

# ONS



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### FROM THE EDITOR

Welcome to Issue 230 of JONS. This issue features several articles reflecting the exciting developments in the numismatics of both India and the Caucasus. The review of Sanjeev Kumar's *Treasure of the Gupta Empire* is included here, deferred from last issue as we had several already length reviews. In addition Joe Cribb and Karan Singh present new data on the coinage of Kashmir. Two articles on the rare and short-lived coinages of the Caucasus region are also included. These join a number of publications in the journal in recent years on the subject and suggest it is an exciting time for Caucasian numismatics. In addition to which readers will find several articles on new types in South Indian, and Mughal coinages.

### ONS NEWS

#### ONS Study Day Oxford 6 May 2017

The society held a meeting in Oxford, hosted by Shailendra Bhandare at the Ashmolean Museum. Before the talks there was a meeting of the ONS council.

The event had six speakers, beginning with Joe Cribb who talked about "Numismatic Evidence and the Date of Kanishka". Joe spoke about one of the most vexing problems in the chronology of early Indian history. Dates such as AD 78, 127, 144, or a date in the third century, have all been relatively recently featured in scholarly work. Joe showed how of these different dates only the date 127 for year one of the era begun by Kanishka I made sense of the numismatic evidence.



Joe begins his talk on Kushan chronology with the famous 'date of Kanishka' problem

The second talk by Rahul Raja discussed "Hellenistic coin iconography: *Greek style, but local ideas?*". His paper asked if iconography looked Greek could have local political meaning, or were propaganda aimed at non-Greek populations. This began by reviewing some recent Hellenistic scholarship on the local/Greek contexts for art in Ptolemaic Egypt before turning to the early Seleucid kings.

He then discussed the idea that Apollo featured on Seleucid coinage because of his association with the idea of the 'royal archer' which had been an important part of Achaemenid iconography. This brings up the question of ambiguity in the reading of images, and whether it was intended, Rachel Mair's concept of 'creating misunderstanding'. Does the borrowing of iconography of a pre-existing god imply an attempt to create ambiguity or simply a re-purposing of existing images? Most of the paper focused on the identification of the goddess Europa on coinage.

The third talk by Karan Singh was on "An Important Discovery in Gupta Silver Coinage". He showed a silver coin with a reverse device of a peacock (*madhyadesa* type) and a clear inscription identifying it as Ghatotkacha.

As Ghatotkachagupta is currently known from only two gold examples, it is likely that the ruler was ephemeral. Though the name is used by two kings in the sequence of known Gupta kings silver coinage is only introduced under Chandragupta II so this coin must be attributed to the later of the two rulers.

After these three talks the attending members broke for lunch. Upon returning there were three more presentations beginning with Paul Stevens speaking on "An Introductory Survey of the Sultanate Coinages of India". Paul gave an overview of the major sultanates and their coinage based mostly on his own collection. Beginning with the Delhi sultanate, which consists of a series of different dynasties culminating in the Suris. He began by showing examples of the silver, as well as the billon and copper. Then he talked about the Bengal sultanate which are divided into three groups, starting with governors operating on behalf of Delhi. Sultans of the Deccan who ruled after the breakup of the Delhi sultanate.

The fifth talk was given by Sukhalata Sen on "Coining Sovereignty: Spaces of Circulation and Contestation". Sukhalata is working on a PhD on the counterfeiting of the Indian Rupee at JNU. She began by taking about the introduction of the uniform rupee in 1835. Counterfeiting was a concern for the designers.

However, users frequently wanted, or needed, to substitute other existing currencies, which was facilitated by shroffs (money changers). And though the uniform coinage extended many princely states retained the right to mint. The colonial and imperial government thus began to create an imaginary division between the space in which their coin operated and the space of the shroff or native state which interfered with the uniform coinage and was responsible for 'counterfeiting'. Attempts to deal with this problem, largely a colonial/imperial projection, led to increases in the power of the state. The talk then covered the way in which colonial officials sought to describe and thus define the counterfeiters as a social or ethnographic type.

The final talk was given by François Joyeaux on "Two French Far Eastern Collections: Versailles and Vatican". He began by giving an overview of the collection at Versailles which includes over 6000, mostly Chinese, coins. This collection might be a part



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**New and Recent Publications**

**Mir Osman Ali Khan and his Wealth**

Deme Raja Reddy & Samiksha Deme, *Mir Osman Ali Khan and his Wealth*, B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 2017, ISBN 9789386223296, pp.62

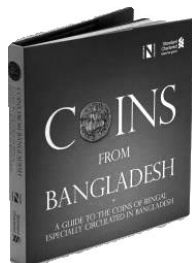
The following is from the jacket:

“Mir Osman Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VII (1886-1967 AD) ruled the erstwhile princely state of Hyderabad during the years 1911-1948 AD and was considered to be the richest person in the world. He was also estimated to be the sixth all time wealthiest man who ever lived on this planet. He was ruling over a state spread over 82698 square miles with a population of about 9.8 million in 1881 which increased to 18.6 million in 1951...

This book is an effort to understand the sources of Mir Osman Ali Khan’s enormous wealth and the ways it must have vanished.”

**Coins from Bangladesh**

Bulbul Ahmed & AKM Shahnawaz, *Coins from Bangladesh: A Guide to the Coins of Bengal Especially Circulated in Bangladesh*, June 2013



Available from <http://store.nympheapublication.com/product/coin-bangladesh/> the description on the website reads:

“This publication presents authentic information for both professionals and amateurs through specimens from ancient, medieval, and modern periods of Bangladesh history unveiling the origin and evaluation of coins and the hitherto unknown information of the ancient and medieval history of Bengal through symbols, calligraphy, and many other contemporary marks.”

**Numismatique Asiatique**

Numismatique Asiatique No.20 was published in December 2016, the following articles may be of interest to readers:

Wolfgang Bertsch, “A Survey of the money used in Tibet”

François Joyaux, “Monnaies et médailles siamoises de style chinois au XIXe siècle”

Craig Greenbaum, “The Fake and Fantasy Copper Coins of the Vietnam War Era (2<sup>nd</sup> Part)”

Laurent Bonneau, “Une monnaie inédite du Nord-Vietnam”

**Numismatic Digest**

Numismatic Digest Vol.40, for 2016 has now been published (Devendra Handa as Chief Editor, Amiteshwar Jha and Sanjay Garg as editors). The following articles may be of interest to readers:

‘Making Rocks from Sand – An Overview of Some Current Research in Indian Punchmarked Coinage’ Terry Hardaker

‘The Deity with Crested Hairstyle and the First Identification of the Serpent Goddess Manasā Devā’ Wilfried Pieper

‘Earliest Gold Coins of India and Baktria’ Prashant P. Kulkarni

‘Sangam Age Pandya Coin with a different type of Temple symbol along with a crocodile symbol’ R. Krishnamurthy

‘Some notes on coins of Western Kshatrapas’ Alex Fishman

‘Symbol of syncretism: a unique trident type coin of Kumāragupta I’ Suken Shah

‘New evidence on the date of Chandragupta III’ Pankaj Tandon

‘Fresh light on the Aulikaras’ Davendra Handa

‘Early Medieval Kashmir Coinage – A new hoard and an anomaly’ Joe Cribb

‘Harsha’s coinage: hidden in plain sight?’ John S.Deyell

‘Epigraphs from Ambejogās and associated numismatic discoveries’ Amol Bankar

‘On some recent monetary finds in Vyādhapura – Angkor Borei (Kingdom of Cambodia) and related issues’ Guillaum Episal and Suchandra Ghosh

‘Coinage and Trade in the Al Hasa oasis and related parts of eastern Arabia: circa 250 BCE to the present day’ Michael Mitchiner

‘Akbar copper squar Jalalabs – Coinage during the siege of Asirgarh’ Abhishek Chatterjee

‘Farkhanda Buniyad Haiderabad: A new mint for the Mughal emperor Alamgir II’ Ketan A. Chotai

‘Aurangnagar and Islamabad: Two new mints of the Mughal emperor Rafi ud-Durajat’ Husain Makda

‘The fallacy of the mint name “Sarkār, Nabha Laal”’ Gurprit Singh Gujral

**Book Reviews**

**Brian Krittr, *The Seleucid Mint of Ai Khanoum, Classical Numismatic Studies No.9, Lancaster, 2016. ISBN 978-0-9837652-5-7, pp.167***

Brian Krittr’s (BK) latest study on the Seleucid coinage of Ai Khanoum will be of potential interest to many readers. There are six chapters covering a variety of topics.

Chapter 1 is relatively short presenting in a series of plates a die corpus of the precious metal coinage from what BK calls ‘mint A’. BK believes that mint A was open through the reign of Seleucus I and magistrate from the mint subsequently transferred to the newly established Ai Khanoum mint. There are a number of corrections to earlier die attributions made by BK based on clearer images (p.4). These have only a modest impact on any conclusions as the sample of known coins is relatively small. For example the only die groups are in the drachms, with no other obverse dies sharing reverses in common.

Chapter 2 moves on to the coinage of Seleucus. The die corpus is presented neatly over several plates. BK further pursues his argument that the control marks derive from Indus Valley signs (pp.27-29). Most readers will find this no more convincing here than previous presentations. The control marks consist of variations on circles and triangles which hardly require prototypes and certainly none beyond the existing Seleucid coinage tradition. Chapter 3 covers what is conventionally known as the Sophytes coinage. This includes both copies of Athenian style 'owls' and coins in the name of Sophytes. BK suggests a dating of the series from 295 to 270 BC (p.70). Unlike the other chapters BK does not offer a die study of these coins to support his conclusion. He was not aware that Sushma Jansari has completed such a study of the examples in the name of Sophytes in a recent PhD (see note 1 below). Though he offers some interesting observations it is likely this chapter will be rapidly superseded.

Chapter 4 covers the coinage of Antiochus I. This is the bulk of the material covered and is accompanied by a lengthy set of plates which contain a die corpus. Though the number of die links is small, these are important as they connect the two different reverse types.

Chapter 5, which includes discussions of the reason for significant gold production at the mint covers the period of Antiochus II.

Chapter 6 summarises the numerical data which confirms the general observation made on earlier chapters that the sample is quite slight. The n/d (number of extant coins divided by number of known dies) for the obverses (here referred to as the 'Raven index') is very low (no higher than 3, but mostly under 2). The n/d for reverses is much lower. This, as BK realises (p.160) is the principle reason for their being very few die links between obverses. BK seems to be unaware of much of the literature on using statistical data from die studies but presents the data clearly in a way which will undoubtedly be useful to others, especially given the recent interest in die studies on Bactrian and related series<sup>1</sup>.

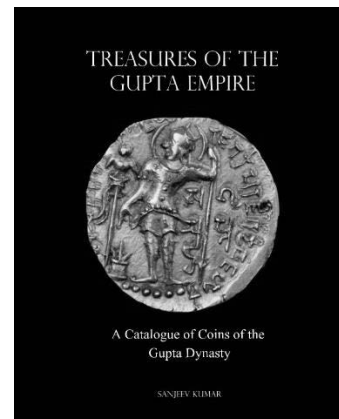
Though specialists will find some of BK's observations interesting the main value of this volume will be the data collected in the black and white plates. These are neatly presented but the image quality is inevitably variable as they aim to be comprehensive. Collectors will be able to use them as a catalogue of the precious metal series and scholars of Bactrian material for the data they contain.

Robert Bracey

## Notes

1 Directly relevant to this volume Sushma Jansari's thesis, submitted at UCL London in 2016 'From Megasthenes to Sophytes: a re-examination of literary and numismatic sources for Seleucid-Mauryan relations in British and Indian scholarship' for which an abstract is available at [https://www.academia.edu/27988428/From\\_Megasthenes\\_to\\_Sophytes\\_a\\_re-examination\\_of\\_literary\\_and\\_numismatic\\_sources\\_for\\_Seleucid-Mauryan\\_relations\\_in\\_British\\_and\\_Indian\\_scholarship](https://www.academia.edu/27988428/From_Megasthenes_to_Sophytes_a_re-examination_of_literary_and_numismatic_sources_for_Seleucid-Mauryan_relations_in_British_and_Indian_scholarship), provides a die study of the Sophytes coins BK looks at in this volume. In addition Simon Glenn completed a thesis in Oxford in 2015, 'Royal coinage in Hellenistic Bactria: A die study of coins from Euthydemus I to Antimachus I' <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:5af5c51b-b1dc-4eb5-b33b-b27a9958a9f9> and Frances Ann Marcinkiewicz-Joseph submitted a thesis 'Demetrius I of Bactria: An Analysis of Hellenistic Royal Power through Numismatic Evidence' at the University of Houston in 2016 is concerned at least in part with the work of die engravers.

**Sanjeev Kumar, Treasures of the Gupta Empire: A Catalogue of Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, The Shivlee Trust, 2017, 429 pp.**



Gupta coins have received a number of lengthy treatments but only two type catalogues, by Allan in 1914 and Altekar in 1957. Other publications have focused either on the coins of a particular institution (Chhabra, 1986; Gupta & Srinivasan, 1981) or on a particular type (Raven, 1994).

Though both Allan and Altekar made major contributions their catalogues have been rendered quite dated by subsequent discoveries and revisions of chronology. In addition there is no agreement on how Gupta coins should be classified, or to which kings they should be attributed. These two vexing problems, of classification and attribution, need comprehensive treatments to answer them, has Kumar succeeded?

Sanjeev Kumar's *Treasures of the Gupta Empire* (TGE) is the first attempt at a comprehensive type catalogue of Gupta coins for fifty years. Implicitly, it is a replacement for Allan and Altekar both in content (with a lot of new material in the last half century) and in terms of organization (also supported by a great deal of new scholarship). There is no doubt about the size of the corpus which Kumar has assembled. Though only a part of the corpus is on display in TGE there are still far more images, of generally higher quality, than previous publications. The more significant question is whether this corpus has allowed Kumar to resolve those problems of classification and attribution, and how much this impacts on the reconstruction of Gupta history more broadly.

TGE begins with a series of introductory sections (the contents page divides this into fourteen chapters). A brief glossary of numismatic terms (pp. 7-9) which will be useful to non-specialists, as will maps reproduced from the Huntington archive and a chart showing the author's preferred genealogy (p. 14). The dynasty is briefly over-viewed (pp. 15-24), followed by an account of the previous scholarship (pp. 25-29) and the major types of gold coins (pp. 30-31). The reconstruction of the period is Kumar's but TGE does not shy away from highlighting the level of disagreement in Gupta studies (the table of rival chronologies on p. 16 is particularly stark).

After reading the introductory sections it will be immediately clear that this is not a dry academic account. Kumar uses a conversational tone, and his enthusiasm and interest is immediately apparent. There are advantages to this. The book does not assume prior knowledge, and I found in general it is easier to use and more accessible than Allen, Altekar, or Raven. On the other hand it often feels that the length of the discussion depends on the author's interest more than the subject's relative importance. Likewise referencing is very light with a bibliography that is suggestive rather than comprehensive, and this is not the volume to look for concordances and other apparatus.

Continuing the introduction there is a section on the title *Vikramaditya* (pp. 32-34) followed by a table of the titles used by various kings (pp. 35-36), then the first lengthy section, on 'Evolution of the design elements on Gupta coins' (pp. 37-64). This is very well illustrated not only with coins but a range of sculptures.

The next section, 'Metal Analysis and Weights of Gupta Coins', contains one of the most significant new bodies of data in the volume. Gupta coins have previously been subject to specific gravity measurements. This compares the weight of the coin in a liquid to its weight in air and uses the buoyancy effect to calculate how dense it is (the specific gravity). The general conclusion has been that Gupta coins are gradually debased in a similar manner to the way in which late Kushan coins were debased a few centuries before.

Kumar has carried out a very systematic study using energy-dispersive XRF. The data from these XRF analyses are summarised in lengthy tables (pp. 91-96, and for silver pp. 99-100, 103). The principle argument in TEG is that the debasement perceived by most previous scholars is an illusion. Kumar uses metrological and analytic data to argue that the coins gained in weight at roughly the same pace they reduced in purity, so were in fact stable across most of the Gupta period. So this section certainly lives up to the implicit promise of the book, not only does it provide new data about the coins themselves but it offers clear historical implications from that data.

The book then falls back into a series of shorter topical sections, first on dates on Gupta coins and in inscriptions (pp. 117-124), postures of figures, tamgas, control marks, before a lengthier discussion of what exactly the line held in the king's left hand represents, 'The Question of a Standard vs. a Javelin vs. a Rajadendra' (pp. 130-138). The last is a sufficiently specialist point to interest only a few readers. There is then a discussion of modern forgeries and fractional issues, before explaining the classification system (p. 142).

In reading this I did not find any significant gaps in the coverage and it reads logically enough at a first pass but can be slightly frustrating as a reference tool. For example discussions of the influence of Kushan gold on Gupta design are very scattered (pp. 37ff, pp. 127-8, pp. 136-138, and p. 141) and consulting the silver coins recently I was unable to locate the table of numerals (not with the tables of inscription on pp. 417-423 but with the discussion of dates on coins, p. 118). Likewise I think some readers will find it frustrating that the summary of Pankaj Tandon's discussion of the identity of Prakashaditya occurs in the catalogue rather than in the introduction (pp. 375-80).

Kumar describes his classification as consisting of a Type, the broadly recognised groupings used by all Gupta catalogues (Horseman, Lyrist, etc), and then further subdivision into class, variety and sub-variety (there are on occasion two levels to this last one). Broadly the approach is what Ellen Raven described as 'splitting', with many sub-varieties proliferating. Though this is not consistently the case, as the typology of copper and silver coins is usually much less detailed.

The classification problem in Gupta numismatics principally revolves around how to prioritise different features in assigning varieties and sub-varieties. Allen, who prioritised inscriptions, and Altekar, who often used minor details which might be obscured or off-flan, created systems which were difficult to use. Raven employed stylistic criteria in a way that is clearly very useful for an analysis of the coins but which is difficult for more casual users to apply. Kumar generally follows the approach of Gupta & Srinivasan in focusing principally on design elements and generally prioritising the visually most striking. So, for example, in Chandragupta I's King & Queen type he follows Gupta and Srinivasan by dividing the coins into those with a lion facing right (Class I) and those on which the lion faces left (Class II) before using details of the throne or presence of a crescent to further subdivide.

There are some exceptions, for example, the Archer type of Samudragupta is subdivided into two classes based on its inscription, but as the coin in fig. 1 shows it is not unusual for the inscription to be entirely off-flan. In this case it is possible to link the dies used to a type in the catalogue and thus establish it is class I.



Fig.1 British Museum 1847,1201.357

The strength of such a system is that it is relatively easy to use, allowing quick attribution of coins, and is unlikely to leave all but the lowest sub-variety ambiguous. The weakness is that it can obscure information about the minting structure. So for example private collection 1052 (p. 177) is classified as Class II A.2, but the British Museum coin 1920.1016.10 (p. 174) which has the same obverse die and must have been produced at the same mint and at about the same time is Class I A.2. The merits of the approach will depend on your reasons for consulting the catalogue.

The rest of the book consists of the catalogue, arranged by ruler, then broadly by metal (with gold receiving the bulk of the attention) and then by the type, class, etc. Each type is preceded by a short introduction, usually one to three pages, which provides some context, describes the obverse and reverse, and provides line drawings of the inscriptions. The classes and varieties are then presented with text and images arranged on the same page. The photographs are not shown to scale but enlarged, which is a great aid in seeing any details referred to. On occasion enlargements or extracts of the image are used to make a point. Usually multiple coins are used to illustrate single sub-varieties. This is particularly valuable and I have found on several occasions that I have not just been able to classify a coin but to match the obverse or reverse die used to strike it.

Undoubtedly the most controversial section of the catalogue will be the first, that on the coinage of Chandragupta I. When Allen produced a catalogue of the British Museum coins he thought it unlikely that Chandragupta I had issued any coins at all. His argument remains quite compelling. The Gupta gold issues that seem closest to their Kushan prototypes are those of Samudragupta (here presented on pp. 186-199 under the Javelin and Archer types). The one group that definitely depicts Chandragupta I, the King and Queen type (Marriage type in Allen), has a relatively developed design (pp. 171-179). Allan thought the development away from Kushan designs should be linear and therefore assumed that the King & Queen type was later than the Samudra types and thus commemorative. Subsequent catalogues, both Altekar and Gupta & Srinivasan, took a different view. They thought a commemorative design was unlikely and assigned just this type to Chandragupta I, leaving the problem of disjointed stylistic progression. TGE takes a radical alternative approach. To resolve the stylistic issue he has re-attributed the substantial bulk of what all previous authors consider Chandragupta II coins to Chandragupta I. Ironically he does consider some of the King and Queen types may be much later commemorative types (p. 176). The degree to which TGE's radical reattribution solves the problem of stylistic development will take some time to establish. TGE itself offers evidence of die links (pp. 232-233) that might well undermine the reconstruction.

After Samudragupta the coins with the inscription *kacha* are attributed to Ramagupta. This I found broadly compelling, but the most noticeable difference with earlier catalogues is the range of copper coins attributable to Ramagupta (p. 230). There are of course many new varieties of Gupta gold (for example the Skandagupta lion-slayer type on p. 353) but it is the variety of other issues, from repousse types (pp. 303-309, 349.), to lead (pp. 284-5, 338-340, 358-60), and the less certain Asvamedha types (pp. 227-8), which justifies the need for a new catalogue most clearly.

The bulk of the catalogue inevitably is given over to the first few kings down to Skandagupta, with the relatively monolithic later

coinage of Chandragupta III, Jayagupta, Narasimhagupta, Samudragupta II, Kumargupta II, Budhagupta, Prakashaditya, Vikramaditya, Chandragupta IV, Vainyagupta, Narasimhagupta, Kumragupta III, Vishnugupta, allocated only a short section (pp. 362-389). TGE offers a reconstruction of both their chronology and relationships which I doubt will meet with universal agreement, but presents the numismatic evidence clearly.

The final section of the catalogue covers the post-Gupta coinage of Bengal (pp. 391-406). While following Allen's plan, who included Sasanka in his catalogue, and providing some context, the chapter is cursory and as Kumar acknowledges this series has now been published comprehensively elsewhere.

So how well does TGE succeed in its objectives? As a comprehensive reference on the gold coinage of the Gupta's it is no doubt a huge contribution. The enlarged images, relative ease of use, and comprehensive nature, will likely ensure the volume supplants any of its predecessors as the catalogue of choice. I doubt that it has entirely solved the classification problem. At minimum there remains a need for a classification tied more closely to minting operations within the Empire as a tool for study. In terms of attributions it is hard to judge at present how much acceptance these will gain, certainly Kumar has staked a bold position with his reattributions to Chandragupta I, one with clear implications for Gupta studies. The lengthy discussion on metrology and analysis (pp. 63-109) does add substantially to our knowledge. It should be said as a final point that there are rather more typos than is ideal and this will undoubtedly perturb some readers, but overall this is a volume that I would recommend as a standard reference to anyone with an interest in Gupta coinage.

Robert Bracey

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**Articles**

**INDO-PARTHIAN DRACHMS OF SIND**

R. C. Senior

A complete picture of this attractive coinage is still a long way off. Apart from the Taxila hoard published by Marshall in 1951 other coins have surfaced sporadically in ones and twos and are often struck off-centre giving only partial legends. For example see the coin of 'Agata' in *Indo-Scythian Coins and History* [ISCH] Vol. IV p. 14 (S36.1). Only with the appearance of more coins can we hope to complete legends, identify new rulers and types, and arrange sequences correctly etc.

So far, only two Indo-Parthian rulers appearing on these coins are known to have struck coins in other provinces, Sarpedones and Sases. In addition there are coins of a Kushan successor ruler. Both Sarpedones and Sases issued coins elsewhere bearing the epithet Gondophares but this latter title does not seem to have been used in Sind by any ruler. It may be that this province was given to the heir apparent during the lifetime of the current chief ruler.

Sarpedones appears to have been the intended successor to 'Gondophares I' and the earliest ruler so far known to issue coins in Sind. His Arachosian coins bear the lower titles *Maharajasa*

*Rajadiraja* [issues S255 ISCH] as on the Sind coins. Only his rare Pathankot issues bear the higher 'Gondophares' title, one of which [S254] shows a remarkable similarity of portrait to the Kshaharata Nahapana (of which more later). The Sind coinage of most rulers has largely corrupt Greek legends on the obverse but these earliest issues, of Sarpedones, are of fairly good Greek. The legends shown on the Taxila specimens in ISCH [S252] are incomplete but figure 1 shows the obverses of two examples from my collection (A + B) showing the missing portions and giving the complete legend;

**ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ ΑΡΤΙΔΩΝ**



Sarpedones A

Sarpedones B

Fig. 1 Two examples of the obverse and reconstructed inscription.

Coin Sarpedones A (reverse shown below in fig.4) above is somewhat worn and was found with a few other coins including a group of three of a type not previously seen. The only legible part of the Greek legend [on 2 below] reads (BA)CΙΛΕΩΝ A.. The portrait, with its bunched hair, closely resembles that on the coins of Sases [S245] but the reverse deity is a fine style Nike to the right - not previously seen on Sases coins though found on coins of 'Agata', Satavastres [S250] and an uncertain king [S251] as well as the Kushan king [S4.2D p. 219 ISCH].



Coin 1

Coin 2



Coin 3

Fig.2 Three coins of a previously unseen type

Unfortunately, the reverse kharosthi legends are mostly off the

coin but the visible legend on coin 3 seems to read 'Asphbhratasa' to the right, before Nike. If the ending had been *putrasa* we could guess it might be another issue of Sases but it ends simply *sa* and is in the place where the king's name usually appears. Could the king be called 'Aspa's brother'? Or does the king's name follow straight after (off the flan?). Since the Greek name begins with 'A' Aspa or Agata are possibilities, or even Abdagases? - but the solution requires a new example to be found with clearer legends. As with some of the Sases coins, coin 1 seems to be overstruck on a coin of Nahapana.

On the coins of Sases, the Greek legends mostly seem to bear no name, just a slightly corrupt BACIAEWAN BACIAEW. In the same group with the three above coins were the following, No. 4 [S245.1] overstruck on Nahapana and 5 [S245.2] with the 'dhramikasa' legend right.



Fig.3 Two more coins found with this group

A final coin from the group is a drachm of the Kushan king, and from its condition, the latest coin in the group. In the first volume of *Ancient Trade and Early Coinage* [2005] Michael Mitchiner published a coin, no. 1910, in which he read the legend as: *Maharaja trataraputrasa tratarasa Khushanasa* and attributed it to Wima Kadphises. The crucial part of the legend was the second word but on his illustrated coin it is mostly only the tails of the letters visible. On my coin the legend is more clearly 'devaputrasa' - son of heaven, and making the coin almost certainly an issue of Kajula Kadphises as proposed by Joe Cribb. The Greek legend seems totally corrupt.

According to the chronology that I accept, this Sind coinage falls in a period between the last decade BC and the first decade or two AD. The Indo-Scythian king Azes in whose name inscriptions are dated, is, I believe, the founder of the Vikrama Era of 57 BC. His contemporary was the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares I who outlived him by a decade or so. Also contemporary with these two kings were the Kshaharata Satraps whose last representative was the Raja Nahapana.

A simplified version of the sequence of issues as I see it is as follows;

- (a) Azes was followed during the second decade BC by the Apracarajas - Itravasu, Aspavarma and then Gondophares-Sases, who I believe is the Gondophares of the Takht-i-Bahi inscription and whose reign began c. 19 AD
- (b) Gondophares I was succeeded in Gandhara by his nephew Abdagases and then by Gondophares-Sases *but* in Arachosia by Sarpedones (possibly during Gondophares I lifetime as heir?), then by Orthagnes (early issues also issued as heir, then as Gondophares-Gadana) then followed Gondophares-Sases.
- (c) The Kshaharata Satraps begin by imitating and overstriking the coins of the Indo-Greek king Apollodotos II (c. 65–55 BC) but their coins are rare and presumably reigns short-lived - Higaraka [and his brother? - see Falk in ONS 227], then issues of Abhiraka,

Bhumaka and finally Nahapana.

Nahapana has inscriptions as Satrap dated to years 41–45 [16–12 BC, if in the Vikrama Era] and 46 [11 BC] as Mahasatrap.

Nahapana has a connection to Apollodotos II in that their coins are found together in hoards (coins of Nahapana are of fine silver as are those of Apollodotos II, whereas coins of the later Indo-Greeks were increasingly debased - and absent). We have the Sarpedones coin S254, from his only series to bear the title Gondophares, which bears a strong resemblance to the coins of Nahapana. Next come the issues of the new king type, and those of Gondophares-Sases which are sometimes overstruck on coins of Nahapana. Coins of Abhiraka and Bhumaka, incidentally, were found in Mleiha [U.A.E.] with early coins of Augustus - which fits with this suggested chronology.

The earliest writers suggested that Nahapana's dates were in the Saka Era of 78 AD since he was regarded as a satrap/governor of the Kushan and that the Saka era was founded by the Kushan. That would date Nahapana to fl. 119 - 124 AD. This increasingly became unacceptable and other authors have given different explanations of his 'dates' e.g. 66 - 71 AD or give a reign beginning in c. 20 AD for the period he flourished. Personally, I think that the explanation that I have given above both adequately and satisfactorily solves these problems of sequence and date - but what then follows with the Kushan rulers is still a matter of some dispute and unresolved problems.

These Sind coins come from areas which have never seen detailed archaeological excavation - perhaps that offers future hope for resolution?



Fig.4 Reverse of fig.1 A

## TWO CURIOUS 'KIDARITE' COIN TYPES FROM 5<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY KASHMIR

By Joe Cribb and Karan Singh

This paper discusses six recently discovered coins, all appearing in India, which appear to relate to the Kidarite Huns who ruled in ancient Afghanistan and Pakistan in the fourth to fifth centuries AD. Their attribution presents some interesting problems. Five of the coins are in private collections and the sixth was sold by Bombay Auctions (auction 10, 20 November 2016, lot 75). Two coins in the British Museum and Ashmolean Museum also appear to belong to the same series.

### Type 1 seated king



Fig. 1a Coin 1.1 (photo 1)



Fig. 1b Coin 1.1 (photo 2)

Coin 1.1 private collection, 3.95g. (Figs. 1a and 1b Two photos are reproduced here as their lighting makes different features clearer).

Obverse: king seated frontally, head turned three-quarters to left (his right), wearing beard, earrings, dotted necklace, with laddered diadem ribbons rising from a cluster of four dots to either side of head, traces of a wing projecting to right from crown, bare chested or wearing tight belted tunic, with skirt over legs. The king's left hand resting in his lap, his right hand extended, with his right elbow resting on his right knee. Inscription in right margin (in Brahmi): *devaputra*; in right field (in cursive Bactrian): KIDAPA (Kidara).

Reverse: Goddess seated frontally, with head surrounded by halo (trace on left) facing, wearing earrings (single dots below each ear) dress with hem across top of breasts, left hand resting on lap holding cornucopia over left shoulder, right hand extended holding stem of lotus blossom, with right elbow resting on right knee. Goddesses right foot resting on side of left knee. Dotted border.



Fig. 2 Coin 1.2

Coin 1.2, Bombay Auctions, auction 10, 20 November 2016, lot 75, 5.21g (Fig. 2)

Obverse as coin 1.1, but bird-like device on crown (wing to right, head to left) and traces of trident-like device above right hand, knees not visible.

Reverse: as coin 1, but double dot earrings, trace of halo on right, more detail of dress visible, with folds over both arms and hanging from right leg, left leg now visible resting on ground. The goddess now visibly seated on back of lion, head on left and rump and tail on right. Inscription in right field (in Brahmi) *me*. Border off flan?



Fig. 3 Coin 1.3

Coin 1.3, private collection (Fig. 3)

Obverse: as coin 1.1, but king's left and his lower legs visible, the round hemmed dress seen on type 2 appears to fall between the king's legs. Inscriptions appear to overlap each other.

Reverse: as coin 1.2, but inscription illegible.



Fig. 4 Coin 1.4

Coin 1.4 Ashmolean Museum, Oxford H. de Shortt collection 1975, 5.56g, 21mm (Fig. 4)

Obverse: as 1.3

Reverse: Goddess with dotted hair and single dot earrings, design below goddess's right leg off flan. Inscription: base of Brahmi letter *me*, visible on right outside goddess's elbow.



Fig. 5 Coin 1.5

Coin 1.5 Karan Singh collection, 5.00g, 20mm (Fig. 5)

Obverse: as coin 1.3, but design and inscription mostly illegible, king's legs and left arm visible.

Reverse: as coin no. 1.4, but inscription *me* fully visible.

**Type 2 standing king**



Fig. 6 Coin 2.1

Coin 2.1 Karan Singh collection, 4.04g (Fig. 6)

Obverse: king standing frontally, head turned three-quarters to left (his right), wearing beard, with laddered diadem ribbons rising to either side of head, bird-like device on crown (wing to right, head to left), bare chested or wearing tight tunic, with skirt, legs not visible. Left hand at hip, holding hilt of sword, right hand extended with elbow at waist.

Inscription in left field (in Brahmi): [*de*]vaputra; in right field (in Brahmi) *me*[*ha*].

Reverse: goddess seated on throne frontally, detail of head not visible, some folds of dress on right arm and legs visible. Left hand on lap holding cornucopia over left shoulder?, right hand (not visible) holding lotus? Right hand side of throne seat visible. Dotted? border.





Fig. 7 Coin 2.2

Coin 2.2, private collection (Fig. 7)

Obverse: as coin 2.1, but the king's tunic with round hemmed skirt. Only inscription on right visible, *meha*...  
Reverse: as coin 2.1, but both sides of the goddess's throne visible with dotted legs.

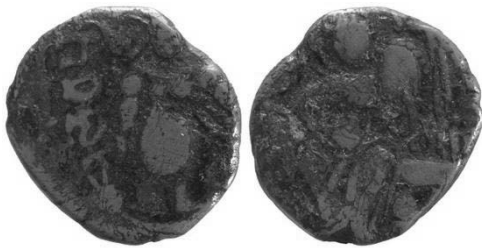


Fig. 8 Coin 2.3

Coin 2.3 British Museum 1930,0310.4, 4.36g, 19mm (Fig. 8)

Obverse: as coin 2.1, but king's skirt and legs visible and small fire altar below king's hand. Beginning of inscription on left also visible (in Brahmi): *devapu[tra]*.

Reverse: as coin 2.2, but back of throne visible on right. Inscription between goddess and back of throne in right field (in Brahmi): *bha?*

Interest in the Kidarite Huns has been greatly revived by the discovery over the last decades of a whole new series of Kidarite copper coins, from the Bhimadevi/Shiva shrine at Kashmir Smast, in the mountains of northern Pakistan. Recent publications have highlighted this series (Khan, Errington and Cribb 2008; Vondrovec 2014) and sought to throw light on the historical problems they present. The king Kidara from whom the group is named is one of several Hun rulers in Bactria and Gandhara during the fourth to fifth century. The issues in the names of Kirada, Hanaka, Yosada and Peroz appear on coins issued before the issues in the name of Kidara. However, Kidara was apparently the most important of these rulers as the only Western source Priscus identified this group of Huns as 'Kidarite Huns' ('Huns called Kidarites' Ουννους τους Κιδαριτας καλουμενους, Priscus, Fragment 33; Ουννους ... τους Κιδαριτας λεγομενους, Fragment 41.1; 'Kidarite Huns' Ουννων των Κιδαριτων, Fragment 41.3; τους Κιδαριτας Ουννους, Fragment 51 or simply as 'Huns' των Ουννων, Fragment 41.3 or 'Kidarites' Κιδαριτων, Fragment 47 (Blockley 1983, pp. 336–361)). The Chinese Chronicles of the Northern Dynasties (*Beishi*) and of the Wei Dynasty (*Weishu*) refer to them as followers of a Da Yuezhi king (i.e. from the Chinese perspective Kushan) called Kitolo (Kidara). The predominance of Kidara among the other associated rulers, as known from the coins, appears to be based on the fact that he is the only one of them to have adopted the title Kushanshah, King of the Kushan realm. The others appear to be ruling as subordinates of the last Kushano-Sasanian Kushanshah Varahran. My research on this king places him in the mid- to late-fourth century (Cribb 2010). The discovery in Pakistan of a group of clay impressions of a royal seal (Lerner and Sims-Williams 2011, type AA2) confirms that the titles 'king of the Huns' and 'Kushan king' were both used by a Kidarite ruler, who can be identified on the basis of his representation on the seal as Kidara (wearing the same crown as worn by this king on his Bactrian gold coins). There are some silver coins with Kidarite designs which post-date the coins of Kidara, but with issues of the Hun king Khingila the Kidarite style coinage seems to have come to an end. Khingila is normally referred to by numismatists as one of the Alchano, Alchon or Alkhan Huns (named after the first inscription Alchano appearing on Hun coins issued in the Kabul region). There is no evidence apart from this coin inscription that the Huns were anciently designated in this way. The timing of Priscus' account suggests that the term Kidarite Hun also applied to the 'Alchon' Huns.

**Kidarite features of the new coins**

The two coin types discussed here are clearly related to the

Kidarite Huns by their designs and by the inscription KIDAPA (Kidara in Bactrian script, as written on Kidara's Bactrian gold issues, Cribb 2010, pp. 109–110; p. 126, type 6A; p. 140, fig. no. 13) on one type, but curiously they have not been seen before among the many published Kidarite issues. All three pieces include in their inscription the title *devaputra* (son of the gods) written in Brahmi script. This title was used by the Kushan kings and in the inscription of Samudragupta from Allahabad (line 23) was used to identify the Kushan king submitting to the Gupta king *dēvaputra shāhi shāhānushāhi*.

The inscriptions suggests that the coins were issues of Kidara himself as they bear his name and one of the titles he might have adopted when he took the title Kushanshah (although there is so far no other evidence of Hun use of the title *devaputra*). The treatment of the royal figure on these coins also points to a close association with the coins of Kidara and his associates as it shares with their silver issues a three-quarters facing bust with raised diadem ties flanking the king's head. The crown is also a Kidarite type, based on contemporary Sasanian royal crowns. It could be seen as ornamented with a pair of wings, but it is easier to see it as topped by a bird, with its head to the left and a single wing to the right. It appears to lack the circular ornament which sits at the top of most Kidarite crown types. There is no exact known parallel for the crown on the new coins, but two sets of Kidarite silver coins have a crown with raised wings, but with a central motif separating the wings, one with the name *Buddhami[tra]* (Cribb 2010, type C3 [Göbl 1967, type 18]) and the other inscribed *Khaga* (Cribb 2010 type D6), or more likely *Khigi* which could be an abbreviation of the name Khingila, the first king of the 'Alchano' Huns (Pfisterer 2013, p. 42).

**Kushan, Hun and Gupta prototypes**

The seated king is not a feature previously recorded in Kidarite coinage, but the standing king in tight tunic with sword at hip is well known from the Kushano-Sasanian style Kidarite gold coins from Bactria. It is possible that the seated king design owes something to the copper coinage of the Kushan king Vasudeva II (Göbl 1984, types 1022–1024) which has a seated king obverse and seated goddess holding cornucopia (Ardochsho) reverse (thanks to Pankaj Tandon for this suggestion). The round hemmed skirt on type 2 is unusual for the Kidarite period (it is a feature of Sasanian court dress), but two examples are known. It can be seen on the so-far unique early Kidarite gold Kushan-style coin of Kirada inscribed Yosa (Göbl 1993, no. 793; Cribb 2010, type A1, Fig. 9) and on the Kushan-style gold coins in the name of Samudra[gupta] with the image of the Kidarite king Kidara wearing a rounded skirt, with sword at hip (Cribb 2010, p. 142, no. 24, Fig. 10). The only parallel to the seated king in the Hun series is a type of the king called Narendraditya on which the king sits cross-legged (Göbl 1967, type 176).



Fig. 9 Kirada-Yosa gold dinar (Bern Museum 88.585, Göbl 1993, no. 793, 7.83g, 19mm)



Fig. 10 Samudra[gupta] gold dinara (British Museum)

1893,0506.48, 7.52g, 18mm)

The goddess seated on throne holding cornucopia (Ardochsho) is a common feature of Kushan coins and its use was continued by the Kidarites on their Kushan-Style gold coins. However in all these cases this goddess was shown holding a diadem in her extended right hand, not a lotus. The goddess on type 1 is also seated on a lion instead of a throne. Both these designs, goddess on throne holding cornucopia and lotus and goddess on lion holding the same, have been documented from early Kidarite copper coins, issued by Kidara and his immediate predecessor Peroz: on throne (Cribb 2010, fig. 68; Khan et al. 2008, nos. 217–228, 329–331; Vondrovec 2014, types GC-K17 and GC-K24); on lion (Cribb 2010, figs. 65–66; Khan et al. 2008, nos. 185–195, 208–216; Vondrovec 2014, types GC-K1, p.79, and 2A, p.93). The goddess on lion design is known from gold coins of Huvishka (Göbl 1984, type 359) and Kanishka II (Göbl 1984, type 660), in both cases the goddess is identified by the inscription as Nana. The type was also used the Guptas, on Samudragupta's Chandragupta-Kumaradevi type, where the goddess holds a cornucopia and diadem (Allan 1914, pp. 8–11), on Chandragupta II's lion-slayer type, where the goddess holds a lotus and diadem (Allan 1914, pp. 38–45), on Kumaragupta's lion slayer type, where the goddess holds just a diadem or a lotus, or a lotus and scatters coins with her right hand (Allan 1914, pp. 76–81). The Gupta versions also share with the Type 1 coins the positioning of the goddesses legs, with right foot lifted towards left knee. There is also a Kushano-Sasanian style 'Alchano' Hun gold coin of king Adomano which has a goddess seated on lion with the same arrangement of her legs (Vondrovec 2104 type 85, p.154), holding a cornucopia and diadem. The coin of the 'Alchano' Hun Narendraditya mentioned above also has a goddess seated on lion (very unclear) with a similar leg posture (Göbl 1967, type 176). On this coin she holds two lotuses, a large one over her right shoulder and a smaller one in her extended left hand.

The enthroned goddess holding cornucopia and lotus seated on a lion presents a complex identity, embracing aspects of several deities: cornucopia as held by Greek Tyche and Kushan Ardochsho, both goddesses of good fortune, lotus as held by the Indian goddess Shri Lakshmi, spouse of Vishnu, the lion as sat upon by Kushan Nana and by Indian Durga, spouse of Shiva. Nana was also linked by the Kushans with their god Oesho, who took on the guise of Shiva. In contrast, a goddess holding cornucopia and seated on lion is depicted on the reverse of Gupta coins of Samudragupta issued in memory of his parents Chandragupta I and Kumaradevi. All aspects of Samudragupta coins suggest an association with the Indian god Vishnu, so a link with Shri Lakshmi seems most likely. The representations of the goddess holding cornucopia seated on lion seen on Hun coins also suggest an Indian identity for the goddess as all other religious symbolism on Hun coins is Indian. The Kashmir representations appear on coins where all three attributes are present were issued with Shaivite imagery, so one can deduce that Durga is intended. This identification is reinforced by the appearance of the same deity enthroned holding cornucopia and lotus, but without lion, on seals associated with the goddess Bhimadevi, another manifestation of the spouse of Shiva at the Shaivite shrine at Kashmir Smast. On these seals (Khan 2002, 2003 and 2006, pp. 111–120; ur-Rahman and Falk pp. 99–103) the goddess is shown in two forms as Lajja Gauri, a headless naked female figure with spread legs or as an enthroned dressed female figure holding cornucopia and lotus. Inscriptions from the site identify it as a centre for the cult of Bhimadevi and she is named on some of the seals depicting her in both forms. In both guises she is referred to as Bhimadevi who lives in the cave (i.e. the large cave which is the focus of cult at Kashmir Smast). This site of Kashmir Smast was active throughout the Hun period, from the time of the early Kidarites.

The images of Bhimadevi holding cornucopia and lotus on the reverses of coins Hun coins from Bactria, Gandhara and Kashmir link her closely with the representations of Ardochsho on Kushan coins and of Shri Lakshmi on Gupta coins. Although she is the

spouse of Shiva she is shown here as a goddess of good fortune, placed on the coins as the bestower of royal authority on the Hun kings. She is shown as goddess of Royal Fortune, the role normally taken by Shri Lakshmi in an Indian context. The overlap of iconography between a Shaivite goddess and Shri Lakshmi remains confusing and that confusion is well illustrated by another seal where the enthroned goddess holding cornucopia and lotus is shown being lustrated by elephants as Shri Lakshmi is often shown in ancient Indian art (ur-Rahman and Falk 2011, p. 97). Bhimadevi has also been depicted in similar form and often seated on lion in Kashmir sculpture (Pal 1986, fig. S103; Pal 2007, fig. 63 on two lions, both with overskirt; Pal 2007, figs. 70–84). A Kashmir-style gold medallion design also shows the same goddess (represented by two examples in the V&A Museum, Errington and Cribb 1992, p. 143 and the Cleveland Museum, Czuma 1985, p. 157) holding a large cornucopia-like lotus surmounted by a purnagata and a smaller lotus and wearing the same short over skirt seen on the recently discovered Kashmir gold coins (Cribb at press).

### Kashmir parallels

The Kushan, Gupta and Hun coins above are the most likely origin of the designs on these new coins, but there are even closer parallels among the Hun issues of Mihirakula (Figs. 13–14) and Jara (Fig. 11–13) in Kashmir, which also seem to draw from the same prototypes. A seated figure appears on the coins of Jara. There are three types attributable to this king, two with seated figure on the obverse (Cunningham 1895, pl. VIII, nos. 11 and 13) and one with standing figure (Cunningham 1895, pl. VIII, no. 12), all with seated goddess reverses. Both of the seated king types (nos. 11 and 13) have a similar posture to our type 1. One shows the figure seated on a throne with lion's head projections on each side (no. 13, Fig. 11). The figure appears to be a god as he holds a trident and a purse. The other seated obverse (no. 11) is cruder in treatment, but shows the figure with the same attributes. The standing figure type (no. 12, Fig. 12) is more like a king in the Kushan style holding a staff and making an offering at a small altar. The goddess on the reverse of the type with god on lion throne (no. 13) is shown seated on the back of a standing lion (head to right) and, as on our new coin types, holds a cornucopia over her left shoulder and a lotus in her extended right hand. The crude seated type (no. 11, Fig. 13) also shows the goddess holding cornucopia and lotus, but it is unclear what she is sitting on. She sits with her left foot drawn up towards her right knee. The standing king type (no. 12) also shows the goddess holding cornucopia and lotus, but seated on a throne as on our type 2. The coins of Jara can be approximately dated because similar issues to his types (nos. 12 and 13) were issued by the 'Alchano' Hun king Mihirakula. Mihirakula, the son of the Hun king Toramana can be dated to the first half of the sixth century on the basis of his inscriptions, the dates of his father, c. AD 490–520, and his mention in the narrative of the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang. One Mihirakula type (Cunningham 1895, pl. VIII, no. 9, Fig. 15) is almost identical to the Jara standing king type (no. 12), the other (Cunningham 1895, pl. VIII, no. 6, Fig. 14) also shows a standing figure, but has more in common with Shahi Jara's enthroned type (no. 13). It shows a standing god holding a bag next to a trident and holding a crescent topped standard, and on its reverse the seated goddess holding cornucopia and lotus sits with her legs as on our type 1, but she appears to be seated on a large lotus.



Fig. 11 Jara copper coin (British Museum 1854,0301.102, 7.42g, 21 mm) (actual size)



Fig. 12 Jara copper coin (British Museum 1894,0506.245, 7.64g, 21 mm) (actual size)



Fig. 13 Jara copper coin (Oxford, R. Faulkner donation, 23 mm) (actual size)



Fig. 14 Mihirakula copper coin (British Museum 1894,0506.243, 7.03g, 20 mm) (actual size)



Fig. 15 Mihirakula copper coin (British Museum 1894,0506.232, 8.21g, 21 mm) (actual size)

There are also later parallels in the gold coins which are now better known from the recently discovered hoard of coins in the names of Pravarasena, Tuysina, Meghama and Toramana, issued in the 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries (Cribb at press). On these coins the obverses show a standing figure, facing with three-quarters turned head, of either a Kushan-style standing king holding a trident (Tuysina and Toramana) or the god Shiva holding a trident, accompanied by ganas (Pravarasena) or a lion (Meghama). The reverses all show the seated goddess holding a cornucopia-like large lotus topped by a vase of plenty and a small lotus. Pravarasena's coins show the goddess seated with her left foot raised towards her right knee seated on two lions, Meghama's seated cross-legged on a large lotus, Tuysina's show her cross-legged on a low throne Toramana's with her right foot raised towards her left knee seated on a lion (head left).

Another interesting parallel for our new coin type 1 is the presence on all these later Kashmir coins of the name Kidara, written in late Brahmi in the reverse left field. This suggests that all their issuers saw Kidara as a significant originator of their authority. Although the name Kidara in Brahmi became fossilised in a number of post-Kidarite issues, copying Kidara's Kushan-style gold (as fig. 16 below), where it was seen as part of the design, rather than as an inscription, the later Kashmir coins removed the miswritten name from the design, but added Kidara in contemporary style script to the coins in a new position on the reverse of the coin, indicating its continuing significance for the rulers of Kashmir. The parallels between the coins published here and later Kashmir issues suggest that these newly discovered coins are issues from Kashmir. Their acquisition by collectors in India also suggests a similar source. The coins of Mihirakula and Jara have been attributed to Taxila and Punjab in the past, but the Punjab issues of Mihirakula have a different typology and weight standard (Göbl 1967, types 152 and 153).

All the newly discovered coins were collected in India, suggesting that they came from Hun territory on the Indian side of the border with Pakistan, i.e. in Kashmir or its neighbouring states. The appearance of six examples within a short period of time suggests that a small hoard of such coins may have been found recently. The recorded weights of the new coins (from 3.5g to 5.6g) also suggest a Kashmir origin for the coins, as all the new Kidarite copper coins recorded from finds in Gandhara and

Kashmir Smast (Khan, Errington and Cribb 2008; Vondrovec 2104) are significantly lighter (weighing less than 2.5g and often as light as less than 1.0g). The copper coins of Mihirakula and Shahi Jara discussed above weigh from 5.0g to 8.5g and the later gold coins weigh about 7.0g to 7.5g, so the new coins do not exactly match the Kashmir weight standards, but are closer to them than they are to the Gandharan standard.

The numismatic evidence parallels the evidence from Kashmir sculpture mentioned above showing clear reasons to attribute the coins to Kashmir.

#### Attribution and historical significance

The identification of the coins as Hun related issues from Kashmir allows a more detailed identification of the issuer of the coins and their date. The Brahmi inscriptions *me* on type 1 coins 2 and 5 and *meha* on type 2 coins 1 and 2 suggest a link with the 'Alchon' Hun king Mehama (this identification was first pointed out by Pankaj Tandon). Kushano-Sasanian style gold coins were issued in this king's name in Bactria (Vondrovec 2014, type 84A) and Sasanian style silver coins were issued for him in the Kabul region and Gandhara (Vondrovec 2014, types 62, 63, 71, 73, 73A, 74, 316 and 317). Mehama is also known from a late fifth century Buddhist inscription, written during his reign and dated year 68, either of the Laukika era AD 492/3 or the Kushan era AD 495/6 (Meltzer 2006; de la Vaissière 2007, or perhaps the Laukika and Kushan eras are the same, Bracey 2005). This inscription is thought to come from Talaqan in north-eastern Afghanistan (Meltzer 2006, p. 256) or more probably Talagang in north-western India (de la Vaissière 2007, p. 129). If the attribution to Mehama is correct, then this would place the coins shortly before the issues in the names of Mihirakula and Shahi Jara, explaining the parallels between their designs. The royal images on the new coins place them closer in time to the Kidarite Hun Kidara who is named on type 1 and to the prototypes among the early Kidarite coppers issued by Kidara and his immediate predecessor Peroz.

The link between the name Mehama on these new coins and that of Meghama on the newly discovered Kashmir gold coins seems clear (thanks to Pankaj Tandon and Shailendra Bhandare for their comments on this). The newly discovered gold coinage (Cribb at press) which includes coins in the name of Meghama also includes issues in the name of Toramana another Kashmir king sharing his name with one of the earlier Hun kings. It has long been thought by some that the Kashmir Toramana is the same as the Hun king Toramana who ruled in India c. AD 490–520 and this also prompts the idea that Mehama and Meghama could also be the same people, particularly considering the weakness of the chronology of the unique source for Kashmir history the *Rajatarangini*. There are strong reasons for separating the two Toramanas. First the Kashmir coins of Toramana are very numerous and circulated until the ninth century, when the Kashmir king Avantivarman issued coins copying those of Kashmir Toramana. The context for Toramana and Meghavahana (one presumes this is an Indianised form of the Hun name) in the *Rajatarangini* links them with the reign of the Indian king Harshavardana who can be dated fairly precisely to c. AD 606–647. This dating in the seventh century is compatible with the designs and inscription styles of their coins and gives about two centuries for the currency of Toramana's coins. The reign of the Hun king Toramana can be dated to the period c. AD 490–520 through various inscriptions and the dating of his son Mihirakula. No coins of this Toramana are known from Kashmir. The coins of Toramana's son are closely linked to the new coins which appear to have the name Mehama on them. Stylistically Mihirakula's coins seem to come after the coins attributed here to Mehama, which seem to have designs closer to fourth century Kidarite prototypes than Mihirakula's. The earlier style Brahmi inscriptions on Mehama's copper coins also separate them from the gold coins of Meghama. The coincidence of names does not present sufficient evidence to attribute the two series to the same king, but suggest a continuity of Hun rule in Kashmir and the reuse of earlier names in the seventh century.



Fig. 16 Kidara gold dinar inscribed *kidara kusha[na]/ ala* (British Museum 1894,0506.196, 7.76g, 21mm) (actual size)



Fig. 17 Kidara silver drachm, inscribed *kidara kushanasha/ alakha* (British Museum 1894,0506.134, 3.64g, 24mm) (actual size)

The acknowledgement of Kidara and the use of the Kushan title *devaputra* on these new coins casts a new light on the history of the Huns in this region. The distinction between the Kidarite and ‘Alchano’ (also referred to as Alchon, Alchan, Alkhan) Huns is a modern distinction based on their easily distinguished coin designs, with the ‘Kidarite’ coins using Sasanian-type portraits in profile or frontally and the ‘Alchano’ coins using a bold Hun-style portrait in profile. Pfisterer has already pointed to a ‘Kidarite’ style coin issued in the name of Khingila, an early ‘Alchon’ ruler. There are many Kushan-style gold coins in the name of Kidara which link the Kidarite and ‘Alchano’ name as they have the inscription *ala* on their reverse (Cribb 2010, type A7 and A8, Fig. 16) and there are also silver Kidarite coins in the name of Kidara with the inscription *alakha* on their reverse (Cribb 2010, type C2b, Fig. 17). The inscriptions on the new coins and on these Kidara coins suggest that the ‘Alchano’ Huns were not a separate wave of Hun intrusion into the region, but a continuation of the Kidarite Hun group, adopting a different visual identity. The reign of Khingila probably represented the period of the transition from ‘Kidarite’ to ‘Alchano’ identity, but not a major shift in Hun rule. The change could represent a change of dynasty or a shift of power between two Hun groups, but with continuing recognition of Kidara as the major player in the establishment of Hun power. My analysis of the evidence for the chronology of Kidarite rule placed the reign of Kidara in the second half of the fourth century AD, but Priscus referred to Kidarites in AD 467 and the Chinese sources in the fifth century. It seems likely on the basis of the evidence presented by these new coins that in the fifth century the Huns, known to modern scholarship as ‘Alchano’ continued to carry the identity of ‘Kidarites’ and Kushan kings, and were so described by their foreign observers East and West. The use of his name on Kashmir coins down to the time of the seventh century king Toramana attests to the continuing importance of the position of Kidara in the Hun royal lineage as the first king to achieve imperial power as Kushan king. The relationships between the ‘Kidarite’ Huns and the ‘Alchano’ Huns, and between *Κιδαρτιης Οοννοι* (Greek Kidaritēs Hounnoi) and *Hūna* (Sanskrit), *OYNANO* (Bactrian Hounano), *Οοννοι* (Greek Hounnoi), *Chionites* (Latin), *Xwn* (Sogdian) and *xiongnu* (Chinese) continue to be worthy of reappraisal (cf. Vaissière 2005, Grenet 2002, Grenet 2010).

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## THE KAMPILI KINGDOM And the Warrior Coins

By Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor<sup>1</sup>



**Synopsis**

This article publishes two gold coins of the Kampili kingdom that were hitherto unknown. One of the two coins has the ruler’s name inscribed. The provenance and hoard information of the uninscribed coin has made the identification process simple and straightforward due to the fact that the Kampili kingdom was short-lived and was ruled by only two rulers. The article also compares the Kampili coins with those of the Nidugal Cholas.

The warrior images are often referred to as Hanuman and Garuda in various publications. This matter is clarified here.

**Political history**<sup>2,3</sup>

Historically, the city of Hampi was known as Kiskinda, and the Tungabhadra River was called Pampa<sup>4</sup>. With the birth of the Vijayanagara kingdom, the land of Kiskinda came to be known as Hampi. The hills on the southern side of Tungabhadra were Mātanga, where the Rāmayana character, Sugriva, was said to have taken refuge. Mātanga is 19 kilometres west of Hampi and was known as Kampila, which later came to be known as Kampili. Before the rise of the Kampili kingdom, the region of Kampili was under the rule of the Chālukyas of Bādami, the Kadambas, Rāshtrakutas and Hoysalas.

The Kampili kingdom originally included some parts of Nolambavadi, which was ruled by the Nidugal Cholas during the reign of the Hoysalas. Irungola deva (Irungola II) was the ruling king in Nidugal of the Pāvagada Taluk, in the Tumkur district of the modern state of Karnataka, in the year 1274<sup>5</sup>. He was the son of Govinda Raya, whose name is referred to in an inscription dated 1207. His son was Bhoga and his grandson was Bomma<sup>6</sup>. During Bomma’s rule, the kingdom consisted of Nidugal, Siru-nad, Kaniyakal, Nolambavadi and Renād. Bomma had four sons: Bijjana, Baira, Irungola and Bavantiga. In the year 1280, Nidugal was captured by the Hoysala king, Narasimha II. Based on the available inscriptions, Irungola II ruled between 1248 and 1280<sup>7</sup>.

The vast region ruled by the Nidugal Cholas went into the hands of the Hoysalas, and a part of it, the Kampili kingdom, was allowed to be ruled by the Hoysala governor, Singeya Nayaka III (1280–1300). Singeya Nayaka III was also known as Mummadi Singha, the father of Kampila Deva who made Doravadi in the Bellary district his capital. The declaration of independence by Kampila Raya coincided with the end of the Hoysala empire.

Delhi Sultan, ‘Ala al-Din Khilji (1296-1316), laid siege to Kummata Durga<sup>8</sup> and the sultan’s soldiers attacked the Kampili kingdom. Realising the danger, its ruler Kampila Deva fled the place and escaped to the nearby thick forest, sending his family to Tanur. After receiving confirmation that his wives and nobles, ministers, and principal men had immolated themselves, he faced the invaders in battle<sup>9</sup> (1313) but was unfortunately slain. The town was then taken, and eleven of his surviving relatives were imprisoned and taken to the Sultan at Delhi, which is known in the account of Ibn Batuta’s Travels. Thus, in 1313 CE, the dynastic chapter of Kampili kingdom ended once for all, but it paved the way for yet another powerful empire, Vijayanagara.

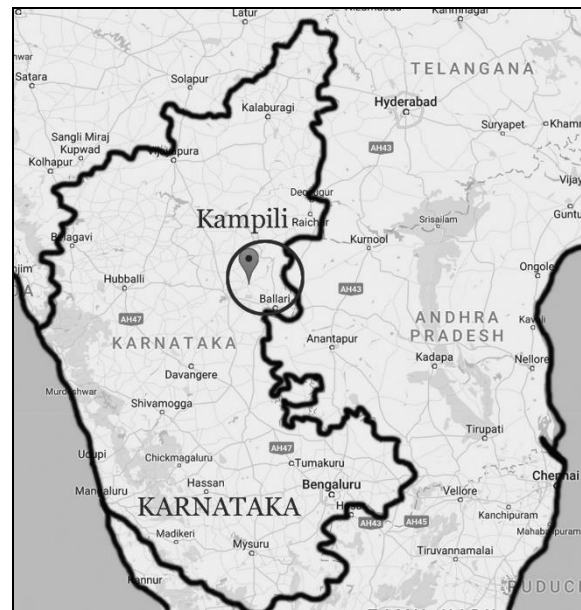


Fig.1 Map showing the approximate region enclosed by the Kampili kingdom

The chronology of the Kampili kings is shown here below.

| Ruler              | Rule      | Capital |
|--------------------|-----------|---------|
| Singeya Nayaka III | 1280–1300 | Kampili |
| Kampila Deva       | 1300–1313 | Kampili |

Table 1. The Chronology of the Kampili rulers

**Coinage**

Bravery is depicted through the image of a warrior, the Malla, on the obverse of Kampili coins. Although not much is known about the warrior insignia in any of the Kampili inscriptions, such images are commonly seen in the hero stones of that period. It is interesting to note that the coins of the Kadambas of Nāgarkhanda, Barma Bhupala and Nidugal Cholas also depicted a warrior image on their coins. Moreover, the Nidugal Cholas were the previous rulers of the Kampili region.

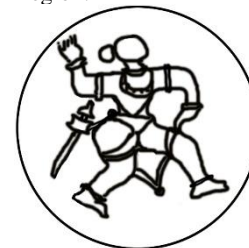


Fig. 2 Running Warrior

Some of the Nidugal coins show the warrior with a helmet that has a sharp protruding nasal guard. This nasal guard blocks slashes to the face with a minimum of visual obstruction. Nasal helmets were mainstream around the 10<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century. These are mistaken and termed ‘Garuda-type’ in various publications. Garuda and Hanuman images would have a wing and a tail, respectively. The later coins with a dagger shown behind signify the warrior status of the motif.

The Nidugal Cholas issued gold coins with an obverse motif of a running warrior. The reverse carried the legends “Danava Murari Banta” with a weight standard of 3.4 g. Mummadi Singha may have continued to use the existing mint to produce gold coins for the economic needs of his kingdom. Also, 2-3 extremely rare coins have been observed so far which have no legends, and which came from this region along with the coins of the Nidugal Cholas and Harihara I. The absence of legends on the reverse indicates that the unscripted coins were perhaps minted by the next sovereign, the Mummadi Singha. The absence of an inscription on

the reverse side is perhaps due to the immediate circulation needs of the currency.



The successor dynasty, the Vijayanagara, also issued gold coins with a running warrior motif on the obverse in tradition with what had circulated previously. The reverse of these coins carried the ruler's name such as 'Sri Vira Harihara' or 'Sri Vira Bukkaraya', consistent with the Kampili coinage. These warrior coins continued to circulate for the next 40 years, only pausing during the rule of Harihara II. The transition from the 'warrior-type' coins to the 'seated deity' type was observed only during the rule of Harihara II, who issued the 'warrior' type for a short period of time. The 'warrior-type' coins of the Vijayanagara kingdom are well admired but the source of inspiration and tradition had never been studied or researched.

With all the above observations, it is assumed here that the mints of Kampili were well established and inherited by the subsequent Vijayanagara kingdom. The Kampili kings deserve praise as their coins laid the prototype for the early Vijayanagara coins.



This article presents the previously mentioned two rare Hons of Kampila Deva from the author's private collection. The warrior image on the coin resembles that on the coins of the predecessor dynasty, the Nidugal Cholas. Different, however, is the reverse legend that reads 'Sri Kampila Deva'. The weight standard (3.4g) and the diameter (12 mm) are similar to that of Nidugal, Harihara I and Bukka I coins. Also, shown is one of the three uninscribed coins that came in the hoard of Nidugal Chola, and Vijayanagar gold hons of Vira Harihara I.





**Listing** <sup>10 11 12</sup>

**Nidugal Chola coin**



| No. | Obverse  | Reverse   |
|-----|--|---|
| 1   |   |  |
|     | <b>Irungola II</b> (1248 -1280), 13 mm, 3.4 g<br><b>Obverse:</b> Running warrior facing right<br><b>Reverse:</b> Kannada legends: Danava / murari / banta spread over three lines with a single separator line inbetween |   |

**Kampili coins**

| No. | Obverse  | Reverse   |
|-----|--|---|
| 1   |   |  |
|     | <b>Mummadi Singha</b> (1280 -1300), 12 mm, 3.4 g<br><b>Obverse:</b> Running Warrior, facing right<br><b>Reverse:</b> Blank<br><b>Note:</b> The dress knot as in the Nidugal Chola coin |   |

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 2 |   |  |
|   | <b>Kampila Deva</b> (1300-1313), Size: 12 mm, 3.4 g<br><b>Obverse:</b> Running warrior facing right with a dagger hanging on his waist from behind<br><b>Reverse:</b> Kannada legends: Sri Vi(ra)/Kampi/la (deva) spread over three lines with a single separator line in between |   |
| 3 |   |  |
|   | <b>Kampila Deva</b> (1300-1313), Size: 12 mm, 3.4 g<br><b>Obverse:</b> Running warrior facing right with a dagger hanging on his waist from behind<br><b>Reverse:</b> Kannada legends: Sri Vi(ra)/Kampi/la (deva) spread over three lines with a single separator line in between |   |

**Vijayanagara coin**

| No. | Obverse  | Reverse   |
|-----|--|---|
| 1   |    |  |
|     | <b>Sri Vira Harihara I</b> (1336 -1356), 13 mm, 3.4 g<br><b>Obverse:</b> Running warrior facing right with dagger hanging on his waist from behind<br><b>Reverse:</b> Kannada legends: Sri Vee/ra Hari/hara spread over three lines with a single-line separator in between<br>[Images courtesy of Marudhar Auctions, Bangalore] |   |

**References and acknowledgements**

The author would like to express his sincere thanks to the authors of the various books that he studied and referred to while working on this article. The books are listed in the foot-notes.

The author is also grateful to Sri Murli Narayan, USA, Dr Shailendra Bhandare and Mr Stan Goron for kindly going through the article for corrections and review. Additionally, the author would like to thank Marudhar auctions, Bangalore, for allowing the use and publication of their scans of the Vijayanagar coin.

**Notes**

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<sup>2</sup> Robert Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar), A Contribution to the History of India*, 1901

<sup>3</sup> Vasundhara Filliozat: *Vijayanagar as seen by Dornigos Paes and Fernao Nuniz*, National Book Trust, India, 1977

<sup>4</sup> Aniruddha Ray: *Towns and Cities of Medieval India: A Brief Survey*, Routledge publication

<sup>5</sup> All dates in this article are AD/CE.

<sup>6</sup> BL Rice: *Gazetteer of Mysore*, p163

<sup>7</sup> EC XII, Tm 40, EC V, Ak 15, EC V Bl 164-167

<sup>8</sup> Robert Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*, A Contribution to the History of India, Chapter II: Origin of the Empire. London, 1900

<sup>9</sup> Robert Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*, A Contribution to the History of India, 1901

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<sup>11</sup> M. Mitchiner: *The Coinage & History of South India, Part 1 Karnataka-Andhra*, Hawkins Publications, UK, September 1998

<sup>12</sup> K. Ganesh: *Studies in Vijayanagar Coins*, Bangalore, 2009

## THE CHANDRAGIRI COINS OF THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY

By Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor<sup>1</sup>



### Synopsis

This manuscript puts the spotlight on the coins of the Aravidu dynasty, some of which were wrongly attributed in earlier publications. In addition, new types are published here for the first time. The later gold coins<sup>2</sup> of this dynasty were widely copied and issued by the subsequent ruling and trading houses of the region. This creates a problem for clearly assigning these coinage series to a particular ruler. While the earlier issue of the later series can be assigned to the Aravidu ruler based on the inscription, the problem with the earlier series of these gold coins is that the reverse side carries the name of Lord Venkateshwara, the tutelary deity. But the kings who issued these coins also had the names of Lord Venkateshwara. As a result, when their coins show the legends that refer to Sri Venkateshwara, it becomes extremely difficult to know whether they refer to the god or to the king, the agent of the god.

In this article, I have attempted to organize coins chronologically based on their provenance, the inscribed coin type, and the script form<sup>3</sup>. I sincerely hope that this paper inspires collectors and researchers to work out further attributions of many such unknown types using the tools illustrated in this manuscript. In the case of Aravidu dynastic coins, most of the previous publications have failed to assign coins positively owing to the fact that some of the coins were read wrongly or were said to have corrupted or blundered legends. I have addressed all these pitfalls using a systematic approach of correlating political history, proper attribution, the provenance and the coin motif itself.

This article does not include the coins that were issued at Penukonda by the first two rulers, Tirumala Raya and Sri Rangadeva Raya I. These two rulers circulated coins at Penukonda that had been previously minted at Hampi prior to the Battle of Talikota. It is well known that the treasure was moved from Hampi southwards to Penukonda on 1500 elephants when Tirumala fled Hampi. The coins of Tirumala Raya and Sri Rangadeva Raya I are widely found at Hampi and Penukonda. These coins have been properly identified in all the relevant publications as these coin have the ruler's name on the reverse. The coins minted and issued at Chandragiri are indigenous coins of the Aravidu dynasty and thus form the main focus of this article.

### Political history<sup>4 5</sup>

Nestling in the Tungabhadra region of 13<sup>th</sup> century CE/AD<sup>6</sup> southern India was the kingdom of Kampili. The kingdom was originally founded in 1280 at Doravadi in the modern district of

Bellary by the governor of Hoysala, Singeya Nayaka III (1280–1300), the father of Kampila Deva. The declaration of independence by the Kampili kingdom coincided with the end of the Hoysala empire. However, the dynasty was short-lived as the Kampili kingdom was invaded by the forces of 'Ala al-Din Khilji, the Sultan of Delhi, in the year 1313. Kampila Deva (1300–1313) was killed in the battle that followed, thus ending the dynastic chapter of Kampili kingdom, but paving the way for the powerful empire of Vijayanagara to supersede 23 years of Islamic rule.

The Vijayanagara empire was founded at Anegundi and flourished at Hampi in Karnataka. It occupied two later capitals at Penukonda and Chandragiri, in Andhra Pradesh. During the rebellion by the Nayakas of Gingee and Vellore, the capital was moved temporarily to Vellore.

Hakka and Bukka were the two able surviving relatives and prisoners of the siege of Kampili (Kummata Durga). Due to the loyalty shown by them, the sultan of Delhi commissioned them to put down a rebellion in the south to consolidate the sultan's rule from Kampili. The opportunistic Harihara I (Hakka) and Bukka I reconverted to Hinduism and founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara on the opposite bank of the Tungabhadra at Anegundi with the blessings of their guru, Sri Vidhyaranya.

Four dynasties, namely, the Sangama (1336–1485), Sāluva (1485–1505), Tuluva (1505–1565) and Aravidu (1565–1664) succeeded each other to rule the great Vijayanagara empire albeit with constant power struggles. Vijayanagara was constantly facing both internal and external threats. Internally there was an immense greed for power, and externally the five surrounding sultanates took every opportunity to pounce upon the empire. As the kingdom was vast and multi-cultural, the Vijayanagara rulers ably managed it with the help of their generals using well-functioning administrative methods developed by their predecessors, the Hoysalas. Whenever the dynasty suffered, their powerful generals took the opportunity to take over and steer the destiny of the empire. These four dynasties thus played their role in managing the vast empire that spread over the Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu regions.

The internal rivalry of the Sangamas gave an opportunity for Saluva Narasimha to take control over the empire by marching to Hampi from Chandragiri. The Saluvas, the second dynasty, were the rulers of Chandragiri. They extended their empire throughout Karnataka and up to Madurai and Cholamandalam in Tamilnadu. Yet not even two decades passed peacefully before internal infighting erupted for the succession of the throne. On this occasion it was the Tuluvas who were successful in supplanting the Saluvas.

The Tuluvas, under the able leadership of Krishnadeva Raya defeated the Kakatiyas. After suppressing the Bahmanis and Adil Shahis, they extended the empire further to include Golkonda, Penukonda and Kondavidu. But the secret alliance among the Shahis of Golkonda, Ahmednagar and Bijapur resulted in the major battle of Talikota in 1565 that eventually resulted in the Vijayanagara empire falling into the hands of the Muslim rulers. The Muslim army wrought much destruction in Hampi, burning the houses, looting temples and reducing the population. Of the three monarchs who were ruling different parts of the vast empire, Rama Raya was beheaded, Venkatadri was killed and the third ruler, Tirumala Raya, lost an eye yet managed to escape.

Two years after Talikota, Tirumala Raya re-surfaced at Penukonda, which is about 200 km away from the erstwhile capital, Hampi. With Penukonda as the third and new capital, Tirumala steered the destiny of the Vijayanagara Empire. The loss of the city and the lands to the north of the Tungabhadra, however, was never recovered and signified the beginning of Vijayanagara decline.

In the year 1572, the next heir, Sri Rangadeva Raya I (1572 - 1586) was crowned at Penukonda. Though the empire survived with its capital at Penukonda for another century, it never regained its former glory or power. Due to the war, it lost a vital trading partner in the Portuguese and, thus, suffered a major economic setback. Moreover, the Portuguese lost the autonomy and protection that they had enjoyed for half a century.

While the Qutb Shahis were a constant threat throughout his reign, he also lost considerable territories in the northern part of the kingdom to the Bidar and Bijapur rulers. In 1576, he moved the treasury to Chandragiri to provide a supply line to Chennappa Nayaka for defending Penukonda.

In the Tamil country, Venkatapatideva Raya II (1586-1614), the brother, of Sri Rangadeva Raya I was the ruler, based at Chandragiri. Since the latter had no heir, Venkatapatideva Raya II took over the empire in 1586 from his comfortable base of Chandragiri instead of moving to Penukonda. He started ruling from Chandragiri, the new capital. Subsequently, Sri Ranga Raya II was nominated by Venkatapatideva Raya II as his successor but due to a coup he was soon imprisoned and killed. With the expansion of the Mughals in the south, the Vijayanagara wars with the sultans diminished, but the Rayas<sup>7</sup> had to face the rebellions among their Nayakas. The next two rulers, Ramadeva Raya II (1614-1632) and Venkatapatideva Raya III (1632-1642) were not adept at preventing further encroachments onto their territories.

The final blow to the authority of the Aravidus occurred during the reign of Sri Ranga Raya III (1642-1664). Around 1652, the other feudatories, the Kingdom of Mysore, Nayakas of Keladi and Nayakas of Vellore became independent. The dynasty came to an end in 1652 but Sri Ranga Raya III continued as an insignificant king till 1664.

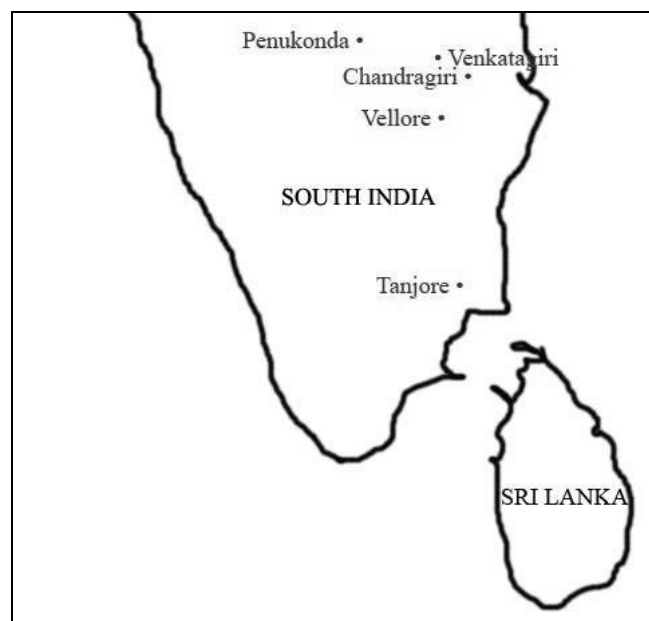


Fig. 1 : Map showing the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire during the rule of the Aravidu dynasty

The chronology of the Aravidu dynasty kings is shown here below, along with their capital.

| Ruler                    | Rule      | Capital              |
|--------------------------|-----------|----------------------|
| Tirumaladeva Raya        | 1565–1572 | Penukonda            |
| Sri Rangadeva Raya I     | 1572–1586 | Penukonda            |
| Venkatapatideva Raya II  | 1586–1614 | Chandragiri          |
| Sri Ranga Raya II        | 1614      | Chandragiri          |
| Ramadeva Raya II         | 1614–1632 | Chandragiri          |
| Venkatapatideva Raya III | 1632–1642 | Chandragiri, Vellore |
| Sri Ranga Raya III       | 1642–1652 | Vellore              |

Table 1: Chronology of the Aravidu dynasty

**Administration**

The simplicity of ruling the vast Vijayanagara empire was based on two institutions, namely the Palegar and the Kavalgar. While the former were responsible for maintaining peace and order, the latter were in charge of law and order. These twin institutions were effective law-enforcing authorities in the empire. These Palegars were chieftains who had previously been defeated by the Rayas,

who allowed them to rule their territory on condition of their paying tributes and homage. The Palegars were required to maintain a fixed-sized military force for the service of the state. Put simply, they had obligations both towards the sovereign as well as the community. The Palegars enjoyed different degrees of power. For the military protection of the community and for patrolling the territory, they were allowed to build forts but only with the permission of their overlords. The mint and the coin-issuing were controlled directly by the Rayas. Nayakas such as those of Madurai, Tanjore, Gingee served the Vijayanagara kings.

Pedaveera Nayudu was the contemporary of Sri Rangadeva Raya I and Venkatapatideva Raya II. During the twilight of the Vijayanagar Empire, the Gandikota rulers, Bojja Thimma Nayudu and Venkatagiri Nayudu, steadfastly helped Sri Rangadeva Raya I by keeping the Golkonda and Bijapur armies at bay. Mir Jumla, the general of the Golkonda ruler raided Gandikota in 1594 after which the ruling house was never heard of again.

**Iconography**

Traditional Hinduism was represented by Shaiva and Vaishnava sects and both enjoyed the zealous patronage of the Vijayanagara rulers. Islam infiltrated into the kingdoms neighbouring Vijayanagara, those of the Bahmanis, Adil Shahis, Qutb Shahis, where Islam became the state religion. Sri Virupaksha was the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings and state. The earliest Vaishnava deity to be incorporated at Vijayanagara was Narasimha. The cult of Rama and the development of the Ramayana myths associated with the empire was an early 15<sup>th</sup> century CE phenomenon. In the sixteenth century CE, other Vaishnava deities, such as Vitthala, Krishna, Tiruvengalanatha and Ranganatha, gained popularity.

Temples were the most sacred place on earth, a place where earth and heaven met and subjects felt close to God and their heavenly forefathers. Kings were understood to be the "agents of God", as they protected the world like God did. In the Vijayanagara Empire, during Maha Navami, both rulers and gods were ritually honoured in comparable ways. For the earlier rulers of Vijayanagara, the temples of Hampi were the sacred places. It was during the reign of Krishnadeva Raya that the temple of Tirupathi received a vast donation of gold and jewels, and the Vimana was gilded. Prior to that, the Tirumala Sri Venkateshwara temple of Tirupathi had been an important religious destination for the kings of the Pallavas of Kanchipuram (9<sup>th</sup> century CE), the Cholas of Thanjavur (10<sup>th</sup> century CE), the Pandyas of Madurai, and the various kings and chieftains of the Vijayanagara empire (14<sup>th</sup> - 15<sup>th</sup> century CE).

**Coinage**

The earlier Vijayanagara coinages of Harihara I, Bukka I are different in style compared to the later ones. Bravery is depicted through the image of a warrior on the obverse of their coins. During the initial stage, the kingdom simply followed the prototype of the Kampila kingdom. The king's name with the adjective "Valour (Vira or Vira Pratapa)" is seen on the reverse. On the quarter Varaha, also known as a Kati, we get to see an elephant, a symbol of bravery. Other symbols of bravery that we see on the early copper coins are of Vira Hanuman; these coins are correctly assigned to Bukka I and Harihara I due to the ruler's name being inscribed on the reverse with Hanuman on the obverse.

As the empire prospered and developed, more temples were consecrated in Hampi. Coinage started to depict temple deities on the obverse. Coins issued by Harihara II, Deva Raya II, Sadashiva Raya depicted both Vishnu-Lakshmi and Siva-Parvathi. The silver coins of Mallikarjuna Raya and the copper coins of Krishnadeva Raya depict Siva's mount, the Nandi, and Vishnu's mount Garuda respectively.

The coins of Krishnadeva Raya, Ramachandra Raya and Tirumala Raya are unique in the sense that they depict Vishnu's other forms. Sita-Rama, Balakrishna, Rama-Sita-Lakshmana are the three types that we come across on their gold coins.



Achutaraya’s coin shows Gandaberunda, which is associated with Sharabheswara, Siva’s form, who pacified Ugra Narasimha. This is in line with the previous observation on the development of other cults.

What makes the Aravidu coins distinct compared to the other three dynastic issues is the depiction of Venkateshwara on the obverse. The loyalty and praise to the family god, Venkateshwara, became a de-facto motif on their coins from then onwards. In the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE, a realignment took place in the region marked by the re-centring of political power in Chandragiri, Gingee, and Vellore, as the jagirs were bestowed by the Mughals. Towns such as Kondavidu and Venkatagiri were fortified by the Vijayanagara kings and remained under their control.



Fig. 2. Lord Venkateshwara standing

Kali Mili, in the present-day Nellore district, was a small kingdom ruled by the Gobbur Palayagars. These Palayagars were defeated by Venkatadri Naidu and the village was renamed Venkatagiri<sup>8</sup>, the Vaishnava name. During the rule of Pedda Yachama Naidu, Venkatagiri came under the control of Venkatapatideva Raya II who made these Recherla rulers shift their capital to Venkatagiri from Madurantakam.

The coins with the Venkateshwara motif with reverse legends “Venkatagirishwara” perhaps represent the authority of Venkatapatideva Raya II over Venkatagiri, while they also indirectly refer to Lord Venkateshwara, the dweller of Venkata hill (Venkatagiri). Tirumala hill is also called Venkatagiri as it is an abode of Lord Venkateshwara. Though the coin legends are clear, all the articles and books referred to these as a blundered or corrupted form of “Sri Venkateshwaraya Namaha”. Only those which have the complete legends “Sri Venkateshwaraya namaha” are shown in almost all the books, while the coins with the legend “Sri Venkatagirishwara” do not feature in them. This paper seeks to clear away this cloud of misrepresentation by reading the legends correctly and assigning them to Venkatapatideva Raya II.

While there exists Varāha or Hon (full unit, also known as Pagoda) and Pratāpa (half unit) denominations for ‘Sri Venkatagirishwara’ type, one can see too many die variations in them. This shows that the coins were widely circulated for trade for a longer period.

The second known variety of the Venkateshwara-type Hon is the one with the legends “Sri Venkateshwaraya Namaha”. The differentiating aspect of these coins is the frame or the arch within which Lord Venkateshwara is standing. Also, the legends are in a later form of the script. This kind of arch is seen on the later “Sri Venkatagirishwara” type. The legends on these later coins are also more degenerate. Hence they are assigned to the later period of Sri Ranga Raya II and successor (Ramadeva Raya II).

Also there exists yet another rare half unit of Pratāpa gold coins which has the ruler’s name ‘Sri Venkatapatideva’ inscribed on the reverse. The inscribed half pagodas with illegible legends on the reverse and with a standing Venkateshwara on the obverse are the later version of the above inscribed type and hence assigned to Venkatapatideva Raya III.

Under Venkatapatideva Raya II’s rule, the new Vijayanagara Empire was powerful and prosperous as the king dealt successfully with the Sultans of Golkonda and Bijapur. He also managed to restore order when the Nayakas of Gingee and Vellore rebelled against him and moved his capital to Vellore in 1592. In 1608, Venkatapatideva Raya II allowed the Dutch to set up their

factory at Pulicat. In 1639, the East India Company obtained the right from Venkatapatideva Raya III to strike coins from St George at Madras. Trade thrived during his rule. The Dutch India and British India coins with the Lord Venkateshwara motif are seen in abundance. The evolution of the image indicates that they were minted for a long period of time.

The weight standard of the coins is shown in the following table.

| No. | Denomination          | Unit | Weight |
|-----|-----------------------|------|--------|
| 1   | Hon                   | 1    | 3.4 g  |
| 2   | Pratāpa               | ½    | 1.7 g  |
| 3   | Kāti                  | ¼    | 0.85 g |
| 4   | Pana (Panam or Fanam) | 1/10 | 0.34 g |

Table 2: Gold coin standard

**Coin motifs**

Two types of obverse representations are seen in the early Aravidu dynastic coinage; one has Lord Venkateshwara standing within an ornate arch (see Fig. 3), and the other with the deity garlanded from crown down around his shoulder and body (see Fig. 4). For the last of the series the ‘Sridevi Bhudevi sameta Venkateshwara’ type is known (see Fig. 5). There is only one inscribed coin known so far for this type but with weak legends. Also there is an illustration in Tavernier’s<sup>9</sup> book that matches this type and is tagged to the Carnatic kingdom. As Tavernier’s fourth voyage coincided with the period of the last monarch’s rule and the inscribed legend is “Sri Ranga Raya”, it is safe to assume that the Three-Swamy Hons were current during Sri Ranga Raya III’s rule.

Based on all the above observations, each of the known coins is attributed accordingly, in the listing below.

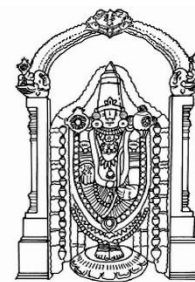


Fig. 3. Lord Venkateshwara standing within an ornate arch



Fig. 4. Lord Venkateshwara standing with a garland descending full-length from his crown

















Fig. 5. Sridevi and Bhudevi sameta Venkateshwara

















Fig. 6. Images from the Six Travels of Tavernier<sup>10</sup> book

The Catalogue (all dates AD/CE)<sup>11 12 13</sup>



| No. | Obverse   | Reverse   |
|-----|---|---|
| 1   |    |    |
|     | <p><b>Venkatapatideva Raya II</b> (1586-1614), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing within a decorated frame, with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Venkatagirishwara' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Double line separator.<br/>                     [Scan courtesy of Sri Navab Ednathil]</p>                                  |   |
| 2   |    |  |
|     | <p><b>Venkatapatideva Raya II</b> (1586-1614), Patapa, 1.7g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing within a decorated frame, with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katagiri/shwara' in Nagari, in 3 lines, Double line separator.<br/>                     [Scan courtes of M/S Todywalla auctions, Auction 94, Lot No. 105]</p> |   |
| 3   |    |  |
|     | <p><b>Venkatapatideva Raya II</b> (1586-1614), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing, with a flower garland covering his crown, and from his shoulder downwards (Shikhamani + Kantha sari). He has a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katagiri/shwara' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Single line separator.</p>                |   |









|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| 4 |   |    |
|   | <p><b>Venkatapatideva Raya II</b> (1586-1614), Pratapa, 1.7g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing, with a flower garland covering his crown, and from his shoulder downwards (Shikhamani + Kantha sari). He has a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katagiri/shwara' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Double line separator.<br/>                     [Scan courtesy of Chaganraj Jain]</p>                               |   |
| 5 |   |    |
|   | <p><b>Ramadeva Raya II</b> (1614-1632), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing within a decorated frame. He has a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> Legend imitating 'Sri Ven/katagiri/shwara' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Double line separator. Note: Degenerate legends suggest that this type may have been during the final part of the reign.</p>   |   |
| 6 |   |  |
|   | <p><b>Ramadeva Raya II</b> (1614-1632), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing below an arch, with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in the upper right hand. Lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katagiri/shwara' in Nagari, in 3 lines, separated by a single line.<br/>                     [Scan courtesy of Neeraj Agarwal]<br/>                     Note: the frame / arch has the later form, comparable to coins with legends "Sri Venkateshwaraya Namaha"</p> |   |
| 7 |   |  |
|   | <p><b>Sri Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara, standing within a decorated frame with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/kateshwara/ya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines, with a double line separator.</p>  |   |

|    |  |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|
| 8  |     |      | <p><b>Sri Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara, standing within a decorated frame with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katheshwara/ya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines, with double line separator<br/> <b>Note:</b> the instead of te, in the reverse legends</p>  |
| 9  |     |      | <p><b>Sri Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara, standing within a decorated frame with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katheshwara/ya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Single line separator<br/> <b>Note:</b> Sun and Moon symbol above the Shankh and Chakra<br/>         [Scan courtesy of Sri Chaganraj Jain]</p>  |
| 10 |   |    | <p><b>Sri Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara, standing within a decorated frame with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katheshwara/ya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Single line separator.</p>  |
| 11 |   |    | <p><b>Sri Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara, standing within a decorated frame with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katheshwara/ya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines, with a single line separator<br/>         [Scan courtesy of Sri Chaganraj Jain]<br/> <b>Note:</b> 'Sri' and other legends are of a later period, and this is the prototype for the pagodas of the Colonial rulers. Single line separator on the reverse compared to other Hons.</p> |
| 12 |    |    | <p><b>Sri Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Pratapa, 1.7g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing within a decorated frame, with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Ven/katheshwara/ya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines<br/> <b>Note:</b> Double line separator and Nagari words with a single header line parallel to the separator lines</p>   |
| 13 |    |    | <p><b>Sri Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Pratapa, 1.7g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing within a decorated frame, with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> 'Sri Venk/atadeva/ raya Ven/katapati' in Nagari, in 4 lines, without any separator lines.</p>  |
| 14 |   |   | <p><b>Sri Ranga Raya III</b> (1642-1646), Hon, 3.4g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing within a decorated frame, with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> Legends imitating - 'Sri Ven/katheshwara/ya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Single line separator.</p>  |
| 15 |  |  | <p><b>Sri Ranga Raya III</b> (1642-1646), Pratapa, 1.7g<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara standing within a decorated frame, with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br/> <i>Rev.:</i> Legends imitating - 'Sri Ven/katheshwara/ya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines.<br/>         [Scan courtesy of Todywalla Auctions, Auction 73, Lot 89]</p>  |
| 16 |  |  | <p><b>Sri Ranga Raya III</b> (1642-1646), Pratapa, 1.7g,<br/> <i>Obv.:</i> Lord Venkateshwara, standing within a decorated frame with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.</p>   |

|    |  |   |
|----|--|---|
|    | <b>Rev.:</b> Legends imitating - 'Sri Venkateshwaraya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Single line separator.  |   |
| 17 |   |    |
|    | <b>Sri Ranga Raya III</b> (1642-1646), Pratapa, 1.7g<br><b>Obv.:</b> Lord Venkateshvara, standing within a decorated frame with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower hands show Mudra.<br><b>Rev.:</b> Legends imitating - 'Sri Venka/teshwaraya namaha' in Nagari, in 3 lines. Single line separator.<br><b>Note:</b> Tavernier's illustration of the figure and the date of his fourth voyage coincide with this reign.   |   |
| 18 |   |    |
|    | <b>Sri Ranga Raya III</b> (1642-1646), Hon, 3.4g<br><b>Obv.:</b> Lord Venkateshvara with Sri-Devi and Bhudevi within a decorated frame. Lord is seen with a Shankh in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower right hand shows Mudra and lower left hand has Gada. Sri-devi and Bhudevi are holding Padma in one of their hands<br><b>Rev.:</b> Partially legible legends - 'Sri / Ranga ra / yaru' in Nagari, in 3 lines, Double line separator.<br><b>Note:</b> Tavernier's illustration of the figure and the date of his fourth voyage coincide with this reign. |   |
| 19 |   |  |
|    | <b>Feudatory issues: (Post Aravidu period)</b><br><b>Obv.:</b> Lord Venkateshvara with Sri-devi and Bhudevi standing within a decorated frame. The Lord is seen with a Shankha in his upper left hand and a Chakra in his upper right hand. His lower right hand shows Mudra and his lower left hand has a Gada. Sri-devi and Bhudevi are holding Padma in one of their hands.<br><b>Rev.:</b> Sri Pra/ kahsa sa / sashiva in Nagari in 3 lines with a single-line separator.<br><b>Note:</b> Perhaps Keladi Nayakas issue<br>[Illustration courtesy of Marudhar Auctions]                       |   |

**Fanams**

|    | Obverse  | Reverse   |
|----|--|---|
| 20 |   |  |
|    | <b>Venkatapatideva Raya II</b> (1586-1614), Fanam, 0.34g<br><b>Obv.:</b> Urdhva Pundra Nāmam with, on either side, shankha and chakra, Vaishnavite symbols.<br><b>Rev.:</b> 'Sri Ven/katagiri/shwara' in Nagari, in 3 lines. |   |

|    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 21 |   |    |
|    | <b>Sri Ramadeva Raya II</b> (1614-1632), Fanam, 0.34 g<br><b>Obv.:</b> Urdhva Pundra Nāmam with, on either side, shankha and chakra, Vaishnavite symbols.<br><b>Rev.:</b> 'Sri Ven/katagiri/shwara' in Nagari, in 3 lines.  |   |
| 22 |   |    |
|    | <b>Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Fanam, 0.34g<br><b>Obv.:</b> Urdhva Pundra Nāmam with, on either side, shankha and chakra, Vaishnavite symbols.<br><b>Rev.:</b> 'Sri Ven/kata(pa)thi /raya(ru)' in Nagari, in 3 lines. [Scan courtesy of Pramod Vernekar]  |   |
| 23 |   |    |
|    | <b>Sri Venkatapatideva Raya III</b> (1632-1642), Fanam, 0.34 g<br><b>Obv.:</b> Urdhva Pundra Nāmam with, on either side, shankha and chakra, Vaishnavite symbols.<br><b>Rev.:</b> Sun and Crescent beside a Hoysala lion motif.   |   |
| 24 |   |  |
|    | <b>Sri Ranga Raya III</b> (1642-1646), Fanam, 7 mm, 0.34 g<br><b>Obv.:</b> Hoysala fanam motif, stylised lion with Urdhva Pundra Nāmam with a sun and moon on either side<br><b>Rev.:</b> Legends 'Sri Ranga/rayaru' in Kannada, in 2 lines. Chakra symbol above<br>[Scan courtesy of Sri K.Ganesh] <sup>14</sup> |   |

**Reference and Acknowledgement**

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**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> Prabhu.sanoor@gmail.com
- <sup>2</sup> Vijayanagara gold coins come in 3.4 g, 1.7 g and 0.85 g weights, and are known as Pagoda or Varaha or Hon, Pratapa and Kati respectively.
- <sup>3</sup> MG. Manjunatha, GK. Devaraja Swamy, *Kannada Lipi Shastra*, Kannada Sahitya Parishatthu, Bangalore, 2004,
- <sup>4</sup> Robert Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire (Vijayanagar)*, *A Contribution to the History of India*, 1901
- <sup>5</sup> Vasundhara Fillionat, *Vijayanagar as seen by Dornigos Paes and Fernao Nuniz*, National Book Trust, India, 1977
- <sup>6</sup> All dates in this article are CE/AD

<sup>7</sup> Rāya means king or the ruler. In the case of Vijayanagara, all the rulers have the Rāya suffix.

<sup>8</sup> Alladi Jagannatha Sastri: *Family History of Venkatagiri Rajas*, Madras Adison Press, 1922,

<sup>9</sup> J.P.Tavernier, *Six Travels of John Baptista Tavernier*, London, 1678

<sup>10</sup> J.P.Tavernier: *Six Travels of John Baptista Tavernier*, London, 1678

<sup>11</sup> C.J. Brown: *The Coins of India*, A E Services, 1999, 1922,

<sup>12</sup> M. Mitchiner: *The Coinage & History of South India, Part 1 Karnataka-Andhra*, Hawkins Publications, September 1998, UK

<sup>13</sup> K. Ganesh: *Studies in Vijayanagar Coins*, Bangalore, 2009

<sup>14</sup> *Studies in Vijayanagar Coins*, 2009, Bangalore, p96

## NEW DATA ABOUT THE OTTOMAN MINTING IN SOUTH CAUCASIAN REGION IN THE END OF 16<sup>th</sup> – BEGINNING OF 17<sup>th</sup> c.

By David Aleksanyan and Dmitriy Yanov

### 1. Introduction

Through this article we would like to continue introducing the new numismatic evidences of Ottoman minting in the Kingdom of K'akheti, known only according to the written sources previously, that has been started by Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Gogava recently<sup>1</sup>.

The issue of possible production of coins in K'akheti with the name of the Ottoman sultan, not only of the Safavid shah, has been raised by Irakli Paghava. For the first time in the numismatic literature he adduced the testimony of Ottoman chronicler Ibrahim Rahimzade<sup>2</sup>. Still Ottoman coins struck at Zagemi and Kakhed mints were unknown.

In 2015-2016 I. Paghava and G. Gogava managed to collect data about coin discoveries, that not only confirmed the Ottoman chronicler's testimony about minting in the name of Murad III (1574-1595) at K'akheti, but also demonstrated that this minting continued under the reign of his son, Mehmed III (1595-1603)<sup>3</sup>.

However, it should be noted that the Ottoman coins minted in K'akheti, have been published earlier, but because of very poor state of preservation and small number of known specimens it was almost impossible to read the inscriptions, and therefore they were identified as Safavid issues. One silver coin of Kakhed mint was published by Paghava and Gabashvili. According to them it was minted in the name of the Safavid Shah Mohammad Khudabandah<sup>4</sup>. Later in Paghava and Gogava's article this coin was reattributed as Ottoman currency struck in Mehmed III's reign<sup>5</sup>.

Two coins from our list (Nos. 17, 18) struck at Kakhed mint during Mehmed III's reign, have already been published by one of the authors of this article together with Hakobyan in an article devoted to the Ganja hoard. There the argument that these coins were issued in the name of the Safavid Shah Ismail I (1501-1524) was made<sup>6</sup>.

In this article we introduce eight types of Ottoman coins minted in K'akheti, at the Zagemi and Kakhed mints – among them five types (II, III, VII, VIII, IX) are analogous to those described by Paghava and Gogava (type No. 2 of Murad III, Zagemi, described by Paghava and Gogava<sup>7</sup>, is close to the subtypes III.1 and III.2 from our list; although it slightly differs in the writing of the mint name on the reverse, we can state that these coins are different subtypes of the same type, and type VIII is close to type 3 of Mehmed III, Zagemi, from their article<sup>8</sup>), the other three types (I, X, XI) have been unknown previously. At the same time, two types, described by Paghava and Gogava (Mehmed III, Zagemi, № 1 and Mehmed III, Kakhed, No. 1)<sup>9</sup>, are absent in our list. Thus, ten types of the Ottoman coins minted in K'akheti are known at the present time: three types of Murad III struck at Zagemi mint, three types of Mehmed III struck at Zagemi mint and four types of Mehmed III struck at Kakhed mint.

We have managed to read some legends that have not been preserved on the coins published by Paghava and Gogava. Nevertheless, the issue of recognizing the legends on known types is still unresolved, because, unfortunately, some legends are illegible, and some readings offered in this article remain doubtful.

Apart from Kakhed and Zagemi mints, some coins issued by the Ottomans at the other mints of the South Caucasian region, – Derbent, Shamakhi and Ganja, – are represented in this article. According to the information that we were able to gather, the subtypes XII.1 and XII.2 have not been published previously. We also included in our list some Ottoman coins with uncertain mint, that were also found in the South Caucasian region (type VI, No. 11, type XIV, No. 32, type XV, No. 33).

Unlike Zagemi and Kakhed mints, the production of coins at other mints located in Safavid territories, captured by the Ottomans, has been previously recognized. In Murad III's reign, coins were struck at Demirkapy (Derbent), Revan (Yerevan), Tabriz, Ganja (Gence) and Shamakhi mints. During Mehmed III's reign the Ottomans continued to strike coins at Revan, Tabriz (only gold coins are known), Ganja and Shamakhi mints, and also started minting at Shirvan and Nakhchivan mints<sup>10</sup>.

### 2. Finds of coins

We managed to gather information about the discoveries of two hoards in the city of Balakən (former Belokany) in Western Azerbaijan: coins № 10-15, 17-18 were in the first hoard, and coins № 19, 20, 22, 23, 25-27 were in the second hoard. Coin № 4 was found in the vil. Igoeti in Eastern Georgia. The rest of coins were also found in Balakən, but we don't know exactly whether they are isolated findings or came from complexes. All data about these locations were obtained from the testimonies of persons who found these coins.

Judging by the weight of coins and design of types, the denomination of all coins from our list is the dirhem (dirham), known in written sources as *shahi* or *padişahi*. These coins were minted in the Eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire, annexed by the Ottomans as a result of the conquests of Selim I (1512-1520), Suleiman I (1520-1566) and Murad III. Dirhems were minted according to the local weight standards, which differed from the Ottoman ones, based on the akche. In the Ottoman Empire, this denomination was introduced during Suleiman I's reign, but according to some scholars – during Selim I's reign, in 1513 or 1515/1516. The weight of these coins was initially 4.6-4.7 g (1 *misqal*)<sup>11</sup>. However, it should be noted that the metrology of these coins has not been studied enough<sup>12</sup>.

The devaluation of the akche, the basic silver currency of the Ottoman Empire, that took place in 1584-1586 during the Murad III's reign, also caused a gradual decrease in the weight of dirhems<sup>13</sup>. This fact explains the quite wide weight range of this denomination, especially notable for Mehmed III's dirhems: their average weight ranging from 1.80 to 2.80 g<sup>14</sup>. The dirhems minted in K'akheti – those ones published by Paghava and Gogava (where the weight of Mehmed III's coins ranged from 1.11 to 2.10 g), as well as the coins from our list, also demonstrate such a wide weight range.

### 3. Operation of Zagemi mint in the light of Ottoman-Safavid confrontation in the end of 16<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> c.

Thus, according to Ibrahim Rahimzade's testimony, during the Ottoman campaign under the command of Mustafa Lala-Pasha in 1578, Alexander II, King of K'akheti, declared himself a vassal of sultan Murad III. The name of the sultan was placed on the coins issued in K'akheti (*sikkah*) and acknowledged in the Friday sermons (*khutbah*)<sup>15</sup>. Still, Paghava assumed, that as the *khutbah* was hardly feasible in the Christian country, the mention of *sikkah* and *khutbah* might be nothing more than a literary turn of phrase, which described Alexander's submission to the Ottoman sultan<sup>16</sup>.

Soon, probably in the same 1578, Alexander went over to the Safavids' side again. Paghava and Turkia published for the first time the coins of the Safavid Shah Mohammad Khodabanda struck at Zagemi mint. The dated coins were issued in AH 987, 988, and 989 (1579/80, 1580/81, 1581/82). They are the evidence that Alexander became the vassal of the Safavid Shah again<sup>17</sup>. In

addition to silver currency, there are also the copper coins, struck at Zagemi mint in AH 993 (1585), from the Ganja hoard, with a design similar to some Iranian city copper types<sup>18</sup>. Thus, we can state that Alexander remained loyal to the Safavids until at least 1585.

However, according to the Istanbul Peace Treaty of AH 998 (1590), the territory of K'akheti was assigned to the Ottomans. The coins published by Paghava and Gogava<sup>19</sup> indicate the renewal of the Ottoman minting in Zagemi during Mehmed III's reign, although it is possible that the coins in the name of Murad III were minted in Zagemi not only in 1578, but also from 1590 to 1595.

Apparently, the Ottoman coins were issued at Zagemi and Kakhed mints until AH 1011 (1602/03), when Alexander certified his fidelity to the Safavids again, coming to Shah Abbas I, who besieged Yerevan, and presenting him with the gold coins minted in K'akheti (still not discovered)<sup>20</sup>.

Considering that cutting of the dies and striking of the coins with the name of Shah Abbas I took some time and the fact that Alexander of K'akheti already sent his envoys with many gifts to the Shah between 1596 and 1597<sup>21</sup>, it is possible that the minting of the Ottoman coins in the name of Mehmed III could be quite short-term.

#### 4. Discussion of chronology and location of Kakhed mint

The coins struck at the Kakhed mint (this mint name indicates the entire province – K'akheti, as opposed to Zagemi mint – the name of the capital of K'akheti), as well as the copper coins of Zagemi, were first introduced to the numismatic literature recently in the publication of the Ganja hoard. In this publication, the Kakhed mint was located presumably in Zagemi – the only known mint with exact localization. This presumption is based on the tradition of minting centralization in the Georgian states of that period, as well as on the fact that Zagemi (known in Georgian and Russian sources as *Bazari*) was the political and the largest trade and craft centre of K'akheti. At the same time, the authors also admitted another possibility for the Kakhed mint localization – in Gremi, the second important city of K'akheti, but this was considered as less probable<sup>22</sup>. The authors also proposed to date the period of minting activity of Kakhed mint from the time of the proclamation of Levan Bagrationi as King of K'akheti in AH 924 (1518) till the beginning of minting of the silver coins bearing the mint name Zagemi in the early AH 960's (1550's), i.e., the time when Kakhed mint was renamed to Zagemi<sup>23</sup>.

Paghava and Gabashvili, on the basis of silver coin of the Kakhed mint, which they attributed to the reign of Safavid shah Muhammad Khudabandah (1578-1588), concluded that the coins of Kakhed and Zagemi was issued more or less simultaneously. Consequently, minting of coins with different mint names (the whole province and the city) in one place seemed doubtful, so they suggested locating Kakhed mint in Gremi. However, they have not excluded the possibility that only Zagemi mint issued coins, both indicating name of the city and the entire province<sup>24</sup>.

As we have already mentioned, later this coin was attributed to Mehmed III's reign<sup>25</sup>. Still, Paghava and Gabashvili's version about the simultaneous minting of Zagemi and Kakhed mints remains correct. Mehmed III's coins demonstrate that the names of both Kakhed and Zagemi mints have been used in quite a narrow chronological frame from 1595 till 1602/03 (or even earlier). Sometimes the Ottoman coins minted in the same place bore different mint names – the name of the city and province<sup>26</sup> (Shirvan and Shemakha, Misr and Cairo, Bosna and Saray)<sup>27</sup>. In addition, we should take into account the difference in the design of Zagemi and Kakhed types. Thus, we think that the Ottoman coins minted in K'akheti confirm to some extent the assumption expressed in the publication of the Ganja hoard – that Kakhed mint was located in Zagemi.

The appearance of the entire province name – Kakhed, could occur for the same reasons as the appearance of the name of Shirvan province. As we have mentioned, during Murad III's reign only the coins of Shamakhi mint were issued, and during Mehmed III's reign the coins of both Shamakhi and Shirvan mints were

issued. These coins have different designs of types, as well as Zagemi and Kakhed coins. Perhaps the use of the entire provinces names – Kakhed and Shirvan under Mehmed III's reign arose from the need to demonstrate the Ottoman conquest of the whole region, and not just a control over some cities. That is why, for K'akheti the Ottomans used the mint name that occurred on the earlier issues of copper coins – Kakhed. However, this is only an assumption, so the reasons why these coins bore different mint names still have to be ascertained.

#### 5. Conclusions

In conclusion, it should be noted that research on the copper and silver issues of K'akheti of the period after the disintegration of the united Georgian state has been advanced only recently. The published coins allow not only the classification of the coin types, but also they are an important source for the history of the region in this period, as far as they represent the legal status and political orientation of K'akheti in circumstances of the Ottoman-Safavid confrontation. Despite a long and exhausting campaign under Murad III's reign, the Ottoman Empire could not become firmly established on the recently conquered territories. The short-term period of Ottoman control over K'akheti explains the small number of issues at Zagemi and Kakhed mints.

#### The list and description of coins

##### Murad III (1574-1595)

##### Zagemi

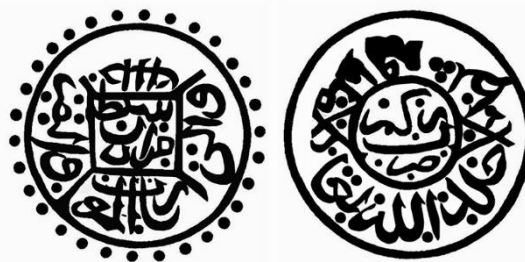


Fig. 1. Type I.

I. Obverse: within square cartouche – سلطان مراد (*sultan Murad*).

The legend around the cartouche divided into four sectors. Below – the legend is partly erased, probably ضارب (?), ضارب (?), ضارب (?), ضارب (?); at the left – والنصر; above – صاحب في البر; at the right – والبحر (*striker (of the glittering) of might and victory, master on the land and sea*).

The word النضر (*glittering*) is probably missed, as the word ضارب (*striker*) has always been used in the phrase ضارب النضر (*striker of the glittering*). This legend is close to the phrase that can be seen on all golden Ottoman coins of this period and some silver dirhems: ضارب النضر صاحب العز والنصر في البر والبحر (*Striker of the glittering, master of might and victory on the land and sea*).

Reverse: within round cartouche with triangles at left and right – ضرب زكم (*struck of Zagemi*), the legend around – ملكه و سلطانه (*May the mighty God make his reign and sultanate everlasting*).



1. AR, 1.90 g, 19-20 mm.



2. AR, 1.87 g, 19-21 mm.



3. AR, 1.90 g, 18-19 mm.



4. AR, unknown weight and size. Punctured. The letter ز of the mint name is above the legend in the cartouche (mint name is written as ز کم)



5. AR, 2.13 g, 18.0-18.7, the letter ك in the mint name is turned left.

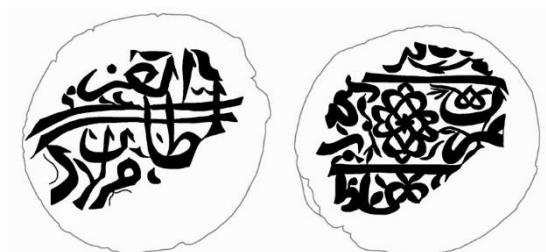


Fig. 2. Type II.

II. Obverse: the legend in tugra:

(صاحب العز)

سلطان مراد

(و النصر في البر و البحر؟)

(Sultan Murad. Master of might on the land and sea). The order of lines does not coincide with the translation.

Reverse: in center – the ornament, at the right – ضرب (struck), at the left – ز کم (of Zagemi), above – (؟) خلد ملكه, below – و سلطانه (May his reign and sultanate be everlasting). In Paghava and Gogava's article – Murad III, Zagemi, type 1<sup>28</sup>.



6. AR, 3.1 g, 18 mm.

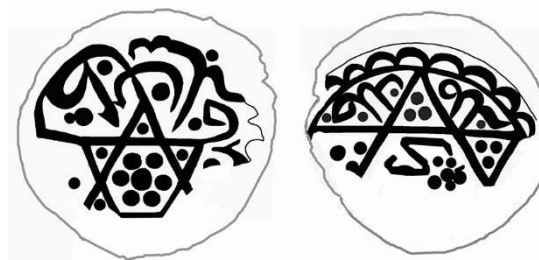


Fig. 3. Subtype III.1.

III.1. Obverse: hexagonal star, in center – flower formed by 7 points, the legend around – سلطان مراد بن سلطان سليم خان ((Sultan Murad) son of sultan Selim khan).

Reverse: hexagonal star, in center – ضرب ز کم في (struck of Zagemi), at the right – flower formed by 6 points. The legend above (turned) – خلد ملكه (May his reign be everlasting). The legend below is erased.



7. AR, 2.4 g, 20-25 mm.

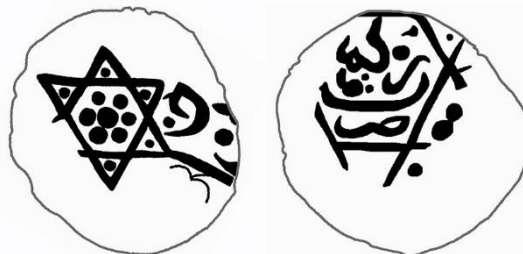


Fig. 4. Subtype III.2.

III.2. Probably Murad III. Close to previous type.

Obverse: hexagonal star, in center – flower formed by 7 points. The legend around is almost erased, probably similar to the legend of previous type. The word خان (khan) retained.

Reverse: hexagon star, in center – ضرب ز کم (struck of Zagemi).

Between the letters ب and کم – flower formed by 5 points.

As we have mentioned, both III.1. and III.2. subtypes are absent in Paghava and Gogava's article, but they are close to their type 2 of Murad III, Zagemi<sup>29</sup>.



8. AR, 2.0 g, 18-20 mm.

**Şamahi**

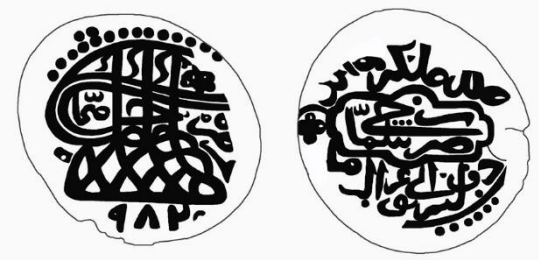


Fig. 5. Type IV.

IV. Obverse: the legend in tugra (the beginning of legend is depicted conventionally as a grid) – مراد بن سليم خان المظفر دائما – نصره (Murad, son of Selim khan, forever victorious), at the right – نصره عز (may his victory be glorious), the accession date below – ٩٨٢ (982).

Reverse: within a lozenge shaped cartouche – ضرب سماخي (struck of Şamahi), above – خلد الله ملكه (و سلطانا) نه؟ ايد – الزمان (؟) – دولته...و...؟) على (ا)خر (May his reign and sultanate be everlasting and his state upon be powerful untill the end of time)<sup>30</sup>.



9. AR, 2.5 g, 26-28 mm.

**Derbent (Demirkapi)**

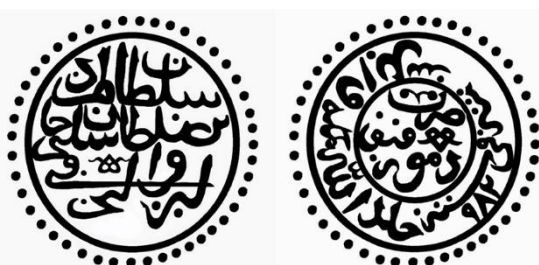


Fig. 6. Type V.

V. Obverse:  
سلطان مراد

بن سلطان سليم خان  
في

البر و البحر

(Sultan Murad, son of sultan Selim khan, on the land and sea).

The last letter ي of the word في (in) is stretched.

Reverse: within round cartouche – دمورقيو، the legend around –

٩٨٢ (may God make his reign everlasting and his sultanate powerful, in the year 982)



10. AR, 3.5 g, 18-20 mm.

**Unknown mint**

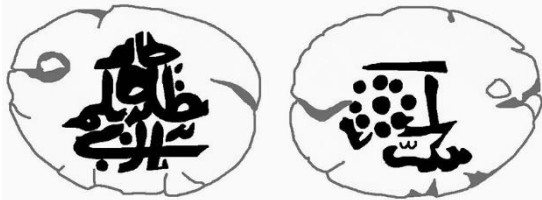


Fig. 7. Type VI.

VI. Obverse:

سلطان مراد

(بن سلطان خان سليم

في؟)

(البر و البحر؟)

(Sultan Murad, son of sultan khan Selim, (on the land and sea ?)). The legend below is almost erased.

Reverse: The legend is almost erased, overstruck – flower formed by 9 (?) points.



11. AR, 2.6 g, 1.8-2.3 mm.

Mehmed III (1595-1603)  
Zagemi

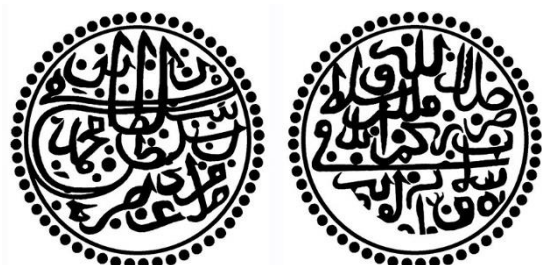


Fig. 8. Type VII.



VII. Obverse: the legend in a tugra – بن سلطان مراد خان (عز نصره - *Sultan Mehmed, son of sultan Murad khan. May his victory be glorious*).

Reverse: خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ايد ضرب زکم في (May God make his reign and sultanate everlasting and powerful. Struck of Zagemi in...). The last letter ي of the word في (in) is stretched. We could not identify the whole legend below, probably it is the accession date (AH 1003) or the minting date: (سنة (ع) ... و ... (ثلاث الف (ع) of thousand and three ?).

In Paghava and Gogava's article – Mehmed III, Zagemi, type 2<sup>31</sup>.



17. AR, 1.78 g, 22.6-27 mm.

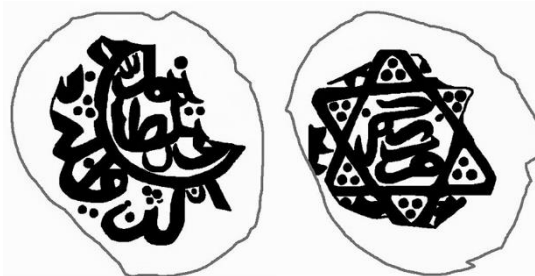


Fig. 9. Type VIII.



12. AR, 1.57 g, 22.4-26.5 mm. The coin has a fracture.



13. AR, 1.69 g, 20-23.1 mm.



14. AR, 1.71 g, 20.7-24.7 mm.



15. AR, 1.73 g, 23-24 mm. Double struck.



16. AR, 1.75 g, 21.7-23.6 mm.

VIII. Probably Mehmed III.

Obverse: within round cartouche:

محمد (ع)

سلطان

خان

(Mehmed (?) sultan khan).

The legend around – (خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ع) (May God make his reign and sultanate everlasting).

Reverse: hexagon star, in center – ضرب زکم في (struck of Zagemi)

Close to type 3 of Mehmed III, Zagemi in Paghava and Gogava's article, but the obverse legend slightly differs: instead of the word خان (khan) below – the letter ن of the word سلطان (sultan)<sup>32</sup>.



18. AR, 1.92 g, 20-23.6 mm.

Kakhed

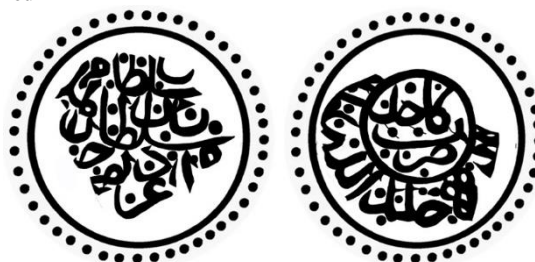


Fig. 10. Type IX.

IX. Obverse: the legend is close to the inscription in tugra:

سلطان محمد

بن سلطان

مراد خان عز نصره

(Sultan Mehmed, son of Murad khan. May his victory be glorious).

Reverse: within round cartouche – ضرب كاخذ (struck of Kakhed).

The legend around – (و سلطانه ؟) خلد الله ملكه... (May God make his reign (and sultanate ?) everlasting). The ornament separates the beginning and end of the legend.

In Paghava and Gogava's article – Mehmed III, Kakhedi, type 2<sup>33</sup>.



19. AR, 2.15 g, 20.5-27 mm.



20. AR, 2.19 g, 20-23 mm.

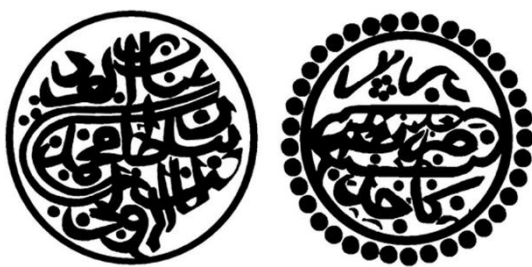


Fig. 11. Type X.

X. Obverse: legend in tughra:

صاحب العز (؟)

سلطان محمد

و النصر (؟)

في البر و البحر

(Sultan Mehmed. Master of might on the land and sea). The order of lines does not coincide with the translation.

Reverse: within lozenge shaped cartouche – ضرب (struck), above

– (عز نصره ؟) (may his victory be glorious.), below – كاخذ (of

Kakhed).



21. AR, 2.04 g, 16.4-20 mm.



22. AR, 1.90 g, 16.3-17.4 mm.



23. AR, 2.0 g., 17.5-18.2. Double struck on the reverse.

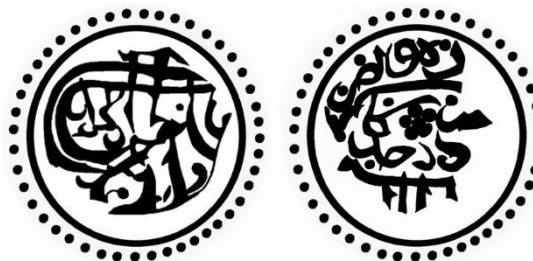


Fig. 12. Type XI.

XI. Type with the mint name Kakhed written vertically.

Obverse: the legend in tughra: (بن مراد خان ؟) سلطان محمد... (Sultan Mehmed, (son of Murad khan ?)).

Reverse: within the lines of a cartouche – flower formed by 5 points, at the left – كاخذ (of Kakhed), at the right – ضرب ... د (؟) (struck...) (we could not identify the whole legend). The legend above – (عز ابد و نصره ؟) (may his victory and power be glorious ?). The legend below is almost erased.



24. AR, 2.10 g, 18.7-19 mm.



25. AR, 2.11 g, 16.7-19 mm. The obverse legend is in mirror. The writing of the name Mehmed is much barbarized.

Ganja (Gence)

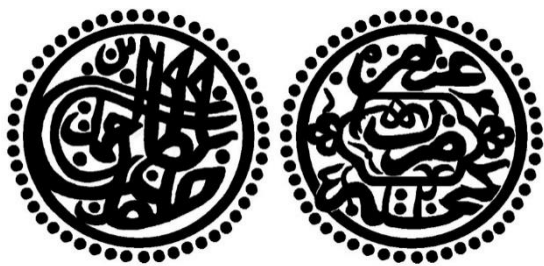


Fig. 13. Subtype XII.1.

XII.1. Obverse: the legend in tughra: سلطان محمد بن مراد خان (?) (sultan Mehmed son of Murad khan ?). The writing of the name Mehmed differs from the usual way of writing on the Ottoman coins and looks like the name Ahmed (احمد). The writing of his father's name and title is barbarized. The word بن (son) is situated at the left above the tughra.  
 Reverse: within a lozenge shaped cartouche with the ornaments at the right and at the left – ضرب (struck), above the letter ب – the ornament. The legend above – عز نصره – (may his victory be glorious), below – كنجة ١٠٠٣ (Ganja. 1003). The letter ð of the mint name is stretched, the date is situated above it. The zeroes of the date are situated vertically.



26. AR, 2.50 g, unknown size.



27. AR, 2.41 g, 20.6-21.8 mm.



28. AR, 2.41 g, 19.5-20.5 mm. Only the last part of the mint name (the stretched letter ð) and date has been retained. To judge from the retained legend, this coin belongs to the same type as the previous one.



29. AR, 2.34 g, 19.5-21.2.

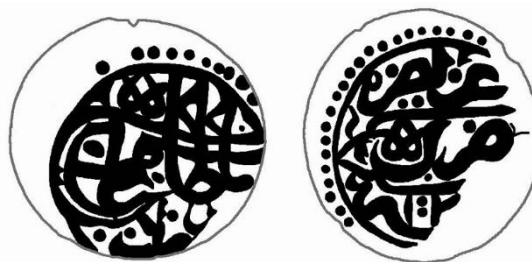


Fig. 14. Subtype XII.2.

XII.2. Obverse: similar to the previous type, but instead of the word بن (son) at the left above the tughra – the ornament. The writing of the name Mehmed is closer to standard.  
 Reverse: similar to the previous type, the mint name has retained partly. As the previous specimen, we attribute this type to Ganja mint as well.



30. AR, 2.54 g, 19.8-20.5 mm.

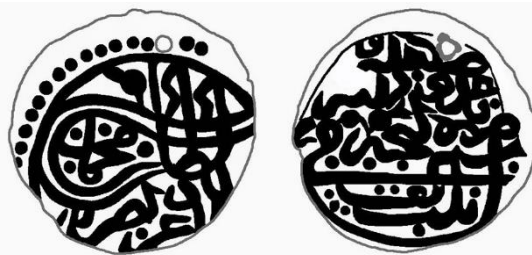


Fig. 15. Type XIII.

XIII. Obverse: the legend in tughra: محمد (بن مراد) خان عز نصره (Sultan Mehmed, son of Murad khan. May his victory be glorious).

Reverse:

خلد ملكه (?)

... و دولته (?)

ضرب كنجة في

ثلث (الف)

(May his reign... and state be everlasting. Struck of Ganja in thousand and third (AH 1003 – the accession date)). The letter و of the word دولته (state) is above the first line of the legend. The last letter ي of the word في (in) is stretched. We could not identify the first word in the second line<sup>34</sup>.



31. AR, 2.40 g, 25 mm.

**Unknown mint**

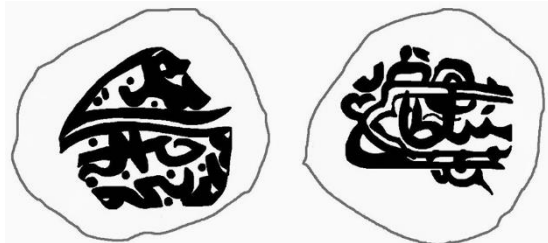


Fig. 16. Type XIV.

XIV. Probably, Mehmed III.

Obverse: the legend in double liner cartouche (or in tugra ?):

صما حب البر ؟

و البحر ؟

(Master of the land and sea ?).

The legend above – ؟ (محمد) (Mehmed ?).

But this version of attribution can be incorrect.

Reverse: within double liner cartouche – سلطان (sultan). We could not identify the erased legend around.



Coin 32. AR, 1.8 g, 21-24 mm.

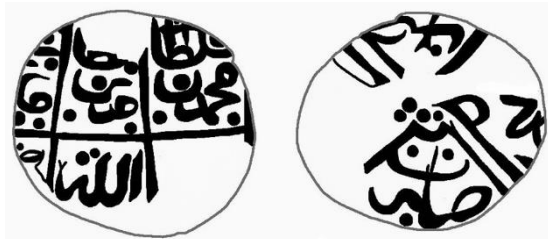


Fig. 17. Type XV.

XV. Probably, Mehmed III.

Obverse: The legend is divided into 6 square sectors. In upper right sector – سلطان محمد (sultan Mehmed), in upper central sector – ؟ (بن سلطان مراد) (son of sultan Murad ?), in lower right sector – ؟ (خلد), in lower central sector – الله, in lower left sector – ؟ (ملكه), in upper left sector – ؟ (سلطانه) (May God make his

reign and sultanate everlasting ?).

Reverse: Two crossed double lines divide the legend into 4 sectors. In center – some points, maybe an ornament. The legend

below – ضارب, at the left – ؟ (النضر), above – (ص)احب, at the right – (البر) (وا)لبحر – (striker of the glittering, master on the land and sea).



33. AR, unknown weight and size.

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<sup>4</sup> Paghava Irakli, Gabashvili Goga. “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhed” in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?”. *Journal of Oriental Numismatic Society* 223 (Spring 2015): 20, fig. 2.

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<sup>6</sup> Акопян Александр, Алексанян Давид, “Тянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства” [The Ganja Hoard and Copper Coins of the Kingdom of Kakhet' i], *Этиграфия Востока XXXI* (2015): 169-170. (In Russian).

<sup>7</sup> ფალავა, გოგავა, “კახეთის სამეფოში გამოშვებული ოსმალური მონეტები” [Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti], 254-255.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 255-256.

<sup>10</sup> Damali Atom, *Osmanli sikkeleri tarihi. History of Ottoman coins*. Vol. 4 (Istanbul: Nilüfer Damali Education, Culture and Environment Foundation, 2011), 1156, 1281. (In Turkish and English).

<sup>11</sup> Maxim Mihai. “O lupta monetară în sec. al XVI-lea: pađiđahi contra aspru”. *Cercetări numismatice* V (1983): 133-137. (In Romanian).

<sup>12</sup> Boldureanu Ana, *Moneda Otomană în Moldova (1512-1603)* (Chişinău: Bons Offices SRL, 2013), 63. (In Romanian).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Damali. *Osmanli sikkeleri tarihi. History of Ottoman coins*, 1155-1156.

<sup>15</sup> Гусейн Фарах, *Османно-сефевидская война 1578-1590 гг. по материалам трудов османского летописца Ибрахима Рахимизаде [Ottoman-Safavid War 1578-1590 according to the materials of the Ottoman chronicler Ibrahim Rahimizade]* (Баку: Нурлан, 2005), 109. (In Russian).

<sup>16</sup> Paghava, “Chronicler’s Note on Minting Ottoman Coins in K'akheti (Eastern Georgia)”, 23; Пагава, Туркия, “Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)”, 111.

<sup>17</sup> Пагава, Туркия, “Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)”, 109-110.

<sup>18</sup> Акопян, Алексанян, “Тянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства”, 158-160.

<sup>19</sup> ფალავა, გოგავა, “კახეთის სამეფოში გამოშვებული ოსმალური მონეტები” [Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti], 255-257.

<sup>20</sup> Пагава, Туркия, “Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)”, 110.

<sup>21</sup> Hirotake Maeda, “Exploitation of the Frontier: The Caucasus Policy of Shah ‘Abbas I”, *Iran and the World in the Safavid Age* (London, New York: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2012), 474.

<sup>22</sup> Акопян, Алексанян, “Тянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства”, 155-156.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 153-154.

<sup>24</sup> Paghava, Gabashvili, “Silver Coinage Issued at “Kākhed” in the Kingdom of K'akheti (Georgia): When and Where Was This Mint Operating?”, 20-21.

<sup>25</sup> ფალავა, გოგავა, “კახეთის სამეფოში გამოშვებული ოსმალური მონეტები” [Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti], 256.

<sup>26</sup> The examples of some cases when the Oriental coins bore the name of whole province as a mint name are also described in the publication of Ganja hoard – Акопян, Алексанян, “Тянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства”, 153, прим. 13.

<sup>27</sup> Cf., for example, the list of Ottoman mints – Damali, *Osmanli sikkeleri tarihi. History of Ottoman coins*, 1126-1131.

<sup>28</sup> ფალავა, გოგავა, “კახეთის სამეფოში გამოშვებული ოსმალური მონეტები” [Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti], 254.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 254-255.

<sup>30</sup> Fraehn Christian Martin, “Il Chanorum seu Chulaguidarum numis commentationes duae” [Coins of Ilkhans and Khulaguids. Two comments], *Mémoires de L'academie impériale des sciences de Saint-Petersbourg. Sixième série. Sciences politiques, histoire et philologie* II (1834): 557, Tab. IV, № 15 (in Latin).

<sup>31</sup> ფალავა, გოგავა, “კახეთის სამეფოში გამოშვებული ოსმალური მონეტები” [Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of K'akheti], 255-256.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 256.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 257.

<sup>34</sup> Damali, *Osmanli sikkeleri tarihi. History of Ottoman coins*, 1214, № 13-GN-G1a-YY.

## THE FIRST RECORD ON COUNTERMARKING THE SILVER COINS IN THE KINGDOM OF KAKHETI

By Giorgi Gogava

### Introduction

The countermarking of coins was a common practice in Iran under the Safavid Dynasty and its vassal states. Its principle purpose was to extend the period of currency of the coins retrieved from circulation<sup>1</sup>. In this respect the process of countermarking was cheaper for the mints than re-minting the coins. Hence, it could serve as a source of income and this, obviously, encouraged the use of countermarking. Numismatic records show that countermarked coins were legalized by all the rulers of the Safavid Dynasty before the reign of Shah Abbas I. After his reign they became a rare exception<sup>2</sup>.

Typically, the information inscribed on the countermark indicated the legal circulation of the coin (using the term “عدل”- “legal”) or the maker of the countermark. In some cases, the name of the mint and the date of issue were also denoted<sup>3</sup>. Thus the inscription of the countermark could indicate a variety of circumstances and serve different purposes.

Recent discoveries show that this practice was also adopted in the Kingdom of Kakheti (Georgia) in the 16-17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The copper coins countermarked with the name of Zagem, a town in Kakheti (“Bazar” in the Georgian sources<sup>4</sup>), are already familiar to numismatists<sup>5</sup>. As an aside, we (Irakli Paghava and Giorgi Gogava) are working on a corpus of the latest numismatic discoveries made in the territory of the former city of Zagem (at present in the territory of Azerbaijan), particularly the emission and circulation of coins in the Kingdom of Kakheti in the 16-17<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The goal of the present paper is to bring to the attention of colleagues one of the interesting discoveries of the above-mentioned research. This discovery is a unique case in the history of Georgia, in particular, in the history of numismatics of the Kakheti Kingdom (16-17<sup>th</sup> centuries) released for the first time. This is a silver coin countermarked with the name of Zagem Mint (hereinafter the Zagem Countermark) (Fig. 1).

### Description

The above-mentioned silver coin together with a great number of numismatic materials was discovered in the territory of the former city of Zagem<sup>6</sup>. Other Zagem countermarks on silver coin have also been discovered lately. Among them there are instances where countermarks were used on Ottoman coins<sup>7</sup>. Many other novel discoveries will be published once the above-mentioned research is completed.

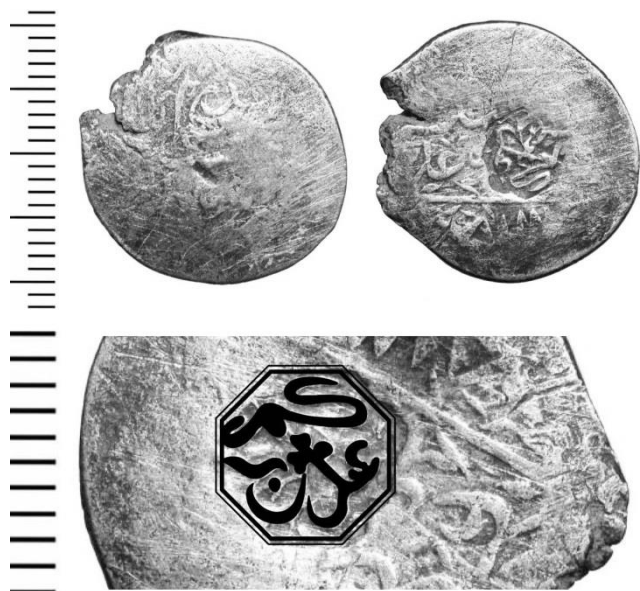


Fig. 1

The coin and countermark is shown in figure 1, AR, weight 3.44 g, size 21.5-19 mm, thickness 1.5 mm, die axis 4:30 o'clock – countermark size 7 mm.

Obv: fragments of the preserved graphemes (*in the Nasta'liq script*), but the legend is illegible.

Rev: the Shia formula fragments (*in Naskh script*), but the legend is illegible. – The countermark uses a punch with the following design: at the center a small tri-segment ornament in the center surrounded by circular inscription - عدل / ز / کم - (*the Ta'liq script*) all of which is contained in the outline of an octagon.

First of all, despite our desire to put forward an opinion about the coin with the unique countermark, unfortunately, the coin is very worn-out. However, the fragments of the graphemes preserved on it and the composition of the Shia formula in the *Naskh* style indicates the coins introduced by the Safavid Dynasty, in particular those of the time of Shah Abbas I (AH 995-1038/1588-1629)<sup>8</sup>. After comparison with a number of specimens, it might be considered as one of the coin types, the so-called “Second Standard” of Shah Abbas I (AH 1005-1038/1598-1629)<sup>9</sup>.

In terms of metrology the coin is of the appropriate standard, according to which the official nominal weight of a “Muhammadi” (*double shahi*) was 3.84g<sup>10</sup>. Taking into consideration the wear and tear of the coin as well as the relatively low actual weight of circulating coins compared to the theoretical weight<sup>11</sup> the difference of 0.40g between the actual and nominal weights of the coin is natural.

By determining the group the coin falls into, we can define the likely period and reasons of its countermarking. The countermark is of a traditional Persian style showing the influence of the Safavid dynasty. Georgian historiography is familiar with the common Safavid silver coin emissions of Zagem<sup>12</sup>. A considerable period of the Zagem mint's functioning coincides the period of circulation of the coins under consideration as well as the emission of coins by the heir of Shah Abbas I, Shah Safi I (AH 1038-1052/1629-1642) and later Shah Abbas II (AH 1052-1077/1642-1666)<sup>13</sup>. During their reign the silver weight standard introduced by Shah Abbas I was still used<sup>14</sup> and the main method for resumed circulation of coins was by means of countermarking<sup>15</sup>.

Thus, it is highly probable that the Zagem Countermark was made in the period AH 1005-1056 or 1066 (1598-1646/7 or 1655/6), i.e. sometime beginning with the monetary reform initiated by Shah Abbas I up to the last known period of the Zagem mint functioning<sup>16</sup>. The mentioned historical period was politically especially hard for Kakheti. The Kingdom of Kakheti contested by the Ottoman Empire and Iran desperately fought for independence. The historical and numismatic materials show that

the repeatedly destroyed and devastated capital city of Zagem<sup>17</sup> continued its existence and the ruling Kakhetian monarchs were periodically able to issue autonomous<sup>18</sup> coins. It should be noted that apart from the above-mentioned coins of Safavid type, in the period of the Ottoman occupation of the South Caucasus emission of the Ottoman coins in Kakhetian mints are also confirmed.

In relation to the recently discovered Zagem Countermark it should be noted that in the period under consideration not only in Kakheti but generally the Safavid or Ottoman countermarks on silver coins are not observed or are very rarely observed<sup>19</sup>.

### Conclusion

Discovery of this silver coin countermarked with the name of the Zagem Mint shows that in the 16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries the Kingdom of Kakheti maintained an autonomous monetary policy. In line with the economic and political circumstances, the mints issued coins and legalized circulating coins by means of countermarking.

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### Notes

- 1 Раджабли А. “Монетное дело Азербайджанского Государства Сефевидов” [*Minting in the Safavid State of Azerbaijan*], Баку, “Зия”, 2014, 52.
- 2 Album Stephen. *Checklist of Islamic Coins*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2011, 250.
- 3 Раджабли А. “Монетное дело Азербайджанского Государства Сефевидов” [*Minting in the Safavid State of Azerbaijan*], Баку, “Зия”, 2014, 53.
- 4 l. WilaSvili `kaxeTis qalaqebi~ [*Cities of K'akheti*], Tbilisi, gamotcemloba `mecniereba~, 1980, 157-181; Кутелия Т. “Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)” [*Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)*], Тбилиси, “Мецниереба”, 1979, 21.

- <sup>5</sup> Акопян А. Алексанян Д. “Гянджинский клад и медный чекан Кахетинского царства” [Ganja Hoard and Copper Coinage of the Kingdom of Kakheti], В сб.: Путиями средневековых монет: Археолого-нумизматический сборник памяти Алексея Владимировича Фомина. Москва, 2012.
- <sup>6</sup> I. WilaSvili `kaxeTis qalaqebi~ [Cities of K`akheti], Tbilisi, gamomcemloba `mecniereba~, 1980, 157-181.
- <sup>7</sup> We want to note that the issuance of Ottoman coin type in Europe and their local circulation has been proven; i. faRava, g. gogava `kaxeTis samefoSi gamoSvebuli osmaluri monetebi~ [Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of Kakheti], axlo aRmosavleTi da saqarTvelo, IX. 2016, 271-280;
- <sup>8</sup> Album Stephen. Checklist of Islamic Coins, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2011, 246.
- <sup>9</sup> The following weight standard is associated with “Second Standard” emissions: 1 toman=2000 nokhod. The said standard was applicable throughout the Shah Sefi I (AH 1038-1052) rule and in the early years of the reign of Shah Abbas II (AH 1052-1077); Album Stephen. Checklist of Islamic Coins, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2011, 250-251.
- <sup>10</sup> Album Stephen. Checklist of Islamic Coins, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2011, p. 250.
- <sup>11</sup> Раджабли А. “Монетное дело Азербайджанского Государства Сефевидов” [Minting in the Safavid State of Azerbaijan], Баку, “Зия”, 2014, 91-95; Zeno Oriental Coins Database, #53482; #537211; #39836; #85065; #160116...
- <sup>12</sup> Кутелия Т. “Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)” [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)], Тбилиси, “Мецниереба”, 1979, 15-16.
- <sup>13</sup> i. faRava `sefianeTan saqarTvelos urTierTobis istoriidan \_ kaxeTis qalaqi bazari (zagemi) XVII-XVIII saukuneebSi (numizmatikuri da werilobiTi monacemebiT)~, [On the Safavid-Georgian Relations: City of Bazari (Zagemi) in K`akheti in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c. (According to Numismatic and Written Data)], axlo aRmosavleTi da saqarTvelo VII, 2012, 191-199.
- <sup>14</sup> Album Stephen. Checklist of Islamic Coins, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2011, 251; Раджабли А. “Монетное дело Азербайджанского Государства Сефевидов” [Minting in the Safavid State of Azerbaijan], Баку, “Зия”, 2014, 115; In two years after Shah Abbas II came to power (AH 1054), the weight standard of the coins changed: 1 toman=1925 nokhod.
- <sup>15</sup> Раджабли А. “Монетное дело Азербайджанского Государства Сефевидов” [Minting in the Safavid State of Azerbaijan], Баку, “Зия”, 2014, 51-53.
- <sup>16</sup> i. faRava `sefianeTan saqarTvelos urTierTobis istoriidan – kaxeTis qalaqi bazari (zagemi) XVII-XVIII saukuneebSi (numizmatikuri da werilobiTi monacemebiT)~, [On the Safavid-Georgian Relations: City of Bazari (Zagemi) in K`akheti in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> c. (According to Numismatic and Written Data)], axlo aRmosavleTi da saqarTvelo VII, 2012, 196-198; Goron Stan “The Coinage of Safavid Ruler, Abbas II up to AH 1060-Part II”, Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter 178, 2004, 35-40.
- <sup>17</sup> I. WilaSvili `kaxeTis qalaqebi~ [Cities of K`akheti], Tbilisi, gamomcemloba `mecniereba~, 1980, 157-181.
- <sup>18</sup> Iskandar Munshi’s Data on Georgia; Кутелия Т. “Грузия и Сефевидский Иран (по данным нумизматики)” [Georgia and Safavid Iran (According to Numismatic Data)], Тбилиси, “Мецниереба”, 1979, 15-16; Пагава И. Туркиа С. “Новые данные о чеканке сефевидской монеты в царстве Кахети (Грузия)”. [New Data on Minting Safavid Coinage in the Kingdom of K`akheti (Georgia)] Расмир: Восточная нумизматика, 1-я международная конференция, ст. 105-112
- <sup>19</sup> i. faRava, g. gogava `kaxeTis samefoSi gamoSvebuli osmaluri monetebi~ [Ottoman Coins Issued in the Kingdom of Kakheti], axlo aRmosavleTi da saqarTvelo, IX. 2016, 271-280.

## A Coin Reconfirming Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh as Sultan of Bengal

By Stan Goron<sup>1</sup>, Md. Shariful Islam<sup>2</sup>, Md. Mosharrof Hossain<sup>3</sup>

Goron and Goenka (2001)<sup>4</sup> tentatively placed a coin (Fig. 1) preserved in the State Archaeological Museum, Calcutta bearing the legend *nāşir al-dunyā wa al dīn abū naşr maḥmūd* or *muḥammad al-sultān* under the list of coins of Nāşir al-Dīn

Maḥmūd Shāh (AH 832; 837-864). The ruler’s *ism* was not clear but it was noted that his *kunya*, *abū naşr*, did not occur on any known coin of Nāşir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, or of any other Bengal sultan except for the coins of Shams al-Dīn Muzaḥfar some 50 years later. In due course, another specimen (Fig. 2) was identified and published by Noman Nasir, Nicholas Rhodes and JP Goenka (2010)<sup>5</sup> which was different in type but with the same legends on the obverse. The obverse legend included the *kunya*, *abū naşr*, and was clear enough to determine that the ruler’s *ism* was Muḥammad and not Maḥmūd. Since neither coin had such key information as the mint and date, the authors tentatively identified the ruler as a previously unknown sultan [?] of Bengal during a period of political turmoil there. Based on the style of lettering and other features, the coins were deemed to be of Mu’azzamabad type and dated to sometime later than Ghīyāth al-Dīn A’zam Shāh (AH 792-813/ AD 1389-1410) or Saif al-Dīn Ḥamzah Shāh (AH 813-815/ AD 1410-1412).

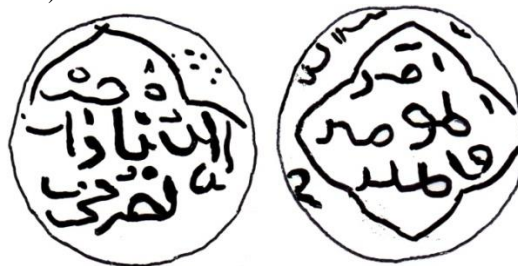


Fig. 1 Drawing of coin published by Goron and Goenka (2001)

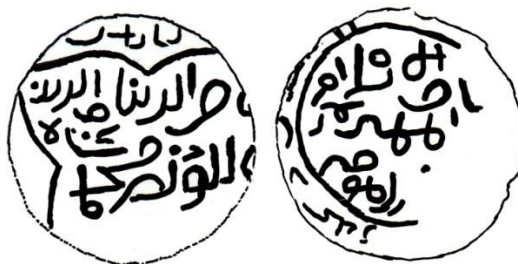


Fig. 2 Drawing of the coin published by Noman, Rhodes and Goenka (2010)

The legends on these coins, as far as can be determined so far are as follows:

Obv. *nāşir al-dunyā wa al-dīn abū naşr muḥammad shāh [al-sultān?]*

Rev. *nāşir al-islām wa al muslimīn yamīn amīr al-mu’minīn [?]*



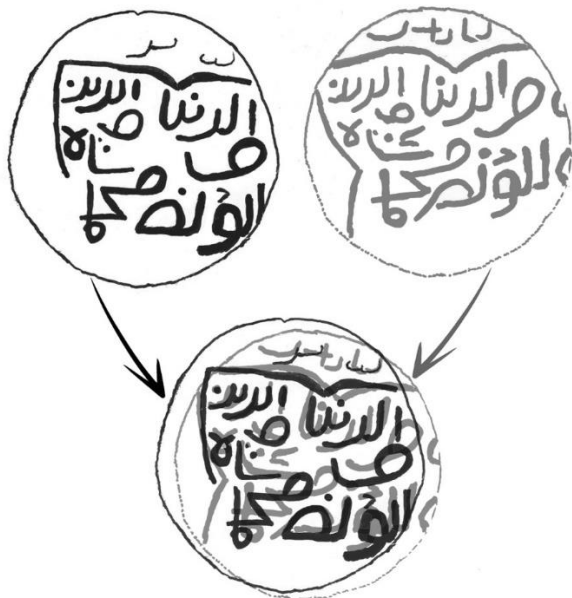
Fig.3: Third specimen of a coin of Nāşir al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh

This paper presents a coin (Fig. 3) and drawings of the two previously published coins (Figs. 1 and 2) as reference. This third coin is the same type as the one in Fig. 2 while the coin on Fig. 1 is of a different type. The two types differ in the shape of the obverse cartouche containing the ruler’s titles and the layout of the obverse legend within the cartouches. Unfortunately, the reverse of the third coin has been so defaced by chisel marks as to make the legend illegible. Nasir, Rhodes and Goenka (2010) tentatively read this side from coin 2 as indicated above and meaning ‘Helper of Islam and Muslims, the right hand of the commander of the faithful’. Despite the poor condition of the third coin’s reverse, it

is nonetheless important in demonstrating that the two coins were struck from different dies. This is shown in Fig. 4 where the drawing of the third coin is in black and that of the second coin in grey. Using the legend sections ‘*al-dīn*’ at the top left and ‘*abū naṣr*’ at the bottom right as reference points, when the two drawings are overlaid it can be seen that the other parts of the legend do not match positionally.

Obverse sketch of Fig. 3

Obverse sketch of Fig. 2



Overlay of Obverse Sketches of Fig. 3 and Fig. 2

Fig. 4 Comparison of obverse sketches of Fig. 3 and Fig. 2

This observation has implications in as much as it reconfirms the *ism* of the ruler as Muḥammad Shāh. As it is the third specimen with the same titles, it can be concluded that the *ism* Muḥammad Shāh is not the result of a die engraver error but that Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh was, indeed, a coin-issuing authority in Bengal. As it is observed that, in Bengal at that period, coins were issued only by sultans or usurpers, it can be assumed that he was an otherwise unreported sultan of at least part of Bengal for presumably a short time.

*Note:*

The coin images were drawn by using the *glass sketch method* and modified on the computer using Adobe Photoshop CS6. For the said *glass sketches* a thin glass sheet was placed on a printed copy of the respective coins and then outlines of the coin legends and designs were sketched using permanent ink. Later, the glass sketches of the coins were modified using the Adobe software, for example, to reduce the opacity or make adjustments to the shading.

**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> Author of the book *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*.
- <sup>2</sup> Associate Professor, Institute of Business Administration, Rajshahi University.
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- <sup>4</sup> S. Goron, and J.P. Goenka (2001), *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, B472, p. 208.
- <sup>5</sup> Noman Nasir, Nicholas Rhodes and J.P. Goenka (2010), ‘Nasir al Din Muhammad, Sultan (?) of Bengal’, *JONS* 205, p. 21.

## A NEW MINT FOR NŪR AL-DĪN SIKANDAR SHĀH OF BENGAL

By Md. Shariful Islam<sup>1</sup> and Muhammed Shamsuddin<sup>2</sup>

This short paper introduces a new mint for the coins of Nūr al-Dīn Sikandar Shāh (AH 885-886/ AD 1481), a sultan of Bengal. The coin is similar in type to B580 published by Goron and Goenka (2001)<sup>3</sup> where the authors described the ruler as ‘ephemeral’ and recorded ‘Dār al-Ḍarb’ as ‘the only mint so far’<sup>4</sup>. The coin published here shows Khalīfatābād as the mint and AH 885 as the date on the reverse of the coin. The obverse of the coin bears the titles of the ruler and the reverse bears the *kalima i shahada* followed by the mint and date of issue.



Fig. 1 Tanka of Nūr al-Dīn Sikandar II, Khalīfatābād, AH 885<sup>5</sup>

**Obverse:**

*al-sultān ibn al-sultān nūr al-dunyāwa al-dīn abū al-mujāhid sikandar shāh sultān ibn maḥmūd shāh al-sultān*

**Reverse:**

*Kalima i shahada* followed by the mint and date.

Weight: 10.6g

Khalīfatābād has been identified as Bagerhat<sup>6</sup> in the Khulna division of present-day Bangladesh. This mint appears on coins of the earlier ruler, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh (AH 832/ AD 837-864), and the later rulers, Nāṣir al-Dīn Nuṣrat Shāh (AH 925-938), ‘Alā al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh (AH 938-939), and Ghīyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh (AH 939-945) of the Bengal sultanate<sup>7</sup>. The previously recorded mint Dār al-Ḍarb was identified as the central mint of the sultanate, while Khalīfatābād is located in the southern part. Therefore, this coin probably shows that Nūr al-Dīn Sikandar Shāh was able to rule over more than just the central part of Bengal during his short period of rule.

*Acknowledgement*

The authors are grateful to Stan Goron for reviewing and editing this paper.

**Notes**

- <sup>1</sup> Associate Professor at IBA, Rajshahi University.
- <sup>2</sup> A numismatist.
- <sup>3</sup> S. Goron, and J.P. Goenka (2001), *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, pp. 219-220.
- <sup>4</sup> In his book *The Bengal Sultanate: Politics, Economy and Coins (AD 1205-1576)*, Syed Ejaz Hussain illustrates on Plate XVII, coin 105, another silver tanka of this ruler with a very different design. Both sides of this coin have the main part of the legend enclosed within a double square with the rest of the legend in the margin. The coin is dated 885. The author reads the mint as Khazāna (The Treasury) but that is by no means clear in the illustration.
- <sup>5</sup> The photo of the coin is published here by kind permission of Dr. Ishaq Imam.
- <sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 144; S. M. I. Alam (2015), ‘An up-to-date List of Mints of the Bengal Sultanate (AH 601-984)’ Souvenir published in 3<sup>rd</sup> coin exhibition-2015, *Bangladesh Numismatic Collectors Society*, pp. 15-28.
- <sup>7</sup> S. Goron, and J.P. Goenka (2001), *op. cit.*, pp 140, 144.



## TWO NEW TYPES OF FANAMS

By D. Raja Reddy, Mallu Naik & Ramulu Naik

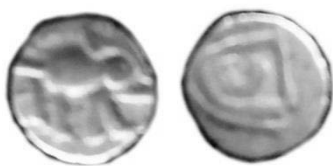
### Introduction

Fanams were typical south Indian coins which were distinct gold coins of small weight and size (Herrli 2006). Fanam in fact is a corrupt term and these coins should be known as Panams and references to these can be found in literary sources as well as in inscriptions from south India (Mangalam 1989; Balaji, 1992, 1995; Rajeswara Sarma 2009). The monetary system in south India in the earlier period was simple, the unit being Pagoda or Varaha, which was subdivided into Fanams or panams and cash or Kasu. Before 1818 AD the usual exchange rate was 80 cash to one fanam and forty-two fanams to one Madras pagoda. Ultimately the issue of fanams was ended in the early nineteenth century by the British East India Company when its new uniform monetary system was introduced in the country in 1835AD, consisting of 1 Rupee= 16 Annas= 64 Paise =192 Pies. Fanams were in circulation in south India for a very long time and they are found in the hoards and also with the goldsmiths, and they trickle into the hands of scholars as well as coin collectors. Every museum especially in south India has a large collection of fanams from hoards in their regions. Hyderabad state museum was established in 1914 AD and it is now known as Telangana State Museum and it has received thirty hoards of fanams till now. Fanams were also found in excavations conducted at Maski during 1937-1942 AD. I had the opportunity to see two of the hoards of fanams at the state museum and each one of these was of distinctive type and this communication is based on that study.

### Details of the two hoards

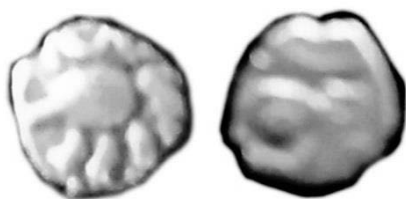
A. The first hoard was discovered in 1960-1961 AD at Husnabad in Khammam district of Telangana state and contained 201 coins and they were listed as gold coins with numbers 3321-3522 in the museum register. Out of these 167 coins were of fanam denomination and their weights ranged between 0.32-0.38 grams and their sizes varied between 0.56-0.62 cm; Remaining 34 coins were a fraction of varaha and they weighed 0.075-0.084 grams and the sizes ranged between 0.38-0.4 cm. All of them had a boar symbol on the obverse side and reverse had a Telugu letter 'A' inside a two lined design. Four coins are described below. The tiny coins which were a fraction of varaha are not described but they had similar symbols.

#### Coin No.1



Weight: 0.32 g; Size: 0.58 cm; Shape: round; Metal: gold;  
Obverse: Boar facing right.  
Reverse: Telugu 'A' letter inside two outer lines.

#### Coin no.2



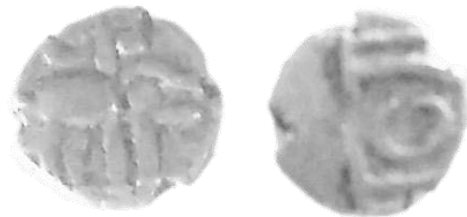
Weight: 0.380 g; Size: 0.54 cm; Shape: round; Metal: gold;  
Obverse: Boar facing right with part of 'namam' symbol above the animal with a dot inside.  
Reverse: Same as above.

#### Coin no.3



Weight: 0.34 g; Size: 0.60 cm; Shape: round irregular margins;  
Metal: gold;  
Obverse: Boar facing right with 'namam' symbol above.  
Reverse: Telugu 'a' inside a two lined design.

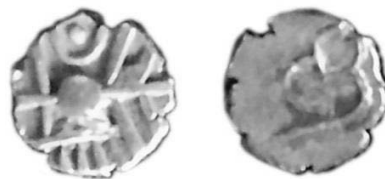
#### Coin no.4



Weight: 0.38 g; Size: 0.62 cm; Shape: round with irregular margins; metal: gold;  
Obverse: Boar facing right with 'namam' symbol above.  
Reverse: flat base with two lined arch and Telugu letter 'a' inside.

B. The second hoard was discovered in 1964-1965 AD and consisted of 129 fanams which were found at Charlapally village in Mulugu Taluq of Warangal district of Telangana state and were listed as gold coins with numbers 5337-5465 in the museum register. All of these coins had a boar symbol on the obverse side and the reverse design was different from the former hoard. All the coins had a similar design which consisted of three circles, two in lower row and one in the centre above. This kind of symbol was considered as a pre-Harappan religious mark (Chandra 1968). Five such coins are described below. Their weights ranged between 0.34-0.42 g and sizes varied between 0.52-0.68 cm.

#### Coin No.5



Weight: 0.37 g; size: 0.36 cm; Shape: round; Metal: gold;  
Obverse: Boar facing left 'namam' symbol above the animal with a dot inside it..  
Reverse: Three circles, lower ones partly worn out..

#### Coin No.6



Weight: 0.34 g; size: 0.68 cm; shape: round; Metal: gold;  
Obverse: Boar facing left with 'namam' symbol above the animal with a dot inside.  
Reverse: Three circles, two below and one above.

#### Coin no 7



Weight: 0.38 g; Size: 0.56 cm; Shape: round; Metal: gold.  
Obverse: Boar facing right with 'namam' symbol above it,  
Reverse: Three circles.

**Coin No.8**



Weight: 0.42 g; Size: 0.68 cm; Shape: round; Metal: gold;  
Obverse: Boar facing right with 'namam' symbol above it.  
Reverse: Two circles below and upper circle worn out.

**Coin No.9**



Weight: 0.39 g; Size: 0.66 cm; Shape: round; Metal: gold;  
Obverse: Boar facing right with 'namam' above with a dot.  
Reverse: three circles, the upper one worn out.

**Discussion**

These two hoards were found in ancient Kakatiya territory with its capital located at Orugallu which is now known as Warangal. The boar was the dynastic mark of the kings of this dynasty. Kakatiya stone inscriptions found at Bayyaram tank of the time of Ganapatideva (1199-1262 AD) set up by his sister Mailamma and Anumakonda Thousand pillar inscription of Rudradeva (1158-1195 AD) claim that the Kakatiya rulers adopted the Boar (Varaha) as their dynastic crest (Sastriy 1978). Varaha is one of the 'avatar' of Lord Vishnu in Hindu mythology. The first hoard of coins with reverse letter 'A' stands for 'Arigajakesari' a title adopted by two kings of Kakatiya dynasty namely Prola I (1052-1076 AD) and Prola II (1116-1157 AD). Most historians consider that Kakatiya became independent kings from the time of Prola II and hence this coins could be his issues. The reverse design of three circles which is considered as a forerunner of three arched hill symbol is found on punch marked coins onwards and is considered as a Mauryan symbol. The three arched symbol was also seen in coins of Satavahanas, Western Kshatrap rulers and also noted in coins of some tribal types. The exact meaning of this symbol is difficult to explain but may mean something to those who issued them.

**Conclusions**

These two hoards in the Kakatiya territory were of distinctive types of fanams and must have been issued by the rulers of the Kakatiya dynasty. Both of these are of new types from this region and to be found in hoards is significant.

**Acknowledgements**

The author thanks the Director and the Department of Archaeology and Museums of the Government of Telangana for the invitation to study these coin hoards.

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**A NEW COPPER COIN OF KUMBHALGARH, MEWAR**

By Shailesh Jain

I obtained the copper coin shown in figure 1 from a group of copper coins said to be procured in the region of Udaipur. It is described as follows:

Weight 8.4 gram

Obverse: Devanagari legend in three lines, with each line bracketed within two vertical bars –

कु / भ ल म / र  
Ku / Bha La Ma / Ra

Reverse: Devanagari legend in three line, with vertical bars as on obverse

क / स र ज... / उ  
Ka / Sa Ra Ja.. / U

The obverse and reverse legends could be reconstructed as 'Kumbhalamer' कुंभलमेर and 'Kesaraj(iu)' केसरजीउ respectively. It is common to encounter missing vowel signs from medieval Devanagari inscriptions, so the lack of certain *matras* – such as those of the 'e' on 'Ma' in 'Mer' or 'Ka' in 'Ke' - in the reconstruction is not unusual. The strike of the dies has also resulted in the *matra* of 'i' above 'Ja' in the second line on reverse to being off the flan.



Coin of Kumbhalgarh

Fig.1

The reconstructed readings of the legends make it evident that this coin is struck bearing the names of a locale and a deity. Each of these is discussed in the following sections. The fact that the coin does not bear the name of a ruler, which is an important aspect of its proposed attribution, and its general chronological placement will be discussed after these.

**A. Kumbhalamer -**

‘Kumbhalamer’ is synonymous with the fortress of Kumbhalgarh, located 25.1475°N 73.5831°E, presently in the Rajsamand district of Rajasthan State, Western India. It is situated in the Aravalli hills, about 80 Km northwest of Udaipur, placed strategically on the mountainous divide between the regions of Marwar to the North and Mewar to the South. It was built by Rana Kumbhakarna Simha or Kumbha, the Sisodia ruler of Mewar (1433-1468) and named after him. Second only to Chittorgarh, the most important fortress in the kingdom, Kumbhalamer or Kumbhalgarh, saw many battles involving the Sultans of Malwa and Gujarat pitched against the kingdom of Mewar during the reign of Kumbha but due to its impregnable and impressive defences, the fort never fell to invaders. Though nearly impregnable it fell only once – to the combined armies of Mughal Emperor Akbar and Man Singh of Amber (Jaipur), under the command of Shahbaz Khan – in 1576 during the famous Mewar campaign launched by Akbar to subjugate its proudly independent ruler, Rana Pratap (born at Kumbhalamer in 1540).

After the house of Mewar reached a truce with the Mughals, the fortress of Kumbhalgarh was handed over to a branch of the Sisodias which originated with Rao Veeram Deo (1551-1621) the third son of Rana Udai Singh II and a younger brother of Rana Pratap. His descendants, known as the ‘Viramdevot’ lineage of the ‘Rānāwat’ (meaning ‘having arrived of / come from the Ranas’, i.e. of royal descent), the Sisodiyas were conferred the hereditary rights to the *Killadari* of Kumbhalgarh, as a result of Veeram Deo’s dedicated support to Rana Pratap when he fought his prolonged campaign against the Mughals. These rights were held well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century by the family. Veeram Deo was also granted the *Jāgir* of Gosunda, to which were added later, in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, the *thikānā* of Kherabad. The family held the title of ‘Baba Saheb’ in addition to the normal ‘Maharaja’. (<http://members.iinet.net.au/~royalty/ips/k/kherabad.html> accessed on 21st March 2016)

In a numismatic context, the name of Kumbhalgarh appears as the mint-name in Sanskrit legends on certain coins of Rana Kumbha as *Kumbhalameroh* which is the genitive sixth case form of the word *Kumbhalameru*. The name on our coin ‘Kumbhalmer’ is a direct Prakrit version of this name.

**B. Kesariji or Kesariya ji –**

‘Kesariya ji’ is synonymous with the shrine of Jaina *teerthankara* Rshabha Deva (Rikhab Deo) situated at Dhulev in Udaipur district of Rajasthan State, Western India. Its geographic coordinates are 24.10°N 73.40°E. Even though the shrine belongs to the Jainas, it is equally revered by caste Hindus and tribal people of the Aravalli hills. Although in effect it is a Jaina shrine, it is revered by the Hindu and the tribal (Bhil) communities in equal measures. The shrine is considered to be one of the four main religious institutions of Mewar, ruled by the Sisodia Maharanas of Udaipur. In the words of Bavji Chatur Singhji (1880-1929), the famous saint poet of Mewar:

*Ekling Girirajdhar Rishabhdev Bhujchaar  
Sumaron Sada Sneh so, Chaar Dham Mewar*

(“Ekling, Girirajdhar, Rishabhdev and Bhujchar – O Remember with love, these are the four abodes of Mewar”)

The Jain community in Mewar had been closely associated with the royal family as some of its wealthy financiers. Udaipur became the capital of the Sisodias in 1559. The revival of the fortunes of the Sisodias was made possible by the Jain ministers who provided funds to re-establish the Maharanas after they had to leave Chittor. The story of Bhamā Shah, who supported Rana Pratap Singh, by providing him with his wealth while in exile, is an exemplar of the relationship. Because of significant Jain influence, the Maharanas became devotees of Lord Rishabh and offered worship at the shrine.

**C. The coin –**

As stated above, Kumbhalgarh became the seat of the descendants of Rao Viram Deo, one of the sons of Udai Singh. It is conceivable that the coin must have been issued by someone in the same family. Its weight is close to Malwa / Gujarat sultanate copper coins much like the issues of Rana Sanga, but it does not bear the name of the issuing king. It is therefore logical to assume that it must have been struck when the kingdom of Mewar had been finally subdued by the Mughals. As peace with Mewar was reached ultimately during the reign of Jahangir, it is plausible that the coin was struck during the reign of either Jahangir or Shahjahan. (c. 1615-1655).

The legends on the coin have a manuscript text-like appearance, with two vertical bars appearing at either end of each line, whether it is long or short, even containing a single letter. This is an interesting aspect of the inscriptions. It shows that the legends on the coin were inscribed in a textual tradition, much like Mughal coins were featured the standards of Persian textual calligraphy.

A word may be said about the epithet ‘Jiu’ appended after the word ‘Kesar’. This is the old form of the familiar honorific ‘Ji’, or ‘Jee’. It is usually rendered as such in old Rajasthani manuscripts and also in Farsi where it is inscribed as جيو

**Acknowledgements**

I am thankful to Dr Shailen Bhandare for his assistance in preparing this paper and offering initial ideas for the attribution of the coin. It is a significant coin in many respects – it is probably the only copper coin known so far for the middle Rajput period in the history of Mewar and also the only medieval coin known to bear the name of a famous Jaina shrine.

**BURHANPUR - A NEW MINT FOR  
COPPER COINS FOR RAFI-UD DARJAT**

Dr. Abhishek. M. Chatterjee

Published here is a unique copper coin, found from the outskirts of Burhanpur town, issued in the name of the Mughal emperor Rafi-ud Darjat with the mint name ‘Burhanpur’

The city of Burhanpur was founded about AD 1400 by Nagir Khan, the first independent prince of the Farukhi dynasty of Kandesh, and was named after the famous Sheikh Burhan al-Din of Daulatabad. In AD 1599 Burhanpur was occupied, without opposition, by the forces of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. The nearby fortress of Asirgarh succeeded in holding out until AD 1601, when it was taken by treachery



*Image1. Map of Madhya Pradesh with Burhanpur shown with black dot*

Burhanpur derived its importance during Mughal rule as the ‘Gateway to the Deccan’. The mint of Burhanpur functioned during Akbar’s reign and remained a very important mint under the Mughals until it passed to the Marathas. As a copper mint Burhanpur produced a copious coinage during the reign of Akbar and then minted infrequently during the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. Although there was a brief spurt in copper coinage during Aurangzeb, the mint largely acted as a gold and silver mint

and hardly any coppers are known from the mint under the later Mughals.



Obverse- Falus Rafi ud Darjat Shah



Reverse- Zarb Burhanpur Sanah Ahd

Image2. Actual coin with legend explained  
Metal- Copper, Weight- 6.76gms, Size- 16mm

Silver and gold coins of Rafi-ud Darjat are scarce due to the very short rule of this emperor and copper coins of this ruler are extremely rare. Copper coins of this ruler are currently known only from the mints at Surat, Peshawar and Kabul. The present find adds Burhanpur to this list.

Burhanpur is currently the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. It is situated on the south-western border of the state on the banks of the River Tapti (also known as Tapi River) between 21.3°N and 76.23°E.

The denomination of the present coin is a half paisa (the weight of a full paisa was 13-14g).

Obverse- *Falus Rafi-ud Darjat Shah* (?AH1131)

Reverse- *Zarb Burhanpur sanah Ahd*

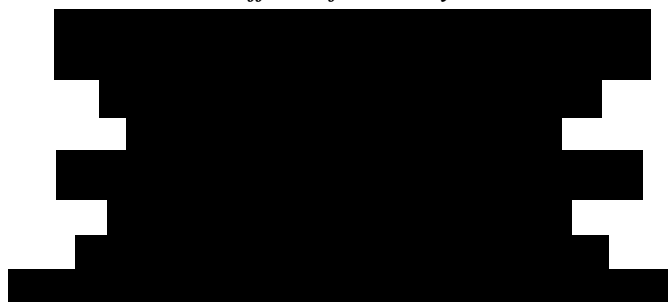
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