maldives had converted to Islam in the 12th century AD. The Buddhist King Dovemi (AD 1141-1166) in Malé was converted in AD 1153, but Addu atoll and other islands in the extreme south of the Maldives were converted earlier, in AD 1127.

⁸⁰ Raf van Laere: ‘The Last Native Coinage of the Maldives Islands’, *ONS Newsletter* No.52, December 1977

However, this conversion is usually disregarded by the Maldivian authorities.

Despite many internal, and occasional external, dynastic upheavals and short-lived invasions by the Portuguese, the Maldives lasted as an independent Islamic sultanate from AD 1153 to 1968. Although the Maldives became a British protectorate in 1887 until 1965, there was very little, if any, interference in their internal affairs. From 1968 onwards the sultanate was replaced by the independent Republic of Maldives.

A list of Maldivian rulers from the time of the introduction of coins is given in both Browder and the Krause and Mishler volumes. Although these two lists agree with each other there is one period where they are inaccurate to the extent that certain coins are attributed to the wrong sultan. The most authoritative list is given by the archaeologist, HCP Bell,⁸¹ in his extremely well-researched book. It was originally commissioned by the Ceylon government in 1922 and published in 1940, some three years after his death. He had visited the Maldives on a number of occasions from 1879 and became an expert on their history, culture and language. For his research he was granted expert assistance from the Maldivian authorities, although that was not always forthcoming.

The more accurate sequence of rulers around the period of the coins included in this study is given below.

<i>Full Name</i>	<i>Name given on coins</i>	<i>Date of Reign AH</i>	<i>Date of Reign AD</i>
Muhammad Mu'in ud-din Iskandar bin al-Hajji	Muhammad Mu'in ud-din Iskandar	1213-1250	1799-1835
Muhammad 'Imad ud-din IV Iskandar bin Mohammad	Muhammad 'Imad ud-din Iskandar	1250-1299	1835-1882
Ibrahim Nur ud-din IV Iskandar bin Muhammad 'Imad ud-din IV	Ibrahim Nur ud-din Iskandar	1299-1304	1882-1886
Muhammad Mu'in ud-din II	<i>(No coins issued)</i>	1304-1306	1886-1888
Ibrahim Nur ud-din IV Iskandar bin Muhammad 'Imad ud-din IV	<i>(No coins issued)</i>	1306-1310	1888-1892
Muhammad 'Imad ud-din V Iskandar	<i>(No coins issued)</i>	1310-1310	1892-1893
Muhammad Shams ud-din III Iskandar	<i>(No coins issued)</i>	1310-1311	1893-1893
Muhammad 'Imad ud-din VI	(Al-Hajji) Muhammad 'Imad ud-din Iskandar	1311-1320	1893-1903
Muhammad Shams ud-din III Iskandar	Muhammad Shams ud-din Iskandar	1320-1353	1903-1933

⁸¹ H C P Bell, Ceylon Civil Service (retired): *The Maldives Islands. Monograph on the History, Archaeology, and Epigraphy*, 1940 edition by Ceylon Government Press, Colombo; reprint published by the Novelty Printers & Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Male, Maldives, 2002. ISBN 9991530517

The significant alteration to the attributed Sultans in SCWC and Browder is that the 1318-1320 coins were issued during the reign of Muhammad 'Imad ud-din VI. He was deposed by Muhammad Shams ud-din III Iskandar whilst returning from his Hajj to Mecca in AH 1320 (AD 1903).

Coinage of AH 1318, 1319 and 1320

Coins struck over the preceding 125 years in the Maldives were of just two denominations, the bodu larin averaging around 9.0g and the kuda larin at about 1.5 to 2.0g. However, the next series of coins were of three separate denominations. The first was dated AH 1318, a 1 larin coin struck at a reasonably consistent 0.9g; diameters can either be 10 or 11mm. A 2 lariat coin of 1.8g, 13mm diameter, followed in AH 1319. A 4 lariat coin of 3.6g, 17mm diameter, dated AH 1320 was the final locally struck coin to be issued. The latter is the first Maldivian coin to include the denomination as part of its legend.

One feature of this series of coins that has received almost no attention is the appearance of extra symbols, such as dots, crosses or stars, in the basic designs of the coins that are otherwise devoid of superfluous decoration. These symbols are definitely not part of the Arabic words and only occur in these particular coins. The earliest mention of them I have found is in an original, undated letter I now have in my possession, written in around 1967. Although only signed by someone called "John", I have now discovered the writer was John Humphris, a one-time Canadian dealer and numismatist, specialising in Middle Eastern coinages. He later worked for World Coins Magazine in the United States.

He commented that there was a wide variety of symbols on the 1318 1 larin and 1319 2 lariat coins. There is only a brief description of some of the different symbols encountered and he does not attempt to categorise them in any way. He speculates that they could be mintmarks, die cutter's marks or mint master's marks. The only other reference I have found to mention these symbols is in the book written by Wolfgang Bertsch⁸². He illustrates on page 12 many of the individual marks found on the 1318 coins, and then lists various patterns of marks found on the 1319 coins.

Van Laere's article mentioned above, however, might offer some clues as to their significance. The mint master, Sikka Husain Takha, had been involved in the striking of the coins of AH 1294 and 1298, which had been struck in the "traditional way". This meant that the larger bodu larins had flans that were cast in moulds, while the smaller kuda larins were made out of sheet metal.

No mention is made in the article about the issue of kuda larins dated AH 1300, and my own opinion is that Husain Takha was probably not involved with the production of these coins. While the 1294 and 1298 issues were well engraved and struck, the 1300 coins have noticeably inferior engraving and the flans can be cruder in appearance.

Van Laere's article goes on to describe the more sophisticated procedures that were introduced for the series of coins commencing in AH 1318. All of the coin flans were punched out from a well-prepared sheet of metal⁸³. One novelty that was introduced at this stage was that five minters, all members of the same family, sat around a fly-wheel from an old (steam?) engine. Each minter had a die fixed in a conveniently located hole in the fly-wheel. The lower, fixed die was made of steel while the loose upper die was made of phosphor bronze. All dies were engraved by the mint master, Husain Takha. Although not mentioned in the article, it seems likely that the punched out blanks were first annealed to soften them and then soaked in an acid solution to give a clean, bright surface. I have a number of coins in my collection that still show traces of lustre. The whole system employed permitted the production of very well-finished coins which have

⁸² Wolfgang Bertsch: *A Catalogue of Maldivian Coins in the Collection of Wolfgang Bertsch*, Gundershausen (near Darmstadt), Germany, 1995

⁸³ From my own examination of 1292, 1294 and 1298 kuda larins, it is obvious that many, but not all, of the flans for these coins were also punched out from sheets of metal.

more than once been mistaken as being machine struck. Indeed even Browder mentions on page 12 of his book that these coins were struck "by machinery".

When starting to study these coins carefully to determine what the exact patterns of symbols were, I also checked the 1320 4 lariat coins. I found that there were similar dots included in the design, a fact that nobody seems to have commented on before. The patterns on these coins are, however, rather more subtle than the previous two issues, but still quite distinctive.

So far I have discovered 16 different patterns of symbols for the AH 1318 1 larins, 13 patterns for the 1319 2 lariat coins and 7 patterns for the 1320 4 lariat coins.

The 1318 1 larins in *Table 1* have produced the most varied range of symbols encountered on all three denominations. In addition to three, four or five-dot patterns there are also crosses of various shapes, as well as two types of radiate stars. The five-dot patterns have connecting lines radiating from a central point. On one of these dies the central point is an additional dot.

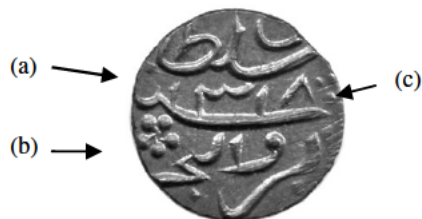
I am not certain whether it is significant, but at position (b) on these coins the symbols can be grouped into five distinct patterns. The highest occurrence of these is the "five-dot star" pattern where there are seven different dies. Although the arrangement of the dots in the star pattern is broadly similar on all the dies, the other symbols at positions (a) and (c) produce unique overall combinations.

Unfortunately with the 1318 dated coins the dies are sometimes slightly larger than the coin flans. With any tendency for the coin to be struck off-centre, even very slightly, some or part of the dot patterns are missing from the struck coins. This does make correct identification of any individual type a little more difficult. My drawings have been based on carefully examining many examples of each type and having to take note of other features, such as the precise style and positioning of all the words and symbols.

For example, the actual Type III coin illustrated in *Table 1* has been carefully selected from my own collection to show all the pertinent features. However, as I have noted, there is a strong similarity between the symbols at positions (b) and (c) for types II and III dies. If a particular coin specimen has been struck off-centre and the left-hand portion of the design is missing where there is a distinctive three-dot pattern on type II coins, it is necessary to examine other features of the design. The most easily recognised of these is the shape of the symbol ^ for the figure 8. On type II coins the left arm is very much shorter than on type III coins and does not touch the line of the word *sanat* as it does on type III coins.

While many of the dies for the 1318 coins feature a plain line border around the outer edge of the design, on average the punched-out coin flans are slightly smaller in diameter than this line. Consequently for most centrally struck coins the border line does not show. It is only on those coins that are struck off-centre that the line is visible on part of its circumference. Also it would appear that there may have been a change in the actual size of cutter in use. While the coins dated 1319 and 1320 are quite consistent in size, there are quite noticeably two different diameters found with the 1318 coins, 10mm or 11mm. Possibly it was decided to increase the punch diameter slightly to accommodate the larger size of the dies being used.

Table 1 1318 1 Larin Reverse Die Types



The coin illustrated is a Type III reverse

	Type	(a)	(b)	(c)	Notes
Five dot "star" at (b)	I	Nil		Nil	
	II				1
	III	Nil			1
	IV	Nil		Nil	2
	V			Nil	
	VI			Nil	
	VII	Nil		Nil	
Four dots at (b)	VIII			Nil	
	IX			Nil	
	X	Nil		Nil	
Plain cross at (b)	XI	Nil		Nil	
	XII			Nil	
	XIII			Nil	
	XIV			Nil	
Radiate star at (b)	XV			Nil	
	XVI			Nil	

Notes:

- 1 The dot symbols for types II and III are very similar at positions (b) and (c). The main recognisable difference between the two dies is that the left arm of the symbol for "8" in the date (^) is much shorter on type II and does not touch the line of the word *sanat*. Otherwise on type III there is no symbol at position (a).
- 2 The lower left dot at position (b) is debatable. The only specimens examined have this area of the die off-coin.

Table 2 1319 2 Lariat Reverse Die Types



The coin illustrated is a type VIII reverse

Type	(a)	(b)	(c)	Notes
I				
II		Nil		
III				

IV				
V	Nil	Nil		
VI				
VII				1
VIII				2
IX				
X				2
XI				3
XII				
XIII		Nil		4

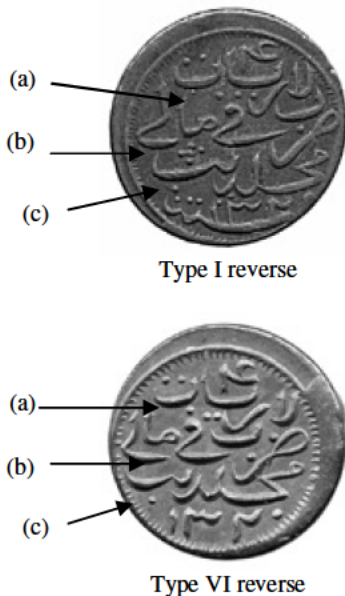
Notes:

- 1 The top left dot at position (b) is touching the line of the word *sanat*.
- 2 Toothed border, although less pronounced on type X than on type VIII. All other types have a plain-line border.
- 3 Similar to type VII, but dot not touching the line of the word *sanat*.
- 4 Very similar to type II, but "open" 9 in date on type XIII, "closed" 9 in type II.

On the 1319 2 lariat coins the border around the design is usually well in evidence, even if the coin has been struck centrally. All 1319 dated dies feature a plain-line border, apart from two that have a toothed-line border. The patterns as described in *Table 2* are much bolder than on the 1318 coins and consist solely of dots. There are no crosses or stars featuring on the 1319 coins, and only on some of the symbols are the individual dots joined together by lines.

Stylistically the 1320 4 lariat coins are significantly different to the 1318 and 1319 coins, where the Arabic script is of a different type to the latter two coins. The 1320 coin is inscribed in Thuluth script, while the 1318 and 1319 coins are in Nasta'liq script. I wonder whether this change of script is connected with the fact that the sultan, Muhammad 'Imad ud-din VI, had just completed his pilgrimage to Mecca and the obverse legend on these coins now includes his title al-Hajji.

Table 3 1320 4 Lariat Reverse Die Types



Type	(a)	(b)	(c)	Notes
I				1
II		Nil		
III		Nil		
IV		Nil		2
V		Nil		
VI		Nil		
VII		Nil		3

Notes:

- 1 This type is the only AH 1320 coin to feature the symbol for *sanat* (year) under the date. It is listed in SCWC under KM40.2. All other types are under KM40.1.
- 2 This type is the only one to feature a plain-line border, all other types have a toothed border.
- 3 This type has only been noted so far on the extremely rare coins struck in silver.

The reverse legend is not the year and standard titles of Sultan of The Land and The Sea as on most earlier coins. On the 1320 coins the legend reads "4 Lariat Struck at Malé Maldives 1320". Only on one reverse die does the date include the word *sanat* for "year". Also on that die is the only appearance of a multiple dot symbol similar to those found on coins for the previous two years. Otherwise on the dies found for the 1320 4 lariat coins the dot patterns I have listed in *Table 3* could be considered as part of the words, but their arrangements are all noticeably different from each other. It is tempting to speculate that the die including the word *sanat* would have been the first one to have been engraved, thus carrying on some of the features of the previous two coin issues.

Perhaps because of the thicker flans used on the 1320 coins there seems to be a much greater occurrence of coins which have been unevenly struck, compared to the 1318 and 1319 coins. This results in areas of the design which are not formed, such as in *fig. 1* below.



Fig. 1

1318 and 1319 coins seem to be less prone to being unevenly struck. However, the main striking problem encountered with

these coins is the distinctive "cut-out" shapes on the flan. These are caused by the punch used to cut the blanks from the prepared sheet of metal being partially over the edge of a previously cut hole, or the edge of the prepared sheet. An example of this problem is shown in *fig. 2*.



Fig. 2

Although the coins are usually well struck, apart from the problems mentioned above, occasionally damage is caused to the dies. The most likely case would be from debris filling some of the design, or possibly striking the dies together without a blank in between. This results in some blurring or disfigurement of the design, which does not seem to have been caused by double-striking. An example is shown below in *fig. 3*. The coin on the right with the damaged die is in my collection, but another collector has sent me pictures of an almost identical specimen in his collection. The coin on the left is from the same die, but struck before the damage had been done.



Fig. 3

One other point to note about this series of coins is that, although they are mostly struck in reddish bronze, a small number of coins were struck in yellowish brass. These brass coins can be found occurring on the 1318, 1319 or 1320 issues and they are not specific to any particular dies. The variation in metal merely reflects the fact that the mint master had to use whatever was available at the time. Bell mentions on Page 79 of his book that copper or brass were from pots or other suitable material and that the alleged proportion of copper to brass was quoted locally as two to one.

Although in my studies I originally concentrated on determining the different marks found on the reverse dies I also studied the obverse dies. There are no distinctive features appearing on the obverse of any of the 1318, 1319 or 1320 coins. The design remains the same for each of the respective dates. Examples of the obverse designs for these coins are shown in *fig. 4*. The only way to distinguish individual dies is to carefully and patiently study the precise shape, alignment and position of each word. Originally I started this exercise using just a magnifying glass, but with the coming of computers and digital images the whole process has been made much easier. It is now possible to compare side by side on a screen high-resolution images of many different coin specimens.



1318 1 larin

1319 2 lariat



1320 4 lariat

Fig. 4

So far I have identified 17 different obverse dies on the 1318 1 larins, compared to 16 reverse dies. On the 1319 2 lariat coins there are 14 obverse and 13 reverse dies. Oddly with the 1320 4 lariat coins there are fewer obverse than reverse dies with 6 obverse and 7 reverse dies. Mostly an obverse is linked with only two or three reverse dies, but one obverse 1319 die must have had a very varied or lengthy career as I have found it linked with at least six different reverses. I have been fortunate in not only having a good selection of many of these different coins but have received high-resolution images of coins in the possession of other collectors, as well as observing coins elsewhere such as eBay, dealers' lists and the Zeno.ru Oriental Coins Database website. I am fairly confident now that I have discovered most, if not all, of the different types that exist.

Silver Coins

Mention is made both in SCWC and Browder of specimens of the 1320 4 lariat coins being struck in silver, and that they were likely to be presentation pieces. For a while in 1976 I was in correspondence with Tim Browder and he mentioned to me that he had purchased several of these coins in the mid-1960s, but found they were all silver-plated.⁸⁴ Unfortunately he did not include any pictures or rubbings of the coins. While I have no doubt the coins he handled may well have been faked, there are extremely rare genuine examples existing.

Although SCWC and Browder only refer to 1320 4 lariat coins being struck in silver, there are also specimens of 1319 2 lariat coins to be found. So far, I have only personally seen the 1320 and 1319 silver coins in the British Museum in London and the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. However, Bell in his main work, published in 1940, illustrates both of these coins that were almost certainly in his own private collection.⁸⁵ I have also received from a collector digital images of a 1319 silver coin in his collection. Apart from the latter coin, which was acquired in 1994, there are quite lengthy provenances for the other specimens. The British Museum's coins were both presented in 1917 by Sir Robert Chalmers, Governor of Ceylon from 1913 to 1915. The Ashmolean's specimens were from the Philip Thorburn collection in 1966. His 1320 coin was originally purchased from a major London dealer in 1947, but it is not known precisely when or where Thorburn purchased the 1319 silver 2 lariat coin. Bell probably acquired his specimens in 1920 or 1922 during his visits there, but it could have been earlier, as he was in correspondence with a number of people who had provided him with specimens for his collection over many years.

The important fact to bear in mind is that all of these specimens are from the same pairs of dies. While the 1320 4 lariat silver coins are all from a unique set of dies not encountered

⁸⁴ Letter: Tim Browder to author, 9 June 1976

⁸⁵ *H.C.P. Bell: Archaeologist of Ceylon and the Maldives*, Bethia N Bell and Heather M Bell, Archetype Publications, 1993, ISBN 1-873132-45-x, p.258-259. This extensive biography by two of his grand-daughters includes details of Bell's collections covering a wide range of subjects. He was an avid collector of Maldivian coins from as early as 1881 and mostly used his own specimens for illustrating his major 1940 work. Although he presented many items to the Colombo Museum he did not present any Maldivian coins, and his collection was probably sold privately to collectors in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) after his death in 1937.

elsewhere, the 1319 2 lariat coins were struck from obverse and reverse dies that had been used for regular bronze coins. However, it is more than likely that they were old dies that were still in the mint. All of the 1319 silver specimens studied show evidence of severe cracks on the reverse die and similar areas of damage on the obverse die. I have bronze coin specimens in my own collection from the same dies that do not exhibit these die cracks, as well as images from other collectors of coins in their collections which show evidence of the die cracks, but not to the same degree as those found on the silver specimens.

It is possible, therefore, that some individual presented to the Maldives Mint in Malé a small quantity of silver to be minted into coins of the current issues. This may well have been in AH 1320 (AD 1903) so that old 1319 dies would have been used, but new 1320 dies would have been cut specially. Bell also mentions that any person tendering copper to the mint could get coins struck at 50% discount.⁸⁶

At this stage I am not illustrating examples of these coins, but would welcome hearing from anybody who has, or think they have, specimens of these silver coins in their collection. My email address will be found at the end of this article.

Conclusions

As mentioned earlier, John Humphris suggested that the symbols on the 1318 and 1319 coins could be mintmarks, die cutter's marks or mint master's marks. From van Laere's article it would seem that there was only one mint and mint master involved in the production of these coins and that he was also the one who cut all the dies. It is, therefore, likely that the symbols were intended to identify individual dies. This may be as a means of checking their efficiency or longevity in use, especially if different metals, such as phosphor bronze, were being used for the dies compared to what had been used previously.

Another possible reason for the symbols would be to check the output of individual workers who were actually striking the coins. I did state earlier that there were five different types of symbols at a particular position to be found on the 1318 1 larin coins, and might speculate that one type of symbol could be specific to one of the five workers. The argument against this is that there is one type of symbol (the five-dot star) that has many more different dies than others which only have one or two different types of symbol. Also on the 1319 coins there does not appear to be any recognisable pattern of types, and there are certainly no pattern trends on the 1320 coins.

Although I have examined around 80 specimens of the 1318 1 larin and almost 200 specimens of the 1319 2 lariat coins, it is obvious that certain types are encountered more often than others. Indeed there are one or two types of both dates that are only known by me from single specimens. One can wonder whether these types are from dies that were not used that often or were severely damaged early in their life and were withdrawn from use. I have examined over 50 specimens of the 1320 4 lariat coins and there do not appear to be any types that are known only by very few examples, apart from the silver coins.

Acknowledgments

While the majority of coins I have studied are in my own personal collection I would like to thank Drs Wolfgang Bertsch and Wolfgang Schuster, as well as Gylfi Snorrason and Hervé Thomas, for providing me with digital images of the coins in their collection, and encouraging me in my studies of the whole range of locally struck Maldivian coins. I am also indebted to Dr Shailendra Bhandare, Ashmolean Museum, and Robert Bracey, British Museum, for allowing me to study once again their museums' collections of these coins.

Although this article has been concentrating on one particular aspect of the locally struck coinage of Maldives, I am actively researching the whole series of these fascinating, but largely neglected, coins. I would welcome hearing from any other

collectors interested in the subject and can be contacted by email at p.budgen@btinternet.com.

THE DISCOVERY OF A RUPEE OF THE MUGHAL CLAIMANT, NIKUSIYAR.

By Jan Lingen and Dr Munaf Billoo

Students of Mughal coins know from Dowson's condensed translation of Khafi Khan that "Coins of gold and silver were struck in the name of Nikusiyar", as Hodivala wrote in 1923 in his book, *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics*, XXIII. Coin couplets, p.325. At the time when Hodivala wrote his article, no coins of this claimant had been discovered and ever since, till very recently, no actual coin in the name of Nikusiyar has been reported⁸⁷.

After the deposition of Farrukhsiyar at Delhi, the centre of danger appeared to be Akbarabad (Agra), where Nikusiyar and other members of the imperial house were in prison. A pretender might be set up from among the princes. Ghairat Khan, the Sayyids' nephew⁸⁸, was hurried off to his new government. A new commandant, Samandar Khan, was appointed on 25 April 1719⁸⁹ to take charge of the fort at Agra, but was refused admission by the Agra garrison, who had set up a rival emperor in the person of Prince Nikusiyar.

Sahib-i-Qiran Muhammad Shah Nikusiyar Timur-i-Sani Padshah-i-Zaman was born in 1679 as the second son of Sultan Muhammad Akbar Mirza, the fourth son of Aurangzeb Alamgir. He was proclaimed the 13th Mughal emperor and ascended the *musnaid* at Agra Fort on 8 May 1719. Nikusiyar had been a state prisoner and spent almost all his life within the walls of the harem of Agra Fort and finally in the Salimgarh jail at Delhi. Due to his life-long stay in the harem, he is said to have talked like a catamite and to have been generally ignored.

The prime instigator of Nikusiyar's enthronement was Mitr Sen, a Nagar Brahman, who was raised to the rank of commander and the office of *Wazir*. Mitr Sen now became known as Rajah Birbal. At the same time a huge amount was withdrawn from the treasury to pay the arrears of the garrison. Hostilities were commenced by the garrison firing upon the mansion occupied by Ghairat Khan, the newly appointed *nazim* of the province. Nikusiyar's partisans, instead of coming out and taking advantage of Ghairat Khan's weakness, clung to the shelter of the fort walls. They lost, in this way, their only chance of striking a vigorous blow for their new master. Soon reinforcements from Delhi arrived and within a few days Ghairat Khan recovered from his surprise and was soon at the head of four or five thousand men and able to take the offensive.

Husain Ali Khan, the younger of the Sayyid brothers, marched on Agra and reached Sikandra on 28 June 1719. The siege of Agra Fort, which had been commenced by his nephew was now effected with redoubled energy. The people within the fort expected help from Raja Jai Singh of Amber, but he kept aloof, waiting to see how the situation would develop. Overtures were made in the name of Nikusiyar to the Sayyid brothers, but in vain and, as no help came and foodstuff became dear, they were forced to surrender. On 2 August 1719 the garrison surrendered and Ghairat Khan was sent in with a force to take possession. Commandar Samandar Khan brought out Nikusiyar, placed him on an elephant

⁸⁷ The gold coin (No. 953) in the *Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum; Mughal Emperors*, London 1892 and attributed there to Nikusiyar, has long been proved to be an issue of Muhammad Shah with the title '*ba-lutf-ullah badshah-I-zaman*'.

⁸⁸ Ghairat Khan was the nephew of the Sayyid brothers (Abdullah Khan Qutb-ul-Mulk and Husain Ali Khan, known as the king-makers of that time. See: William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. I, sec. 8 Account of the Barha Sayyids.

⁸⁹ All AD dates mentioned in this article are according to the Julian Calendar, for the present, Gregorian Calendar, add 11 days.

⁸⁶ Bell, page 79

and escorted him to the camp. Mitr Sen had committed suicide before the imperial soldiers could seize him. For three days the drums were beaten in honour of the victory and, in the end, Nikusiyar was sent to Delhi to be placed with the other captive princes in Salimgarh, Delhi, where he died on 1 April 1723, aged 43. He is buried at the Mausoleum of Kwaja Qutb al-Din Kaki in Delhi⁹⁰.

During this period, the Mughal empire was in great turmoil, with no less than five rulers/pretenders within one year. Nikusiyar's predecessor, Farrukhsiyar, was deposed on 18 February 1719 and succeeded by Rafi' al-Darjat on the same day. Rafi' al-Darjat ruled till 26 May 1719, when his elder brother Rafi' al-Daula was proclaimed emperor as Shah Jahan II, and ruled from 28 May 1719 – 8 (or 9) September 1719. Shah Jahan II was succeeded by Muhammad Shah on 19 September 1719. Muhammad Shah's reign was for a short period disrupted by Muhammad Ibrahim, who claimed the throne from 3 October 1720 till 4 November 1720.

The reign of the rival emperor Nikusiyar, overlapped partly the reign of Rafi' al-Darjat and most of the reign of Rafi' al-Daula. Coins of Akbarabad (Agra) mint for the year AH 1131 are known for Farrukhsiyar, latest date AH 1131/Ry.7 (13-11-1718 to 10-01-1719),



Rupee of Farrukhsiyar, Akbarabad, Mustaqir al-Khilafa, AH 1130/Ry 7



Rupee of Rafi' al-Darjat, Akbarabad, Mustaqir al-Khilafa, AH 1131/Ry. Ahd



Rupee of Shah Jahan II (Rafi' al-Daula), Akbarabad, Mustaqir al-Khilafa, AH 1131/Ry. Ahd



Rupee of Muhammad Shah, Akbarabad, Mustaqir al-Khilafa, AH 1131/Ry. Ahd

In between this date range we now have to add a coin dated AH 1131/ Ry. Ahd in the name of Nikusiyar. The coin has recently surfaced and is so far the sole numismatic evidence of Nikusiyar's reign.



Description:
AR Rupee, AH 1131/ Ry. Ahd (= 1st year).
Weight: 11.28 g.

Obv.: *sikkah zad bar sīm-o-zar
be-faʿl khudā shāh nikūsiyar*⁹¹
(Struck coin on silver and gold /
by the grace of God, Shah Nikusiyar)
Rev.: *mānūs maimanat jalūs ahd,
zarb mustaqir al-khilafat akbarābād*

The couplet on this coin is very unusual as it uses the word Khudā (God) instead of Allāh and differs entirely from the *Bait* given by Khafi Khan, who provides the following legend:

*ba zar zad sikkah ṣāhib-qirānī
shāh nikūsiyar timūr-sānī*
(Struck coin on gold like the Sahibqiran /
Shah Nikusiyar, Timur the second.)

Nikusiyar's reign lasted theoretically from 8 May 1719 till 2 August 1719, but he may not have had, for any length of time, much control beyond the gates of Agra Fort. As stated above, coins of all the contemporary Mughal rulers/pretenders are known from Akbarabad mint. The Mughal treasury was within the fort, but the mint or taksāl was usually located within the city. Coins in the name of Nikusiyar may have been struck there on the occasion of his coronation.

On the occasion of his coronation the garrison was paid and the Sayyid commander, Ghairat Khan, came under fire. But within days, the situation in Agra turned in the latter's favour. The Sayyid-Mughal administration in Delhi had gained the ascendancy and coins were struck in the name of Shah Jahan II at Akbarabad, leaving the puppet emperor within the fort walls as a helpless puppet.

This coin forms so far the only numismatic testimony of the rule of Nikusiyar for which so many numismatists and historians have been looking for so long.

[Editor's note: A word of caution needs to be expressed about this coin. Most people who now know about this coin have only seen it from photographs, so it has not been properly examined. As can be seen from the illustrations, it has a lot of encrustation, especially on the important obverse. This means that the coin surface cannot be seen clearly. There are other unusual aspects: the use of khudā instead of allāh has already been mentioned. The lettering of both khudā and faʿl is unusually thick in places; the mintname Akbarābād has rather thick, indifferenced lettering. Moreover, the reverse has the mintname at the bottom, like the coins of Farrukhsiyar, while the coins of all the other rulers shown, including Rafi' al-Darjat whose reign commenced before that of Nikusiyar, has the mintname at the top. The fact that the coin has a different couplet from that mentioned by Khafi Khan may or may not be in its favour. Is it really likely that Khafi Khan

⁹⁰ For a still more detailed historical account see: William Irvine, Later Mughals, Vol 1, sec. 4 – 13.

⁹¹ The lower part of the legend on the coin is somewhat obscured by encrustation of horn-silver

