ONS





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ONS News

Members' News

Congratulations to Bob Puddester, who has received the Royal Canadian Numismatic Association's 2009 J. Douglas Ferguson Award for his work on Indian numismatics, particularly medals, tokens and passes. Some of Bob's articles have appeared in earlier issues of the ONS Newsletter while his *Medals of British India, Commemorative and Historical Medals from 1750 to 1947* has become the standard reference for the series. Bob is currently working on two other books in this series.

UK Meetings

The meeting at the newly refurbished Ashmolean Museum that was to have been held on 9 January 2010 was postponed because of snow and exceptionally bad weather. The meeting will now be on Saturday 17 April. Those attending should meet in the downstairs cafe at the Ashmolean Museum at 10-30 - 11.00. The format for the day will be a tour of the museum and lectures after lunch.

As mentioned in Edition 201 of the Journal, the ONS will be holding a seminar on Friday 14 May and Saturday 15 May 2010 in the British Museum in conjunction with the Numismatic Society of India to mark the centenary of the foundation of the Numismatic Society of India

Blaubeuren meeting 2-3 May 2010

A reminder that the meeting organised by FINT in Tübingen will take place in the Heinrich-Fabri-Institut in D-89143 Blaubeuren, Auf dem Rucken 35, on 8 and 9 May 2010. The Institute is a guesthouse and convention centre of Tübingen University, located in the pictoresque small town of Blaubeuren near Ulm.

Those who attended the previous meeting should already have received a circular but of course any other ONS member with an interest in Islamic numismatics is welcome. For those who stay over one night the price for accommodation in a single bedroom and boarding is 48 euro (or 40 euro in a twin bedroom), when staying for two nights in a single bedroom 44 euro (37 euro in a twin bedroom).

The programme will begin on Saturday, 8th May at 2 p.m. and end on Sunday 9th May after lunch. The provisional list of papers is as follows:

Roland Dauwe: The Timurid Coinage of Qumm

Rolf Ehlert: Osmanische Doblaprägungen im Maghrib

Lutz Ilisch: A group of Pseudo-Sasanian Khusraw II drachms (Mochiri, AS Civil War Coinage VIII 46-48)

Stefan Moeller: Imitative byzantinische Kupfermünzen des 11. Jahrhunderts - Versuch einer Klassifikation und historischen Einordnung

Osama Ahmed Mostafa: The Fatimid Caliph al-Hafiz li-din Allah and his son, Abu al-Hasan 'Ali, through Islamic Numismatics and Architecture

Marcus Phillips: The Origins of the Standing Caliph (provisional title)

Atef Mansour Ramadan: Posthumous Coins in Islamic Numismatics, an overview

For more information and reservations please contact Lutz Ilisch at lutz.ilisch@uni-tuebingen.de

New York Meeting

The ONS held a winter meeting on 9 January 2010 during the New York International Coin Show at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. Hosted by Dr Michael Bates, Curator Emeritus of the American Numismatic Society, the speaker was Dr Stefan Heidemann of Jena University and the Bard Graduate Center in New York. His talk was entitled "Formulating an Islamic iconography: The representation of the early Islamic empire and its elite religion on coinage in its first hundred years". The next ONS meeting at the NYINC will take place on 8 January 2011

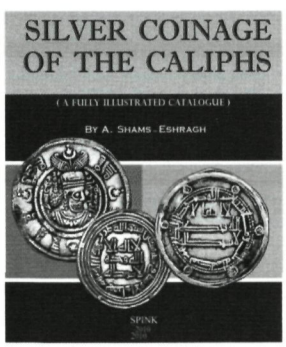


Stefan Heidemann (left) with Michael Bates

Lists Received and Auction News

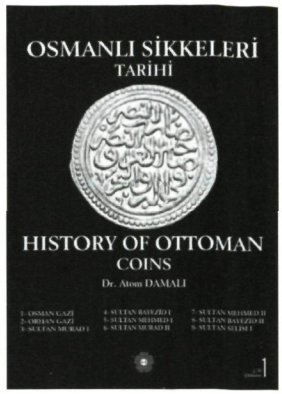
1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 249 (Nov. 2009), 250 (Jan.2010)
2. Tim Wilkes (PO Box 150, Battle, Sussex, TN33 0FA, UK; ++44 (0)1424 773352; tim@wilkescoins.com) list 7 of mainly oriental coins (winter 2009).

New and Recent Publications



This new book by A. Shams-Eshragh, due for release in January 2010, gives full details of 1777 coins of the Arab-Sasanian, Umayyad and Abbasid series, beginning with the first coinage of Islam up to the downfall of the last Abbasid caliph. Fully illustrated with high-resolution images, it describes one piece for each year, with a different mint. The inscriptions on each coin have been translated into English. Published by Spink, the book has 335 pages, 29 x 20.5 cm (11½ x 8 ins).

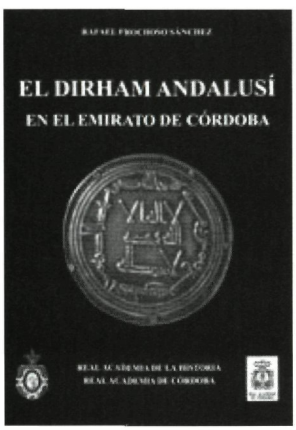
A review of this book can be found on pages 3-5 of this Journal. In the meantime the book is available from Spink, Book Department, 69 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4ET (tel: +44 (0)20 7563 4046; fax: +44(0)20 7563 4068; e-mail: books@spink.com



The first volume of a series of 8 volumes entitled the *History of Ottoman Coins* by Dr Atom Damalı has been completed and the book was due to have been ready for distribution on the 22 December 2009. This first volume covers the first 9 Ottoman Sultans (from Osman I up to and including Selim I) with much numismatic information and photographs of 461 coins. In the first section of this first volume the 124 Ottoman mints are examined at length; coin production techniques are described in detail; a system for coding and classifying Ottoman coins is established; inscriptions on Ottoman coins are listed in Ottoman Turkish, Turkish and English; weight variations are analysed and important milestones in Ottoman coin production is researched. In addition, chronological events are listed for each sultan and there is a short summary of historical events.

The book has 460 pages with colour illustrations throughout; hard cover 210 x 297 mm (8⅜ x 11¾ ins.). It is published by the Nilüfer Damalı Education, Culture and Environment Foundation, with all revenue from the sale of the book being donated to the Foundation's "Vision Impaired University Students" project. The price of the book is US $110 but can be obtained from the Foundation's website for $160, delivery included for Europe and the USA. The website is:
http://niluferdamalivakfi.org/eng/gallery.asp?ID=36&CID=&PID=439&do=showdetails or http://tinyurl.com/ydpkqwd

The second volume, which covers solely Suleyman I with 661 coin photographs, will be due in January 2010.

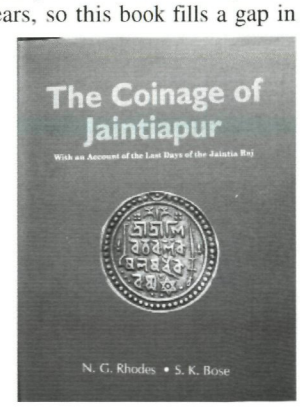


El Dirham Andalusí en el Emirato de Córdoba by Rafael Frochoso Sánchez. Published in 2009 by the Real Academia de la Historia; 190 pages; ISBN: 9788496849495. Price: around 40 Euros.

This book is a catalogue of the coins of the Emirs of Córdoba during the period AH 104-281 (AD 732-895).

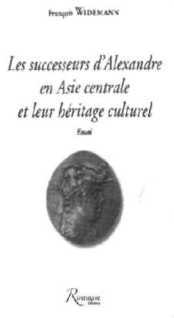
The Coinage of Jaintiapur, with an Account of the Last Days of the Jaintia Raj by N.G.Rhodes & S.K.Bose, published by the Library of Numismatic Studies, Kolkata & Guwahati, 2010. 116 pages including 8 plates of coins. Price Rs.350 in India, US$ 21 in other countries. Dealers may contact 'mirasbooks@gmail.com'.

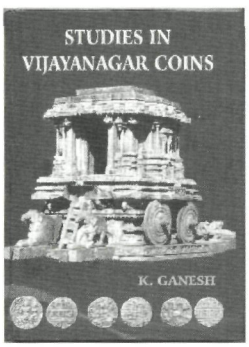
The history and coinage of Jaintiapur has received very little attention from scholars over the years, so this book fills a gap in the existing literature. It is the fifth volume in a series of the coinages of north-east India written by these two authors and follows the same format, not only providing a detailed catalogue of the known varieties of coins, but also giving a political and economic history of this small state. Jaintia coins exhibit several unique features. Although they are largely anonymous they do represent one of the few reliable sources for the early history of the



state, and some new discoveries, published here for the first time, give new dates to several early rulers. Apart from the coinage, the authors were given access to some unique unpublished documents relating to the sad end of the state under colonialism. Over four hundred coins were studied from many different collections, dating from the mid-sixteenth century until the end of the eigthteenth century, and nearly one hundred different varieties are illustrated on eight full plates.

Les Successeurs d'Alexandre en Asie Centrale et leur Héritage Culturel by François Widemann, Paris 2009, Editions Riveneuve, ISBN 978-2-914214-71-1; softbound, 527 pages, in French. It is hoped to publish a review of this book in a future edition of the Journal.



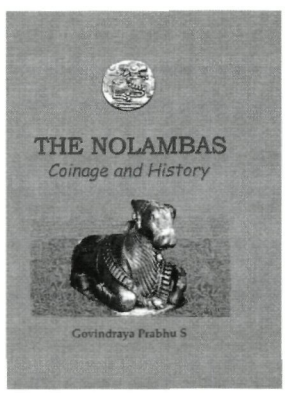


Studies in Vijayanagar Coins by K.Ganesh, 325 BEL Layout, I Block, 13th Cross, Vidyaranyapura, Bangalore 560 097, India. Email: kganesh@delta2sigma.com pp. 220; price INR 600, US$ 25.

Contents

1. History
2. Currency system as observed from inscriptions
3. Vijayanagar coinage as observed by travellers
4. Metrology of Vijayanagar coins
5. Coinage of Vijayanagar empire
6. Coins of Ramaraya, Tirumala and Venkatadri
7. Catalogue of coins
8. Coins of doubtful attribution
9. Coins not assignable to Vijayanagar rulers
10. A note on Viraraya Pana
11. Seals on copper plate grants of Vijayanagar rulers
12. Gods and goddesses on Vijayanagar coins
13. Coins of the feudatories of the Vijayanagar empire
14. Coins of the Nayaks of Madurai, Thanjavur and Gingee
15. Chronology of Vijayanagar coins
16. Influence of Vijayanagar coins on other dynasties
17. On the relation between inscriptions and coinage
18. Vijayanagar coins – A bibliography

The Nolambas: Coinage and History by Govindraya Prabhu S.



The book covers the coinage and the history of a powerful dynasty, the Nolambas, who ruled their territory from AD 735 to 1052. This dynasty took possession of land that spanned nearly ⅓ of modern Karnataka and spread mostly in Karnataka and partly in Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu state. The dynasty ruled for slightly more than 300 years, initially as feudatories to the Pallavas, Chalukyas of Badami, Gangas and Rashtrakutas and later to the Chalukyas of Kalyani. At times, they were independent for a brief period. Nolamablige was their territory throughout. During their supremacy, they ruled Nolambavadi.

During the peak of their rule, Nolambavadi comprised Kolar, Avani, Begur, Aralagupee, Nonavinakere, Ayapamangalam, Chikkamadhure, Baraguru, Nandi and Sivaram, all within the modern Karnataka state, Hemavati, the capital, now in Andhra Pradhesh, Dharmapuri and Mahendramangalam in Tamilnadu state. It is quite remarkable that the Nolambas left nearly 250 legible epigraphs and fine architecture in the form of temples. The study is primarily based on over two hundred and fifty epigraphs. The book lists more than 100 gold coins issued by the dynasty and the feudatories. There are 46 colour plates with high-resolution images. It also publishes for the first time, over 70 unpublished varieties of gold coins. The book covers every known modern Nolamba coin fake that exists in the market. Both the coins and the epigraphs have been brought together to support one another and the illustrations have brought the history and numismatics to life in this work. Details such as life, land, culture, art, administration, coinage, metrology etc, are covered in depth as well.

The book uses a high quality durable 90 gsm fine art paper for text and 120 gsm fine grade foreign art paper for colour pages. For orders outside India, please contact sgprabhu@india.com

Book Review

A. Shams Eshragh, *Silver Coinage of the Caliphs (A Fully Illustrated Catalogue),* Spink/Estack Press, 2010.

It is twenty years since the publication of SE's previous book, *A Study of the Earliest Coins of the Islam Empire* (Estack Co, Isbahan, 1990). This was not intended to be a comprehensive catalogue but rather an historical and numismatic study of Islamic coinage until the fall of the Umayyads in 132h. However, it did include photographs and descriptions of several hundred coins, including nearly 400 Umayyad post-Reform dirhams. The book appeared at a time when Walker's catalogue had become seriously outdated, and contained enough new discoveries to serve as a useful update. Furthermore, SE also included a table listing all known (and rumoured!) Umayyad mint/date combinations, which made his book the most complete listing of Umayyad silver then available. Thus whatever the author's intentions may have been, the book was most widely used in the West as a catalogue of Umayyad dirhams, and was regularly cited in auction catalogues at a time when prices for these coins were reaching astonishing levels.

A Study of the Earliest Coinage of the Islam Empire was an historical study which found a niche as a catalogue. *Silver Coinage of the Caliphs* describes itself as a catalogue of Arab-Sasanian, Umayyad and Abbasid silver coins; it contains very little background information, and unlike its predecessor is written almost entirely in English. The book itself is hardbound and stitched, and while the paper is not totally opaque any 'show-through' is not distracting. With the exception of some acknowledgements, a Preface, and a few introductory pages (which are the only part of the book written in both English and Persian), the rest of the book is entirely occupied with the catalogue itself and related indexes. This is divided into three sections: Arab-Sasanian (also including issues of Eastern Sijistan and Tabaristan), Umayyad, and Abbasid (divided by SE into four sub-groups).

The format of the catalogue itself remains constant throughout, and is extremely clear and sensibly presented. The coins are presented in a simple table with each row containing the coin's catalogue number, date, description, and illustrations of both sides. Placing the illustration beside the description allows the reader to check legends and details very easily, and is much more convenient than having to look back and forth between text and plates. The weight and diameter of each piece is given, along with references to a selection of standard works on the series. In all three sections the coins are arranged by date, which is probably

the only approach which could be applied throughout and allows for continuity between them. This is not the usual arrangement for any of these series and has drawbacks for the Arab-Sasanian material in particular. But the excellent indexes to the catalogue include all the Umayyad and Abbasid material sorted alphabetically by mint (as Klat and Walker), as well as the Arab-Sasanian drachms listed both by mint (as in the Ashmolean sylloge) and by governor's name (as Gaube and Walker). Each of these eight sub-sections is preceded by a page giving a very clear explanation of the legends and design of the coin type which follows. Where Arabic names are transliterated into English, SE sometimes includes a macron to indicate a long vowel (although not always consistently) but does not put a dot below letters to distinguish *sin* and *sad,* for example, possibly for technical reasons.

The illustrations themselves are generally very clear and printed in greyscale on a coloured background. A different colour is used for each section: pale green for the Arab-Sasanian, rose-pink for the Umayyad and lilac for the Abbasid; the Preface claims that this makes it 'easier for the reader to browse through the book.' With stronger colours this could have been distracting, but the effect is actually quite pleasing, although as an aside one wonders whether more contrasting backgrounds for the Umayyad and Abbasid could have been found. The illustrations are generally close to, but not exactly, actual size. In fact, SE appears to have resized *all* the Umayyad coins to a standard diameter of 30mm (including two fulus which therefore appear at almost double actual size!), and similar batch processing seems to have been applied to the images in other sections of the catalogue also. Thus while the Preface claims that 'most of the photos are a little larger than the actual size to show each and every detail', it seems at least possible that this may have been a technical decision rather than a numismatic one. It may appear unkind to complain about minor inconsistencies in sizing when the photographs themselves are generally excellent, but this has the unfortunate effect of obscuring differences in fabric between mints as well as changes in the module of the coinage. As an example, we know from al-Maqrizi that Wasit dirhams were struck on broader flans until 120h, when a new governor changed the format of the die to a smaller size. The coins themselves bear this out: coin 734 (Wasit 120h) is 29mm in diameter while coin 744 (122h) is only 24mm, but it is not possible to tell this from SE's illustrations.

The first section of the catalogue deals with Arab-Sasanian and related coinage, and is prefaced by a chronological list of governors with names in English and Arabic (but not in Pahlawi). This is followed by an excellent enlarged illustration of an Arab-Sasanian drachm with its salient features identified and explained. Unfortunately, there is no list of mint-signatures or dates as they are rendered in Pahlawi (these are transliterated into English and occasionally into Arabic also), nor is there any guide to Pahlawi letter-forms to help the reader interpret the coin legends. Those of us who need some guidance in this area still have to refer to the tables in Gaube and Walker, both now dated and sometimes inaccurate. There is also a slight issue here with the arrangement by date, whereby entries for the year '60' include both Hijri and post-Yazdgird dates, even though the actual calendar year represented by these is different. There is some logic to this in that the date written on the coin is written as '60' in both cases, but one consequence can be that coins issued by governors who lived decades apart are listed out of order, which can become confusing. It is difficult to escape the problems of the various dating systems used on Arab-Sasanian coins entirely, however one arranges them. In practice, however, individual mints tended to be internally consistent and did not switch between different calendars from year to year. The sequence of governors and dates at a given mint is usually clear, and this is a good argument for arranging an Arab-Sasanian catalogue by mint (as is usual) rather than date.

In total, SE illustrates and describes nearly 200 of these coins, giving references to Walker and Volume I of the Ashmolean Sylloge (SICA) for each. This is a very impressive assemblage; SICA lists nearly 400 pieces of which many are duplicates, while Gaube (which SE does not cite) records only 117 different types. Some spot-checking of the cross-references suggests that some pieces allegedly missing from Walker or SICA may in fact be listed there; for example, coin 44 appears to be an ordinary Khusraw II type drachm of BYŠ 48h (SICA 122-127). Some readings and interpretations may not be universally accepted: the symbol on coin 58 is normally read as Pahlawi GM and is surely not the Arabic ق, and the attribution of coin 46 to al-Bab also seems questionable. There are also some surprising omissions (there are no 'Caliph Orans' coins of Bishr b. Marwan, for example). On the other hand, SE publishes a number of rarities and unrecorded pieces including coins of no fewer than three previously unknown governors: `Abdallah b. Bastam (182), `Abdallah b. `Ali (1752) and Abu Hadhir b. Hajan (1758). Overall, this represents one of the most comprehensive and fully illustrated groups of Arab-Sasanian coins published to date, and as such can be strongly recommended to anyone interested in the series. The much smaller sections of 24 Tabaristan hemidrachms and 9 Eastern Sijistan drachms are less significant; the coinage of Tabaristan has recently been covered in great detail by Malek (2004).

The second section of the catalogue covers post-Reform Umayyad dirhams and silver coins from the Revolutionary Period. These are given references to Klat and also to *A Study of the Earliest Coinage of the Islam Empire,* where a number of pieces were previously published. Ironically, although this section is perhaps even more comprehensive than the Arab-Sasanian, it is of less value as a reference. Virtually all of the coins listed here are types previously recorded in Klat's catalogue, which remains both more detailed and more comprehensive. Of the few coins apparently 'not in Klat', only a very few are new mint/date combinations. Coin 253 (Narmashir 80h), if correctly read, is a completely new mint and an important new discovery, but there are many reasons for rejecting the putative dirham of 'Darmān' (coin 327) as an optimistic misreading for Kirman.

Of the remainder, one belongs to the group of so-called North African Imitations (542), several others are interesting but often minor orthographic variants (249, 250, 272, 289, 406, 473, 494, 536, 561, 564, 575, 589, 737), two (556, 595) appear to be listed as varieties by virtue of their annulets being slightly differently positioned, and two (601 and 619) are ordinary dirhams with countermarks (which SE notes but does not describe or explain). Coin 669, described as a variety of Ifriqiya 106h is in fact dated 103h, and I cannot see how coin 599 (Surraq 98h) differs from Klat 472, with which it shares a reverse die. Otherwise, coin 558 allows SE to publish the correct reading of the mint as Jisr Shadh Hurmuz, instead of Khusraw Shadh Hurmuz. SE's attention to these varieties is thoroughly commendable and will hopefully remind others that there is more to Umayyad dirhams than a mint and a date, but actually adds very little new material. Anyone seriously interested in these coins would probably want to own a copy of *Silver Coinage of the Caliphs*, but Klat's catalogue remains more detailed and more comprehensive, and it is difficult to see why collectors of this series would abandon it.

Coins 804-821 comprise a rather miscellaneous group of Spanish Umayyad issues, and include little of interest apart from one rare dirham of al-Andalus 135h. Inexplicably, instead of giving references to Miles' *The Coinage of the Umayyads of Spain* (the standard reference and which, incidentally, does mention a dirham of this mint and date), SE cites Vives and accession numbers from the holdings of the ANS. Apart from the 135h issue the coins only cover the relatively short period from 150-193h, although the Spanish Umayyads struck dirhams for at least two centuries afterwards.

The final section of the catalogue covers Abbasid dirhams. This is a series of which no complete study has been undertaken since Tiesenhausen in 1873, and SE's references for this section are the Lowick/Savage catalogue of Abbasid coins from 132-218h and the first volume of the Qatar Museum catalogue. Neither of these is easily obtained; the Qatar catalogues are apparently available on application to the Museum but this is often not straightforward, while Lowick/Savage has never been formally

published, although various copies of the typescript appear to have been circulated. (One of many sad consequences of this is to discourage anyone else from producing a comprehensive catalogue of Abbasid dirhams – it would be frustrating and a waste of time to spend years on this only for Lowick's book finally to appear in print). Thus the 920 pieces described here are a very welcome contribution (by way of comparison, the Qatar catalogue also features about 900 Abbasid dirhams), but are still no more than a representative selection. To put things in context, Lowick/Savage lists 2,752 dirhams from between 132-218h alone. For the Second Coinage Period (218-334h), which Lowick/Savage does not cover and for which there is no single worthwhile reference, *Silver Coinage of the Caliphs* is particularly valuable. The Qatar catalogue cited by SE is about the best available. Otherwise, Tiesenhausen's *Monnaies des khalifes orientaux* (1873) is still useful as a starting point but is hard to find, written in Russian, and only has a few line drawings by way of illustrations.

A few errors seem to have crept into the Abbasid section. According to SE, none of the dirhams listed on the first five pages is listed by Lowick; this is incorrect (he publishes virtually all of them). Something similar seems to have happened on page 181, where all seven pieces are allegedly completely unpublished (again, a spot check in Lowick shows this to be untrue). The fact that this affects entire pages suggests a technical issue rather than a mistake by the author, and there is nothing obvious to suggest that his other citations might be incorrect. Otherwise, two coins included in the catalogue would not normally be classified as `Abbasid: coin 1323 (al-Ahwaz 263h) is a Saffarid dirham citing Ya`qub b. al-Layth, and coin 1369 (al-Shash 283h) is a Samanid issue of Isma`il b. Ahmad. It is also perhaps worth pointing out that the attribution of coin 1775 to the mint of Na`in seems very questionable. It was quite common at this period for dies to be re-used with the mint-name re-engraved, and in this case the reading appears to be a slightly defective version of Nisībīn.

Although Abbasid silver accounts for more than half of the coins in the entire book, the field is so large that one can only hope for a representative selection. Happily, that is what SE provides, with a fairly good spread of mints and dates as well as a group of donative pieces. There is a definite bias towards rarer mints and dates – one of the very first pieces in the catalogue is the very rare Abbasid dirham of Dimashq 132h (coin 822). Other highlights include the dirham of Manādhir 134h (coin 830; only one coin of this mint was recorded by Lowick/Savage) and five coins of Makka, including the excessively rare issue of 203h (coin 1171). There are lots of very common coins which are not catalogued, and anyone using this book as a guide to collecting Abbasid dirhams should be aware that a coin which SE does not list (such as Madinat al-Salam 282h) need not be rare. But there is a good enough cross section of legends, types, mints and dates for this section to be helpful in identifying and attributing Abbasid dirhams. *Silver Coinage of the Caliphs* does not come close to a work such as Lowick/Savage for completeness, but unlike this unpublished catalogue it is fully illustrated and is actually available to the wider public.

Silver Coinage of the Caliphs does many things well. It is no small achievement to publish, describe and illustrate nearly 2,000 early Islamic silver coins in a format which is very clear and easy to use. Such drawbacks as it has come from what seems to be uncertainty over the book's purpose. If it were a sylloge of a collection – and the material it contains would grace any collection, public or private – then it would be unfair to complain that the Umayyad section is not as complete as Klat's book, or that there are a few rarities missing from the Arab-Sasanian. A sylloge, by definition, publishes what the collection in question happens to contain, and to complain that some pieces are 'missing' is to miss the point. The book also feels like a sylloge, being equipped with an impressive battery of indexes but lacking significant analysis and commentary. However, SE describes his book as a 'fully illustrated catalogue', and states in his Preface that it *'contains complete details of 1777 pieces...selected from among thousands of others.'* How, then, were they selected? If we are to take this statement at face value, one can only speculate why he does not describe any Umayyad dirham of 78h – the key first year of issue – but has included two Umayyad copper fulus of al-Kufa (coins 623 and 643) whose presence in a work entitled *Silver Coinage of the Caliphs* is otherwise baffling. Frankly, instead of producing an incomplete and less comprehensive version of Klat, one wishes that SE had omitted the Umayyad material entirely, brought in more material to expand the Arab-Sasanian and Abbasid sections, and published these as two separate and more complete catalogues which would each have become primary references. But this should not take anything away from the fact that SE has produced a clear, accessible and available reference which anyone interested in these coins will find helpful.

S. Lloyd

Articles

FINANCIAL AND MONETARY CRISIS DURING THE REIGN OF THE OTTOMAN SULTAN, MAHMUD II

By Drs Kees Boele & Henk T. Woudsma

The recent economical crisis is absolutely not the first or the last in history. Lack of trust in trade partners has occurred periodically in all times. This article puts the spotlight on one of the largest financial crises of the 19th century, caused by the accelerating collapse of the Ottoman empire during the reign of sultan Mahmud II (AD 1808 – 1839, AH 1223 – 1255). This crisis had an enormous impact on the intrinsic value of all Ottoman coinage and would have a tremendous influence on the Ottoman economy.

Sultan Mahmud II

The 30th sultan of the great Ottoman empire, Mahmud II, was born on 20 July 1789 (AH 1204) and died on 1 July 1839. Napoleon I, George III, Willem I and Nicolas II were other well-known leaders of his era. All were born in the second half of the 18th century, a period which was characterised by great changes in the ruling powers of the western world.

His father, sultan Abdul Hamid I, was the last representative of the old traditions in the Osmanli dynasty. However, his predecessor and uncle, sultan Selim III, had already started to widen his perspective outside the enclosure of the Topkapı Palace. Trade with all economic powers, modernisation of education and a new structure for the nearly medieval Ottoman army stood high on his agenda. Unfortunately, Selim did not get much time to implement his ideas. He fell victim of one of the many intrigues of the Ottoman palace. His nephew, Mustafa IV (AH 1808 / 1222), imprisoned and later brutally murdered him. Mustafa's brother escaped and was soon able to defeat him. As sultan Mahmud II, he inherited the Ottoman empire after the islamic New Year in 1808 / AH 1223. Although his opponents were strong, he was able to fulfil most of Selim's dreams. Most visible was probably the import of western clothing into his palace. Educational reform and the foundation of a textile industry were of great influence. Even more important was the opening of the first embassies of other nations in Istanbul (1834). Reform of the Ottoman army, however, came too late to save the empire. The key factor in this reform was the position of the Janissary regiment. Originally they were Christian slaves originating from the Balkan area. Over a period of several centuries they managed to form an immense conservative power within the Ottoman army. They were able to put up a blockade against all reforms and finally took up their arms against Mahmud II. After their defeat in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, Mahmud II was finally able to build a new Ottoman army. Tragically, at that time, he had already lost nearly a fourth of his empire. Serbia, Greece, Syria, parts of Russia and Algeria regained their independence or a new foreign ruler.

Collapse of the kuruş

The dramatic end of the war with Russia (1828-1829) forced the Ottoman empire to pay 400,000 kuruş as war tribute to the Russian tsar. The expenses needed to reform the army and literally rebuild the navy after the loss at the battle of Navarino (1829) were probably a multiple of this amount. The coup-de-grace, however, was the loss of revenues from lost territories. Without these revenues the treasurer was no longer able to buy silver for coinage. Combined with the near absence of banknotes, the missing link between gold and silver coinage and the attitude against the use of copper in Istanbul nearly caused the total bankruptcy of the Ottoman state. Some help came from lower silver prices on the world market. In 1828, 23 million pieces of 5 kuruş (= 115 million kuruş) were struck giving a profit of 39.7 million kuruş! In the end, devaluation of the kuruş was the only solution, leading to a still greater catastrophe for the Turkish population. Sky-high inflation and an enormous increase in the cost of daily products made life really miserable. Debasement of coinage, with lower silver content, caused even greater mistrust against the government. It took till 1832 for Mahmud II to realise his precarious position and decide to take drastic action. With a 10th series of new silver coins he raised the silver content of the kuruş, leaving the treasury without any profit. It was then clear that the economic decline of the Ottoman empire could no longer be stopped.

Coins reflecting the economic crisis

Mahmud II had mints in Constantinople, Baghdad, Cairo, Tunis, Algiers and maybe also in Van. Studying their coinage gives a clear insight into the economic crisis in the early 19th century. Continuing devaluation and selling of coins for a higher rate then their intrinsic value led to a range of coins with the heaviest (a 5 kuruş piece of 24 – 26 g, struck between the 3rd and the 11th year) containing 500 times more silver than the lightest (an akçe piece of 0.04 – 0.07 g, struck in the 26th and 27th year).

Constantinople

In the heart of the Ottoman empire the economic crisis was felt dramatically. There was no copper coinage for small payments on the daily market and there was common agreement that every expense of the state needed to be made in silver. Pamuk (2000) clearly showed that there were in fact two periods of heavy inflation. Between 1808 and 1822 the silver content of the kuruş dropped from 5.9 g to 2.32 g, a decrease of 60 %. This decline was not linear: in 1810 the silver content of the third series increased from 0.465 to 0.730. Soldiers fighting in the first war with Russia were payed with these coins.



Constantinople 2 kuruş AH 1223 year 14

The big boom still had to come. Between 1828 and 1832 the silver content of the kuruş decreased by another 79 % and ended up being no more the 0.5 g. Whereas the kuruş in 1808 was a coin of 12.8 g, in 1832 you had to carry only 2.14 g when having a kuruş in your purse.

Before the reign of Mahmud II there was a second, standard coin: the akçe. Its value was not always the same but generally it was equal to 1/3 para (40 para = 1 kuruş). The last akçe struck by Mahmud's minters (1832) weighed only 0.05 g, far too light to be used in general commerce.

Finally, around 1834 there were 10 series of silver coin with, in total, 13 different types, differing from the minute akçe to the large 6 kuruş from the last series. Nearly all the series are easily recognisable by their appearance, weight and diameter.



Constantinople surre altın AH 1223 year 16

In gold there is just as much variation in typology. But, due to the fact that these coins were not used by the state treasurer and only for commerce, there is much less variation in precious metal content. Nine series were struck, most of them divided into ¼, ½ , whole and double pieces (named zeri mahbub, (cedid) rumi altın, surre altın, (cedid) adli altın, hayriye altın and cedid mahmudiye). Two series of gold coins are quite special. The first are the surre altıns. These were not minted with the name of Constantinople as minting locality but with the name Darülhilafe (city of the khalif) These coins were specially struck for the hadj and to be taken to Mecca). The second special series are the hayriye pieces. Hayriye means 'trustworthy' or 'good' and these were struck after the defeat of the Janissary revolt. The regular series has, as mintname, Constantinople but there is also a second with the name Edirne. Sultan Mahmud II paid a ten-day visit to Edirne in 1831 to encourage the refugees from the Russian war.

Baghdad

Far from the seat of power, Baghdad was the most important city in Mesopotamia. The first silver coins were minted in the 13th year of the reign of Mahmud II. Although shape and type changed five times, the differences in silver content due to the economic crisis was much less than in Constantinople. In gold, there was only a ½ hayriye coin struck in the 25th year. Quite remarkable was that, just as in other border provinces of the Ottoman empire, the Baghdad mint struck small copper pieces. These 5-paras were sometimes inscribed with the year 1223 (with or without the regnal year) and sometimes with the real year of production.



Baghdad piastre AH 1223 year 13

Governor Saïd Pasha made history in 1815. He thought that Constantinople was too busy with the Balkan war to realise that he replaced the name of Mahmud II on the Bagdad coinage with his own name. That this was not very clever he discovered in 1816 when he received the ultimate punishment for his boldness.

Cairo

During the reign of Mahmud II, pasha Mehmet Ali would seek to make Egypt more and more independent. Although Cairo and Constantinople even met each other on different sides of the battlefield their coinage carried the sultan's name till the Great War. A major difference is that, already in 1834, a double standard, linking gold and silver coinage, was introduced.

Mahmud II inherited a large monetary problem from his predecessors. The silver content of the Egyptian para already before the start of the economic crisis was much lower then the para of Constantinople. An enormous flow of bad paras went from Cairo to the mainland of what is now known as Turkey. In 1816 the sultan published an edict banning all Egyptian paras and

ordering the pasha to reform his coinage. It would take till 1828 before this was carried out. To show his good-will the pasha started with a kuruş, a 20 and a 10 para piece with the same design as the silver pieces of the 7th series of Constantinople.



Egypt quirsh AH 1223 year 25

The devaluation of the Egyptian coins would come to a full stop in 1836. Modern coinage with a high silver content (883/1000) replaced all former types. These pieces of 20, 10, 5 and 1 kuruş; 20 and 10 para would be struck till the reign of Mahmud V (1914). During the last years of Mahmud II, copper pieces of 5 and 1 para were added to this series.

In gold there was a rich variation in coins, mostly following the design of Constantinople. After the double standard was introduced in 1836 (AH 1252) for the gold coins, too, a true Egyptian type was produced. This was struck in values of 5, 10, 20 and 100 kuruş.

Tripoli

The largest variation in coinage was struck by the Tripoli mint. There is a multitude of different types of copper paras, with or without the regnal year. In silver, the influence of inflation was certainly visible. The kuruş started with a standard weight of 16 g but ended in the 4th series with only 10 g. The four series are hard to recognise because different series were produced at the same time and probably also used together. In gold there was only a sultani piece with a weight of 3 g precious metal.



Tripoli piastre AH 1223 year 13

Tunis

In Tunis only one type of copper coin was struck, the almost square burben. These coins are now very rare. Up till now it is not certain if this rarity is just due to a very low mintage or whether they were melted in later years.



Tunis 2 riyal AH 1244

There was no gold coinage during the reign of Mahmud II and the variation in silver is limited. All the silver coins are low in silver content (in fact they were made out of a copper-silver alloy: billon).The Tunisian riyal (kuruş) and its ½ and ¼ piece (called 8 and 4 kharub) were produced in only two types. The first was struck between AH 1227 and 1234, the second between AH 1240 and 1255. The second series was completed with 1 and 2 kharub coins. The largest coin was a 2 riyal piece. Just as in Algeria, all coins were struck with the real year of production.

Algiers

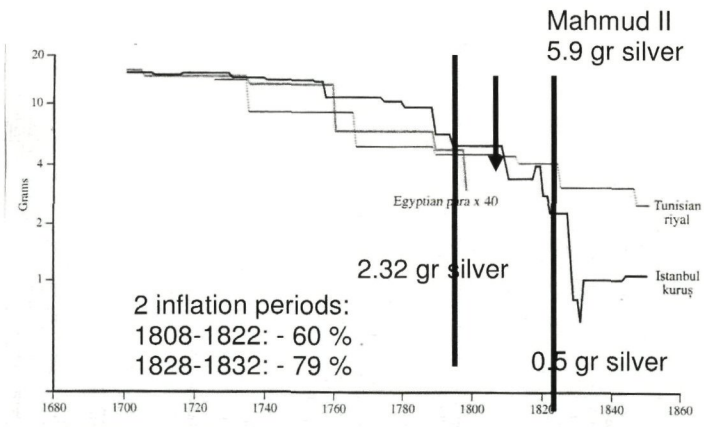
The art of coinage reached an unprecedented peak in Algiers. The budju and the 2 budju (comparable with the Constantinople kuruş) are real pieces of craftsmanship. Although several types were struck, there was no devaluation because of the financial crisis. The smaller denominations, the ¼ and the ⅛ budju, however, were in later years reduced in weight. In AH 1245 there was struck a $\frac{1}{6}$, a ⅓ and a 1 budju comparable to the types struck in Constantinople, displaying not the name of Mahmud II, but the sultan's toughra.



Algiers 2 budju AH 1248

In addition to silver coins, gold was also struck in the form of whole (3.2 g), ½ and ¼ sultani. Two small copper coins, of 2 and 5 aspers, were also produced. The kharub (1/48 budju) was a coin made out of billon.

Algiers would be lost to the Ottoman empire in 1830 (AH 1245) when the French army invaded the north coast of the African continent. Just before Mahmud II died, there was a short revival of Ottoman coinage by local rebel groups. In Constantine and Médéa the name of the sultan reappeared on local coins. Warlord, Abd el-Kader, in Taqidemt and Mascara replaced his name with Koranic verses.



Conclusions

The recent economic crisis cannot be compared with the financial and monetary crisis during the reign of Mahmud II. The fact that coins had to have an intrinsic value in metal, together with the absence of any connection between the value of silver and gold coins, was the reason that all efforts to stop this crisis through the reduction of precious metal content were futile. It was Sultan Abdul Mejid who would stop the crisis by the most severe monetary reform in Ottoman history, but it would take the rest of the century before all bad coinage was taken out of circulation.

UMAYYAD COPPER COINAGE IN THE NAME OF MARWAN II B. MUḤAMMAD FROM THE CAUCASUS – ADDITIONAL COMMENTS*

by Nikolaus Schindel

It is a well-known fact that the standard reference for Umayyad copper coins, John Walker's 1956 catalogue,[1] despite being a great piece of scholarship, is nowadays dated due to the large number of coins which have turned up during the last half century. As long as no new comprehensive catalogue of Umayyad post-reform copper coins appears,[2] we will have to limit ourselves on the one hand to the publications of collections such as Doug Nicol's recent SICA 2 volume,[3] and on the other hand to additions to Walker in the form of short notes such as the present one. Its aim is to discuss the Umayyad fulus from the mint of al-Bāb[4] and to also to address in a more general way the copper issues bearing the name of Marwan b. Muḥammad,[5] the future caliph who was to be the last of the Umayyad dynasty, when he was governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Funnily enough, while almost all of the coins listed here have remained unpublished until 2009, in this very year two studies on exactly the same topic were begun. Only while finalising the present paper was I made aware by Dr Lutz Ilisch of Tübingen that the Georgian numismatists, Irakli Paghava and Severian Turkia, were also working on this topic. I got into a very friendly contact with Dr Paghava, but our plans to join forces came to nothing because Paghava's and Turkia's study turned out to be already in print.[6] Much of the material presented here I owe to Lutz Ilisch from the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik of the Eberhard Karls University Tübingen, as well as two private collections, one in Austria, the other in Australia.

As far as I can see, the first Umayyad copper coin from the mint of al-Bāb (Bāb al-Abwab or Derbend in the Republic of Daghestan, Russian Federation), was published by Yevgeni Alexandrovich Pakhomov back in 1959, albeit without providing a photo.[7] The first widely available photo turned up in an auction catalogue in 2000.[8] I discussed this coin dated AH 115 (AD 733/4) together with some notes on its historical implications in the same year.[9] The list below will show that, these days, much more material is available; it has to be emphasized that the present contribution is in no way complete.

Of the AH 115 fulus I now know five specimens which attest to two different subtypes. The first one can be described as follows:

Type 1

Obv.: لا اله/الا الله/وحده ("There is no deity except God. He is one"), circular inscription:
ضرب هذا بالباب سنه خمس و عسره و ميه ("This was struck at al-Bāb in the year 115") within a border of dots

Rev.: محمد/رسول/الله ("Muḥammad is the messenger of God"), circular inscription: مما امر به الامير مرون بن محمد ("Of what has been ordered by the *amīr* Marwan b. Muḥammad") within a border of dots

1: FINT 95-32-2, 1,97g, 18mm, 10h; 2: private, 2,95g, 18mm, 9h (fig. 1 = Schindel 2000, fig. 2)



Fig. 1

[dies uncertain]

The second type features exactly the same legends, but has the field legends on both sides surrounded by a border of dots.

Type 2

Obv.: لا اله/الا الله/وحده ("There is no deity except God. He is one") within a border of dots, circular inscription:
ضرب هذا بالباب سنه خمس و عسره و ميه ("This was struck at al-Bāb in the year 115") within a border of dots

Rev.: محمد/رسول/الله ("Muḥammad is the messenger of God") within a border of dots, circular inscription:
مما امر به الامير مرون بن محمد ("Of what has been ordered by the *amīr* Marwan b. Muḥammad") within a border of dots

1: private, 1,79g, 21mm, 3h (fig. 2); 2: private, ?



Fig. 2

[two sets of dies]

The absence of the word فلس, "fals", i.e. the standard copper denomination in early Islam, has to be noted; it is otherwise almost always present in the *basmala*, but as one can see, this lack is typical of the fulus of al-Bāb.

The fifth specimen dated AH 115 is listed without image or typological information by Paghava and Turkia.[10] Thus a distinction between types 1 and 2 is not possible.

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* I have to thank Dr. Lutz Ilisch, Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik of the Eberhard Karls University Tübingen, for providing me with photos and data of coins in the Tübingen collection, his kind permission to publish them here, and also for useful comments, as well as to Dr. Irakli Paghava for his readiness to share his results with me; furthermore to a coin collector in Australia for his permission to publish coins in his collection.

[1] J. Walker, *Catalogue of the Arab-Byzantine and Post-Reform Umaiyad Coins*, London 1956.

[2] H. Bone, *The Administration of Umayyad Syria: The Evidence of the Copper Coins*, unpublished thesis, Princeton 2000; this work has already started to get dated, apart from the fact that the book covers only the Syrian region and Northern Mesopotamia; N. Goussous, *Rare and Inedited Umayyad Copper Coins*, Amman 2004, is a welcome addition of material, but focuses on jund al-Urdun, and also is not comprehensive.

[3] D. Nicol, *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*. Volume 2: *Early Post-Reform Coinage*, Oxford 2009. A review by the present author will appear in the next volume of Mitteilungen der Österreichischen Numismatischen Gesellschaft.

[4] EI[1] vol. 2, p. 940-945 s.v. "Derbend" (W. Barthold); EI[2] vol. 2, p. 835 s.v. "Bab al-Abwab" (D.M. Dunlop); G. Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate: Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem conquest to the time of Timur*, Cambridge 1930, p. 180.

[5] EI[1] vol. 5, p. 308f. s.v. "Marwān II b. Muhammad" (K.V. Zetterstéen); EI[2] vol. 6, p. 623 s.v. "Marwan" (G.R. Hawting).

[6] I. Paghava/S. Turkia, 'The Umayyad fulūs minted in the name of Marwan b. Muhammad (the Deaf) in Georgia and elsewhere in South Caucasus', *JONS* 201, p. 16-18.

[7] Y A. Pakhomov, *Coins of Azerbaijan* (in Russian), vol. 1, Baku 1959, p. 52f.

[8] Peus auction 363, 26. 4. 2000, lot5715.

[9] N. Schindel, 'Einige omaijadische Kupfermünzen II', *Money Trend* 9/2000, p. 52f.

[10] I. Paghava/S. Turkia, 'The Umayyad fulūs minted in the name of Marwan b. Muhammad (the Deaf) in Georgia and elsewhere in South Caucasus', *JONS* 201, p. 16-18.

A different year of issue, typologically fully corresponding to type 2, is attested by a coin in the Tübingen collection. I owe the reference as well as the photo to the kindness of Dr Lutz Ilisch. This coin, dated AH 119 (AD 737) proves that the AH 115 variant without inner circle (type 1) comes first, since it would be logical that the typologically identical issues of AH 115 and 119 (types 2 and 3) are directly connected.

Type 3

Obv.: لا اله/الا الله/وحده ("There is no deity except God. He is one") within a border of dots, circular inscription:
ضرب هذا بالباب سنه تسع و عسره و ميه ("This was struck at al-Bāb in the year 119") within a border of dots

Rev.: محمد/رسول/الله ("Muḥammad is the messenger of God") within a border of dots, circular inscription:
مما امر به الامير مرون بن محمد ("Of what has been ordered by the *amīr* Marwan b. Muḥammad") within a border of dots

1: FINT AL3 D4, 2,75g, 20mm, 7h (fig. 3)



Fig. 3

A further type (type 4) is reported by Pakhomov, but he fails to provide any photos. The minutiae of typology remain unclear; what is more, the obverse according to Pakhomov does not cite Marwan b. Muḥammad. The reverse circular legend is said to read: ضرب هذا الفلس بالباب سنه احدى و عسرين و ميه[11]. Thus we could possibly add an additional date – AH 121 (AD 738/9) – to our list. However, the presence of the word فلس which is also absent from the next issue dated AH 125 (AD 742/3) (below, type 5), as well as the conspicuous lack of Marwan's name somehow give me a bad feeling about the correctness of Pakhomov's reading. In any case, confirmation is required.

Only recently, a further type has turned up. Its legends are the same as on the AH 115 and 119 issues save for the date, AH which is 125. The typological treatment, however, is different.

Type 5

Obv.: لا اله/الا الله/وحده ("There is no deity except God. He is one") within a border of dots, circular inscription:
ضرب هذا بالباب سنه حمس و عسرين و ميه ("This was struck at al-Bāb in the year 125") within a border of dots

Rev.: محمد/رسول/الله ("Muḥammad is the messenger of God") within a square consisting of dots, circular inscription:
مما امر به الامير مرون بن محمد ("Of what has been ordered by the *amīr* Marwan b. Muḥammad") within a border of dots

1: FINT AC4 E5, 2,36g, 19mm, 10h; 2: FINT 2003-6-2, 2,25g, 20mm, 9h (unit position illegible); 3: private, 2,09g, 19mm, 7h (fig. 4); 4: http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=51349 = Paghava/ Turkia 2009, fig. 3; 2,2g, 20mm



Fig. 4

[at least two different sets of dies]

The reading of the word عسرين, thus the most important part of the date, might be a little bit obscure on coin no. 4, but the additional specimen from www.zeno.ru, though generally somewhat corroded, makes it clear that the numeral is in fact "20".

Whereas the typological treatment of the obverse of the AH 125 fals is the same as on the later AH 115 and the AH 119 fulus, and generally speaking is a pretty common one for Umayyad post-reform copper coins; the reverse featuring the second part of the *kalima* in a dotted square is much rarer. Exactly the same form can be found only on two types of fulus from Mosul of al-Walīd b. Talid, dated by Rotter AH 114-121 (732/3-738/9),[12] and his successor, al-Walīd b. Bukair (AH 121-125 /739/40-742/3).[13] Another parallel comes from a very remote mint, namely Barka in Cyrenaica (present-day Libya).[14] It seems very likely that the typological influence is not the result of mere chance, but that also minor typological features owe their existence to some interaction of different copper mints. It is obvious that Mosul, being the most important and most productive fals mint in the northern part of the Umayyad empire, acted as a kind of "master mint" for minor production places such as al-Bāb. Whatever one is to make of such minor typological connections, it seems clear that copper coinage was not a totally local phenomenon without any interaction between different mints, as is also clearly shown by the emergence of the use of governor's names on coins.[15]

Apart from the Umayyad fulus from al-Bāb, we also have to consider copper coins from other mints in the Caucasus region, starting with Tiflis, present-day capital of Georgia. The first specimen, once again from the Tübingen collection, was published some time ago by Samir Shamma, but in a very short and somewhat unclear way.[16] A second coin was recently presented with a photo and discussed by Turkia and Paghava in this journal:[17] it bears the mint name Tiflis (thus the earliest Islamic copper coin from this mint known so far)[18] and also features the name of Marwan b. Muḥammad (initially misread by the authors), but no date. The reading of the governor's name, commented upon by Lutz Ilisch,[19] has now been reconsidered by Paghava and Turkia,[20] so I believe that this matter can be considered settled now. The typological description confidently can, thus, be given as follows:

Type 6

Obv.: لا اله ا/لا الله ("There is no deity except God") within a border of dots, circular inscription:

[10] Paghava/Turkia (as note 6), p. 16.
[11] Pakhomov (as note 7), p. 52f.

[12] G. Rotter, The Umayyad Fulūs of Mosul, ANS MN 19, 1974, p. 180f., no. 6.
[13] Rotter (as note 13), p. 185f., no. 7.
[14] Walker (as note 1), p. 235, no. P.125, pl. 26, fig. P.125.
[15] L. Ilisch, ‚Die umayyadischen und 'abbasidischen Kupfermünzen von Hims. Versuch einer Chronologie', *Münstersche Numismatische Zeitung* 10/3, p. 28.
[16] S. Shamma, *A catalogue of 'Abbasid copper coins*, London 1998, p. 236f.
[17] S. Turkia/I, Paghava, 'An unrecorded early post-reform fals minted in Tiflis', *JONS* 191, 2007, p. 6-8.
[18] Dirhams are attested for the year AH 85: M.G. Klat, *Catalogue of the Post-Reform Dirhams. The Umayyad Dynasty*, London 2002, p. 90, no. 197. Klat cites six examples. Thus, these Tiflis dirhams are more common than some years from al-Bāb.
[19] L. Ilisch, Islamic Numismatics, in: M. Amandry/D. Bateson (eds.), *A Survey of Numismatic Research 2002-2007*, Glasgow 2009, p. 482.
[20] Paghava/Turkia (as note 6), p. 16f.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس بتيفلس خاز ("In the name of God, this was struck at Tiflis. Current") within a border of dots

Rev.: محمد/رسول/الله ("Muḥammad is the messenger of God") within a square consisting of dots, circular inscription: هذا الفلس مما امر به الامير مرون بن محمد ("This fals is of what has been ordered by the *amīr* Marwan b. Muḥammad") within a border of dots

1: FINT AM 10B3, 1,68g, 18mm (fig. **5** = Paghava/ Turkia 2009, fig. 2); 2: private collection in Georgia, 1,48g, 18mm, 6h (= Paghava/Turkia 2007; Paghava/ Turkia 2009, fig. 1)



Fig. 5

[same obverse die, different reverse dies]

Two observations on this type might be useful: The word خاز, "current", on the obverse following the mint name has close parallels with the undated Irmīniyah fulus which seem to belong to the late 80s/90s AH,[21] even if there the word و, "and", is inserted between the mint name and the word خاز. As in the case of the al-Bāb AH 125 coins, we can see minor typological links between issues from different mints. The second interesting feature is the reverse legend, since normally the phrase هذا الفلس is absent from the standard formula citing the governor.

Still another type bears the mint name Irmīniyah; a governor's name is lacking, but it is dated to the 120s AH, even if the unit position is illegible on the single specimen of which a photo is available.[22] Bone read the date as "12[3?]", while Pakhomov as a matter of fact transcribed the legend as بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلس سنه ثلث و عسرين و ميه بارمينيه.[23] Accepting this, this coin type, too, would belong chronologically to the governorship of Marwan b. Muḥammad.

Type 7

1: FINT AC3 A3 (Bone 2000, p. 265, fig. 155); 2: 25mm, 2,58g (= Pakhomov 1959, p. 53, no photo)

[dies uncertain]

Summing up the evidence for fals issues connected with the governorship of Marwan b. Muḥammad, we arrive at the following list:

Type 1: al-Bāb, AH 115, citing Marwan b. Muḥammad (2 coins)
Type 2: al-Bāb, AH 115, citing Marwan b. Muḥammad (2 coins)
(Type 1 or 2: 1 coin)
Type 3: al-Bāb, AH 119, citing Marwan b. Muḥammad (1 coin)
Type 4: al-Bāb, AH 121, no governor (1 coin; confirmation required)
Type 5: al-Bāb, AH 125, citing Marwan b. Muḥammad (4 coins)
Type 6: Tiflis, undated, citing Marwan b. Muḥammad (2 coins)
Type 7: Irmīniyah, 123(?), no governor (2 coins)

Thus without any claim for completeness, we are confronted with about 15 coins representing seven different types, none of which is listed in Walker's catalogue. The ratio between types and specimens (on an overall basis 1 : 2), in my opinion, makes it near certain that further variants will turn up in due course.

As regards the patterns of minting, the same mixture of dated and undated coins as well as coins with and without governor's name can also be observed in Mosul.[24] Even if the list of specimens is in no way complete, it appears as if the al-Bāb fulus are much more common than the two other variants. We shall shortly have a look at the contemporary dirhams.

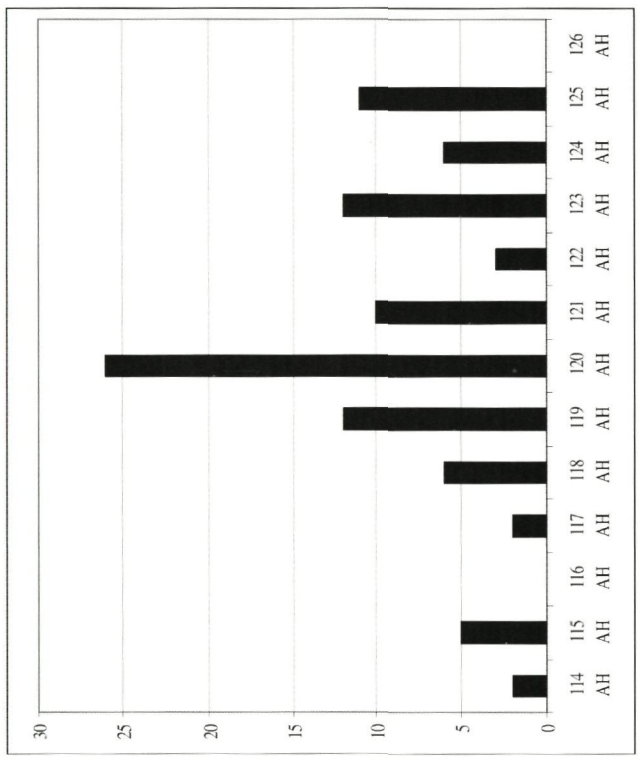
Remaining with the fulus, an important question is whether the numismatic and historiographical evidence is in agreement, or contradicts each other. This is of some interest nowadays, since the recent works of "revisionist" historians on Early Islam sometimes go as far as denying any value at all to the Arab historiographers. This is especially true of the "Ohlig group" and its numismatic "expert" Volker Popp.[25] According to the prosopographical data in Tabari, Marwan b. Muḥammad became governor of Armenia and Azerbaijan in AH 114;[26] he is explicitly attested to there in the short lists of governors also for the years 117,[27] 118,[28] 119,[29] 120[30] and 121.[31] In the year 126, he started his rebellion against the caliph Ibrahim and left for Syria. It is in this context that al-Bāb is clearly mentioned in connection with Marwan II when Tabari says that the future caliph "dispatched to the people of al-Bab Ishaq b. Muslim al-'Uqayli...",[32] a governor known also from undated fulus bearing the mint-name Irmīniyah.[33] It is true that other sources give a slightly different list of Umayyad governors in the Caucasus region,[34] but Tabari's data here seems to be the most reliable. We now have numismatic proof that Marwan was governor in this region in AH 115 – his second year of tenure according to Tabari – as well as in AH 125, his last year but one. Thus, we can prove the reliability of Early Islamic historiography on the basis of a most trustworthy type of primary evidence, namely coinage.

Apart from this short glimpse at the historical evidence, it is also necessary to reconsider briefly the patterns of minting in the Umayyad north, a topic already covered by two authors in some detail.[35] From AH 103 until the beginning of the "Abbasid revolution" in the late 120s AH, Umayyad dirham coinage was organised in such a way that only one mint was striking silver coins for a larger administrative unit.[36] For the Caucasus region, the dirham mint from AH 103 to 110 used the name Irmīniyah.[37] For a short period – more specifically, in AH 105 and 106 – dirhams were also struck with the mint name Adharbayjān.[38] This centralisation of coinage means, by the way, that we are no longer in a position to draw conclusions from the observation of mint/year combinations in the dirham coinage as regards the

[21] Walker (as note 1), p. 229, no. 746f.; Bone (as note 2), p. 265.
[22] Bone (as note 2), p. 265, fig. 255.
[23] Pakhomov (as note 7), p. 53.
[24] Rotter (as note 12).
[25] K.-H. Ohlig/G. Puin (eds.), *Die dunklen Anfänge. Neue Forschungen zur Entstehung und frühen Geschichte der Islam*, Berlin 2005; K.-H. Ohlig (ed.), *Der frühe Islam. Eine historisch-kritische Rekonstruktion anhand zeitgenössischer Quellen*, Berlin 2007; for some critical remarks on Popp's use of numismatic evidence N. Schindel, 'Nihil boni praeter causam' (review of Popp 2007), *MÖNG* 49/2, 2009, p. 104-126.
[26] Tabari, vol. 25, transl. K. Y. Blankinship, p. 98f.
[27] Tabari (as note 26), p. 123.
[28] Tabari (as note 26), p. 130.
[29] Tabari (as note 26), p. 166.
[30] Tabari (as note 26), p. 194.
[31] Tabari, vol. 26, transl. C. Hillenbrand, p. 35.
[32] Tabari (as note 31), p. 239.
[33] Walker (as note 1), p. 229, no. 748f.
[34] Schindel (as note 9), p. 53.
[35] D. Spellberg, 'The Umayyad north: Numismatic evidence for frontier administration', *ANS* MN 33 (1988), p. 119-127; M. Bates, 'The Dirham mint of the northern provinces of the Umayyad Caliphate', *Armenian Numismatic Journal* 15, 1989, p. 89-111.
[36] N. Schindel, 'The Balkh 93 AH Fulus revisited' (to be published in the transaction of the 2nd Simone Assemani Symposium on Islamic Coins, Trieste 2008).
[37] Bates (as note 35); Klat (as note 18), p. 43-49, no. 45-66. Apart from the dates AH 94-110, Armenia dirhams are also attested for 78, 81 and 82 AH.
[38] Klat (as note 18), p. 36-38, no. 23.a-25.b. Coins such as 23.a featuring the mint name outside the *basmala* rank among the earliest post-reform silver coins.

movements of the governors, as Spellberg has done it for Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, Marwan's predecessor as governor (AH 107-111 / AD 725-730; AH 112-114 / AD 730-732).[39] After a quite unusual three-year interval when no dirhams were struck in the Caucasus, silver minting began again in AH 114. This time, however, the mint name is the same as on most of our fulus, i.e. al-Bāb. With the single exception of AH 116, dirhams are attested continuously until AH 126, the year of Marwan's departure for Syria, and then again in AH 128.[40] The fact that we do not yet know dirhams for 116 may be explained by mere chance since some other dates in al-Bāb are attested only by very few coins. Thus, this lacuna with all probability will be filled one day.[41] The output of the mint of al-Bāb varies heavily:

Tab. 1. Numbers of al-Bāb dirhams per year from AH 114-126 according to Klat 2002 (table placed sideways here)



Interestingly enough, by far the most common date is AH 120 (fig. 6), a date as yet not attested on fulus: 26 dirhams are known from this year.



Fig. 6

It has to be emphasized that *tab. 1* contains only the number of specimens, not of dies, and though the latter method of counting certainly would be more reliable, the coin count, too, I believe, gives us some idea that the volume of mintage was no way consistent throughout this period. Suffice it to say that the first years, AH 114 to 118 taken together yield fewer coins than the single year AH 120.

[39] Spellberg (as note 35).

[40] Klat (as note 18), p. 74-78, no. 141-154.

[41] For AH 114, Klat lists just on e pair of dies; for AH 117 he cites just two specimens from two pairs of dies. The earliest known date for al-Bāb dirhams, AH 93, is attested by a unique coin which is discussed in some detail by Spellberg (as note 35), p. 125f.

What emerges is that there was some administrative change in the monetary production of the north of the Umayyad Empire in AH 114. While it is Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik who is credited with "rebuilding" al-Bāb in Arabic geographical works, it seems more likely that the emergence of al-Bāb as one of the six precious metal mints of the Umayyad Empire is directly linked to the beginning of the governorship of Marwan b. Muḥammad. It is, in my opinion, no mere coincidence that silver coinage started in the same year in which Marwan is reported to have become governor, and lasts during his entire tenure. The copper coins also prove that al-Bāb was the most important mint of the area during this time since five out of seven types as well as 11 out of 15 specimens originate from this mint. However, the Tiflis as well as (with all probability) also the Irmīniyah AH 123(?) fulus show that, at other places, copper coins were struck. Thus, for copper coinage, the central production system as for dirhams did not exist, but this is certainly no new observation, as e.g. the much more plentiful Syrian copper coinage long ago proved.

One final observation: while the tenure of Maslama left its imprint in the patterns of silver coinage, as has been shown by Spellberg and Bates, it does not seem that there are any copper issues from the Caucasus which could be associated with his governorship. One coin type from Armenia[42] and a similar issue from Dabīl[43] have been dated to the late 80s/early 90s, thus much earlier (Maslama's first tenure began in AH 107), while the fulus in the name of Isḥāq b. Muslim naturally cannot have been issued earlier than AH 126. It thus seems, at least at the current state of our knowledge of the material, likely that the moderately plentiful production of fulus in the Caucasus was somehow a peculiarity of the governorship of Marwan b. Muḥammad before he left the Caucasus to perform his heroic, if tragic role on the stage of world politics

A DIRHAM OF THE RULER OF DARBAND, MAYMŪN BIN AḤMAD (BIN 'ABD AL-MALIK BIN HĀSHIM)

By V.P. Lebedev

Several years ago a dirham of the Hāshimids of Darband dynasty was found among a group of various 10th to 11th century dirhams from one of the pre-Mongol sites on the Middle Volga (the territory of Volga Bulgaria in Staraja Mayna district of Ulyanovsk province, Russia) (fig.1).



Fig. 1

[42] Walker (as note 1), p. 229, no. 746f.; Bone (as note 2), p. 265.

[43] Walker (as note 1), p. 229f., no. 257f.; Bone (as note 2), p. 266.

This is a coin of Abū'l Qasim Maymūn bin Aḥmad (AH 366-387) quoting Shirvānshāh Muḥammad bin Aḥmad (AH 370-381) and the caliph, al-Ṭa'i' (AH 363-381). It has not previously been described in published numismatic sources.

Obv:

[لا] اله الا الله/ و حد ه لاشر يك/

له االملك الموىد / [محم]د بن احمد / [ش]روانشاه

lā ilāha illā allāh wahdahu lā sharīk
lahu al-malik al-mu'ayyad muḥammad bin aḥmad
shirvānshāh

Mint and date of issue are missing on the coin.
Rev.:

[محمد ر] سول/ [الله] الطائع

لله/ [الا]مير العادل/[ا]بو القسم ميمون / بن احمد

muḥammad rasūl allāh al-ṭa'i'
lillāh al-amīr al-'ādil abū'l qasim maymūn bin aḥmad

There is only one historical source from the 11th century on the history of the Hāshimids of Darband - Tārīkh al-Bāb wa Shirvān, as retold by the Turkish 17th century historian, Munajim-bashi and published in 1958 by V.F. Minorsky[1] (Russian edition of 1963). Hāshim bin Surak b. Salis b. Ḥayyun b. Najm b. Hāshim al-Sulamī is considered the founder of the al-Bāb emirate dynasty. Throughout the history of the emirate (AH 255-460) the Hāshimids were defending their possessions from the Shirvānshāhs and the period preceding the mintage of this issue was full of examples of such confrontations. The war in AH 318 between Muḥammad bin Yazīd Shirvānshāh and the amir of al-Bāb, 'Abd al-Malik, ended in a peace accord. The conflict was further complicated by the uneasy relations between the emirs of Darband and the aristocracy (*rais*) of the city. In AH 327 the *rais* expelled emir Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik and swore allegiance to the Shirvānshāh, Haysam b. Muḥammad, but two years later they returned under the emir's rule. During AH 330-331, Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Malik was twice expelled and the *rais* invited the Shirvānshāhs - firstly Haysam b. Muḥammad again, then Aḥmad b. Yazīd to take over, but in both cases the emir returned to al-Bāb.

Maymūn was born in 348/959 as the heir to Aḥmad and, at the age of 18, inherited the throne after the death of his father. During the first 11 years of his rule he was only nominally in charge of the city while it was actually controlled by the *rais* and he resided outside the citadel. In 378, with the help of the *russ* [mercenaries], Maymūn captured the citadel, but in 380 he was expelled and the city invited the Shirvānshāh, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (370-381/981-991). That same year, Maymūn recaptured the city, but was again expelled the following year (381) when Muḥammad b. Aḥmad returned. The Shirvānshāh left a garrison in Darband and returned to Shirvān, where he died shortly afterwards. After his death, Maymūn returned to Darband, in 382, and managed to avoid any skirmishes with Muḥammad's successor, Yazīd b. Aḥmad.

There is no date on the dirham but Maymūn is shown as vassal of the Shirvānshāh, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad. It appears that this situation could have developped during the initial peaceful period up to AH 377, when the city was ruled by the *rais* (who had control over the emir) and who probably recognised the Shirvānshāh, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad as overlord. In this case this dirham may have been issued some time during the period AH 370-377.

The present author does not know of any publications describing the coins of the Hāshimid emirs in general or Maymūn b. Aḥmad in particular. At the same time, the coinage of the Shirvānshāh, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, whose name is placed on the obverse of a published coin is known. As early as 1938, E.A. Pakhomov commented on the existence of the Shirvānshāh's dirham in the Hermitage Museum[2], but he did not provide any description. Recently this dirham (Hermitage inventory number 7668) and another one from a private collection were described in detail[3] (fig. 2).



Fig. 2

The first dirham was struck at at the Shirvān mint and is missing the date; the second was issued in Shabirān in AH (37)2. The obverse legends of both dirhams in the field are identical -

لا اٰله الا/الله و حده

/لا شر يك له/ابو الحارث ا/سد

The reverse side contents and legend in the field are identical as well varying only in the placement of the lines and mistakes in the text:

لله محمد

رسول الله الطايع لله الملک المو يد

ابو الحسن محمد بن احمد شروانشاه

As can be seen on both these Shirvānshāh dirhams, his title is written as al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad, as it is on the "Shirvānshāh" side of Maymūn's dirham. The dirhams also include his kunya, Abū'l Ḥasan, which is missing on the coin struck in Darband, while Maymūn's kunya, Abū'l Qasim is shown.

The author would like to thank A.A. Koifman for his advice on the article's content, and for translating the article into English.

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SOME NEW DENOMINATION COINS OF NĀDIR SHĀH MINTED IN GEORGIA

By Irakli Paghava, Severian Turkia & Giorgi Janjgava

While researching the numismatic heritage of the Afsharids[44] the scholar has to keep in mind its dual nature: the Afsharid coins are one of the primary sources for studying the history of this dynasty, but they also elucidate the political and monetary (economic) past of the various nations which fell under the rule of Nādir Shāh, the founder of the dynasty, and his successors. The Afsharid suzerainty at times extended over many regions beyond Iran proper including the south-eastern Caucasus, and the monetary policy of the new administration in the latter area seems to be of particular significance considering the scarcity of the original written sources from this region and period. Hence. our interest in the contemporary numismatic history of the Caucasus and, in particular, Georgia.

The so-called Georgian-Afsharid coinage[45] has been the subject of detailed research in the past[46]. This was based on the study of the early publications and the major collections like the then personal collection of Ye. Pakhomov[47], the numismatic holdings of the Georgian State History Museum, the History Museum of Azerbaijan, the State Hermitage (now in the Russian Federation)[48] and the American Numismatic Society[49]. However, even these extensive collections did not include all the extant denominations. The monitoring of international auctions and the study of some private collections[50] in Georgia yielded no fewer than three more new denominations of Nādir Shāh in addition to those (cf. *Table 1*) already known before[51]. The aim of this short paper is to present them to the numismatic community.

Coin 1 is a Tiflis gold coin – an ashrafi of Nādir Shāh dated AH 1152 (1739/40). The coin was auctioned[52] by Dr Busso Peus Nachfolger at Auction 388, lot 1476 with the following commentary: "Medieval and modern gold from Tiflîs is excessively rare, the Ottoman occupation gold coinage - rare as it is - outnumbers by far the few Afshar ashrafis known for Nadir Shâh and his sons."[53]. A Tiflis gold coin of Ibrāhīm was mentioned by the Georgian chronicler[54] and one Tiflis gold ashrafi of Shāhrukh is preserved in the State Hermitage[55]. As to the gold currency of Nādir Shāh from the Tiflis mint, the Standard Catalogue of World Coins (the 18th c.) lists such a coin, but its existence cannot be verified from this entry as no image is provided[56]. Therefore, the detailed publication of the specimen auctioned by Dr Busso Peus Nachfolger can remedy this. This coin is as follows:



Fig .1

Weight 3.46 g, dimensions 15.8 mm[57], die axis NA (*Fig. 1*[58]).
Obv.: Within circle:

نادر
السلطا
ن
(السلطان نادر)

nādir al-sulṭān
sulṭān nādir

Outer circle at some distance.

Rev.: Within circle:

الله
خلد
ملكه تفليس
١١٥٢
ب
ضر
(الله خلد ملكه ضرب تفليس ١١٥٢)

khallada allāh mulkahu, ḍarb tiflīs 1152
May God perpetuate his reign, minted Tiflis 1152

This is a 'type C' ashrafi[59] bearing exactly the same design and the same legends arranged in the same way as the 'type C' 6-shahi silver coin first introduced in AH 1150 (1737/8)[60]. It is more or less equal in diameter to the ordinary 6-shahi coin (about 16-18 mm according to our observations). Although we did not manage to find an exact die match, nonetheless this ashrafi was probably minted with the dies intended for producing the 6-shahi coins (cf. the AH 1152 6-shahi coin in Fig. 2 and not with specially prepared dies.



Fig. 2

In contrast to the majority of the Tiflis AH 1150-1151 6-shahis, the Tiflis 1152 6-shahis are generally much narrower, some specimens being of no more than 16 mm broad. The obverse die was cracked (see the obverse of Fig. 1 at 10 o'clock), perhaps because of having had been in use for some time before being employed for minting this ashrafi. In our opinion, the die deteriorated while being used to strike the 6-shahis and not the ashrafis at the Tiflis mint. Although we do not know the thickness of the coin, it should be much thinner than the 6-shahi coins (2.4-3.4 mm thick) provided it has the same diameter as the 6-shahi

[44] To our knowledge, there is no comprehensive work devoted to the in-depth study of Afsharid coinage, its economic and political significance.
[45] This term implies the currency minted in Tiflis (modern Tbilisi, capital of Georgia) in the name of the Afsharid shahs (and the contemporary Tiflis copper coins in the name of the Georgian kings from the Bagrationi dynasty).
[46] *Pakhomov:230-235; Lang:102-108; Kutelia.*
[47] *Pakhomov:230-235.*
[48] *Kutelia 1981.*
[49] *Lang:102-108.*
[50] We would like to express our gratitude to their owners for their kind permission to publish their coins.
[51] *Pakhomov:231-233; Lang:102-105; Kutelia.*
[52] We do not know who the current owner of this coin is.
[53] *Busso:169, #1476.*
[54] *Orbeliani:154.*
[55] *Kapanadze 1970:341, commentary on p. 233.*
[56] *SCWC:777, #378.*
[57] As can be judged from the illustration in the auction catalogue (*Busso:169, #1476*).
[58] *Zeno:#38413.*
[59] *Album 1998:132, #2742.*
[60] *Pakhomov 1970:232-233 ; Lang 1955:104-105; Farahbakhsh:61; Album 1998:133, #2747.*

coins. It is made of gold, a metal much heavier than silver, and weighs much less (3.46 g) than the normal 6-shahi coin (6.91 g). In our opinion, this coin should have a relatively thin, broad flan, not a thick, narrow one (cf. *Checklist of Islamic Coins*: "AV ashrafi, type C, struck on thick narrow flans"[61]).

Coin 2 is a 2-shahi Tiflis coin of the 6-dang (1 tuman = 1200 nokhod) weight standard[62] of Nādir Shāh, also dated AH 1152 (1739/40). Weight 2.31 g, dimensions 15.2-15.5 mm, die axis 3 o'clock (Fig. 3).



Fig. 3

The coin is preserved in a private collection in Georgia. The coin is also designed like the 6-shahi silver coin first introduced in AH 1150 (1737/8) (type C[63]) and bears the same legends arranged in the same way. The inner and the outer circles on the obverse are beaded and the circle on the reverse is off-flan. The reverse is double-struck. This is a 'type C' 2-shahi denomination because of the weight – 2.31 g, the weight of the shahi being 1.15 g[64]. The 6-shahi and 1-shahi coins of this type were known for the Tiflis mint before[65], but not the 2-shahi denomination[66]. Taking into account the dimensions and the space occupied by the legends, we are inclined to think that this 2-shahi coin most probably was also struck with the dies intended for producing the 6-shahi coins (cf. the 1152 6-shahi coin in Fig. 2.)

Coin 3 is a 'type B'[67] 1-shahi Tiflis coin of the 6-dang (1 tuman = 1200 nokhod) weight standard[68]. The coin is preserved in a private collection in Georgia. The coin is as follows:
Weight 1.14 g, dimensions 14.5 mm, die axis 10:45 o'clock (Fig. 4). It bears the following legends (the die was considerably wider than the flan, hence only some of the legends fit onto the latter; only the completely missing graphemes are underlined):



Fig. 4

Obv.: Within a beaded circle:

بر زر کرد نام
سکه
را در جهان بادر
سلطنت
ایران زمین و خسرو گیتی ستان
ب
ضر تفلیس

Standing for the distich and the mint formula[69]:

(سکه بر زر کرد نام سلطنت را در جهان
بادر ایران زمین و خسرو گیتی ستان
ضرب تفلیس)

sekkeh bar zar kard nām-e sultanat-rā dar jahān
nādir-e irān-zamīn o khosrov-e gīti-setān
ḍarb tiflīs

By coin in gold (precious metal) glorifies the name of the sultanate in the world
Nadir (The Rare) of the Iranian land, the Khosrow who conquers the world
Minted Tiflis

Rev.: Within an ornamental circle:

مانوس الخیر فیما وقع
میمنت
تاریح جلوس
(تاریخ جلوس میمنت مانوس الخیر فیما وقع)[70]
۱۱۵

tārīkh-e julūs-e maimanat mānūs-e al-khaīr fīmā waqa'
115[0]
In the year of the auspicious enthronement, what has happened is good, 115[0]

As we can see, the mint name is off the flan of this coin, but this very die was also used for striking the 6-dang (1 tuman = 1200 nokhod) weight standard[71] abbasi coin of Nādir Shāh, minted in Tiflis and dated AH 1150 (Fig. 5, weight: 4.56 g).



Fig. 5

Both coins share the obverse die with the mint indication though their reverses were struck with different dies. Therefore, the 1-shahi coin presented above was struck with the Tiflis die as well (i.e. presumably in Tiflis).

This coin is a 1-shahi denomination of the 6-dang abbasi standard because of the weight – 1.13 g, the weight of the shahi of this weight standard being 1.15 g: 4.61 divided by 4 for the 6-dang abbasi weight standard[72] (1.34 g for the 7-dang abbasi weight standard[73]). The 4-shahi (abbasi) and 2-shahi (muhammadi) coins of this type were known before[74], but the 1-shahi denomination has not featured in any of the major works for the Tiflis mint.

Taking into account the 3 new denominations of Nādir Shāh minted in Tiflis we arrive at the following list of his monetary types (based on both the weight standard and design) produced in Georgia – see *Table 1*.

[61] *Ibid.:132, #2742.*
[62] *Lang:104; Kutelia:42, #3; Farahbakhsh:62.*
[63] *Farahbakhsh:61; Album 1998:132-133, #2747.*
[64] *Farahbakhsh:62; Album 1998:132-133, #2754.*
[65] *Pakhomov:232; Lang:104-105; Kapanadze 1969:145, plate XIV, #190; Kutelia:47, table 1.*
[66] It seems to be a very rare denomination for this type: S. Album's *Checklist of Islamic Coins* does not list the type C 2-shahi denomination (cf. *Album 1998:132-133*), whereas the SCWC lists only Bukhara type C 2-shahi dated AH 1153 (*SCWC:776, #374*), seemingly based on Rabino di Borgomale's work (*Rabino di Borgomale: plate 15, #369*).
[67] *Album 1998:132.*
[68] *Lang:104; Kutelia:42, #3; Farahbakhsh:62.*
[69] *Ibid.:61.*
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] *Lang:104; Kutelia:42, #3; Farahbakhsh:62.*
[72] *Ibid.:62.* There are no 6-dang abbasi denominations of types A and B listed in the *Checklist of Islamic Coins* (cf. *Album 1998:232-233*).
[73] *Farahbakhsh:62; Album 1998:233, #2752-2753.*
[74] *Lang:103-104, #86; Kutelia:42, #3.*

Table 1. The Tiflis Coinage of Nādir Shāh Afsharid[75]

Coin Metal	AR		AV
	Weight standard		
Legends / Design ("Type")[76]	7-dang (5.37 g) abbasi (1 tuman = 1400 nokhod)	6-dang (4.61 g) abbasi (1 tuman = 1200 nokhod)	4.5-dang/18-nokhod (3.46 g) ashrafi
A	*Abbasi* (norm. weight 5.37 g)		
B	*Abbasi* (norm. weight 5.37 g) *½ abbasi*[77] (norm. weight 2.68 g) *¼ abbasi*[78] (norm. weight 1.34 g)	*Abbasi* (norm. weight 4.61 g) *½ abbasi* (norm. weight 2.30 g) *¼ abbasi*[79] (norm. weight 1.15 g)	
C		*6-shahi* (norm. weight 6.91 g) *Abbasi?*[80] (norm. weight 4.61 g) *2-shahi*[81] (norm. weight 2.30 g) *1-shahi* (norm. weight 1.15 g)	*Ashrafi*[82] (norm. weight 3.46 g)
D		*Nadiri (10-shahi)* (norm. weight 11.52 g)	

Conclusions

The coinage of Nādir Shāh struck at Tiflis is the numismatic testimony of his military and administrative control over eastern Georgia. The specimens presented above naturally expand our knowledge of both the Afsharid monetary issues and numismatic history of Georgia. The fact that the Tiflis mint issued some gold coins in the name of Nādir Shāh (as it did, later, in the names of Ibrāhīm and Shāhrukh) seems to be of particular significance for Georgian numismatics due to the general scarcity of the gold currency produced by the Georgian mints (Tiflis being the major one) in the 17th-18th centuries. The existence of the 2-shahi denomination of type C, almost unknown for other mints, is worthy of note, too. In terms of the mint procedure, it appears that the mint authorities deliberately reduced expenditure on the production of the dies, employing existing ones for striking some new denominations that the dies were not initially designed for[83]: It looks as if both the type C gold ashrafi and the type C 2-shahi coins (possibly also the 1-shahi denomination) were struck with the type C 6-shahi dies; the abbasi die was used for striking the shahi coin (coin 3) as well.

It is unclear whether the additional information on the monetary policy of the Afsharid administration in (eastern) Georgia presented above could be used as a source of information on the economical situation there. The fact that it was decided to issue an extensive set of denominations (13 denomination-type combinations?), including the minor ones and the gold ashrafi, may be perceived as a reaction of the authorities to market demand, i.e. as an indication of the relatively brisk trade within or transiting contemporary Tiflis in spite of the political/military tensions of the period. But taking into account the marked rarity of these denominations, that would certainly be a far-fetched conclusion. The gold ashrafis may have been used for presentation purposes and the small-denomination silver coins as scatter coins, intended for ceremonial distribution. It is noticeable that 1-shahi coins of Safavid and later rulers are more often than not found pierced or with traces of mounting, indicating that they were often used as decoration rather than circulating media.

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[75] *Pakhomov:230-233; Lang:102-105; Kapanadze 1969:145, plate XIV, #190; Kutelia:41-43.*

[76] *Album 1998:132.*

[77] *SCWC:776, #368;* No image provided. Requires verification.

[78] *Ibid.:776, #367;* No image provided. Requires verification.

[79] Fig. 4.

[80] *SCWC:776, #375;* No image provided. Requires verification. The existence of the type C Tiflis abbasi seems dubitable to us.

[81] Fig. 3.

[82] Fig. 1.

[83] This was not an unparalleled phenomenon: cf. the mint procedure at the Tiflis mint some 20 years earlier, in the late Safavid epoch (*Paghava 2007:21-22*).

SAFAVID COINAGE OF ARESH

By A. V. Akopyan (Moscow) and F. Mosanef (Tehran)

The city of Aresh (ارش) was located on the left bank of the Kura river in Shirwān, in the region of Shekkī. It is about 40 km to the north-west of Shimakhī and occupies an important place in the belt of hills (Naᶜlband-dağı) screening Shekkī from the valley of the Kura river.[84] For a short period under the Safavids, silver and copper coins were struck in Aresh. In this short note we make an attempt to discuss that scarce coinage.

I. *Historical background*

Aresh, ارش (also spelled ارس or رش or رس) was used by Arab geographers to indicate a valley near Qabala in Shirwān.[85] Taḍkirat al-Mulūk wrote: "*Arash of Shakī is the vast area in Caucasus in the west of Shirwān. Nowadays it is called Khānābād. It is on the way from Nukhwī to Bardaᶜa*".[86] According to V. Minorsky, Khānābād in Shirvān has been known since the 19th century to be located at *qalᶜa*, the castle of Aresh city.[87]

In AH 945/AD 1538 Aresh was mentioned in the "Gulistān-i Irām" as a city once visited by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I.[88] In AH 955/AD 1548 Aresh was the site of a battle between Shekkī ruler, Darvīsh Muḥammad Khān, and the joint forces of the Safavids and Georgians, where the united army was defeated.[89] In AH 958/AD 1551 Aresh became a part of the Safavid state.

In the late Middle Ages, Aresh was an important trade centre of Shirvān. English trade agent and ambassador, Anthony Jenkinson (1529–1611), compared Aresh with the largest cities of Persia such as Tabrīz, Qazwīn, Mashhad and others.[90] In 1563 he wrote: "*Another city called Arrash bordering upon the Georgians, the chiefest and most opulent in the trade of merchandise, and there-abouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silk, and thither the Turks, Syrians, and other strangers do resort and traffic*".[91] In Aresh the supplies of raw silk were sufficiently substantial that they were exported from Shirvān to other provinces and countries.

During the fourth Ottoman-Safavid war the southern Caucasus was conquered by the Ottoman, Mustafa Paşa, in AH 985–986/AD 1577–1578 while Aresh became the capital of Ottoman *beglarbegdome* (the largest administrative unit in the Ottoman Empire) in Shirvān under *mirmiran* Qaytas Paşa.[92] In AH 986 the Ottomans built a wooden castle at Aresh. It is interesting that, shortly before the Ottomans conquered the city, the incomes from Aresh, Qabala, Bākū and other cities were given in AH 984/1576 AD by Shāh Ṭahmāsp I to Sharaf Khān Bidlīsī, the author of the famous *Sharaf-name*.[93]

In Ramaḍān of AH 986/1578 AD Aresh was captured by Safavid *shāhzāde* (prince) Ḥamza Mīrzā. The city was completely destroyed while its castle was burnt.[94] In the middle of the sixteenth century[95] Aresh is mentioned as a separate hereditary estate (*olkā'*) which was ruled by local sultans from the collateral branch of the Khāns of Shirvān.

Narrative information on later Aresh is very fragmentary.[96] In AH 1015/1606 AD Shāh ᶜAbbās (AH 995–1038) attacked Shirvān and Daghestān as a result of which the walls of Aresh were rebuilt.[97] He left there ᶜAlī Sulṭān to rule, who however, was not the first sultan of Aresh.[98] In AH 1024/1615 AD sultan Muḥammad Ḥusayn Dhū al-Qadir of Aresh, the grandson of ᶜImād al-Dīn Khān of Shirvān, was murdered by Gobustan Terekemes, an adherent of the Ottomans.[99] Terekemes tried to capture Aresh but his attempt failed with the arrival of a Safavid army.[100]

The traveler, Evliya Çelebi, was in Aresh in AH 1057/1647 AD. He recorded: "*the city has up to 10,000 clay houses and up to 40 mosques, ... middle and high schools [medrese]. Around the city there are seven big regions [nāḥiyah], each of them consists of a hundred villages. Daghestanis sometimes infringe upon this land, but the castle is now in the hands of the Khān of Aresh, because he is the most powerful Khān between Daghestān and Georgia. The Khān has got 3,000 soldiers and twelve rulers submit to him. There is a judge [qāḍī] and secretary [munshī]*".[101]

However, at the end of the seventeenth century, Aresh became very weak, which resulted in its subsequent unification with Shekkī in one *olkā'*.[102] In 1703 another European traveler, Cornel de Bruijn, was a witness of the ruins of Aresh.[103]

After the death of Nādir Shāh in AH 1160/ AD 1747, the Sultanate of Aresh, along with the *magals* of Shekkī and Qabala, was united as Shekkī (Nukhwī) Khānate by Ḥajjī Chelebī.[104] Several rulers of Aresh are known for this period: in AH 1147/ AD 1734[105] and AH 1172/ AD 1759 Malik ᶜAlī[106] and in AH 1201/ AD 1787 a certain Shihāb al-Dīn (nephew of Malik ᶜAlī) were noted as sultans of Aresh.[107]

During this period, the sultans of Aresh were in opposition to the khans of Shirvān and tried to achieve their independence from the latter. Shihāb al-Dīn Sulṭān relied on the people of Qarābāgh during his struggle against the Shirvān khans.[108] In 1795 he surrender to Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān of Shirvān, but was soon killed by the latter. In 1805 Shirvān was annexed by the Russian Empire. The title "sultan" was gradually devaluated in the Caucasus while the former sultans were afterwards equated to captains or colonels.

The authors would like to express their gratitude to Dr Lutz Ilisch (Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik, Abt. Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen) for the opportunity to photograph several coins from the collection, as well as Mr Aram Vardanyan (Tübingen) for his assistance during the preparation of this article.

[84] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, "The regions of the world", A Persian Geography 372 A.H. – 982 A.D.*, trans. and exp. V. Minorsky, Oxford, 1937, p. 400.

[85] Yaᶜqūt al-Ḥamawi al-Baghdadī, *Muᶜjam al-buldān*, Tehrān, SH 1380, Part I, p. 190 and part II, pp. 522, 533; Aḥmad b. Abū Yaᶜqūb (Ibn Vazeh al-Yaᶜqūbī), *Buldān*, Tehrān, SH 1381, p. 120.

[86] Mirza Sāmī, *Taḍkirat al-Mulūk*, Tehrān, SH 1378, p. 196.

[87] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, pp. 144, 400; Minorsky V., *Studies in Caucasian History*, London, 1953, p. 31.

[88] Abbas-Kuli-Aga Bakikhanov, *Gyulistan-i Iram*, ed. by Z. M. Buniyatov, Baku, 1991.

[89] Vakhushti Bagrationi, *Istoriya tsarstva gruzinskogo*, Tbilisi, 1976, p. 137 [*History of Georgian Kingdome*].

[90] *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

[91] *Angliyskie puteshestvenniki v Moskovskom gosudarstve v XVI v*, Moscow, 1937, p. 205. [*English Travelers in Muscovy in XVI c.*]. 'Journey of Anthony Jenkinson into Persia' in *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation* (ed. Hakluyt, R), London 1598: 96. It is possible that Jenkinson confused Armenians with Syrians in this passage.

[92] *Gyulistan-i Iram*, p. 103; Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad, *Ta'rīkh-i Uthmān Pasha*, Tehrān, SH 1387, pp. 55–63; Evliya Çelebi, *Siyahetnâme*, İstanbul, AH 1314, vol. II, p. 287.

[93] Sheref-khan Bidlisi, *Sheref-name*, Moscow, 1967, vol. I, p. 487.

[94] *Ta'rīkh-i Uthmān Pasha*, pp. 71–72; *Sheref-name*, vol. II, p. 237.

[95] Petrushevsky I. P., *Ocherki po istorii feodal'nykh otnosheniy v Azerbaydzhane i Armenii v XVI — nachale XIX cc*, Leningrad, 1949, p. 66. [*Essays on the History of the Feudal Relations in Azerbayjan and Armenia in the XVI — beginning of XIX cc*].

[96] Shukyur-zade E. B., *Iz istorii Areshskogo sultanata* // Izvestiya AN Azerbaydzhanskoy SSR, seriya istorii, filosofii i prava, no. 1 (1983), pp. 41–49 [From the History of Aresh sultanate].

[97] *Taḍkirat al-Mulūk*, p. 196.

[98] Eskender Monshī, *Tārīkh-e ᶜālam-ārā-ye ᶜAbbāsī*, Tehrān, 1314, p. 467.

[99] *Gyulistan-i Iram*, p. 119.

[100] ᶜAbbās Qulī Aghā Bākīkhānov, *Golestān-e Erām*, Tehrān, SH 1383, p. 142. It should be noted that both Russian and Persian texts of *Gyulistan-i Iram* / *Golestān-e Erām* were written by Bakikhanov separately. They were prepared at different times and, in fact, cannot be considered identical.

[101] *Siyahetnâme*, p. 287.

[102] Shukyur-zade E. B., *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

[104] *Golestān-e Erām*, p. 155.

[105] Shukyur-zade E. B., *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[106] *Golestān-e Erām*, p. 158.

[107] *Ibid.*, p. 167.

[108] *Gyulistan-i Iram*, p. 171.



Map of the Kingdome of Shirvān with an indication of the city ارس [=Aresh]. *Composed in* AH *1145/* AD *1732.*

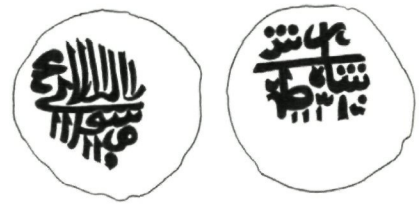
One can suggest that, in the beginning, the name of the city was spelled ارش (Aresh) or ارس (Ares). Subsequently, only the later variant of the spelling, namely *Aresh*, remained in use.[109] The localization of the mint ارس in Shirvān and its identification with the city of Aresh can be confirmed by geographical data. Firstly, it is the name of a place "*Aras ou Eris*" underlined on the map of Guillame de l'Île dated 1730.[110] On the map of İbrahim Mütefferika of AH 1145/ AD 1732 the city appears as ارس and was located in Shirvān as well.[111] The last mention of the name "*Aras or Eris*" is found on one English map dated 1742.[112] The appearance on the maps of a city whose growth had taken place two centuries before is not surprising considering the errors of time associated with cartographic production. The appearance of the city on contemporary maps indicates its importance. This fact is indirectly proved by coins minted there from AH 958 to 1062 as well.

The coins of Aresh[113] were mainly struck during the reigns of Shāh Ṭahmāsp I (AH 930–984/AD 1524–1576), Isma^{c}īl II (AH 984–985/AD 1576–1578) and Muḥammad Khudabanda (AH 985–995/AD 1578–1588). The only exception is a fulūs dated AH 1062, which was issued in the time of ^{c}Abbās II (AH 1052–1077/1642–1666 AD). After Shāh ^{c}Abbās I the mints of the northernmost provinces of the Safavid state were consolidated and located in the largest cities such as Tiflīs,[114] Ganja, Īravān, Nakhichevān and Shimakhī.[115]

Because of the very poor condition of the coins they are illustrated as outline drawings, and their photographs presented at the end of the article.

II. ***Silver coinage of Aresh***

Coin 1. Ṭahmāsp I. Date missing but could have been struck after AH 954 based on its metrology (4.57 *g*; 21 *mm*).[116]



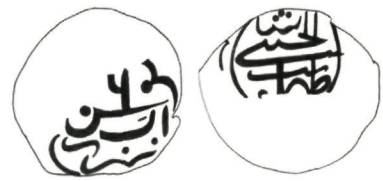
Coin 1

Obverse: Shī^{c}ite formula

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله ولي علي الله

Reverse: Partially visible legends [ضا]رب ارش and [لهم]اسب شاه طهم. The diacritical dots above both the visible letters *shīn* arranged in horizontal lines.

Coin 2. Bistī (20 dīnārs) of Ṭahmāsp I of AH [9]60. The 5th western standard (1.17 *g*; 15 *mm*).[117]

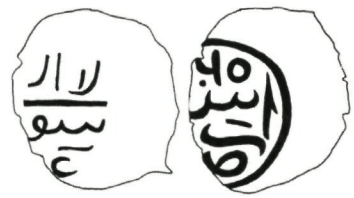


Coin 2

Obverse: Inscription in the cartouche ضرب ارش [٩]۶٠ around the legend (possibly Shī^{c}ite formula).

Reverse: Inscription شاه طهماسب الحسينى in a plain circle. Around the circle there are traces of a legend. The title *al-ḥusaynī* in the legend was common for the coinage of Ṭahmāsp I, *cf.* reverse inscription on his coins: "*al-sulṭān al-hādī shāh ṭahmāsb bahādur khān al-ṣafawī al-ḥusaynī khullida allah mulkahu wa sulṭānahu*".[118]

Coin 3. Bistī (20 dīnārs) of Ṭahmāsp I of AH [9]65. The 5th western standard (1.1 *g*; 10×12 *mm*).[119]



Coin 3

Obverse: Partially visible Shī^{c}ite formula.

Reverse: Inscription in the plain circle ضرب ارش [٩]۶۵. Around the circle there are traces of a legend.

Coin 4. Four bistī (80 dīnārs) of Ṭahmāsp I of AH 966. The 5th western standard (4.64 *g*; 20 *mm*).[120]

[109] Radzhabli A., *Numizmatika Azerbaydzhana*, Baku, 1997, p. 123. [*Numismatics of Azerbayjan*].

[110] "Countries of the Region of Caspian Sea" of Guillame de l'Île (Délile), published in the "New Atlas", Amsterdam, 1730. In the collection of the British Library, London. Maps 1. NAB. 8, f 35. *Cited by* Galichian R., *Hayastanə hamashxarhayin k'artezagrut'ean mej*, Yerevan, 2005, p. 198. [Galichian R. *Armenia in the World Cartography*].

[111] "Map of Circessia, Abkhazia, Shirwan *etc.*" of İbrahim Mütefferika, made for *Kitâb-i Cihân-nümâ* of Katip Çelebi, AH 1145/1732 AD. In the collection of British Library, London. No. Or.80.a.7, pp. 431–432. *Cited by* Galichian R., *op. cit.*, p. 201.

[112] "A New Map of the Caspian Sea and the Counties Adjacent Made by Order of Late Czar" by John Senex, London, 1742. *Cited by* Galichian R., *op. cit.*, p. 208.

[113] Two coins of Aresh were not described properly by A. Radzhabli in his book *Numizmatika Azerbaydzhana*, Baku, 1997, p. 123.

[114] The two small mints of Zagem and Dadian (a separate study on these mints is being prepared by I. Paghava) both located in southern Caucasus should be also mentioned, although their production was very scarce.

[115] See more in: Matthee R., *Mint Consolidation and the Worsening of the Late Safavid Coinage: The Mint of Huwayza* // Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient, no. 4, vol. 44 (2001), pp. 505–539, especially pp. 508–520.

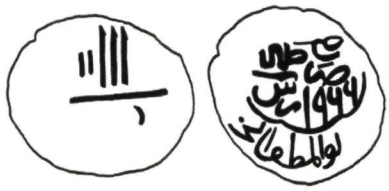
[116] Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, No. 99-20-50.

[117] Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, No. IA7A6.

[118] Farahbakhsh H., *Iranian Hammered Coinage 1500–1879 AD*, Berlin, 1973, p. 16.

[119] In a private collection (Armenia); unearthed in the Republic of Armenia, posted on www.zeno.ru, coin No. 48318.

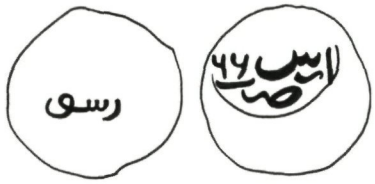
[120] Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, No. IA7B1.



Coin 4

Obverse: Shī^{c}ite formula.
Reverse: Partially visible inscription ضرب ارش شاه طهماسب ۹۶۶ in a cartouche surrounded by a partially illegible legend with ابو المظفر الحسـ[ینی] barely visible.

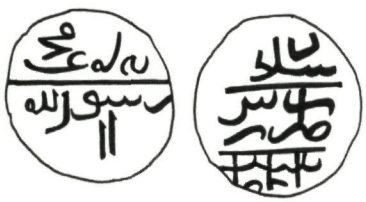
Coin 5. Bistī (20 dīnārs) of Ṭahmāsp I of AH 966. The 5th western standard (1.12 *g*; 13 *mm*).[121]



Coin 5

Obverse: Traces of Shī^{c}ite formula.
Reverse: Traces of an inscription in a plain circle where only ضرب ارش [۹]۶۶ is visible, with a partially visible legend around.

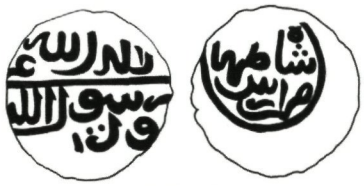
Coin 6. Bistī (20 dīnārs) of Ṭahmāsp I. ND. The 5th western standard (1.15 *g*; 15 *mm*).[122]



Coin 6

Obverse: Shī^{c}ite formula.
Reverse: In an elongated cartouche ضرب ارش. Above: السلطان, below – طهماسب [شاه].

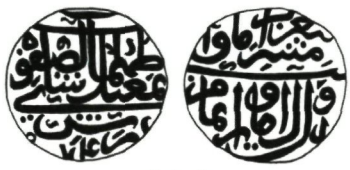
Coin 7. Bistī (20 dīnārs) of Ṭahmāsp I. ND. The 5th western standard (1.11 *g*; 13 *mm*).[123]



Coin 7

Obverse: Shī^{c}ite formula.
Reverse: Inscription in a plain circle ضرب ارش شاه طهماسب. Around this is a partially visible legend.

Coin 8. Silver 2 Shāhī of Isma^{c}īl II of [9]84.[124] (4.63g, 17mm)



Coin 8

[121] Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, No. IA7B2.
[122] Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, No. IA7B3.
[123] Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, No. IA7B4.
[124] In a private collection (Georgia); posted on www.zeno.ru, coin No. 49664.

Obverse: Distich, typical for coins of Isma^{c}īl II:
زمشرق تا بمغرب گر امام است علی و آل او ما راتمام است
Reverse: Partially visible legend:
اسمعیل بن طهماسب شاه الصفوی ضرب ارش ۷۴[۹]

Coin 9. Silver 2 Shāhī of Muḥammad Khudabanda, type B, of AH 995 (4.39 *g*; 19 *mm*).[125]

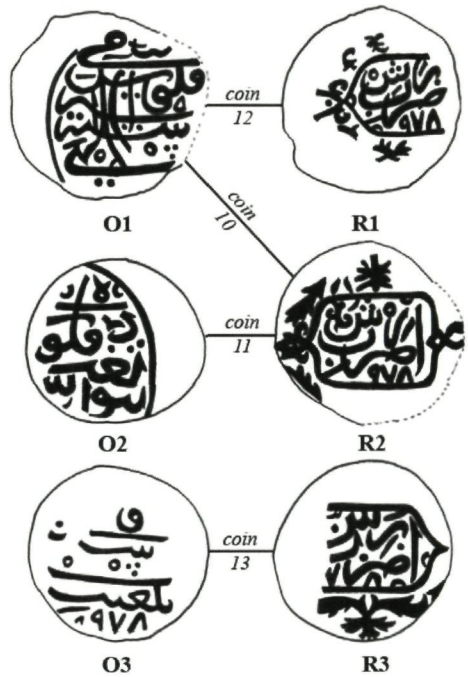


Coin 9

Obverse: Shī^{c}ite formula in a cartouche surrounded by the names of the Twelve Īmāms.
Reverse: In a plain circle ضرب ارش ۹۹۵. Around this is a partially visible legend:
غلام [امام مه]دی علیه و آبابهٔ ا[لسلام سلطان ابو المظفرمحمد پادشاه بن طهماسب] الحـ[سینی خلد الله ملکه].

III. *Copper coinage of Aresh*

Coins 10 – 13. Fulūs of the so-called *la^{c}nat* type[126] struck in the mint of Aresh in AH 978/AD 1570. Four known coins of this type (**coin 10**: 10.83 *g*, 24×26 *mm*;[127] **coin 11**: 11.52 *g*, 21×22 *mm*;[128] **coin 12**: 11.15 g;[129] **coin 13**: 11.65 g[130]) were struck using three different obverse dies (O1, O2 and O3) and three different reverse dies (R1, R2 and R3).



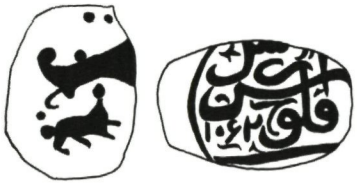
Coins 10–13

Obverse: پیو استه بلعنت الهي تغیّر ده فلوس شاهي in four lines. On coin 13 under the legend is the date ۹۷۸.
Reverse: In an elongated cartouche in three lines with decorations around was inscribed ضرب ارش ۹۷۸.

[125] In a private collection (Iran).
[126] Album S., *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Santa Rosa, 1998, p. 147.
[127] In a private collection (Russia); unearthed in the Republic of Azerbayjan.
[128] *Ibid.*
[129] In a private collection (Republic of Azerbayjan); unearthed in the Republic of Azerbayjan.
[130] *Ibid.*

These coins are typical of *laʿnat* type coins known for the southern Caucasus. They are also very similar in their style to contemporary fulūs of Īravān[131] and Urdūbād.[132] The design of the cartouche on the reverse is similar to that of the Nakhchevāni fulūs.[133]

Coin 14. Fulūs of AH 1062 (10.45 *g*; size 28 × 19 *mm*).[134]

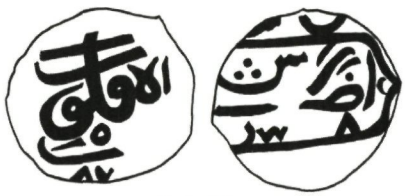


Coin 14

Obverse: An image of hunting bears and prey (?).

Reverse: Inscription ۱۰۶۲ فلوس ارش in three lines with a linear border.

Coin 15. One other copper coin (2.08 *g*)[135] might also have been minted in Aresh. The condition of the coin is very bad and we can only offer our reading of the legends.



Coin 15

Obverse: traces of the inscription

پیو استه بلعنت الهي تغيّر ده فلوس شاهي.

Reverse: In an elongated cartouche, in three lines with decorations around, is the inscription ضرب ارش with the undecipherable traces of a date.

IV. IMAGES OF COINS



Coin 1



Coin 2



Coin 3



Coin 4



Coin 5



Coin 6



Coin 7



Coin 8



Coin 9

[131] *Cf.* Album S., *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, Vol. 9, *Iran after the Mongol Invasion*, Oxford, 2001, No. 288; www.zeno.ru, coin No. 62694.

[132] Münzsammlung der Universität Tübingen, No. JC5F6.

[133] www.zeno.ru database, No. 16755.

[134] In a private collection (Russia); unearthed in southern Daghestan, Russia.

[135] Sold at Conros auction (Russia), No. 380 (2009), item No. 1233.



Coin 10



Coin 11



Coin 12



Coin 13



Coin 14



Coin 15

THE CROSS-IN-CIRCLE MARK ON THE SILVER COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER, SULṬĀN ḤUSAYN FROM THE IRAVĀN MINT

By Irakli Paghava, Severian Turkia, Alexander Akopyan

Our purpose of this article is to publish the abbasis struck in Iravān in the name of the Safavid ruler, Sulṭān Ḥusayn, bearing a rather extraordinary mark for these Islamic coins: a cross; and to discuss possible reasons for placing this symbol, with its possible Christian connotations, on otherwise typical Shia coins, bearing the Shahadah with the name of ʿAlī[136].

We have discovered three Iravān abbasis[137] dated AH 1131 (1718/9), which bear the cross-in-circle mark (*Figs. 1-3*)[138]. All three are of the same type:



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Obv.: 5-line legend in Persian (Nasta'līq calligraphic style):

شاه‌ولا

يت (serves as the horizontal divider)

بنده حسين ن

[136] The Safavid coins of this period (though not of this particular subtype) quite frequently bear the names of the 12 imams as well.

[137] As indicated by their weight, i.e. 5.34, 5.39 and 5.26 g.

[138] All the coins are preserved in private collections in Georgia and the Russian Federation.

ب (serves as the horizontal divider)

ضر ایروا ۱۱۳۱

شاه ولایت بنده حسین ضرب ایروان ۱۱۳۱

ḥuseyn bande-ye shāh-e velāyat ẓarb īravān 1131 (Husayn, slave of the Lord of Friendship, striking of Iravan, 1131).
There are floral ornaments in the field and the legend is contained within a border composed of two circular lines with a circle of dots between them.

Rev.: Shia creed (Naskh calligraphic style[139]):
لا اله الا الله

محمد (serves as the horizontal divider)

رسول الله علی و (ی of علی serves as the horizontal divider)
لی الله

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله علی ولی الله

lā ilāha illā allāh muḥammad rasūl allāh ʿalī walī allāh
(There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, 'Ali is the Deputy of Allah).
Surrounded by the marginal border comprising two circular lines with dots in a row between them.

The metrology indices for the first coin (*Fig. 1*) are as follows: weight – 5.34, approximate diameter 24.4-25.2, die axis 9:15 o'clock; for the second coin (*Fig. 2*): weight – 5.39, approximate diameter 23.4-24.2, die axis 10:00 o'clock; for the third coin (*Fig. 3*): weight – 5.26, approximate diameter 23.2-23.6, die axis 3:00 o'clock.

The coins have a rather peculiar mark, which looks like a cross in a circle, which is located between and below the ۱۱۳ and ۱ of the date. Cf. the regular Iravān abbasi of AH 1131 lacking any cross (*Fig. 4*).



Fig. 4

The cross-bearing obverses of the three abbasis were struck with the same die, while their reverses were struck by using three different dies (*Chart 1*).

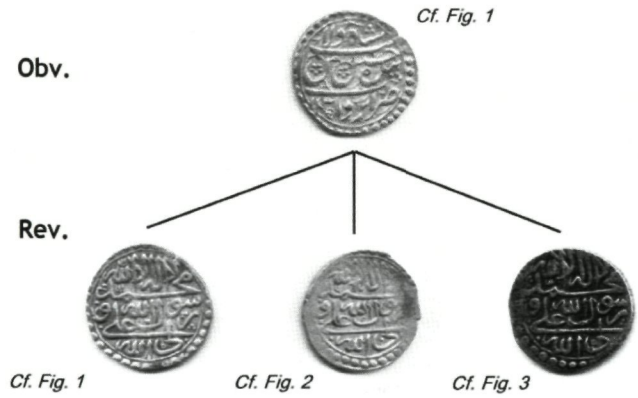


Chart 1

[139] It is typical of the majority of the 3rd weight standard Safavid coins of Sulṭān Ḥusayn I (type D) to have a Nasta'līq obverse and a Naskh reverse (*Paghava 2007:21*).

Having checked hundreds of silver coins of Sulṭān Ḥusayn from various mints, we have not found any other coin bearing such a mark. The Safavid silver coins of other reigns that we know lack it as well. However, we did find another Iravan abbasi of year 1131 with a peculiar mark in almost exactly the same location: irregular circle, *without* the cross (*Fig. 5*)[140].



Fig. 5

This cross-in-circle *symbol*, as it may be called, is not a plain and manifest Christian cross, but simply an inaccurately encircled crossline, and theoretically may well have no religious connotation at all[141]. However, that cannot be excluded at least at this stage, especially as the mint indicated on these coins is the Armenian city of Iravān, located in the South Caucasus region with a substantial Christian population (Georgians, Armenians, Udis), and we have never encountered this mark on the coins of any other mint (including those located elsewhere in the South Caucasus). It is also worth pointing out that an attentative observer would probably have perceived this symbol as a mini-proclamation of the Christian faith, even if it were not intended as such. Therefore, the possibility of some religious connotation is something that needs to be taken into account, and the issue deserves some attention. We, thus, consider it appropriate to discuss where, when and why these coins bearing this Christian or quasi-Christian symbol could have been produced.

To start with, we consider these abbasis to have been issued at the official Safavid mint in Iravān. We have not managed to find any reverse die matches with other no-cross Iravān abbasis of Sulṭān Ḥusayn, which would be an almost infallible proof of this. However, the proper (for an abbasi) weight, fine calligraphy (cf. the imitation of the Tiflis abbasi of AH 1131[142], *Fig. 6*), evidently high standart alloy[143], all these features point to their provenance from the regular Safavid mint and testify against the possibility that these abbasis are an imitation coinage, produced somewhere outside the area efficiently controlled by the Safavids[144]. Therefore, it is easy to answer the *when* and *where* questions: these coins were probably minted in Iravān, at the Iravān mint, in AH 1131, as indicated on the coins proper, or somewhat later, if the corresponding dies were used later on as well[145].

[140] This coin is preserved in the private collection of one of the authors. The die-match specimen is published in the *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Volume 9 Iran after the Mongol Invasion* (*Album: plate 15, #287*).

[141] For other cases of a possible Christian connotation of the cross elements on otherwise *Islamic* coins see *Yih*; *Paghava 2008*. Particular care seems to be advisable when evaluating these cross-like elements, which may have only a decorative significance (*Paghava 2008:18, footnote 47*).

[142] *Turkia.*

[143] No alloy composition analysis could be performed for these three coins, but they did look good silver, in line with Safavid minting practices.

[144] As was apparently the case with the imitation of the Tiflis coin of AH 1131 (cf. *Ibid.*).

[145] For instance, Sulṭān Ḥusayn I's silver coins produced at the Tiflis mint show that the dies *might* have been used anachronistically, after the year they bore had already elapsed (*Paghava 2007:21-22*).



Fig. 6

If we consider that this mark does have a religious connotation, than it would be much harder to figure out how and why these coins could have been issued at the Iravān mint – the centre of the Safavid province of Chukhur Saad. It would be more or less understandable if the cross appeared on the Safavid coins produced by, say, the Tiflis mint, as it was located in the capital of the Christian kingdom of Kartli in eastern Georgia, a vassal state of the Safavids, which maintained a certain degree of autonomy from Safavid Iran under the rule of the local royal Bagrationi dynasty. The Safavids were still exercising their right of *sikka* at the Tiflis mint as well as in many other cities which they controlled; however, in contrast to other mints also issuing silver coins bearing the names of Safavid shahs, the Tiflis mint was not controlled by the shah's officials, but by the local Georgian ruler[146], who had to convert to Islam. He was considered the shah's *vali* (viceroy) by the Persians, but king of Kartli by his Georgian subjects[147]. The autonomy of eastern Georgia within the Safavid realm as well as the national aspirations of the Kings of Kartli are reflected by the Tiflis copper coinage, which started to bear Georgian letters, standing for the abbreviated names of the corresponding Georgian dynasts, exactly in the first decade of the 18th century.[148] The copper Tiflis coins of Vakhtang VI even bore the *Christian* era date 1708 or 1709[149]. Nevertheless, the contemporary silver coins even from the Tiflis mint were minted to the standard Iranian patterns and bore no connotation to anything Georgian or Christian[150].

The appearance of the cross, as we call it, on the Iravān abbasis could have been facilitated by the spread of the mint-farming system during the reign of Sulṭān Ḥusayn which opened the doors to many abuses[151]. It could represent the religious fervour of some mint craftsmen or administrator; the latter could have been a representative of the local (South Caucasian) Christian population, i.e. most probably an Armenian or Georgian.

The ethnic Armenians apparently started to infiltrate the Iravān mint staff in the second half of the 17th century, as indicated by the contemporary Armenian – the merchant called Zakaria of Agulis –, who left an interesting diary[152]. This states that the first Armenian to attain the position of *zarrab* of Iravān was Shmawon[153], the brother of Zakaria. This happened in 1658[154] (the Armenians could had started working at the Iravān mint at lower levels even earlier). According to Zakaria's journal, Shmawon administered the Iravān mint in 1658-1663, 1664-1667, 1667-1670[155]. Zakaria mentions the names of the other zarrabs too, the majority of them being Armenian: Sargis of Anapat and Sargis of Dzoragegh (administering the mint in 1663-1664)[156], Agha Veli (for 6 months in 1667)[157], Aghabek of Jahuk (in 1670-1674)[158], Sargis of Dzoragegh again (1674-1679)[159], Masehi of Agulis (1679[160], during at least 1691?[161]). We have no precise data, but think it probable that the administration of the Iravān mint was still entrusted to an ethnic Armenian in the first quarter of the 18th century as well.

On the other hand, the involvement of some ethnic Georgian cannot be refuted either. Some Georgians were indubitably involved in the coin-minting business as well. We know the name of the ethnic Georgian *zarrab-bashi* of "Iran" (of the Iṣfahān mint?): Alexandre Gorgijanidze, as attested by his brother Parsadan Gorgijanidze, a famous Georgian historian and man of letters[162]. Alexander Gorgijanidze was in charge of the (Isfahan?) mint until some point within the 1688-1694 time period[163]. Generally speaking, the Georgians held a very prominent position within the Safavid realm till the battle of Golnabad (AH 1134 /1722)[164], including the Safavid provinces with a substantial portion of the Armenian population – the same Zakaria of Agulis wrote about Zal (Zaal) Khan, an ethnic Georgian, who was the khan of Iravān in 1679-1685[165], and yet another Georgian, Parsadan Bek, who possessed a village close to Agulis and was influential enough to accuse the contemporary Catholicos of the Armenians of a murder putting him to the expense of 500-600 tumans (spent on bribes), so that the latter had to visit Parsadan Bek in person to be reconciled[166]. Although the great majority of Georgians in Safavid service converted to Islam, at least nominally, the "Georgian factor" still needs to be taken into account, in our opinion.

But the cross-in-circle mark could also have been some other form of differentiating mark, so far attested on a few coins from just one die. Generally speaking, the issue of such marks and their significance on Safavid coins, especially those of Sulṭān Ḥusayn, deserve particular attention, but its thorough study is beyond the scope of the present paper[167]. In this particular case, the suggestion that this mark served as a symbol may be supported by the existence of the Iravān abbasi of 1131 with a similar mark in the same location, but lacking *the cross*, (*Fig. 5*). This coin shares (cf. *Chart 2*) its reverse with another Iravān abbasi of 1131 without any particular mark (*Fig. 4*), and was without doubt issued at the Iravān mint. It is remarkable that the Iravān abbasis of this year with the date engraved in another part of the field seem to lack any special mark at all (cf. *Fig. 4*). The irregular circle mark probably did not have any overt religious connotation and was considered appropriate for the coin, despite the mark dividing the date into two in an inelegant way. If the irregular no-cross circle was a differentiating mark, the cross-in-circle could also have been one.

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[146] *Kutelia:29-32.*
[147] *Lang:21.*
[148] *Kutelia:60-64; 101-102.*
[149] *Ibid.:60-61, 102.*
[150] *Ibid.:26, 45-46.*
[151] *Rajabli:148.*
[152] *Zak'aria.* The Armenian, Russian and Georgian editions also exist.
[153] Zakaria calls him interchangeably Simon, Siamon and Shmawon (*Ibid.:15, footnote 4; 100*).
[154] *Ibid.:128.*
[155] *Ibid.:63, 66, 69, 78,89, 93, 100, 128-129, 164.*
[156] *Ibid.:128.*
[157] *Ibid.:78.*
[158] *Ibid.:129.*
[159] *Ibid.*
[160] *Ibid.*
[161] Zakaria of Agulis made notes in his diary till 1691 (*Ibid.:1-2*), and most of the data on the zarrabs of the Iravan mint are added later to the bottom of the corresponding folio (*Ibid.:129, footnote 466*). In our opinion, if Masehi of Agulis, apparently the fellow-townsman of Zakaria, had been replaced by someone else, Zakaria would have noted this, and as he did not, we may conjecture that Masehi of Agulis was still in charge of the mint by the time Zakaria stopped working on his diary, i.e. by 1691 (*Ibid.:1-2*).
[162] *Gorgijanidze:161.*
[163] It may be deduced from the context of the story (*Ibid.:158-161*) and the time when Parsadan Gorgijanidze was composing his work.
[164] *Hitchins; Matthee.*
[165] *Zakaria:129; 140, footnote 540.*
[166] *Ibid.:130-132.*
[167] Much care is advisable in distinguishing any marks or symbols from just the floral decorations of the coin field.

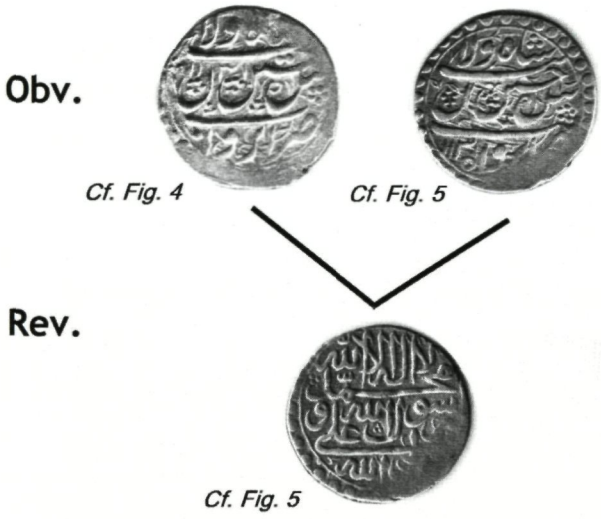


Chart 2

At the moment we have no solid evidence in favour of either of the two varying suggestions as to the reason for a cross-in-circle mark being placed on some Iravān abbasis dated 1131 (AH): it may have had some religious (Christian) connotation, or merely have served as a differentiating mark for some as yet unknown purpose. Nevertheless, the authors hope this paper will encourage further research into late Safavid coinage and the history of the South Caucasus, particularly that of the involvement of ethnic Georgians and Armenians in the contemporary Safavid (mint) administration.

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A DĪNĀR OF ḤISĀM AL-DĪN AYDOGHDĪ, ATĀBEK OF KHŪZESTĀN

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

Our previous article on the coins of the atābek of Khūzestān Amīrān b. Ayādoghdī was a first attempt to attract the attention of scholars to these rare dīnārs.[168] Shortly after that publication, a dīnār of Amīrān's father, Ḥisām al-Dīn Aydoghdī, was discovered. It is struck in pale gold and weighs 1.87 g with a diameter of 21 mm. Like the coins of Amīrān, the legends of our specimen are in Kūfī script. That element was common throughout the Seljūq period coinage.



The dīnār of Aydoghdī

Obverse: In the field:

حسام
لا إلـــه إلا
الدين | الله وحـــده | ايادغدى
لا شريـــك له
المستنجد بألله

There is no God but Allāh /
He is alone, there is no associate to Him / al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh Ḥisām / al-Dīn / Ayādoghdī (sic!).

Part of the marginal legend of the obverse (starts at 1h30):
... بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار

Reverse:. Diamond-shaped symbol above the inscription and then:

محمّد رسول الله
السلطان الاعظم ابو
illegible word | المظفّر ارسلان بن طغرل | ?
السلطان المعظم ابو
[شجا]ع محمّد بن طغرل

Muḥammad is the Messenger of Allāh /
The Greatest Sulṭān Abū / al-Muẓaffar Arslān ibn Ṭughril / The Great Sulṭān Abū / Shujāᶜ Muḥammad ibn Ṭughril.

The marginal legend on the reverse is illegible. The *kunya* of Muḥammad was Abū Shujāᶜ which can be reconstructed thanks to the last *ᶜayn* (written in the form ـع) surviving in the fifth line of the reverse. The *kunya* of Arslān Shāh was Abū'l-Muẓaffar.[169]

An historical survey on the atābeks of Khūzestān was briefly given in our previous article, which is why here we do not repeat it again and immediately go to the details of our coin. Ḥisam al-

[168] Akopyan A. V., Mosanef F., "The Dīnārs of Amīr Amīrān, Atābek of Khūzestān", *Journal of the Oriental Numismatic Society*, 199 (2009), pp. 5–7.
[169] Bosworth C., *The New Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburg, 2004, p. 186.

Dīn[170] Ayādoghdī b. Kashṭūqān (also known as Amīr Shamle) ruled over Khūzestān from *ca.* AH 550 until his death in AH 570. Special attention should be paid here to the name of the atābek. As seen on this coin his name written as ايادغدي (or even ايلدغدي) but not ايدغدي (Aydoghdī) as it appears in the narrative sources such as Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Āthīr and al-Bundarī.[171] The unanimity of chroniclers suggests that the die-maker made an error while engraving the name.

The coin bears the names of the ᶜAbbāsid caliph al-Mustanjid bi-Allāh (AH 555–566 / AD 1160–1170), as well as the names of the ᶜIrāqi Seljūqids, the brothers *sulṭān al-aᶜẓam* Arslān Shāh b. Ṭughril II (AH 556–571) and *sulṭān al-muaᶜẓẓam* Muḥammad b. Ṭughril II. Arslān was the younger brother of Muḥammad. After the death of his father, Ṭughril II, Arslān's mother was married to the powerful atābek, Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz. After his subjection to sulṭān Masᶜūd (AH 529–547), following a long struggle with sulṭān Muḥammad (AH 548–555) and the murder of sulṭān Sulaymān (AH 555–556), the latter became the atābek of Arslān in Dhu al-Qaᶜda from AH 556 (22.X – 20.XI.1161).[172] After Arslān was enthroned as sulṭān, some ᶜIrāqi atābeks gathered around the powerful Sunqūr of Shīraz and Inānj of Rayy and appointed Arslān's brother, Muḥammad, sulṭān. They fought against atābek Eldigüz but were defeated on the 9th of Shaᶜbān AH 556 (3.VII.1161) near Karaj.[173] Until the death of Arslān in AH 571 Muḥammad remained in opposition to his brother. When Arslān died, Muḥammad was in Khūzestān, where he encouraged Amīrān b. Shamle to take the field against Eldigüz.

Arslān was recognised as sulṭān by the majority of atābeks, as demonstrated by the coins struck in his name (there are dīnārs struck at Nishapur in his sole name,[174] as well as his billon and copper coins with the name of Eldigüz[175]). The coins struck in the name of Muḥammad are known only for the Salghurid Sunqūr (AH 543–556),[176] the atābek of Fārs, who was his principal supporter.

On the coin featured in this article one finds a unique combination of the names of both brothers: Arslān as *Greatest Sulṭān* and Muḥammad as *Great Sulṭān*. This could possibly suggest the loyalty of atābek Aydoghdī to Muḥammad or indicate that, during the conflict between Arslān and Muḥammad, Aydoghdī tried to stay neutral.

It should be noted that the citation of two opposing sulṭāns is also found on the coin of atābek Fakhr al-Dīn Ayāz.[177] On his billon coins, sulṭān Masᶜūd b. Muḥammad I (AH 529–547) and Muᶜin al-Din, *i.e.* Malik Shāh III b. Maḥmūd II (AH 547–548) are cited simultaneously. During his reign, sulṭān Masᶜūd fought against prince Malik Shāh for accession to the throne of the sultanate. This coin may also demonstrate the loyal position of the atābek towards both Saljūqid princes.

The diamond-shaped symbol cited above the inscription of the reverse is the same as on the coin of atābek Amīr Amīrān, the son of Ḥisam al-Dīn Ayādoghdī. It seems that this was a family tamgha for the atābeks of Khūzestān.

[170] His *kunya* Ḥisam al-Dīn is also found at Ḥamdāllah Mustawfī Qazvīnī, *Ta'rīkh guzīde*, Tehrān, SH 1384, p 551; Sharaf al-Dīn Bidlīsī, *Sharaf-name*, transl. by Vasilyeva Ye. I., Moscow, 1967, p. 103.

[171] Ibn al-Āthīr, *Al-kāmal fī al-ta'rīkh*, ed. by Abū al-Qāsim Halat, Tehrān, vol. VII, AH 1355, part 20, p. 212; ᶜAbd al-Raḥman ibn Khaldūn, *Al-kitāb al-ᶜibār*, Tehrān, vol. IV, AH 1383/ AD 2004, p. 147; *Histoire des Seljoucides de l'Iraq par al-Boundari d'après Imad ad-Din al-Katib al-Isfahani*, texte arabe publié ... par M. Th. Houtsma, Leide, 1889, p. 287.

[172] Ibn al-Āthīr, *Al-kāmal fī al-ta'rīkh*, al-Qāhira, AH 1347, vol. IX, p. 76; *Histoire des Seljoucides*, p. 296–297.

[173] Ibn al-Āthīr, *op. cit*, p. 74; *Histoire des Seljoucides*, p. 298.

[174] Album S., *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, Santa Rosa, 1998, no. A1696.

[175] For copper coins of the sulṭān Arslān and atābek Eldigüz see: Kouymjian D. K., *A Numismatic History of Southeastern Caucasia and Adharbayjān based on the Islamic Coinage of the 5th/11th to the 7th/13th Centuries*, Ph. D. Diss., Columbia Univ., 1969, pp. 304–9. For billon coins of Arslān and Eldigüz see: Akopyan A., Mosanef F., "Billon coinage of Shams al-Dīn Eldigüz (AH 531–571) and His Circle", sent for publication to *Studia Iranica*.

[176] While the coins of Salghūrid Sunqūr still require a proper investigation, we consider it necessary to describe this dīnār (weight 2.76 g, diameter 26 mm, in a private collection). Inscription on the obverse: *lā ilahi illā allāh / al-muqtafī li-amr allāh / al-malik al-ᶜādl / muḥammad b. ṭughril II*. In the marginal segments: *sinjar* (on the top) [*al-sulṭān*] (to the left) *al-aᶜẓam* (to the right). Inscription on the reverse: *muḥammad / rasūl allāh ḥaqq / al-malik al-'umarā / quṭb al-dīn / sunqūr*. Marginal inscriptions of both sides are unclear.

[177] Akopyan A., Mosanef F., "Billon coinage...".

THEOPHILOS AUTOKRATOR, A LAST BACTRIAN KING?

by Jens Jakobsson

Adaption of Indo-Greek coinage to Greek standards

The Hellenistic kingdom of Bactria issued typically Greek coinage; except for the names and portraits of the kings, these were essentially the same drachms, obols and bronzes that could be found in the hand (or mouth) of an Athenian. However, when the Graeco-Bactrians made conquests in India, these territories had their own coin standards. Pantaleon and Agathokles (c.185-170 BC) were probably the Bactrian kings who issued the first coinage outside of the Hindu Kush. While their Bactrian coins were round, with monograms, portraits and Olympic gods, their bilingual Indian types were rectangular, without monograms, and depicting Indian religious symbols (or animals). Likewise, the first ruler based in India, Apollodotos I (c.180-160 BC), issued some Attic tetradrachms for circulation in Bactria, bearing no resemblance to his Indian issues.

But around 160-150 BC, when Eukratides I of Bactria issued his first Indian coins, Indo-Greek coinage (at least its silver) had partially converged with universal Greek notions about money. Apollodotos I introduced monograms and Olympic deities, and his successor, Antimachos II, established round drachms, though still on a different, lighter standard. Eukratides' Indian silver had portraits just like his Attic issues, and the Greek legend was identical. On the other hand, Menander I, the Indian king at this time (c. 160-130 BC), issued rare Attic tetradrachms. These should certainly be attributed to Menander's regular mints, as they are perfectly analogous with his Indian issues: the monograms were also found on Indian coins, and the portraits and reverses were based on the same models.

Similar rare Attic tetradrachms were produced by Menander's contemporary, Zoilus I, and later by their successors, even after the Greek kingdom in Bactria had fallen. The list continues with Lysias and Antialkidas (who also issued a few drachms or hemidrachms), Philoxenos, Diomedes, Hermaios and Archebios; we may also include the large silver medals (dodecadrachms) of Amyntas. These export issues – always using the respective ruler's usual types and monograms[178] – were struck between c. 150-70 BC, apparently ending when the territories adjacent to Bactria were lost to the Indo-Greeks.

The Attic coins attributed to Theophilos Dikaios

There is however one minor Indo-Greek king, Theophilos Dikaios, to whom Attic coins have been attributed on much weaker grounds. Theophilos Dikaios is probably best placed around the 130s-120s BC or slightly later[179], and used a silver reverse of Heracles. The Attic Theophilos coins (see Figs 1-2) have a different epithet (Autokrator) and reverse (Athena), and a unique monogram[180]. The portraits have been said to be similar, but the Attic portrait has a more protruding nose, and anyway the

[178] Some of Amyntas' medals feature a unique reverse with sitting Tyche. According to Robert Senior (2006, p. xxxvi), the monogram on Hermaios' Attic issues indicate that they may have been struck posthumously.

[179] See Jakobsson, (2007), where the idea of two kings was first published, and Senior (2006, p. xxxiii-iv), who suggests that Theophilos possibly overlapped with Menander's last years. The Attic coins are also discussed by Bopearachchi (1998), under *Antialcidas*.

[180] L.M. Wilson has pointed out that the monogram on the Attic Tetradrachms of Theophilos is similar (but not identical) to some used by Eukratides I, Eukratides II (see Ill. 4), and Heliokles I.

scale of most Indian portraits is much smaller[181]. The Autokrator coins could easily be *mistaken* for Attic export issues, as they have only been found as tetradrachms, but Bactrian kings after Eukratides I issued mainly tetradrachms, and no bronzes at all. Given the scarcity of Autokrator's coins (perhaps only four known specimens), the absence of lower denominations would not be remarkable, if he was – as I suggest[182] – a separate Bactrian king.

Even though the Indo-Greek chronology may still be inexact, it is now established that Theophilos Dikaios belongs well in a long sequence of kings who consistently issued analogous Indian and Attic silver. Therefore, there is no reason to attribute the entirely different Autokrator coinage to him. There is a possibility that one Theophilos ruled in India and Bactria during different periods, but that seems a weak argument.

Dating Theophilos Autokrator

The Autokrator coins are difficult to date. Their only hoard appearance was a single specimen in the Qunduz hoard, alongside several other kings. However, the style of Autokrator's portraits resembles that of the last Bactrian kings. A more important hint is found on the reverse: a depiction of sitting Athena Nikephoros. On some coins (see Fig.2), the back of a throne chair is visible, in the appearance of crossed thin bars. Older Bactrian reverses with deities seated on thrones never have such bars; they first appear on the silver of Antialkidas, with sitting Zeus in ¾-profile (see Fig.3). Several later kings, such as Hermaios, used variations of this pose which was likely designed by Indo-Greek celators after they became isolated from the Hellenistic world, as it does to my knowledge never appear on western coins. We also find that Theophilos' Athena holds a spear at the same angle as Antialkidas' Zeus holds a staff.

Antialkidas should be dated after 130 BC, possibly as Menander's immediate successor, or Lysias may have preceded Antialkidas by a few years. If we assume that Antialkidas' reverse type was the original, rather than Theophilos' very rare series, where the throne is not even adequately depicted (see Fig.1), Theophilos must also be dated after 130 BC – after the traditional date of the fall of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom[183]. It may be important here that *Autokrator*, 'Self-ruler', is not a regular cult title. As it appears on the coinage of Diodotos Tryphon, a Seleucid usurper, and also that of Arsakes I, after the Parthians made themselves independent from the Seleucids, *Autokrator* apparently refers to the assertion of independence. Possibly, Theophilos was a princelet who briefly claimed independence from the new rulers of Bactria (Sakas or Yuezhi, or even the Parthians?), *after* the Greek kingdom had ceased to exist.

Acknowledgements

Thanks to L.M. Wilson, Mark Passehl and Robert Bracey. Illustrations Courtesy of CNG. Inc., unless otherwise specified.

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Fig. 1. A tetradrachm of Theophilos Autokrator. The sales information advertised this coin as one of only four known, and it was sold for $29.000 – a world record for Bactrian coins! Throne without crossed bars. Courtesy of Spink Auctions, Sale 3014, Oct 8, 2003, Lot 157.



Fig. 2. Another Theophilos Autokrator tetradrachm (BNBact Théophile Série 1, coin J). Obverse die link with Fig. 1. This reverse has crossed bars, but they appear to end in mid-air – there is no visible throne! The perspective of the spear is also inconsistent, and Nike is misplaced; her wreath should crown the king's name, somebody's head or an object, not the base of a letter. Such mistakes were not common for the regular Indo-Greek mints, and might indicate that the reverse was engraved in a makeshift mint, presumably in Bactria. Courtesy of The British Museum.



Fig 3. An Attic tetradrachm of Antialkidas. Here, Nike crowns an elephant. The similar type of Menander II was adapted to have her crown a Chakra wheel.



Fig. 4. A tetradrachm of Eukratides II.

[181] See Bopearachchi (1991) for illustrations. According to Bopearachchi, the diadems may be similarly arranged – but that is probably the only resemblance.

[182] First suggested by Mark Passehl.

[183] Joe Cribb (2005) has, however, suggested that Greek rulers (such as Heliokles I) may have maintained themselves in southern Bactria after the Yüeh-chi invasion of the 130s BC. It is interesting to compare Autokrator's reverse with a type of Heliokles I that is sometimes considered to be late: BNBact Séries 3-4. This reverse of Zeus holding Nike is rather badly struck, but it is still the classical depiction in profile, not inspired by Antialkidas' ¾-profile design.

THE FATIMIDS AND THEIR COINS OF MULTAN

By Mirza Muhammad Akbar and Babar Ahmed Baig

The Fatimids made their first appearance in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent toward the early 10th century AD, and remained sole rulers of Multan until the arrival of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. This dynasty made Multan the centre of Shi'a Muslim culture and learning on the subcontinent.

They extended the sphere of Shi'ism in the south to the Akra* river. This river irrigated Cholistan at that time. The Fatimids extended their boundaries in the north up to Khushab and Bera, in the south- east they had the friendly states of Rajputana and, in the west, they ruled on both sides of the Indus. In the north-east they ruled almost up to Lahore.

The Fatimid nobles were rich enough that they never received any tribute from non-Muslims. The bullion traders were Fatimid nobles and, at that time, the gold production of the Salt Range was in their hands. Even now the most famous bullion dealers from the Salt Range to Multan are Ismailis.

Their export trade route was from Multan-Bahawalnagar to Lahri Bander. At that time, Debal was in the hands of Sunni Arbas and it was for that reason that they developed Lahri Bander for trade.

Their coins are known of al-Mu'izz and al-'Azīz and are well published[184]. Recently some more coins have come to light, of another ruler, al-Manṣūr-bū-'Alī-...al-Ḥākim (AD 996) together with coins of Maḥmūd.

These coins were probably issued by the Isma'ili Da'ī (preacher/governer), Abū'l-Futuḥ Dā'ūd bin Naṣr, with the name of the Fatimid caliph Imām al-Ḥākim, with inscriptions as below.



Fig. 1







Fig. 2

Obv.: Shahada and *'alī wa...*

لااله الله محمدرسول الله علي وسو

Rev.: manṣūr bū-'alī...al-ḥākim...allāh

منصوربوعلي ... الحاكم ...رالله

*Akra (Hakarra) means "lost ruins" and are said to have been located somewhere in Cholistan.

PREVIOUSLY UNKNOWN GANDHARAN PUNCHMARKS FROM A RECENT HOARD

By Dr Alexander Fishman

A hoard of interesting and previously unknown Gandharan punchmark coins was recently unearthed in the vicinity of the ancient city of Taxila. These coins, bearing previously unknown punchmarks, are overstruck on earlier coins, allowing for some modifications in the dating of this series.

The ancient Kingdom of Gandhara was one of the original sixteen Mahajanapadas ("Great Kingdoms") mentioned in ancient Buddhist texts like the Anguttara Nikaya.[185] Gandhara, centered around the important ancient cities of Purushapura (modern Peshawar), Takshashila or Taxila, and Pushkalavati (the capital of the Kingdom) and covering the regions of northern Pakistan and eastern Afghanistan, though on occasions it extended as far as Kashmir.

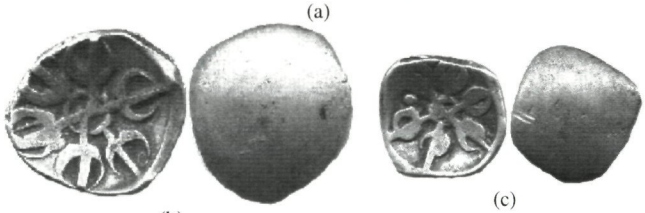
Gandhara was absorbed into the expanding Persian Achaemenid Empire some time during the rule of Cyrus the Great (558-530 BC) or his immediate successors. The inscription on the tomb of Darius (521–486 BC) at Naqsh-i-Rustam near Persepolis records "Gadara" (certainly identical with Gandhara) along with "Hindush" (probably Sindh) in the list of satrapies. The Persians introduced, among other things, the Aramaic script (which lead to the development of Kharoshthi), centralised administration and bureaucratic systems, and a monetary system.

The study of the numismatics of Gandhara is of particular importance, since it is there that the first Indian coins appeared. The most comprehensive listing of these coins was accomplished by Rajgor[186]; however, this listing needs to be updated because of errors and because many new types have recently come to light. The earliest coins of Gandhara came in the form of satamanas, sometimes known as "bent bars" - flattened silver bars up to 50mm in length stamped with a Gandharan symbol on each end (Figure 1(a)). These coins might have been based on a Persian siglos standard, since the average weight of these satamanas is approximately equal to the weight of 2 Persian sigloi. From Gandhara, the idea of struck, or punchmarked, coinage spread south and east and soon the punchmarked coins were produced in many other regions of northern and central India.

Figure 1:*Examples of common early silver coins from Gandhara (after ca.600 BC): (a) Satamana, 37.5x12mm, 11.10 grams, Rajgor 552; (b) ⅛ satamana, 15mm, 1.51 grams, Rajgor 574; (c) 1/16th satamana, 12mm, 0.70 grams, Ragjor PMC 579var*



(a)



(b) (c)

Various satamana fractions were routinely produced, and while the full satamana retained its "bar" shape, the fractions (1/2, 1/4, 1/8, 1/16 and 1/32 of a satamana) had a more conventional round scyphate fabric. These were always struck with a Gandharan symbol, the generic form of which is shown below. This coinage, albeit in a progressively more debased form, retained its general look and weight until the kingdom of Gandhara was conquered by Alexander the Great in ca.326 BC and then by Chandragupta Maurya in ca.305 BC and was incorporated into the Mauryan Empire.

The 6-armed Gandharan symbol changed only slightly with time (the most common depictions are shown in Figure 2). The central dot was not always present and a single bar extending from the central circle is sometimes seen.

[184] Lowick, ND VII, pp.62-69; Goron & Goenka *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates, pp. xxv-xxvi.*

[185] Anguttara Nikaya I. p 213; IV. pp 252, 256, 261.

[186] Dilip Rajgor, *Punch-marked coins of the Early Historic India* (2001)

Figure 2: *Common varieties of Gandharan symbols*

The only notable exception was the symbol appearing on exceedingly rare 1/32 shatamanas, known from only two coins (Figure 3).

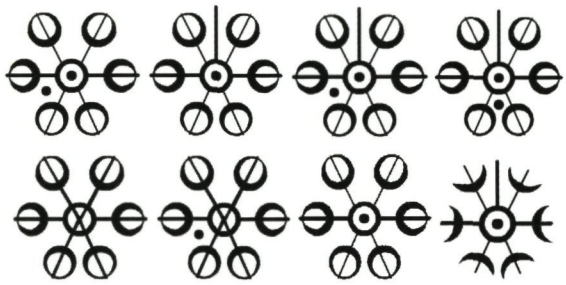
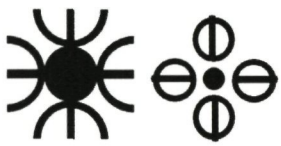


Figure 3: *Common Gandharan symbol as it appears on the two known examples of 1/32 satamanas: (a) 7x9mm, 0.20 grams, Rajgor PMC 579a; (b) 9mm, 0.28 grams, unpublished, currently in a private collection*



The quality of the metal did not remain constant, though – the earliest coins were made of high quality silver, while the (presumably) latest issues contained little or no silver and looked greatly debased. However, these coins are poorly studied and no complete chronology for this series has ever been produced.

A hoard of previously unknown Gandharan punchmarks was reportedly discovered in the vicinity of Taxila, one of the principal cities of Gandhara. The coins were a scattered find, though the relatively uniform type indicates that the coins were once in a single bag or vessel. The original hoard may have contained about 1400 coins (the exact number is not known), of which over 400 coins were examined. The examined coins are an essentially random sample, and presumably provide a good representation of the entire hoard.

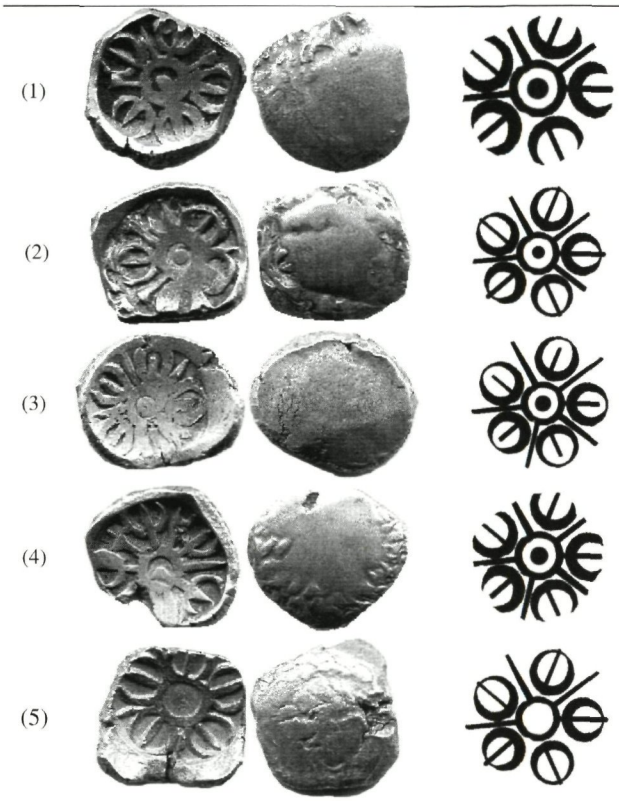
The hoard was composed almost entirely of ¼ satamanas, which are relatively rare, with a small percentage of ⅛ satamanas, which are much more common. At least nine of the types of coins representing the bulk of this hoard, are of previously unpublished types. Surprisingly, many of the coins were struck with blank dies, and carried no impression of the punchmark. The hoard composition is represented in Figure 4.

Figure 4: *Hoard composition*

Type #	Quantity (pcs)	Denomination (shatamana)	Ave. Weight (g)	Size range (mm)	Symbol / coin	Reference: Rajgor PMC
1	8	1/4	2.83	12-17	(1)	-
2	15	1/4	2.86	12-17	(2)	-
3	14	1/4	2.86	12-17	(3)	-
4	5	1/4	2.88	15-18	(4)	-
5	162	1/4	2.81	12-19	(5)	-
6	6	1/8	1.43	9-12	(6)	-
7	7	1/8	1.40	9-12	(7)	-
8	6	1/8	1.36	9-12	(8)	570
9	7	1/8	1.35	9-12	(9)	570 var
10	151	1/4	2.83	11-17	Blank	-
11	35	1/8	1.38	9-14	Blank	-
12	5	1/4	2.75	11-18	uncertain	N/A
13	26	1/8	1.26	9-14	uncertain	N/A
	447		(total)			

The coins with a "5-armed" symbol with a dot in the middle and varying number of radiating bars are completely unpublished (all previously known coins from Gandhara had "6-armed" symbols). Five different types of 1/4 satamana were identified (Figure 5) and two such types of 1/8 satamana (Figure 6).

Figure 5: *Representative photographs of the different ¼ satamanas with a "5-armed" types*



The more familiar coins with "6-armed" symbols appeared in the hoard in small numbers (Figure 6). All these coins in the hoard were the smaller ⅛ satamanas. Three of the types shown are previously unpublished.

Figure 6: *Representative photographs of the different ⅛ satamanas of the "5-armed" types*



All coins of types 8 and 9 that were examined were highly worn and struck with extremely rusted dies. Types 1, 3 and 5 were struck with rusted dies as well and were represented by only a few examples, while the coins of the abundant type 2 were mostly in good condition and probably represent the latest coins in this hoard. The method of manufacturing for types 1-9 was similar, and it is likely that all these coins were manufactured at the same time.

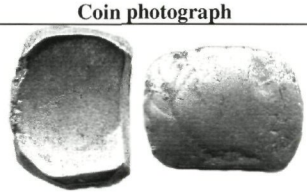
Figure 7: *Representative photographs of the different ⅛ satamanas of the "6-armed" types*

#	Coin photograph	Symbol drawing
(8)		
(9)		

Types 8 and 9 (Figure 7) are well known and common earlier types, though type 9 (for this denomination) is not published in the standard references. Only a few coins of these types were found in this hoard, almost all showing much wear and in poor condition.

Many of the hoard coins (types 12 and 13) could not be attributed to any particular types because of the very poor quality of the strike and extremely rusted dies, though parts of the punchmark design was seen on almost all of them. Based on the overall appearance, these coins are probably mostly of types 1 (for ¼ karshapana) and type 6 or 7 (for ⅛ karshapana).

Figure 8: *Representative photographs of the "blank" coins*

Type	Coin photograph	Symbol drawing
(10)		blank
(11)		blank

Many coins in the hoard (186 out of 447 coins examined) did not carry a punchmark (Figure 8), though their weights and the textures were identical to the punchmarked ¼ and ⅛ satamanas. These blank coins still carry signs of striking and were evidently produced by striking a blank flan with unengraved dies.

Many of the blank coins in this hoard, including the ¼ and ⅛ satamanas, carried various bankers' marks (Figure 9). Only a few proper punchmarked coins carried these marks.

It seems, based on the evidence of this hoard (specifically, the worn condition of the coins and the presence of the bankers' marks) that the blank coins circulated alongside the normal coins. A future study of these bankers' marks and their comparison to the local bankers' marks on Mauryan and other coins (for which the minting date can be more easily determined) might allow for a more precise dating of these Gandharan issues. The reason for the production of such "blank coins" is difficult to understand – perhaps they were produced because of the lack of competent engravers, perhaps these are an emergency issue of some sorts, or perhaps the presence of the punchmark was not needed for some unknown reason.

Figure 9: *Countermarks on the coins in the hoard*

Type	Quantity (pieces)	Countermark	Type	Quantity (pieces)	Countermark
5, 10, 11	2, 2, 1		10	2	
10	3		10	2	
10, 11	2. 1		5	2	
10, 11	4, 1		5	1	
10	1		10^{187}	2	
10	3		10, 11	2, 1	
10	2		10, 11	2, 1	
			10	1	

Dating the hoard is problematic. All Gandharan types are given a blanket date of ca.600-300 BC. These issues are generally poorly studied, even though the continual debasement, presence of the various bankers' marks and change in the punchmark and punchmarks' style would probably allow for more precise dating of these coins.

The coins examined included a single silver 3rd century BC Mauryan karshapana (Gupta/Hardaker 574). The coin was well-worn and corroded and was certainly an intruder that found its way into the scattered hoard of the Gandhara coins by chance, so it is not of help in dating the hoard.

Many coins bore clear signs of an undertype – these coins were evidently overstruck on various older coins. Some coins seem to be overstruck on ½ karshapanas from Surasena Janapada, struck ca.400-350 BC. Some other coins (15 coins with undertypes of various clarity) carry traces of a bust on the reverse – they might be overstruck on cut drachms of Alexander the Great.



One such overstruck ¼ satamana is shown above. The obverse shows a "5-armed" symbol, struck with old rusted dies. Possible ear, eye, nose bridge and hair of Herakles are visible on the concave side of the coin. Many such examples were found, but none of them showed an unambiguous portrait that could be linked to an Alexandran drachm with any certainty. If the attribution of the Surasena and Alexander undertypes are correct, the issue of these Gandharan coins should be placed in the Alexandran or early post-Alexandran period, ca.326-305 BC. The latest possible date is probably ca.305 BC since that is the date of the Mauryan conquest of Gandhara. Since Mauryan coins are commonly found in Gandhara,[188] it is likely that the production of the local coinage ceased and that the "Imperial karshapanas" of the Mauryas were introduced in the newly acquired territory.

The presence of a small number of known and well-worn early ⅛ satamanas (types 6 and 7) in the hoard would also suggest a late date.

Such a late date is unexpected – the latest Gandharan issues are usually assumed to be the most debased ones, made out of copper or very debased billon. Perhaps the progressive debasement took place before the Greek conquest and the production of the good silver issues was resumed between ca.326 and the Mauryan conquest. However, this is pure conjecture. Finding clear Alexandran undertypes of these issues would be a partial confirmation of this theory.

[187] The banker's mark of this type is commonly encountered on silver satamanas (bent bars).

[188] Both the Gandharan punchmarks and the Mauryan punchmarks are found in large numbers in hoards, though never together, suggesting a somewhat abrupt transition from the Gandharan to the Mauryan types.

COIN OF AN UNKNOWN SON OF VIJAYASENA, RULER OF THE WESTERN KṢATRAPAS IN GUJARAT (ca. SE 170 / AD 248)

By Dr Alexander Fishman

The last comprehensive catalogue of the coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas was completed by Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor in 1994 ("Studies in the Coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas"). Since the publication of this important work, many new types, varieties and dates have been identified. In this article, I discuss a coin of a previously unknown son, of unknown name, of Mahakṣatrapa Vijayasena (161-173[189] Saka Era / AD 239-251), ruler of the Western Kṣatrapas in Gujarat.

There is no historic evidence to support the existence of this ruler. The numismatic evidence consists entirely of two or three obscure coins.[190] These coins are the only vestige of the ephemeral ruler, and reside in private collections in India. They were first published by D. Rajgor (Numismatic Studies I, 1991), who describes, but does not show, a specimen residing in a private collection which features the patronymic "Vijayasenaputrasa"; unfortunately, the name of the ruler is struck off flan. Rajgor's description matches the coin discussed here, but there is no way of knowing whether these two are actually the same coin.

Another example was published by R. Senior ("Indo-Scythian Coins and History" (2004) (abbreviated here as ISCH), #35Y). This specimen was a "Bombay issue" drachm and listed the patronymic as "Vijayasenaputrasa"; however, the name of the issuer was not clear. Unfortunately, the image featured in ISCH was very small, rendering study of the coin almost impossible, but a superior photograph could not be obtained. It is possible that the unofficial "Vijayasenaputrasa" is simply an imitation of an official drachm of Vijayasena with a confused legend. This is an entirely plausible hypothesis, given that the Bombay issue coins commonly contain numerous misspellings and crude legends.

A third coin with the patronymic "Vijayasenaputrasa" is described in this article. It resides in a private collection in Ahmadabad, where it was reportedly discovered. The coin, shown in fig. 2, measures 15mm in diameter and weighs 2.11 g.

Figure 1: *Bust styles of* ***(a)*** *Vijayasena from SE 170;* ***(b)*** *Son of Vijayasena from SE 170 or 174;* ***(c)*** *Damajadasri III from SE 174*



(a) **(b)** **(c)**

The coin was struck at a primary mint and is in a finely engraved official style. The portrait featured on the coin of this son of Vijayasena closely resembles that of his father. However, the son of Vijayasena is depicted as a more youthful man with a straighter nose, a high forehead and rounded features. The date is partially visible – the first two digits, 100 and 70 are clear, but the last digit is not. The figure following 170 might be a corrupt Greek letter, in which case the date would be SE 170; alternatively, it might be a digit which could conceivably be anything between 4 and 9. Thus the possible dates for this coin are either SE 170 (AD 248) or SE 174/179 (AD 252/257).

A clue may be found by comparing Figure 1 (b) with Figure 1(a) and Figure 1 (c). The style of the bust, the collar and of the inscriptions is much more reminiscent of the late coins of Vijayasena than of the early coins of Damajadasri III, suggesting that the coin dates to SE 170.

Figure 2: Newly discovered coin of the son of Vijayasena

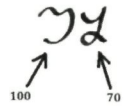


Obv: Bust of the "son of Vijayasena", right, wearing a satrapal cap and with collar showing, date in Brahmi numerals behind, corrupt Greek inscription around. *Rev*: Crescent on a three-arched hill over a wavy line, crescent in the left field and sun in the right field, hybrid Brahmi inscription around:



Brahmi inscription: *RāJño MaHāKṣaTraPaSa ViJaYaSeNaPuTraSa RāJño KṣaTra[PaSa.....]Sa*

English translation: *Raja Satrap...., son of Raja Great Satrap Vijayasena*

Date: 

The reverse inscription is neatly engraved, beginning between 2 and 3 o'clock. Even though the coin is struck off-centre, most of the inscription is very clear and easy to read. The patronymic of this ruler is given as *Vijayasenaputrasa*, and the reading of this word is unambiguous. Attributing the coin to an error by the engraver is not possible because the royal title of this ruler is clearly given as *Kṣatrapa*. If the engraver had meant to prepare a die for a coin of Vijayasena and simply made a mistake by putting the word *ViJaYaSeNaSa* in front of *PuTraSa*, the title of the ruler would have been Vijayasena's – that is, *Mahakṣatrapasa* (rather than *Kṣatrapasa*).

Unfortunately, the name of the son of Vijayasena is not readable on either one of the three known coins. His name cannot be reconstructed with any certainty, but the range of the possible names can be narrowed down. On the coin discussed here only the last akṣára of his name (*Sa*) is clear, with a possible akṣára *Na* preceding it (a part of the line with a split end can be seen before *Sa*, but it might be a part of a different letter as well). His name lacks any of the long letters, and the only names of the known Western Kṣatrapa rulers lacking these letters are:

[189] The commonly accepted last year of Vijayasena's reign is SE 172 / AD 250 but a few coins dated to SE 173 / AD 251 that were recently discovered (though not yet published) push the end of Vijayasena's reign forward by one year.

[190] Three (or perhaps only two) different coins are described in this article. Another coin (of which no picture or detailed description is available) is known to reside in a personal collection Ahmadabad. This coin might, or might not be, either the Rajgor or the Senior coin mentioned above.

Jayadaman – would be spelled as *JaYaDāMaSa*
Jivadaman - would be spelled as *JīVaDāMaSa*
Damasena - would be spelled as *DāMaSeNaSa*
Simhasena – would be spelled as *SiHaSeNaSa*
Vijayasena – would be spelled as *ViJaYaSeNaSa*

Because there is adequate space for five letters where the name should be, the least probable name is the six-lettered *Vijayasenasa*. If the akṣára *Na* indeed precedes *Sa* in his name, the names "Damasena" and "Simhasena" seem to be the most likely. Vijayasena's father's name was Damasena, so it is plausible that Vijayasena might have given this name to his son.

However, it is also possible that the name of this ruler was different altogether and was not used by the preceding or future Kṣatrapa rulers. It will be impossible to determine the name of this ruler with any certainty until specimens showing a more complete legend come to light.

It is also currently impossible to discern how this son of Vijayasena fits into the dynastic succession of the Kṣatrapas. Based on the most likely reading of the date on the obverse and the style of the coin (Fig. 1), it is most likely that he ruled as a Kṣatrapa in SE 170 (AD 248) under his father. This elevation might have been related to the assumption of the Mahakṣatrapaship by Damajadasri III in SE 170 (coins of Damajadasri III dated 170 and SE 171 have been recently identified, though not yet published). If the date on the coin is not 170 but 174/179, the son of Vijayasena was a Kṣatrapa under his uncle, Damajadasri III. The Kṣatrapaship of the "son of Vijayasena" must have been very brief, judging from the rarity of his coins.

If more coins bearing clear inscriptions and dates are discovered in the future, it might be possible to address some of these mysteries with greater clarity.

I want to express my gratitude to Dr Shailendra Bhandare for his valuable insights concerning this coin and Dr Showkat Yazdanian for editing this paper.

A NEW COIN TYPE OF THE KADAMBAS OF BANAVASI

By K. Ganesh

Banavasi (14^0 33'N, 75^0 1'E) is a small town in Karnataka nestled in deep forests in the Western Ghats. This temple town which is bordered by the Varada river on three sides is one of the oldest towns in Karnataka. Banavasi was the southern headquarters of the Satavahanas and was the capital of the Chutus and the Kadamba rulers.

Banavasi has recently been yielding a number of coins as a result of the drying up of the Varada river. Several thousands of coins of Satavahana kings have been reported from this place. A few coins of the Chutus and some coins of early Pallava rulers have also been reported. For the first time, coins belonging to the period between AD 250 and 350, considered as the dark age in the history of Karnataka, have been found at Banavasi. Coins specifically attributable to the Kadambas of Banavasi have also been reported recently[191]. These coins were not noticed or reported earlier.

A coin of the Kadambas of Banavasi, was recently acquired by the author. This coin type was not noticed earlier and only one specimen has been noticed now. The coin is described and discussed below.

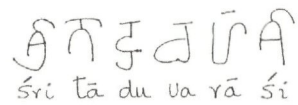
Metal: High-tin bronze (potin)
Weight: 0.81g
Size: 14 mm

Obverse: Within a six-spoked wheel (*chakra*), legend in early Kannada characters *sri ta du va ra si*[192].
Reverse: Kannada legend in three lines …./ *ma na ke tu h* / …..
Only the legend on the second line is seen. The same legend appears to have been struck in the first and third line.

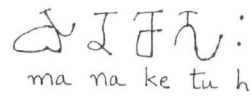


Illustration enlarged

Obverse legend:



Reverse legend:



The Kadambas of Banavasi ruled between AD 345 and 540. The first ruler of the dynasty was Mayuravarma (AD 345-365) who was the contemporary of the Pallava ruler, Sivaskandavarman. Although Mayuravarma started as a feudatory of the Pallavas, he soon declared his independence. During their 200 years of rule, the Kadambas of Banavasi had powerful rulers like Bagiratha (390-415), Kakusthavarma (435-455), Krishnavarma I (455-475) and Krishnavarma II (516-540). Kakusthavarma's daughter was married to the son of Kumaragupta.

The inscribed coins of the Kadambas of Banavasi are similar to the coin under discussion and have, on the obverse, a wheel within which is inscribed the legend in Kannada characters. The reverse is either blank or bears a Kannada legend. The legends that have been observed on the obverse are *srimanarasi*, *sridosharasi* and *dosharasi*. The reverse of one of the *sridosharasi* type carries the legend *sasamkah*. All the other coin types have a blank reverse.

While the coins with the legends *sridosharasi* and *dosharasi* were attributed to Krishnavarma II, who sported the title *sridosharasi* in his inscriptions, the coin with the legend *srimanarasi* could not be precisely attributed to a ruler. It is pertinent to note that many of the early Karnataka rulers chose to inscribe their titles rather than their name on the coins. The attribution of these coins to a ruler is possible only when there are inscriptions of these rulers with the titles that they sported and inscribed in their coins. About 80 inscriptions of the Kadambas of Banavasi are known and only the title *sridosharasi* has been noticed in the inscriptions of Krishnavarman II[193]. It is thus not possible to precisely attribute the coin under discussion which carries the legend *sritaduvarasi* on the obverse, to any specific ruler of the Kadambas of Banavasi[194]. This title is not noticed in the known inscriptions of the rulers of the Kadambas of Banavasi.

[191] For details of coins found at Banavasi see K. Ganesh, *Coins of Banavasi*, Bangalore, 2008.

[192] There is a small fragment near the letter *ta*. If this was intended to be part of the letter *ta*, then the letter actually becomes *to*. However, the present restoration of the letter appears to be the most plausible.

[193] B.R. Gopal, *Corpus of Kadamba Inscriptions*, Sirsi, 1985.

[194] It is not clear why the kings sported titles ending with *rasi*. Rasi has at least two meanings – a heap and a sign of the zodiac. The term *dosha* amongst other things means fault, deficiency and harm. It also means darkness. The term *sasamkah* appearing on one of the *sridosharasi* type coin translates as moon. It is a mystery as to why Krishnavarma II styled himself *sridosharasi* and *sasamkah*. The term *taduva* appearing on the coin under discussion may be the corrupt form of *tatva* which means truth.

However some intelligent guess can be made considering the following aspects.

1. The coin weighs 0.8 gm which is twice the weight of the known inscribed coins of the Kadambas of Banavasi. The coins with legend *srimanarasi*, *sridosharasi* and *dosharasi* weigh about 0.4 gm.
2. Out of more than 200 inscribed coins noticed by the author, 70% of the inscribed coins are of the *srimanarasi* type, while 30% of the coins are either of the *dosharasi* or *sridosharasi* type. However, the coin under discussion is being noticed for the first time and appears to be extremely rare.
3. Although palaeography is not very useful here, since the total period we are considering is less than 200 years, the *ma* in the *manarasi* type coins appears to be earlier than the *ma* in *manaketu* found on the reverse of the coin under discussion. However, it should be noted that different forms of the same letter may have been used together at the same place or at different places.
4. Krishnavarma II was the last powerful ruler of the dynasty and it is unlikely that his successors would have minted coins. His successors ruled as feudatories of the Chalukyas of Badami.
5. Tentatively we may assume that the order of issue of the coins is as follows:
   Coin type with the *manarasi* legend -> Coin under discussion -> Coin types with the *dosharasi* or *sridosharasi* legends.

It is likely that the *manarasi* type coins were minted by Ravivarma (AD 485-519) and his successors and, in all likelihood, Krishnavarma II would have first struck the *sritaduvarasi* coin when he occupied Banavasi. Coins with the legends *dosharasi* and *sridosharasi* may have been issued later, thus reverting back to the weight standards of the *manarasi* type. It is also likely that both the denominations were in circulation together, with the coin under discussion being minted in lesser quantity compared to the *dosharasi* and *sridosharasi* types.

However all these are conjectures and a correct attribution will emerge only if one or more inscriptions of the ruler(s) of the Kadambas of Banavasi with the titles *sritaduvarasi* and/or *manaketuh* are encountered. At the moment we may have to be just content with attributing the coin type to the Kadambas of Banavasi while waiting for inscriptions of the ruler(s) with the title *sritaduvarasi* and/or *manaketu* to be discovered for precise attribution of the coin to a ruler.

MINT-MARK NOTED ON A COPPER FALUS COIN OF THE DELHI SULTAN, FĪRŪZ III

By Graham Cawser

In the catalogues and books that I have read concerning the numismatics of the Sultans of Delhi, I have been unable to find mention of any copper falus of Fīrūz III which bears a mint-mark. However, a recently purchased piece requires special attention because it clearly displays a mint-mark on the reverse, to the right of the mint signature, 'Dār al-Mulk Delhī'.



The design of this coin equates most closely with D492, from *'The Coins of the Indian Sultanates'* by S. Goron and J. P. Goenka. The mint-mark, which is similar to type 9 from *'The Coinage and Metrology of the Sultans of Delhi'* by H. Nelson Wright, is shown lying on its side, with its apex pointing to the left of the coin.



The coin D492 which is depicted in Goron and Goenka has three dots in the same place as the mint-mark on the newly discovered coin, and I have seen these three dots on another specimen. Could these three dots also be a mint-mark? Have any other ornamental marks been noted on these coins? It would be very interesting to find out!

SRĪHAT (MODERN SYLHET) –A NEWLY IDENTIFIED MINT TOWN OF THE SULTANS OF BENGAL

By Russel Haque

Sylhet is a major city in north-eastern Bangladesh. It is located on the banks of the Surma River and is surrounded by the Jaintia, Khasi and Tripura hills.

From the ancient period, Sylhet was an important commercial centre. It was known by the rest of India as 'Silhatta' or 'Srihat', and is referred to in the ancient Hindu sacred *Tantric* text, the *Shakti Sangama Tantra*[1]. During this time, Sylhet was probably inhabited by Indo-Aryan Brahmins, though, ethnically, the population would also have traces of Assamese. It has also been suggested that the ancient kingdom of Harikela was situated in modern Sylhet[2,3]. In the fifteenth century dictionary, *Roop Chintamanikosh*, the other name of Srihatta or Srihat is given as Harikela[4]. In the Manuscript *Rudrakhshamahatma*, Harikela and Srihat are referred to as the same place[5]. According to Dr B.N. Mukherjee, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the kingdom of Harikela slowly annexed the area of Srihat[6].

In the ancient and early medieval periods, Srihat was ruled primarily by local chieftains as viceroy of the kings of Pragjyotishpur (Guwahati in Assam)[7]. The last chieftain to reign there was Govinda of Gaur[8].

Tradition says that when Gaur Govinda ruled the Srihat area, which was then predominantly Hindu, Sheikh Burhān al-Dīn, a Muslim who lived in the territory under his control, once sacrificed a cow to celebrate the birth of his son. A kite snatched a piece of the dead meat and it fell from its beak onto the house of a Brahmin Hindu, for whom cows were sacred. On the matter being reported to the king, Burhān al-Dīn's hands were said to have been cut off and his son killed.[9] Burhān al-Dīn went to the sultan of Gaur, Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh, to whom he submitted a plea for justice. The sultan accordingly sent an army under the command of his nephew, Sikandar Khān Ghāzī. He was, however, stopped by rains and flooding. The sultan then ordered his Sipah Salar (armed forces chief), Nāṣir al-Dīn, to lead the war.

At this time, the famous saint, Shaikh Shāh Jalāl, was requested by Nizām al-Dīn, at the behest of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh, to travel to Srāhat, also called Sirhat at that time, along with Sikander Khān Ghāzī and Nāṣir al-Dīn, to rescue Sheikh Burhān al-Dīn. With 360 followers (313 given in some other sources), including his nephew, Shāh Paran, he reached Bengal and joined the Muslim army in the Srīhat campaign[10]. Gaur Govinda was defeated and the kingdom of Srīhat went under the rule of the muslim ruler of Bengal, Shams al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh[11].

The exact date of conquest of Sylhet is supplied by an inscription (Plate 1) of the time of the later ruler, 'Alā al-Dīn

Ḥusain Shāh, while recording the erection of a structure at Sylhet by his governor and general, Rukn Khān[12].



The inscription can be translated:

First panel:

1. The first conquest of Islam of the town of 'Arṣah
2. Srīhat, in the hands of Sikandar Khān Ghāzī
3. In the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh

Second Panel:

4. Delvī, in the year AH 703 (AD 1303-1304). This
5. Building of Rukn Khān, who conquered,
6. Eight *kamhars*, being wazir and general

Third Panel:

7. Of towns, during the conquest of Kāmrū, Kamtā,
8. And Jājnagar and Orissa, commanded the army in several places.
9. In the reign of the king, in the year AH 918 (AD 1512-1513)[13]

This inscription is very important as it accurately gives us the date of the invasion of Sylhet by Bengal. It also records that Sylhet was called 'Srīhat', it was an '*Arṣah* (a large administrative unit), and gives us the way 'Srīhat' was written in Arabic script during the time of Ḥusain Shāh. There is another inscription of Ḥusain Shāh where the name of Srīhat is written as Sirhat. So we can say both names were used interchangeably at that time.

Further evidence of the conquest can be had from the account of Shāh Jala by the famous Moroccan traveler, Ibn Battuta: 'he was numbered among the principal saints, and was one of the most singular of men. He had done many noteworthy acts, and wrought many celebrated miracles. He used to remain standing (in prayer) all night. The inhabitants of these mountains received Islam from his hands, and it was for this reason that he stayed among them'. Ibn Battūta also narrates several miracles of the saint, and reports the date of his death as 1347[14].

After the death of Sikandar Ghāzī, the charge of Srīhat passed to Ḥaider Ghāzī, a follower of Shāh Jalāl, who ruled up to AD 1414.[15]. Another source mentions that, after the death of Shāh Jalāl, the district was included in the kingdom of Bengal and put in charge of a nawab[16].

Srīhat then came under the rule of the early Ilyas Shahi rulers, then passed to Raja Ganesh, then to Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, and so on under the rulers of the Bengal Sultanate. Under the rule of Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh, an inscription is found in Srīhat on the door of Shāh Jalāl Dargah[17].

During Habshi rule, the administration in the area weakened due to the inefficiency of the rulers. The administration was mainly maintained by a small army kept by the workers of the Dargah[18]. During this time, some zamindars of the nearby areas of Srīhat city assumed independence[19]. After the last Habshi ruler, Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar Shāh, the administration came under 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh. His general, Rukn Khān, was put in charge of the area. Rukn Khān was succeeded by Gohor Khān Aswarī, who was succeeded by Muḥammad Khān[20].

During the time of Gohor Khān, many zamindars revolted. Mention is made of Islām Ray of Kamihati, Sri Sikdar of Itar and zamindar of Zangalbari, who had revolted[21]. The revolt was suppressed by Sarowar Khān, who was especially called upon by Ḥusain Shāh, because of his accurate knowledge of the area. (Sarowar Khān was a convert to Islam from Hinduism. His original name was Sarbananda, a Kayastha, who lived in Barshala, a town north of Srīhat city. He was a teacher of the Sharqi rulers of Jaunpūr.)[22].

After Sarowar Khān, his son, Mir Khān, succeeded under Ḥusain. He was a very efficient administrator. Because of his good work he was given the title Majumdar (ruler of all)[23]. In AD 1525 Yūsuf Khān, eldest son of Mīr Khan, took charge. Srīhat remained under the dominion of the Bengal Sultanate until AD 1538, after which it passed to Sher Shāh and subsequently to the Mughals[24].

It is worth mentioning that, in *'Ain-i Akbari*, it is mentioned that Silhat (Srīhat) was a *sarkar*, or an administrative unit: Sirkar Silhat (8 mahals: revenue Rs. 1,67,032)[25]. Being a *sarkar* proves that Srīhat was an important administrative unit, and so may also have been a mint town. Out of nineteen *sarkars* mentioned in *'Ain-i Akbari*, eleven are known to have been mint towns bearing their own name as the mint name[26].

In the light of the above mentioned history of Srīhat, an unpublished[27] coin of 'Alā al-Dīn Fīrūz II (AH 928-929/ AD 1531-1532) in my collection is listed and discussed here. Wt. 10.5 g



Obv:

al-sulṭān
bin al-sulṭān bin al-sulṭān
'alā al dunyā wa'l dīn
abū'l muẓaffar fīrūz shāh
al-sulṭān

Rev:

bin nuṣrat shāh
al-sulṭān bin ḥusain
shāh al-sulṭān al-ḥusainī
khallada allāh mulkahu wa sulṭanahu
srīhat 39

In the present coin the mint name can be easily read when it is compared with the writing of 'Srīhat' in the inscription of 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh (Plate 1 above). The mint name has two parts. In the first part, on the right, the letters س and ر are easily visible to make سر. The second part begins with a back stroke which stands for ي, so these three letters combined produce 'Srī'. ي is attached to ٥ , in its form ٮ (please notice this form of 'he' is written with a small kink on a line). The last letter attached to ٮ is ت to complete the name 'Srīhat'. The letter ت on the coin (and also on the other coin mentioned below of another die) is written very distinctively with the diacritical mark (*nukta*) of a small oblique stroke to stand for the two dots. The letter ٮ is not very distinct, and it seems that the small kink was incorporated by the die-engraver in the line attaching ي to ت, which is to be expected as the die is not fine enough to make distinct a small kink. The coin probably has the date in retrograde, and the numeral '3' is mistakenly written in mirror-image. So, the date is read as 39 which would stand for the last two digits and mean AH 939, which was during the reign of Fīrūz Shāh II. Such type of retrograde dating along with mirror-image numbers is also seen on the coins with the mintname 'Arṣah (standing for 'Arṣah Chatgāon), in the coins of Nuṣrat Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh and Maḥmūd Shāh. The date may also be read as 93, which leaves open for the date to be AH 938 or 939. The third digit may have been a small one just below the 3, and so off the flan on both the coins. One point worthy of mention is that the die engraving is not of a very high standard, which may be due to the fact that Arabic was still not the main script used by the population of Srīhat. The Muslims of Srīhat tended to use a special type of Nagari script for day-to-day affairs[28].

It can also be mentioned that another, similar coin has been noticed in a private collection. The reverse dies seems to be the same, whereas the obverse die is different, but very similar and certainly cut by the same hands, which may imply that this may be a very small and short-lived coinage.



'Alā al-Dīn Fīrūz Shāh came to throne after the death of his father, Nuṣrat Shāh, in AH 938 (AD 1532). He was the grandson of 'Alā al-Dīn Ḥusain Shāh. The main event of his reign was his war with Assam. Although no Persian chroniclers mentions it, the invasion is recorded in the *Buranjis* – Ahom and Assamese[29]. The invasion commenced in AD 1532, and the Bengal army, under the command of Turbak, moved along the Brahmaputra river to reach Nowgong, where the main theatre of action lay. Here after a series of battles, the Bengal army suffered heavy losses and retreated. Fīrūz Shāh ruled up to AH 939 and was succeeded by his uncle, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh.

The Sarkar of Srīhat (which is also mentioned as 'Arṣah Srīhat), had no doubt assumed much importance during the period of Ḥusain Shāh, when it was first fully brought under the direct control of the Sultan of Bengal. Being an important administrative unit under Bengal, it is not surprising that it should acquire the status of a mint town during the Ḥusain Shāhī period. Bengal imported silver along both overland and sea routes from far-eastern and south-eastern sources, like Yunnan, the Shan states of China (Bawdwin mines), and eastern Burma[31]. The Chinese silver reached Bengal via Kamrup in the north, Tripura and Sylhet in the east and Chittagong and Arakan in the south-east[32]. Converting a part of the raw silver into coins at Srīhat, itself, and supporting the local north-eastern economy, instead of bringing it all the way to a centralised mint town and carrying the coins back, would be beneficial and cost-effective to the sultanate. Mention should also be made that this coin just pre-dates by only about 30 years the first silver coinage in Jaintiapur, which is very close by[33].

Whether 'Alā al-Dīn Fīrūz first granted Srīhat mint status cannot be established for certain. Coins with the same mint name may appear in the future for other rulers of the Ḥusain Shāhī dynasty. Some of the mintless coins of Nuṣrat Shāh may possibly be productions of Srīhat. However, both the examples known so far indicate that 'Alā al-Dīn Fīrūz first used the name as a mint name. The reason is not obvious, though the war with Assam may have had something to do with it. It is known from *Bahristan Ghayabi*, an account of Mughal wars with Assam, Cooch Behar etc, that there were routes to Assam from Mymensingh via the Garo foothills. Mymensingh was close to Srīhat, and so imported silver could have been directly sent to Mymensingh in the form of coins minted at Srīhat, to support the expenses of the royal army.

Thus, in light of the discussion above, we may conclude that, Srīhat was a mint town during the reign of 'Alā al-Dīn Fīrūz II, Sultan of Bengal[34].

Notes and References:

1. *Sylhet Times*, January 2008, page 6.
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32. John Deyell, 'The China connection: problems of silver supply in medieval Bengal', 'Precious Metals in the Later Medieval and Early Modern Worlds' pp.207-224.
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34. For the successful completion of the article, I would like to thank my family, Mr. Md. Alamgir of Kolkata, Mr. S.K Bose of Kolkata, Mr. Noman Nasir of Dhaka, Mr Nicholas Rhodes and others who helped me write this article.

A QUARTER TANKA OF SHAMS AL-DĪN MUẒAFFAR OF BENGAL (AD 1490-93)

By Nicholas Rhodes



Obv: *shams al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l-naṣir*
Rev: *muẓaffar shāh al-sulṭān*

Diameter: 17.5mm Wt. 2.25g

No quarter denomination coin of the Habshī rulers of Bengal has previously been published, so it is a pleasant surprise to find a totally new denomination for the dynasty, struck with dies specially designed for this small denomination. No date or mint is mentioned, and the normal legend is shortened to fit the flan. Indeed the design is very unusual, in having the legend contained within a circular border and the calligraphy is of fine style with the diacritical marks unusually precise for a Bengal coin of this period. The attribution to Bengal is, however, not in doubt as the kunya '*abū'l-naṣir*' is only found for this particular Habshī sultan of Bengal. The weight of the coin is rather light for a quarter tanka, which should be nearer 2.65g, but such variation in weight for a minor denomination such as this, which may not have been intended for general circulation, is not unexpected.

My thanks to Noman Nasir and Russel Haque for some useful ideas when writing this short note.

COINS OF SIKANDAR SHĀH, THE SUCCESSOR OF AḤSAN SHĀH

By K. Ganesh

Madurai (9° 48′ N, 78° 6′E) is one of the oldest cities in Tamilnadu whose history dates back to the period of the Sangam Pandyas who ruled from there at least during the first to third centuries AD. During the early fourteenth century, the place was the seat of power of the medieval Pandyas. Soon after, the Pandyas started losing their control over the place as a result of repeated invasions by the Delhi Sultans. During AD 1311, Malik Kāfūr was sent to Madurai by the Delhi sultan, 'Alā al-Dīn Khiljī (AD 1296-1316). Malik Kāfūr returned to Delhi with heavy booty. During AD 1323, Muḥammad bin Tughlaq invaded Madurai and placed Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan as governor of the city. Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan declared his independence and started issuing coins in his own name from AD 1334 (AH 734). He and his successors ruled Madurai for about forty five years before Kumara Kampanna, the son of Bukkaraya I, annexed the area to the Vijayanagar territory.

What is known of the history of the Madurai Sultans comes from the scanty information provided by Ibn Battūta and from numismatic evidence. Ibn Batūtah, the son-in-law of Jalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan Shāh, came to Madurai during the reign of Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad Dāmghān Shāh (AD 1344-1347), stayed there till the death of Dāmghān Shāh and provides a brief chronology of the rulers up to Dāmghān Shāh. Much of the information about the rulers including the period of their rule, especially of the later rulers, has primarily been derived from numismatic evidence.

Two standard works detail the coins of the Madurai Sultans. One is the work of Dilip Rajgor[195] and the other is the book by Stan Goron and JP Goenka.[196]

Recently the author acquired seven silver/billion coins of the Madurai Sultans. According to the person who gave the coins to the author, the coins were found at Kodumudi (11° 4′ N, 77° 52′ E), a place about 150 km north of Madurai. Out of the seven coins, five are published (MD3, MD4, MD14, MD15 and MD18 types). Two coins are not published in the standard works mentioned and are discussed in this paper along with other published coins.

Coin Descriptions



1. Metal: Billion; Weight: 5.4 gm; Size: 15 mm; Thickness: 3 mm (approx.).
Obverse: *jalāl al-dunyā / wa'l dīn.*
Reverse: *shāh / aḥsan / 735.*



2. Metal: Silver; Weight: 3.1 gm; Size: 14 mm.
Obverse: *al-sulṭān / al-a'ẓam 'alā / al-dunyā wa (al-dīn).*
Reverse: *sikandar / ghāzī shāh / 739.*

Discussion

The first coin is struck in the name of Aḥsan Shāh and is similar to the silver coin MD2 except that it is a billion coin and weighs 5.4 g. The coin type described by Goron and Goenka is of silver with a weight of 3.6 g corresponding to the 24 gani or one-third tanka standards. The present coin may well have corresponded to the same denomination. This coin may have been struck only during AH 735 to be followed by the equivalent value in silver coins (MD2).

The second coin is interesting. The coin carries the legend *'alā al-dīn sikandar ghāzī shāh*[197] and is dated AH 739.

A gold coin described by Goron and Goenka (MD 41)[198] needs review. The coin weighs 11 g and carries the legend:
Obverse: *al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam 'alā al-dunyā wa'l dīn sikandar ghāzī shāh al-sulṭān.*

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[195] Dilip Rajgor, *Standard Catalogue of Sultanate Coins of India*, Amrapali Publications, Mumbai, pp. 197-200.

[196] Stan Goron and J.P. Goenka, *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 2001, pp. 276-284. The coin references made (such as MD2, MD3 etc.) in the text correspond to those given in this book.

[197] It is not clear whether *ghāzī* is part of the name or regal title. While there is no doubt in the reading of *ghāzī*, there is also a possibility that the intended word was *'ādil* which turned out to be *ghāzī* due to a die-cutter's mistake. However, even on the gold coin, we encounter the legend *sikandar ghāzī shāh*.

[198] The coin was first published in ONS – see S. Godbole and S.L. Goron, 'A hitherto unknown gold coin of Alauddin Sikandar Shah of Madura', *ONS* 154, 1997.

Reverse: *mahdī al-zamān yamīn al-kilāfa nāṣir amīr al-mū'minīn*. Date around the periphery read as 777.

This coin was attributed to the last ruler Sikandar Shāh (AH 770-779). However according to Stan Goron, there appears to have been a mistake made earlier in the reading of the date on the gold coin[199]. According to him, the gold coin is also dated AH 739 and should belong to the same ruler who issued the silver coin under discussion.



The part of the margin showing the date on MD41
The tens part of the date is clearly thalathīn

The last year of issue of coins by the first ruler, Aḥsan Shāh, is AH 739, and the only year of issue of coins of his "successor", Udaujī Shāh is AH 740. According to the coin under discussion, 'Alā al-Dīn Sikandar Shāh. appears to have succeeded Aḥsan Shāh and he was the predecessor of Udaujī Shāh. The king however does not figure in the brief account provided by Ibn Battūta.[200] It was three years after the death of Aḥsan Shāh that Ibn Battūta first came to Madurai and it is likely that his account was based on hearsay.

There are two possibilities:

1. The Sikandar Shāh of the coin under discussion was the successor of Aḥsan Shāh and is different from Sikandar Shāh, the last ruler, who was ruling from around AH 770 to AH 779.
2. Sikandar Shāh succeeded Aḥsan Shīh but was soon overthrown by Udaujī Shāh. Thirty years later, Sikandar Shāh was able to get back to the throne.

Of these two, the first possibility appears to be more plausible as thirty years would appear to be a long period of time for a ruler to get back to the throne especially during the period under consideration. Also we do not encounter the same *laqab* in the copper coin of the last ruler.

According to Stan Goron, the copper coin type weighing 4.4 g and carrying the legend *'alā al-duniyā wa'l dīn* on the obverse and *sikandar shāh al-sulṭān* on the reverse (MD42) should also be attributed to 'Alā al-Dīn Sikandar Shāh, the successor of Aḥsan Shāh. According to him, the weight is correct for this period and compares well with the weight and style of MD6, MD8 and MD10. Only MD43 can be attributed to the last ruler, Sikandar Shāh II. [201]

'Alā al-Dīn Sikandar Shāh was thus the successor of Aḥsan Shah, He reigned during part of AH 739 during which time the gold coin (MD 41), the silver coin discussed above and the copper coins of MD42 type were struck in his name. Udaujī Shāh probably killed him and occupied the throne during AH 740.

This, therefore, provides an addition to the list of the eight kings of the Madurai Sultanate already known, thus making the total count of nine, ruling over a span of about 45 years.

THE RUPEES OF BANDA BAHADUR – A COMEDY OF ERRORS

By Hans Herrli

The story of the rupees of Banda Bahadur is possibly the least glorious page in the book of Indian numismatics; it is a story of negligent scholars and involuntary errors by several historians and numismatists, but it is also a story of deliberate mystification, of numismatists misled by ideology, and most of all it is a story still going on.

Banda Bahadur was the military successor of Gobind Singh, the tenth and last Guru of the Sikhs, who died on 7 October 1708 at Nanded in Maharashtra. After the death of the Guru, Banda moved with a small troop of Sikh warriors from the Deccan to the Punjab where he successfully recruited an army of about 40,000 men among the Sikhs. With this host he attacked Wazir Khan, the Mughal Faujdar (governor) of Sirhind, who was responsible for the murder of Gobind Singh's mother and his two youngest sons. On 12 May 1710, Wazir Khan was defeated in the battle of Chhappar Chiri, the whole province of Sirhind fell to Banda and, as an act of revenge, the city of Sirhind was completely destroyed and the Muslim population massacred. Banda commemorated his victory by establishing a new calendar era beginning on the day of his triumph.

The defeat of Wazir Khan was Banda's only victory against a regular and professionally lead Mughal army and, when the emperor, Bahadur Shah, reacted in December 1710 to the news from Sirhind, the Sikhs were soon driven out of the Panjab and into the foothills of the Himalaya. The death of Bahadur Shah in February 1712, a short war of succession and the weak emperor, Jahandar Shah, allowed Banda once again to advance into the Panjab, but Farrukhsiyar, who became emperor in 1713, drove him definitively back into the hills. In December 1715, Lohgarh, the last Sikh fortress, fell and the survivors were brought to Delhi and executed; Banda was the last to die in June 1716.

In the 18th century, the Panjab was torn by a constant succession of wars between the Mughals, Nadir Shah's Persians, Ahmad Shah Abdali's Afghans, the Marathas and the Sikhs. Most of the armies consisting of soldiers depending on plunder for their livelihood acted with great brutality, but even among this savage warriors Banda stood out. He was the typical religious fanatic who made not only war against enemy armies, but led merciless extermination campaigns against the civilian population who had the misfortune to belong to the wrong religion. As far as we can learn from contemporary sources, Banda had not even the support of the majority of the Sikhs, or, as a later historian wrote: "The name of Banda is never mentioned, even at the present day, without hearty curses being bestowed upon his memory by every

[199] When the first draft of the paper was sent for review, the author could not clearly read the date on the gold coin. He mentioned, however, that the date on the gold coin might need re-examination in the light of the new find. Stan Goron was quick to point out the mistake made earlier. According to him "The tens part of the date does look like *thalathīn* and not *siba'īn*. The first part of the date could equally well be *tisa'* rather than *siba'*. The date may have been assumed to be 777 to fit in with the known dates of Sikandar Shāh."

[200] In the words of Ibn Battūta "Formerly, the country of Ma'bar had submitted to the authority of Sultan Mohammed, king of Dihly (Delhi). A revolt was stirred up amongst his followers by my father-in-law, the Sheriff Djelaleddin Ahsan Shah (Sharif Jalalu-d-din Ahsan Shah), who reigned there for five years, after which he was killed and replaced by one of his amirs, Alauddin Odeidjy (Alau-d-din Udauji), who governed for one year. At the end of this time he set out to conquer the infidels; he took a considerable amount of riches and ample spoils from them, and returned to his own state. The following year, he led a second expedition against the idolaters, routed them and massacred a large number. The same day, on which he inflicted this disaster upon them, it happened that he took off his helmet in order to drink; an arrow shot by an unknown hand struck him and he died on the field. His son-in-law Kothb-eddin (Qutbu-d-din Firoz) was placed upon the throne; but as his conduct was generally disapproved of, he was killed at the end of forty days. The Sultan Ghiyath-eddin was invested with authority; he married the daughter of the Sultan and Sheriff Djelaleddin. It is the sister of this same girl that I had married at Dihly." - S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, Oxford University Press, 1921, p. 235. The appendix which carries the account is translated from vol. iv. of the French edition of Ibn Battūta by C. Defremery and B. L. Sanguinettie.

[201] Personal communication with the author after the review of the first draft of the paper.

Mussulman, nor is he held in respect by the Sikhs." [202]

The judgment of Banda Bahadur later changed, as happened with other genocidal conquerors like Genghis Khan or Amir Timur, when their people lost their military power or political influence. Banda was now considered a hero and martyr and in the 20th century, after the Khalistan movement and Indira Gandhi's operation *Blue Star*, the glorification of Banda became almost total among the Sikhs, a fact which had numismatic consequences.

Seven months after Banda's occupation of Sirhind, a news-writer working for the Raja of Jaipur wrote in a report: "The Khalsa Sikhs have strange practices amongst themselves. They call one person as an army. In their dispatches, they write that an army of Sikhs have arrived. Some say they have struck coins, and in their "hukam-namas" (edicts), the year "Ahad" (one) is written." [203]

Similar mentions of coins of well-known leaders, who might have been expected to strike coins but who did not, are found in the texts of several Indian news-writers and chroniclers. Sometimes the reports were based on bazaar rumours, but the fact that the coin legends are often in the form of faultless Persian distichs clearly shows that many of them originated with educated partisans or adversaries of the alleged issuers of the coins. The following sham coins are just some samples from the Panjab of the 18th century and the neighbouring parts of Afghanistan:

Khushwaqt Rai, a Persian news-writer for the East India Company,[204] declared in AD 1811[205] that Guru Gobind Singh had a coin minted with a legend which in reality first occured on a seal of Banda Bahadur in 1712, and on the initial Sikh coinage of Lahore in 1765.

Half a dozen authors have reported that, in 1758, the Sikhs coined at Lahore a rupee bearing the name of their leader, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, and insulting Ahmad Shah Durrani.[206] Unfortunately James Brown, the only person pretending to have seen and even owned such a coin, has been shown to have made quite a few confused and incorrect statements.

Sultan Muhammad Khan bin Musa Khan Durrani published in his *Tarikh-i-Sultan* a coin legend in the form of a couplet attributed to Shah Shuja' al-Mulk, of which Rodgers remarked rightly that it "could never have been struck by the King's permission": "Coins of silver and gold struck Shah Shuja, the Armenian, the light of the eyes of Lord [Sir Alexander] Burnes, the dust under the feet of the Company."[207]

Sayyid Ahmad Khan, a religious reformer who incited the Muslims to a *jihad* against the Sikhs and Hindus, occupied Peshawar in 1830 with an army of 40,000 tribal *ghazis*, but was killed in 1831 with more than 500 of his followers in a battle against a Sikh army. J.D. Cunningham wrote in his *History of the Sikhs* that Sayyid Ahmad struck at Peshawar coins bearing the legend: "Ahmad the Just, the Defender of the Faith, the glitter of whose sword scatters destruction among the infidels", but no such coins have ever been observed.

Banda's coins mentioned in the news-writers report would have to have been dated in the first year of his era, but very early Sikh coins bearing the year *ahd* (1) are unknown.[208]

Several other approximately contemporary chroniclers have been said to have mentioned the coins of Banda Bahadur, but when Surinder Singh checked their works for his doctoral thesis he found that not one of them even hinted at such a coinage[209]; the Jaipur news-writer's highly untrustworthy account, based on hearsay and without any details, and a mention of Sikh coins in the no more trustworthy *Haddiqat al- Aqalim* [210] remain, therefore, the only contemporary sources for Banda's coins.

Between 1780 and 1880 a number of western authors published histories of the Sikhs.[211] Although these writers had collectively access to a vast base of often highly qualified oral and written Sikh and Muslim sources not one of them ever mentioned coins struck by Banda Bahadur.

In 1894, almost two centuries after Banda's death, William Irvine wrote in an essay[212]:

> "At Lohgarh, Banda tried to assume something of regal state. He was the Sacha Padshah, or Veritable Sovereign, his disciples all Singhs, or lions. A new form of greeting, *Fath daras* (May you behold victory!), was invented and Muhammadans were slightingly called *Maslah*. Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name. One side bore the lines:
>
> Sikkah zad bar har do alam tegh-i-Nanak wahib ast,
> Fath Govind Shah-i-shahan fazl-i-Sacha Sahib ast.

If we are to judge by this halting, obscure verse, Banda was a better warrior than he was a poet. The lines, an obvious imitation of the inscriptions on the Mughal coins, seem to mean *"Fath Govind, king of kings, struck coin in the two worlds, the sword of Nanak is the granter of desires, by grace he is the veritable Lord."* On the reverse were these words:

"Zarb ba Aman-ud-dahr, Maswarat-shahr, Zinat-ut-takht-i-mubarak-bakht." "Coined at Refuge of the World, the Walled City, Ornament of the Fortunate Throne." These were the titles and epithets assigned by him to Lohgarh, just as each imperial city had its appropriate honorific name."

As until now several reputed historians and a large number of other writers have blindly accepted and disseminated Irvine's

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[202] W.L. McGregor: *History of the Sikhs*, London 1846, chapter VII.

[203] *Akbhar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla.* Old historical records Jaipur. The translated news-letter dated 9 January, 1711 was published in *Punjab Past & Present,* Vol. XVIII (11th Oct., 1984), Panjabi University Patiala, p. 51.

[204] Khushwaqt Rai's reports were one of the main sources used by H.T. Prinsep, the author of *The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab and the Political Life of Maharaja Ranjit Singh* (Calcutta 1834).

[205] In his *Tawarikh-i-Sikhan.*

[206] The most important among the authors considered authorities on the history of the Sikhs and who mentioned or discussed the Jassa Singh rupee are: James Brown: *India Tracts* ...(1788), J. Malcolm: *Sketch of the Sikhs* (1812), J.D. Cunningham: *History of the Sikhs* (1849), L.H. Griffin: *The Rajas of the Punjab* (1870), Chs J. Rodgers: *On the Coins of the Sikhs* (1881), S.M. Latif: *History of the Punjab* (1891).

[207] Chs J. Rodgers published the legend in *JRASB LVII,1* (1888). The coin has never yet been observed.

[208] Much later, in AD 1784 and 1794 the Sikh mint Anandghar issued double dated rupees bearing a Vikrama Samvat year and the year *ahd* of unknown eras.

[209] Surinder Singh: *Studies in Sikh Coinage 1710 to 1849 AD; Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of Rabindra Bharti University, Calcutta.* The whole second chapter of the thesis treats of Banda Bahadur's coinage. Surinder Singh later edited his thesis and published it in form of a book: *Sikh Coinage: Symbol of Sikh Sovereignty,* New Delhi 2004.

[210] The *Haddiqat al-Aqalim* by Murtaza Hussain, which has survived in several copies, mentions that the Sect of Nanak struck a coin with a couplet which the *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mualla* attributed to a seal of Banda Bahadur. Neither seals nor coins with this legend have ever been found.

[211] Col. A.L.H POLIER: (*History of the Sikhs*, read before the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 20 Decem-ber 1787), J. BROWN: *India Tracts: ... Also an history of the origin and progress of the Sikhs* (London 1788), J. MALCOLM: *A Sketch of the Sikhs* (London/Bombay 1812), T.H. PRINSEP: *The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Punjab ...* (Calcutta 1834), Lieut.-Colonel Steinbach: *The Punjaub; a Brief Account of the History of the Sikhs* (London 1845) W.M. MURRAY: *History of the Punjab, and of the Rise, Progress, & Present Condition of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs* (London 1846), W.L. M'GREGOR: *The History of the Sikhs* (London 1846), J.D. CUNNINGHAM: *A History of the Sikhs* (London 1849).

[212] William Irvine: "Guru Gobind Singh and Banda", in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* No. III,1, (1894:112-143).
William Irvine (1840-1911) joined the Indian Civil Service in 1862, and between 1863 and his retirement in 1888 held various administrative positions in the Saharanpur, Farrukhabad and Ghazipur districts. Irvine was highly regarded as an authority on the various aspects of settlement, rent and land revenue. As a historian, he formed a collection of Persian manuscripts, translated the *Storia do Mogor* by Nicolò Manucci (London 1807), and published a monograph *The Army of the Indian Moghuls* (1903). In his *Later Mughals,* which appeared serially in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* and the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and of which* "Guru Gobind Singh and Banda" is a part, *Irvine planned to cover* the century from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by the English in 1803. The work, which was left unfinished and actually ends in 1738, was edited and published in 1921 by Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

statement about Banda Bahadur's coin,[213] it merits a critical examination.

In Irvine's text we read: "Coin was struck in the new sovereign's name", a variant of the more common: "He struck coins in his own name," an expression that in India occurs in quite a few English texts in the 18th and 19th century, and which is guaranteed to attract some numismatist's comment that in reality the coins do not bear the issuer's name. "He struck coins in his own name" is a phrase which was translated from Persian texts and which originally referred to the right of *khutba* and *sikka* so important to Muslim rulers.[214] When used by historians in the 19th century, the expression was no longer restricted to its literal meaning, but referred to any factually independent ruler controlling a mint. The following text by G.B. Malleson is a typical example: [The Raja of Partabgarh in Rajputana] "Salim Singh was so great a favourite with Mahomed Shah, that he granted him permission to coin money in his own name. He accordingly founded a mint in Partabgarh, from which rupees called Salim Shahi rupees still continue to be struck off."[215]

Colonel Malleson knew, of course, that the Salim Shahi, the preferred coin of the opium trade, did not bear the name of the Raja of Pratapgarh but of his Mughal overlord, but even if he did not err in this statement, his short text may still serve as a warning to the many numismatists who uncritically believe in the works of Indian or English historians: The Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shah, died in 1748, five years before Salim Singh became Raja of Pratapgarh in 1753. The first Salim Shahis were not struck until AH 1184 (AD 1770) at a mint located at Deolia, which was only transferred to Pratapgarh in 1784 under Raja Sawant Singh. Until the end of the Mughal Empire in 1858 (and 17 years before Malleson published his book) all the *Salim Shahis*, the Pratabgarh silver coins, bore the name of Shah 'Alam II.

It is clear that, when Irvine (or more probably his source) stated that Banda struck coins in his name at Lohgarh or when Khushwaqt Rai wrote that Ranjit Singh minted coins in his own name at Lahore they just followed a convention; they did not mean that the coins effectively bore the Sikh leaders' names, but that they were issued by mints under their control.

Irvine stated implicitly that Lohgarh was Banda's capital and residence. Lohgarh was in reality a fort in the Shivalik hills on the fringe of Banda's ephemeral "state," a shelter difficult of access and a last resource in 1710 and 1713 when the Sikhs were driven out of the territory they had occupied in the Panjab. Lohgarh never was a Sikh capital and there can be no doubt that *"Coined at the Refuge of the World, the Walled City, Ornament of the Fortunate Throne"*, notwithstanding that Irvine seems to have believed it, is not a description of Lohgarh.

Irvine copiously enriched his text with footnotes giving the sources of his statements, but his paragraph on Banda's coins remained without the indication of a single written source. The obvious conclusion of most readers would be that Irvine described a coin that he himself had seen, but this reduces his remark about coins being struck by Banda to an unsubstantiated speculation, an unsatisfactory state of affairs for Banda's biographers and eulogists. They needed a source contemporary with their protagonist, and Muhammad Hadi Kanwar Khan, an annalist living in Delhi, was chosen for the role.[216]

John Deyell, who 1980 in published a long article "Banda Bahadur and the First Sikh Coinage",[217] thought that he had traced Irvine's source through the works of numerous authors to Kanwar Khan's *Tazkirat-i-Salatin-i-Chughtaiya*, a history which includes Banda's career, but he unfortunately did not take the last step and check Kanwar Khan's text.[218] Had he done so, he would have found that Kanwar Khan, who in 1710 in the entourage of Prince Rafi-ash-shan was present at the storming of Lohgarh, reported that the Mughal troops dug up the whole surface of the ground of the Guru's fort on 25 Shawwal, 1122 (16 December, 1710) and found treasure amounting to about twenty lakhs in rupees and *ashrafis* (gold coins), coins that were clearly loot plundered and extorted from towns and villages in the Panjab. This happens to be Kanwar Khan's only mention of coins in connection with Banda and he nowhere ever said that Banda Bahadur had coins struck. Although this fact unfortunately rendered John Deyell's research an exercise in futility, his conclusions were never contested during more than 20 years, but blindly repeated. In 1989 P.L. Gupta, a reputed Indian numismatist, could therefore write in the catalogue of the Sikh coins in the Sheesh Mahal at Patiala: "For long, coins issued by Banda Bahadur had the author of *Tazkirat-i-Salatin-i-Chugtaiya* as the only source of information. He had seen the coins and had mentioned them in his work and had quoted their inscriptions from them. The information about the coins was borrowed by all the subsequent writers of Sikh history".[219]

Surinder Singh checked Kanwar Khan's work and did not find a mention of Banda's coins, but, as they represent a cornerstone of his theories about Sikh sovereignty, the main subject of his thesis and his book, he also needed a source contemporary with Banda. He found it in a book: *Banda Kaun Si* [220] by Karam Singh.[221] In this work, the author wrote that Banda had coins struck and gave as his source the *Farrukhsiyar nama* written by Ihsan Ijad, a court historian of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, in AH 1131 (AD 1715), but he failed to say where in Ihsan's work Banda's coins are

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[213] All the writers who followed Irvine repeated his legends complete with his errors. Not one of them mentioned an independent source. Karam Singh wrote in 1907 a book about Banda without a mention of coins, but in 1929 he adopted in his *Banda Kaun Si* Irvine's statement. Other writers who followed Irvine's account are Gandha Singh (1935, 1976, 1988), G.S. Deol (*Banda Bahadur*, 1972), H.R. Gupta (*History of Sikh Gurus*, 1973), Kushwant Singh (*History of Sikhs*, Oxford University Press, 1987), J.S. Grewal (*Cambridge His-tory of India*, 1990), Surinder Singh (*op.cit.*).

[214] *Khutba* and *sikka* refer to the privilege of independent Muslim rulers to have their name pronounced in the Friday prayers and to inscribe their own name on their coins. Although most princes put their name on their coins, there were always exceptions: the first and foremost is represented by the the Umayyad caliphs, who struck anonymous coins with religious texts; the early coins of the great Timur and most of the coins of Indian princes in the 18th century and until 1857 bore the name of a Mughal emperor, a nominal and powerless suzerain.

[215] G.B. Malleson: *An Historical Sketch of the Native States of India*, London 1875, p.134.

[216] Kanwar Khan was one of Irvine's most important sources. In his Later Mughals we find in the sections about the Sikhs more than 40 footnotes referring to Kanwar Khan.

[217] John S.Deyell: "Banda Bahadur and the First Sikh Coinage", *Numismatic Digest* Vol. IV, part I, Bombay June 1980, pp. 59-67

[218] Kanwar Khan's *Tazkirat-i-Salatin-i-Chughtaiya* is not a very rare text, at least 17 manuscripts of it are known. Muzaffar Alam published in 1980 at the Asia Publishing House, New Delhi a commented edition based on 9 different manuscripts of which not a single one mentions Banda's alleged coins.

[219] P.L. Gupta, / S. Garg: *The Coins of Dal Khalsa, and Lahore Durbar in the Sheesh Mahal Museum Patiala*, Dept. of Cultural Affairs, Archaeology and Museums, Government of Punjab, Chandigarh 1989.
This catalogue contains a large numberof photos of mostly common Sikh coins and a text which has – usually without any acknowledgments – been compiled from works by other numismatists. The few original contributions by the authors are often incorrect. The catalogue was printed and bound, but never made accessible to scholars and collectors. The only important public library that has this rare book in its catalogue seems to be the Library of Congress in Washington.

When Surinder Singh asked P.L. Gupta in a letter where, in Kamwar Khan's work, a mention of Banda's coins can be found, he received a rather perplexing answer: "as regards the Persian sources, I must frankly admit that I do not know Persian; and having full faith in those scholars who mentioned them, I have used their material." (Surinder Singh: *op.cit.*, chapter 2)

[220] The undated book was allegedly written in 1929, shortly before the death of its author; it waspublished posthumously.

[221] Karam Singh (1884-1930) is known as the "Father of Sikh History". He was appointed Patiala State Historian and visited many public libraries in Patiala, Aligarh, Calcutta, Budaun and Darbhangra where he took extensive notes from books and manuscripts bearing on Sikh history. A large number of these notes were published in *Phulwari*, a Punjabi monthly magazine, during 1926-1930. Karam Singh published a first biography of Banda Bahadur (*Jivan Britant Banda Bahadar*) in 1907, a work which does not mention Banda's coins.

mentioned. There are manuscripts of the *Farrukhsiyar nama* in the British Library and Aligarh University which cover the years 1710 – 1712, but, as Surinder Singh found out, they do not mention Banda's coins.

Karam Singh, who died on 30 September 1930 of tuberculosis, was already very sick when he wrote *Banda Kaun Si* and the posthumously published book may not represent the final form its usually meticulous author strove for. As his obverse legend is exactly the same as Irvine's and his alleged source is Ihsan Ijad it seems highly probable that Karam Singh's true source was Irvine's *Later Mughals* which was published in 1921.[222]

After having convincingly demonstrated that there are no valid historical sources mentioning Banda's coins going back beyond William Irvine, Surinder Singh wrote: "Although there no longer exist any doubts on the existence of initial Sikh coinage of 1710-12, yet the study of initial Sikh coinage however, remains somewhat incomplete and partially inconclusive till the first year' coin and Ijad's or any other contemporary writers' account mentioning the said coins or any other contemporary historical reference are traced and examined by scholars and numismatists in the times to come."[223] This is quite an amazing, but unfortunately not uncommon triumph of ideology over reason.

In 1980, John Deyell published a hitherto unknown Sikh rupee:[224]



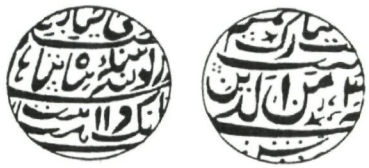
Obverse Reverse



It is easy to see that this coin is – even in the arrangement of the legends – the rupee described by Irvine. The only difference is the additional date: *sanah 2* on the newly found coin.

This rupee substantiates the fact that Irvine described a real coin and not another figment of some writer's imagination, but, contrary to John Deyell's notion, it neither proves nor disproves the alleged coinage of Banda Bahadur.

In 1967 Charles Panish had already published in a short article a similar but not identical rupee:[225]



Today, 2 rupees of this type are known and it is clear that they show on the obverse *gur gobind singh* instead of the *gobind* of the earlier coin.[226] The reverse inscription has not been completely read but *khalsa* and *bakht* have been replaced by one or more other words, and *man ad-din* has been substituted for *bi-aman ad-dhar*. The date is now year 3.

In December 1764, Ahmad Shah Durrani attacked Amritsar and destroyed the *Akal Takht*,[227] but soon after his return to Afghanistan, on Baisakhi (10 April) 1765, the Sikhs held a *Sarbat Khalsa* [228] in front of the ruins. It was decided to rebuild the *Akal Bunga* as well as the neighbouring *Harimandir*,[229] to win back lost territories and to mark Sikh sovereignty by issuing a coin. This decision, which does not name the authority charged with creating the coins, represents the last official mention of Sikh coins. For the time from 1765 to 1848 not a single authentic document originating with a Sikh authority and concerning the organisation, administration or production of Sikh mints has yet been published!

One would have expected the new Sikh coins to exhibit a distinctly Sikh character in their design and legends, but the rupees issued in 1766, after the occupation of Lahore, were amazingly timid. Their obverse bore the Gobindshahi couplet, which first had occurred in 1712 on a seal of Banda Bahadur, and the reverse the traditional Mughal reverse text in which only the date was changed from a regnal to a VS year. As the Sikhs continued the Mughal and Afghan custom of striking rupees with dies larger than the coin, the truncated obverse inscription was even for the small literate minority, which since 1719 had seen 11 different obverses come and go at Lahore, unintelligible.

We now have, on the one hand 2 rupees that do not refer with a single word to Banda Bahadur and which have not been attributed to Banda by an earlier valid source than William Irvine, who wrote more than one and a half centuries after Banda's death, and, on the other hand, the fact that the issue of "genuine" Sikh coins seems not to have started at Amritsar, then the religious and political centre of the Sikh polity, until 10 years after the Sarbat Khalsa of 1765. As the reason for this puzzling situation may be hidden in the "obscure" coin legends handed down by Irvine a rigorous re-examination of those legends and their various translations seems to be called for.[230]

Before analysing the content of the coin legends it seems imperative to state a few basic facts:

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[222]In the sections treating of Banda's career we find 11 footnotes that give as Irvine's source: *Anonymous Fragment of Farrukhsiyar-nama*. In his bibliography Irvine wrote: "Anonymous Fragment of a *Farrukhsiyar-nama* (c. 1131 H.). — My copy. [I find on further comparison and study that this is a portion of Muhammad Ihsan Ijad's *History*, of which another fragment is in the B. M., Or., 25.]" Irvine never mentioned the *Farrukhsiyar nama* as a source for his statement about Banda's coins.

[223]Surinder Singh: *op. cit.*, ch. II.

[224] John S. Deyell: *op.cit.*

[225]Charles Panish: "First Sikh Trans-Sutlej Coinage", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of Banaras*, Vol. XXIX, part II, 1967,pp 88-90.

[226]And they incidentally also show that Surinder Singh's drawing of the obverse is incorrect.

[227] For the ceremonies of his succession, Guru Hargobind (1595-1644) had a platform constructed opposite the *Harimandir*, naming it *Akal Takht* (Throne of the Timeless One, i.e. of God). A building subsequently raised over the *Takht* was called *Akal Bunga* (house) and the *Takht* is now officially called *Takht Sri Akal Bunga*, but it is generally known by its popular name *Akal Takht*. The *Akal Takht* became the seat of the Supreme Council in which all the *misls* (in the second half of the 18th century a kind of Sikh baronial fiefs ruled by warlords) had its representatives.

[228]The *Sarbat Khalsa* was a gathering of Sikh warriors and noncombatants considered to represent the entire *Panth* (Sikh community). During the 18th century the *Sarbat Khalsa* became the supreme central institution with deliberative and executive powers, where issues affecting the religion and the Sikh Empire were discussed and decided. Decisions of the *Sarbat Khalsa* were called *gurmatas*.

[229]The *Harimandir*, now better known as the Golden Temple, had been razed by Ahmad Shah in 1762.

[230]Though I never accepted the attribution of coins to Banda Bahadur I neglected to seriously check the translations of the legends of the rupees published by Chs. Panish and John Deyell when I wrote my *Coins of the Sikhs*, and therefore dated the coins too early.

— The coin legends are not written in classical Persian but in the persianised Urdu used by Indian poets [231] and other writers of the 18th and 19th century. [232]

—The obverse legends are rhyming distichs (couplets) according to the Mughal tradition and the reverse inscription has the form of a rhyming verse in 4 lines (plus the traditional "struck by ...." and the "regnal year"). The poems follow certain rules concerning their rhythm and rhymes that are also binding for numismatists when they arrange the texts.

— On the actual coins the logical sequence of the words is – again according to the Mughal tradition – subordinated to the needs of the calligraphic design.

—The content of the legends was meant to make sense to an educated contemporary Sikh.

These statements may seem trivial and obvious but, in reality, practically all the authors writing about the Banda Bahadur rupees have impinged on them. The few historians and numismatists who have served as the sources for a plethora of uncritical compilers and copyists have, for different reasons, distorted and mutilated the couplets and have misread and mistranslated the texts.[233]

Obverse legend: The obverse legend quoted by Irvine represents a possible reading of the inscription on the coin of year 2, but judging by later versions of the Nanakshahi couplet[234] and the fact that it does not make much sense, the arrangement of the text on the coin may not really be the form in which its author composed his distich.

Although Irvine's couplet seems to say something entirely different, it could be re-arranged in order to be nearer the definitive form of the Nanakshahi distich, which first appeared on rupees of Amritsar in VS 1838 (AD 1781) and there remained in use until the end of the Sikh coinage in VS 1906 (AD 1849). As Irvine's was definitely an early version of the Nanakshahi couplet, which was clearly still a work in progress, to try to understand it properly is probably a vain effort.

In year 3 *Gobind* was replaced by *Gur Gobind Singh*,[235] additions which ruined the couplet, but in the final version, which we know from VS 1838 onwards, the fault was repaired by dropping *Shahan*. With the exception of *Shahan*, the definitive distich contains the same words as the rupee of year 3 but, as thousands of coins confirm, in a different configuration:

sikka zad bar har dō 'ālam fazl-i-sacchā ṣāḥib āst
fath-i-tegh-i-gūrū gōbind singh shāh nānak wāhib āst

Coin struck for each of the two worlds by the grace of the true Lord.
Of the conquest won by Guru Gobind's sword king Nanak is the provider.

Many coin couplets allow varying translations, but, as I believe they should at least be meaningful, my translation differs from the usual ones.

Though "*the two worlds*" is an expression which is commonly found in Sikh texts it is not exclusively Sikh. The couplet on the rupees of the Durrani king, Zaman Shah, tells us that the king's coin "*obtained permanency by the order of the Lord of the two worlds*." As the *two worlds* are the secular and the spiritual world, Irvine's and his successors' translation: "*struck coin in (each of) the two worlds*" does not make any sense.[236] We know that the rulers of the Sikh states of Patiala and Nabha, whose ordinary coins bore the name of Ahmad Shah Durrani, minted after the fall of the Sikh Empire special coins with the Gobindshahi legend for *puja* and payments to the *gurudwaras* (Sikh places of worship).[237] I, therefore, think that the correct translation of "*Sikka zad bar har do 'alam*" is: *Coin struck for each of the two worlds* and that the sentence means that the coins were struck to be used in secular transactions as well as for *puja* and payments to the Sikh religious institutions.

In a Sikh context, the expression "*the true Lord*" is a synonym for *God*.[238]

In the second line, Nanak is credited with laying the foundations for Gobind Singh's feats of arms but the *sword* has now been definitively transferred from the peaceable Nanak to the warrior Guru.

Reverse legend: Even a glance shows that Irvine's and his successors' translation of the reverse legend of the rupee of year 2 is not only obscure, it is meaningless in the context of a coin allegedly struck by Banda Bahadur.

One detail that has not been mentioned by Irvine, but which has served to support the attribution of the rupees to Banda is the occurence of dates – year 2 and year 3 – on their reverses. It is known that Banda Bahadur initiated his own era, which is said to have begun on 12 May 1710, the day of his victory in the battle of Sirhind, but coin collectors also know that the Sikhs tended to experiment with eras when dating their coins. Sikh rupees usually bore a VS (*Vikrama Samvat*) year, a year of the Vikramaditya era, which began in March 56 BC, but from AD 1784 to 1793 the rupees of Amritsar are double dated and show dates from VS 1841/GN 315 to VS 1850 /GN 323. The GN date corresponds to a – as far as I know – otherwise unknown era which counts the complete years that have elapsed since the birth of Guru Nanak.[239]

The Amritsar and the, as yet, unidentified Anandghar mint issued at least 6 parallel rupee series double-dated in VS years and an obscure era that began in VS 1841 and ran on coins until VS 1846/6. Other rupees of Anandghar are dated in an unknown era beginning in VS 1851. It is evident that the occurence of years of an unidentified era on Sikh rupees is insufficient for the attribution of the coins to Banda Bahadur or any other ruler.

Surinder Singh, who adopted Irvine's translation but clearly found it unsatisfying, decided that it did not represent the description of a real place, but a utopian capital of a future Sikh state. After having distorted the poem, he offered the following interpretative translation: *Coined at the refuge of the world, the most protected place, safe and peaceful, a beautiful city where is the auspicious throne of Khalsa.*[240] As the coin legends are pillars of Surinder's theories concerning Sikh sovereignty it is unfortunate that his interpretation is as incorrect as Irvine's translation.

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[231] The famous Indian poet Ghalib wrote some of his *ghazals* in Urdu and in Persian; the two versions sometimes differ in a single word or even only in the ending of a single word.

[232] The best concise dictionary for this kind of Urdu is still: John T. Platts: *Urdu, Classical Hindi and English Dictionary*, London 1884. This dictionary contains every word of Irvine's legend.

[233] W. Irvine, who wrote: "If we are to judge by this halting, obscure verse, Banda was a better warrior than he was poet", gave a mangled interpretation of the obverse legend and an incorrect translation of the reverse. After Surinder Singh misread the reverse legend, distorted the poem, and adopted an incorrect translation; the result fit nicely into his preconceived ideas. (*Op. cit.*, chapter 2).

[234] On Sikh rupees we find 2 different obverse couplets and, in the bazaars, the respective coins were called Nanakshahis and Gobindshahis. As Nanak and Gobind Singh are mentioned in both couplets the names served only to distinguish the coin types and do not allude to the content of the poems. The Gobinshahi couplet occurred for the first time on a seal of Banda Bahadur and in VS 1822 (AD 1765) on the first rupees of Lahore, and the Nanakshahi couplet, in its final form, on Amritsar rupees in VS 1832 (AD 1775). The surviving coins prove that the production of Amritsar Nanakshahi rupees, the main commercial currency of the Sikh state, was much larger than the combined production of the other eight regular Sikh mints.

[235] The words GUR and GURU have the same meaning and are both correct.

[236] Probably because, in the complete version, it would have made even less sense, Irvine left out *har (each)* from his translation.

[237] See: Surinder Singh: *Patiala State Mint and Nazrana Coins* (Patiala 1990) and *Patiala State Coinage* (Punjab State University 1990).

[238] *"O, I bow to the Creator, the Sustainer, the True Lord"*. (Extract from Jap Sahib by Guru Gobind Singh.

[239] The luni-solar Guru Nanak calendar of the rupees is not identical with the solar Nanakshahi calendar introduced by the *Shiromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee* in AD 1998. The latter calendar runs parallel to the Gregorian calendar but its New Year always falls on the 14th of March.

[240] Surinder Singh: *op.cit.*, chapter 2.

The poetic legend on the reverse of the rupee of year 2 allows only one arrangement of the words:

zarb khālsa-
i-mubārak bakht
bi-āman ad-dahr
zīnat at-takht
mashwarat shahr
sanah 2

Struck by the Khalsa
of auspicious fortune
at [the place offering] safety from danger,
[at] the ornament of the throne
[in] the city of the council
year 2

Mubarak-i bakht is an expression adopted from the traditional Mughal reverses. The primary meaning of *dahr* is: *danger, adversity*. In my *Coins of the Sikhs*[241] I translated *aman ad-dahr* by: *Refuge of the age*, a possible interpretation, but hardly meaningful in the actual context. Irvine's *Refuge of the World* is clearly incorrect. *Mashwarat* means *council* and not *walled*, as implied by Irvine and his successors down to Surinder Singh. The expression *zinat at-takht mashwarat-i shahr* is in my opinion a fairly clear poetic paraphrase of the *Akal Takht*, the seat of the Supreme Religious Council of the Sikhs at the (safe) city of Amritsar.

The two known rupees bearing the year 3 unfortunately do not show their whole reverse legend, but it is clear that *at-takht* has been replaced by an unread word and instead of *bi-aman ad-dahr* we now find *man ad-din*. *Man* is a word that can have various but related meanings: *jewel, heart, soul,* and *ad-din* is the *religion.*

It would be difficult not to see that the 2 reverses neither give a description of Lohgarh nor of a fictitious Sikh capital, but a poetic portrayal of Amritsar, the seat of the *Harmandir* (Golden Temple), which may be meant with the "jewel (or heart) of the (Sikh) Religion", and the *Akal Takht,* the residence of the Supreme Council, the only institution which bore a resemblance to a government of the whole Sikh community.[242] As far as the Council is concerned the reverse legends of these rupees are clearly predecessors of the later standard reverse legends of all the Nanakshahi rupees of Amritsar:

zarb
srī āmritsar (jiyo)[243]
sanah (vs year)
maimanat
julūs bakht-i- ākal takht

Struck at illustrious Amritsar in the (VS) year ... under the
prosperous
rule of the fortunate Akal Takht.[244]

The *Akal Takht* stands here for the Supreme Council which represents the Khalsa.

Conclusions

It is evident that the Sikh rupees of year 2 and 3 are not coins struck by Banda Bahadur, but early Nanakshahis of Amritsar struck according to the *gurumata* of 1765. They are not dated in the Banda era, but in an ephemeral "Era of the Sikh Sovereignty" which probably began in the spring of 1765. The rupee of year 2 would then have been minted in 1766/67 and may not be the very first Amritsar Nanakshahi: there could exist rupees of year 1 (*ahd*). The coins show that the Supreme Council experimented with the legends, which only reached their definitive form on rupees struck in VS 1832 (AD 1775). There may have been a lapse of several years in the minting of Nanakshahis at Amritsar, but it appears quite possible that, some day, Amritsar Nanakshahis dated in years from 4 to 10 may be found and published.

It is still possible, though quite improbable, that Banda struck a few coins, but, if he did, they have not yet been found.

[241]Hans Herrli: *The Coins of the Sikhs*, New Dehli 2004, p.46.

[242]All the *misls* had their representatives at the *Akal Takht*.

[243]The Panjabi suffix *–jiyo;* in Hindi it is *ji,* does not occur on all the Amritsar rupees.

[244]This reverse legend is derived from a very common Mughal reverse. *Maimanat* and *bakht* are 2 words meaning *prosperous* or *fortunate. Maimanat julus bakht Akal Takht* represents the arrangement of the words on the coins; other arrangements of these words are possible without changing the meaning of the sentence.

A NAZARANA MOHUR OF KARAULI

By Jan Lingen



The NY Sale XXIII, January 6, 2010, had some exceptional Indian gold coins for sale, among it a gold nazarana mohur of Karauli, lot #365, struck during the reign of Manak Pal (AH 1186-1219/AD 1772-1804). It is in the name of Shah 'Alam II, dated AH 1199/Ry.26 (1784/85), with the pseudo mint-name Sawai Jaipur. Weight 10.75 g.

The earliest coinage of Karauli State follows the type of coinage of Jaipur, but it can be distinguished by its peculiar fabric and calligraphy, which makes the coins easy to recognise.

In 1785 the Maharajkumari married the Rao Raja Bishen Singh of Bundi (Maharaja of Bundi from 1804-1821) and it is likely that, for this occasion, a traditional gift of gold coins was given to the newly-wed couple. As no other commemorative or festive happening took place during this period, it must have been specially prepared for the auspicious occasion of the wedding. Such traditions still coninue on a large scale in India, where relatives give money (often a gold coin) to the newly-wed couple.

Except for the medallic 1 and ½ mohur (Friedberg 1254, 1255, of which the authenticy is challenged) and a mohur in the name of Queen Victoria (KM 57), no other gold coins have been reported of Karauli. This nazarana mohur in the name of Shah 'Alam II is the first to have surfaced of this type. The nazarana mohur is identical in all aspects with the rupees of that period, which indicates that they were struck with the same dies used for the regular silver currency.

In all, three die-identical pieces have appeared on the market, which are all ex-mount. This also indicates that they were not struck for currency, but for an auspicious occasion, and as the coins would have been regarded as something extraordinary, were remade into jewellery.



Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī
A rupee of Aḥmadshāhī
AH 1171 year 11

MORE SINDHIA COPPER COINS OF BHILSA MINT

By Barry Tabor

In two papers published in 1999 and 2000, Dr Shailendra Bhandare introduced two series of uniface copper coins of the Bhilsa mint in the Indian princely state of Gwalior. They were struck under Daulat Rao Sindhia and probably also Jankoji Rao, during Baija Bai's regency.

It would be pointless to restate the evidence presented in SB's[1] two papers in detail here, as interested readers can easily refer to the papers themselves[2,3]. The purpose of this note is simply to add a small number of coins to those already published. They are introduced here under the same Series headings as SB used in his papers, and the numbers allocated in this study follow on directly from those allocated by SB in 1999 and 2000, with his kind permission.

Briefly, the main facts concerning the two series introduced and described in those papers can be summarised thus:

***Series 1*[2]:** The coins of Series 1 are uniface copper double paisas that weigh between about 13.2 and 17.4 grams. They 'bear a uniface appearance', in that the stamps or dies used, rather like countermark stamps, are of comparatively simple design, and are significantly smaller than the flans. The blanks employed for these coins are often reused, much worn coins of a number of earlier and contemporary series. This probably goes a long way towards explaining the wide range of weights found. The language of the legends is Persian.

***Series 2*[3]:** The coins of Series 2 are bifacial copper double paisas, which weigh from about 16.0 to 18.7 grams. Production of this series appears to have started soon after that of the first series ceased. The coins are of a more normal appearance, in that the dies are much larger, and it is no longer so usual to find the whole design on one coin. However, specimens of this series do vary a great deal in diameter - coins of SB.2 6, for example, are recorded with diameters varying from 17 mm to 30 mm. Again, the flans often appear to be reused coins of other series, mostly much worn. The language is Nagari, displaying the Sindhia state's complete independence from the Mughal authorities and their mores.

The higher average weight of the Series 2 coins begs the question whether they might have been intended as takkas. However, it is more likely that the reuse of existing coins as blanks again explains the range found, because the weights of the coins produced would necessarily be largely dependent upon what old coins were available in the mint at the time. On balance, this explanation appears more tenable than an assumption of a change of metrology or weight standards at the Bhilsa mint.

No lower denominations of either series are known.

A New Series

To these two series, we can now add a third - distinct, but probably short-lived. Like those of Series 1, the new coins are uniface, but the few known examples have a more 'normal' appearance, having been struck using significantly larger (ca 18-19 mm diameter), more complex dies on broader (ca 25 mm diameter) flans. The whole die is visible on the few specimens seen. The design is very similar to that found on the obverse face common to all coins of Series 2, but without the legends. This suggests that the 'Series 2' obverse design was developed from it, and this, along with their uniface fabric, strongly indicates that these new coins constitute an intermediate series. The vestige of what may or may not be regnal year 22 or 23 is visible on one of them, but because known specimens are in quite poor condition, the figures, if that is what they are, have not been reliably read. The weights of known specimens are between about 14.5 and 15.3 grams. Again, the only denomination known is the double paisa. In conformity with SB's above-mentioned articles, we may refer to these coins as **'*Series 1a*.'**

Additions to the catalogue of the Sindhia copper coins of the Bhilsa mint

All coins illustrated are in private collections in India and the UK, and are published with their owners' kind permission. They know they have my appreciation, but do not wish to be identified.

Catalogue numbers used here are a continuation of those in SB's papers, with the prefix 'SB' standing, of course, for Dr Shailendra Bhandare.

Series 1

The first additions to the catalogue (Fig. 1) are two variants of SB.1.1[2]. The die stamp used on that coin was octagonal, but these new varieties both use square stamps. SB.1.1a has no border, but SB.1.1b has an unbroken line as a border.

All three are dated AH 1236 (AD 1820/21). The designs introduced here both have a bud, seed capsule or similar plant part, of an entirely different design from the leaf on SB.1.1.



Fig.1. SB.1.1a (Weight: 13.3 g Diameter of coin: c.25 mm) and SB.1.1b (Weight: 13.5 g Diameter of coin c.19 mm)

The next coin (Fig. 2) is exactly similar to SB.1.2, with a design consisting of a hexafoil flower head above the mint name 'Bhilsa'. It has a date at the top, which plainly reads 1236 in both illustrated examples, although the date is not very clear in the photographs, especially the first, for which I apologise. In SB's first article, he noted a similarly placed date reading 1236, but he attributed it to a previously applied stamp that had been overstruck by stamp SB.1.2.



Fig. 2. SB.1.2a or 1.2. Two specimens not to same scale. (Weight:13.6 and 13.4 g. Diameter of coin: c.25 and 18 mm)

In all other respects, the stamp pictured by SB and the two shown above are identical, and it appears likely that the same date is present on all stamps of this design, but apparently, it is not always obvious that it forms an integral part of this stamp. If this is so, all three coins are examples of SB.1.2, and there is no SB.1.2a. However, the original published description requires amendment, to include the date. No other date has been seen so far on coins of this type.

SB.1.20 (Fig.3) is a new variety of teardrop-shaped stamp. The design consists of patterns, symbols, and some Nagari characters that have unfortunately remained incompletely decipherable on this worn specimen. It is similar to SB1.16 and drawing No.12. in SB's 1999 paper.



Fig. 3. SB.1.20. (Weight: 12.5 g. Diameter of coin: c.18 mm)

SB.1.21 (Fig. 4) is another teardrop-shaped stamp. *'Bhilsa Sanah'* can be read at the bottom and, above, there is a triangular device, probably representing an umbrella, similar to the mark on stamp SB.1.6. The handle of the umbrella is the elongated 'L' of Bhilsa.



Fig. 4. SB.1.21.(Weight: 16.0 g. Diameter of coin: c.18 mm)

The stamp used on SB.1.22 (Fig. 5) consists of the Devanagari word '*Shri*' inside a square border. There is no date or mint name to assist in its attribution.

In truth, this simple, anonymous stamp might not belong to the Bhilsa series at all. However, as the coin was reportedly found in a batch of Bhilsa coins, among which it did not and does not look out of place, and since the '*Shri*' mark is commonly found on Sindhia and other Maratha coins, it has been included here, but with some hesitation. The curved strokes in the bottom left-hand corner may simply be decorative.



Fig. 5. SB.1.22 (Weight: 13.5 g Diameter of coin c.18 mm)

Type SB.1.23 (Fig. 6) has the mint indicator and name, *'Zarb Bhilsa'* at the top of a square-bordered area. In the bottom, right-hand corner is a small curved dagger. This latter mark is also a typical Sindhia symbol (on Gwalior Fort and Ujjain coins, for instance). However, many different weapons were used as symbols on the coins of many polities, so this mark on its own could not be construed as diagnostic of Bhilsa.

Most Series 1 coins have the design on a stamp of the same shape as, and only marginally larger then the design. SB.1.23, however, was struck using a round stamp, having the design itself within a square border, like SB.1.



Fig. 6. SB.1.23 (Weight:11.8 g., Diameter of coin: c.18 mm)

SB.1.24 (Fig.7) has a triangular flag or pennant as its main device, around which the mint name '*Alamgirpur*' is crudely executed in three parts. Starting at the top and going round the flag anti-clockwise, it can be restored as *Alam / gir / pur.*



Fig. 7. SB.1.24, with an arrow crossing the flagstaff. (Weight: 16.3 g. Diameter 19 mm).

Referring again to SB's first paper, we see that this is the way *'Alamgirpur'* was engraved on stamp SB 1.6. The bottom of the flagstaff on SB.1.24 intersects with an arrow or spear. Flags (often *jaripatkas*), spears and arrows are also common Sindhia (and Bhonsle) symbols.

The design is engraved within a circular border. There is no date.

Multiple stamps on Series 1 coins, and dates of issue

On Series 1 coins, it is common to find a second stamp applied over the first, as seen on SB.1.1a and SB.1.1b above, and more clearly on the coin illustrated in Fig. 8 below, where stamp SB.1.8 has been struck over SB 1.4.



Fig. 8. SB 1.8 struck over SB.1.4 without obliterating it. (Weight: 15.1 g. Diameter of coin: c.20 mm)

Sometimes a second stamp is found applied on the other side of the coin, as has been done to the coin in Fig. 9. In most cases, it is possible to determine which stamp was struck first, so both kinds of double-struck coins must prove helpful in determining the order in which the stamps, most of which are undated, were introduced.

In his paper, SB illustrated a Bhilsa stamp struck onto a recognisable Bhopal coin. Most Bhopal coins bear some form of date, and so this kind of overstrike will also be helpful for dating purposes.



Fig. 9. Unidentified series 1 stamps have been applied to either side of this coin. (Weight: 15.0 g. Diameter of coin: c.19 mm)

Series 1a

The two coins illustrated in Fig 10 are the only ones included in this report that are not from a previously published series. They are uniface copper double paisas, measuring about 25 mm in maximum diameter, and weighing about 14.4 and 15.3 grams, respectively. The similarity of the designs on these coins to those of the obverse dies of Series 2 coins is self-evident.

Additionally, the fact that they are uniface coins connects them with Series 1 coins. I have chosen to designate them as ***Series 1a***. They bear no mint name or ruler's name, but I am confident in attributing them to Bhilsa mint under the Sindhia state, struck during the reign of Muhammad Akbar II, and in suggesting that they represent a chronological and stylistic link between Series 1 and 2.



Fig. 10. SB.1a.1 (left) and SB.1a.2: these uniface coppers bear a spearhead and bud motif, very similar to that on coins of Series 2, but without the legends. (Weights: 14.3g, 15.4 g, Diameters: c.25 mm)

The second coin is somewhat more ornate than the first, displaying more complex floral and other marks in the field, like those found on Series 2 coins, suggesting that it may well be the later strike of these two. The main devices, as already noted, are identical to the spearhead and bud that appear on the obverse faces of all Series 2 coins, but these two coins do not have legends. The spearhead is a common Sindhia symbol on coins of this vintage, including some from Bhilsa and Lashkar, and similar marks are found on specie from elsewhere, including nearby Bhopal.

Barely visible characters that may represent regnal years or dates appear to the right of the spear shafts, but it will require the examination of specimens in better condition, before the date range, if any, can be determined.

Series 2

SB.2.8 (Fig. 11) is very similar to previously published specimens of this series, and bears a downwards pointing broadsword as the main device on its reverse face.

The ornate border and elegant floral sprays in the right and left fields are very similar to those seen on previously published varieties. There is an AH date, written in Devanagari numerals, that probably reads 124x, to the right of the base of the spear head, where dates from 1242 to 1244 have been found on previously published Series 2 coins.



Fig. 11. SB.2.8, with a broadsword motif (Weight: 16.6 g. Diameter of coin: 24 mm)

The legend on this specimen is badly worn in places, but where it can be read, it appears to be similar to those on the previously published coins of this Series.

Postscript: An illustration of a corrected reading

This stamp (Fig.12) is another specimen of the previously published SB.1.19[2]. In this example, the bottom line of the inscription has not been squeezed into a space that is too small for it, and is clearly legible.



Fig. 12. SB.1.19 with a clear bottom line of the legend. (Weight: 15.1 g. Diameter: c.21 mm)

SB himself, after its original publication, later corrected his own reading of the legend in a postscript to his article about a Bangalore rupee[4]. However, his coin with the fully readable legend was not illustrated, and some readers may be interested to see the lower part properly inscribed. The full legend, as confirmed by SB is, *Shri /.Jo: Sa / Ru.Pa*, and not as provisionally restored in his 1999 paper, *Shri/ Zarb Sironj*.

The legend *Sri Jo:-sa-ru-pa* is a reference to the patron deity of the Sindhia clan, *Sri Jotiswaroopa* (otherwise written *Jotiba)*.

The edge of the illustrated specimen is unusually squared, smooth and even, as if it had been carefully filed, but not recently. It is conceivable that the worn-out coin used as a blank was considered too heavy, requiring it to be worked down to a lighter weight before or after receiving the stamp.

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1. SB = Shailendra Bhandere
2. Bhandare, S. 'Copper Issues from Bhilsa Mint I.' *ONS* 160, p. 24. (Summer, 1999)
3. Bhandare, S. 'Copper Issues from Bhilsa Mint II.' *ONS* 163, p. 22. (Spring 2000).
4. Bhandare, S. 'A New Mint for the East India Company.' *ONS* 164 p.28 (Summer 2000)

TWO MORE UNIFACE COPPER COINS OF BHOPAL

By Barry Tabor

During the 19th century, several rulers of Bhopal state produced anonymous, 'austerity,' mainly uniface double paisas weighing between about 13.5 and 18.0 grams. These are listed in the Krause catalogues under the numbers C. 20 and C.21. The unusually large weight-range is at least partly explained by the fact that many of them were struck on blanks consisting of worn-out coins of the erstwhile Bahmani sultanate, and on coins from other nearby states.

Published below are two new varieties of the C.21 type. They are similar to each other, and to Krause's KM.C.21b. They bear regnal years 26 and 27, presumed to be those of Muhammad Akbar II, which would date them to about AH 1246 to 1248, or between AD 1830 and 1832. They are therefore contemporaneous with the crudely struck Bhilsa / 'Alamgirpur coins described in Shailendra Bhandare's papers of 1999 and 2000[1,2] and, like them, these are coins of the 'deep monetisation' associated with the opium trade in Malwa and central India.

On the first, (Fig. 1) the *chauri* (fly whisk) is accompanied by a *katar* ('punch dagger'). The round stamp has a border consisting of four-pointed stars, interrupted by the regnal year and parts of the motif. The regnal year is 26.



Fig. 1. Bhopal uniface copper coin, similar to KM C 21b, but with starred border, flywhisk and katar. RY 26 (Weights of two specimens: 13.9 and 15.0 g. Diameter: 18 mm.)

The second (Fig. 2) bears the main symbols of a scimitar and fly whisk, like KM.C.21b, but this specimen has a border consisting of an unbroken circle with stars or palmate leaves (looking rather like barbed wire). The Regnal Year is 27.



Fig. 2. Bhopal uniface copper coin, similar to KM. C 21b, but with starred border, flywhisk and scimitar. RY 27 (Weight: 15.5 g. Diameter: 18 mm.)

From the dates, these are anonymous coins of Kudsia Begam, who ruled Bhopal from AH 1235 to 1253/ AD1819 to 1837.

References

1. Bhandare, S. 'Copper Issues from Bhilsa Mint I.' *ONS* 160, p. 24. (Summer, 1999)
2. Bhandare, S. 'Copper Issues from Bhilsa Mint II.' *ONS* 163, p. 22. (Spring 2000).

THE FIRST GOLD COIN OF TIBET

by Nicholas Rhodes and Alexander B Lissanevitch

It is well known that, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, no coins were struck in Tibet, but Nepalese coins circulated widely in the urban areas[245]. Because of the ease of handling, these Nepalese coins became very popular among Tibetans, and became worth significantly more than their intrinsic bullion value. Indeed, on several occasions in the early eighteenth century, the Tibetan authorities, rather than strike silver coins of their own, sent bullion to Nepal and received Nepalese coins in exchange. The exchange was made on a weight for weight basis, but as the Nepalese coins were only between 50% and 67% fine, the Nepalese were able to make significant profit.

In about AD 1750, the situation changed when Prithvi Narayan, the king of Gorkha, started to besiege the Kathmandu Valley. He closed the passes, and stopped any trading between the Newar kingdoms of the Valley and the outside world, including Tibet. As a result, the supply of coins in Tibet stagnated, but the demand did not stop increasing. As a result, the Tibetan authorities, for the first time, started striking their own coins.

According to Chinese sources, the Tibetans struck coins for the first time in AD 1763/4, when the Demo Regent issued coins, and again in AD 1785[246] when the Dalai Lama issued coins, before a more regular coinage began in AD 1791. Until now, all the Tibetan coins attributed to this period were of silver, of varying degree of fineness[247], but after having heard rumours for several years, we are delighted to be able to report the existence of an example struck in gold.



Obv: Legend *Śrī Mangalam* (the exact transliteration is *śrī mam ga lam*) in four compartments arranged in a cross design[248].
Rev: Legend *dGa'-ldan phyod-las rnam-par rgyal-ba* (meaning "dGa'-ldan, completely victorious in all directions") in eight petals around a wheel design.

Diam. 28mm Wt. 6.53g A. Lissanevitsch collection.

The coin is illustrated above, and is struck with the same dies as one of the known varieties of silver tankas, but that is one of the rarest of all Tibetan silver coins. We have photographs of only six examples of those silver *'Sri Mangalam' tankas*. They are struck from two different obverse dies and four different reverse dies, so they must have been originally produced in significant numbers. The four different varieties are illustrated below, showing weights and locations of the six confirmed examples. The authors have also heard of two other specimens, both in private collections in Nepal, but we believe that they are probably struck with the same dies as coin no.3 below.



1. Nepal (Private Collection) and China (Private Collection) 5.36 g.[249]



2. N G.Rhodes 5.27g & A.Lissanevitch (ex Gabrisch) 5.36g.



3. N.G.Rhodes (ex Gabrisch) 5.38g.



4. British Museum (ex C.Valdettaro) 5.33g.

The reverse legend on the coins refers to the *dGa'-ldan* palace, the official traditional residence of the Dalai Lamas, located in the Drepung monastery near Lhasa; so this is almost certainly the type of coin struck by the 8th Dalai Lama in the 29th year of the reign of the emperor Qian Long, equivalent to AD 1785. The obverse legend, *Śrī Mangalam*, means 'auspicious', 'lucky' or 'fortunate' in Sanskrit, and may have a similar significance to the Eight Lucky Signs (Asta Mangalam in Sanskrit) which appear on so many later Tibetan coins[250]. One reason for the rarity of these early tangkas may be the high silver content[251], which resulted in most specimens being melted, rather than circulating alongside the debased Nepalese coins that were current at the time. Coin no.4

[245] C.f. Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdettaro, *The Coinage of Nepal*, London: Royal Numismatic Society, 1989

[246] C.f. the report of General E-Hui, in the *Qing Ding Guo Er Ka Ji Lue*, Chapter XIII, reprinted Lhasa 1986, with introduction by Wu Fengpei.

[247] Rhodes, N.G., 'The First Coins Struck in Tibet', *The Tibet Journal*, Dharamsala, Vol.XV, no.4, Winter 1990, pp.115-34.

[248] Thisdesign isderived from the silver tanka of Mahipatendra Malla, King of Kathmandu, who ruled c AD 1669. C.f. Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdettaro, *op.cit.* 1989, Plate 15, no.266.

[249] C.f. Yin Zheng Min, *Zhong guo xi zang qian bi tu lu* (Illustrated Catalogue of the Money of China's Tibet), (Lhasa: Xizang Renmin Chubanshe (Tibet People's Publishing House) 2004, coin no.257.

[250] One of the seals used by the Panchen Lama has the word *Mangalam* written in the Lantsa script, so often used in Tibet for writing such Sanskrit mantras. On the coins the legend is in the *dbu can* script and has the honorific *śri*. On both the coin and the seal the consonant "m" which closes the first and the third syllable of this word are written with the "*anusvāra*", the nasal diacritical mark. However, the mere fact that both seal and coin are using the word *Mangalam* does not, in our opinion, suggest that the coin was issued under the authority of the Panchen Lama. Cf. Dawson, Derrick: *Some Tibetan Seals Illustrated and Described.* Published by Geoffrey Flack, n.p., 1997, p. 28, seal no. 26.

[251] The silver content of the two specimens analysed by the author in 1990 was 95% and 99%, whereas coins of other types were significantly more debased. Cf Rhodes, N.G., op. cit. (1990), p. 130.

has the word 'rnam' on the reverse, written with the nasal diacritical *anusvāra* rather than the letter '*ma*', a very unusual form when writing a Tibetan word, rather than a word derived from Sanskrit. This error in calligraphy may have resulted in this die being rejected and destroyed before it wore out through natural use.

While it is surprising to find an example struck in gold, it is not totally unexpected, as gold is available in Tibet, and versions of silver coins struck in gold are known in Nepal from the mid-eighteenth century[252]. Such gold coins may have been struck for presentation purposes, rather than primarily for circulation, although we cannot rule out the possibility that they may have been intended as high denomination coins. What is particularly interesting about this earliest Tibetan gold coin is that it weighs 6.53g, compared with the silver coins, which all weigh about 5.3g. No other coin of Tibet was struck to this standard, and it is not a well-known weight standard of the region. However, this is the weight referred to by a few authors as a Tibetan Miscal, which is variously stated to be 50% more than the normal Miscal[253], or one and a sixth 'Mahendra-malli'[254]. In fact, as can be seen from the weights of the actual coins, the ratio is not exactly 7/6. However, we must consider that in Tibet, since most silver bullion was imported from China in the form of silver ingots, the most common weight standard for silver was the Chinese Treasury Ounce, or *Kuping Tael*, called a *Srang* in Tibet, which was theoretically equal to 6⅔ 'Mahendra-malli'. Hence, using the theoretical 'Mahendra-malli' as the base, and taking the *Kuping Tael* to be approximately 37.3g, the Tibetan gold Miscal should weigh 6.53g, the exact weight of this gold coin. If this explains the weight of the coin, it is interesting that the theoretical standard was not reduced slightly to cover the cost of striking, as was done for the silver coins. The average weight of the known silver coins is almost exactly 95% of the weight of the theoretical 'Mahendra-malli', which should be 5.6g. Whether the gold coin was debased to cover the minting costs is not yet known, as we have not had the gold content analysed. Two examples of the silver coins have been analysed as 95% and 98% fine so, in the case of the silver coins, less attempt was made to cover mintage costs through debasement than through weight reduction, as the reduced fineness is probably more to do with impurities and imperfect refining techniques than to intentional debasement.

While almost all coins struck in Tibet for the next century were of silver, one more eighteenth century gold coin has been reported. A gold striking of the Sino-Tibetan coin struck in the 58th year of the Qian Long Emperor has been found in Lhasa, and is apparently in the collection of the Norbu Lingka palace[255], but we have not been able to secure a good photograph of this piece or to take its weight.

Our thanks to Wolfgang Bertsch for some valuable suggestions in the preparation of this article.

[252] For example the gold mohar of Jaya Prakash Malla of Kathmandu dated 873 NS (AD 1753), c.f. Rhodes, Gabrisch and Valdettaro, *op. cit* 1990, no.352, p.96-7. This coin, however, is of the normal mohar weight of 5.4-5.6g.

[253] *A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia Being the Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar, Dughlat*. Ed. N. Elias; tr. E. Denison Ross. (London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Co., 1898), p.412, referring to the sixteenth century. The Miscal (more correctly Mithqal) is an Arabic weight standard used for weighing gold, and is normally stated as weighing 4.25g. On this basis the Tibetan Miscal (or Mithqal) would be 6.37g., very close to the weight of this coin.

[254] From a memorandum among George Bogle's papers dating from c AD 1775, c.f. C.Markham, *The Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa*, (London: Trübner & Co., 1879), p.129.

[255] This gold coin is illustrated as no. 3-19 in Xiao Huaiyuan, *Xizang Difang Huobishi*, Beijing, 1987.

SICHUAN RUPEES WITH EMPEROR'S PORTRAIT FACING RIGHT

by Wolfgang Bertsch

Sichuan rupees were struck in huge numbers by Chinese authorities in Chengdu and Kangding between 1902 and 1942 (Gabrisch, 1990, p. 34). Minted for circulation in Tibet, they were struck in imitation of British Indian rupees with the portrait of Queen Victoria. On the obverse, Victoria's portrait facing left was replaced by that what is considered a portrait of Emperor Guang Xu or that of a Chinese mandarin. The Chinese portrait also faces left.

Some Sichuan rupees have surfaced which show the Emperor's portrait facing right instead of facing left. The earliest record of this coin, of which I am aware, can be found in a Chinese book edited by Dong Wenchao (1993, p. 782, no. 1325). In this work, the coin is correctly illustrated in the chapter entitled "Silver Fabrications". In a Taiwanese catalogue (Jang Huey-shinn, 1994, p. 160) it is illustrated with the comment "has yet to be verified", i.e. as a dubious coin. In 1998 Ma Fei Hai (vol. 8, 1998, p. 527, coin no. 2521) also illustrated this coin without further comments and with its rarity indicated by three stars (in a rarity scale which ranges between no star to four stars) from which one can conclude that the compilers of this work consider the coin genuine. Edward Kann (1966) does not mention this coin, which he certainly would have done had examples been available when he wrote his "Illustrated Catalog of Chinese Coins".

Therefore, we can assume that the Sichuan rupees with the emperor's portrait facing right are fantasies which started to be produced after Kann had published his catalogue, possibly as late as the 1980s.

Modern, somewhat cruder examples of this coin have appeared in considerable numbers in a metal which pretends to be silver, even in as remote a town as Kashgar, where I purchased one of them in 1999 (Fig. 1). Last year (2009) I saw some examples of the same workmanship in a German flea market. These coins are probably inspired by the just mentioned Chinese publications and may be considered forgeries of an "original" fantasy.

Recently, one example in copper appeared in a German auction and was described as a trial strike in copper ("Kupferprobe") (Fig. 2). Otherwise, it is of the same workmanship as the coin illustrated as Fig. 1.



Fig. 1
Forgery of a fantasy of a Sichuan rupee. Weight: 12.53 g; 32.4 mm. Reeded edge. Purchased in Kashgar (Xinjiang Province) in 1999.



Fig. 2

Similar Forgery of a Fantasy in copper. Hirsch auction no. 264, 24/25. November 2009, lot 2263. Described as "Kupferprobe" (trial strike in copper). Sold for 260Euros.

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AN INTERESTING COPPER COIN OF AKBAR OF SRINAGAR MINT

By Nicholas Rhodes

Some years ago, I published a number of copper dams of Akbar, with dates ranging from year 37, month of Azar to year 42, month of Khurdad[256]. The coin illustrated here is of a similar weight, is of a later date, Year 46, but has the denomination "*nīm tanka*" clearly written at the beginning of the obverse legend.



Half Tanka of Srinagar Mint

The new coin can be described as follows:

Obv: *nīm tanka akbar shāhī, zarb srīnagar.*
Rev: *46 ilahī, amardād.*
Diam: c.20 mm. Wt. c.20 g

The legend on this coin is similar to that on Liddle types C-36 to C-38, which describe such coins from several mints, not including Srinagar[257]. Those types, however, have the obverse legend differently arranged with the word "*nīm*" (half) either missing, or at the end of the lower line of the legend. Liddle mentions on p.58 that the tanka was a double-dam, weighing c.40 g, so all the coins weighing c.20 g and with the denomination "*tanka*" should have the word "*nīm*" added, but this does not seem always to have been the case. Some coins of Srinagar mint, dated years 38-42, have the denomination "*nīm dām*" on a coin weighing c.10 g, so it seems that the denomination name of the copper coins in Kashmir was changed from dam to tanka, sometime between year 42 and year 46. Whether this change took place uniformly over the whole of Akbar's empire at the same time, seems possible, with the centralised control that Akbar was able to exercise, and most such copper coins seem to be dated to Ilahi year 44 or later. Liddle mentions coins with the denomination "*tanka*" dating back to year 36 from the mints of Hissar and Lahore, but this seems unlikely, and looking briefly through such publications as Whitehead's catalogue of the Punjab Museum, Lahore, no such early dates for copper *tankas* are reliably listed.

Previously, I had only noted copper coins in Kashmir up to Ilahi year 42, while the striking of silver rupees commenced in Srinagar mint in year 44. So it appeared that copper and silver coins were never struck at the same time. In fact, the discovery of this piece does not break this rule, as, although silver rupees are known for years 44, 45 and 47-50, only a few silver coins are known to me for the Srinagar mint in year 46, and of the month of Amardad.

Further research needs to be undertaken as to the background behind the introduction of the tanka copper denomination, which was presumably after the writing of the 'Ain-i-Akbari (c. Ilahi years 40-42), as only the *dam* and its subdivisions are mentioned in that book. I feel that the dates given in Liddle's book cannot be accepted in every case, so direct evidence from well-struck coins will be necessary.

My thanks to Stan Goron for bringing this coin to my attention.

AN ARAB-BYZANTINE STANDING IMPERIAL FIGURE COIN FROM JUND AL-URDUN INSCRIBED WITH THE WORD "FILS"

By Tareq Ramadan

While it is true that the study of Arab-Byzantine coins has intensified over the past few years, numismatists have had some difficulty in keeping up with the seemingly great influx of many new and unpublished types that have been surfacing as of late. The works of prolific numismatists and authors such as Tony Goodwin, Shraga Qedar, Nayef Goussouss, and Clive Foss have presented us with a plethora of Arab-Byzantine specimens and varieties which will prove increasingly instrumental in helping to provide us with a more holistic understanding of the rather puzzling coins of the early Arab Muslims.

As such, this short piece will provide an example along with some notes on one of these 'seemingly new and unpublished types' referred to above. A few years ago I purchased a small lot of some forty, uncleaned, Pseudo-Byzantine and Arab-Byzantine copper coins that came from an area in northern Jordan near *Fihl* (Pella), an area that would have historically coincided with *Jund Al-Urdun* (The Military District of Jordan).[258] The group mainly consisted of unimpressive Pseudo-Byzantine types, but also contained a few nicely preserved Standing Caliph types of Damascus, and what also appears to be an unpublished 'Imperial Figure' Arab-Byzantine specimen.

This somewhat unusual coin shares with its Arab-Byzantine "Imperial Image "counterparts, all of the most basic stylistic features, but unlike most Umayyad Imperial Image types, it lacks a mint name (just as the "*Al-Wafa Lillah*" and "*Pseudo-Damascus*" types do).[259] While there is nothing truly radical or exceptional about the iconography, epigraphy, or style of this particular coin, it does appear to be very unusual because of the lone Arabic inscription it carries. Moreover, the specimen's obverse depicts a normal standing imperial figure quite similar to the one found on the "*Al-Wafa Lillah*" types and is holding a long

[256] *JNSI* Vol.XLVII (1985), pp.52-57.

[257] Andrew Liddle, *Coinage of Akbar*, Gurgaon, 2005, pp.66-67. Unfortunately, the illustrations of the copper coins in this book are not clear enough to enable readings to be confirmed.

[258] See maps on pgs. 158-159 (*junds and mints section*) in *Arab-Byzantine Coins: An Introduction, with a Catalogue of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection* by Clive Foss (Harvard University Press, 2008).

[259] See Foss, pp 35 and 47-48

cross in one hand, a cross on his headgear, and, I assume, another, shorter cross in the other hand (though it is not entirely visible).[260]



Image of Standing Imperial figure "fils" coin with close-up of the word "fils" in the exergue

Again, there is nothing particularly interesting about the obverse, but it is on the reverse side that we discover something slightly more intriguing. On the reverse, we find the rather standard miniscule "m" and a small, faint "H" to the left. Additionally, in the exergue, under the "m", is an Arabic word that clearly reads *"fils"* (فلس) which refers to the smallest of Arab-Byzantine monetary denominations. The coin is a copper issue and measures 18mm, weighs 3.5 grams and is quite similar in size and weight to many of the *"Al-Wafa Lillah"* and *"Fals/Al-Haqq/Bi-Beesan"* types; both of which are often regarded as products of *Jund Al-Urdun*.[261] Like the *Al-Wafah Lillah* coins, this *'fils'* appears to be a Greek-Arabic bilingual issue as well, and I speculate that it may have been an early issue based on the simplicity of the legend, its size and weight, and it's lack of a mint-name or any Islamic religious formulae like those employed on many of the other, later issues. Clive Foss, whose most recent book on Arab-Byzantine coins has been of utmost importance and usefulness suggests that the *Al-Wafa Lillah* coins were probably minted between 647 and 658 (during *Muawiya Ibn Abu Sufyan's* governorship of Syria).[262] Based on the stylistic similarities between these two types, as well as this particular coin's find-spot and the usual find-spots for the *Al-Wafa Lillah* types, then it is possible that the *fils* being described in this work dates from the same general period or even slightly earlier. However, it is difficult to say whether or not it is an official Umayyad issue, experimental, or an unofficial product of a local mint in Transjordan.

Additionally, though both the *Al-Wafa Lillah* types and Pseudo-Damascus types are mint-less, the latter types are generally well-engraved with highly stylised, imperial figures and do not contain Arabic inscriptions or a mint name, though they often resemble some official Umayyad issues of Damascus, except with blundered Greek legends.[263] Thus the coin shares none of the characteristics of the products of that mint. This coin does, however, share many characteristics with the *Al-Wafa Lillah* types since both issues contain Greek characters around the "m" and Arabic legends in the exergue, both depict a similar representation of a standing imperial figure holding crosses, and both seem to only employ the miniscule, cursive "m" on the reverse and seemingly share some physical attributes as well.

Nonetheless, after sifting through the various texts and images written and published by the authors mentioned earlier, I was still unable to locate an identical specimen in any of the existing literature or published collections. Also, to my knowledge, the only other instances when the term *"fils"* appears on Arab-Byzantine coins are on the small-module, three-figure *"Fils/Al-Haqq/Bi-Beesan"* ("Legal Currency of/in Baysan") types while the plural form of the word can be found on the reverse side of a rare Standing Caliph issue of *Yubna-Filastin* that reads *"Fulus-Yubna"* ("Currency of Yubna").[264]

Until other, similar, types surface, we are simply left with an anonymous, mint-less, Arab-Byzantine, 'Imperial Image' copper coin that probably circulated in *Jund Al-Urdun* in the mid-seventh century AD and which may be one of the earlier Arabic-inscribed issues to have been minted.



Sketch of the reverse side of the "fils" coin

AN UNUSUAL GOLD COIN OF JALĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD OF BENGAL

By Nicholas Rhodes & Uma Shanker Shaw



Obv: Ruler's titles, beginning with *jalāl*
Rev: *nāsir [al-islām] wa'l muslimīn khallada mulkahu*, probably in square
Diam: 25mm; Wt.9.35g

The gold coins of Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad of Bengal (AD 1418-32/3) are extremely rare, and very few varieties were published by Goron & Goenka in their book[265]. The above variety, which is unpublished, is somewhat crude in style, and is rather similar to the silver tanka listed as B335, which the authors state may have been struck in the mint of Mu'azzamabad, so we may postulate that this coin also was struck in eastern Bengal. One unfortunate feature is that the coin has been cut, reducing its weight significantly. While it is difficult to be precise about how much weight has been lost due to the cut, it seems likely that the weight loss should be around 15%. That would make the original weight of the coin around 11g or slightly heavier than the normal weight of the Bengal gold tanka at this period, which ranged from 10.3-10.9g. A few silver tankas of Jalāl al-Dīn are known of heavy weight, such as the lion tanka weighing 11.6g (B344), but we must await a full, uncut, specimen before we can be certain about the intended weight of this new gold coin.

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[260] Obverse figure similar to Cat. No. 32 in Foss, p 35.

[261] Ibid (for some additional notes on the *Al-Wafa Lillah* types). Also see Anthony Goodwin, p 90 in the *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean* (Volume 1: The Pre-reform Coinage of the Early Islamic Period, Oxford 2002) as well as pp 21-22 of Goodwin's more recent work *Arab-Byzantine Coinage: Studies in the Khalili Collection,* Volume IV. Goodwin suggests that the *Al-Wafa Lillah* types may be the products of a mint operating in Jund Al-Urdun because of the find-spots associated with these coins. This mint-less *"fils"* type is rather similar to these coins and may be the product of the same mint. The town of "Beesan", which probably minted the *"fils/al-haqq/bi-Beesan"* types was situated across the Jordan River in Jund Al-Urdun as well.

[262] Foss, pg. 35

[263] Foss, "Pseudo-Damascus", pgs. 47-48

[264] "Fals/Al-Haqq/Bi-Beesan" in Amitai-Preiss, Berman, and Qedar (1999), A19 and "Fulus-Yubna"

[265] *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 2001.

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