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ONS NEWS

From the Editor

The society has seen a few key changes in our officers. Joe Cribb stepped down as Secretary General at the annual general meeting in September 2018, with Paul Stevens elected in his place. We thank Joe for his excellent leadership of the society, and his committed mentoring of the next generation of members.

Paul Stevens began his working career as a research scientist looking for new medicines. Later he became a senior manager within a multinational company, before taking early retirement in 2008 to concentrate on his numismatic interests.

Paul started collecting coins as a boy, encouraged by his grandfather, who had formed a good collection of English coins. During the 1970s Paul's interest switched from English to Indian coins, particularly those produced by the British for use in India. Later, this expanded to cover all 'Indian' coins, in the widest sense of the term, but mostly focusing on coins issued after the Islamic invasions.

Although primarily a collector, Paul has spent many hundreds of hours in the British Library exploring the history behind the coins, particularly that found in the archives of the East India Company. We wish Paul all the best for his appointment, and welcome him taking the society forward in our 50th year.

There have also been a few changes in the Regional Secretaries of the society. Jan Lingen has stepped down as Regional Secretary for Europe after 25 years of service. A passionate numismatist, he has been an active ambassador of our society. We thank Jan for his untiring efforts to promote numismatics in Europe and for his organisation of the society's annual meeting at Leiden, a constant fixture on our calendar for over a decade.

Patrick Pasmans is the new Regional Secretary for Europe. He holds a LL.M degree from the Free University of Brussels, and works in Belgium as a legal advisor and mediator. When Patrick is not busy with work, he is to be found in St. Petersburg with his family. He is interested in the history and coinage of the Parthians, and in researching the coinage of Characene. For 13 years, Patrick was president of the Numismatic Society of Diest and editor of the magazine *De Muntmeester* (2006-2018). He is also a member of the Royal Numismatic Society of Belgium.



Secretary General
Paul Stevens



Regional Secretary
for Europe
Patrick Pasmans

Graham Byfield is the new Regional Secretary for General members. He is an experienced professional numismatist who worked at A.H. Baldwin & Sons for 16 years, before joining Sovereign Rarities. Drawing on a wide-ranging and in-depth knowledge of numismatics, he specialises in the Indian and Islamic series, along with the wider British colonial series and commemorative medals.

Graham was an executive committee member of the International Association of Professional Numismatists for six years, serving as treasurer there, and has been a member of the ONS Council for three years.

I am delighted to announce that the Ashoka Prize for 2018 has been awarded to Muhammad Shariful Islam, Associate Professor, Rajshahi University. The prize is given annually by the ONS Council thanks to a donation from Classical Numismatic Gallery, Ahmedabad.



Ashoka Prize 2018 winner
Md. Shariful Islam

Karan Singh

Obituary: Pieter Anne van 't Haaff (1928-2018)



Pieter Anne van 't
Haaff

Pieter Anne van 't Haaff passed away on December 8, 2018 at the age of 90 years. Anne had studied economics at the University of Amsterdam. Till his retirement in 1990, he spent his professional career with KLM, the national airline of the Netherlands.

Numerous visits to the Near East and India awakened his interest in numismatics, which resulted in several articles and two books, and a third publication expected in 2019.

Anne joined the Oriental Numismatic Society in July 1995. In that year Paul Murphy at the ONS meeting in Leiden discussed a project on the punchmarked coinage of India, which became known as the 'Ahata CD-ROM Project'. Anne enthusiastically volunteered in this project and in 2002 he published the preliminary results of his research on Saurashtra coinage in a supplement to the ONS Newsletter 170. This resulted in the publication in 2004 of *Saurashtra (c. 450-50 BC); Surasena (c. 500-350 BC), Silver Punchmarked Coinage*. In a review, Wilfried Pieper said that "the author has to be congratulated on his well-researched, well-written, profusely illustrated and user-friendly work" (ONS Newsletter 182).

Earlier, while studying the coinage of Saurashtra, Anne observed the hitherto unpublished phenomenon of bankers' marks on drachms of the Western Kshatras, which he then published as a supplement to the ONS Newsletter 160. Shailendra Bhandare, in his reaction to Anne's passing, referred to this publication when he wrote: "A paper he wrote on small countermarks on Western Kshatrapa coins reveals how well he studied minute features and utilized them for drawing interesting larger inferences."

In a lecture on Elymaean coinage presented at the ONS meeting in Leiden (9 October 2004), Anne stated that he was preparing a catalogue on this coinage. In 2007 at the ONS meeting in Utrecht (20 October 2007), he proudly presented his *Catalogue of Elymaean Coinage, ca. 147 B.C.-A.D. 228*. Elymais was located between the river Tigris and the Zagros Mountains, an area that presently spans southeast Iraq and southwest Iran. In the Hellenistic period, the Parthians lived to the east of Elymais, the Seleucids to the northwest, and Characene located to the south of it.

In the tradition of his earlier publications, Anne meticulously analysed the various, and often conflicting, studies on Elymaean coinage. The book was reviewed by Patrick Pasmans in the Journal of the ONS 194 (Winter 2008), in which he concluded that it would undoubtedly be the new standard reference for the coinage of the Elymais.

It is sad that Anne could not enjoy seeing his much-awaited publication, *Catalogue on the Coins of the Persis, ca. 280 BC-AD 224*, in print. He spent many years compiling this extraordinary work that is expected to be posthumously published this year.

Jan Lingen

ONS meeting in Leiden (20 October, 2018)

The Europe chapter organised a successful annual meeting on the premises of the Leiden University, attended by over 30 members from the Netherlands, Belgium, Germany and the United Kingdom.

Karan Singh began with a lecture on the legends seen on Yaudheya coins. He presented a new classification based on the development of the legend seen in this series, using examples from his own collection. His research is expected to be published later this year.

Paul Stevens then made a presentation on the current status of his research. He showed how he writes his books using a database that he has built and continues to expand. He is currently working on a revised edition of *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates* with Stan Goron, one of the original authors, Noman Nasir and Iftekhar Alam. In addition, Paul is collecting information from the records of the East India Company in preparation for a book on the Madras Presidency.

During this work, some interesting facts have come to light, including, for instance, the apparent production of five-pagoda and two & a half pagoda pieces, which are not currently known to exist.

His work on the extracts from the records pertaining to the Bombay Presidency is now complete and is expected to be published in June 2019.



Fig. 1. A screenshot of Paul Stevens' database

Patrick Pasmans presented a lecture on the coins and tokens of the Habib Bank Ltd. In 1841 a business company Khoja Mithobhai was started in Bombay, trading in metals and other merchandise. In 1891 Habib Ismail got the opportunity to work in the family business. He was ambitious and managed to work himself up and gradually turned the company into a commercial bank. One of his sons, Mohamedali Habib, played an important role in the growth of

the company, setting up Habib Bank Limited in 1941 with a capital of 25,000 rupees.

In 1947 the headquarters of the bank were transferred to Karachi, just before the establishment of Pakistan. The bank became the first commercial bank of the new country. Mohamedali Habib saw an opportunity by creating his own silver and gold pieces, which he guaranteed to be purer and heavier than the stated weight. The most common pieces of the Habib Bank Ltd are the silver 5-tolas, the gold 1, ½ and ¼ tola pieces, as well as the golden guinea.



Fig. 2. Silver 5 tolas, Habib Bank Ltd. (38.4 mm)

The tola is an old weight unit in South Asia. During the colonisation of the East Indies the English decided that a tola had a weight of 180 troy grains, i.e. 11.663 grams. In Aden and Zanzibar a tola had a weight of 11.398 grams. Most gold tolas have a so-called scalloped edge.



Fig. 3. Bronze bank token, Habib Bank Ltd. (33 mm)

For an inventory of these pieces, Patrick referred to the book by Michael Mitchiner, *Indian Tokens: Popular Religious & Secular Art from the Ancient Period to the Present Day* (1998). He presented five types of bank and account tokens of Habib Bank, and some of its commemorative medals. He also presented a very rare tetradrachm of Attambelos VII of Characene and an unknown medal of the Bagdad Loge No 4022 (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Unknown medal of Bagdad Loge, No. 4022 (40 x 40 mm)

After the morning session it was time for lunch in the nearby Hortus, Grand Café & Orangerie, where a buffet lunch was arranged.

The afternoon session started with a presentation by Ellen Raven, Leiden University. Under the title *Matchmaking*, she presented the latest results of her painstaking analysis of designs on the gold coins of the Gupta kings (320-550 CE). This project, carried out on a part-time basis, took off in 2010, when Raven extended her coin research from individual types to the full corpus in gold. For that purpose, she developed the DINARA database. With the continued

support of collectors of Gupta coins and committed curators, supplying images, coin data, and access to coins, she has expanded the data set that is required to carry out a meaningful comparative analysis. Auction data also provided much-needed research materials.

Raven successfully applied her concept of mint idioms, first developed in her PhD thesis, to isolate sets of features that appear to link a coin to a specific mint as the place of its manufacture. Mint idioms include characteristic features, such as the styles of the engravings and the iconography chosen for the royal and divine images. The exact placement of the Sanskrit legends is another such idiomatic trait, as is the shaping of the letters. Of immense importance is the analysis of fabric, such as weight and size. As for the gold content of Gupta coins, the available data is still very limited, but the recent type catalogue by Sanjeev Kumar has contributed valuable and long-awaited XRF analyses of such coins.

Ellen's current project first required a systematic plotting of all the varieties that display a specific mint idiom. This has resulted in an entirely new classification based on similar criteria for all coins, unlike those applied in previous systems. This new typology was not the aim of the project though, but a necessary (and time consuming) step and an important spin-off. Ellen's ultimate goal is to understand what connects Gupta coins: how and why do coins with different portraits of the same king look so similar?



Fig. 5. Chandragupta II Archer Type (DIN1464, in private collection #1110, photo courtesy Sanjeev Kumar)



Fig. 6. Chandragupta II Chakravikrama Type (DIN3804, after Altekar's catalogue of the Bayana hoard #1192)

Ellen has collected similar looking coins, sharing a specific mint idiom, into multiple groups for each Gupta reign. Each of these groups contains coins of more than one type – Archer Type, Horseman Type etc. – with different kinds of portraits. During her talk, Ellen presented similar coins from a few such groups to illustrate the results of this method. For example, the mint idiom of Group 4 is shared by many early coins of Chandragupta II, linking specific Archer Type coins (Fig. 5) with his rare Chakravikrama Type (Fig. 6).

Relative chronologies then become evident, based on coin types that, judging from their shared mint idiom, were issued more or less simultaneously. This method brings out which mint groups form bridges from one reign to the next. The rearrangement of the corpus has also exposed an intricate pattern of differences and changes in weights and sizes at a precision level that was beyond reach so far. All in all, the contours of the minting landscape in gold under the Gupta kings are gradually starting to reveal themselves.



The participants at the Leiden meeting 2018

We then held a successful auction of 182 coins and numismatic books. Our thanks are due to all those who consigned or donated material for the auction, as well as those who took part in bidding. The day was concluded in an oriental atmosphere with dinner at a Chinese restaurant in the city centre of Leiden.

Our thanks are particularly due to Ellen Raven for being our host at the University of Leiden. The proposed date for the next meeting is Saturday, 19 October 2019.

Patrick Pasmans

ONS meeting in Pune (14 December, 2018)

The South Asia chapter organised a meeting during Pune Coinex in December 2018. It was attended by around 25 members as well as academics from colleges in Pune.

Amol Bankar began with a presentation on *Some New Numismatic Discoveries from Early Medieval Maharashtra*, focusing mainly on the coins of the Yadavas of Devagiri (850-1309 CE). He attempted to attribute coins by comparing their legends with inscriptions seen at various places. From his study of the palaeography, he showed the process of vernacularization of the Marathi language, which is evident on the coins. According to Amol, coins also help to confirm historical facts and mark the milestones of Yadava rule in early medieval Maharashtra.



Fig. 1. Comparison of silver coin having Sri Bhujabalamalla legend, with inscription of Kalachuri king Bijjana below

Gautam Jantakal then gave a talk on *Rashtrakuta Coinage: Challenges and Prospects*. He began with a brief overview of Rashtrakuta history and genealogy, also covering the smaller families of Manapura, Achalapura and the Gujarat branch of Rashtrakutas. Gautam discussed the issues in deciphering and attributing Rashtrakuta coins. He then presented some interesting specimens.



Fig. 2. Garuda seen on Rashtrakuta copper coin attributed to Amoghavarsha (1.36 g, Yogeshwar Puri collection)

Purnanand Sanket gave a presentation on the Kalikut silver issues of Tipu Sultan. He first outlined the history of Tipu's conquests in Malabar and then showed some unique silver rupees of Kalikut mint bearing the words *Chaharam Ahmadi* and *Seum Haidari*. He inferred that these coins were struck to mark specific dates and that they could have been issued to commemorate Tipu Sultan's official visit to Malabar and the establishment of his capital at Beypore (later renamed Farrukhi). Purnanand also highlighted the fact that there were no revolts in Malabar during Tipu's occupation and that the sultan was trying to bring about a change in governance.



Fig. 3. Tipu Sultan AR double rupee, Kalikut mint dated 1215 AM/ RY 5 (photo courtesy British Museum)

The final talk for the day was by Shailendra Bhandare on *Rituals of Power: Courtly Culture, Kingship and Coinage in Mughal India*. Through the medium of Mughal paintings and coins, Shailendra contextualized different roles and functions of monetary objects. He discussed the importance and significance of getting an audience with the Mughal emperor, and also the power connected with his image or an article touched by him.

Shailendra showed that coins were an expression of kingship and kingly power, and that they acted as presents in a gift economy as well as being vehicles to ward off the evil eye. He described the Mughal emperors' engagement with coinage in a ritualistic context by showcasing how certain coins were issued on significant events in history, either by the legends they bore or by the specific year in which these special coins were struck. Shailendra showed some extremely rare coins in his presentation that the audience had not seen before.

Mohit Kapoor

ONS Study Day, British Museum (29 September, 2018)

The society's annual general meeting and a study day were held at the British Museum in September 2018. After society business was resolved, the first talk was given by Jon Chappell on *The Order of the Double Dragon: the politics of status in remembering the Taiping civil war*. Jon looked at how the expectations of foreigners interacted with Chinese notions of appropriate honours, and vice versa, and how this led to new medallic style awards.

As an experiment, hopefully to be continued in future, this talk and several of the other talks were streamed live via the ONS Facebook page. It even proved possible to take some questions via the site.



Robert Bracey and Jon Chappell answer questions from Facebook viewers of the session

The second talk of the day was by Maria João Furtado, who spoke on *Imperial Chinese Copper-based Cash Coins: some notes on their composition and microstructure*. Maria showed the results of analysis of the micro-structures of coins in different phases for copper alloys. A lengthy discussion followed about the potential that metallurgical analysis has for the study of Chinese coins.

The third talk of the day was the Michael Broom Memorial Lecture by Richard Morel on *The forgers' foe: Indian government anti-forgery collaboration 1913-1914*. Richard talked about the information that archives provide on responses to forgery.

After lunch Girish Sharma presented a number of coins he had encountered and had been unable to identify.

Ujjwal Saha then gave a talk on eleven Kushan gold quarter dinars that have recently been reported. The Kushan religious pantheon is extremely varied, as revealed by their coins and seals, on which more than 30 different gods appear, belonging to the Hellenistic, the Iranian, and, to a lesser extent, the Indian world. While Robert Göbl identified 25 different types of obverse die designs in Huvishka's gold coinage, Ujjwal presented a new quarter dinar of the seated cross-legged type found in this lot.



Ujjwal Saha presenting the Kushan gold quarter dinars

The final talk of the day was the Ken Wiggins Memorial Lecture given by Karan Singh on the Traikutakas of western India. He presented a catalogue of the silver coins issued by this dynasty, including the first coin discovered of Vikramasena. Karan also showed hitherto unreported specimens with fine calligraphy that appear to represent a different mint. The attendees then discussed when Traikutaka coins were issued: numismatists have favoured a 3rd century date, while epigraphers have usually favoured a 5th century one.



Fig. 1. Traikutaka silver drachm of Vyaghresena (Karan Singh collection)

The day closed with further discussions by the participants and thanks to the speakers.

Robert Bracey

New Journal

A new journal on Islamic numismatics has been launched by the College of Archaeology, Fayoum University, Egypt. The *Journal of Islamic Numismatic Center-Egypt* (JINCE) is being published under the direction of the college's dean, Islamic numismatist Dr. Atef Mansour Ramadan. Every article begins with a summary in Arabic and English of its contents. The table of contents can be found at <http://www.fayoum.edu.eg/arc/FirstM>.

Paul Stevens Receives IAPN Book Prize 2018

Secretary General Paul Stevens has received The International Association of Professional Numismatists' 2018 book prize for *The Coins of the English East India Company. Presidency Series: A Catalogue and Pricelist*.

Published by Spink, Paul's book was chosen by the IAPN General Assembly in Prague last May, ahead of 21 other entrants. He received a specially commissioned medal and cash award at a ceremony in London on September 27, 2018.



Paul Stevens (centre, left) receiving the award in London

New Members

Europe

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Articles

A HOARD OF 127 DRACHMS OF LATER INDO-GREEK KINGS

Heinz Gawlik

Peshawar in north-west Pakistan is a well-known hotspot for trade in all kind of antiques, including ancient coins from Pakistan and nearby Afghanistan. A number of 127 drachms, obviously a hoard of late Indo-Greek kings Zoilos II, Strato II & III, and Bhadrayasha, appeared on the market in March 2017. These were available with a coin dealer in Peshawar. He did not or could not reveal the find spot, but he was told that the coins were found during construction work on the China Pakistan Economic Corridor (CPEC) project in the Punjab province in January/ February 2017.

Of the two areas in the Punjab with actual CPEC construction activity, the northern region is quite close to Taxila. So it is likely that the hoard surfaced somewhere in this northern region near Taxila. This also isn't far away from the city of Chakwal where a large hoard with coins of late Indo-Greek rulers was documented by Senior (2006).

The Chakwal Hoard contained eleven drachms of Bhadrayasha. Senior considered it as a major find and he stated that these eleven coins doubled the known specimens listed for this ruler at that time. A ruler or co-ruler with a Scythian/ indigenous name, Bhadrayasha is known from his coins only. Although his drachms are offered in auctions from time to time, they are still considered as scarce.

Studying a coin hoard was an exceptional opportunity and I was lucky to get photos of it. The photos of the coins in the possession of the dealer are unfortunately of a low to medium quality, but nevertheless they provide valuable information about an interesting mixture of drachms of late Indo-Greek rulers. The photos were taken by a friend using his mobile phone, and it was impossible to repeat the complete photo shooting at a later time because some of the coins had already been sold. The photographer confirmed that the majority of the coins are of good quality with a patina of dark brown colour. It looks like that most of the coins, if not all, were never in circulation. In addition to the photos, some specific data was provided for selected coins which will be illustrated enlarged.

The classification of coin types will follow Mitchiner (1995), and if a type or variant is not mentioned in Mitchiner, other sources will be referred to. It has to be added that the dealer had drachms only and he couldn't say whether the original hoard also contained bronze coins. It is interesting to note that a number of bronze coins of late Indo-Greek kings also appeared in the market and on the internet at around the same time. Most of the offered bronze coins were heavily encrusted and corroded, but they included bronzes of Apollodotos II, Zoilos II, Dionysios and Strato II. These bronze coins will be published in a forthcoming issue.

1. APOLLODOTOS II (c. 110-80 BCE Mitchiner; c. 85-65 BCE Senior; 80-65 BCE Bopearachchi, Jakobsson)

The earliest coins in the hoard are ten drachms struck by Apollodotos II, who regained major parts of Gandhara and the western parts of Punjab, including the city of Taxila, after the death of Maues, the founder of the Indo-Scythian kingdom south of the Hindukush. Hippistratos was the successor or a late contemporary of Apollodotos II in western Punjab and also quite possibly in Pushkalavati. After his death or probably defeat by the Indo-Scythian king Azes, the Indo-Greek territories became fragmented and left the Indo-Greeks with small territories in the mountains of eastern Punjab. It might be that the kings who maintained power in these areas belonged to the same dynasty as others who used a similar legend and Athena Alkidemos on the reverse of their drachms.

Various monograms are found on the coinage of the hoard, which are illustrated in Fig. 1. The monograms M-F and M-G are added for later discussion only. Besides the monogram, which is generally associated with a location of mintage, one or more control letters or symbols are often found on the reverse.

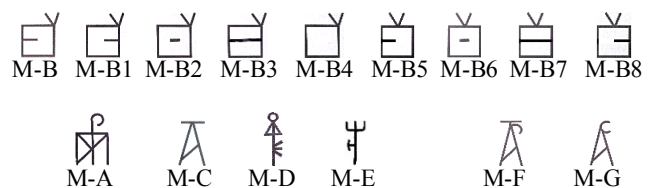


Fig. 1. Monograms on coins of the hoard

The monogram M-B is the standard form of the so-called boxy 'Jammu' monogram, but the engravers left a number of varieties illustrated as M-B 1-7 in Fig. 1.

As stated above, the drachms of Apollodotos II show the bust of the king facing right on obverse and the goddess Athena Alkidemos (*Defender of the People*) on reverse. Later Indo-Greek kings continue to use the same design on their drachms, supporting the assumption that there might be a relation between them. The ten drachms in the hoard struck by Apollodotos II all bear the monogram M-A linked to the city of Taxila, but they are of two different types with respect to the length of the Greek legend. The form of pendant beneath the shield held by Athena is mentioned by Mitchiner as another kind of minor differentiation. The different

forms of pendant A-D (Fig. 2) are shown in Mitchiner (1975, Vol. 3).



Fig. 2. Apollodotos II: pendants on drachms in Mitchiner (1975)

1.1 Apollodotos II: Type 424b & c Mitchiner

Eight drachms (Fig. 3) are of type 424 (Mitchiner 1975), which is characterized by a long Greek legend: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ* (King Apollodotus the Saviour and Father-loving). The Kharoshthi legend on the reverse is the same on all ten coins and reads *Maharajasa tratarasa Apaladatasa* (King Apollodotus the Saviour). Four of the eight coins (A01-A04) are of variety 424b, which has beside the monogram M-A (Fig. 1) a control letter in the left field.

Apollodotos II was the first of Indo-Greek kings to introduce such additional Kharoshthi characters on his coinage. It became a characteristic of Indo-Greek kings in the eastern Punjab, but was also extensively used by the Indo-Scythian king Azes and his successors. It is taken as an indication of a growing localisation in the mintage of coins. The identification of the control letter or symbol beneath the pendant on coin nos. A01-04 isn't easy. The symbol could be a Kharoshthi *Nam*, though it looks rather like a Brahmi *Ha*.



The coins A05-A08 are without a control letter and therefore represent the variety 424c (Mitchiner 1975).



A08: 2.30 g, 16.4-17.3 mm, 1h

Fig. 3. Apollodotos II: 8 drachms (Mitchiner type 424b & c)

1.2 Apollodotos II: Type 425c Mitchiner

The other two coins of Apollodotos II, nos. A09 & A10 (Fig. 4), are of type 425 with a shorter Greek legend: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΥ* (King Apollodotus the Saviour) and without a control letter (variety 425c).



Fig. 4. Apollodotos II: 2 drachms (Mitchiner type 425b)

The control letters in the left field have a certain influence on the form of the pendant beneath the shield held by Athena. All four forms of pendant specified by Mitchiner (1975), including an additional variant C1 (Fig. 2), are found on the ten coins of Apollodotos II in the hoard. The form of pendant varies on coins of the same type, but it is not a significant characteristic for a classification of types, as further observations will show.

The shopkeeper in Peshawar wasn't sure that the ten coins of Apollodotos II are part of the hoard, or whether they were added by the person who sold him the coins. Coins of Apollodotos II wouldn't be strange in such a hoard, because they fit the mix of coins considering the time and location, as well as other hoards.

2. ZOILOS II (c. 75-50 BCE Mitchiner; c. 65-55 BCE Bopearachchi; c. 55-35 BCE Jakobsson)

The dating and sequence of late Indo-Greek kings is connected to the dating of Apollodotos II and further details, like the use of monograms and portraits of the kings. Other information besides the coins are rare, uncertain or even missing. Based on information received from coins and hoards, it seems likely that the Indo-Greek ruler Dionysios was followed by Zoilos II (Senior 2001). The various portraits on drachms issued in the name of Zoilos leave the question unresolved about the attribution to a particular king or several kings named Zoilos. Jakobsson (2010) argues that the coins attributed to Zoilos II may possibly belong to two separate kings. His thesis is to some extent based on the differences between the portraits. Considering the various portraits and monograms it seems plausible to differentiate the king Zoilos II and another hypothetical Zoilos III.

The 13 drachms in the first group attributed to Zoilos II show the bust of an elderly balding man without hair on his forehead below the diadem. The monogram M-D (also attributed to the Jammu region), with or without a control letter, is the same on all 13 coins. The Greek legend reads *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΑΟΥ*. The reverse shows Athena Alkidemos advancing left, with the Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhollasa* (King Zoilos the Saviour).

2.1 Zoilos II: Type 459n Mitchiner

Fig. 6 shows five coins of type 459n (Mitchiner) bearing the monogram M-D, which is associated with the region of Jammu, but without any control letter. The monogram M-D was already used by Apollodotos II, and Zoilos II is the last ruler to use this monogram. It is the reason why Jakobsson places the coins with the monogram M-D first in the sequence of kings with the name Zoilos. The slim pendants, with two ends beneath the shield of Athena, belong to the variants F & F1.



Senior did not report this type 459n in the Chakwal Hoard.

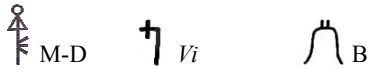


Z05: 2.12 g, 15.8-16.7 mm, 12h

Fig. 5. Zoilos II: 5 drachms (Mitchiner type 459n)

2.2 Zoilos II: Type 459q Mitchiner

The four coins Z06-Z09 in Fig. 6 have the same 'Jammu' monogram, but there is a different control letter *Vi* beneath the pendant in the left field.



The coins with a bell-shaped pendant are illustrated as type 459q in Mitchiner (1995). This variant 459q was not present in the Chakwal Hoard.



Z08: 2.01 g, 16.3-17.0 mm, 12h



Z09: 2.20 g, 16.1-17.1 mm, 1h

Fig. 6. Zoilos II: 4 drachms (Mitchiner type 459q)

2.3 Zoilos II: Type 459p Mitchiner

Another coin Z10 with the monogram M-D (Fig. 7) has a control letter or symbol in the left field that is identified as a combination of B & I by Mitchiner. I do not have a better proposal for the symbol, but it might still be questionable. The coin is classified by Mitchiner as type 459p.



The bust of an elderly king facing right, with receding hair like a fringe on the side of his forehead, is similar to the portraits on other coins of Zoilos II.



Z10

Fig. 7. Zoilos II drachm (Mitchiner type 459p)

2.4 Zoilos II: Type 459r Mitchiner

The coins illustrated as nos. Z11 & Z12 in Fig. 8 belong to the type 459r of Mitchiner, with the control letter *Dhram* in the left field. The pendants are of a bell-shaped design. The coins of type 459r are in contrast to type 459n in Fig. 4 – good examples of how the control letter influences the form of the pendant.



The type 459r is recorded by Senior in the Chakwal Hoard as nos. 66 & 67.



Z11

Z12

Fig. 8. Zoilos II: 2 drachms (Mitchiner type 459r)

2.5 Zoilos II: Type 459 Mitchiner (unpublished variety)

The coin Z13 with the 'Jammu' monogram M-D and a control letter like the Kharoshthi letter *Chham* or *Mam*? (Fig. 9), belongs to type 459, but this variety is not illustrated in Mitchiner and also not recorded in the Chakwal Hoard. It appears to be an unpublished variety of Zoilos II.



Z13

Fig. 9. Zoilos II drachm (unpublished variety of Mitchiner type 459)

3. ZOILOS III (c. 45-35 BCE Jakobsson)

3.1 Zoilos III: Type 459d Mitchiner

The obverse of the following fifteen coins (Fig. 10) shows the portrait of a young man with a childlike face. The hair is engraved as a fringe. Coins of the same variety are published in Mitchiner (1975) as type 459d and in the Chakwal Hoard (Senior 2006) as nos. 57-59. The majority of the fifteen coins has Athena Alkidemos together with the standard monogram M-B of Jammu on reverse, but there are also coins which bear the variant M-B1 and M-B2. The field letter below the monogram is the Kharoshthi *Ji* and another letter in the left field could be *Chham* or *Mam*, similar to the control letter on coin Z13 of Zoilos II. The boxy 'Jammu' monogram appears for the first time on coins of Zoilos' type 459d, and is then used down to the last Indo-Greek kings Strato II and Strato III. All this leads to the assumption that the coins with this childlike portrait, with a full head of hair and the boxy 'Jammu' monogram, are of a later mintage and probably of another king with the name Zoilos, i.e. Zoilos III. Questions may arise about the drachms showing the portrait of a young Zoilos with the monogram M-A of Taxila on reverse. This scarce type 458 (Mitchiner 1975), with the monogram M-A assigned to Taxila, is neither found in this

hoard nor in the Chakwal Hoard, but it bears the name of Zoilos. A satisfying explanation is difficult, but it might be reasonable to assume that a later Zoilos minted coins for a short period in Taxila. The lack of written sources makes all such conjectures uncertain, but what is better for a discussion than a provocative but reasonable working hypothesis?



All coins of this type have pendants beneath the shield of Athena with two ends.



The design of the pendant is influenced by the skill of the engraver to accommodate the field letter *Chham / Mam* (?).



Z28: 2.23 g, 16.0-17.4 mm, 1h

Fig. 10. Zoilos II: 15 drachms (Mitchiner type 459d)

3.2 Zoilos III: Type 459i Mitchiner

The six coins shown in Fig. 11 struck in the name of Zoilos have a slightly different portrait.

Obverse: Bust of a young man with a fringe facing right
Reverse: Athena Alkidemos advancing left, with box-like 'Jammu' monogram and the Kharoshthi control letter *Gu* below the monogram and *Ghi* in the left field

The 'Jammu' monogram M-B3 is on three coins, while the others have the monogram M-B or M-B1.



The same combination of control letters is recorded as type 459i (Mitchiner) and nos. 54-56 in the Chakwal Hoard (Senior 2006). Five coins have a pendant beneath the shield with two ends (variants B1 and B5), whereas the pendant of coin no. Z29 differs as variant E1 with three ends.

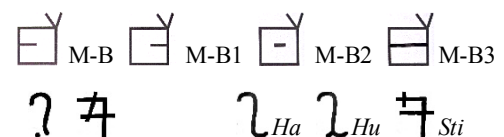


Z34: 2.20 g, 15.7-16.7 mm, 1h

Fig. 11. Zoilos III: 6 drachms (Mitchiner type 459i)

3.3 Zoilos III: Type 459l Mitchiner

The fourteen coins in Fig. 12 are drachms in the name of Zoilos, with a portrait of a middle-aged man having an angular and slightly emaciated face. Similar coins with the same monogram and same combination of control letters are shown as type 459l in Mitchiner (1995) and as coin nos. 39-49 of the Chakwal Hoard (Senior 2006). Jakobsson (2010) sees the portrait in continuation of type 459d as the middle-aged Zoilos III. The Greek legend reads as *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΛΟΥ*. On reverse, Athena is advancing left with Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*. Most of these coins bear variant M-B3 of the 'Jammu' monogram, but the standard monogram M-B also occurs as well as the variants M-B1 and M-B2. The characteristics of this type are the control letters.



The control letters look similar, but an identification might be speculative. The letter in left field is a Kharoshthi *Sti*, but the other below the monogram could be *Ha* with a separate dot, or *Hu*.



Z48: 2.33 g, 1h

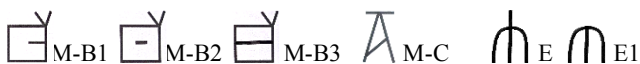
Fig. 12. Zoilos III: 14 drachms (Mitchiner type 459l)

A particularity in all the coins of type 459l (Fig. 12) is a pendant with three ends.



3.4 Zoilos III: Type not in Mitchiner, but in Senior (1999)

The three coins shown in Fig. 13 are a rare variant of Zoilos' drachms. The portrait is similar to those on drachms of type 459l (Mitchiner 1995). Obverse: bust of a middle-aged man with an angular and slightly emaciated face, surrounded by the Greek legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΩΙΑΟΥ*. Reverse: Athena advancing left with Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa tratarasa Jhoilasa*. The 'Jammu' monogram varies from M-B1 to M-B3, but there is an additional and unique monogram M-C in the left field (Senior 1999).



This additional monogram looks like the Greek letter Alpha with a horizontal bar on top, as also found on Arsacid coins. The two monograms M-F on coins of Hippostratos and Dionysios, and M-G on coins of Apollodotos II are quite close to the design of monogram M-C (Fig. 1). Mitchiner (1975) assigns M-F to a mint in the Hazara region and M-G for a mint in North Chach. The Indo-Scythian ruler Azilises, who took over Hazara from Maues, used the monogram M-F. Senior (2006) states for a similar coin, illustrated as no. 38 in the Chakwal Hoard, that it is the second known coin with this unique monogram. All pendants have three ends (variants E1 & E2).



Z50: 2.09 g, 16.2-17.2 mm, 12h

Z51: 2.27 g, 15.0-16.1 mm, 1h

Fig. 13. Zoilos III: 3 drachms (no. 38 Chakwal Hoard)

3.5 Zoilos III: Type not in Mitchiner, but in Senior (2006)

Another rare variant of a Zoilos drachm, with the portrait of a middle-aged man, is shown in Fig. 14. The coin bears the variant M-B3 of the 'Jammu' monogram, with the control letter *Ta(?)* below the monogram. A second monogram M-E, in the form of a trident together with the control letter *Ram*, is in the left field. The Kushan ruler Wima Kadphises used a similar trident on his bronze coinage and it can be found on a few of his gold coins depicting the god Oesho. The pendant on coin Z48 is reduced to a very simple form of two lines (B8), because most of the space is required for the monogram.



A similar coin with the 'Jammu' monogram, trident, and control letter was first published by Senior (2006) as no. 64 of the Chakwal Hoard.



Fig. 14. Zoilos III drachm (no. 64 Chakwal Hoard)

The coins of Zoilos in the present hoard raise additional questions: are there two or even more rulers who issued coins in the name of Zoilos? Jakobsson (2010) has attributed the coins to two rulers with the name Zoilos and placed the king Dionysios (c. 55-45 BCE) between these two kings. But there is no drachm of Dionysios in the hoard and these are also absent in the Chakwal Hoard. Senior (2006) sees Zoilos II after Dionysios.

4. BHADRAYASHA (c. 15-10 BCE Mitchiner; after 35 BCE, Boparachchi, Jakobsson)

Bhadrayasha is a non-Greek name, but as Senior (2006) states this does not mean that he was not related to the Indo-Greeks. There are 45 coins of Bhadrayasha in the hoard, and all 45 coins belong to type 476 of Mitchiner (1975). Mitchiner describes two varieties of type 476, which he differentiates by the Kharoshthi character *Im* and another character which looks like an *Am*. In my opinion it might be also an *Im* caused by an inaccuracy of the engraver. There may have been even more coins of Bhadrayasha in the hoard, because the Peshawar dealer revealed that he had already sold eight coins and he was quite sure that all eight were of Bhadrayasha.

4.1 Bhadrayasha: Type 476b Mitchiner

Senior (2001) also describes two drachm varieties for Bhadrayasha, but he does not confirm the type 476a of Mitchiner. One of the varieties (type 160.1) has the 'boxy' Jammu monogram alone without field letters, and the second (type 160.2) has the monogram with two additional Kharoshthi characters (same as classified as type 476b by Mitchiner).

Obverse: diademed bust of a young man facing right with a blundered Greek legend in the name of Zoilos: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΖΑΙΛΟΥ*. Senior (2001) sees a small *o* in *ΖΑΙΛΟΥ*, which I cannot confirm for the coins in this find.

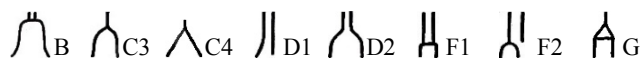
Reverse: Athena Alkidemos left with a dotted shield raised in her left hand and a thunderbolt in her uplifted right hand.

43 drachms in the hoard carry the boxy 'Jammu' monogram and Kharoshthi letter *Im* below the monogram (type 160.2). Senior (2001) put a question mark on the control letter *Mu* in the left field and the 45 drachms of this hoard cannot provide a clear answer to this question.

There is one observation on the 'Jammu' monogram on Bhadrayasha's drachms which is not referred to in the literature so far. The V-like lines on top are always in the centre of the monogram, though in literature they are at the right corner. This is exceptional and it is not observed on any other drachms of late Indo-Greek rulers. Three variants M-B5-B7 of this special 'Jammu' monogram are found, with M-B5 being the most common one.



The Kharoshthi legend starts at 4 o'clock and reads *Maharajasa Tratarasa* with *Bhadrayashasa* at bottom. All pendants beneath the shield of Athena are with two ends, but of high variability:



The 45 drachms of type 476b (160.2) are illustrated in Fig. 15, with a few coins enlarged with additional details like weight, dimensions, and position of the die axis.





B29

B30

B31

B32

B33

B34



B35: 2.30 g, 15.3-16.6 mm, 1h



B36: 2.34 g, 14.8-15.6 mm, 1h



B37: 2.24 g, 15.2-16.5 mm, 1h



B38: 2.29 g, 14.3-15.0 mm, 1h



B39: 1.79 g, 15.0-16.0 mm, 1h



B40: 2.29 g, 14.2 – 15.7 mm, 1h



B41: 2.26 g, 15.0-16.3 mm, 1h



B42: 2.25 g, 14.3-15.0 mm, 1h



B43: 2.29 g, 14.8-15.9 mm, 1h



B44: 2.36 g, 15.3-16.3 mm, 1h



B45: 2.1 g, 16 mm, 1h

Fig. 15. Bhadrayasha: 45 drachms (Mitchiner type 476b; Senior type 160.2)

From these 45 coins studied, 31 different obverse dies can be identified. This is a substantial number of dies for a minor king with a Scythian/ indigenous name, who is considered to have issued coins for a short period only. The large number of variants in pendants also indicates a large number of reverse dies.

The unchanged young face on all the dies supports the assumption of a short period of rule. At first glance the portrait

looks stylized and impersonal, but a closer look reveals a certain individuality created by the engravers.

The hoard adds a substantial number of Bhadrayasha's drachms, but what is still missing are his bronze coins. This situation is similar to that of Apollonphanes Soter, the successor of Zoilos, who is known from his silver drachms only.

4.2 Bhadrayasha: Type 476 var. Mitchiner (unpublished)

The coin illustrated in Fig. 16 is most likely a drachm issued by Bhadrayasha even if important parts of its legends, like the name of the ruler, are off flan. Only the last two characters of (*Bhadraya*)shasa are decipherable on the coin. The portrait fits with the portraits on other coins of Bhadrayasha, such as B06 and B10. The coin in Fig. 16 bears the 'Jammu' monogram M-B8, but has an unrecorded combination of Kharoshthi characters *Ni* in the left field and an uncertain symbol below the monogram which could be a *Mu*(?). This combination of additional Kharoshthi letters may be new, but an error by the engraver also cannot be ruled out - he might have cut the *Im* on the wrong side and mirrored it to become the form of a *Ni*.



Fig. 16. Bhadrayasha drachm (unpublished variety of Mitchiner type 476)

Coming back to the legend in Kharoshthi script, *Maharajasa tratarasa/ Bhadrayashasa*, the meaning of *tratarasa* as 'saviour' is a title in Indo-Greek style rather than Indo-Scythian. It is intriguing that the Greek legend carries the name of Zoilos while the Kharoshthi legend names Bhadrayasha. Such a practice is known from a few Indo-Scythian coins, but not from Indo-Greek coins. An exception might be Artemidoros, who had a Greek name but states on rare bronze coins that he is a son of the Indo-Scythian king Maues. This shows that a separation into Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, and local rulers is difficult. Who was Bhadrayasha and under what circumstances did he come to power? These questions have already been raised by Senior (1998/99). A reliable answer obviously requires additional information which coins cannot provide on their own.

5. STRATO II (c. 40-15 BCE Mitchiner; c. 25 BCE-10 CE Bopearachchi, Jakobsson)

The Strato coinage provides another challenge in understanding the relation and sequence of kings with the same name, in this case Strato, in the absence of historical evidence. Senior (2006) attributed the coins of the Chakwal Hoard issued in the name of Strato as follows: Strato Dikaios *dramikasa*, Strato II, Strato II & Strato Philopator, Strato Philopator, and Strato (III).

The 18 coins in this hoard with the name of Strato are less in number than the coins with the name of Zoilos or Bhadrayasha. This could be an indication that Bhadrayasha might be closer in the sequence of kings to Zoilos, and not after Strato (III) as suggested by Senior (2006) and Mitchiner (1975).

5.1 Strato II: Type 469c Mitchiner

The six drachms in Fig. 17 are of type 469c with the 'Jammu' monogram alone, without any control letters.

Obverse: Diademed bust of an elderly man with protruding chin.

The Greek legend reads: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ*.

Unlike the coins of Zoilos II with the portrait of a balding man, the head of Strato II is shown with full hair on his forehead.

Reverse: Athena Alkidemos advancing left with 'Jammu' monogram, without any control letters. The legend in Kharoshthi script reads: *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa*.

Three coins of this type were part of the Chakwal Hoard. Senior (2006) considers the type with monogram alone as fairly scarce.



Fig. 17. Strato II: 6 drachms (Mitchiner type 469c)

5.2 Strato II: Type 469d Mitchiner

Another drachm attributed to the Indo-Greek king Strato II Soter, but of type 469d with boxy 'Jammu' monogram and the control letter *Sa*, is illustrated in Fig. 18. The portrait and legends are the same as on coins in Fig. 17.



Fig. 18. Strato II drachm (Mitchiner type 469d)

5.3 Strato (II): Type 468d Mitchiner

Mitchiner has attributed drachms classified as type 468d to Strato II (Fig. 19). With respect to the legends it is a coin of the Strato Soter type, but what differs is the portrait of a younger-looking king. The obverse shows the diademed bust of a man in his prime of life with full cheeks and a snub nose. The Greek legend reads: *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝΟΣ*. Reverse: Athena Alkidemos advancing left, 'Jammu' monogram and the control letters *Sa* and *Nam*.

In Mitchiner (1975) the Kharoshthi control letter looks like an *Am* but on the coin S08 a clear *Sa* is visible. The legend in Kharoshthi script is *Maharajasa tratarasa Stratasa*.



Fig. 19. Strato (II) drachm (Mitchiner type 468d)

If the portrait on the coin in Fig. 19 reflects the real appearance of a man in his prime of life, then this coin cannot be of Strato II known from type 469 as an elderly man. According to Senior (2006) the coins of type 468d with the portrait of a younger-looking

man but otherwise with a similar legend as coins of Strato II, might be issued by a last Strato following Strator Philopator.

6. STRATO III (ca. 25 BCE-10 CE Boparachchi, Jakobsson)
 There are crude coins of debased silver with a stereotyped/stylised portrait of a younger man, with the boxy 'Jammu' monogram and legends as known for coins of Strato II. A minor observation which is not described in literature are the two dots between the ribbons of diadem and the neck of the king. These dots are present on all coins of Strato III, but they are not found on any coin of another Strato and also not on coins of other late Indo-Greek rulers. Mitchiner listed the coins attributed to Strato III as type 468 of Strato II. According to Senior (2006) these coins with the stereotyped portrait have been struck after Strato II or were a posthumous issue.

6.1 Strato III: Type 468f Mitchiner

Three drachms with the stereotyped portrait of a middle-aged king are illustrated in Fig. 20. Reverse: Athena Alkidemos with Ra left and O below 'Jammu' monogram.



Fig. 20. Strato III: 3 drachms (Mitchiner type 468f)

6.2 Strato III: Type 468 Mitchiner

Fig. 21 shows another eight coins with a similar stereotyped portrait of Strato III, but with Kharoshthi control letters on reverse: Ra left and A below monogram. Two coins of this type are also found in the Chakwal Hoard (nos. 140 and 141). The reader may have noticed that the illustrated coins in this paper deteriorate in execution of dies and use of material, starting from the coins of Apollodotos II. The coins of Strato shown in Fig. 21 are the most debased and crude in style. The diameter of the coins becomes smaller over time, with a large part of the legends off flan. It requires several coins to get a complete reading of the legends.



Fig. 21. Strato III: 8 drachms (Mitchiner type 468)

With each new find the number of different types and varieties of Strato's coins increases, and that means the attribution to any particular Strato and the sequence of their rule becomes more difficult. The Chakwal Hoard (Senior 2006) already added a new coin of another Strato – Strato Dikaios – to the existing mix of Strato coins. The coin S08 (type 468d, Fig. 19) may have been issued before or more likely after the coins of Strato II bearing the portrait of an old man (type 469). The grandson of Strato II is mentioned on the coins of Strato II & Strato Philopator, but what about the son of Strato II who may have ruled briefly?

Conclusion

The composition of drachms in the hoard shows close parallels to the Chakwal Hoard. The quality of most coins in the present hoard is of high grade, without significant traces of use or circulation. The collection of these coins might have been done in almost mint condition over a long period of about 20-30 years. The general good condition of the coins does not provide any indication of a possible sequence of mintage.

The presentation of all the coins including the text may be regarded as repetitive after the Chakwal Hoard, but I am of the opinion that the hoard is worth mentioning in detail, especially due to the large number of Bhadrashya drachms (46) and the large number of dies used to strike these coins. The coin distribution in the hoard is as follows:

Apollodotos II	10 drachms	7.9%
Zoilos	52	40.9%
Bhadrashya	46	36.2%
Strato	19	15.0%

The abundance of drachms struck in the name of Zoilos and Bhadrashya might be an indication that the main part of the hoard was collected during the time of their rule. The frequency of coins could be used to support the assumption that Bhadrashya might have ruled parallel or after the last Zoilos, but before the first Strato, or also parallel to a Strato and not after the last Strato.

The form of the pendant beneath the shield held by Athena was addressed by Mitchiner and more varieties have been identified and illustrated (Fig. 22). Although the diversity of the pendant is remarkable it is not significant as a characteristic for the classification of a particular coin type or variety.

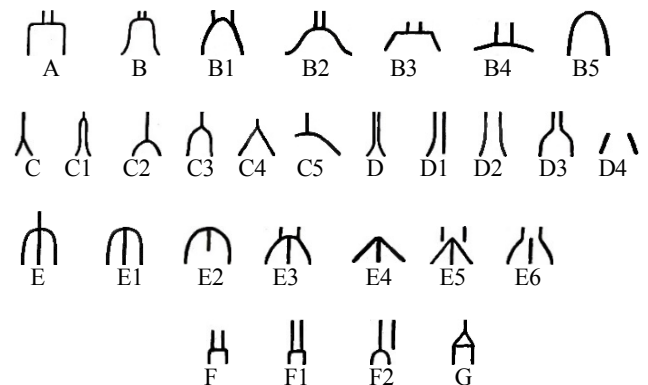


Fig. 22. Forms of pendant beneath shield of Athena Alkidemos on coins in the hoard

Many questions will remain about the late Indo-Greek kings, their individual origins, their family or dynastic relations, as well as the time and duration of their rule. Over the years the Indo-Greeks, like others too, became part of a composite Indian culture and therefore it might be difficult to identify who was an Indo-Greek ruler, an Indo-Scythian, or an indigenous ruler. Was there a relation between the rulers in the mountains of eastern Punjab to a dynasty of Apollodotos II because all used the same epithet *Soter* (Saviour) and Athena Alkidemos on the reverse of their silver coinage (Jakobsson 2010)?

It is understood that knowledge of the circumstances, composition and location of a coin hoard might allow conclusions about time, sequence and location of mintage. Unfortunately, the circumstances of many finds remain in darkness. The knowledge about the time and chronology of late Indo-Greek rulers is still diffuse, but more finds and reliable supporting material besides coins may help to solve these questions.

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PARATARAJA COIN DISCOVERED AS PREDICTED

R. C. Senior

I have written several notes on the Parataraja series in the journal over the years and covered them twice in *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, Vols. 1-4. A more complete and detailed listing was made by Pankaj Tandon in the *Numismatic Chronicle* 2006 and, better still, his paper in the ONS Supplement 151, pp. 15-31. In this latter paper, Pankaj predicted that a heavy di-drachm of Yolamira, son of Bagareva, must exist and that the obverse die used would be the same die used to strike the extremely rare di-drachms of his son Hvaramira, his grandson Mirahvara and coins of Kosana, son of Bagavharna. All the known di-drachms seemingly used just one obverse die.

It pleases me now to report that amongst a small group of six Yolamira coins recently shown to me is that predicted di-drachm, and exactly as Pankaj said it would be. All six coins have a completely black appearance, similar to the Mir Zakah II hoard coins which had been buried in a well for 2,000 years. There is little sign of wear to the coins, but several of them have had some silver loss by chemical transfer as the silver has combined with contaminants.



Fig. 1. Yolamira didrachm (20 mm, 6.69 g)

The reverse legend reads *Yolamirasa Bagarevaputrasa Paratarajasa* around a swastika turning left.



Fig. 2. Reverse legend on Yolamira didrachm

The other five Yolamira coins were of drachm denomination, with the legend and swastika as above. Fig. 2 illustrates one specimen.



Fig. 3. Yolamira drachm (15 mm, 3.56 g)

The weights of the other drachms were: 3.41, 3.30, 3.29, and 2.87 g.

Another coin worth mentioning here belongs to the Indo-Parthian series from Sind. The drachms of Sarpedones are particularly rare, and one, until now, unique variety is issue S252.3D [illustrated in ISCH Vol II p. 175], which was only known from a specimen found in Taxila. Here is a second specimen (Fig. 4).



Fig. 4. Sarpedones drachm (15 mm, 1.97 g)

The obverse shows the third and fourth letters of the ruler's name in Greek on the obverse. The Gondopharid symbol before the face is indistinct, but seems lower placed than on the other known coin.

On the reverse the king's name in Kharoshthi is written from 3-6 o'clock and is very clear. The second askara is an unusual form *Rpe* shown above and similar to the letter found on some of his Arachosian coins.

TWO NEW KINGS OF PANCHALA

Karan Singh

The Panchala kingdom at Ahicchatra, in northern India, produced a long series of copper coinage for several centuries,¹ from which we have the names of over 40 kings.² Two more names can now be added to this list:

Rajnyah Bhanumitra
Rajnyah Vijayamitra

I will illustrate their coins first and then discuss the importance of this discovery.

Rajnyah Bhanumitra

This ruler issued coins in two types: one with bull left, and the second with bull right.

Type IA – Bull standing left



Fig. 1. Rajnyah Bhanumitra AE coin - Type IA
(14 mm, 1.76 g)



Fig. 2. Rajnyah Bhanumitra AE coin - Type IA
(14 mm, 1.43 g)

Obverse: Bull standing left on a platform, flanked by two standards; trident above

Reverse: Brahmi legend in two lines *Rajnyah/ Bhanumita*; Panchala symbol at top left

Type IB – Bull seated left



Fig. 3. Rajnyah Bhanumitra AE coin - Type IB
(14 mm, 1.96 g)

Obverse: Bull recumbent left on a platform, flanked by two standards; trident above

Reverse: Same as Type IA

Type II – Bull right



Fig. 4. Rajnyah Bhanumitra AE coin - Type II
(16 mm, 3.14 g)

Obverse: Bull recumbent right on a platform, flanked by two standards; trident above

Reverse: Same as Type I

Rajnyah Vijayamitra

This ruler issued coins of only one type.



Fig. 5. Rajnyah Vijayamitra AE coin (13 mm, 1.78 g)



Fig. 6. Rajnyah Vijayamitra AE coin (14 mm, 1.68 g)



Fig. 7. Rajnyah Vijayamitra AE coin (14 mm, 1.55 g)

Obverse: Conch shell placed horizontally on a platform, flanked by two standards; five-spoked wheel (*chakra*) above

Reverse: Brahmi legend in two lines *Rajnyah (or Rajah)/ Vijayami*; Panchala symbol at top left

Use of a Title

This is the first use of a title such as *Rajnyah* or *Rajah* in the Panchala series. All other kings simply placed their names on coins without any honorific or title.³

Both Rajnyah Bhanumitra and Rajnyah Vijayamitra use similar legend arrangements, with the top line having a single Panchala dynastic symbol (instead of the usual three), followed by the title. Rajnyah Bhanumitra used the title *Rajnyah*, while Rajnyah Vijayamitra used both *Rajnyah* (Fig. 7) and *Rajah* (Fig. 6) as his title.⁴

The second line carries their names: *Bhanumita(sa)* or *Vijayami(tasa)*. The style of the letters is quite crude, suggesting a late date of issue.

Denomination

We see a weight range of 1.43 to 3.14 g, which probably represents two denominations: a single unit weighing 1.5-1.9 g, and a double unit around 3.2 g.

New Symbols

The bull seen on Rajnyah Bhanumitra's coins is the first time we see this animal used as a key symbol in Panchala coinage. Animals are extremely rare in this series. We usually find deities, such as Agni, Vishnu, Indra and Lakshmi, or ritual objects, such as fire altar, trident, standard and tree-in-railing,⁵ that may represent deities. The bull, along with the trident above it, could symbolise the king's support for Shaivism.

Similarly, the composite symbol of conch shell and *chakra* seen on the coins of Rajnyah Vijayamitra may indicate his support for Vaishnavism. His intricate mix of conch shell, *chakra*, standards and platform is also far more complex than seen on most Panchala coins.

It is interesting that on the coins of both kings we see an additional symbol above the main object: a trident (Rajnyah Bhanumitra) or a *chakra* (Rajnyah Vijayamitra). We will discuss this point later.

Chronology

The use of a title and of composite symbols by these two new rulers show their progression relative to the series, placing them later than most other Panchala kings.

According to Shrimali (1983), the Panchala series extended from 150 BCE to 125 CE, ending when the Kushans expanded into their territory.⁶ According to him, after Kushan power began to decline in the 3rd century, new Panchala kings such as Achyu re-emerged in c. 300-350 CE.⁷

Yet new scholarship on the Kushans indicates that there was in fact no Kushan interlude in the Panchala series. According to Cribb & Bracey (to be published), the Kushans had administrative control over Mathura from 100-254 CE, but not over the rest of the Gangetic plain. They believe that the material evidence from hoards and excavation reports points to indigenous coinage continuing in Kausambi, Ahicchatra and the Yaudheya territories,⁸ albeit with some Kushan influence on the denominations and designs, as seen in Yaudheya coinage.

At Ahicchatra, the Panchala coins found in excavations overlapped with Kushan coins.⁹ Cribb & Bracey argue that most of these Kushan coins found during excavation are actually late issues dating to 290-350 CE. The political status of the Panchala rulers relative to the Kushans is unclear. Ahicchatra is not mentioned in Kanishka's Rabatak inscription – unlike Kausambi and Ayodhya – implying perhaps that it was incorporated into the Kushan empire at the time.¹⁰

Nevertheless, it is clear that Panchala coinage continued well into the Kushan era and there was no long interlude. We therefore see an unbroken development in the Panchala series, leading up to Rajnyah Bhanumitra and Rajnyah Vijayamitra, and eventually to Achyu in the 4th century.

Connection with Maghas of Kausambi

To specifically date our two new rulers we can consider the possibility of a connection based on coin designs with the Magha dynasty of Kausambi, whose inscriptions date from 129-217 CE.¹¹

The bull on Rajnyah Bhanumitra's coins is similar to the bull seen on Magha coinage (Figs. 8-10). The Magha coins also depict an additional symbol above the bull, which appears to be a trident (Fig. 8) or a *chakra* (Fig. 9). This is another point of similarity with the new Panchala coins.



Fig. 8. Nava AE coin (4.34 g)



Fig. 9. Vijayamagha AE coin (4.54 g)



Fig. 10. Shivamagha II AE coin (2.23 g)

The palaeography seen on the coins of early Magha rulers Nava and Vijayamagha (Figs. 8-9) appears to predate our two Panchala kings. Later ruler Shivamagha II (Fig. 10) may well be a better match in terms of both palaeography and design.

Conclusion

It is therefore likely that Rajnyah Bhanumitra and Rajnyah Vijayamitra were contemporaneous with Shivamagha II and can be dated c. 200-210 CE.

I propose that the Panchala copper series, that began with Vangapala in c. 150 BCE,¹² continued till 350 CE. With over 40 kings, a duration of over four centuries is quite plausible.¹³

The period under discussion here – from 150 CE to 250 CE – is not well-documented, but was inhabited by rulers whose coins are now coming to light, such as Agnimitra II (Fig. 11).¹⁴



Fig. 11. Agnimitra II AE coin (2.43 g)

The addition of Rajnyah Bhanumitra and Rajnyah Vijayamitra to this list provides clear evidence of the progression in the series. They were followed later by rulers such as Srinandi and Achyu, who was eventually defeated by Gupta king Samudragupta,¹⁵ bringing a final close to the long and rich coinage of the Panchalas.



Fig. 12. Achyu AE coin, with 12-spoked wheel (1.31 g)

The chronology of these later Panchala rulers is proposed in Table A, along with the corresponding dates known for the Magha rulers. I am sure that as our knowledge of this series improves, more kings will be added to fill in the gaps.

Table A. Proposed chronology of late Panchala kings compared to Maghas (in CE)

Maghas ¹⁶		Panchala	
Bhimasena	129		
Nava	c. 150		
Bhadramagha	159-165		
Praushthasri	164-165		
Bhattadeva	168		
Vijayamagha	170?	Agnimitra II	c. 170?
Shivamagha I	175?		
Vaisravana	185	Yajnabala	c. 180?
Shivamagha II	200?		
Bhimavarman	208-217	Rajnyah Bhanumitra	c. 200
		Rajnyah Vijayamitra	c. 210
		Srinandi	c. 300?
		Achyu	c. 300-350

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Sharad Sharma and Badri Prasad Verma for our discussions on these two kings. I also wish to thank Shailendra Bhandare, Ashmolean Museum, for his reading of the legends on the coins, and Robert Bracey for his suggestions on their chronology relative to the Kushans. All the coins illustrated in this paper are from the author's collection.

References

1. Krishna Mohan Shrimali, *History of Pancala*, Vol. II, 1983, p. 6.
2. Sushama Arya, *Panchal Rajya Ka Itihaas*, 2001, pp. 89-90.
3. Arya (2001) lists a king with the name Rajno Vishnusena (Pl. 49, coin 159), but he does not appear to have been a Panchala ruler - there is no Panchala dynastic symbol above his name and there is no symbol on the other side (Arya failed to illustrate the other side, so it is probably blank).
4. Shailendra Bhandare read the *Rajnyah* and *Rajah* legends on these specimens. According to him, both *Rajnyah* and *Rajah* are grammatically correct.
5. Shrimali, Vol. II, p. 20, Fig. II.
6. Shrimali, Vol. II, p. 6.
7. Shrimali, Vol. II, p. 32.
8. Cribb & Bracey (to be published), personal communication.
9. Cribb & Bracey, personal communication. Shrimali (1983) agrees, pointing out that "the testimony of 1963-65 excavations at the site... leads us to infer that the Pancala coins continued for some time even after the arrival of Kusanas" (Vol. II, p. 6).
10. Cribb & Bracey believe that if a city or kingdom was mentioned in an inscription, it implied that the Kushans viewed them as vassals on the fringes of their empire, i.e. they were independent and perhaps paying token homage to the Kushans. If a city or kingdom was not mentioned, it would imply that they were already part of the empire and the Kushans felt there was no need to mention them (personal communication). Ahichhatra's status is undefined as there is an unread name at the beginning of the sequence in the Rabatak inscription, and it is possible that this may have been intended for Ahichhatra (personal communication).

11. There has been a divergence of opinion on which era the Magha rulers employed in their inscriptions, i.e. whether it was the Saka era of 78 CE or the Kushan era of 128 CE (Pieper, Tandon). Choosing one or the other would make a difference of 50 years to our dating of the Maghas. Cribb & Bracey believe the rulers followed the Saka era, as their inscriptions "employ the system of dark and light fortnights familiar from other regions, but not used at Mathura where the Kushan era dominated" (personal communication).
12. Shrimali regards Vangapala as the first Panchala ruler, c. 150 BCE (Vol. II, p. 7). I agree, given the 2nd century BCE palaeography seen on two seals of Vangapala in my collection and on another specimen illustrated in Svami Omananda Sarasvati, *Haryana ke Pracin Mudranka - Ancient Seals of Haryana*, 1975, Pl. 285.
13. Shrimali allocated 275 years for the 25 rulers known in 1983 (Vol. II, p. 6). With 40+ rulers now known, the duration of this series needs to be expanded accordingly.
14. This type of Agnimitra II has been published (Pieper 2013, 1022-23), but misattributed to Agnimitra I. It is clear that this coin is of a later king also called Agnimitra (II), having the legend *Agnimitrasa* compared to the earlier *Agimitasa*.
15. Shrimali, Vol. I, pp. 72-73.
16. The sequence of Magha rulers is based on: <http://coinindia.com/galleries-maghas.html>, accessed on March 3, 2019. Their dates are adjusted for the Saka era.

THE NIDUGAL CHOLAS AND THEIR COINAGE

Govindraya Prabhu Sanoor



Synopsis

This paper brings to light some rare *gadyanas* along with hitherto unattributed fractional coins like *fanams*, *haga* and *visa* of the Nidugal Chola kingdom. So far only one *gadyana* type was known from various numismatic publications. A good understanding of the provenance and the inscriptions of the dynasty have enabled the identification of new types as presented here.

The Nidugal Chola kingdom lasted for a little more than three centuries with twelve rulers, according to the legible lithic records. The dynasty ended with the rise of the Hoysalas. Records suggest that the Hoysala feudatory kingdom of Kampila took responsibility for the administration of the land once held by the Nidugal kingdom.

The use of warrior insignia introduced by the Nidugal Chola dynasty on their gold *gadyanas* continued in subsequent coinage over the next 40 years. These are often referred to as Hanuman and Garuda types in various numismatic publications. The present paper also clears some misattributions of the coinage of the Nidugal Cholas.

Political History¹

Nidugal is located in the Pavagada taluk of the Tumkur district in the modern state of Karnataka. From 735 CE to 1024 CE, this region was a Nolamba stronghold. Records suggest that at some point of time the Pandyas of Uchchangi also played a significant role in

ruling the region in and around Nidugal. With the decline of Nolamba supremacy, the Nidugal Cholas came into prominence.

Nolambavadi and Gangavadi were two strategic regions which many dynasties tried to acquire. Records suggest that a feudatory king, Chola Maharaja, is credited with the establishment of the Nidugal Cholas kingdom. Chola Maharaja claimed his descent from the Karikal Cholas through a king called Mangi and styled himself as the 'Lord of Oreiyur'. Oreiyur was the capital of the Karikal Cholas. However, this designation is evidently mythical as Govindavadi and Henjeru were the capitals of the Nidugal Cholas during the first two centuries of their rule, when they were the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyana.

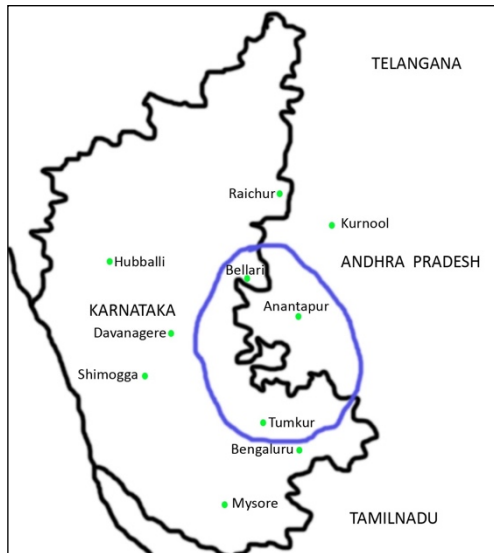


Fig. 1. Map showing the approximate extent of the Nidugal Chola kingdom

The dynasty later shifted its base to Nidugal. Their inscriptions are found widely in Tumkur, Bellary, Chitradurga and Anantapur districts. Only from the beginning of 11th century CE is a connected history of this family traceable. At the height of their power, their territory covered the modern districts of Tumkur, Bellary Chitradurga and Anantapur.

Jata: The earliest Chola ruler, he was most likely a Nolamba feudatory. At this point, the Nolambas themselves were the feudatories of the Chalukyas of Kalyana. Jata's name is mentioned in an inscription of Irungola III from Nidugal.

Brahmadeva (1040 CE): Jata's successor, Brahmadeva, is also known by the names Bommadeva, Bhogendra and Bhoga. The same record that mentioned the genealogical account of Jata named Brahmadeva as Jata's successor. The Kvarya record of Brahmadeva reveals that he was a *Mahamandaleshvara* and the area that he ruled is identified as Govindavadi.

Mangarasa/ Mangi (1079-1083 CE): According to the inscriptions of Irungola III and Ganeshvara, the lineage line of Chola chiefs begins with the ruler Mangarasa. Mangarasa figures prominently as the successor of Bommadeva in the Nidugal inscription of Irungola II. The title *Mahamandaleshvara* indicates that Mangi had probably been a feudatory under Chalukya Vikramaditya VI. The inscription also mentions his insignia to be the *simha lanchhana* or 'lion emblem'. He ruled over the regions of Rodda-300 and Kaniyakal-300 with his capital at Govindavadi. These two regions comprised Rayadurga, Kalyanadurga, Gooty, Hindupur and Penukonda taluks of Anantapur district. They were subdivisions of Nolambavadi-32000.

Babbadeva (1083 CE): Also known as Bichi, he was the successor to Mangarasa and is known from the records of Irungola III and Ganeshvara.

Govindarasa (1106 CE): Govindarasa is also known from the same records of Irungola III, though no direct records of this ruler are yet known. The Nidugal inscription of his grandson, Mallideva, names the queen of Govindarasa as Mahadevi.

Irungola I (1107-1142 CE): Irungola has many inscriptions in his name, and from here onwards the lithic records begin to appear more or less regularly. These records are mainly about the grants to various temples during his reign. He served as *Mahamandaleshvara* to three Chalukya emperors, namely Vikramaditya VI, Someshvara III and Jagadekamalla II, and his rule covered Chitradurga, the Sira taluk of Tumkur district, as well as the Kalyanadurga, Gooty, and Madaksira taluks of Anantapur district. During his reign, Haruve-300 and Sindavadi-1000 were part of the Chola dominions. He also had the title *Virapandya Irungola Choladeva*, perhaps due to the fact that his mother, Mahadevi, belonged to the lineage of the Pandyas of Uchchangi. He had the support of the Chalukyas of Kalyana and hence remained a formidable foe of Vishnuvardhana Hoysala. His rule was not entirely peaceful, as hostilities with the Hoysalas were quite frequent. He also had to face the Telugu Chodas on his eastern frontier. He was the last ruler to have ruled from Govindavadi as the capital.

Mallideva (1143-1196 CE): Mallideva was subordinate to the Chalukya emperors Jagadekamalla II and Someshvara IV. Inscriptions of his reign refer mainly to the grants to temples such as Nageshvara at Nidugal and Rameshvara at Sirevolal. He was fortunate to see the usurpation of the Chalukyas at the hands of the Kalachuris. The timing was just perfect for him to proclaim his own independence. Mallideva is described as *Vira Nolamba Jagadekamalla Mallideva Chola Maharaja* in one of his inscriptions. It is apparent that he was the most powerful ruler of the dynasty, having acquired Henjeru. He added Arasikere, Hemavati, Nagenahalli, Obalapura and Mahadevapura to his domains. It is presumed that the Nolambas had no successor to ascend the throne and Mallideva took advantage of it. His title *Jagadekamalla* also indicates that he ascended the throne during the reign of Jagadekamalla II, his overlord. For a brief period, he was subordinate to the Kalachuris. His kingdom consisted of Roddanadu, Sirenadu, Kaniyakallu Nadu and Haruvenadu, and these were administered from the capital Henjeru.

Irungola II (1196-1219 CE): One of the best known inscriptional mentions of Irungola appears in an inscription of Hoysala Ballala II and it is assumed that he was the son of Mallideva. Another inscription of Ballala II, dated 1218 CE, refers to his camping near Nidugal. It seems that, during Irungola's reign, a considerable part of the territory was lost to the Hoysalas.

Bommadeva II (1219-1225 CE): Bommadeva, the next ruler, was the second son of Mallideva. He was a feudatory of Someshvara IV. The Hoysalas were just gaining power during his reign. Only one inscription of this ruler is known, erected at Brahmagiri hill of Molakalmuru taluk, Chitradurga district. The genealogy account mentions his mother, Bijjaladevi. He was able to restore the glory of his lineage by adding Hombilige, Lunke, Norumba, Nolambavadi and Ramadi to his dominions.

Irungola III (1225-1280 CE): Irungola was one of the most powerful rulers of the dynasty. He was the son of Bommadeva II, and he ruled from Nidugal Pattana. Records indicate that he had a very long reign. His inscriptions are found in Abbinavole and Molakalmuru in Chitradurga district and Kambaduru in Anantapur district. Other inscriptions are known from Sira and Pavagada in Tumkur district. These inscriptions suggest that he was a good wrestler and proficient in the art of war. He had titles such as *Tribhuvanamalla* and *Vira Danava Murari*. He also ruled over Haniyadurga (Brahmagiri). To face the aggression of the Hoysalas, he sided with the Yadavas and formed an alliance. He was successful in rebelling against the Hoysala king, Narasimha III. A Katikera inscription dated 1276 CE states that the Yadava army, under several chiefs including Irungola, had marched to Dwarasamudra and camped nearby.

Perumaladeva (1280-1286 CE): There are several damaged inscriptions that refer to a ruler named Perumaladeva. During his rule, the Hoysalas acted aggressively and the name of Perumaladeva is not noted beyond 1286 CE. Though the Hoysala records mention the defeat of the Nidugal chiefs, we do not have clear evidence to this effect. Instead we hear about two more rulers,

Bamma III (1280 CE) and Ganeshvara, from the Nidugal Chola records.

Ganeshvara (1286-1292 CE): He was the last ruler of the family to rule at Nidugal. He was the son of Vira Bomma and grandson of Irungola III. He had the title *Nigalamka malla*, according to his inscription. It is possible that he recovered Nidugal from the Hoysalas and retrieved part of the territory in Tumkur district.

Table A. Chronology of Nidugal Chola kings

Ruler	Rule	Capital
Brahmadeva	1040-1079 CE	Govindavadi
Mangarasa	1079-1083 CE	Govindavadi
Babbadeva	1083- ---- CE	Govindavadi
Govindarasa	---- -1106 CE	Henjeru
Irungola I	1107-1143 CE	Henjeru
Mallideva	1143-1196 CE	Henjeru
Irungola II	1196-1219 CE	Henjeru
Brahmadeva II	1219-1225 CE	Henjeru
Irungola III	1225-1280 CE	Nidugal
Perumaladeva	1280-1286 CE	Nidugal
Ganeshvara	1286-1292 CE	Nidugal

Coinage

The territory in and around Tumkur has yielded plenty of die-struck coins with the legend *sri danava murari banta* and the image of a running warrior. These pagodas are the precursors of the Kampila and Vijayanagara ‘warrior’ type pagodas. These pagodas were first attributed² to the ruler Irungola II by K. Ganesh. But in the light of the typological link above, the coins are re-attributed to Irungola III in this paper.

The pagodas have been classified into two types: the ‘Hanuman’ type has the image of a running warrior in ‘Veera’ posture, and the second has a running warrior wearing armour and a helmet that has a nose-guard. The latter is popularly referred to as the “Garuda” type due to the resemblance of the prominent helmet nose-guard to a beak.




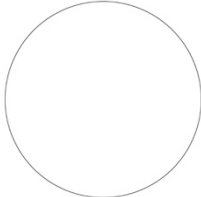



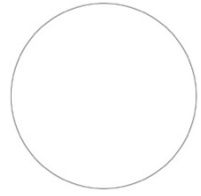


Fanams of the same series have a running warrior image on the obverse and the letter *mu* inscribed in Kannada on the reverse. These are being recorded for the first time in this paper. In silver, there are several varieties including one that bears the letter *da* on the reverse in Kannada and Nagari, and the running warrior swinging a sword above his head on the obverse. These were hitherto informally assumed to be Vijayanagar issues.


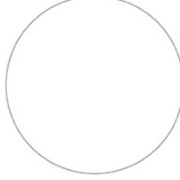








Danava murari banta is a dynastic title used by more than one ruler. The term *danava* is often associated with *daityas* or *asuras* (demons), held to be implacable enemies. *Murari* stands for Krishna, and *banta* means either a servant or a warrior. The full title might just mean ‘a warrior/ servant of Krishna who is the foe of the demon Mura’. The frequent wars with Telugu Chodas and Hoysalas and the pride of victory perhaps influenced them to exaggerate their valour through coins and epithets.











The *gadyana* weight is seen in two standards, namely 3.6 g and 3.4 g. The earlier rulers issued *gadyanas* similar to those of their overlords, the Chalukyas of Kalyana. These carried lion punches as on Chalukya *gadyanas*. The lion emblem is mentioned in the earlier inscriptions of Mangarasa. The coins of Irungola I resemble that of Chalukya punch-marked *gadyanas*. The usage of the elephant goad emblem in the early punch-marked coins marks the transition from the Nolambas to the Nidugal Cholas. The title *Bhujabala* that is seen in the early punch-marked coins is not known in any of the inscriptions of the Nidugal Cholas. Irungola III was a feudatory of the Yadavas and his earlier *gadyanas* resemble Yadava punch-marked *gadyanas*. During a later period, Irungola III issued die-struck *gadyanas* with the dynastic title *danava murari banta*. Subsequent rulers continued to use the existing type, leading to the degeneration of legend forms on the reverse. Moreover, these are found in the area that was under the control of the last rulers. The *gadyanas* with degenerated Kannada legends are attributed to Perumaladeva, the successor to Irungola III, based on the assumption that these are of a later period.








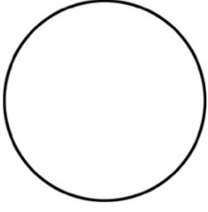



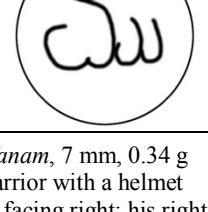
It is interesting to note that the successor kingdoms of Kampila, and eventually Vijayanagara, were inspired by the Nidugal coinage, issuing gold coins with a running warrior motif on the obverse. The reverse of the latter coins have the legends *Sri Vira Harihara* or *Sri Vira Bukkaraya*. This type continued to circulate for the next 40 years.















Catalogue of Nidugal Chola coins

No.	Obverse	Reverse
1		
		
<p>Mangarasa (1079-1083 CE), punch-marked <i>gadyana</i>, 23 mm, 3.4 g Obverse: 1 x running warrior punch at centre, 4 x lion facing right, 2 x <i>sri</i>, 1 x elephant goad; 1 x <i>Bhujabala</i> in Kannada Reverse: Blank <i>Photo courtesy Classical Numismatic Gallery, Auction 31, Lot 86</i></p>		
2		
		
<p>Irungola I (1107-1142 CE), punch-marked <i>gadyana</i>, 23 mm, 3.57 g Obverse: 1 x running warrior punch at centre, 4 x lion facing right, 2 x <i>sri</i>, 1 x <i>danava</i> retrograde in Kannada, 1 x (<i>mura</i>)<i>ri ba(n)ta</i> in Kannada Reverse: Blank <i>Photo courtesy Oswal Antiques, Auction 70, Lot 91</i></p>		
3		

		
	<p>Mallideva (1143-1196 CE), punch-marked <i>gadyana</i>, 23mm, 3.6gm Obverse: 5 x running warrior punch, 2 x <i>sri</i>, 2 x <i>Bhujabala</i> in Kannada Reverse: Blank <i>Photo courtesy Chagan Raj Jain</i></p>	
4		
	<p>Mallideva (1143-1196 CE), punch-marked <i>gadyana</i>, 23 mm, 3.58 g Obverse: 5 x running warrior punch, 2 x <i>sri</i>, 1 x <i>danava</i> retrograde in Kannada, 1 x <i>murari</i> in Kannada Reverse: Blank <i>Photo courtesy Oswal Antiques, Auction 72, Lot 15</i></p>	
5		
		
	<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>gadyana</i>, 13 mm, 3.4 g Obverse: Running warrior facing right, with right hand raised and left hand placed on his left thigh Reverse: <i>danava murari banta</i> in Kannada, spread over three lines with a single separator line in-between</p>	
6		

		
	<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>gadyana</i>, 13 mm, 3.4 g Obverse: Running armoured warrior with a helmet that protects his nose and head, facing right, his right hand raised and left hand on his left thigh Reverse: <i>danava murari banta</i> in Kannada, spread over three lines with a single separator line in-between</p>	
7		
		
	<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>gadyana</i>, 13 mm, 3.4 g Obverse: Running armoured warrior with a helmet that protects his nose, facing right, his right hand raised and left hand on his left thigh Reverse: <i>danava murari banta</i> in Kannada, spread over three lines with a single separator line in-between</p>	
8		
		
	<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>gadyana</i>, 13 mm, 3.4 g Obverse: Running armoured warrior with a helmet that protects his nose, facing right; his right hand raised and left hand hanging free above his left thigh Reverse: <i>danava murari banta</i> in Kannada, spread over three lines with a single separator line in-between <i>Photo courtesy Murlu Narayan</i></p>	

9		
		
<p>Perumaladeva (1280-1286 CE), <i>gadyana</i>, 13 mm, 3.4 g Obverse: Running armoured warrior with a helmet that protects his nose and head, facing right; his right hand raised and left hand placed on his left thigh. Reverse: Blundered Kannada legends meant to be <i>danava murari banta</i>, spread over three lines with a single separator line in-between. The legend reads somewhat like <i>ganda berunda</i>.</p>		
10		
		
<p>Ganeshwara (1286-1292 CE), punch-marked <i>gadyana</i>, 15 mm, 3.4 g Obverse: 1 x running warrior punch at centre, 2 x <i>sri</i>, 1 x sun and moon; 1 x <i>murari</i> in Kannada Reverse: Blank <i>Photo courtesy Chagan Raj Jain</i></p>		
11		
		
<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>fanam</i>, 7 mm, 0.34 g Obverse: Running armoured warrior with a helmet that protects his nose and head, facing right; his right hand raised and left hand placed on his left thigh Reverse: Kannada letter <i>mu</i>, an initial for 'murari' <i>Photo courtesy Murli Narayan</i></p>		

12		
		
<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>haga</i>, 6 mm, 0.1 g Obverse: Running warrior facing right; his right hand raised and left hand placed on his left thigh Reverse: Floral scroll <i>Photo courtesy Pramod Vernekar</i></p>		
13		
		
<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>visa</i>, 7 mm, 0.24 g Obverse: Running warrior facing right; his right hand raised and left hand placed on left thigh Reverse: Kannada letter <i>da</i>, an initial for 'danava' <i>Photo courtesy Raman Sankaran</i></p>		
14		
		
<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>visa</i>, 7 mm, 0.22 g Obverse: Running warrior facing right; his right hand raised with a sword and left hand placed on his left thigh; a dagger shield hangs from his waist Reverse: Nagari letter <i>da</i>, an initial for 'danava'</p>		
15		

121. **LALIANA** (Teh. Mowana; Distt. MEERUT)

Copper, 589.

Tomaras of Delhi 160 [Sallakshanapala deva 40, Ajayapala 24, Kumarapala 18, Anangapala 46, Mahipala 32]; **Rajputs of Narwar 96** [Chahada deva 32, Asalladeva 28, Gopala 36]; **Chauhans of Dehli and Ajmer 160** [Asalladeva 24, Visaladeva 40, Somes war deva 32, Prthvi 48, Prthviraj with Muhammad bin Sam 16]; **Pathans of Delhi 39** [Muhammad bin Sam 12, Iltutmish 6, Firuz Shah 8, Raziyya 13]; Samsoraladeva of Ranthambhor 34; **Unknown Rajput Kings 100** [Pipala 40, Kirtideva 25; Kairan-deva 12, Asvari Sri Samant 13, Bhishma deva 10].





Disposition : Lucknow.
402/20.12.95.

While there is no description of the types of coins involved beyond “copper”, many of the names are known to be associated with a single coin type, the Rajput billon bull-and-horseman coins of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. These formed a discrete denomination, and the coins tend to be found together regardless of issuer. So at first glance, this would appear to be a Rajput bull-and-horseman hoard, with a possible admixture of earlier Lakshmi-type billon coins and later Delhi Sultan and Narwar base coins. Such coins are often judged to be copper, depending on the method of cleaning used in conservation: some treatments make the coin surface silver-rich, while others leave the surface copper-rich.

The identifications were attempted in 1895, before many of these coins had been properly attributed and published. In the circumstances, the cataloguer made very reasonable classification decisions based on the legends as they appeared, in circumstances where the die design was often wider than the coin flan. Despite the meagre description of the coins, it is possible to make an educated guess as to what might be the identity of the listed coins (Table A).

Table A. Coin types recorded in Laliana hoard

Original description	Probable identification	Deyell no.	Tye no.
Tomaras of Delhi			
<i>Sallakshanapala deva</i>	Sallakshana Pala Deva	184-5	42
<i>Ajayapala</i>	Ajaya Pala Deva	178-179	-
<i>Kumarapala</i>	unknown (Madana?)	-	-
<i>Anangapala</i>	Ananga Pala Deva	186-200	43-4
<i>Mahipala</i>	Mahi Pala	232-233	39
Rajputs of Narwar			
<i>Chahada deva</i>	Chahada Deva	363	57
<i>Asalladeva</i>	Asalla Deva	364	58
<i>Gopala</i>	Gopala Deva	-	-
Chauhans of Dehli and Ajmer			
<i>Asalladeva</i>	unknown	-	-
<i>Visaladeva</i>	unknown	-	-
<i>Somes war deva</i>	Somesvara Deva	217-219	49
<i>Prthvi</i>	Prithvi Raja Deva	225	52
<i>Prthviraj with Muhammad bin Sam</i>	“Joint issue”	259	-
Pathans of Delhi			
<i>Muhammad bin Sam</i>	Muhammad bin Sam	240-260	183-7
<i>Iltutmish</i>	Iltutmish	304-324	376-87

		
	<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>visa</i>, 7 mm, 0.24 g Obverse: Running warrior facing right; his right hand raised with a sword and left hand placed on his left thigh; a dagger shield hangs from his waist Reverse: Dagger placed upright; Kannada letter <i>sri</i> <i>Photo courtesy Chagan Raj Jain</i></p>	
16		
	<p>Irungola III (1225-1280 CE), <i>visa</i>, 7 mm, 0.19 g Obverse: Running armoured warrior facing right; his right hand raised and left hand placed on his left thigh Reverse: Blank <i>Photo courtesy Raman Sankaran</i></p>	

Acknowledgements

The author expresses his sincere thanks and gratitude to the authors of various books that have been studied and referred to while writing this paper. He also wishes to thank Murlu Narayan, Shailendra Bhandare and Stan Goron for their valuable feedback, review and amendments, which have greatly enhanced this paper.

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AN INTRIGUING BULL-AND-HORSEMAN HOARD: CONNOISSEUR'S COLLECTION OR MISATTRIBUTION?

John Deyell

While researching recent developments in the Rajput bull-and-horseman *dehliwal* series, I took the opportunity to inspect afresh the corpus of Uttar Pradesh hoards (A.K. Srivastava, *Coin Hoards of Uttar Pradesh, 1882-1979*, Lucknow: State Museum, 1980). One hoard was especially interesting, but its highly atypical contents made it suspect. Either some serious selectivity was involved in its composition, or it had been very poorly studied, with much misattribution. This note will look into the hoard in more detail and try to determine its story.

The entry which triggered this inquiry was the following (p. 20):

Original description	Probable identification	Deyell no.	Tye no.
<i>Firuz Shah</i>	Firuz Shah	325	392
<i>Raziyya</i>	Raziyya	331	395
<i>Samsoraladeva of Ranthambhor</i>	Chahada Deva Chauhan	222-223	51
Unknown Rajput Kings			
<i>Pipala</i>	Pipala Raja Deva	215	47
<i>Kirtideva</i>	Kirtti Pala Deva	216	48
<i>Kairandeva</i>	unknown	-	-
<i>Asvari Sri Samant</i>	Chahada Deva Chauhan	220-221	50
<i>Bhishma deva</i>	Shahi?	48-54	14-17

The following illustrations help to identify some of the more problematic readings in Table A:

“Asavari Sri Samant”



Chahada Deva, Chauhan heir apparent, governor of Delhi c. 1173-91. D.220-2, T.50. Obverse: *sri ca/hada deva*
Reverse: *asavari sri samanta deva*

This legend was shared with coins of Somesvara and Prithviraja, but since those are already listed, it is probable that Chahada was meant.

“Samsoraladeva of Ranthambhor”



Chahada Deva, as above, D.223, T.51.1. Obverse: same
Reverse: *asavari sri samsoraladeva*
This legend is shared with no other coin.

Assuming the above coin type interpretation is fairly accurate, there are immediate observations to be made:

1. The cataloguer was familiar with medieval Rajput coins and clearly was capable of reading the late-Sarada and early-Devanagari legends.
2. This is a fairly typical bull-and-horseman hoard from the point of view of the rulers represented, but quite unusual in its proportions. Some quite rare coin types are present in significant numbers, while some common types are absent altogether.
3. There is an admixture of Lakshmi-type billon coins, which otherwise are virtually never found in hoards along with bull-and-horseman coins.
4. At 589 coins recovered, this is a large hoard for the series. Of some 24 other hoards of this coin type, the average content was a little over 315 coins, and only two were larger than this hoard.
5. The find-spot, Laliana in Meerut district, is consistent with the billon *dehliwal* coins, the majority of which are found in the general region of Delhi.

Taking the second and third points first, it is worthwhile to compare this hoard (as reported) with the corpus of hoards mentioned in point 4.

The presence of the rare transition rulers of Delhi is striking. There were 40 coins of Pipala Raja, while only seven appeared in the other 24 published hoards. Even stranger, there were 25

specimens of Kirtti Pala, otherwise known from a lone specimen in all the other hoards, and only a few in publications.

“Pipala, unknown Rajput king” [Chauhan governor of Delhi].
Laliana: 40.
Total, other hoards: 7.



“Kirtideva, unknown Rajput king” [Chauhan governor of Delhi].
Laliana: 25.
Total, other hoards: 1.



But there are no specimens at all of Pithimva Deva (Prithvi Raja II), usually associated with these rare coins in other hoards. Was it not present in the Laliana hoard, or was it misread?

We notice, for example, fully 16 specimens of the sensationally rare Prithvi Raja / Muhammad bin Sam “joint issue”:

Prithvi Raja / Muhammad bin Sam, D.259.
Laliana: 16.
Total, other hoards: 0.



This type was unlisted in the other 24 hoards, and only known at all from a few sparse mentions in the literature. Were these actually present in extraordinary numbers, or were these coins misread as well?

On the other side of the ledger, some very common coins are missing. Coins of Sallakshana and Ananga are usually accompanied by Madana Pala, but seem completely absent in the Laliana hoard. Were there none, or were the coins misread, perhaps accounting for some of the unknown readings, like Kumarapala?

Madana Pala Deva, D.201-212, T.45.
Laliana: 0.
Average, other hoards: 26.



Likewise, this hoard includes a few Delhi Sultan and Narwar coins of the early thirteenth century:

“Asalla deva, Rajput of Narwar”
D. 364, T.58.
Laliana: 28.



When hoards have this late termination date, they usually contain very large numbers of the billon *dehliwal* of Muhammad bin Sam. But the Laliana hoard contains only 12 of these, versus an average of 150 in the other 24 hoards. Why were they so few?

“Muhammad bin Sam, Pathan of Delhi”,
D. 240-260, T. 183-7.
Laliana: 12.
Average, other hoards: 150.



On the question of denominational coherence, I have already mentioned that this hoard is unusual in containing earlier Lakshmi-type billon coins (D.178-9) issued by the early Chauhan ruler Ajaya Deva (c. 1110-20).

“Ajayapala, Tomara [sic] of Delhi”,
D.178-9.
Laliana: 24.
Total, other hoards:
0.



While these are known from a large number of hoards in the Rajasthan Museums online database (<http://www.ancientcoins.rajasthan.gov.in/>), in none of them is there an admixture with the bull-and-horseman *dehliwalas*. Nor was there a single specimen in the corpus of 24 hoards mentioned above. They were a distinct denomination, from a separate place.

Table B. Contents of Laliana hoard compared to the corpus of 24 other hoards

<i>Legend or issuer</i>	UP hoard 121 Laliana	24 other hoards combined
	<i>Qty</i>	<i>Qty</i>
‘Samanta Deva’	-	77
Yaminids of the Punjab	-	15
Ajaya Pala Deva	24	
Somala Devi	-	1
Sallakshana Pala Deva	40	185
Ananga Pala Deva	46	367
Madana Pala Deva	-	628
Pithimva (Prithvi Raja II)	-	12
Pipala Raja	40	7
Kirtti Pala	25	1
Somesvara Deva	32	140
Chahada Deva	34	1,130
Prithvi Raja Deva	48	86
Amrita Pala	-	194
Mahi Pala	32	-
‘Samanta Deva’	-	201
Prithvi Raja/Md. Sam	16	-
Muhammad bin Sam	12	3,598
Yildiz	-	770
Iltutmish	6	485
Firuz Shah	8	-
Raziyya	13	-
Qubacha	-	283
Mangbarni	-	194
Shaliph Beg	-	17
Hasan Qarluq	-	8
Chahada of Narwar	32	*
Asaladeva of Narwar	28	*
Gopala of Narwar	36	*
Unattributed & misc.	117	307
Total coins:	589	8,706
No. of hoards:	1	24

*Narwar raja coins are included in ‘miscellaneous’

Other anomalies can be pointed out, but a comparison tells the tale when looked at carefully (Table B). This raises the question in the title: are the anomalies more apparent than real, due to simple misidentification by the cataloguer? Or can the attributions by and large be accepted, in which case there appears to be a high degree of selectivity in the hoard? In other words, is this a hoard or a collection?

If a hoard, the large numbers of rarities could indicate this is the modern gleaning from a very large original hoard indeed. Judging by the relative presence of rarities, the original hoard would have to number in the thousands, if not tens of thousands, to have enabled so many rare coins to have been cherry-picked.

Or perhaps this not a modern selection at all, but rather a very selective hoard, in which the medieval person or persons accumulating the coins were quite choosy about which coins were included or not. Was this the collection of a medieval proto-numismatist? Or did it represent several lots of coins brought together for other purposes, one or more of which happened to have termination dates when the rarities were fresh and current?

Whatever the explanation, this treasure trove report shows that not all finds are created equal, and a good deal of caution must be used when drawing conclusions about how representative any hoard might be of the circulating medium of its time of accumulation.

GANJA, A NEW MINT FOR MÖNGKE QĀ’ĀN’ S COPPER ISSUES

Irakli Paghava and Severiane Turkia

A hitherto unreported copper coin of the Great Qā’ān Möngke (AH 649-657/ 1251-1259) was discovered in the K’akheti region of Georgia in the winter months of 2017. It is a broad *fals* of square-in-circle type, minted in the name of Möngke (Fig. 1).



Fig. 1. Möngke, AE fals, Ganja

AE. Weight 4.55 g, die axis 11:30 o’clock, dimensions 26 mm.
Obverse: Arabic legend in three lines within the central square –

مونككا قا
ان الاعظم
العادل

Mint name in the left segment: *Ganja* كنجہ

Reverse: Arabic legend in three lines within the central square –

لا اله الا
الله محمد
رسول ؟

Traces of Arabic legend in the upper segment.

Tiflis copper coins of Möngke of similar type (cf. Fig. 2) were minted in AH 652-654.¹ These are relatively common, being regularly metal-detected in eastern Georgia.



Fig. 2. Möngke, AE fals, Tiflis

Obverse: Arabic legend in three lines within the central square -

مونككا قا
ان الاعظم
العادل

Mint or date formula within four segments between the square and the outer circle;

Reverse: Arabic legend in three lines within the central square -

لا اله الا
الله وحده
لا شريك له

Date or mint formula within four segments between the square and the outer circle.

The Tiflis *dirhams* of Möngke (cf. Fig. 3) were minted in AH 652-659, and their design was identical to copper.²



Fig. 3. Möngke, AR dirham, Tiflis

However, the new coin presented in this paper (Fig. 1) is different in terms of the reverse legend (within the central square) and the mint name legible in the left segment of the obverse. Evidently, and perhaps not accidentally, the name of the prophet was indicated on the Ganja coppers, but not the Tiflis ones. Tiflis was the capital of the still semi-independent and Christian Georgian kingdom; perhaps that was the reason for engraving a different form of the Shahada on the dies.

To the best of our knowledge, no (copper?) coins of Ganja minted in the name of Möngke have been published before.³ As to the silver, Stephen Album wrote about the existence of the *dirhams* of Ganja, also with a square-in-circle design, but incorporating a Mongol legend eulogizing Möngke, and dated AH 655 – referring to Zeno #55251 (Fig. 4).⁴



Fig. 4. Möngke, AR dirham, Ganja (Zeno #55251)

Another coin of the same type has been posted as Zeno #35540 (Fig. 5). The mint place is indicated with the preposition “bi”: **بكنجه**



Fig. 5. Möngke, AR dirham, Ganja (Zeno #35540)

It is quite noteworthy, that there exists a so-far unique specimen of the latter Ganja *dirham* type (with Mongol legend in the central square on the obverse), but with a different mint name: **بيولات** or **بتولات** (?) (AH 658); the coin was found on the border between modern (eastern) Georgia and Azerbaijan. This also has the locative preposition “bi”⁵ (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Möngke, AR dirham, Tülāq/ Bülāq (Caucasus?) (Zeno #166872)

Due to the similarity and even identity of the style and type, we would conjecture that the aforesaid enigmatic mint was located not too far from Ganja, i.e. somewhere in the (South?) Caucasus.

The new coin we have discovered (Fig. 1) therefore constitutes the so-far unique legacy of minting petty copper coinage at the Ganja mint in the reign of Möngke. Now we already know about *two* Caucasian mints issuing copper in the name of this Great Qā’ān. We would even conjecture, that even more were involved in this activity, and are still to be discovered. However, judging by the extant specimens the most prolific one was undoubtedly Tiflis, the contemporary as well as current capital of Georgia.

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2. *Ibid.* pp. 42-45.
3. Cf. Album Stephen. *Checklist of Islamic Coins. 3rd Edition*. Santa Rosa, 2011., pp. 212-213.
4. *Ibid.* p. 213, #1977A.
5. The coin was first analysed by Vladimir Nastich (Zeno.ru, discussion under #166872).

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A STAR, A MYSTERIOUS NUMBER, AND CONTEMPORARY ISLAMIC CULTURE

Md. Shariful Islam

Introduction

This paper presents a silver rupee (Fig. 1) of Islam Shah Suri of the Delhi Sultanate. This coin type is quite common and is known as a Bengal type. It is listed by Stan Goron and J. P. Goenka (2001) as number D980.¹ They were able to locate dates AH 953-960 for this series, while the present specimen has the date AH 952.



Fig. 1: Rupee in the name of Islam Shah

The obverse of the coin reads, starting from the left section of the marginal inscription, clockwise and then into the field: *al-sultān al ādil/ jalāl al duniyā/ wa'l dīn abū'lmuẓaffar / islām shāh ibn/ sher shāh sultān / khallada allāh mulkahu* followed by 952 (AH). In the top obverse margin there is the number 1477, a star symbol, and a dot. Between the obverse field and bottom margin, *śri islam shahi* is written in Nagari. The margin of the reverse of the coin clockwise: *abū bakr al-sadiq/umar al-fārūq/uthmān al-affān/alī al-murtadyā*. The reverse field has the *kalima-i-shahada*.

About the number 1477 inscribed in the top margin of the obverse, Goron and Goenka say that “the meaning of this has not been established.”² Indeed, the number has remained mysterious to numismatists ever since it was first noticed. Nicholas Rhodes and S. K. Bose (1999) say that “It is interesting to note that certain rupees of Islam Shah, with no mint name, but clearly struck in Bengal, perhaps at Tanda, have a ‘pseudo date’, 1477, in Arabic numerals above the reverse. These pieces are dated AH 952-60 (1545-1552 CE), whereas 1477 šaka = 1555 CE, or three years after the end of Islam Shah’s reign. These pieces may either be posthumous issues with a pseudo AH date, struck by Nara Narayan, with his accession year indicated, or it is possible that ‘1477’ has some meaning other than an AH date.”³ In this paper the possibility of this coin type having some relationship with the kingdom of Cooch Behar will be tested by examining available hoard data. I will then propose possible alternative explanations for the mysterious number. The origin of the star on the coin has also not been identified and has, consequently, been less emphasized by earlier works. The present paper also attempts to explore a possible explanation for the star.

In seeking to achieve these objectives, this paper will attempt to understand the uses of numbers and symbols in Islamic cultures during the medieval period, by citing a few verses from al-Qur’an, the *abjad* numeric system, and a few quantitative calculations.

A Cooch Behar connection?

The author talked to several experienced collectors who were able to show images of various groups of coins of the Suri dynasty discovered at different times in Bangladesh and West Bengal. By analyzing the contents and provenances of these groups, the author was able to make the following observations:

(i) Hoards of Cooch Behar coins which come out from Rangpur region or its neighbouring areas are often found with a mix of different types of Suri coins, but where the 1477 type is less frequently seen.

(ii) Hoards of Suri coins that come out of the Rajshahi, Chapainawabgonj and Chittagong areas of Bangladesh, and from West Bengal, usually never include any Cooch Behar coins. These hoards commonly have the 1477 type coins along with different types of coins of Sher Shah (AH 945-952), Islam Shah (AH 952-960), Muhammad ‘Adil Shah (AH 960-964), Ghiyath al-Din Bahadur Shah (AH 963-968), Ghiyath al-Din Jalal (AH 968-971) and Daud Shah Kararani (AH 980-984) with various appropriate dates.

(iii) The 1477 type is found more frequently in Bangladesh and West Bengal and is the most frequently found type in hoards of Suri silver coins.

(iv) Like other Suri coin types, the 1477-type coins of Islam Shah are found with different AH dates: in their case, from 952 to 960.

From these observations the author finds little possibility of this coin type having any connection with the Cooch Behar rulers. Moreover, Islam Shah died three years earlier than ‘1477 šaka = 1555 CE’, while 1477-type coins show AH dates starting from AH 952 to 960. If this was a posthumous coin issue of Islam Shah, it should have only the 1477 to represent the date. But these coins have the afore-mentioned specific AH dates, and, thus, will have been issued in different years during Islam Shah’s reign. It was also observed that the coin hoards have coins of Sher Shah of different dates, followed by different types of Islam Shah coins, including 1477 type coins with different AH dates, coins of Muhammad ‘Adil Shah, Ghiyath al-Din Bahadur, Ghiyath al-Din Jalal and Daud Shah Kararani. This surely indicates that these 1477-type coins of Islam Shah in these hoards, with their different AH dates and in the company of the coins of the other Suri rulers, were issued from within Suri jurisdiction and had nothing to do with any Cooch Behar rulers.

The star symbol

Over the centuries people have taken measures to protect themselves from the evil eye.⁴ Christiane Gruber (2016)⁵ states that Muslim cultures from the seventh century to the present have created a wide range of objects and artwork for the purpose of seeking spiritual blessing and physical protection. It is also observed that Islamic cultures often used the symbols of prophets in artwork and talismans.⁶ According to Yasmine Al-Saleh (2010), in Islamic cultures “the representations of certain prophets are more efficacious than others, with those of Solomon being the most powerful of all.”⁷ King Solomon was famous also among Jews and Christians for his wisdom, occult knowledge and power over demons.⁸ It is also noted that folklore and educated traditions related to King Solomon constitute a common cultural heritage that was shared by the Jewish, Christian, and Islamic societies alike during the Middle Ages.⁹ John H. Elliot (2017) has discussed amulets from the Middle East from the Byzantine era with the name of Solomon.¹⁰ In Islamic cultures, the six-pointed star is related to Solomon’s seal, which is one of the key protective designs found in Islamic occult arts.¹¹ Therefore there is a possibility that the star on this coin may have appeared from the same trend in Islamic cultures of the medieval period to represent Solomon’s seal, i.e. a protective symbol.

The number 1477

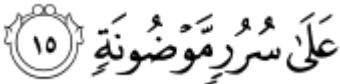
Christiane Gruber (2016)¹² argues that, to devoted Muslims, the Creator and the Qur’an are considered as the best guardian and hence Muslims use Qur’anic verses in order to interact with, and invoke security from, the realm of the sacred.¹³ Jonah Blank (2001) shows that a significant number of Muslims use 786¹⁴ to represent the first verse of Al-Qur’an: ‘Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim’. In fact, 786 is the *abjad* numeral value of the verse. *Abjad* was an alphabetical numeric system. The name *abjad* came from the first few letters¹⁵ of the total 28 letters¹⁶ used in the system. The numeric values of the letters are presented in Table 1. Calculation in this system is also known as ‘*hisab al-‘arabi*’.¹⁷ This system was introduced in the Arab region during the pre-Islamic period and was replaced with 0-9 numbers in the 8th century.¹⁸

Table 1. Numeric values of the letters in the abjad numeric system¹⁹

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1s	ا	ب	ج	د	هـ	و	ز	ح	ط
10s	ي	ك	ل	م	ن	س	ع	ف	ص
100s	ق	ر	ش	ت	ث	خ	ذ	ض	ظ
1000	غ								

Jonah Blank (2001) shows that the numeral 786 is substituted to avoid the blasphemy of unintentionally showing disrespect to a word from the Qur'an.²⁰ The present author checked several verses of the Qur'an and found that verse 56:15 has *abjad* numeral value 1477. The verse and its numeric value are presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Verse 56:15 and its numeric value


Numeric value: 70+30+10+60+200+200+40+6+800+6+50+5 = 1477

The verse literally means 'on thrones woven (with gold and precious stones)'. If the meaning of the verse is used to replace the number 1477 in the coin legend, the latter can be read as **on thrones woven**²¹ 'al-sultān al-'ādil/ jalāl al-dunyā/ wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar / islām shāh ibn/ sher shāh sultān / khallada allāh mulkahu'. Thus, while this may be a mere coincidence, the meaning of verse 56:15, when replacing the verse's *abjad* numeric value of 1477, fits well into the title of the sultan on the obverse.

1477 and the number 19

It is observed that, historically, numbers have played a vital role in human civilization. Cycleback (2014) shows that there is a psychological attachment of humans to numbers.²² The Islamic world is not immune to this influence of numbers. By browsing several internet sites, the present author has observed that Islamic scholars consider 19 an important number. Verse (74:30) of al-Qur'an literally means 'over it (in charge) are Nineteen (angels)'.²³ Based on this verse, Islamic scholars attempted to show the importance of 19 in al-Qur'an though there is controversy regarding their arguments.²⁴ Rashad Khalifa (1982) argues that 19 means 'God is one'²⁵ by showing that واحد (*wahid*) means 'one' and the *abjad* numeric value of واحد 6+1+8+4=19.²⁶ Another observation is that in the verse *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim* there are 19 Arabic alphabets. Allama Hafiz Emad Uddin Ibne Katheer mentions a hadith narrated by Ibn Masud that summarizes that if anybody wants to protect himself or herself from 19 guards/angels of Hell, should recite *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim*. Each alphabet of the verse will act as protection from the (said 19) guards.²⁷ The verse mentioned in this section (74:30) also says, 'over it (in charge) are nineteen (angels)' followed by the verse (74:31) 'none other than angels appointed by us to guard Hellfire...'²⁸ By coincidence or intention, the summation of the digits in the number 1477 seen on the coin in this paper is 19 (1+4+7+7= 19).

Relating the star and 1477

Establishing a relation between the number 1477 is not without its pitfalls, however. As said earlier, verse 56:15 with its *abjad* value of 1477 literally means 'on thrones woven (with gold and precious stones)', while, according to Allegra Lafrate (2015), among the objects associated with King Solomon's glorious renown his throne was the most extraordinary.²⁹ King Solomon's throne is said to have been the most wonderful among the thrones that any king had ever sat upon.³⁰ The throne was made of gold and ivory³¹ and was ornamented with precious stones.³² Therefore the theme of verse 56:15 and the most magnificent of objects of King Solomon, his ornamented throne, are related.³³ Here the possibility is that the star was used because it was thought to best represent the King than any other of his objects. The author also imagines an alternative possible connection between the 19 angels of Hell mentioned in the

verse 74:30 of the al-Qur'an; the hadith mentioned by Ibne Katheer that relates 19 alphabets of the verse *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim* with protection from angels/guards of the Hell; use of *abjad* value 786 by Muslims to represent the verse *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim*; possibility of the number 1477 as an *abjad* value that may or may not have connection with the verse 56:15; summation of the digits of the number 1477 as 19 that may symbolize itself as a protective number; and the six pointed star that may have a connection with King Solomon's seal as a protective mark.

It is also possible, however, that there is no association between 1477 and the star. Even if we suppose that they are not associated with each other, there is still the possibility that the star represents a protective mark as noted by Christiane Gruber (2016, p. 38) and mentioned earlier in this paper. Also, the possibility of the number 1477 as an *abjad* value and its connection to the verse 56:15 and/or the summation of the digits of the number being 19 as a symbolic protective number still remain plausible. After the death of Islam Shah a very similar type of coin was issued by Muhammad 'Adil Shah (AH 960-964), and listed by Goron and Goenka (2001) as D1105.³⁴ This type does not include the number 1477 in its marginal inscription, but does include the star and the dot immediately after the name of the sultan, *Muhammad*, in Nagari script at the bottom of the obverse. An example of this type coin is illustrated in Figure 2 for reference. On this coin, placing the star with the name of the sultan may be a case of using the star as a protective symbol, while on the coins of Islam Shah the protective symbolism may have been attached to the throne of the sultan or both. Of course, there is always the possibility that the star is simply a mint mark!



Fig. 2. Rupee in the name of Muhammad 'Adil Shah

Conclusion

This paper presents plausible suggestions, based admittedly on limited research, that may explain the number and the symbol on the coins under discussion. Others may deem these suggestions to be fanciful and be able to put forward more cogent arguments and suggestions. Whether the dot at the side of the star has any particular significance is not known. It does, in any case, occur on other coin types of Islam Shah and Muhammad 'Adil. Be that as it may, the author would welcome any comments on this paper and the results of any additional research into this matter.

Acknowledgement

The author is grateful to Stan Goron for guiding him during the study and later, editing and making improvements.

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SEALS OF HAMIDA BANU BEGAM: CORRIGENDUM ET ADDENDUM

Sanjay Garg

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Ursula Sims-Williams recently published an interesting article about a 80-page Persian manuscript, *Divan-i Hijri*, which contains a collection of poems mostly in honour of Akbar, that were composed by a court poet named Khwaja Hijri (Sims-Williams 2018). This manuscript, now in the collection of the British Museum, once formed a part of the library of Hamida Banu Begam (also known as Maryam Makani after her death in 1604), the wife of the Mughal emperor Humayun (r. 1530–40; 1555–56) and mother of the emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605).

The front page of this manuscript bears several seals of the successive owners and librarians of this manuscript, one of which is a twelve-lobed petal-shaped seal of Hamidah Banu Begam (Figs. 1 and 2).

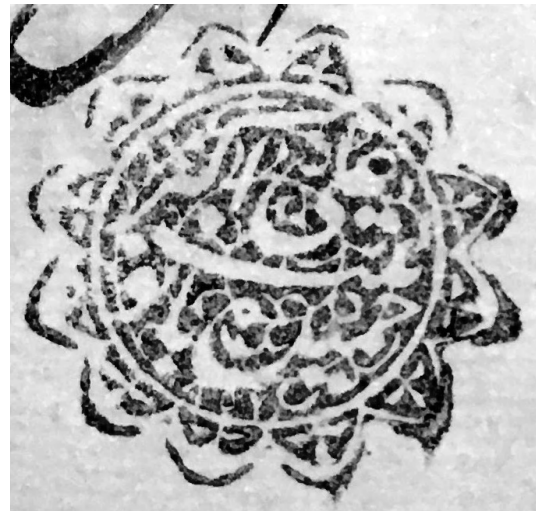


Fig. 1. Hamidah Banu's seal, dated AH 957 (1550/51 CE), stamped at the front of *Divān-i Hijrī* (BL IO Islamic 791, f. IIIr) Image source: Sims-Williams (2018)

علي اكبر 'Alī Akbar
بنت bint
حميده بانو Ḥamīdah Bānū
٩٥٧ 957

AH 957 (1550/51 CE): 'Hamidah Banu, daughter of 'Ali Akbar'.



Fig. 2. Hamidah Banu's seal – digitally restored version of Fig. 1 (Image courtesy Alfaaz Hussain)

The publication of this seal prompted me to revisit my contribution in an earlier issue of *JONS* (No. 221, Autumn 2014) where I had published a rare seal of Hamida Banu Begam (Fig. 3), on which a Persian distich was inscribed.

On a closer examination of the Persian couplet found on that seal, I discovered that a couple of words of that verse were misread then and I take this opportunity to correct these here.

In the first hemistich, what was read as *Tawfiq* (gift) is clearly an error for *Tawqī'* (signature, seal, signet); likewise, in the second hemistich *Nagīna* (jewel) was a misreading for *ā'īna* (mirror). The correct reading of the verse may be restored as follows:

خاتم مهر که توفیق محبت باشد

[حمیده] بانو بیگم

شد مهر او را [چون] نگینه دولت باشد ۹۶۸

Khātim-i Muhr Ke Tawqī'-e Muhabbat Bāshad,

In a cartouche: *[Hamīdah] Bānū Bēgam*

Shud Muhr Ū rā [Chū]n ā'īna-e Daulat Bāshad. 968

[This] terminal seal has become a signet of love,

[Hamidah] Banu Begam

As her stamp has become the mirror of the State. AH 968 [1560/61 CE]

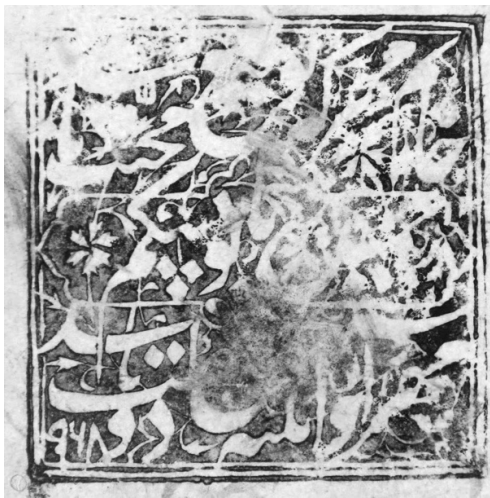


Fig. 3. Seal of Hamida Banu Begam, dated AH 968 (1560/61 CE)
Image source: Islamic Seal Database, no. 170, CBL,
Per 257, f. 1a

For a high-resolution image of the seal, please see the following link: <http://www.cbl.ie/islamicseals/View-Seals/170.aspx> (Last accessed 29 September 2018). Image courtesy: © The Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.

A digitally restored version of this seal and a line drawing of the reconstructed inscription is given here (Figs. 4 and 5).



Fig. 4. Digitally restored version of Fig. 3
(Image courtesy Alfaaz Hussain)



Fig. 5. Line drawing of the legend on the seal in Fig. 3
(Image courtesy Alfaaz Hussain)

Both seals discussed here are dated, though their dates are ten years apart from each other. A remarkable similarity, however, is noticed in the style and orthography of the word *Hamidah* where the terminal letter *dal* ('d') of *Hamid* is stylistically curved into a semi-circle, giving the illusion of the letter *nun* ('n'), at the tail of which the terminal letter *he* ('h') seems to be attached.

Acknowledgement

I am extremely grateful to Alfaaz Hussain, who has painstakingly prepared the digitally restored versions of the seals at my request (Figs. 2, 4 and 5).

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توفیق (towghee') Noun A [توفیقات = Plural] Signature or seal (of a king, etc.) a signet. A brevet; a patent. A decree. Signing. (Forming) an opinion. Imposition (of a tax) R. [Note. Another Ar. pl. of توفیق is توافع (tavaghee), which is rare].

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A HALF RUPEE OF BOMBAIM?

Paul Stevens

Introduction¹

In considering the style of the coins to be produced during the early part of the 1670s, the President and Council at Bombay had been concerned over their rights to issue coins in the name of the English king. However, in London, Bombay was considered to be held as a sovereign territory of the King of England, and was in fact considered to be part of “the Manor of East Greenwich in the County of Kent” just outside London.² King Charles was asked to grant the necessary permission to issue coins in his name in Bombay, and did so on 5th October 1676³:

“...AND also of our farther especial grace vertue knowledge and meere motion We doe by these presents for us our Heires and Successors give and graunt unto the said Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies and their Successors full and free liberty power and Authority from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter within the Port and Island of Bombay in the East Indies and the Precincts and Territoryes thereof and there unto belonging to Stampe and Coyne or Cause to be stamped and Coyned moneys of Gold Silver Copper Tynne or Lead or in any mixt mettall Compounded or made up of them or any of them to bee Currant within the said Port and Island Fort and Townes and Precincts and Territories thereof. And also in all the Islands Ports Havens Cittys Creeks Townes and Places whatsoever within the East Indies Expressed mentioned or contayned in our severall Charters or Letters Patents herein before mentioned or either of them with such Impression and Inscription there upon to bee called or known by the Name or Names of Rupees Pices and Budgerookes.”



Fig. 1. Rupee of Bombaim, 1678 - London striking

Having legalised the situation, the officers of the Company in London went on to have a rupee coin designed, and patterns prepared (at the Royal mint?). On 21st February 1677 the design was shown to the Court of Directors⁴:

“on one side is inscribed ‘the rupee of Bombay’, with two roses underneath, and, in the circle ‘1677, by authority of Charles the Second’, and on the other side His Majesty’s arms, and, in the circle ‘King of Great Britain, France and Ireland.’”

The King approved the design. A further entry dated 23rd January 1678 records⁵:

“The Surat Committee having desired Lord Berkeley to show the pattern of a stamp for rupees to be coined at Bombay to the King for his approbation, and to ascertain whether any inscription should be put at the edge of the said coins. His Lordship this day reports to the Court that His Majesty approves of the design for the rupee, but leaves it to the Company to decide whether any or what inscription should be put on the edge of the coin.”

Having gained the approval of the king, the next step in the process was to get the coins into production in Bombay. Accordingly, on 20th March 1678⁶ George Bowers was employed to make twenty or forty pairs of stamps for coining rupees, and to obtain engines and other necessities for coining rupees at Bombay. For all this he was paid £126. The Company also employed an expert coiner from the

London mint, John Morrice, to go out to Bombay to get production started. Two new factors Annesley and Cooke, who were due to go to Bombay at the same time, were also given some training.

Surat had been notified that the king had granted the right to strike coins in his name at Bombay on 17th March 1677⁷. They decided to abandon the use of the names for the coins agreed in 1672 (Carolina, Anglina, Copperoon and Tinny) and to stick to the more popular names then in use (Mohur, Rupee, Pice and Buzerook).

All of the equipment and people arrived at Bombay during the second half of 1678 and work began on the new coinage in October on a chest of silver delivered from Swalley Marine in Surat. However, the work soon ran into difficulties as seen from a report from President Oxinden to the directors⁸:

We have received the coining engine and stamps etc, there unto belonging and have made tryal thereof, but to our admiration (surprise) and sorrow cannot with all our skill and experiments make a clear impression therewith – the words proved blurred and imperfect, as well as the Royall Arms. All possible industry hath been used to find the reason of its deficiency without the desired effect. John Morrice to our great greife deceased within a weeke after his landing, being a person addicted to drink strong drink... Had it pleased God to have spared him, he would have set all things in their right postures but Annesley and Cooke know little thereof, so that we almost despaire of bringing the coine to its due perfection. We suppose the fault to lye in the stamps, which in our opinion are too shallow cutt

and he asked for dies which were more deeply engraved⁹.

Notwithstanding all our endeavours we cannot possibly make the mint that the Honble Company sent out, so serviceable as we desire and they expect, for besides the unhandiness of these people wee cannot make a clear impression with it but in that we will prove defective, whole words being imperfect & blurred as well as part of the Royal Arms

This was effectively the end of this attempt to strike English-designed coins using machinery at Bombay. The Company did send out further machinery and another expert Robert Smithas in 1680-81, but his appointment as mint and assay master on a salary of £60 p.a., annoyed Surat because of the cost¹⁰. Whether any coins were produced as a result of his arrival is not known, but by February 1682 he was employed as an armourer and was discharged and returned to England at the end of 1683¹¹.

Rupees, of the design described above, exist dated 1677 and 1678. The 1677 coins are well struck and show a clear impression. They were the patterns prepared in England for the Court of Directors and the King. The coins dated 1678 come in two standards of quality.

Those of high quality are very rare and are probably trial strikings prepared in England before the people and machinery were sent to India. Those of lower quality and only slightly less rare are probably those struck in Bombay in late 1678. It is very doubtful that any of these poor-quality coins were put into circulation. They were probably sent back to London to demonstrate the problems that were encountered in Bombay.



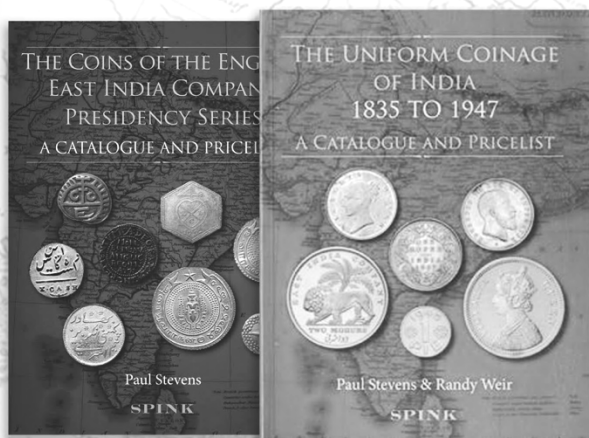
Fig. 2. Rupee of Bombaim - Bombay trials

Contd. on page 32

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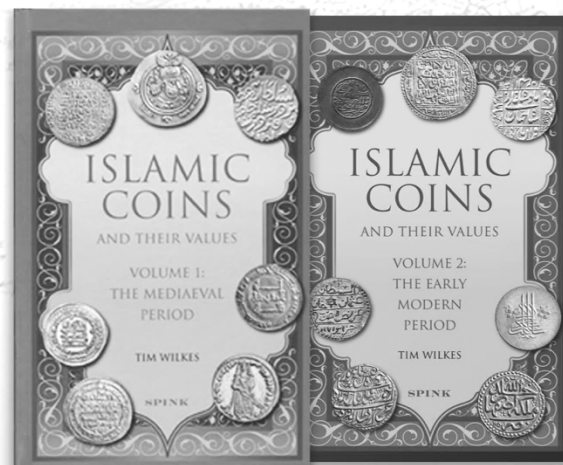
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A Half Rupee

Recently a specimen of the Rupee of Bombaim (Fig. 3) came to light in the north of England. This coin has all the appearance of a Bombay trial striking, but was eventually sold as a rupee struck in England for use in Bombay.



Fig. 3. Half rupee of Bombaim?

However, the weight of this piece is only 5.77 g, which is equivalent to a half rupee. It could be argued that this coin was simply a trial struck on a light-weight flan, but there is a precedence for half rupees of English style being struck in the Bombay mint at this time, as exemplified by the half *PAX DEO* rupee (or Anglina) shown in Fig. 4.

I would like to speculate that this low weight rupee of Bombaim is in fact a trial for a half rupee.



Fig. 4. Half *PAX DEO* rupee (5.84 g)

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Peter Thompson for first bringing this coin to my attention.

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