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FOREWORD

Coins have had an attraction for man ever since they were struck about 2700 years ago in this country. They served the purpose as a symbol and token of value and displaced the system of exchange of goods by barter. They tell the story of kings who ruled of yore over the different kingdoms and principalities that comprised our land. In a number of cases, they supplement information to be had from other sources and even tell us, for instance, something about as many as thirty Bactrian kings and queens who held sway over the Punjab for a century before the birth of Christ. They help in unveiling some of the pages of the history of our country.

Coins also tell us about the religious persuasions of certain rulers, e.g., those of the Kushanas bear the effigies of Greek, Iranian, Buddhist and Brahmanical gods and goddesses; the coins of the famous Gupta emperors, on the other hand, carry representations of goddesses like Durga, Ganga and Lakshmi. At the same time, they show the gradual evolution of the art of striking coins through the ages.

We have had coins made of gold, silver, billon, copper, nickel, lead and aluminium.

The story of coins indeed makes fascinating reading and coin-collection is one of the popular hobbies of young and old of today. They help make the history of the past come alive before the collector’s eye.

Coins have an appeal to both the historian and the aesthete. This book places them in their proper historical perspective and points at the same time to their intrinsic value as pieces of art.

Dr. P. L. Gupta has put his rich and varied knowledge and results of research of a number of years into this book, which, I am sure, will be found eminently readable by everyone who is interested in coins and the historical and cultural heritage of our country.

New Delhi
June 24, 1969

B. V. KESKAR
INTRODUCTION

Within a wide span of about 2,700 years of the historic period of India, many kingdoms rose and fell in different parts of the country. Some of them were big enough to attain the expanse of an empire, others were so small that they held small territories with an area of only a few miles. But all the States, with many ruling dynasties within them and many kings within the dynasty, issued their own coins. As such, a country which extends from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin and from the tip of Burma to the Arabian Sea possesses a big fortune of thousands and thousands of varieties of coins in various metals.

These coins in their own time served the purpose faithfully for which they were made. But beyond that, they still retain their value and importance. They provide an almost unparalleled series of historical documents. They conjure up before us the life and story of those who had issued them. They weave the texture of history into their being and do not simply illustrate it. They furnish us true information. In India we do not possess much literature of ancient days which may serve us as historical evidence in the modern sense. Such of it as we have does not reveal many facts about the rulers, their names, dynasties, their thought and actions. But we find these facts well illustrated in many instances on our coins. So coins have a great importance for us for a study of the history of our land.

For instance, we know exclusively from coins that nearly thirty Bactrian kings and queens ruled over the Punjab for about one hundred years during 200-100 B.C. The classical writers are almost ignorant about them. This remarkable historical episode, interesting alike to Greece and India, came to the knowledge of the world, after nearly two thousand years, only by the discovery of their coins in gold, silver and copper. The coinage of these Bactrian rulers was imitated later by the Scythian and Parthian invaders, who followed in their footsteps. Their coins are equally interesting, for they alone have enabled us to reconstruct the out-
line of their history and recover the names of quite a number of rulers. Coins have been the principal source of our information about the various tribal and city republics and monarchical states that flourished in India during the pre-Christian centuries and after.

Even for the history of those who are known from other sources, coins are equally important. The Puranic and epigraphical accounts of the Satavahanas of the Deccan are corroborated, corrected and supplemented only by their coins. We know much about Akbar and his eclecticism from contemporary chronicles; but we could have hardly known the fact that he had drifted towards the Bhakti cult of Vaishnavism, had we not his coins on which he had portrayed the figures of Rama and Sita. We hear much about the wrath of Aurangzeb against the English factors of Bombay from the historians; but it is only coins that disclose the root-cause of his displeasure.

In the realm of religious history, coins play an equally important role. The coins of the Kushanas, who ruled in North-western India during the first and second centuries A.D., bear the effigies of a number of Greek, Iranian, Buddhist and Brahmanical gods and goddesses. They reflect not only what popular deities were worshipped amongst the people they ruled but also throw light on the development of various pantheons and their iconographic forms. The representation of Buddha in human form is noticed for the first time on the coins of Kanishka, while in earlier representations he is shown symbolically. Likewise, Shiva in human form with four hands is seen early only on these coins. Further, they draw our attention to the fact that Vishnu and his associates are conspicuous by their absence from the coins of the Kushana rulers, while they have included Shaivite pantheons like Uma, Vishakha, Skanda and Mahasena—thereby suggesting that till then the Vaishnava deities had not gained any popularity, at least in their realm. On the coins of the Guptas, we find the figures of Durga, Ganga and Lakshmi. The various forms of Lakshmi on these coins represent the development of the iconographic form of that deity beginning from her original counterpart Ardoksho, known on the Kushana coins, to Lakshmi sitting on a lotus, holding a
lotus and scattering coins as Goddess of Wealth.

Mahmud Gazni and Muhammad Ghori, the early Muslim invaders of India, have been portrayed by the historians as the antagonists of Hinduism and as iconoclasts; but their coins tell a different story. Mahmud Gazni had placed the true translation of the Kalima in Sanskrit and in Nagari characters—the language and script of the infidels, the Kafirs, that is, the Hindus, Muhammad Ghori had stamped the figure of Lakshmi on his gold coins and put his name in Nagari characters. The coins show that they had much more understanding of the feelings of the people they had humbled and were much more liberal in their religious outlook than most of the Muslim rulers who came to the throne of Delhi after them. Aurangzeb’s catholicity is well reflected in his coins, which are devoid of the Kalima, which was the chief characteristic of Muslim coins from early times. He had forbidden the use of the Kalima on the coins as he feared that the pious words of the Holy Quran would be defiled by the touch of non-Muslims, through whose hands the coins would pass. He had also issued coins called Dirham Sharai, which had bearings on dowry and the punitive tax according to Muhammedan law. Likewise, much may be said about the importance of coins for economic history. That is only too obvious to need reiteration.

Apart from history, coins have also an aesthetic and artistic value. The dies from which coins were struck were the work of the artists of the day. So they reflect an idea about the workmanship of the artists and also the aesthetic tastes of the people of those times. The artistic excellence of the Indo-Bactrian coins needs no comment. The portraits of the kings and other figures on them reflect Hellenistic art at its best. Compared to them, the portrait-coins of the Satavahana kings are in no way inferior. They present before us a real picture of the kings. The Gupta gold coins have inherited Hellenistic realism in the same manner. The portrait-coins of Jehangir show the same fineness of cryptic art that we find in the brushes of the Mughal court painters. The calligraphy of his coins is an excellent example of the art of those days.

So Indian coins had an attraction both for the historians and
for men of aesthetic taste. The common people also did not lag behind in collecting coins for quite a long time. The collection of Indian coins as a scholarly pursuit and also as a hobby has found favour not only in this country but outside as well. But there being no book which could provide for collectors some background to their collection which could guide them on what they actually possessed and which could help them in evaluating its historic importance, collection of Indian coins could not be so popular as it deserved to be.

Keeping all these facts in view, an attempt has been made in this book to tell as far as possible the story of the coins of India. Nevertheless, I am conscious of the shortcomings of my venture. It has been all the while hovering in my mind that there is no literature on the subject which could be consulted by a common reader; so there was always a temptation before me to put together the maximum amount of information that was available with me. It was often difficult for me to decide what I should eschew. Yet, an endeavour has been made to cover only as many details as are necessary for a coin-collector to view his coins in their proper perspective and with a view to presenting a coherent picture of the historical background. But any attempt to cover as much ground as is possible in any book of this nature on any subject runs the risk of being dull and arid. That risk is there; yet I am sure that this book will interest even the general reader.

In conclusion, I am under great obligation to the Trustees of the British Museum, London, the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay and the authorities of the Patna Museum, Patna, who had offered me an opportunity to work on their numismatic material and to many other museums and institutions, private collectors and friends, who have provided me from time to time with photographs and casts of their coins for study. I have used them liberally for illustrating this book and I am grateful for the same. The index has been prepared by my daughter Jyotsna and her son Sunil, whose assistance I acknowledge with affection.

Patna,
June 10, 1969

PARMESHWARI LAL GUPTA
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CHAPTER I

BEGINNING OF COINS

The story of coins is interwoven with the history of mankind. To trace its story, one has to look back to the remote past, when man was confined to himself or his family. Then his needs were limited. His requirements of shelter, food and covering were met by Nature and by Mother Earth; and he had nothing to worry about. In course of time, families grouped themselves into tribes or communities, and developed their own patterns of life; and gradually the communities or tribes of a region came into close contact with those of the other region and their life took a new shape. Till then, people of each community or tribe had their monopolies over the products of their own region. Now with the growth of community or tribal contacts, they knew of the products of the other regions; naturally, they became interested in acquiring these products of others. At this stage the mutual exchange of things was introduced. One gave one’s own products in exchange for those of others, much in the same way as at school children exchange marbles for stamps.

When people settled in localities and the communities grew in size, the exchange of different products became a necessity; then the mutual exchange of things took the shape of trade and the system of barter was evolved. But the disadvantages of the barter system were soon realised; and hence a new method was evolved. A common commodity was fixed to serve as an intermediary in all transactions. In course of time, certain commodities got preference over others and a higher value was attached to them. They assumed the character of a medium of exchange and got a standard by which the value of other things was estimated. Thus emerged the notion of the unit of value, the first step towards the evolution of coinage.

In India, the Harappan people—the people who lived in the Indus valley with their extension towards the south in Gujarat and
towards the west in the Punjab and Delhi—perhaps used agricultural products as their media of exchange as late as the third millennium B.C. Our archaeologists believe that the huge granaries that have been found in the cities of Harappa and Mohen-jo-daro were replenished by a system of State tribute; and they fulfilled in the State economy the function of the modern State bank or treasury.

The pastoral Vedic people used their cows as the medium of their transactions. In a passage in the Rgveda, the price of an image of Indra, which was being offered for sale, is said to be ten cows. In another passage, a sage is said to have refused to sell his image of Indra even for a hundred or a thousand or even ten thousand cows. In a third passage, we are told that the Bharat army went out for war impelled by the desire to acquire cows. Again, we find that Indra sent his messenger to recover his stolen treasure; and his treasure was nothing else but cows. The Soma plant was in great demand amongst the Vedic Aryans; and it was usually exchanged for cows. Similarly, in the Aitareya Brahmana, wealth is frequently estimated in cows. It is mentioned there that a price of a hundred cows was paid to the father of Sunahsepa, when he was sold for being sacrificed by Harishchandra. Again, when no one came forward to perform the odious work of fastening the boy to the sacrificial post, the father offered himself and wanted the fee of a hundred cows; and he was even prepared to sacrifice his son for another hundred cows. Then we have many instances, referred to in later Vedic literature, where the dakshina (fee) to the ritvika (priest) was paid in cows.

That cows were the medium of exchange still later in the middle of the fifth century B.C. appears from the Ashtadhyayi of Panini. There we have mention of purchase by means of go-puchchha, which literally means cow-tail; it was a term for the cows then in transaction. It had perhaps originated from the fact that the cattle then changed hands by their tails. The remnants of this practice still survive in the Hindu rituals of go-dan (the presentation of a cow to the priest), where the cow is handed over to the priest by putting her tail into his hands.
The widespread use of cows shows that it well met the needs of the age. They were not quickly perishable and were more stable in value than agricultural products. They had a capacity for multiplication, for work and for the supply of milk. But at the same time, as a means of payment and a form in which purchasing power could be accumulated, the cows were troublesome also. They required care and some degree of skill in rearing. Then they could not be used for the purchase of small things, as they could not be divided without killing them and converting them into beef and by that act, they lost their value. So the medium of this kind was not suitable for all kinds of transactions as well as for the purpose of long-term savings. An alternate medium was necessary. The Vedic people found it in an ornament called *nishka*, which was probably some kind of necklace. In one of the passages in the *Rigveda*, Rudra is described as wearing a *nishka*, which is said to be *visvarupa* in form. What *visvarupa* precisely meant is difficult to surmise. However, it is assumed that the *nishka* had probably designs or variegated scrolls. Whatever it might be, it seems almost certain that it was a piece of art. We have an allusion where Ushas, disclosing the beautiful view of dawn, is described as fashioning a *nishka*, or wearing a garland. As such, *nishka* was the most prized amongst all the ornaments in Vedic society.

In a hymn of the *Rigveda*, Rishi Kakshivat has described how he obtained from the king Bhavya ten horses and ten *niskkas*. In the *Atharvaveda*, a poet has praised the generosity of his patron, who gave him a hundred *niskkas*, ten necklaces, three hundred horses and ten thousand cows. In the *Gopatha-Brahmana*, we find Uddalaka Aruni, a distinguished scholar of Kuru-Panchala country, moving throughout the country with a challenge for debate and an offer of a *nishka* attached to the banner to one who would vanquish him therein.\(^1\) Again, in the *Chhandogya Upanishad*, it is said that a

\(^1\) It may incidentally be mentioned here that even today this practice survives in Varanasi. During the month of Sravana (July-August), Kajali (a seasonal song) competitions are held there; and many parties participate in them. Each party owns a flag of its own; to which some money (now currency notes) are attached. It is handed over by the defeated party to the victorious one as a trophy.
king offered his daughter along with a thousand cows, a horse with a chariot, a village and a nishka to a sage as an inducement to accept certain esoteric doctrines. These references show that along with the cows, the ornament nishka was also the symbol of wealth in the Vedic period. It was frequently given by the kings as presents and gifts to their priests.

With the introduction of an ornament as a medium of transaction, some people would naturally have thought of the metal itself, which could give them any desired ornament instead of having always the same ornament in exchange. And then in India, gold, which could be had from the sands of many of the great rivers after a proper wash and which was found abundantly in the south, and which also came from Central Asia, Afghanistan and Tibet, was perhaps used for such transactions. It is stated in a passage in the Rigveda that the king Divodasa presented to his priest ten bags (of gold?), ten horses, ten garments and ten ingots of gold (hiranya-pinda).

But the introduction of metal as the medium of exchange brought with it the problem of its measure. The invention of balance, which supplied the requisite method of weighing the metal, brought with it the need for a standard of weight. And then people began to weigh the metal against seeds. Seeds which were fairly uniform in weight and size were selected and the unit of metal was defined in terms of these seeds. In a passage in the Taitariya Brahmana, it is stated that a krishnala was given to each of the participants in the chariot race at the time of the Rajasuya sacrifice as a reward for their services. This indicates that gold or some other metal was given to each participant, which weighed one krishnala. Krishnala is a seed, which is known in later literature as raktika or gunja and is known today as ratti. It is the same as Abrus precatorius. Yava (barley), tandula (rice) and masha (pulse) are the other seeds and grains that were used as units for weighing metals in this country. Karsha and kalanju are the other two big seeds that were used in weighing.

But a transaction with a metal needed scales every time; and this was quite a tedious job. To minimise the difficulties of wei-
ghing during transactions, the use of ingots of the desired weight and value was contemplated. A metallic piece, round in shape, called satamana (literally meaning a hundred units) is mentioned in the later Samhitas and the Brahmanas. Two such satamanas were attached to the two wheels of the royal chariot in the chariot race held in course of the Rajsuya sacrifice at the time of the coronation of the king. These satamanas were later given to the priest. Similarly, a reference to another metallic piece called pada (meaning one-fourth) is found in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad in the description of the Bahudakshina sacrifice performed by King Janaka of Videha. He had organised a philosophical congress and arranged a debate to find out the most outstanding scholar amongst those present in the court. For this he had offered the most tempting prize of a thousand cows, each having ten padas attached to their horns.

These and many other such passages in the Vedic literature unmistakably indicate the first two stages in the evolution of coins in the early period of Indian history between 1500 and 800 B.C. But the references are so scattered and intermingled that it is difficult to say precisely how and when the Indian people moved from one stage to the other in the course of the passage towards coinage.

Though it became a well-established custom to settle bargains by transfer of metal of a particular weight and shape, some inherent difficulties were still there. In spite of the definiteness of the weight of the ingots and sheets, there was no guarantee about the exactness of the weight and the quality of the metal. One had to satisfy oneself about this point. And so, the necessity of scales and touch-stone was still felt. To obviate these difficulties in India and in a few other countries, stamping the metallic pieces with the mark or device of a responsible authority was thought of as a sign of guarantee of accurate weight and the right quality of metal. Thus the coin was born.

The advantage of this innovation to the commercial community was immense. It rendered their business transactions most easy. One had just to give a piece of metal, thus stamped, and to take
whatever one wanted. So, it is believed that the initiative in developing coins was taken by the merchants themselves. But this is extremely doubtful. The value of the coin depended on the integrity and goodwill of the man authenticating the metallic pieces. And all merchants, their guilds and corporations wielded influence only within their own locality. And as such, any metallic pieces issued by them could not be widely circulated. If the traders and merchants had a hand in the origin of the coins, it would have been only in the formative period or the primitive stage of coinage. The issue of coins at the hands of traders and merchants is nowhere mentioned in literary sources in India; nor is it revealed from any extant specimens of coins. The fact is that it was only the States, whose authority was above all challenge or suspicion, that ultimately undertook the responsibility of minting coins. In course of time, it became their prerogative.

This stage of minting coins in India perhaps was not reached during the Vedic period. It is only in the Ashtadhyayi, a work on grammar by Panini, which is variously dated in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., that we have the earliest definite mention of stamped metallic pieces or coins. Here we find that nishka, which was merely an ornament in the Vedic period, now represented a definite value. The terms naishkikam, dvi-naishkikam, tri-naishkikam are used to denote the articles purchased for one, two and three nishkas, respectively. Similarly, naishka-satika and naishka-sahasrika expressed the wealth of a person. Instances of transactions in terms of satamana are also cited in the said work. Besides nishka, satamana and pada, a number of other coin-terms like vimsatika, trimsatika, sana and karshapana are also mentioned in the Ashtadhyayi. These indicate that by this time, coins had become quite common in India and they were used freely.

This means that by this time, India was in quite an advanced stage in the use of coinage. It may well be assumed that a considerable time had elapsed between this period and the first minting of the coins. It would not be wrong, therefore, to say that the coins in their final form had originated in India long before the time of Ashtadhyayi. Since there is nothing explicit about coins
CHAPTER III

COINS OF FOREIGN INVADEERS

A NEW PHASE in Indian history begins with Alexander the Great, when he entered India in the spring of 326 B.C. He crossed the Indus, marched to Taxila and then advanced to Hydespes (Jhelum), where he was strongly opposed by Puru (Porus). Having been wounded in the battle-field, Puru had to leave the field. He retreated and the victory went to Alexander. This victory is said to have been commemorated by a few silver decadrachms, which were perhaps issued by Seleucus at Babylonia. On these coins, a figure which is identified as Alexander, in the form of the Greek god Zeus, is shown on one side and on the other is depicted a scene—a horseman shown with a lance at rest, charging upon a retreating elephant, on the back of which are two men turning round to face their pursuer. If this motif really depicts the Puru-Alexander war, which is doubted by many, then these coins may be said to be the first foreign coinage associated with India.

But the true association of foreign coinage with India took place after Alexander’s death, when the far-flung territories that he had conquered were divided amongst the powerful officers of his army; and a Greek kingdom was established in Syria under Seleucus. The kingdom extended from the Euphrates to the Oxus and the Indus. During the reign of the Seleucid ruler Antiochus II, in about 250 B.C., Diodotus, the Satrap of Bactriana (Bactria), the country north of the Hindukush, took advantage of the disturbances which followed the death of Antiochus Theos and became independent. Diodotus was succeeded by his son of the same name, who was supplanted in turn by one Euthydemus. His son Demetrius extended his kingdom beyond Bactria into Afghanistan and the Punjab. But he was confronted with a rival, Eucretaides, who deprived him of his Bactrian dominion and extended his kingdom into Gandhara. Demetrius was succeeded in Afghanistan and the Punjab by Pantaleon and Agathocles.
Then their kingdom passed to Menander, Milinda of the Indian tradition, recorded in the Milinda-panha. He was perhaps married to Agathoclea, who is taken to be the sister of Agathocles or the daughter of Demetrius. Menander was the most powerful king amongst the Indo-Bactrians. He not only ruled over the kingdom that extended into Gandhara and the Punjab, but is also credited with having led an expedition deep into the Gangetic valley. He had perhaps appointed a few sub-kings to assist him in the administration of his kingdom. Polyxenus and Epander are particularly named amongst them. After the death of Eucratides and Menander, the history of the Indo-Bactrian rulers is confounded. It appears that more than one king ruled simultaneously in different parts of Gandhara and the Punjab. Besides the rulers named above, no less than twenty-two Indo-Bactrian rulers are known from their coins. They are: Amyntas, Antialkidas, Antimachus, Apollodotus, Apollophanes, Archebius, Artemidorus, Diomedes, Dionysius, Heliocles, Hermaeus, Hippostratus, Lysias, Nicias, Peucolaus, Plato, Philoxenus, Sophytes, Strato, Telephus, Theophilus and Zoilus. Surmises have been made that the coins bearing the names Antimachus, Apollodotus, Demetrius, Diodotus, Eucratides, Euthydemus, Heliocles, Strato and Zoilus were issued by two or more kings of the same name. But only in some cases might this be true.

Gold coins for the first time are heard of during this period. They were issued by Diodotus, Eucratides and Euthydemus; but they were confined to Bactria and were never issued in India. A few legendless gold coins are attributed to Menander on the basis of their types. If they were really issued by Menander, then they may be the earliest gold coins issued on the soil of India. These, and all the other rulers named before, issued their coins mostly in silver and copper. A few pieces of Pantaleon and Agathocles are known in nickel and they are the earliest coins in the world issued in this metal. Strato II had used lead for some of his coins. The rare gold stater and silver tetradrachm of Diodotus and Euthydemus were struck on Attic standards. These kings of Bactria steadily adhered to the monetary system of Athens, which had already
been adopted by Alexander and his immediate successors in Syria. The silver Indo-Bactrian coins are didrachms and hemidrachms. With the exception of certain square hemidrachms of Apollo-
dotus and Philoxenus, they are all round and struck to Persian
standard. Copper coins, square for the most part, are very nu-
merous, and are believed to have been issued on the standard of the
local copper coins of Taxila.

The Indo-Bactrian rulers issued coins by die-striking technique,
which was earlier unknown in India, and followed the Greek
pattern. They gave a new form to Indian coinage in more than
one way. Firstly, they placed portraits of the king on the obverse.
The diadem or helmeted head or bust is usual. Demetrius is
shown on some of the types of his coins wearing an elephant scalp;
and Antialkidas appears on some of his types wearing a flat cap,
called kausia. The heads of Alexander, Antiochus, Diodotus, Euthy-
demus and Demetrius are portrayed on the obverse of the coins
issued by Agathocles to commemorate them. Similarly, Eucratides
commemorated his parents—Heliocles and Leodice—by putting
their jugate busts on his coins. Two other jugate busts are known
in the series—one of Agathoclea with her son Strato I and the other
of Hermaeus and his wife Kalliope. The portraits on these coins
are realistic and boldly-drawn and show clearly what type of these
early foreign invaders of India were. But gradually debasement
in workmanship set in in their execution, as is apparent in the
coins of later rulers like Strato II and Hermaeus.

Secondly, they introduced the effigy of the Greek gods and god-
desses—Zeus, Artemis, Heracles, Poseidon, Apollo, Dioskouroi, Nike
and Pallas or some of the symbols of their worship. Amongst the
symbols, ‘two piloi’ the cap of Dioskouroi and the tripod of Apollo
occur frequently. They are invariably placed on the reverse
of the coins; but occasionally they are seen on the obverse also.
They are prominent on copper coins, where royal portraits are rare.
Some copper coins of Eucratides bear on the reverse an image of a
deity with the superscription Kavishaye nagara devata (the city-goddess
of Kapisa) in Kharoshthi. It is not clear if the deity depicted on
the coins is Hellenistic in concept or Indian garbed into Hellenistic
form or is purely Indian in iconography; but it shows that the Indo-
Bactrian rulers were coming under the influence of Indian tradi-
tions. A horse-rider, an elephant, a humped bull and a Bactrian
camel are the few other devices which are seen on some of the coins.

Inscription is another feature on these coins, a feature which was
quite new to India. Coins of Diodotus and Euthydemus bear an
inscription in Greek on the reverse. These coins were issued out-
side India in Bactria. Such coins were also issued by Demetrius,
Heliokles and Antialkidas; but along with them, they also issued
coins which bore inscriptions on both sides. On them the Greek
inscription is placed on the obverse side and its translation in Pra-
krit written in Kharoshthi script on the reverse. These coins have
been identified as Indian issues. It is said that they issued the uni-
lingual coins in their Bactrian occupations and the bilingual ones
in the Indian area where Kharoshthi was used. The rest of the
rulers issued exclusively bilingual coins. It is believed that
these rulers had no connection with Bactria. Amongst them,
Pantaleon and Agathocles used the Brahmi script instead of Kharo-
shthi on some of their coins. The Greek legend on these coins in-
vitably had three words: (i) Basileos meaning king; (ii) one of the
following titles—Sotoros, Megalou, Antiketou, Nikephorou, Philapatoros,
Ephiphanou and Dikaioi; and the name of the issuing king. The
same is translated into Prakrit on the bilingual coins.

The Bactrian suzerainty over India was destroyed by the nomad
hordes of Central Asia, who were presumably the Sakas. They
had snatched Bactria from Heliokles in about 135 B.C. In about
126 B.C., the Sakas were pressed by another nomadic tribe from
Central Asia called Yueh-Chi. Then they gradually extended
their supremacy over the northern and north-western regions of
Ancient India by ending Indo-Bactrian rule. The last Indo-
Bactrian rulers, whom they destroyed in about 75 B.C., were Hip-
postratus and Hermaeus.

Two main lines of these Saka invaders are known from their
coins. One is that of Maues in the Punjab and its adjoining lands
and the other of Vonones and his associates in Kandahar (Arachos-
ia) and Baluchistan (Gedrosia and Drangiana). It is presumed
that Maues and Vonones were more or less contemporary rulers, the former perhaps being the earlier of the two. The coins of Maues, minted in silver and copper, are similar to those of the Indo-Bactrian king Apollodotus and thereby indicate that the two were probably related in time and space. But surprisingly enough, Maues did not care to put his bust or head on the coins, like the Indo-Bactrian rulers, whom he followed. The devices of his coins are extremely varied and complex. For the most part they retain the Bactrian devices, which were then current in the Indian territories. But some of them show nomadic traits also. Most significant is the device of the king with a spear on horse-back. This type of a heavily-armoured rider reminds one of the nomadic nature of his tribe. This became later on the characteristic device of Saka coinage. On a variety of Maues’ coin, a man seated cross-legged is shown on the reverse; some scholars identify it with the figure of Buddha but most likely, it is the portrait of the king. On another type of coin, a striding male figure with club and trident is identified as Siva; but this is by no means certain. But if this identification is correct, we have here for the first time an anthropomorphific representation of an Indian god in the field of art. Maues’ commonest coin is of copper and bears an elephant’s head on the obverse and caduceus (staff of the god Hermes) on the reverse. This type of coins bears only the Greek legend Basileos Mayou on the reverse and reminds us of the early Bactrian coins. All his other coins are bilingual. They bear either this simple legend or a more grandiloquent one—Basilios Basilion Megalou Mayou—and their Prakrit equivalents Maharajasa Moasa and Rajadirajasa mahatasa Moasa, respectively, in Kharoshthi.

The coins of Vonones, who was almost a contemporary of Maues and held sway in Arachosia, are comparatively few. His silver coins bear on the obverse a king on horseback to right with spear and on the reverse Zeus standing with a long sceptre and thunderbolt. On the copper coins, standing Heracles crowning himself is shown on the obverse and Pallas Athene standing left with shield and spear on the reverse. Basileos Basilon Megalou Ononou is the Greek legend on all his coins and its equivalent in Prakrit,
written in Kharoshthi, is to be expected on their reverse in the pattern and style of the Indo-Bactrian coins. But on these coins we find quite independent Kharoshthi legends. On one set of coins, the legend is Maharaja-bhrata dhramikasa Spalahorasa and on the other Spalahoraputrasa dhramikasa Spalagadamsa. These indicate that Vonones was not an independent ruler; he was ruling in association with his brother Spalahore and then with his nephew Spalagadama, the son of Spalahore. The other suggestion seems to be that these rulers were subordinate to Vonones.

After Vonones, Spalyris, who was perhaps his brother, ruled along with Spalagadama, the son of Spalahore, for a short period. Then he issued coins independently in his own name. But his independence was short-lived. He is found again associated with a king named Azes. All his coins have the horse-rider on the obverse and on the reverse is seen Zeus or Heracles. While the inscriptions on the earlier coins bear the higher title Basileos Basileon, the coins issued along with Azes have for him only the title Basileos. And the reverse Kharoshthi legend mentioning Azes uses the title which was equivalent to that of Spalyris. This shows that the two rulers had an equal status; and it also suggests that Spalyris was the last member of the Vonones family; and at this time the kingdoms of the houses of Maues and Vonones were united into one.

Soon this Azes, who is called Azes I, issued silver tetradrachms and drachms (didrachms and hemidrachms, in the opinion of some scholars) and round and square copper coins in his own name, independent of any other ruler. His most common coins, both in silver and copper, have the king on horseback with a spear on the obverse and Zeus, Nike, Pallas or an unidentified deity holding a palm and lamp on the reverse of silver coins and a humped bull or Herakles (seated or standing) on the copper coins. Besides issuing some coins of the types issued by Maues, he also introduced a new device on his coins—a king riding on a two-humped Bactrian camel, holding an ankusa (goad) which is an interesting reflection on his nomadic life. Azes I was succeeded by Azilises. He issued an extensive series of coins following his two predecessors, Maues
and Azes I; and at the same time he introduced a strikingly original Indian device—Abhisheka Lakshmi, i.e., Lakshmi standing facing a lotus flower with twin stalks and leaves; and on each leaf stands an elephant sprinkling water on the head of Lakshmi. This is the first Indian divinity which could be unmistakably identified on the coins of the foreign invaders. Azilises was followed by Azes II whose coins are characterised by the king on horseback holding a whip (as opposed to the coins of Azes I on which the king holds a spear). His coins are crude and the metal used in them is highly debased. He also issued some coins in association with one Indravarman and then with his son Stratagos Aspavarma in the western area of his domain.

Azes II was succeeded by Gondophares I, a Parthian. He became a great king with a vast domain, including Arachosia, Seistan, Sindh, Gandhara and the Kabul valley into Parapamisade; but he does not seem to have extended his rule in east Punjab. He issued coins of copper; his silver coins are almost absent. The obverse of his coins bears a king on horseback or a Parthian bust or an enthroned king. Nike, Pallas and Zeus are the familiar Greek deities that appear on the reverse. Coins of Gondophares in association with Aspavarma, who was formerly associated with Azes II, are also found. After Aspavarma, his nephew Sasa appears from his coins to have succeeded him as the associate of Gondophares. Sasa had also issued some silver coins of his own with the Parthian bust. They have been found in the excavations at Taxila and suggest that he had succeeded Gondophares as an independent or quasi-independent ruler in that region. Two other rulers—Sapedana and Satavasthia—are also known as rulers of the Taxila region from the coins found in the same excavations. They indicate that they ruled either before or after Sasa. Their coins are very similar to those of the latter.

Gondophares was succeeded by his nephew Abdagases. After him, Orthagnes, Pacores, Gondophares II, Arcaces and Sanabares are the other Parthian rulers whose coins are known on the pattern of Gondophares. They ruled in the domain of the latter; but it was by then very much reduced to Arachosia and Seistan.
The Saka-Pahlava supremacy in India ended with the advent of the Kushanas some time in the first century A.D.

Before we close this chapter, it would be interesting to mention that during the Saka-Pahlava occupation of North-western India, the institution of Kshatrapa, which was originally introduced by the Achaemenids, was quite popular. The Kshatrapas were a kind of subordinate rulers with varying degrees of political importance, some of them wielding independence to such an extent that they issued their own coins. Zeionises was one of them, who probably ruled the Chukhsa region, the great plain of Chach, near Taxila. He issued coins in base silver and copper. Kharahostes was another Kshatrapa, who issued his coins in north-western Punjab. Another Kshatrapa Laika Kozulaka of the Taxila region is credited with the issue of certain small coins. They all followed the patterns of their Saka-Pahlava masters.
CHAPTER IV

COINS OF THE KUSHANAS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS

A nomadic tribe, known to Chinese as Yueh-chi, left their homeland on the Chinese frontier early in the second century B.C. and arrived in the Oxus region and settled at Bactria. After having dwelt there for about a century, a prince of the Kue-shuang (Kushana) branch of the Yueh-chis invaded Parthia or the parts of the Indo-Parthian realm in Afghanistan, occupied central Afghanistan, Gandhara and the lower Swat valley. His successors spread their rule in the regions of northern India, which had hitherto escaped foreign invasion. The Kushanas occupied the land up to Varanasi\(^1\) in the east and had extended considerably beyond the Indian frontiers in the west. They had, thus, built a great empire which lasted more than a century.

A small group of copper coins, which are mostly known from the Bactrian region, portray a diademed bust of a ruler with moustaches, an aquiline nose and a heavy jaw and locks falling over his ears, bearing the names Heroas (Miaos), Hyrkodes and Phseigacharisses. They appear to have been issued by the chiefs of the Yueh-chi tribe, probably the Kue-shuang (Kushana) branch. But only on the coins of Heroas (Miaos), the word Koshanos seems to follow his name. It is speculated that he was a predecessor or the father of Kujula Kadphises, the first Kushana ruler of India.

The earliest Indian Kushana coins are those which were issued by Kujula Kadphises in copper. The earliest of them bear the bust of Hermaeus, the last Bactrian ruler, on the obverse and Herakles on the reverse. These are in continuation of the imitations which were minted by the Parthian successors after Hermaeus’s death. Another type of his coins have a diademed Roman-style male head on the obverse, which was apparently copied from

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\(^1\) Some scholars believe that the Kushanas had moved into Bihar and into the Gangetic Delta in Bengal and possibly also into Orissa.
the Roman coins. The style and the form of the portrait are so
general that there can be no precise identification of the Roman
emperor whose coins were copied; but generally it is identified with
Augustus. On the reverse of these coins is shown a male, dressed
in Indo-Scythian costume and seated on curule, who is probably
Kujula Kadphises himself. A third type of coins bears a bull on
one side and a double-humped Bactrian camel on the other. It
probably reflects the nomadic habits of the Kushanas. All these
coins are bilingual, having Greek inscriptions on the obverse and
Kharoshthi on the reverse.

The coins of Kujula’s successor Wima Kadphises are so radically
different from those of his father that had there not been other
evidence, on the basis of coins his direct succession would have been
deemed improbable. The coins of Wima portray his powerful
and accomplished image, while those of his father are barbarous.
He issued copper coins in continuation of the earlier tradition;
but his most notable contribution is the introduction of extensive
gold coins for the first time in India. Most likely he issued these
coins, inspired by the Roman coins that were pouring into India in
plenty through trade. Gold coins of three denominations were
issued by him—double-dinara, dinara and quarter-dinara. The
last one is rare.

Wima is portrayed on the obverse of the coins as an elderly man
of a heavy body in various attitudes—seated on a couch; seated
cross-legged, seated at a jharokha (window); riding an elephant;
driving in a biga; standing sacrificing at an altar. This latter
type, i.e., standing at an altar, appears only on copper. This
introduced a motif, which became the basic theme of the royal
portrait on the later Kushana coins. On some coins Wima is
shown floating through or rising from the clouds and a flame is
shown issuing from his shoulders. These distinctly indicate that
he claimed divinity for himself.

On the reverse of the coins of Wima, Siva with his long trident
and sometimes accompanied by his bull is invariably seen. On a
few coins Siva is represented by his trident-battle-axe. This shows
that he had adapted himself to the Indian environment and had
identified himself with Saivism. Another notable thing in Kushana numismatics is that Wima was the last ruler who issued bilingual coins bearing Greek and Kharoshthi inscriptions.

Wima Kadphises’ successor was Kanishka (Kanishka I), who, like his predecessor, issued coins only in gold and copper; but unlike him, he preferred only one type for his portrayal—standing, dressed in a long tunic, shalwar, mantle held by double clasp at the chest and a low round cap, sacrificing at an altar and holding a spear in his left hand, but at the same time he did not confine the reverse of his coins to any one particular deity. He ended the bilingual tradition of Greek and Kharoshthi and retained only Greek for a while and issued coins with the legend Basileos Basilion Kanishkou. On the reverse of these coins, he introduced three deities with Greek names, Helios, Salene and Hephaistos; but none of the figures bearing these names portrayed on coins are Greek in their iconographic forms. He soon discarded Greek and introduced a new language—the mid-Iranian (Bactrian) or Khotanese-Saka on the other side of his coins. From now on, Kanishka’s coins bear the legend Shaonano Shao Kaneshki Koshano. On the reverse of these coins are placed a number of deities—male and female—bearing the Iranian names—Mihira or Mithra (Sun), Mao (Moon), Oado (Vayu, wind), Orlagno (Vrithragna, the national lord of Iranians in arms), Luhraspa (Druvaspa, the guardian of the health of animals), Athsho (Fire), Pharro (Khvareno, the Iranian concept of Imperial greatness), Manao Bago (Vohu-manah, personification of a Good Mind), Mazdhah (Supreme Zoroastrian deity), Nana or Nana Shao or Nania (Innana, Ishtar, Nature Goddess) and Ardoksho (a goddess, counterpart of Indian Lakshmi). Kanishka also retained Siva of his predecessor’s coins under the name Oesho (Bhavesha or Havesha) and introduced the figure of Buddha with the legend Boddo or Sakamano Boddo (Sakyamuni Buddha).

The next ruler Huvishka introduced a new device for portraying himself. The most common type on his gold coins is that of the Profile bust facing generally to the left and rarely to the right, wearing garments decked with jewels and a high or flat-topped ornamental gear, which may be distinguished into several types. He
holds an imperial sceptre or club in his right hand and a spear (some identify it as an ankusa) in the left, resting on the shoulder. His other obverse types in gold are: (i) a king mounted on an elephant holding an ankusa in the left hand and a spear in the right; (ii) a king seated cross-legged on a rock or a cloud. On the copper coins also, these devices are found; but there are a few more devices— (i) a king reclining on a couch; (ii) a king seated frontally; (iii) a king seated in profile on a cushion holding a club in the right hand.

All the Iranian deities, seen on the coins of Kanishka, are also seen on the coins of Huvishka barring Orlagno. He added to the list of these deities a number of new ones—Ahura-mazdah (Supreme Zoroastrian deity), Ashaevsaho (Asa Vahista, embodiment of truth); Oanindo (Vananti—goddess associated with Vrithragna); Oaxsso (probably river god of Oxus); Rishno (Rishnu, personification of Righteousness) and Shaoreora (Shahrevar, the genius of imperial might; god of metal). Mao (Moon) and Miiro (Sun) are placed together on some coins which is an innovation. Huvishka’s coins also have a few non-Iranian deities. They are Herakles, the Greek god; Serapis, a synthetic Graeco-Egyptian deity; Oros (Egyptian Horus) or Oron (Varuna). Amongst the Indian gods, Huvishka has retained Siva (Oesho) on his coins and he is most common. On some coins Siva is shown with his consort Uma (Ommo). A most strange combination of Siva with the non-Indian goddess Nana is found prominently on Huvishka’s coins. Besides Siva and Uma, his son Kartikeya also finds a place on the gold coins. He is shown there alone with the name Maasena (Mahasena); in pair with the label Skandakumaravo-Vizaga (Skandakumara and Vishakka) and in a triad with the legend Skandakumaravo-Maaseno-Vizago (Skandakumara, Mahasena and Visakha). Skandakumara, Mahasena and Visakha are the different names of the same god Kartikeya; but these coins suggest that in those days they had their separate entities.

After Huvishka came Vasudeva. He adopted the obverse device of Kanishka, i.e., a king standing in profile, sacrificing at the altar; but the king now holds a trident in place of the spear as held by Kanishka in his left hand. The reverse devices were
reduced to two deities—Nana and Oesho (Siva). Nana is seen only on a few coins but Oesho is quite common. The Oesho type coins had evidently a long period of issue; and the coins are found at all stages of devolution and may be clearly distinguished into four groups. The coins of each group are so distinct from one another that none would believe that they were issued by one and the same king. So more than one Vasudeva is postulated by the scholars. In between the coins of Vasudeva, a distinct series of coins bearing the name Kanishka, spelt as Kanishko, are found, which cannot be confused with the coins of Kanishka I. The reverse of these coins bears either Oesho (Siva with his bull) or Ardoksho (perhaps a counterpart of Indian Lakshmi) seated en face on a high-backed throne holding a cornucopia in her left hand and a diadem in her right hand. These coins bear Brahmi letters at various places on the obverse which could not yet be interpreted intelligently.

With Vasudeva and Kanishka III the Kushana dynasty appears to have come to an end. But a few tribal chiefs appear to have carved out some small states out of the ruins of the Kushana empire somewhere in the north-western region and had issued their own coins. These coins are very much similar to the coins of Vasudeva and Kanishka III and bear Brahmi letters at various places. But here the letters appear to be names or parts of names, written vertically in Chinese fashion. The names Shaka, Gadadhara, and Shalada, seen on the right of the standing figure of the king, appear like tribal names. But other inscriptions cannot be interpreted.

The Sassanids occupied the territories of these Later Kushanas, sometime during the reign of Ardashir I (212-241 A.D.). The subdued territories were governed by the princes of the royal family; and they had the power to issue their own coins. Since these governors had names similar to those of the emperors, the coins issued by these governors have often been mistaken as the royal coins issued by the emperors themselves. But the features of the portraits on these coins are so distinct from those of the emperors seen on their coins that the two cannot be mistaken as identical. These governors issued two types of coins in the Kushana province.
One type followed the Sassanid fabric and pattern and bears the bust of the king on the obverse and a fire-altar with or without attendants on the reverse. Such coins were issued by Sapur, Ardashir I and II, Firuz I and Hormizd I. On them they are called Kushan malka (Lord of the Kushanas) or Kushana Malkan malka (Lord of the Kushana rulers) or simply Kushana Shah (the king of Kushanas). They bear the legends in Pahlavi and are known in gold, silver and copper. The other type of coins are of gold and a scyphate and are very much similar to the coins of Vasudeva. Here the king is shown with a pointed helmet and mail skirt, standing by the fire-altar. His hair is bunched on his shoulders in Sassanid style; and he wears the baggy Sassanid trousers. The inscription on them is Hormizd Vuzurg Kushana Shah in a script approaching the cursive Kushana script. The reverse shows the deity similar in appearance to that of Vasudeva coinage; but he wears trousers of the Sassanid type and bears a new inscription Vurzavand yazda (the exalted god). These coins are attributed to Hormizd I. Similar coins were also issued by Firuz II and Varahran I and II. Firuz I and II, Hormizd I and II and Varahran I and II also issued some copper coins of the Sassanid bust type but with Siva and bull on the reverse. The two types of these Kushano-Sassanid coins distinctly show that one type followed the other and they were meant for two distinct territories—one within India, where Siva and bull type coins were current and the other for the non-Indian territory, where this was unknown.

The territories of the Kushanas that were under the Sassanid governors passed on to the kings of another dynasty or tribe, which is known as Kidara or Kidarites, by the name of the first ruler Kidara. This dynasty or tribe was either a branch of the Yueh-chi, to which the Kushanas belonged, or of the Hunas, of whom we hear much later. Some scyphate gold coins and silver drachms of the Sassanid type belong to this dynasty. The gold coins have the same king standing by the fire-altar motif on the obverse but the engraving is coarse and clumsy. The inscription in the Kushana cursive script is read as Bago Kidara Vuzurko Kushano; and the silver drachm bears the corresponding legend in Brahmli, Kidara Kushana
Shah. The portrait on silver coins indicates that they were issued by two kings bearing the same name—Kidara.

Another series of coins that are attributed to Kidarites are the debased gold coins of the pattern of the coins of the Later Kushanas and of the normal fabric with the standing king with spear on the obverse and Ardoksho seated on the reverse. The name Kidara, written in Brahmi, is placed under the left arm of the king vertically. A word variously written is found in the margin or on the left field on the obverse. The reverse bears a Brahmi name, which has so far been read on different coins as Sri Siladitya, Sri Kritvarya, Sri Salonavira, Satomala, Sarvayasa and the like. These are undoubtedly the names of the rulers; but it is difficult to say if they belonged to the family of Kidara and were Hinduised in course of time; or they were Indian rulers of some unknown dynasty or dynasties, who adopted the Kidara pattern.
CHAPTER V

LOCAL COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA
(POST-MAURYAN—PRE-GUPTA)

After the fall of the Mauryan empire, the people and the principalities that were humbled under the imperial domination came into power again and they re-established their administration—local, tribal and monarchical. These new states issued coins mostly in copper and rarely in silver.

Some square or rectangular dumpy pieces, about one and a half inches long and three-quarters of an inch wide bearing five bold symbols on one side and four on the other in the punch-marked fabric, have come from various places in Bihar. The groups of five symbols resemble very much the earlier silver coins of the Mauryan period; but they are quite different in fabric. Quite likely these coins were issued by Pushyamitra Sunga who usurped the Mauryan throne in about 184 B.C. His successors had shifted to Vidisa. And we find there also the copper coins in the punch-marked technique. They are flat, broad pieces about an inch in size. They bear four or five neat symbols on one side. The other side is blank. These coins in all likelihood belong to the later Sunga rulers and their successors, the Kanivas. On a few coins of the series, a symbol is found replaced by a legend punched from a die. It bears either the name Rano Siri Satasa or Rano Siri Satakanisa. Thereby they suggest that they are the coins of the Satavahanas who replaced the Kanivas.

No other coins in the punch-marked technique are known in this period. Now the coins were either casts produced from moulds, the technique which was employed for copper coins in the Mauryan period; or were struck from the dies, the technique introduced in the time of the Indo-Bactrians. Though the technique of manufacture changed during this period, the use of the symbols was retained. They were earlier stamped by separate punches; now they were composed into one die or mould. A new element of inscriptions
was also added to most of the coins to denote the issuing authority.

The uninscribed coins of the period are known from Gandhara in the north-west, Kausambi in the Gangetic plains and Ujjayini in Central India. Some of the Gandhara coins are stamped only on one side and some are stamped on both. The earlier coins used symbols very much similar to those that were used on the punch-marked coins. But soon these symbols were replaced and new devices of animals were introduced. The excavations at Taxila show that the coins of the latter type were current there side by side with the Indo-Bactrian and Saka-Pahlava coins. The uninscribed coins of Vatsa, whose capital was at Kausambi, are casts. They bear on one side a humped bull of a lanky type with one or two small symbols or the Abhisheka Lakshmi, i.e., Lakshmi standing facing in front with elephants on either side sprinkling water. The other side bears a hill and tree and a few other symbols and may be identified into several varieties. The coins of Ujjayini are known in a very large number of varieties. Most of them bear on one side a single symbol which is popularly known as an "Ujjain symbol". It is a cross with a circle at the top of each arm. The circle on the coins is mostly plain; but in some cases it is a double circle; in some others some symbol like a swastika, taurine or the Ujjain symbol itself is placed within the circle. The other side of the coins has two to seven symbols, similar to those seen on the punch-marked coins. But on some coins a striking figure of a standing man with a long stick is seen, who in some cases is three-headed. He is identified as Siva or Kartikeya. Occasionally, a female figure is also seen on these coins and she is taken to be Lakshmi. On some coins the common Ujjain symbol is found replaced by a frog.

The inscribed coins of this period may be identified into (i) local, (ii) tribal and (iii) monarchical issues from their inscriptions. The local coins bear the place-name and were perhaps issued by some kind of city-states. In the Gandhara region, some coins are known to bear the Kharoshthi legend Hiranasama (Hiranyasrama). This city-state was most likely included in the Indo-Bactrian kingdom during the time of Agathocles. Some coins bear the devices of
these coins on one side with the name of this king and on the other side is the name of this city. The other city-states of this period, known from their coins, are: Varanasi, Sravasti and Kausambi in the Gangetic plains, Udhehika and Sudavapa in Eastern Rajasthan and Ujjayini, Erakanya, Mahishmati, Kurara, Bhagila and Tripuri in Central India. But all these city-states were most probably short-lived. In most cases, monarchy prevailed in them. Coins of some of these states, particularly of Rajasthan, bear the names of the place and the ruler both.

A most interesting coin amongst those of the city-states is that of Pushkalavati (modern Peshawar). It is a small gold coin weighing 56 grains. There is the figure of a standing female wearing a crown and holding some object on one side with the Kharoshthi inscription *Pukhalavadi Devada Ambi* (Amba the goddess of Pushkalavati). The other side has a humped bull with the word *Taurus* in Greek and *Vrishabha* in Kharoshthi. The coin is Hellenistic in its fabric and style and suggested that it was issued under some Hellenistic influence. But no other instance is known so far where an Indian god or goddess is placed on any Indo-Bactrian coin. Interest lies also in the fact that the coin reveals that the administrative authority of the city-state was vested in the goddess of the town.

This kind of administration, though it appears strange, is not unusual in the history of India. State-administration in the name of gods and goddesses was well in vogue in the various parts of the country. The tribal republics of the Punjab—the Audumbara, Kuninda and Yaudheya—who were almost contemporary to this city-state, had almost similar administration. They issued their coins in the names of their presiding deities—Mahadeva (Siva), Chatresvara (Siva) and Brahmanya (Kartikeya), respectively. This practice continued even in the medieval period and is well known in the modern times also. The Travancore and Cochin States, before their merger into the Indian Union, were being administered by their ruling chiefs in the name of the deity Padmanabha (Vishnu).

Before the rise of the Magadha empire, a number of tribal republics existed in the Punjab. They had lost their independence
during the imperial supremacy; but as soon as the empire collapsed, they returned to their own republican system and issued their own coins. The tribes that issued coins in the second century B.C. were the Agreya, Rajanya, Sibi, Trigarta and Yaudheya. Of these the Yaudheyas survived till the rise of the Gupta empire. In the first century B.C. were known the tribes—Audumbara, Kuninda, Vrishni-Rajanya and Vemaka; and in the first century A.D., we hear of Malava and Kuluta. In the second century A.D. a tribe called Arjunayana is known. Of all these tribes only Malava, Yaudheya and Arjunayana are heard of in the fourth century A.D. in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of the Gupta emperor, Samudra Gupta. Some of these tribes stayed on in the Punjab and others moved to Rajasthan and elsewhere, probably under the pressure of the foreign invaders.

The early tribal republics of the second century B.C. called themselves janapada, and refer to their names, and in a few cases the place also, on their coins in the Brahmi script. Then we have the other republics which have their names on the coins along with some personal name with the title Raja or Maharaja; or, as has been mentioned before, they bear the name of their presiding deity. Copper was the prime issue of all these republics. Each tribe seems to have its own weight for the coins; and a number of them had issued coins in more than one weight as multiples or sub-multiples. A few tribes issued coins in silver also; but these coins are extremely rare. These silver coins follow the weight of hemidrachm of the Indo-Bactrian rulers. In module, too, these coins are akin to the Indo-Bactrian coins. The well-executed copper coins of the Yaudheyas of the later period show Kushana influence in their type and style. Various symbols that were current earlier and many new symbols were grouped together within a die to form the devices for stamping these coins. But a tendency to do away with the symbol groups and to introduce some simple devices is also apparent in the coins. Following the Indo-Bactrian and other coins, gods and goddesses were also introduced on some of these coins. Dharagoshha, the Audumbara, had placed the effigy of Visvamitra in a very similar Hellenistic style and inscribed his name as did the Kushanas. The
Yaudheyas placed their favourite god Kartikeya and his consort on their coins.

In the Ganga-Yamuna plains sprang up monarchies during this period; and four such big ones may be located in this region. One was the Surasena with its centre at Mathura, the other was of the Panchala with its capital at Ahichchhata (Rannagar, district Bareilly), the third was of the Vatsa with its headquarters at Kausambi (district Allahabad); and the fourth was of the Kosala. It had its capital either at Sravasti (district Gonda, U.P.) or at Ayodhya (district Faizabad). The monarchy of Surasena (Mathura) was overshadowed by the Saka-Kshatrapas and was later occupied by the Kushanas. The Panchalas enjoyed sovereignty till the rise of the Guptas. Vatsa was probably occupied for a short while by the Kushanas but thereafter a new dynasty occupied the kingdom and was later subdued by the Gupta emperor, Samudra Gupta. Kosala does not seem to have survived the onslaught of the Kushanas.

The earliest ruler of the Surasena kingdom known from his coins was Gomitra. He was followed by Suryamitra, Brahmmamitra, Dhridhamitra and Vishnumitra. The coins of these rulers bear symbols similar to those that were used earlier for the punch-marked coins and also include the figure of a standing Lakshmi. The Mitra dynasty was supplanted by the kings having names with the suffix Datta. The kings of this dynasty were Sāhadatta, Purushadatta, Uttamadatta, Ramadatta, Kamadatta and Bhava-datta. Thereafter ruled two other rulers Balabhuti and Apalata. These rulers are known on their coins as bearing the regal title Raja and Apalata bears Maharaja. The coins of these rulers follow the types of the preceding Mitra rulers. These rulers were followed by the rulers of a foreign dynasty. The earliest of them was Rajuvula who was originally the ruler of some parts of the Punjab. His earliest coins are hemidrachm of silver, highly debased with lead, and closely resemble the late issues of the Indo-Bactrian rulers, Strato I and II. The portrait on the obverse shows the king facing to the right; the legend in blundered Greek gives his name with the title Basileos Basilion Sotoros. The reverse shows Pallas Athene and the Kharoshthi legend. These coins have been found in the
region from Sankisa along the Ganga in the central doab to eastern Punjab. He issued another type in lead showing a lion on the obverse and Herakles on the reverse with Greek and Kharoshthi legends. These coins are common in the Taxila region. When he occupied Mathura, he issued coins similar to the coins of the earlier rulers of that place, with a standing Lakshmi on the obverse and an Abhisheka Lakshmi on the reverse. On them the inscription is in Brahmi. Rajuvula was followed by his two sons Sodasa and Toranadasa. Then Haganas and Hagamasha ruled jointly for some time; thereafter Hagamasha ruled alone. They were followed by two other rulers, Sivadatta and Sivaghosh. While Rajuvula and Sodasa had the title of Mahakshatrapa on their coins, the others bear only the title of Kshatrapa.

The kingdom of Panchala issued a uniform series of copper coins bearing the names of no less than twenty-one rulers—Rudragupta, Jayagupta, Damagupta, Vangapala, Visapala, Yajnapala, Vasusena, Suryamitra, Vishnumitra, Dhruvamitra, Indramitra, Agnimitra, Bhanumitra, Bhumimitra, Jayamitra, Phalgunimitra, Brihaspatimitra, Anumitra, Ayumitra, Varunamitra and Prajapati-mitra. The coins of all these rulers bear on one side three small symbols in a row and the name of the issuer below. On the other side appears a figure or symbol representing the god or goddess, whose name forms part of the name of the ruler. For instance, the coins bearing the names of Suryamitra and Bhanumitra have the representation of the sun placed over a pedestal. Towards the end, some coins from Panchala are known to be of quite a different series showing a wheel on one side and the name Achyu on the other. These coins are taken to be the coins of Achyuta, who is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription and was vanquished by Samudra Gupta.

The monarchical coins of Vatsa bear a bull with a symbol on one side and a tree-in-railing with some other symbols on the other with the name of the king. The coins with these devices are uniformly found for about eighteen rulers—Vavaghosha, Asvaghosha, Parvata, Indradeva, Sudeva, Mitra, Radhamitra, Agnimitra, Jyeshthamitra, Brihaspatimitra, Suramitra, Varunamitra, Potha-
mitra, Sarpamitra, Prajapatimitra, Satyamitra, Rajamitra, Rajnimitra and Devamitra. Soon after them, the coins of a new dynasty are known. They also retain the above devices with a slight modification; but the fabric is quite different. These coins bear the names Bhadramagha, Vaishravana, Sivamagha, Satamagha, Vijayamagha, Rudramagha, Yugamagha, Bhimavarman, Navika, Pushvasri and Dhanadeva. Lastly, we have a coin bearing the name Rudra on one side and Siva standing by the side of the bull on the other. This reminds us of the coins of the Kushanas. Most likely Rudra, the issuer of the coin, was Rudradeva who is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription.

The monarchy of Kosala in the beginning issued coins by the process of casting. These coins have a bull or an elephant before a standard and the reverse bears five or six symbols of the type used on earlier punch-marked coins. The issuers of these coins were Muladeva, Vayudeva, Visakhadeva and Dhanadeva. Another series of cast coins were issued by Naradatta, Jyeshhadatta and Sivadatta. These coins are similar to the above but smaller in size. Sivadatta issued some other coins showing an elephant on one side and an Abhisheka Lakshmi on the other. Some die-struck coins bearing the name Sivadatta are also known. Perhaps he was different from the issuer of the above coins. Such coins have a bull before a tree-in-railing. His coins were followed with certain modifications by Haradatta, Sivapalita, Kumudasena, Ajavarman, Sanghamitra, and Vijayamitra. Vijayamitra issued a new type. On it while he retained the bull on the obverse, the reverse has a hamsa (swan) before a palm-tree. This type was also issued by Satyamitra, Devamitra and Aryamitra.

There is not much to say about the numismatic history of Central India. A reference to copper punch-marked coins from the Vidisa-Eran region, attributable to the later Sunga and Kanka rulers, has been made earlier; and it was also pointed out that these coins were later followed by the inscribed punch-marked coins bearing the names of two Satavahana rulers, namely, Sata and Satakarni. The Satavahanas were followed by the Western Kshatrapas, who are known from their coins in this region till 350 A.D. A reference
has also been made to a long series of the uninscribed die-struck coins from the Ujjayini region. Now here it need only be remarked that some copper coins have recently come to light which bear the names Hamugama, Valaka, Mahu, Sauma. They appear to be Saka names and support the tradition of Saka invasion of this region during the first century B.C. mentioned in the Jain sources. These coins bear the name on one side and a symbol on the other adopted from the Ujjain coins.

Padmavati (modern Padam Pawaya in Gwalior) was probably an independent kingdom in this area. Some coins found there reveal the names of the kings Makhadeva or Sakradeva, Mahata, Sabalasena, Amitasena and Sivagupta. They might be the rulers in the pre-Christian and early Christian centuries. Sometime in the second century A.D., there arose the dynasty of the Nagas, which lasted in all probability up to the fourth century A.D. Twelve rulers of the dynasty—Vrisha, Bhima, Skanda, Vasu, Brihasspati, Vibhu, Ravi, Bhava, Prabhakar, Deva, Vyaghra and Gana-pati—are known from their coins. The coins of these rulers are peculiarly small, weighing 9, 18 or 36 grains. They bear the name of the king on one side in Brahmi and a symbol or an animal or bird on the other side. A humped bull is most common. Among birds the peacock is seen prominently.

In the east in Orissa, no coins are known after the punch-marked silver coins till about the third century A.D. A gold coin, used as a pendant, was discovered in the excavations at Sisupalagarh, which has a Kushana obverse—a king standing to left with a peaked helmet, offering oblations at an altar by his right hand and a long spear in the left. The reverse imitates the Imperial Roman head facing left with traces of some Greek or Roman inscription. Thus it bears a strange combination of two obverses of two different foreign types, which perhaps were known there only through trade and had no local affiliations. The Brahmi legend on the obverse which bears the name of the issuer is not fully legible. The coin is attributed to the third century A.D., but nothing is known about the issuer. In the wake of this coin, a series of copper coins is also known with rude imitations of the Kushana devices. They are called
Puri-Kushanas or Oriya-Kushanas. But these coins are neither exclusive to Puri nor to Orissa; they have been found also in the adjoining areas of Bihar. The obverse of these coins bears a standing figure, as found on the coins of Kanishka or Huvishka; the reverse copies the Kushana deities like Mao, Miro, and others. A few coins show an elephant-rider on the obverse instead of the standing king. These coins have the semblance of the Kushana coins; but who issued these coins and in what circumstances is not known so far.

Lastly, before we close this chapter, a reference should be made to some copper pieces issued in Gandhara which have all the constituents of coins, but appear to have been issued by traders. Some of them bear the Brahmi inscription *Nekama*, a nominative plural, corresponding to Sanskrit *Naigamah* (traders or merchant-guilds) on one side; the other side has the name *Ralimata, Atakataka* or *Dojaka*, which probably indicates the localities to which the issuing guilds belonged. Some other pieces have the Kharoshthi inscription *Panchanekame* (five *nigamas*); it shows that these pieces were the issues of a joint body of five guilds. On the basis of these pieces, some scholars attribute the origin of the Indian coins to the traders and take them to be the minting authorities. But they resemble mercantile tokens more than coins. Such trade tokens are not unknown even now and are always distinguished from coins.
CHAPTER VI

EARLY COINS OF SOUTH AND WESTERN INDIA

We have seen earlier that Andhra, Mulaka and Asmaka were the South Indian janapadas (states) that had issued coins in the punch-marked technique before the expansion of the Magadha empire in the South. During the Imperial period the Magadhan coins were current there; this is borne out by the finds of many hoards of silver punch-marked coins. It might be interesting to know that the earliest find of the punch-marked coins in the country was discovered only in the South. In 1800 A.D. Col. Caldwell had found three worn specimens of these coins in a tumulus in the district of Coimbatore. It would be equally interesting to know that the biggest hoard of these coins also came to light in the South. A hoard containing 7,668 coins was found at Amaravati in Guntur district. But all the punch-marked coins that are found in the South seem to have travelled from the North; they do not show any sign of their having been minted there. It is only after the fall of the Mauryan empire that some silver punch-marked coins of a local type were issued in the Pandyan territory. They have five symbols just like the Mauryan coins. They retain the first two symbols of the Mauryan coins—the sun and the six-armed symbol—with the difference that the sun has only twelve rays instead of sixteen found in the Mauryan symbol. The third symbol on these coins is the representation of a Stupa-like architecture; the fourth is a leafy tree and the fifth is the trident-battle-axe-in-railing. The reverse bears a symbol like a fish drawn in lines. These coins weigh 16 to 30 grains and appear to be half of the Mauryan pana. But when they actually originated and how long they remained in circulation is not known so far.

After the fall of the Mauryans or even during their rule, die-struck coins were current for some time all over the Deccan, particularly in the Pandyan and Andhra areas. The Pandyan
die-struck copper coins are rectangular in shape and invariably have a big elephant either alone or associated with a few other symbols smaller in size. Most of these symbols are similar to those which are found on the North Indian early die-struck uninscribed coins. The Andhra die-struck coins have been found so far only in excavations and are not many in number. They generally have one symbol on each side; occasionally, some of them have one or two smaller symbols accompanying them. The symbols found on these coins are mostly hills of different types, nandipada, swastika, srivatsa, bull, tree-in-railing.

With the collapse of Mauryan power, perhaps soon after Asoka, in the second century B.C., the local governors, who were called Maharashtriya or Maharathis built up their own kingdoms and issued their own coins. Some of the above uninscribed coins might belong to them. But they soon issued coins inscribed with their names. In the Mysore-Kanara region, rose a Maharashtriya family which may be called Sadakana by the surname that was used by all the rulers of the family. Only three members of the family are known so far through their coins. Their coins bear the Brahmi legends, Sadakana Kalalaya Maharathisa, Sadakana Chutukanha Maharathisa and Sadakana Kanasa Maharathiputasa. Of these, who built up the kingdom is difficult to say for the present; but they may be looked upon as the earliest known rulers of the South. The coins of these Sadakana rulers have a standing bull with the inscription on the obverse and a tree-in-railing and a six-arched hill with or without a few small symbols on the reverse. Here for the first time we find that lead was used for coins. Why they preferred this metal cannot be guessed; but it may be said that once it was introduced, it became the prime metal of South Indian coinage for a considerable time. And from the South, it went to Gujarat and Malwa; and probably thence to the Punjab, where it was first used by Strato II, the Indo-Bactrian ruler, for alloying his silver coins and then by the Saka Kshatrapa Rajuvula, who issued some coins in this metal.

The Sadakana family was followed by another family, which may be called Ananda. Chutukulananda and Mulananda are
the only members of the family who are known from their lead coins. Their coins have a big symbol of nine arches—two rows of four small arches each one over the other and over them a big arch. Over the symbol is the inscription. The reverse has a tree-in-railing with a few small symbols. These are the earliest South Indian rulers who adopted the title of Raja (Rajno) on their coins. Their coins are known from the Karwar area and the excavations at Chandravalli.

In the Maharashtra region round about Kolhapur rose another Maharathi family, whose progenitor was Maharathi Kura. His coins bear the legend Maharathisa Kuras. He was succeeded by Vilivayakura, who at first retained the title of Maharathi and issued coins with the inscription Maharathisa Vilivayakuras and then adopted the title of Raja on his coins. Later, he also introduced a metronymic with his name and had the inscription Rajno Vasithiputasa Vilivayakuras on the coins. This is the earliest metronymic on the Indian coins and reveals that the matriarchal family system was followed by the people to which the Kuras belonged. Vilivayakura’s successor was Sivalakura. He issued coins with the inscriptions, Rajno Sivalakura and Rajno Madhari-putasa Sivalakuras. The last ruler of the dynasty who came after Sivalakura was Gotamiputra Vilivayakura. He issued coins only with the metronymic. All these rulers had their coins in lead and introduced copper or potin (copper-lead alloy) also. These coins uniformly bear a bow and arrow along with the inscription on the obverse. On the reverse is found a hill symbol either alone or associated with a tree. An interesting feature of the Kura coins is that they are mostly re-struck. The coins of Vasisthiputra Vilivayakura are re-struck with the dies of the coins of Madhariputra Sivalakura; and the coins of both the rulers by the dies of the coins of Gotamiputra Vilivayakura. A number of Kura coins have been found amongst the Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) hoard, cut into a half, one-third and a quarter. Perhaps they were cut to serve the purpose of fractional coins.

Another Maharathi family seems to have built its kingdom in the heart of Andhradesa. But their inscriptions are so incomplete
that nothing may be said in detail about them. A new kingdom had perhaps come up in the region of Vidarbha. Coins bearing the name Rajno Dimbha and Rajno Sebaka have been found there.

These Maharathi and other rulers were followed by the kings of the dynasty which is styled in the Puranas as Andhra, Andhra-jati or Andhra-bhritiya and is called Satavahana or Satakarni by modern historians. According to the Puranic traditions, the Andhra-Satavahana dynasty began with Simuka, who destroyed the remains of the Sunga power and killed the Kanva king Susarman, and 29 or 30 rulers of his family had ruled for 455 or 460 years. But this does not fit in well with the chronological scheme that our scholars have chalked out on the basis of other considerations. So, it is presumed that the coup d'etat of Andhra Simuka was against the Mauryan empire on the death of Asoka in 232 B.C., and not against the Kanva ruler, as is held by the Puranas. With this presumption, it is believed that the Satavahanas ruled till some time in the third century A.D. But the Andhra-Satavahana coins, when analysed and processed independently, reveal an entirely different historical picture. The first 21 rulers of the Puranic list are unknown in our numismatic history. If all or any of them really existed, they do not seem to be rulers with any independent status. Not unlikely, they were the feudatories of the Sunga and Kanva rulers in some obscure corners of Western India or the Deccan. It is only the last nine rulers of the Puranic list whose historicity is supported from coins; and the coins show that they were the rulers of some considerable importance. Each one of these nine rulers issued his own coins. Besides them, a few more rulers of the dynasty are known from the coins, but they are unknown to the Puranas.

It appears from the coins that the Satavahanas came into prominence as independent rulers only after the fall of the Sunga and Kanva rulers in 27 B.C. in the Vidisa region and spread their kingdom far and wide in Western India and the Deccan. Earlier, mention has been made of the copper punch-marked coins having a punch bearing the name of Sri Sata and Sri Satakarni. These rulers may conveniently be identified as Sri Svati and Gautami-
putra Satakarni of the Puranas. These two rulers had occupied quite a big territory in Western India and the Deccan, besides Vidisa. They issued coins in different parts of their kingdom with different fabrics and motifs in lead and copper. While these rulers issued punch-marked coins in the Vidisa region, they had die-struck coins elsewhere. In the region round about the ancient town of Tripuri, their coins had a standing human figure prominently on the obverse and four different symbols on the reverse. In the Gujarat-Malwa region, the coins bear the figure of a lion prominently. The coins in the Gujarat-Saurashtra region have an elephant on one side and a tree-in-railing on the other with some other small symbols. These coins are either of lead or of copper. In Maharashtra and Vidarbha, a large number of copper or potin coins are found, showing an elephant with the trunk upraised or hanging down on one side and an Ujjain symbol on the other. These coins are known to have been issued by ten other rulers besides the above two. Six of them are Sri Pulumavi, Siva Sri Pulumavi, Skanda Satakarni, Sri Yajna Satakarni, Vijaya Satakarni and Pulahamavi of the Puranic list, the successors of Sri Satakarni in regular order. Besides them, the coins are also known of four others who do not find mention in the Puranas—Saka Satakarni, Rudra Satakarni, Saka Kumbha Satakarni and Karna or Krishna Satakarni. These coins thus indicate that the dynasty was bifurcated into two branches after the 27th ruler, Sri Yajna Satakarni. One ruled in Maharashtra and had Rudra Satakarni as the successor of Sri Yajna Satakarni. The other ruled in Vidarbha. In this branch five rulers ruled after Sri Yajna Satakarni, three of them were known to the Puranas and the other two, viz., Kumbha Satakarni and Karna or Krishna Satakarni, perhaps ruled after Pulahamavi, the last ruler of the Puranic list.

In the Deccan lead coins of Sri Sati, Sri Satakarni and Sri Pulumavi are known from Hyderabad. They bear a thick three-arched hill on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. The coins issued in Maharashtra and the Deccan are exclusively of lead and they are known as having been issued by only three or four rulers. A notable feature of these coins is that like the Kura coins
they bear the metronymics. These coins are of a number of varieties, showing a three- or six-arched hill, a horse, a lion, a ship or wheel as one of the main characteristics of the obverse side of the coins. The Ujjain symbol on the reverse is almost common to all.

Some coins in lead and copper are known in the Maharashtra and Deccan regions as bearing the name *Sadavahana* or *Satavahana*. This name is unknown to the Puranas, but it appears at the top of the coin-series. A Satavahana family is mentioned in a Nasik inscription and *Rayo Simuka Satavahana* is inscribed over a relievo at Naneghat. So, modern historians have preferred to call the Puranic Andhra family as Satavahana. This has led to the belief that a king named Satavahana was the progenitor. But the association of the coins of Sri Satakarni along with those of Sri Sati in all the series of Northern India and eastern Deccan on the one hand and with the coins of Satavahana in Maharashtra and Western Deccan on the other indicates that Sri Sati and Satavahana were two rulers ruling in two different territories contemporaneously. They did not belong to one and the same family. Satavahana was probably subdued by Sri Satakarni. Satavahana of the coins can be assumed to be a member of the Andhra family only if it could be shown that he preceded Sri Satakarni and the latter was succeeded by Sri Sati, which for the present is not tenable.

Besides lead and potin coins, Vasisthiputra Pulumavi, Vasisthiputra Satakarni and Gautamiputra Sri Yajna Satakarni also issued some silver coins, which bear their life-like portrait-heads in the Greek tradition on the obverse with the name in Brahmi script and in Prakrit. The reverse bears a six-arched hill and an Ujjain symbol with a legend almost similar to that on the obverse; but in quite a different language, most likely in Tamil. As such these are the bilingual coins bearing two indigenous languages. Gautamiputra Satakarni, who was perhaps the most powerful king of the dynasty with an extensive kingdom, however, did not issue any silver coins of his own. Instead, he counterstruck the silver coins of his vanquished foe, the Western Kshatrapa Nahapana, with his own devices—a hill symbol with the legend *Rano Gotamiputasa Siri Satakanisa* on one side and the Ujjain symbol on the other.
During Andhra rule in the Deccan, Roman gold and silver coins were brought into India by the Roman traders for the purchase of Indian commodities that were in great demand in the west from the very beginning of the Christian era to the third century A.D. They have been found at various places in South India in quite a large number. These coins were often converted into Indian coins by a most simple method. The Roman authority was nullified by deeply incising the effigy of the Roman emperor by a chisel; and the Indian authority was placed on them by counterstriking the coins with a small symbol, very much similar to that which is seen on the punch-marked coins. Of this period some small copper coins of pseudo-Roman type are also found at some places round about Madura. They closely resemble the early copper issues of the local mints, but are Roman in their character. On one side they bear the Imperial Roman head, very much worn out, sometimes with faint traces of an inscription; the other side shows three Roman soldiers standing with spears. These pseudo-Roman coins were probably struck in this country by the Roman settlers for their own use.

New dynasties seem to have replaced the Andhra-Satavahana rulers in the Deccan sometime in the third century A.D. In Eastern Deccan they were replaced by the Ikshvakus, who issued their coins in imitation of the Andhra potin coins, having an elephant on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. But these coins are a little crude. In Western Deccan, coins of more than one dynasty are known of this period; but details about them are lacking. However, some coins, bearing a bold swastika with the legend Mahasenapatim Bharadajiputasa Sagamana Chutuka or Mahagamikasa Madhariputasa are known with the Ujjain symbol on the reverse. Some of the coins having the first legend bear a thunderbolt and arrow on the reverse in place of the Ujjain symbol and remind one of the coins of the Western Kshatrapas, Bhumaka and Nahapana. Then there are some coins which bear the legends Mahagamika Pakasa Sibasebakasa and Sihra Talavarasa. These coins have a horse on the obverse and a three-arched hill on the reverse. These coins show that some of the officers of the Satavahanaas built up their own kingdoms on the ruins of that of the Satavahanaas.
COINS

The numismatic history of the Deccan, or as a matter of fact of entire South India, after the third century A.D., is almost obscure. Between now and the seventh century A.D., copper coins of Chandravarman of Salankayana dynasty, inscriptionless coins of Vishnukundins, and the coins of Vishamsiddhi of the Eastern Chalukyan dynasty only are known. With these coins we enter a great unknown in South Indian numismatics for the next three or four centuries.

In Western India, almost contemporary to the Andhra-Satakavahana rulers, a dynasty of the Sakas, which is known as Western Kshatrapas, came into prominence. They belong to two groups: one is called Kshaharatatas and the other Karddamakas. The former comprised only two rulers and the latter no less than 27. They ruled in Gujarat, Saurashtra and Malwa for more than two and a half centuries till about 310 A.D. Only a few copper coins of Bhumaka, the first member of the Kshaharata family, are known from the coastal regions of Gujarat and Saurashtra and Malwa. An arrow, a discus and a thunderbolt appear on their obverse and a lion-capital flanked by a wheel on the reverse. The two sides of the coins bear the name of the ruler in Brahmi and Kharoshthi, the former in Sanskrit and the latter in Prakrit. The obverse motif of Bhumaka’s coins was used by his successor Nahapan a as the reverse device for his silver coins. On the obverse, he placed the royal bust, an adaptation of the Roman Imperial busts of the first century A.D. These coins are tri-scriptural: the blundered mixed Graeco-Roman characters on the obverse, with an exact transliteration of the Prakrit legend, which is written on the reverse in Brahmi and Kharoshthi. His copper coins are a few.

The Karddamaka Kshatrapas issued coins in silver, copper (very rare) and potin. A few lead pieces are attributable to Svami Rudrasena III, a later ruler. The silver coins of Chastana, the first member of the dynasty, have the royal bust on the obverse with traces of a Graeco-Roman legend, which shortly after transformed itself into a partly visible ornamental design. These coins are of two varieties in respect of the reverse. In one a crescent and a star are placed side by side and in the other a three-arched hill
surmounted with a crescent is introduced in between the two. The Brahmi legend surrounds the devices. The latter type continued till the end of the dynasty. The most important trait of the silver coinage of these rulers is the fully informative Brahmi inscription, which not only gives the names and titles of the issuers but also the names and titles of their father or the relative, whom they succeeded. The year of issue in numerals was also introduced for the first time on the obverse of these coins during the reign of Rudrasimha I. The Saka year was placed behind the head of the king. The module and the weight of these coins appear to have been based on the Indo-Greek or Roman silver money. The copper, potin and lead coins of these rulers are only a few. They differ from the silver coins only in regard to their obverse where the bust is replaced by an animal. The coins of Chastana have a horse; of Jayadaman, Jivadaman and Rudrasimha I a bull. An elephant is seen on some other coins, which do not disclose the name of their issuers. They can only be attributed by their dates to any king.

A few coins bearing the name of Mahakshatrapa Isvaradatta with the years one and two have been found in some hoards along with the coins of the Western Kshatrapas. They are very similar to the Kshatrapa coins. He appears to have been some usurper.

Some lead coins bearing a three-arched hill with the names Bodhi or Sri Bodhi, Sivabodhi, Chandrabodhi and Virabodhidatta are known and weigh 4 to 8 grains. Their provenance is not known; but the issuers might be the successors of the Satavahanas or the Western Kshatrapas in the third or fourth century A.D.
CHAPTER VII

COINS OF THE GUPTA EMPERORS

Towards the beginning of the fourth century A.D., the dynasty of the Gupta emperors rose out of a small principality, situated somewhere in Eastern Uttar Pradesh or Bihar; and it lasted for more than two centuries. The king named Gupta was the progenitor. His grandson, Chandra Gupta I (319-350 A.D.) was the first paramount ruler, who extended his kingdom far and wide. His son Samudra Gupta (350-370 A.D.) made extensive conquests and made his influence felt over the rulers of the south-eastern coast as well as over the rulers beyond his frontiers in the northwest. He celebrated an Asvamedha (horse-sacrifice). His son Chandra Gupta II (376-414 A.D.) extended still further the boundaries of his empire up to Kashmir in the west and Orissa in the east. Chandra Gupta II’s son Kumara Gupta I (415-450 A.D.) performed two Asvamedhas and added to the empire a greater part of Central India, Gujarat and Saurashtra. Towards the end of his reign, he had some set-backs probably at the hands of the Hunas, who were invading India during this period. His successor Skanda Gupta (455-467 A.D.) remained occupied mostly in defending the empire against the inroads of the Hunas. He ultimately gained a decisive victory over them. Soon after him, the empire began to crumble. By the time of Budha Gupta (496-500 A.D.), the western part of the empire was lost; and after him it remained confined to Bihar, Bengal and some parts of Orissa; and ultimately it went into oblivion by 543 A.D. During this period of decline, the rulers were Chandra Gupta III, Prakasaditya, Vainya Gupta, Narasimha Gupta, Kumara Gupta III and Vishnugupta.

The coins of these Gupta emperors are known chiefly in gold. They issued gold coins so profusely that a contemporary poet has allegorically termed the phenomenon a “rain of gold”. The most common gold coins of the Guptas appear apparently to be the
direct descendants of the gold coins of the later Kushanas, which bear the standing king at an altar on the obverse and Ardoksho seated on a high-backed throne on the reverse. But the Gupta coins are far superior in their execution to their prototypes and are considerably original. On the early coins, the standing king at the altar is very much the same in pose and posture as the king on the Kushana coins. He is seen wearing the Kushana long-coat and trousers, but never the peaked Kushana cap. On later coins, the trousers are replaced by the Indian dhoti and the form of the coat is changed; and at times the king is shown bare-bodied. Then, in place of the trident, which the Kushana rulers held in their left hand, the Gupta rulers hold a spear or a standard or a battle-axe or a bow or a sword. Again the trident, which is seen in the right field, is replaced here by the Garuda-headed standard (Garudadhvaja), the royal insignia of the Gupta dynasty. With all these modifications, the Guptas retained the method of placing the name of the king perpendicularly, in Chinese fashion, on the left hand. Likewise, they placed a circular Brahmi inscription around the king towards the edge of the flan.

On the reverse, goddess Ardoksho, seated on a high-backed throne holding a cornucopia in her left arm and fillet (pasa) in her right, was retained on the early Gupta coins but gradually she was transformed into her Indian counterpart Lakshmi with a lotus in her hand, first seated on a throne then on a lotus. The name of the deity that is seen on the Kushana coins is replaced here with the epithet of the issuing king.

The most common Gupta coin is that which shows the king holding a bow in his left hand. This type was issued by all the rulers of the dynasty. Here the king also holds an arrow in his right hand. The coins of Chandra Gupta II and Kumara Gupta I of this type may be distinguished in a number of varieties and sub-varieties, showing the king in different postures facing left or right, wearing a dress or bare-bodied and many other variations in the depictions. But Samudra Gupta chiefly issued coins with a spear or a standard. Chandra Gupta II also issued a few coins of this type. On the coins of Kacha Gupta, who was probably
a pretender in the time of Samudra Gupta and had claimed or occupied the throne for a short while, the king is shown holding a standard surmounted by chakra (Chakradhvaja). On one type of coin, Kumara Gupta I is shown holding a sword in place of the standard. Samudra Gupta has issued coins of another type, which may be placed in this series; there he holds a battle-axe; his right hand is on his hip and to his right stands a dwarf.

Besides the coins of this series, the Gupta mints had issued coins of sixteen other types. They are quite original in their contents and are of artistic excellence in their appearance. In one type both the king and queen are portrayed. Such coins were issued by Chandra Gupta I, Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta. Here the king and queen are standing face to face. Chandra Gupta I issued coins only of this type; and the type is so original that some scholars do not believe that the coins were issued by the first emperor of the dynasty. They take the type as commemorative of his parents and issued by Samudra Gupta. The coins bear the names both of Chandra Gupta I and of his consort Kumara Devi. But the coins issued by Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta do not disclose the names of their queens.

On another type of coins of Samudra Gupta and Kumara Gupta I, the king is shown seated on a couch playing the veena. These coins evidently appear to have been issued to pay a graceful tribute to these kings’ accomplishments. They are portrayed in Indian dress, sitting cross-legged on a high-backed, rather ornate couch, playing the Indian lute. The excellent modelling of the king’s figure, the skilful delineation of the features and the careful attention to details rank these coins amongst the best expressions of the excellence of the numismatic art of the Guptas. Chandra Gupta II had also issued a counterpart of this type, where he is shown seated on a couch and holding an object in his hand.

Royal interest in hunting and riding is the subject of a few other types of coins. Samudra Gupta’s interest in hunting wild animals is portrayed on his tiger-slayer type coins. His son Chandra Gupta II issued coins of the lion-slayer type; and Kumara Gupta I issued coins of both these types. On these coins the issuing
kings are shown trampling upon and shooting the animal with bow and arrow. On a unique coin in the Lucknow Museum, Chandra Gupta II is portrayed as attacking a lion with a sword. The interest of Chandra Gupta II and his son Kumara Gupta I in horse-riding is portrayed on some coins. On some rare coins Kumara Gupta I is shown riding an elephant. Kumara Gupta I had also issued coins of two other types, where he has combined the slayer and rider motifs into one. On one he is riding a horse and killing a rhinoceros and on the other riding an elephant and killing a lion. On one type of coins the king is portrayed with a dwarf male attendant who is holding a chhatra (parasol) at the back.

Samudra Gupta and Kumara Gupta I had also issued special coins for distribution as dakshina (fee) amongst the priests who had participated in their Asvamedha sacrifices. These coins portray the sacrificial horse before the yupe (sacrificial post) on one side and the queen with a fly-whisk on the other. Chandra Gupta II issued coins on the occasion of his worship of Chakra-purusha. On these coins, the Chakra-purusha is shown bestowing upon the king three round objects, which meant either the three worlds or the three royal powers. Lastly, on a type of coins of Kumara Gupta I, three standing figures are shown. What they exactly represent has not been ascertained yet.

On the reverse of all the coins, the goddess is shown either sitting or standing. The goddess on these coins originated from the Kushana Ardoksho, as referred to earlier and took the form of the Indian goddess Lakshmi. But not on all coins is she seen as Lakshmi. On some coins, where she is seen riding a lion, she may be identified as Durga. Similarly, where she is seen standing over a makara (crocodile), she may be Ganga. On some coins the female on the reverse is seen seated in profile on a wicker-stool. Perhaps, there she is not divine. Divinity in profile is unknown in Indian art traditions. Most likely, in these cases, she is a queen. On a type of coin of Kumara Gupta I, the god Kumara (Kartikeya) is shown seated on his peacock.

Like the motifs, the inscriptions on the Gupta coins are also
interesting. The obverse inscriptions that encircle the motif, with a few exceptions, are in the form of a verse, celebrating in highly ornate language the king's glory on the earth and his future bliss in the heaven attained through his merits. Six different legends may be noticed on the coins of Samudra Gupta, ten on the coins of Chandra Gupta II and no less than twenty-four on the coins of Kumara Gupta I.

No silver coins of the early Gupta rulers are known. These were introduced for the first time in the reign of Chandra Gupta II, some time after the Gupta year 90 (409 A.D.), when he came into contact with the Malwa region, where the silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas were current. Chandra Gupta's silver issues closely follow the Kshatrapa coins. The king's bust appears on the obverse with the date in Gupta era at the back or in front of the king. The three-arched hill of the Kshatrapa coins is replaced by the figure of Garuda. But the coins of this king which are known are only a few in number; and all are confined to the western region. Kumara Gupta I followed his father and issued similar coins in quite a large number in the Gujarat-Saurashtra territories of his empire. But the metal of these coins is very much debased and at times appears to be almost copper. He also introduced a new type of silver coins of the same weight and fabric, where the Garuda is replaced by a fan-tailed peacock. This type was meant for the eastern part of the empire. But these coins are rare. Skanda Gupta issued silver coins of both the above types—western and eastern. Besides them, he also issued two new types having a bull or a fire-altar on the reverse. The noticeable feature of his coins is that the debasement of metal that is found in the coins of his father is quite absent. Budha Gupta was the last ruler who issued silver coins; his coins are only of the eastern type and extremely scarce.

Gupta copper coins are rare. It is doubtful if Samudra Gupta had issued any coins in the base metal. It is only Chandra Gupta II and Kumara Gupta I whose copper coins are found. These coins are known in seven or eight varieties and follow the gold or silver patterns for their obverse. For the reverse, the Gupta
royal seal served as the prototype. It bears a Garuda with the wings spread at the top and the name and title of the king below it. A few copper coins, very much similar to the coins of Chandra Gupta II and Kumara Gupta I are known bearing the name of king Harigupta from Ahichchhatra, and that of Jayagupta from an unknown source. The name-ending Gupta and the coin types both unmistakably indicate that the issuers were related to the Imperial Guptas. These rulers might be some collaterals of the imperial family; but they are otherwise unknown.

From Malwa, particularly from Vidisa and Eran, a large number of tiny copper coins, similar in form and fabric to the coins of the Nagas, have come to light in recent years. They bear the name Rama Gupta. A Rama Gupta, the brother of Chandra Gupta II and the first husband of the queen Dhruvadevi, is known from some literary sources. These coins might belong to him; but some scholars are hesitant in accepting this theory. These coins are known in several varieties—a lion seated to left, a lion standing to right, a Garuda with outspread wings, a vase with or without a creeper, etc.
CHAPTER VIII

COINS OF THE HUNAS AND OTHER DYNASTIES

The Hunas, who are also called Ye-tha or Hepthalites, like the earlier invaders of India—the Sakas and the Yueh-chihs—were nomadic, living on the borders of China. Like the other two nomads, the Hunas also migrated from their homeland and moved westwards. They formed two main streams. One flowed towards the Volga, the activities of which figure prominently in Roman history; with them, we are little concerned. The other stream established themselves first on the Oxus; then in the fifth century A.D. pushed towards Persia and India. They crossed the Hindukush, occupied Gandhara and marched towards the territories of the Gupta empire. But their progress was halted by Skanda Gupta. Persia could not check their ravages; the Persian king was defeated and killed. The Hunas thus succeeded in building up a vast empire there. With their enhanced power, the Hunas moved again towards India towards the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A.D. This time, advancing from the Punjab under the leadership of Toramana, they conquered a large part of Western India and Malwa. Under Toramana’s son Mihirakula, who succeeded him two years later, the conquest was extended towards Northern India and the capital was established at Sakala (Sialkot). But soon a revolt of some of his tributary princes drove him out. He then seized Kashmir and held it till his death in 528 A.D. In 565 A.D. the Huna hold on Tranoxania was broken by the Sassanid king Choasroes (Khusru) I with the assistance of the Turks. And this was a death blow to Huna power in India.

The Huna invaders, wherever they went, imitated the coinage of their conquered territories. They introduced little that was new in their coins. They borrowed the Sassanian type in Afghanistan, the Gupta type in India and the Later Kushana type in Kashmir. They issued their coins only in silver and copper; whether they issued any gold coins is not known.
Toramana and Mihirkula both issued silver coins of the Sassanian bust-type, showing the bust of the king to right on the obverse, which is coarse and brutal to the last degree. On the reverse appears the Sassanian fire-altar with its two attendants. The coins of Toramana bear his title Sahi Jabuwalah or Jabula in Gupta Brahmi and do not disclose his name. The coins of Mihirkula have his name Jayatu Mihirakula in some cases; and in some others they follow the precedent and bear only the title Jayatu Vrishadhwaja.

Toramana also issued silver coins of two other types. The one followed the Sassanian tradition for its reverse and had the fire-altar with the two attendants and adopted a new obverse showing a horseman. The legend on these coins is Sahi Jabula or Sahi Janabula. The other type closely followed the Gupta silver coins of the eastern region with the difference that the king’s head is turned to left. The reverse retains the fan-tailed peacock and the legend is almost the same with only the change of name. Some uninscribed silver coins with crudely executed Sassanian bust and fire-altar are known in various parts of Northern India, particularly in Rajasthan and Malwa. They are attributed to Toramana; but this is by no means certain.

The copper coins, found in the eastern Punjab and Rajasthan and attributed to Toramana, bear a king’s head of the Sassanian type on the obverse and the sun-wheel with the name Tora or Zabo or Jabula on the reverse. He also issued copper coins of the Gupta archer type, closely copying the obverse and the reverse and only differing in the inscription. Then there are a large number of copper coins of the Kidara Kushana type, found mainly in Kashmir, where the king is standing with the legend Sri Toramana on the obverse and a crudely executed Ardoksho holding a lotus with the legend Kidara on the reverse. These coins have been found along with the coins of the Muslim Sultans of Kashmir in the excavations at Avantipur, near the Avantiswami temple. Srivara, a chronicler of the fifteenth century A.D., also refers to the circulation of the Toramana coins in his period. These have created a doubt about these coins being the issues of the Huna Toramana. So, various suggestions have been made about the authorship of these coins.
A Toramana is mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*; but he was never a king and had died in prison. And no other Toramana is known to whom these coins may be attributed. Under the circumstances, these coins had to be attributed to the Huna ruler; and the late currency of the coins may be explained well if we look to instances in Indian history where a coin type remained current for centuries and its subsequent copies were made for circulation.

The copper coins of Mihirakula are of three types. The large copper coins portray the king riding a horse on the obverse and Lakshmi on the reverse. This appears to have been copied from the Gupta horseman type. The second type follows the Later Kushanas. The third is the Sassanian type with the king's bust on the obverse and a humped bull on the reverse.

Some of these coins, found in the Punjab, appear to be counter-struck. A section of scholars thinks that they are originally the coins of Mihirakula and have been counter-struck with the legend of Toramana. Another section takes them to be the coins of Toramana counter-struck with the device and legend of Mihirakula. If the latter conjecture is correct, then there is nothing to be surprised at; the coins of a predecessor are known to have been counter-struck by his successor in Indian numismatics. But if the former theory is correct, then it suggests that Mihirakula had a son named Toraman, who succeeded him.

After Mihirakula, some Huna rulers still existed somewhere in the North-western region; and they issued coins of the Sassanian type. Of these rulers Khingila, Udayaditya and Narendraditya may particularly be mentioned.

Now coming to the west, a dynasty called Traikutaka was ruling over the Konkan and Maratha country, just when Kumara Gupta I had extended his power over Gujarat and Saurashtra. They were most probably a viceregal family of the Abhiras, who had carved out a kingdom of their own at the expense of the latter. On the downfall of the Guptas in the Western region, the Traikutaka kings annexed the southern part of Gujarat and issued silver coins. Two kings—Dahrasena and his son Vyaghrasena, who may be placed in the latter half of the fifth century A.D.—are known from
their coins. Their coins closely imitate those of the Western Kshatrapas.

Towards the east, in the Chhatisgarh region of Madhya Pradesh and in the adjoining areas of Orissa, is found a most unusual type of gold coins. They are very thin in fabric and repousse in technique and weigh about 19-20 grains. They were current there during the latter part of the fifth and the early part of the sixth centuries A.D. Such coins are unknown elsewhere in India in any other period of history. They relate to two dynasties. The earliest ones belong to the Nala dynasty, which flourished in South Kosala towards the end of the fifth century A.D. The rulers who issued the coins are Varaharaja, Bhavadattaraja and Arthapatiraja. The coins bear within a circle of dots a couchant bull; below the bull is the name of the issuer in the box-headed Brahmi of the south. The later coins belong to Prasannamatra, Mahendraditya and Kramaditya and bear a Garuda with outstretched wings. While Prasannamatra is the well-known ruler of the Sarabhapuriya dynasty, the other two are unknown in his line. Since Mahendraditya and Kramaditya are the titles of the Gupta emperors Kumara Gupta I and Skanda Gupta, a section of scholars attributes the coins to them and takes them as their local issues.
CHAPTER IX

POST-GUPTA COINS OF NORTHERN INDIA

In the post-Gupta period, from the decline of the Guptas to the advent of the Muslims in India in about the twelfth century A.D., gold coins are extremely rare, silver coins are very few and copper coins also are not many in number. No continuity in coin currency is noticed; nor are they seen uniformly distributed over the country. All the kingdoms, into which the country had now been broken up, did not issue coins; nor did all the rulers of a dynasty or kingdom seem to have their own coins. The coins appear to have lost the glory and magnificence that they had seen in the earlier period. Most of the coins of this period lack originality. Different metals were used in different parts of the country; and again, in one and the same region, the same metal was not used. Further, the coins of the same metal are not of the same quality in their content, fabric and execution. These and many such other confusions mark the period and indicate at times that the coinage system had almost collapsed.

However, Gupta coinage exercised considerable influence on the gold coins of Bengal and on the silver coins of the Northern and Western regions. In the post-Gupta period the earliest gold coins in Bengal were issued by two rulers Samacharadeva and Jayagupta (or Jayanaga) Prakandayasasa. While the former is known by his own copper plate inscriptions and may be placed in the middle of the sixth century A.D., little is known about the latter. The two do not seem to belong to one and the same dynasty; nor do they appear to be related in any way. But both issued coins of the archer type of the Guptas, showing the king standing left in tribhanga pose, holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right and with the name below. The bull-standard is seen in the left field on the coins of Samachara and the chakra-standard on the coins of Jaya. On the coins of the former, Lakshmi seated on a lotus and holding a lotus in her left hand is shown. Lakshmi is also seen on the coins
of the latter; but there an elephant on a lotus is seen in addition in the left field above. Samacharadeva had also issued coins of another type where the king is seated on a couch in the raja-lila pose with female attendants on either side. On the reverse Lakshmi is replaced by Saraswati, standing with a lotus in both the hands and a hamsa (swan) standing by her side.

Then after a short gap in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D., Sasanka, the king of Gauda, a rival of the Maukhari of Kanyakubja, and Harshavardhana of Thanesvara issued their coins in debased gold. They show Siva reclining on his bull on the obverse and Lakshmi seated with an elephant on the reverse. Another gold coin that may be placed in this period and which is connected with the coinage of Sasanka, belongs to Virasena; but it is by no means certain that it was issued in Bengal. On these a bull is seen on the obverse and Lakshmi on the reverse.

Thereafter, many crude and debased imitations of the Gupta coins are known from different parts of Bengal; and they may be placed in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. The obverse of these coins has a standing king with bow and arrow and a standing goddess on the reverse; and she is shown sometimes as eight-handed. In most cases, the obverse bears no inscription; in a few cases Sri may be seen with some unintelligible scribblings; on the reverse some traces of legend are also seen and they are not always legible. They disclose some names but they could not be properly deciphered. These coins might have been issued by some local rulers of Bengal about whom nothing is known.

To the eighth century may be assigned a gold coin of the neatly executed Gupta tradition whereon Avalokitesvara, a Buddhist deity, is shown seated and before him is sitting a crowned figure with folded hands. The reverse bears an elephant-standard with a flying pennon. The name Sri Vindhya-sakti is inscribed on it. But no king of this name is known so far in the eastern region. Then a solitary gold coin is attributed to Devapala of the Pala dynasty (810-850 A.D.). It bears a king with bow and arrow on one side and Lakshmi on the other. The coin is executed in the acme of Pala art; but the inscription placed on it makes its genuineness doubtful.
In Uttar Pradesh, gold coins are extremely rare. A coin showing Siva and Parvati seated together is attributed to Harshavardhana, the great king of Thanesvara and Kanyakubja. Then a few coins are known bearing the names of Vatsadaman, Vappuka and Kesava. They are attributed to the Surasena dynasty of Bayana (Bharatpur). Here on one side a cow is shown suckling a calf and on the other side a Varaha trampling on a demon. These coins are attributed to the eighth-ninth centuries A.D. This is all that is known of the gold coins in Northern India till the tenth century A.D.

The silver coins of the Gupta type were adopted by a few rulers of this period. The Vardhanas of Thanesvara and the Maukharis of Kanyakubja, who were inter-related by marriage, issued coins of this type in the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. Coins of Isanavarman (550-576 A.D.), Sarvavarman (576-580 A.D.) and Avantivarman (580-600 A.D.) of the Maukhar dynasty and of Pratapasila (Prabhakaravardhana) and Siladitya (Harshavardhana) of the Vardhana dynasty are known of the Eastern peacock type of Kumara Gupta and Skanda Gupta. But the head on the obverse is turned to left instead of to right. These coins were later copied by Bhimasena or Bhimaraja of an unknown family. The western type of Gupta silver coins were copied by Krishnaraja of the Kalachuri dynasty in the middle of the sixth century A.D. They bear a bull on the reverse on the pattern of Skanda Gupta's coins. These coins are found scattered about in a fairly large area, covering Malwa and Rajasthan in the north, the districts of Nasik and Satara in the south, the Islands of Bombay and Salsette in the west and the district of Betul and Amaravati in the east. With these coins ended the family of Gupta coinage.

Tiny silver coins, weighing in the proximity of 6-7 grains, originated towards the end of the eighth century A.D. in Central and Western India. They have an elephant walking to right on the obverse and the inscription Rana-hasti on the reverse. They probably belong to the Pratihara ruler Vatsaraja (778-788 A.D.). Whether this type was issued by any other ruler after him is not known. But after a long time, it suddenly appears in the twelfth century A.D. in Gujarat and Saurashtra in the coins of the Chalukyan king Jayasimha.
Siddharaja. They have a similar elephant on the obverse and a long inscription in three lines *Srimajjayasimha-priya* on the reverse.

Towards the north-western region, Sassanid type of coins were introduced by the Kidarites and the Hunas in the earlier period. The same type of coins continued in the seventh century A.D. They were issued by a dynasty, which was either Sassanid itself or was acknowledging the suzerainty of Persia and had established itself either contemporaneously to the later Hunas or soon after their decline. Their coins have the traits of the coins of the Hunas as well as of those of the Sassanids; as such, they may be called Hepthalos-Sassanids. The chief feature of these coins is that the king wears a head-dress which is adorned with a buffalo-head and wings on either side. The coins at a first glance appear to be restruck; the reverse having the fire-altar with attendants is found almost obliterated. But the partial or total effacement of the reverse motif on these coins is the result of the use of a different striking technique. The bi-faced coins are usually stamped by the simultaneous use of both the obverse and the reverse dies. Here the reverse was stamped first and then, without providing any protection to it, it was placed on the anvil and the obverse die was struck. The result was that the reverse motif was crushed between the striking of the hammer and the pressure on the anvil. These Hepthalos-Sassanid coins may be distinguished as (i) monolinguial, having Pahlavi or Indian Brahmi inscriptions; (ii) bilingual having Pahlavi and Hepthalite inscriptions; and (iii) trilingual, having Pahlavi, Hepthalite and Indian legends. The Hepthalite legends, which are in a kind of corrupt Greek script, have never been deciphered. Half-hearted attention has been given to the Pahlavi legends. So it is not possible to say much on the basis of the Brahmi legends alone which are not clear in most cases.

The best known and finely executed silver and copper coins of this series are those which bear the name in Pahlavi and which may be read as *Napki, Naapki, Nesaki* or *Nezaki*; some of them also have the title *Maleka* (king). A few coins are known on which the Brahmi legend *Sri Yadavi Mana Sri* or *Vasu Vangara* can be read. The attribution of these coins to any king is not possible in the present stage.
of our knowledge. Some other coins bear the name Zabulistan (the land of the Zabulas or the Hunas) and shows a female figure with a fire-nimbus in place of the fire-altar with the attendant motif on the reverse. This motif was earlier thought to represent the sun-god of Multan or Maitreya Bodhisatva, but it actually represents Khurasan Zarrah (the glory of Khurasan), the city goddess. This type was issued by the kings named Pandur or Pangur, Vasudeva alias Martan Shah and Shahi Tigin. The coins of Shahi Tigin have a long Brahmī legend on the obverse and this has been read as Sri Hitva-cha Airana-cha Paramesvara Sri Sahi Tigin Devaja and is interpreted to mean “The fortunate sovereign both of India and Persia, the fortunate Shahi Tigin, the son of heaven.” But both the inscription and its translation are far from satisfactory.

These Hepthalio-Sassanid coins formed the direct prototype for the debased silver pieces, which bear the Sassanid bust on the obverse and the fire-altar on the reverse in degraded form, and are found in large quantities in Rajasthan, Gujarat and Malwa with its extensions towards Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, and are called “Indo-Sassanian” coins. They follow the weight of their prototypes, i.e., 67 grains, and are named drammas. The Indo-Sassanian coins, in their early stage, preserved the thin flat fabric of their prototypes; but they gradually grew thicker and thicker and shrank in size. Ultimately, they became dumpy and appeared like pellets. These later types are popularly known as Gadhaiya coins. Likewise the motifs on the two sides of the coins gradually degenerated and there remained hardly anything with which to identify the original motifs. These coins bear short inscriptions consisting of one or two letters and perhaps represent the initials or abbreviations of the names of the issuing kings. These initials-bearing coins are predominantly found in Rajasthan with its extension only towards Malwa. So it has been suggested by a scholar, with all plausibility, that they are the issues of the early rulers of Mewar. The coins which are found spread over in Uttar Pradesh bear the inscription Sri Vigra and are attributed to Vigrahapala. Along with the Sri Vigra coins are found coins of the same fabric but with a different motif of Varaha, the boar-incarnation of Vishnu on the obverse. The
reverse bears the legend *Srimadadivaraha* in two lines in bold letters. These coins were issued by the Prātihara king Bhoja I. Similar coins were also issued by his son Vinayakapala; but they are extremely crude in their fabric and execution.

The Gadhaiya coins were issued in the Konkan region of Maharashtra also by the Silahara king Chhittaraja. They bear his name on the reverse. Similarly, some coins found in Rajasthan bear the name *Sri Somaladevi*. She was perhaps the queen of the Chahamana ruler Ajayadeva of Sakambhari. From Madhya Pradesh Gadhaiya coins are known which bear the legend *Sri Om* or *Sri Omkara* on the reverse and are believed to have been issued in the name of the Omkara Mandhata, whose famous temple stands on the bank of the Narmada at Mandhata, not far from Indore.

Some Gadhaiya type coins are known from the region round about the Nimar district of Madhya Pradesh. They retain the unrecognisable head of the king on the obverse and introduce a fighting scene on the reverse. A horseman is seen fighting with his sword against two foot-soldiers; a third foot-soldier appears attacking the horseman from behind. But on no single coin is the complete scene depicted. Who issued these coins cannot be said with any amount of certainty. These Indo-Sassanian and Gadhaiya coins, though they appear like silver or copper, are in most cases billon having different grades of the silver-copper alloy. Those which have less copper appear white, those having a little silver appear copperish.

In the Punjab a series of copper coins is found which crudely represent Siva with the bull in the style of the Later Kushana coins on one side and the name Kota or Sruta with some flanking devices on the other. Some coins show a human figure with a spear or bow and the name Jishnu. They also appear to belong to the above series. But little is known about the issuers of these coins. Some coins, bearing the name of Jishnu and of the same period, are known from Malwa. But the Malwa coins are quite different in their motif, fabric and execution. They are tiny coins weighing 7-9 grains and bear a *sankha* or *chakra* on one side and the name on the other.

The coins of Kashmir follow the Kidara coins and have
seated Ardoksho and the standing king. The earlier coins, though crudely executed, present the motifs in an identifiable manner. But soon, in the eighth century A.D., when the rulers of the Karkota dynasty came to power, the motifs culminated in their extreme degeneration. On them, it is impossible to distinguish between the standing male and seated female figures. Their heads have almost disappeared on these coins. These coins are said to have been issued in base gold or electrum; but in fact they are copper coins, where gold or silver is alloyed. In them the gold and silver contents are only 12 and 15 per cent, respectively; the rest is copper. The Karkota dynasty was followed by the Utpala dynasty in about 855 A.D. They issued coins exclusively in copper. These coins, though they follow the Karkota dynasty and retain the Kidara motifs, are far superior in their execution. Here the obverse and reverse figures may well be recognised. The goddess is shown on these coins as wearing two big kundalas. The arms of the goddess were gradually replaced by the inscription. This type continued till the end.

Thus the Kashmir coins from the seventh century to the thirteenth century A.D. had a boring monotony. The only break in this monotonous series occurs in the reign of Harshadeva (1089-1111 A.D.), when gold and silver coins were struck with an ornate elephant on the obverse and the legend in bold Nagari letters on the reverse. These coins are taken to be the imitation of the gold coins of Karnata.

In about the second half of the ninth century A.D., a dynasty called Shahi was ruling in the Gandhara or Kabul-Ohind region. The rulers of this dynasty issued coins of their own devices, weight and fabric in copper and silver. The most common type of coins that they issued has a horseman with a long lance in his right hand and some indistinct object in the left on one side and a recumbent bull to left with jhula (saddle-cloth) and a Nagari legend on the other. This type was most likely introduced by Spalapatideva and was continued by several rulers; amongst them Samantadeva is most important. These coins have a wide diffusion throughout Northern India and appear to have gained wide popularity. They are
found in various forms of execution and fabric and suggest that they remained current in the country even after him. The coins were produced posthumously in his name. These coins also influenced the coinage of the subsequent periods. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A.D., a number of dynasties and rulers issued coins of this type in silver and billon. They not only copied the type but also retained the name of Samantadeva on the bull side of their coins. They added their names on the horseman side. Some of the rulers prefixed an epithet to the name of Sri Samantadeva, of which the real significance is still obscure.

The coins bearing the name of Samantadeva without any prefix during this late period were issued by the Tomara rulers Sallakshana-
pala (978-1008 A.D.) and Anangapala (1049-1097 A.D.). Next in chronology may be placed the Gahadavala coins of Madanapala Deva (1080-1115 A.D.), which bear the legend Madhava Sri Samanta-
deua. Then came the coins of the Chamana rulers of Sakambari—
Someshvaradeva (1162-1166 A.D.) and Prithviraja (1166-1192 A.D.),
They have the legend Asawari Sri Samantadeva. A king named Sri Pipala of some unknown dynasty issued coins with the name Kutama
cana Sri Samantadeva on the bull side. A few coins of quite a crude
fabric bear no inscription on the horseman side and have the name
of the issuer on the bull side. In one case the name is Sri Mahipala-
deva and in the case of the other Sri Asatapala or Sri Amritapala. The
former is attributed to the Tomara dynasty (1103-1128 A.D.) and
the latter to the kingdom of Badaun and placed in circa 1200 A.D.

Lastly, in this series are the coins of Malayavarman of the Prati-
hara dynasty (1220-1230 A.D.) and of Chahadadeva (1235-1254
A.D.), Asalladeva (1254-1279 A.D.) and Ganapati (1291-1298 A.D.)
of the Jajapella dynasty of Narwar. These coins retain only one of
the two motifs of the Shahi coins. The horseman motif is seen on
the coins of Malayavarman, Asalladeva and Ganapati and the bull
motif on the coins of Chahadadeva. The other side bears the name
of the issuer in bold Nagari letters. Somelekha, the queen of the
Sakambari ruler Ajayadeva (circa 1133 A.D.), also issued coins
with the horseman motif on the obverse and her name on the
reverse.
After a very long gap of about three to four hundred years, coins in gold were again revived by Gangeyadeva, the Kalachuri ruler of Tripuri (1015-1040 A.D.). He placed four-armed Lakshmi, seated cross-legged, holding a lotus in the upper two hands on one side and his name Srimadgangeyadeva in three lines in bold Nagari letters on the other. These coins are found in silver and copper also; but the shade of the coins in the three metals varies from gold to base gold, silvery gold, silver, silvered copper (billon) and copper. The difference between them is so little perceptible that it is difficult to say that they were issued in three distinct metals and that they represent any definite monetary system. Likewise the seated goddess has innumerable intermediate stages between an extremely good drawing and a crude stylised figure. The degeneration in metal and art to this extent would not have occurred only during the twenty-five years of Gangeyadeva’s reign. It is, therefore, believed that these coins, in the name of Gangeyadeva, were issued for more than a century after his death.

This Lakshmi type coins of Gangeyadeva were also adopted by some of the later rulers in gold and silver in their baser form, rather in cupro-electrum and billon. This type was copied first by the Paramara rulers Udayaditya (Udayadeva) (1059-1080 A.D.) and Naravarman (1097-1134 A.D.) of Malwa. Then the Chandelas of Jejakbhuuki issued this type for about two centuries from the beginning of the last quarter of the eleventh to the end of the third quarter of the thirteenth century A.D. Govindachandra Deva of the Gahadavala family (1114-1154 A.D.), Ajayaraja of the Chahmana dynasty (circa 1133 A.D.) and Ajayapala, Kumarapala and Mahipala, probably of the Yadu family of Bayana, were the other rulers who issued coins of this type.

Thus the Lakshmi and bull-horseman types were the two main coinage during the eleventh and twelfth centuries A.D. and were used by one or another dynasty. These coins had also considerable influence in the subsequent period. The Lakshmi type was used on the gold coins by the Delhi Sultan Muhammad bin Sam, who is popularly known as Muhammad Gohori and the bull-horseman type was used by him and a number of his successors for their billon
coins. The latter type continued to be used in a degenerated form even later by the rulers of Kangra.

Two other types of gold coins are known during this period. One was issued by the Kalachuri rulers of Ratanpur in the twelfth century A.D. They placed a lion attacking an elephant on the obverse and their names in bold Nagari letters on the reverse on the Gangeyadeva pattern. The other type was issued by the Naga rulers of Bastar during the same period. They placed on the obverse their dynastic insignia—a roaring tiger (Vyaghra) and a dagger in front and the sun and the moon above—and their name on the reverse. The Ratanpur rulers also issued some copper coins with the effigy of Hanumana, flying or trampling on a demon. Some of the Chandela rulers are also known to have used this device for their coins in copper. In both cases, the reverse bears the name.
CHAPTER X

LATER SOUTH INDIAN COINS

As has been mentioned earlier, the numismatic history of South India, from the seventh century A.D. to about the tenth century A.D., is shrouded in uncertainty. No coins are known in this period. Even after that, the picture that emerges is not very encouraging. Now the coins that are known pose a big problem in regard to their attribution. It is generally thought that the chief devices that are found on these coins are the same as the heraldic marks (lanchhanas) of the various South Indian dynasties; but this does not appear to be true in all cases. At times, the devices seen on the coins of one dynasty are found incorporated on those of the others. Then motifs like the lion, the bull and the elephant are found on many coins. They are known on the South Indian coins from a very early period; so, they may be treated only as traditional or conventional. Inscriptions on these coins are rare; when they appear, they are short. They give only a part of the ruler’s name (full name on these coins is an exception) or the epithet, which is frequent and for the identification of which we have hardly any means. The only course left is to depend on the find-spots of the coins for their attribution to any ruler or dynasty; and this is never a sure method. Even this dubious evidence is not always available in ample measure.

However, the most striking feature of the South Indian coins of this period is the revival of the technique that was employed in the manufacture of silver and copper punch-marked coins in the pre-Christian centuries. The technique was re-introduced after about a thousand years, first by the Kadambas who inhabited Mysore and the Kanara regions towards the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. In this period, the gold coins were stamped with a punch bearing a symbol in the centre of the flan of the coins. It was so deeply punched at times, that the coins took the shape of a deep concave. Around this central
symbol are punched a number of symbols or letters with different punches. On account of this stamping technique, the earlier writers called these coins “punch-marked coins of gold”; but now in contradistinction to the ancient punch-marked coins, these coins have been given the name of Padma-tanka. This name was derived from the fact that some of the coins bear a lotus as the central symbol; but not all the coins bear it.

The early Kadamba gold coins have a large lotus struck on the full flan on one side, and the other side has six small punches, each placed separately. Thus these coins are a queer combination of the die-striking and punch-marking techniques. Of the six punches on the reverse of these coins, four are a little larger and bear a small flower in each of them; the other two are a little smaller and blank. The coins of other dynasties and rulers have punches only on one side; the other side remains blank. Such coins were issued by the Eastern and Western Chalukyas, the Cholas and a few other rulers and lastly by the Yadavas of Devagiri.

Of the Eastern Chalukyas, the coins of Raja Raja I (1019–1059 A.D.) bear the dynastic symbol—a boar facing proper left flanked by a lamp-stand on either side and surmounted by an ankusa (elephant-goad), a chhatra (parasol) and two chauries (fly-whisks) punched in the centre; around it towards the margin is the inscription Sri Raja Raja followed by the letter sa (for Samvat) and a numeral figure. Each letter of the inscription is punched separately. These coins are fairly well known and have been found not only in the Chalukyan territories but also outside India on the islands of Rumri and Cheduba off the Arakan coast in Burma, on the Arakan coast itself and in Siam. Saktivarman (1000–1012 A.D.), an earlier member of the dynasty, had probably also issued such coins. Some coins are known which bear the inscriptions Sri Chulnarayana and Sri Chalhrayana. The coins with the former legend have the central punch bearing a boar facing right and those bearing the latter legend have a tiger and a standing chaouri-bearer as the central punch. The emblem boar of the first type relates it to the Eastern Chalukyas; but the legend shows the title of the Chola king Raja Raja I. Similarly, the tiger of the second type was the
emblem of the Cholas and the legend relates them to the Chalukya Saktivarman I. Thus the two types of coins have inter-changed emblems and inscriptions of the Cholas and the Chalukyas. This is quite interesting; but looking to the mutual relations of the two dynasties, this is perhaps not so surprising. Quite likely, the coins with the inscription Sri Chulanarayana were issued by Chola Raja Raja I, when Vengi was virtually a protectorate of the Chola empire; and those having the Chola emblem and the legend Sri Chalkhurayana were issued by Chalukya Saktivarman I in token of gratitude to the Cholas.

Rajendra Kulottunga I (1070-1118 A.D.), who was a prince of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty and king of the Cholas, had issued coins with the central punch having two fish and a tiger seated dog-fashion placed side by side and flanked on either side by a bow and a parasol and a fly-whisk above. The marginal punches bear two types of inscriptions: (i) Kataikondacholam (the Chola who took Katai) and (ii) Malainadukondacholam (the Chola who took Malainadu). These titles relate to Kulottunga's conquests of Katai (Kedah in the east) and Kerala.

Among the Western Chalukyas, Jayasimha II (Jagadekamalla, 1015-1043 A.D.), Somesvara I (Tailokyamalla, 1043-1063 A.D.), Somesvara II (Bhuvanaikamalla, 1068-1078 A.D.) and Vikramaditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) had issued punch-marked gold coins. The coins of Jayasimha II bear a large temple with a domed tower surmounted by a chakra as the central punch and his title is punched around; a punch is used for each letter. He perhaps also issued another type of coins where five lions are punched with five punches and the title is punched with separate punches for each of the letters. His successor issued coins of the second type with five lions. The coins of the next ruler Somesvara II bear nine punches; five of them have a lotus, two bear conventional Kannada Sri, the eighth punch has the sun and the moon and the last punch has the name. Coins of a similar type, with the legend Bhuja in the ninth punch, are attributed to the next ruler Vikramaditya VI. Similar coins, with a punch having the legend Kalachure, are attributed to Bijjala Tribhuvanamalla who usurped the Chalukyan
thron (1156-1181 A.D.) Coins having this very group of nine punches with some unintelligible legends are also known; but they cannot be attributed to any king or dynasty.

On a variety of coins having nine punches, the central punch bears the figure of Hanuman, four punches have the lion, two the conventional Kannada Sri and the remaining two repeat the legend Suga along with an ankusa. Since Hanuman was the crest of the Hangala branch of the Kadambas, these coins are believed to be their issues.

Then some coins have six punches without any legend. On them the central punch bears a boar, two have Sri, the fourth a lotus, the fifth a sankha and the sixth a bow. Another series of coins have five punches. The central one has the elephant, two punches have the conventional Sri and the remaining two have Telugu legends Bavana and Gadava. A few coins are known having only four punches, two of them have Sri, one has a symbol which appears to be a temple or a crown and the fourth has the legend Rayana. All these coins could not be attributed to any king or dynasty.

The Yadavas of Devagiri also issued punch-marked gold coins. The first ruler of the dynasty Bhillam V (1185-1193 A.D.) issued coins bearing nine punches; five of them have the lion, two have Sri, the eighth has a sankha and the ninth bears the name Sri Bhillamadeva in two lines in Nagari letters. Then Singhana (1200-1247 A.D.) issued, in the beginning, coins with six punches. On them the central figure is doubtfully identified as a dancing Krishna; of the other five, two are the usual Sri, the third has a lotus, the fourth a sankha and the fifth has the name Sri Singhana in Nagari. Later he issued coins with only five punches. They bear a lotus in the centre; two of the punches have Sri, the third has a sankha and the fourth bears his name in Nagari. This type was followed by his successors Krishna (1247-1261 A.D.), Mahadeva (1261-1271 A.D.) and Ramachandra (1271-1310 A.D.). A few coins, with a Garuda in the central punch and Ramacha in one of the punches, are also attributed to Yadava Ramachandra. A coin following the Yadava pattern bears the Nagari legend Sri Lakshmi in the fifth
punch. This coin most likely belongs to Lakshmideva, the Abhira chief of Bhambhagiri, a contemporary ruler of Singhana.

Some gold coins of a peculiar V-shape are known from the Satara district. They bear three punches. Two punches that bear a Kannada legend are stamped on the two arms; and the third, which bears a boar or an elephant, is punched at the junction of the two arms. The Kannada legends on these coins are unintelligible. These coins may be placed in the eleventh century and are doubtfully attributed to the Chalukyas.

A few die-struck coins were also issued in this part of the country during this period. They are stamped either on one side or on both and are inscribed as well as uninscribed. They are equally problematic; and their attribution is difficult. Die-struck coins were prominently issued by the Kadambas of Goa. Jayakeshi I (circa early eleventh century A.D.) issued coins of two types—one having gaja-sardula (lion-elephant) and the other only a lion facing right. Both the types have a common reverse bearing a trisula and the Nagari inscription Sri Malaigai Bhairava. The next ruler Soyideva issued coins with the lion and the name Sri Soyi in Nagari on the obverse and a trisula and the legend Sri Malaharamari on the reverse. Soyideva also issued another type of gold coins with a large maned lion and the name of the cyclic year on the obverse and a long Nagari legend beginning with Sri Saptakotisha labdha-vira followed by his name and ending with the title Malaharamari. Similar coins were also issued by Sivachitta and Hemmadideva.

The Hoysala Vishnuvardhana (1115-1159 A.D.) and Narasimha (1159-1171 A.D.) are also known to have issued die-struck gold coins. The former issued coins of two types. On one a lion forms the obverse and the title Sri Talakadagonda on the reverse. The other type has a lion-riding Chamunda on one side and the title Sri Nanambawadigonda on the other. The latter type was issued by Narasimha also. His coins bear the inscription Sri Pratapa Narasimha. On some coins a bare-headed figure with a long sword is seen on the obverse. The reverse has the Kannada legend Nigalam-kamaladandi-nagova. They belong to Barma-Bhupala, who ruled in the Bijapur, Belgaum and Dharwar area in the twelfth century A.D.
On some other coins the figure of Virabhadra and the Nagari legend \textit{Vairimartanda} are found; but to whom they belong cannot be said.

A few gold coins are also known uninscribed. Some small coins having a trident without a handle with the sun and the moon in the intervening space between the fork on the obverse and Garuda on the reverse are attributed to the Silaharas of Kolhapur. Some other coins have an elephant on one side and a double-storied temple on the other; but they are unattributable. A third type of uninscribed gold coins are that which have a large caparisoned elephant on one side and a floral scroll on the other. They are mostly known from the Mysore area and are called “Gajapati Pagodas”. Some gold coins of Harsha, the king of Kashmir (1089-1111 A.D.), are very much similar to these coins; and the \textit{Rajatarangini} mentions that his coins were imitated from those of the Karnata. This suggests that these coins might have been issued by the Gangas. But these coins are found even today in large numbers and are copied for the necklace; this makes their attribution doubtful. According to a scholar they belong to Mallikarjuna of the Vijayanagar dynasty. Some tiny thin gold coins with a recumbent bull on the obverse and Telugu regnal dates on the reverse are found in Orissa. They are attributed to the Gangas, who had settled in Kalinga (Orissa) and ruled there from the sixth to the eleventh centuries A.D.

The Cholas, who were supreme in the Tamildesa, also had issued some gold coins; but they lack their own dignity. They vary considerably in gold content and at times are merely gold-washed. However, credit goes to them for issuing silver coins in the South. South Indian silver coins are extremely rare. The gold and silver coins of the Cholas bear the same devices. Uttama Chola was the first Chola ruler who issued gold and silver coins with his name Uttama Chola in Nagari letters on one side and a device consisting of a row of figures: (i) a lamp-stand; (ii) a stringed bow; (iii) a seated tiger; (iv) a line and (v) two upright fish, all placed under an umbrella flanked by two fly-whisks, on the other. His successor Raja Raja I (985-1016 A.D.) stamped his gold
and silver coins with this very device on both the sides and added his name to it. Similar coins were also issued by Rajendra Chola (1011-1043 A.D.) under his own name Sri Rajendra as well as under the title Gangaikonda-cholan. Some gold coins, which have a fish and a seated lion on one side and the Tamil legend Chanta-cholah on the other, are doubtfully attributed to Rajadhiraja I (1018-1042 A.D.).

Some tiny gold coins of about 6 grains in weight are known with the obverse motif of Uttama Chola’s coins on one side and the Nagari inscription Tuddhamalla on the other. None of the Chola rulers is known to bear this title; and the malla title resembles the Chalukyan titles very much. It is, therefore, believed that these tiny pieces might have been issued by Rajendra Chola I as a special issue or as largesse money on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter to the Chalukyan king Raja Raja Narendra (1019-1061 A.D.). Some tiny silver coins weighing between 1.4 and 30 grains with a tiger or a lion and a dagger on the obverse and the name Rajadhiraja (on bigger coins) and Ra (on smaller coins) are known from the North Kanara district. These coins are also, most likely, largesse money and might have been issued at the time of the Chola conquest.

A peculiar type of coins, in poor gold, silver and copper, was issued by Raja Raja I, where a standing king is shown on the obverse and a seated king holding a sankha and a seated tiger facing the king on the reverse. The figures on both sides are drawn in lines. The reverse bears the Nagari legend Sri Raja Raja. This type was most probably coined first by the Pandyans in the Korkey area of Tinnevelly and from them it was adopted on these coins. This coin-type spread with the Chola power and was later copied by the kings of Ceylon and came to be known as the “Ceylon-man type”. The copper coins of this type bearing the name Raja Raja vary considerably in their fabric. Some of them have flat flans, while the others are smaller in size and both faces appear to be convex. The motifs on them also show gradual deterioration. There is, therefore, the possibility that these coins were struck even after Raja Raja for a long time. The only other coins of this type are those which have the legend Sri Kulottunga in mixed Tamil-Nagari letters. A few coins of the type also bear the legend Sri
Lankesvara or Sri Lankavira. The latter most probably relates to Raja Raja I himself and refers to his conquest of Ceylon.

The Pandyans who had issued silver punch-marked and die-struck copper coins in the early period had a chequered history during this period. They were first independent; then they were subdued by the Pallavas. In the ninth century A.D. they emerged high only to fall again during the eleventh-twelfth centuries A.D. under the domination of the Cholas. In the thirteenth century, they were the leading Tamil state; but they again gradually declined in power. A few gold coins are attributed to the Pandyan rulers of this period; but this attribution is by no means well established or proved. On these coins a fish appears sometimes singly, sometimes in pairs along with symbols like a bow, a conch, a discus, etc. On some of them Sri Panduva Narapa is read in Kannada and Sri Pandya Dhananjaya in Nagari or in Telugu. The former is attributed to Maravarman Sundara Pandya I (1216-1235 A.D.) or to Jatavarman Sundara I (1251-1270 A.D.) and the latter to Maravarman Sundara Pandya II (1238-1253 A.D.). The coins with the latter inscriptions are known from the Kanara district; so some scholars are inclined to attribute them to the Alupa rulers.

The copper coins of the Pandyas, besides having the fish emblem, also have the Chola standing figure or the Chalukyan devices associated with fish. This intermingling of the symbols of various dynasties on the Pandyan coins, perhaps, indicates their conquests and defeats. On a few of these coins, the name Sundara, Sundra Pandya or merely the letter su is found. To which of the many Sundara Pandyas they refer is difficult to say. Some coins bear a boar with the legend Vira-Pandya, read doubtfully, on one side and the figure of Venu-Gopala (Murlidhara Krishna) on the other. They are assumed to have been issued by the Pandyans and the feudatories of the Cholas but cannot be attributed to any particular king. Then there are some coins which show the titles of the rulers; but only a few of them may be attributed to any particular ruler with the help of the epigraphs. The coins bearing the fish symbols are known having the titles Kondaramana, Kanchi Velengum Perumal. The Chola standing and seated king type coins have the titles
Bhutala, Ellenthalai, Parasurama. Kulasekhara is found written on coins which show only the standing king. Ellenthalaiyam is seen on coins which have the standing king on one side and the fishes on the other. Samarakolahan and Bhwaneka-viran are found on coins having a Garuda, Konerirayan having a bull and Kali-yugaraman having two feet.

In Kerala, silver coins are known having on one side a crocodile moving left in between a Nagari legend of two lines—Vira Kerala. On the other side is a kalasa or kumbha between two Nagari lines—Sri Gandarankusaya. This is the only coinage of the extreme southern part of the Western coast. It was probably issued by Vira Kerala Varman (circa 1127 A.D.).

A new era was ushered in in South Indian numismatics with the foundation of the Vijayanagar kingdom in 1336 A.D. as a bulwark against Muslim conquests; it continued to flourish under three successive dynasties till 1565 A.D.; the members of a fourth dynasty ruled as minor chiefs at Chandragiri until the end of the seventeenth century A.D. (Like the earlier South Indian coinage, the issues of Vijayanagar are, for the most part, in gold. Silver coins are known only of one ruler—Devaraya II (1422-1446 A.D.); and they are tiny, weighing only about four grains. Copper coins were also issued; but they are also restricted.) (The gold coins of this period are small, dumpy in fabric and bear on the obverse mostly Hindu gods and goddesses and on the reverse the name of the king in Nagari or Kannada script. The fabric and type of these coins were followed in the subsequent centuries under the name of pagoda by the local rulers and the European trading companies.

Harihara, the first ruler of the Sangam dynasty (1336-1356 A.D.), the founder of the kingdom, used Hanuman and Garuda on his coins. His successor Bukka I (1356-1377 A.D.) also used Hanuman. Garuda is known, after Harihara, only in the time of Krishnaraya (1509-1529 A.D.). In the time of Harihara II (Pratapa Harihara, 1377-1404 A.D.), altogether new devices of Uma-Mahesvara, Lakshmi-Narayana and Lakshmi-Narasimha were introduced on his gold coins and the standing bull on his copper coins. The next ruler Devaraya (1422-1466 A.D.) retained
only Uma-Mahesvara on his gold coins and introduced an altogether new device of an elephant on his copper coins, and the practice was followed by a few of his successors. No coins are known of the Suluva dynasty (1485-1506 A.D.). The kings of Tuluva dynasty (1506-1570 A.D.) retained Uma-Mahesvara on their coins and re-introduced the bull and Garuda types; and at the same time they also included Venkatesa and Bala-Krishna as the new types. Achyutaraya (1530-1542 A.D.) had Ganda-bherunda and Sadasivaraya (1542-1570 A.D.) Lakshmi-Narayana and Garuda on their coins. The rulers of the Karnata dynasty (1570-1646 A.D.) seem to have been much influenced by Vaishnavism. Venkatesa is prominently seen on their coins. Sankha and chakra, the two main attributes of Vishnu, his vehicle Garuda and his incarnations Rama and Varaha are found on the coins of Tirumalaraya (1570-1573 A.D.). The bull on the Vijayanagar copper coins is the only device that continued from the very beginning. During the last thirty years of the declining days of the kingdom, Vaishnavism dominated not only at the capital but also at the local centres. During this period Vishnu, in almost all the forms of his incarnation, appeared on the local coins. Venkatesa appeared on the gold coins of the powerless rulers and their imitators. The Saiva devices were confined to only a few local areas. Animals like a lion, bull, elephant, tiger, deer or peacock are also seen on the local coins. ✌

The Vijayanagar rulers used Nagari, Kannada and Telugu scripts on their coins. The earliest coins had the old Kannada script, allied to the Western Chalukyas and Hoysala styles. Nandi-Nagari was used under Harihara II (1377-1404 A.D.) and Bukka II (1404-1406 A.D.). Devanagari was employed on the gold and Kannada on the copper coins under the two Devarayas (1406-1446 A.D.). Modern Kannada found a place on the coins of Danayaka (1446 A.D.) and Mallikarjuna (1447-1465 A.D.). From the time of Krishnaraya (1509-1530 A.D.) Kannada was retained only on the bull-type copper coins and Nagari was used on all the other types of coins. Then only a line in Kannada along with Nagari is found on the coins of Venkataraya I (1542 A.D.). The
Telugu inscription is found on the bull-type coins of Chikkaraya (1614-15 A.D.), issued perhaps in the north-east viceroyalty.

With the decline of the kingdom of Vijayanagar, a number of petty states issued their own coins. The Nayaka princes of Tanjore, Madura and Tinnevelly and the Setupatis of Ramnad are prominent amongst them. The earlier coinage of the Madura Nayakas has the names of the rulers on the reverse in Tamil; but their later coins were issued in the name of the god Venkata. Somewhat later began the series of copper coins both at Madura and at Tinnevelly with the Telugu legend *Sri Vira* on the reverse and a multitude of varying devices on the obverse. Amongst them are Hanuman, Ganesa, human figures, an elephant, a bull, a lion, a star, the sun, the moon, etc.

Some copper coins are known from Andhra Pradesh bearing a long Nagari legend *Sri Madhukara Kakatiya Prataparudra Deva Vijayakataka 2 anka*. These coins are usually attributed to the Kakatiya ruler Prataparudra (1291-1323 A.D.); but most likely they were issued by Prataparudra of the Gajapati dynasty of Orissa, who ruled the entire east coast from the river Ganga to Udayagiri in the Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh during 1496-1542 A.D. and had adopted the title *Kakatiya*. This is suggested by the *anka* reckoning on the coin, which was peculiar only to the late Eastern Ganga and Gajapati kings. These coins were perhaps issued from Vijayakataka, *i.e.*, the modern Cuttack.
CHAPTER XI

COINS OF THE MUSLIM DYNASTIES OF DELHI

The coins of ancient India, both in the north and in the south, and of the indigenous states as well as of the foreign invaders, had pictorial or heraldic devices at least on one of their sides. With the advent of the Muslims in India, Indian coinage assumed an entirely new pattern. The representation of figures is eschewed in Islam; so, like the other coinage of the Islamic world, Indian coins too, with a few notable exceptions, carried inscriptions on both the sides in Arabic or Persian script. In Islam, the inscribing of the ruler’s name on the coins was invested with special importance. This privilege, with the reading of his name in the *khutba* (public prayer) implied the definite assumption by him of regal power. This prerogative of the Muslim rulers led them to issue coins on each occasion when they conquered any country or kingdom or even a fort or a town, and to record on them their names with all their titles and the date in the Hijra era\(^1\), and the place of issue of the coins. The crusading zeal of the early Khalifas of Syria in the eighth century A.D. had introduced the *Kalima* or profession of faith—*La ilah-il-illah Muhammad Rasool Allah* (There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the prophet of Allah). Later this formed part of the Muslim coins; and here in India, too, the *Kalima* was used on the coins but not so zealously.

The earliest Muslim kingdom in India was set up by Imad-ud-din ibn Qasim in Sindh in 712 A.D. His governors issued some tiny silver coins on the pattern of the coins of the Khalifas. Such coins are often found in Sindh and Rajasthan; but they exerted little influence on the local coinage of the period. It is only when the gates of the north-west were first opened to the Muslim invaders by the expeditions of Mahmud of Ghazni between the years 1001 and 1021 A.D. that the coinage began to undergo a transformation. During one of his expeditions, Mahmud issued

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\(^1\)The first year of the Hijra year began on Friday, 15th-16th July, 622 A.D.
gold coins weighing 180 grains each in 1007 A.D., which bear the Kalima and the name al-Qadir Billah amir-ul-momanin (Khalifa Al-Qadir Billah, the Amir of the faithful) on the obverse and a long inscription on the reverse, declaring that "the dinara (the gold coin) was struck for the cities subdued during the holy war (jehad) against India in 397 A.H. (1007 A.D.)." This coin shows that Mahmud had received some investiture from the Abbasid Khalifa al-Qadir Billah as Sultan and, inspired by his religious zeal, he had waged a holy war against India. Most likely, these pieces were issued to commemorate his victory in some fierce battle or other. But most important are his silver dirhams that he issued about 20 years later in the years 418-419 A.H. (1028 A.D.) from Lahore, which he had named Mahmudpur, after annexing the province of the Punjab to his kingdom. They bear on the obverse the Kalima followed by the legend Amin-ud-daula wa amin-ul-millat bismillah al-dirham zarb be Mahmudpur zarb sanh 418 or 419 in Kufic1 script. On the reverse, there is, in Devanagari script, the Sanskrit translation of the Kalima—Ayyaktamekam Muhammad avatara—followed by the name of the issuer nripati Mahamud. Around it is the translation of the remaining portion of the obverse Kufic legend, which may be distinguished into two forms: (i) ayam tankam hata Mahmudpur sanvati 418; (ii) ayam tankam Mahmudpur ghatita Tajikiyer sanvati 418 or 419. The second one is an improvement on the first rendering of the legend and means, "This tanka (coin) was struck at Mahmudpur in the Arabic year 418 or 419." The rendering of the Kalima into Sanskrit shows remarkable freedom. The Muslim concept of Allah is rendered with ayyakta (invisible), which shows genuine understanding of the Muslim and Hindu philosophical concepts. It appears that by now Mahmud’s religious zeal of jehad (crusade) had cooled down and, as a ruler, he had now tried to understand the feelings of his conquered subjects.

When the chieftains of the Ghor drove out the later princes of Mahmud’s family from Ghazni, they made Lahore their capital about 1051 A.D.; and there they struck small billon coins with

1 Kufic is the earliest rectilinear form of Arabic script.
the bull of the Hindu “bull-horseman” type coins on the obverse and a Kufic legend bearing their names and title on the reverse. The bull side retained the name of Samantadeva in Nagari. The coins issued by the Gaznavide rulers of Lahore belong to Farokhazad (1052-1059 A.D.), Ibrahim (1059-1099 A.D.), Bahram Shah (1118-1152 A.D.) and Khusru Malik (1160-1187 A.D.). The latter was deposed by Muhammad bin Sam, who is popularly known as Muhammad Ghori. Muhammad bin Sam founded the first Muslim dynasty of India after the final defeat of Prithviraja and his allies in the second battle of Thanesvar or Tarain in 1192 A.D.

Muhammad bin Sam struck two types of gold coins. In the first type he imitated the coins that were current in the country and placed a seated Lakshmi on the obverse and inscribed his name Sri Muhamad bin Sam in Nagari letters on the reverse. The other type shows a Turk horseman at a charge carrying a mace. Though the horseman appears to be non-Indian, there is no doubt that he borrowed the idea from the “horseman type” of the Indian coins. Around the horseman is the date in Arabic words and the name of the ruler in Nagari letters. The reverse bears a long Arabic legend Al-sultan al-azam Muiz-ud-dunia wa al-din abumuzaffar Muhammad bin Sam. He apparently struck no silver coins in his Indian dominion; but coins in billon of the “bull-horseman type” with the Nagari legend Sri Mahamad Sam on the bull side and Sri Hamira on the horseman side are well known. He also issued some billon coins whereon he retained only one of the two devices of the bull-horseman type. Some have the horseman and some others the bull on one side and the other side has the Arabic inscription. He also issued some copper coins. After Muhammad bin Sam, some billon and copper coins are known to have been issued by Mahmud, the son of his elder brother, Tajuddin Yildiz, and Qutbuddin Aibak. Yildiz had assumed the sovereignty at Ghazni; so, it is suggested that the coins in his name were issued by the local governors. On the coins of all these rulers, either a bull or a horseman is seen on one side. Though not many coins are known of Qutbuddin Aibak, he was the first Sultan to set up his capital at Delhi.
The next ruler Iltutmish (1211-1236 A.D.) issued gold and silver coins from Nagor in Rajasthan bearing the dates 614 A.H. (1217 A.D.) and 616 A.H. (1219 A.D.) similar to the gold horseman-type coins of Muhammad bin Sam. Here around the horseman is the *Kalima* and the date in Arabic words. The mint name is seen only on the gold coins along with the device. The reverse has his name with the title *Al-sultan al-Azam Shamsudduniya wa al-din Abumuzaffar Iltutmish Al-Qutbi Burhan* (or *Nasir* amir-al-momnin. Besides these, Iltutmish issued silver coins with various legends. Some of them bear the *Kalima* but the most important one is that which has the name of the Abbasid Khalifa Al-Mustansir on one side along with or without the *Kalima*. This bears testimony to the investiture that Iltutmish had received in 1228 A.D. from the Khalifa. This type was followed, sometimes with slight variations, by seven succeeding Sultans—Ruknuddin Firoz Shah (1235 A.D.), Jalaluddin Razia (1236-1240 A.D.), Muizzuddin Bahram Shah (1240-1242 A.D.), Alauddin Masud Shah (1242-1246 A.D.), Nasiruddin Mahmud (1246-1266 A.D.), Ghiyasuddin Balban (1266-1287 A.D.), Muizzuddin Kaiqubad (1287-1290 A.D.) and Shamsuddin Kayumaras (1290 A.D.). When Khalifa Al-Mustansir died in 1242 A.D., his name was replaced by the name of the succeeding Khalifa al-Mustasim. A notable feature of the coins of Jalaluddin Razia is that she did not place her name on her coins but retained the name of her father. The only indication that the coins were issued by her is the date and the word *nusrat* in the last line on the reverse. Gold coins were minted in the silver types by Alauddin Masud Shah, Nasiruddin Mahmud and Balban only and are not common.

Iltutmish issued three types of coins in billon: (i) A bull on the obverse and a horseman on the reverse. They may be distinguished in various groups according to the inscriptions. The most common are the coins which have *Suritana Sri Samasadin* on the bull side and *Sri Hamira* on the horseman side both in Nagari. Some coins bear the name of the Khalifa. They have *mustansira amir-li Momina* on one side and *Sri Khalifa* on the other again in Nagari. A few have *Sri Khalifa* on one side.
and *Sri Hamira* on the other. (ii) A horseman on one side with the Nagari legend *Sri Hamira* or *Sultan Ilutmish* in Arabic and an Arabic legend on the other. (iii) An Arabic legend on one side and a Nagari legend with the Vikrama samvat on the other. None of his successors issued coins of the third type; others issued one or another of the remaining two types. But this series was altogether abandoned during the time of Balban. He discarded the pictorial devices once for all and issued coins with his name *Balban* in Arabic in a circle with the Nagari legend *Sri Sultan Gahasadin* around it. The other side had his usual Arabic legend. Copper coins of all the rulers have legends on both sides. The name and title on one side and the name of the mint on the other are seen in some cases; otherwise, the name and title are found divided between the two sides. In some cases the word *Adl* is only seen on one side.

In 1290 A.D. the kingdom of Delhi passed on to another dynasty of the Khiljis. The first two rulers Jalaluddin Firoz (1290-1296 A.D.) and Ruknuddin Ibrahim (1296 A.D.) followed, almost in all respects, the coins of Balban. The third ruler Alauddin Muhammad Shah (1296-1316 A.D.), who had enriched his treasury by conquests in South India, issued plentiful coins. He and his successor, Quutbuddin Mubarak Shah, issued not only gold and silver *tankah* but also coins of heavy weights. Alauddin had issued gold coins weighing 5, 10, 50 and 100 tolas; his son Quutbuddin Mubarak issued gigantic coins of both gold and silver in no less than fourteen denominations in two shapes—round and square—weighing 5, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 150 and 200 tolas. But no specimens of these coins have so far been found. It is only Thakkur Pheru, the mint-master of Delhi mint, who has referred to them in his accounts of the working of the mint, of which he was in charge during the reign of these rulers. This might not be a myth, as such coins were issued later by the Mughal rulers. Scholars regard these gigantic issues to be merely massive ingots of artistically stamped bullion which were hoarded as stores of value and were occasionally given to ambassadors, diplomatic agents and other distinguished persons as complimentary gifts.
or souvenirs of imperial favour and munificence. They do not believe them to be the coins of higher denominations. But we have no reason to disbelieve Thakkur Pheru when he calls these pieces gold and silver coins.

Alauddin Khilji also changed the pattern of the inscriptions by dropping the name of the Khalifa from the obverse of his gold and silver coins and substituting the self-laudatory title *Sikandar al-sani Yamin-ul-khilafat* (the second Alexander, the right hand of the Khilafat). Qutbuddin Mubarak used even more arrogant titles *Al-imam al-azam Khalifa rub al-almin* (the supreme head of Islam, the Khalifa, the lord of heaven and earth). The gold and silver coins, from the very beginning of their issue by the Sultans of Delhi, including Muhammad bin Sam, are identical in their contents, *i.e.*, inscription, design, fabric and weight. They weigh 170 grains, which was then the weight of a *tola*.

Firoz Khilji and Alauddin Khilji retained on their billon coins the bilingual reverses introduced by Balban; and at the same time, the latter introduced another type, where his name and titles are divided on the two sides of the coins. This was followed by his successors. Qutbuddin Mubarak added a few more types to it. All the billon coins were known by the name of *kani* or *gani* and carried a number of denominations—*eggani* (one), *dugani* (two), *chaugani* (four), *chhagani* (six), *athagani* (eight), *baragani* (twelve), *chaubisagani* (twenty-four) and *arhtalis-gani* (forty-eight). Above them was the silver *tankah*, which was valued at sixty *ganis*. Thus *gani* was the unit coin and was known as *jital* in the pre-Khilji period and *dam* in the Khilji and later periods. These *gani* coins, irrespective of their value up to eight *ganis*, were of the uniform weight of 56.7 grains, the difference of value depending upon the proportions in which the two metals—silver and copper—were mixed in them. According to information supplied by Thakkur Pheru, an *eggani* (*one-gani*) coin contained 95 per cent of copper and 5 per cent of silver; *dugani* contained 9.75 per cent of silver; a *chaugani* had 16.4 per cent of the white metal; similarly, the percentage of silver in the other coins increased. The other three bigger denomina-
tions had a higher weight in proportion to their value, determined by the weight of the athagani coins; and they contained silver in the same proportion. Thus these coins are a queer phenomenon in numismatic history. The coins do not bear on them their value; as such, it would not have been easy for every common man to distinguish by sight the coins of different values having the same weight. Whether the different types of these coins represented different denominations is by no means certain.

The copper coins of these early Sultans of Delhi were smaller in value than the billon gani. They were visua (one-twentieth of gani), sava-vasua (one-sixteenth of a gani), adhava (one-eighth of a gani) and paika (five visua or one-fourth of a gani). They, according to Thakkur Pheru, weighed 14.2, 19.7, 35.8 and 71.6 grains, respectively.

Some of the coins of these early Sultans bear the names of the places where they were struck. Ilutmish’s coins bear the name of Delhi, which was the capital. Lakhnauti, modern Gaur, which became the headquarters of the governors of Bengal, is seen on the coins of Razia. Balban’s coins add the names of Sultanpur and Fakhrabad. Alauddin Khilji issued coins from Devagiri, when he led his expedition there and occupied it. He also issued coins from Ranthambhor after its conquest under the name of Darul-Islam, which he gave to it. His successor, Qutbuddin Mubarak, issued coins in the name of Qutbabad from Deogir. He changed its name and named it after himself. A few other places, not of any importance, also find a place on some of the coins. Probably coins were issued from there during some military campaigns.

The third dynasty of the Delhi Sultans, which is known as the Tughlaqs, came to power in 1320 A.D. Its first ruler Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq followed the patterns of the Khilji coinage and issued coins in all the four metals—gold, silver, billon and copper. He also issued some coins of a completely new type to celebrate the conquest of Telingana in 724-25 A.H. (1323-24 A.D.). Here the name of the province Mulk-i-Tilangana figures as the mint-name. His son, Fakhruddin Juna, who is better known as Muhammad bin
Tughlaq, surpassed his predecessors in the execution of coins, especially in the calligraphy on them. One of the outstanding features of his coinage is the expansion of the mint system. His coins are known to have been struck at Delhi, Darul-Islam (Ranthambhor), Dhar, Lakhnauti, Satgaon, Sultanpur, Mulk-i-Tilangana and Tughlaqpur (Tirhut). He issued coins from Deogir first under the name of Qutbabad during 725-727 A.H. (1325-1327 A.D.). Then in 727 A.H. (1327 A.D.) the name Deogir was reintroduced on the coins for a short period. In 728 A.H. (1328 A.D.), it was given the altogether new name of Daulatabad. Thus no less than nine mints worked during his time.

The earliest and most curious coins of Muhammad Tughlaq are those that he had struck bearing the name of his father, whom he had murdered in order to occupy the throne himself. They bear the superinscription of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, accompanied by an additional title al-sahid (martyr). Probably these coins were issued more as a calculated hypocritical step to clear himself from the crime than to honour his father’s memory. These coins were issued during the first three years of his reign. Then he issued coins in his own name and re-introduced the Kalima which was discarded from the coins after Iltutmish. It now became a permanent feature of the inscriptions of the Muslim coins in India for some time. But Muhammad Tughlaq will always be remembered for his experiments with other aspects of coinage. He first experimented with weight. His earlier coins in gold and silver retained the weight standard of 170 grains of his predecessors. He now issued gold dinaras of 201.5 grains and silver adlis of 144 grains, the former about one-sixth more in weight and the latter less in weight to the same extent. In 728 A.H. (1328 A.D.) the lower weight was introduced in respect of gold also in the South Indian mints of Daulatabad and Sultanpur. The gold dinaras were suspended after 729 A.H. (1329 A.D.) and tankahs of the old 170 grains were issued in the subsequent periods, except a few coins of Bengal. The silver coins of Muhammad are scarcer than those of gold. The silver tankah and adli appear to have been circulating concurrently during the first three years of his reign.
After 727 A.H. billon *tankah* came into prominence. Some billon coins were issued in the earlier period which followed the Khilji weight standard. Now he introduced billon coins of an altogether new weight, *viz.*, approximately of 141.7 grains, which was higher in weight than the *baragani* coin of the Khiljis and less than their *chaubisagani* coins and may be identified in their terms as a coin of 20 *ganis*. It perhaps contained silver in the same proportion as a Khilji coin of this weight and value would have had. But from the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, it appears that the coin was valued at eight *tankah-i-siyah* (black *tankah*), meaning thereby that it was valued in quite different terms of copper *tankahs* in this period.

In 730 A.H. (1329-30 A.D.) Muhammad made a hazardous attempt to issue token coins of copper in place of the silver and billon *tankahs*. In order to ensure success of his experiment, he caused an appeal to be inscribed on them. It runs: *man ataya al-sultan faqada ataye al-rehman* (He who obeys the Sultan obeys the Compassionate). He further added: *Muhar shud tankah rayaj dar rajagar bandah ummidavara* (I hope that this stamped *tankah* would be current in transactions). But his hopes were doomed soon. These coins could easily be fabricated; so, according to a contemporary historian, the house of every Indian turned into a mint with the promulgation of the edict. The Sultan, thereupon, withdrew the issue in 732 A.H. (1331-32 A.D.) and redeemed the genuine and the false coins alike at his own cost. After the collapse of the forced currency in 732 A.H., new billon coins of the original standard of 57.7 grains were issued until quite late.

In 741 A.H. (1340-41 A.D.) Muhammad Tughlaq was tormented by doubts regarding the legality of his sovereignty, which had never been recognised by a Khalifa. The Abbasid Khalifas of Baghdad had been finally extinguished by the Mughals in 1258 A.D. So, after diligent inquiries, he came to know of the existence of a phantom in Egypt, who styled himself al-Mustakfi billah. He sent him a humble petition seeking his recognition and at once substituted his name for his own on the coins of his empire. However, al-Mustakfi had died in 740 A.H. Nonetheless, coins in his name were struck up to 744 A.H. In this year, an envoy from the reign-
ing Khalifa al-Hakim II came with a patent conferring on Muhammad the title *Nasir amir-al-momnin*. From this time onwards the name of al-Hakim is substituted. These were all issued in billon.

At least twenty-five varieties of Muhammad’s billon coins are known. They appear to have been of two distinct standards, one for use at Delhi in the North and the other at Daulatabad in the South. In the former the silver tankah was divided into forty-eight and in the latter into fifty jitals or ganis. The copper coins are scanty; yet there are twelve types. Most of them are small and without any special interest.

Muhammad’s successor Firoz Tughlaq had a peaceful reign of thirty-seven years. But he was no soldier; so, the governors of the wealthy Deccan soon rebelled and other governors followed the lead given by them. Consequently, the provinces fell away during the disturbed rule of Firoz’s successors and became independent kingdoms so that in a few years the dominions of the Delhi Sultans were reduced to little more than the district round the city. This discomfiture was completed when in 1398 A.D., the plundering hosts of Timur swept through India and occupied the capital. Under these conditions, coinage naturally degenerated.

Following his predecessor’s example, Firoz Tughlaq inscribed the name of the Khalifa Abul-Abbas and of his two successors Abul-Fath and Abdullah on the obverse; and on the reverse, he placed his own name with the titles *Saif amir-ul-momnin abu-al-muzaffar*. In the reign of Muhammad bin Firoz, the actual name of the Khalifa was substituted by *al-imam al-momnin* (The supreme head of Islam, the commander of the faithful). The gold coins of Firoz Shah are fairly common and six types are known, but those of the subsequent rulers are exceedingly scarce. The scarcity of silver was more apparent during all this period. Billon coins, however, are known in large numbers; and they were continued by his successors. During this whole period, with only a few exceptions, the name of Delhi appears on the coins.

On the death of Mahmud, the last ruler of the Tughlaq dynasty, the nobles of the court offered the throne to Daulat Khan Lodi,
who was the military governor of the Doab. He ascended the throne in 1413 A.D. But soon he had to surrender to his powerful adversary Khizr Khan, who founded the Sayyid dynasty of the Delhi Sultans. Daulat Khan Lodi and his successor Khizr Khan Sayyid, both refrained from exercising the royal privilege of striking coins in their own name. Their example was followed by the next ruler Mubarak Shah during the first eight years of his reign. They preferred to maintain the types of coins that were current in the recent past, merely altering the date on them. The billon and copper coins of Firuz Tughlaq, the silver and gold coins of Muhammad ibn Firoz and the silver coins of Mahmud bin Muhammad were brought into requisition. In 832 A.H. (1429-30 A.D.) Mubarak initiated coinage of his own. He retained the earlier weights for his gold and silver coins; he did not issue any billon, but gave the new weight of 86 grains to the copper coins. The type of the coins was the same as in the days of the Tughlaqs. His successor Muhammad, the son of his brother Farid, resumed the billon coins of the earlier weight standard. Only a few coins of the last ruler of the dynasty, Alam Shah, are known.

In 1451 A.D., the kingdom of Delhi passed into the hands of Bahlol Lodi, who founded a new dynasty. Since the issues of silver and gold coins had dwindled down to small proportions by now, Bahlol Lodi decided to eliminate them altogether and rely on the currency of billon and copper only. The coins of the Lodi rulers—Bahlol, Sikandar and Ibrahim—uniformly have the formula al-mutwakkal ali (trusting in the merciful one), the name of the issuer and the mint Delhi on one side and fi zaman amin al-momnin (in the reign of the commander of the faithful), khaldat khilafat (may his empire endure forever) and the date on the other. The coins in their inscriptions and calligraphy bear close resemblance to the coins of the Sharqi kings of Jaunpur, with whom they were engaged in constant fights.

In 1526 A.D. Ibrahim Lodi was overthrown and killed on the field of Panipat by Babur, who founded the Mughal dynasty on Indian soil. But his rule was, in reality, nothing more than a military occupation. His successor Humayun’s position was even
more unstable during the first ten years of his reign. Sher Shah Suri, the Afghan, who, rising from the humble position of a soldier, had now become the virtual ruler of Bihar and had declared himself Shah in 945 A.H. (1538 A.D.), expelled him in 1540 A.D. and took the destinies of India in his own hands. Sher Shah had already issued silver and copper coins in his own name from a number of places in Bihar and Bengal. When he occupied the throne of Delhi, he continued the silver and copper types of his coins and eliminated the mixed metal (billion) coinage once for all from the series of Indian coins. He also, perhaps, did not issue any coin in gold; but numerous fabrications of his coins in this metal are known.

Sher Shah’s silver coins bear the Kalima and the names of the four Khalifas—Abu Bakr, Umar, Usman and Ali on the obverse; and his name Farid-ud-dunia wa din abu al-muzaffar Sher Shah Sultan, the pious wish Khaled Allah mulk (may Allah perpetuate his kingdom), the mint-name and date along with the king’s name in Nagari letters Sri Sersahi (often very faulty) on the reverse. These legends are variously arranged; and they distinguish the coins into a number of varieties. They were issued from Ujjain, Agra, Panduah, Chunar, Ranthambhor, Satgaon, Sharifabad, Shergarh Qila, Shergarh alias Qanauj, Shergarh alias Delhi, Shergarh alias Bhakkar, Fathabad, Kalpi, Gwalior and Malot. Besides these mints, there are some coins which bear the word jahanpanah in place of the mint-name and suggest that they were issued from the court or camp mint. This practice of issuing coins from royal camps won great popularity in the Mughal period. His copper coins were issued from Abu, Agra, Alwar, Awadh, Bayana, Chunar, Hissar, Sambhal, Shergarh (Qanauj), Shergarh (Qila), Shergarh (Delhi), Kalpi, Gwalior, Lakhnau, Malot and Narnol. Besides these, there is a large series of mintless silver and copper coins which, it is suggested, formed the currency during the early period of his conquests and consolidation of his rule. But in many cases, they continue to be struck after the practice of recording mint-names on the coins had become established; and may thus have been issued from the mobile camp mint. Most of the copper coins
bear on the obverse \textit{fi ahad al-amir al-hami} (in the time of the com-
mander of the faithful, the protector of the religion) and on the
reverse appear the Sultan's name and titles and the mint-name.

The coins of his successor, Islam Shah, follow the style of his
coins. Amongst the silver, the mints Bayana, Raisen and Narnol
are added, and at the same time Ujjain, Panduah, Ranthambhor,
Fathabad and Malot disappear. In copper the new mints are
Badaun, Raisen, Shahgarh and Shergarh (Qanauj). With the
accession of Muhammad Adil Shah, the fortunes of the Suris
declined and this is reflected in his coins, which are similar
to the earlier coins. Ibrahim and Sikandar Sur, who assumed
sovereignty in parts of the Delhi kingdom, after they had wrested
them from Muhammad Adil, issued silver and copper coins but
they are very scarce.

The Suri silver coins do not conform to the weight of 170 grains
of the earlier Sultans of Delhi. They weigh in the proximity of 180
grains and are known by the name of \textit{rupiya}, the term which is
still current in the country. Likewise the copper coins were \textit{paisa};
but its weight varies to such an extent that it is difficult to say
what the standard weight was. For example, coins from Narnol
mint are known of 328-29 grains and from Chunar only of 304
grains. Such heavy coins were unknown in the earlier period.
CHAPTER XII

COINS OF THE MUSLIM STATES OF NORTH INDIA

The ambitious and powerful viceroyls and governors of the provinces, which were under the Delhi Sultanate, took advantage of the weakened control of the central power at one time or another and became independent and issued their own coins. The earliest coins of each of such states are more or less close imitations of the Delhi coinage; but they introduced modifications in standard and fabric according to their own local conditions and generally developed a well-defined and characteristic coinage of their own. Such states existed in Bengal, Gujarat, Malwa and Jaunpur. Besides them there was an independent kingdom in Kashmir during this period.

BENGAL

In 1202 A.D. Bengal was invaded and conquered by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji, one of the generals of Qutbuddin Aibak. He became the first governor of the province. Till 1338 A.D. Bengal was governed on behalf of the Delhi Sultans by officers appointed by them. These officials, separated by a journey of many weeks from the Imperial court, held always a semi-independent position; and whenever the governor was powerful or ambitious or the emperor of the day feeble, there was a revolt; thus Bengal was always in trouble and turmoil. In about 1310 A.D., the province was split into two parts and Eastern and Western Bengal came to be administered by two separate governors. In 1338 A.D. the successful revolt of Fakhruddin Mubarak Shah, the governor of Eastern Bengal, severed the ties with Delhi once for all. During this period twenty-five governors were appointed and six of them—Ghiyasuddin Iwaz (1211-1226 A.D.), Mughisuddin Yuzbak (1246-1258 A.D.), Ruknuddin Kai Kaus (1291-1302 A.D.), Shamsuddin Firoz Shah (1302-1318 A.D.), Shihabuddin Bughra Shah (1318 A.D.) and
Ghiyasuddin Bahadur Shah (1310-1323 A.D.)—issued their own coins. The issues of these governors are mostly of silver; gold coins are known only of Shamsuddin Firoz Shah and those too are scarce. The coins of the first two of the above six governors bear the Kalima and the date on the obverse and the name and titles of the ruler on the reverse and show Delhi’s influence in fabric and inscription: The subsequent governors substituted the Kalima by the name of the last Khalifa of Baghdad, al-Mustasim.

After a year of the revolt of Fakhruddin Mubarak, the whole province was brought under one control in 1339 A.D. by Shamsuddin Ilyas Shah. From 1339 to 1538 A.D. Bengal was ruled by four dynasties: (1) the house of Ilyas Shah (1339-1406 A.D. and again 1442-1481 A.D.); (2) the house of the Hindu Raja Ganesh (1406-1442 A.D.); (3) the Habshi kings (1486-1493 A.D.) and (4) the house of Alauddin Husain Shah (1493-1538 A.D.). Then Bengal was ruled from Delhi by Sher Shah Suri and his family and later independently by the younger members of his dynasty (1552-1563 A.D.) and finally by three rulers of the Afghan Kararani family till 1576 A.D.; when Bengal became the province of Akbar’s empire.

The general arrangement of the inscriptions of these rulers is somewhat similar to that on the issues of the contemporary Sultans of Delhi. But the areas are separated from the margins by borders, single or double, of various forms, circles, squares, lozenges, octagons, hexagons and many-foiled or scalloped edges. The obverse is generally reserved for the expression of the king’s religious position as supporter of the Khilafat, for which, like the Sultans of Delhi, these rulers professed devout respect. They used *Yamin Khalifah Allah Nasir Amir al-momin* (The right-hand of God’s vicegerent, aider of the prince of the faithful), varied by *Yamin al-Khilafat* (right hand of the Khilafat), and augmented by *Chaus al-Islam wa al-musalmun* (succourer of Islam and the Muslims). This last formula is usually written in the manner of a tughras by weaving the letters into a sort of arabesque. Another variety introduced by Azam Shah (1389 A.D.) is *Nasir al-Islam wa al-musalmun*. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shah (1414-1431 A.D.), son of Raja Ganesh, who had embraced Islam, with the devout zeal
of a convert, revived the Kalima, which was abandoned on the Bengal coins for about two centuries. The obverse of some of his later issues is entirely filled with the Kalima. From this time onwards, the Kalima usually occupies the obverse and the mint and date in Arabic numerals are generally written below it. Husain Shah (1493-1518 A.D.) found his titles too long to be accommodated on a single face of the coin; accordingly, he spread them over the obverse and the reverse, and this was imitated by his successors. Shamsuddin Muhammad Shah Ghazi of the Suri dynasty followed the coins of his family and restored the Kalima and the names of the Khalifas to their proper places in the obverse area and the margin.

The titles of the Sultans of Bengal, which always occupy the reverse and sometimes extend over the obverse also, are constructed in the same way as those of the Delhi Sultans. They usually begin with Al-sultan al-azam (rarely al-qadil); but sometimes this is omitted or is substituted by al-muid ba-tayeed al-rahman (the one strengthened by the support of the Compassionate) or as on the coins of Fath Shah (1481-1486 A.D.) and the sons and grandsons of Husen Shah, Al-sultan ibn al-sultan takes its place. Then follows the accession name and the title abul mujahid or abu-muzaffar or in the case of Muzaffar Shah (1490-93 A.D.) abu al-nasr; thereafter follows the proper name of the king with the titles Shah and al-sultan; after which, if there is space, particularly on the later coins, the names of the father and sometimes of the grandfather of the king are also added. Among exceptional titles may be noticed those of Sikandar Shah (1358-1389 A.D.), who appears to have arrogated to himself the style of Imam and employed the titles Al-mujahid fi sabeel al-rahman (the warrior on the path of the Compassionate), al-nasir al-din allah al-qahar ali allah (the aider of God's faith, the subduer of God)¹ and al-wasig be-tayeed al-rahman (the truster in the support of the Compassionate). Mahmud Shah II (1489 A.D.) had the curious inscription Khalifa allah ba-lahejrat wa al-burhan (Viceregent of God in deed and proof), which he applied to himself. Husain Shah (1493-1518 A.D.) introduced several new titles—al-sultan al-adil al-bazil (the just, generous Sultan) and the patronymic wald

¹ Probably the ruler meant al-qahar ballah (Victor by God's help).
sayed al-mursalin. A most curious inscription in the realm of Indian numismatics is al-sultan al-fath al-Kamaru wa Kamtah wa Jajnagar wa urisa (Sultan, conqueror over Kamru, and Kamta and Jajnagar and Orissa), which Alauddin Husain placed on some of his coins to record his conquests. Ilyias Shah (1339-1358 A.D.) styled himself Iskandar al-sani (the second Alexander) and Ali Shah, his predecessor, claimed for himself Sikandar al-zaman al-makhsus be-inayat rahman (Alexander of the world, the distinguished one by the grace of the Compassionate).

A noteworthy feature of the coinage of these rulers is the number of mints. There are twenty-one names, viz., Lakhnauti, Firozabad (Pandua), Satgaon (near Hugli), Sunargaon (near Hugli), Muazzamabad (probably in Mymensingh), Shahr-i-nau (on the Ganges), Ghiyaspur (near Gaur), Fatbadab (Faridpur), Husainabad, Khalifatabad (Bagherhat), Muzaffarabad (near Pandua), Chatgaon (Chittagong), Mahmudabad, Muhammadabad, Arkan (Arakan), Tandah (near Gaur), Rohtaspur, Jannatabad, Nasratabad, Barbakabad and Cawalistan (alias Kamru). It is believed that several of these names are merely synonyms and do not represent separate localities. It is a well-known phenomenon in the Muslim history of India that a ruler changes the name of a town to perpetuate his name or that of his father or celebrate some important event or to gratify some passing whim of his.

Besides coins bearing Arabic inscriptions, a few coins were issued bearing the Bengali script. They were issued in the names of Danujamardana Deva and Mahendradeva; and on them are to be found the dates Saka 1339 and 1340; they were issued from Pandunagar (Pandua), Sunargaon and Chatgaon. It is believed that they belonged to the family of Raja Ganesh, who was a zamindar of Bhaturia in the district of Dinajpur. He acquired considerable power and, taking advantage of the weakness of the Sultan, rebelled and overcame him in 1409 A.D. Later circumstances forced him to consent to the conversion to Islam of his own son Jadu who was placed on the throne of Bengal with the title of Jalaluddin Muhammad in 1414 A.D. Jalaluddin Muhammad was, however, deposed and imprisoned by his father in 1416 A.D., after
an ineffectual attempt to reconvert him to Hinduism. Raja Ganesh then ascended the throne taking the title of Danujamar-dana, but died the next year. During this period he issued his own coins bearing the Saka years 1339 and 1340 (1416-17 A.D.). He was followed by Mahendradeva who continued to rule for some time. In the meanwhile, Jalaluddin escaped from prison and succeeded in establishing himself again on the throne.

The Bengal Sultans followed in the earlier period the standard of 170 grains of the Delhi Sultans for their coins; but subsequently the coins are found of a lower weight, of about 166 grains. They are frequently much disfigured by countermarks and chisel-cuts made by the money-changers. These coins in most cases lack artistic forms; their caligraphy is of the poorest quality. They perhaps did not issue coins in copper.

GUJARAT

Gujarat threw off allegiance to the Delhi Sultanate in 1403 A.D. during the reign of Mahmud, the grandson of Firoz Tughlaq. Zafar Khan, who was appointed governor of the province in 1391 A.D., had no idea of breaking from the parent stock. But his son Tatar Khan was impatient. He imprisoned his father and assumed royal rank. But he could reign only for two months. During this short period, he is said to have issued coins; but none hitherto has been found. On his death, Zafar Khan regained the governorship; and only in 1407 A.D. he declared his independence. In his case also no numismatic evidence of kingship is available. The earliest coins are those of his grandson and successor Ahmad I (1411-1443 A.D.), the founder of the great city of Ahmadabad and Ahmednagar. Since then, Gujarat remained independent for a century and a quarter and between this period thirteen rulers reigned. The last ruler Muzaffar III was deposed by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1572 A.D. and the province was added to his empire. Muzaffar III, however, regained his throne eleven years later, only to lose it again in five months. After vain efforts for some years to drive out the Mughals, he was betrayed and he ended his miserable existence by committing suicides.
The coins of Gujarat are chiefly of silver and copper. Gold coins were also issued by some of the rulers; but they are extremely rare. Though some billon coins are attributed to this kingdom, it is extremely doubtful if such coins were ever issued there. Ahmadabad, Ahmadnagar (Idar), Mustafabad (Girnar), Muhammadabad alias Champanir and Khanpur are the places where the coins were minted. The majority of the coins were probably struck at Ahmadabad; but the name actually occurs only on the copper coins of Muzaffar III of the years 977 and 978 A.H. It is otherwise known as Shahr-i-mukarram on most of the coins.

The Gujarat coins bear a characteristic fabric of their own from the very beginning, though some traits of the coinage of the Delhi Sultans are perceivable. All the coins bear the name of the Sultan in a square in most cases and in some others in a geometrical area with the name of the mint in the margin on one side. The other side bears the title and the date. The titles are not very rhetorical. Generally al-sultan al-azam is found along with the accessional name. Their religious allegiance is shown by titles like abu-al-muhammad, abu-muzaffar, Khalifa Amir-ul-momnin, Abul-Fath, Al-muyeed be tayeed al-rahman, Abul-nasr, Abul-Fazl, al-wasiq ballah al-mannan, Al-mutasim be-allah al-rahman. This way the inscriptions are quite simple. However, after a very long time, after the reign of the Guptas, we find again for the first time the use of poetry on the coins of Muhammad Shah II. They bear the Persian couplet:

Sikka Sultan Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Shah bad be-darul-zarb ta gardun qursa mihr wa mah.

(May the coins of Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Shah remain so long as the sphere of the seat of the mint, the orb of the sun and moon remain).

Perhaps the most interesting are coins which may be called "pedigree coins", on which the issuer traces his descent back to the founder of the dynasty. Such coins are known of Ahmad I, Mahmud I and Bahadur Shah. It is quite likely that such coins were struck on some special occasions.
The metrology of the Gujarat coinage is somewhat complicated. The gold coins of Mahmud III and Muzaffar II weigh 185 grains; a weight unknown earlier for any coins in any other series. The coins of the earlier rulers weigh between 176 and 180 grains. The same coincidence is observed in the case of silver coins. They are found weighing between 165 and 176 grains. The weight of the half coins is in the proximity of 88 grains and that of the quarters about 44 grains. Coins of 66 and 33 grains are of Muzaffar II. For the copper coins Ahmad I used principally the standard of 148 grains, which remained constant in subsequent periods. Muhammad II issued coins of 224 grains. Mahmud I introduced coins of 185 grains with its halves and quarters and it was largely adopted by his successors, concurrently with the coin of 148 grains. At the same time some coins are found which do not answer to any of the above weight standards.

MALWA

Malwa was subdued by the Delhi Sultan Ilutmish and again after a revolt by Ghiyasuddin Balban. The province was finally brought under the control of Delhi by Alauddin Muhammad Khalji in 1305 A.D. and remained so for about a century. In 1401 A.D., Dilawar Khan Ghori, who was appointed governor of Malwa some ten years earlier by Muhammad ibn Firoz of the Tughlaq dynasty, declared his independence. But he is not known to have issued any coin in his name. This privilege was first asserted by his son and successor Alp Khan, who adopted the name of Hoshang Shah on becoming the ruler. He was succeeded by his son Muhammad I; but he was soon poisoned and the throne was usurped by his minister, Mahmud Khalji (1436 A.D.). He was followed by Ghiyas Shah and Nasir Shah. In the time of Mahmud II in 1510 A.D., a civil war ensued and a steady decline set in. In 1530 A.D. Bahadur Shah of Gujarat captured the capital Mandu and Malwa became a province of the Gujarat Sultanate for four years. It was next captured by the Mughal ruler Humayun. Then from 1536 to 1542 A.D., it was ruled by a Gujarat governor, Qadir Shah. Finally, it was governed by Baz Bahadur, a son
of Sher Shah Suri's nominee Shuja Khan, from 1554 to 1560 A.D., when it was conquered by Akbar and was made a Mughal province.

The first seven kings of Malwa, except the founder, struck coins in gold, silver and copper. Copper coins, exclusively, were issued by Muhammad II the rebel, Bahadur Shah of Gujarat and Baz Bahadur, the last ruler. Mahmud I had introduced billon; and it was employed by his three successors. The characteristic feature of the Malwa coinage is the square shape, which was introduced by Mahmud I. Earlier kings used the usual round shape. Mahmud and his successor Ghiyas Shah issued both round and square coins; but from the reign of Nasir Shah, the square form was used exclusively.

The gold and silver coins of the first two rulers follow the Delhi style and bear the name and titles of the kings divided on the two sides and the date and the mint's name in the margin on one side: Mahmud I introduced for the reverse a device which divided the face of the coin into two equal parts by lengthening the tail of the last letter ye of his name Khilji. Ghiyas Shah used a similar band on both the faces; and this is found on almost all the succeeding coins in both the shapes. Mahmud I and Ghiyas Shah used elaborate titles in their inscriptions. The former called himself Al-sultan al-azam Alaudduniya wa din abu-muzaffar sikandar-al-sanin yamin al-khilafat Nasir amir-al-momnin (The mighty king, the victorious, the exalted in the faith and in the world, the second Alexander, the right hand of the Khilafat, the defender of the commander of the faithful). Others were less pretentious. Abul mujahid, abul fath, al-bazil, al-wasiq b-al-samad lam yizli (trusting in the Lord, the eternal) are the titles and formula that are seen on their coins. Sadiabad (Mandu) was the only mint that issued the coin and its name is seen on the coins of the earlier rulers. The name of the mint does not appear from the time of Nasir Shah. With the reign of Ghiyas Shah, a series of ornaments appears on the coins the purport of which is uncertain.

The weight of the gold and silver coins followed the 170 grains standard of the Sultans of Delhi and coins half in weight were
also issued. But a few exceptional coins are also not unknown. The copper coins appear to follow the weight standard of 140 grains, with its sub-divisions. In the closing years of Ghiyas Shah some coins are known in the proximity of 176 grains and its half and quarter weighing 88 and 44 grains, respectively.

JAUNPUR

In 1394 A.D. the eunuch Khwajah-i-jahan, the minister of Mahmud II Tughlaq, was appointed governor of the eastern provinces of the Delhi empire with the title of Malik-us-sharq. He took advantage of the anarchy reigning at the capital and declared his independence. But he does not seem to have issued coins in his name. He left the throne to an adopted son Mubarak Shah; but the prince died shortly and his brother Ibrahim succeeded him in 1400 A.D. and thereafter Mahmud Shah, Muhammad Shah and Husain Shah ruled one after another till in 1476 A.D. Husain Shah was dethroned by Bahlol Lodi. He took refuge in Bihar and was making regular efforts to recover his kingdom till his death.

Gold, silver, billon and copper coins were issued by these sultans. The bulk of the coinage consists of the last two metals. Gold was struck by Ibrahim, Mahmud and Husain. Ibrahim followed the pattern of Delhi as well as that of the Bengal sultans. The latter was followed by his successors. The obverse inscription employed by Ibrahim and Mahmud runs as fi zaman al-Imam naib amir-al-momnin abul fath (In the time of the supreme head of Islam, the deputy of the commander of the faithful). Husain on his coins omitted the word naib (deputy). The reverse had the name of the king with the title al-wasiq ba-tayeed al-rahman (or allah) arranged in tughra characters. The silver coins were issued by Ibrahim and Mahmud but they are extremely scarce. The common billon type coins of all the rulers uniformly bear on the obverse the legend al khilafat amir-al-momnin khaldat khilafat (the Khalifa, the commander of the faithful; his Khilafat be perpetuated) with the date in numerals. The reverse gives the king's name alone on the coins of Ibrahim and with the pedigree on the coins of his
successors. The coins do not bear the mint’s name; but a coin in the British Museum is said to have the name Jaunpur. The silver and gold coins follow the weight of 180 grains and the billon of 140 grains. The copper coins also have the same weight; and its half and quarter were also issued.

KASHMIR

Kashmir was conquered from the Hindu rulers in 1346 A.D. by a Swat named Shah Mirza, who assumed the title of Shamsuddin and founded a Muslim sultanate there. No less than twenty-two rulers are known to have ruled in the dynasty for about 250 years till 1589 A.D. In between them, Mirza Haider, a Mughal governor, nominally under Humayun, ruled between 1541 and 1551 A.D. Then in 1551 A.D. one Ghazi Khan Chak declared himself king; but his dynasty was not destined to rule for more than 27 years. In 1588 A.D. Akbar annexed Kashmir to his empire.

The coins of sixteen sultans are known. Gold coins are known of Muhammad Shah (1481 A.D.), Ibrahim (1552 A.D.) and Yusuf (1579 A.D.). They all are of one type. On the obverse is the Kalima enclosed in a circle; the reverse inscription, giving the king’s name and the titles and the mint Kashmir, is divided into two parts by a double band running across the face of the coin. The silver coins are square and weigh about 95 grains. The size, shape and design suggest that they perhaps had the recent billon issues of Qutbuddin Mubarak of Delhi for their prototype. The design once fixed remained unchanged till the downfall of the kingdom. The obverse gives the ruler’s name accompanied invariably by the title al-sultan al-azam and the date in figures. On the reverse appears the legend Zarb Kashmir (struck in Kashmir) in a square border set diagonally to the sides of the coin; in the margin is found the date in Arabic numerals, usually truncated. The dates on these coins at times appear unreliable; they seem to have become conventional with the style. The copper coins have the same legends as on the silver coins but the obverse inscription is divided by a bar with a knot in the middle. These coins are poorly executed.
CHAPTER XIII

COINS OF THE MUSLIM STATES OF SOUTH INDIA

Central Deccan and some parts of South India had come under the control of the Sultans of Delhi, when Alauddin Khilji (1307-1310 A.D.) and Muhammad Tughlaq (1326-27 A.D.) had invaded that region. But none of them stayed there for long. Just like the provincial governors of the North, the governors of the South became independent of the hegemony of Delhi. Two new Muslim states came out of the South Indian occupations of the Delhi Sultans. One of them was established in the Madura region, which was called Ma’bar and the other in Central Deccan and came to be known as the Bahmani dynasty.

MADURA OR MA’BAR

Madura, the capital of the ancient Pandya kingdom, is situated in the southernmost part and was called Ma’bar by Muslim historians. The annexation of the province of Madura to the Delhi empire was effected in the time of Alauddin Khilji, when an expedition was sent there, headed by Malik Kafur to assist Sundar Pandya against his brother Vira Pandya. Malik Kafur entered the city without much opposition, plundered the valuables and returned to Delhi with a fabulous booty. A lieutenant was left behind at Madura to govern the country on behalf of the Delhi Sultan. This system of ruling the province through governors continued upto the early years of Muhammad Tughlaq. He appointed Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah of Kaithal governor of that province. He, taking advantage of the weakness at the centre, threw off his allegiance to Delhi in 1333-34 A.D. and proclaimed himself Sultan and laid the foundation of the kingdom, which lasted nearly half a century; and then the kingdom was absorbed in the Vijayanagar empire in 1371 A.D. During this period eight
rulers issued their coins in silver, billon, copper and probably in gold also.

According to Ibn-Batuta, Jalaluddin Ahsan Shah, the first ruler of the dynasty, had issued coins in gold, on one side of which was inscribed Salatah Taha wa Yasin abu-muzaffar al-musagin Jalal-ud-dunia wa al-din (the offspring of Taha and Yasin, the father of the poor and the indigent Jalal-ud-dunya-wa-din). But no specimen of the coins is known in any collection. The known coins in other metals may be divided into two types. In one, the obverse has the Sultan’s name in a circle with the date in Arabic numerals in the margin. The reverse bears the title. The other variety bears the title on one side and the ruler’s name with date in numerals on the other.

The weight of the silver coins varies between 47 and 53 grains and that of billon and copper coins ranges from 68 to 21 grains. This metrology seems to be influenced by the metrology of the early South Indian coinage.

**BAHMANI DYNASTY**

Like the other provinces of the Delhi Sultanate, the province of the Deccan also revolted. After a series of revolts extending over four years, it finally severed its relations with Delhi in 1346-47 A.D. In that year Ismail Mukh assumed royal authority over the Deccan and assumed the title of Nasiruddin Ismail Shah; and issued some copper coins in the style of Delhi coinage with the simple legend Nasiruddin Ismail Shah Abul-fath. His coins weighed in the proximity of 54 grains. He enjoyed authority only for a short period of about a year. Then he abdicated in favour of Zafar Khani, who founded the Bahmani dynasty, which ruled till 1518 A.D.; and thereafter for a few years more, the pretensions of royalty were kept alive by the members of the dynasty.

Coins in gold, silver and copper were issued by the Bahmani Sultans. While gold is scarce, copper is profuse. Of the seventeen rulers of the dynasty, gold coins are known of nine—Muhammad Shah I (1358-1375 A.D.), Mujahid Shah (1375-1378 A.D.), Muhammad Shah II (1378-1397 A.D.), Firoz Shah (1397-1422
A.D.), Ahmad Shah II (1435-1457 A.D.), Humayun Shah (1457-1461 A.D.), Ahmad Shah III (1461-1463 A.D.), Muhammad Shah III (1463-1482 A.D.) and Mahmud Shah (1482-1518 A.D.). The coins of all the rulers, except Mujahid Shah and Firoz Shah, follow the standard weight of the tankah of the Delhi Sultans, i.e., 170 grains. These two rulers adopted the weight of the dinar of Muhammad Tughlaq, i.e., 197 grains. Silver coins were issued by all the rulers except the last two, Waliullah and Kalimullah, who were nominal Sultans. They all uniformly weigh 170 grains. A two-third tankah of 110 grains was issued by Muhammad Shah I and a one-third tankah of 56 grains by Mujahid Shah and Muhammad Shah II. Still smaller coins of 27 and 17 grains were issued by Bahman Shah and Muhammad Shah I, the early rulers. Copper coins were issued by all the rulers and they vary in weight and are in a number of denominations. While the earlier rulers seem to follow the weight standard of 57 grains and issue coins of its multiples or sub-multiples, the coins after Firoz Shah marked a radical change. A big coin of about 255 grains was introduced and its weight gradually increased during the reigns of the subsequent rulers. Now, the sub-multiples of this coin were issued.

The early Bahmani rulers adopted the patterns of the Delhi coinage. The silver and copper coins of the first ruler Bahman Shah are very much similar to the Khilji and Tughlaq coins in their form and execution. He adopted the Khilji legends word for word on both the sides of his coins; only the name Bahman Shah was substituted for Muhammed Shah. But his son Muhammad Shah I gave altogether new legends to his coins. He called himself on his coins Sultan-il ahd wa zaman, hamiumillat-i-rasul-ir-rahman (the king of the land and time; supporter of the community of the apostle of the merciful). The other titles he used were al-muwayyid ba-nasr-i-allah (helper of the cause of God) and abu-muzaffar (the father of victory). The latter title was retained invariably by all the succeeding rulers. Mujahid Shah seems to have reverted to the Delhi coinage for the inscriptions of his coins. He retained the title al-muwayyid bi-nasr-i-allah and
added to it yamin-ul-khilafat nasir-i-amir-al-momnin (right hand of the Khilafat, helper of the commander of the Muslims), the title of the Khilijis. On the coins of the subsequent rulers, no such epithets are found that could show their belief in the Khilafat. However, almost all the rulers proclaimed themselves supporters of Islam and used grandiloquent, high-sounding and awe-inspiring epithets to that effect on their coins. The title Sultan is found along with the names of the rulers and their names generally end with Shah; but at times both are found missing on the coins. Sometimes the name of father or those of both father and grandfather are added on the coins along with the name of the issuing king.

The Bahmani kingdom was practically extinct in 1490 A.D. By then the sovereign power was seized either by the four provincial governors—Fatehullah Imad-ul-mulk, Ahmad Nizam-ul-mulk, Yusuf Adil Khan and Sultan Quli Qutub-ul-mulk—or by Amir Barid, the minister of the central government. Yet the coins show that the shadow of the Bahmani kingship was held in great esteem in the eyes of the subjects; and the governors, who were virtually independent rulers in their respective provinces, did not dare for a long time to issue coins in their own name. Coins continued to be issued in the names of the nominal sultans; and as such coins were issued not only during the life-time of these shadowy Bahmani rulers, but were also issued for some time even after the death of the last ruler Kalimullah.

NIZAM SHAHI DYNASTY

Fatehullah Imad-ul-mulk, the governor of Berar, was the first to sever connections with the Bahmani kingdom and to proclaim his independence in 1487 A.D. But so far, no coins have come to light that could be attributed to the Imad Shahi rulers. Ahmad Nizam-mulk Behri, the governor of Ahmadnagar, was the next to have declared this independence in the Maharashtra region in 1491 A.D.; but his attempt to assume the title of Shah met with vehement resistance from all quarters. His successor Burhan I could call himself Shah only after he was encouraged
by the Gujarat Sultan Bahadur Shah. He was the first to issue coins in his name.

The Nizam Shahi coins are exclusively in copper and not much is known about them. Some of the coins are anonymous, i.e., they do not bear the name of the issuing rulers. They have the mint's name on one side and the date on the other. It is only from the mint and the date that they are attributed to this dynasty and to the kings Burhan I, Murtaza I and Burhan II. During the reigns of all these rulers, Ahmadnagar was the capital. It was known by this name in the time of Burhan I; but its name was changed to Murtazinagar in the reign of Murtaza I and then to Burhanabad in the time of Burhan II. During the reign of Murtaza II the name of the king found a place on the coins. His coins mention Ahmadnagar as the mint-name. But during his time, Ahmadnagar was captured by Prince Danyal, the son of Mughal Emperor Akbar and the seat of the Nizam Shahi government was first shifted to Junnar and then to Daulatabad. As such during his time Ahmadnagar was never under the Nizam Shahi dynasty. The coins thus show that they continued to consider Ahmadnager as their capital. But the succeeding ruler Burhan III, who issued coins in his name, put the name of Daulatabad as the issuing place. The coins of Murtaza give his name only as Murtazi without any title; but Burhan III calls himself Burhan Nizam Shah Ghazi. This inscription is found on one side and the other side bears the date and the name of the mint:

ADIL SHAHI DYNASTY

Yusuf Adil Khan, the governor of Bijapur, disassociated himself from the Bahmani capital by degrees and declared finally his independence in 1499 A.D. by ordering the Khutba to be read in his name. But he did not issue any coin on this occasion in accordance with the Muslim tradition. Not only he but also three of his successors—Ismail I, Mallu Adil Shah and Ibrahim I—did not issue their coins. It is only Ali I (1537-1557 A.D.) who was the first to issue coins in this dynasty. The coins of this dynasty
are chiefly in copper and were issued in three denominations, weighing 60, 120 and 180 grains. A few coins of Muhammad Shah are known of the higher weight of 267 grains. The coins of Ali I bear Ali ibn Abi Talib on the obverse and Asadallah al-ghalib on the reverse. Ibrahim II's coins have Ibrahim Abla bali (Ibrahim the strength of the weak) on the obverse and Ghulam Ali Murtazi on the reverse. The coins of Ali II have Ali Adil Shah on one side and Ghulam Haider Mafdar on the other. The last ruler of the dynasty calls himself Sultan Sikandar Qadiri Khusru giti-panah. These inscriptions show their devout faith in Shiaism and the Khalifa Ali. But unlike these rulers, Muhammad Adil Shah preferred an inscription in the form of a Persian couplet, which runs thus:

*Jahan za yeen do Muhammad giraf zinat wa jah
Ek Muhammad mursal duam Muhammad Shah.*

(The world received beauty and dignity from two Muhammads—one is Muhammad the Apostle and the other Muhammad the king.) Here Muhammad appears to go a step ahead of his grandfather who contented himself only by identifying himself with the Khalifa Ali; Muhammad now ranks himself with the Apostle Muhammad. But this would be too bold an assumption. It is not unlikely, therefore, that here Muhammad has tried to immortalise in these lines his queen Taj Jahan; as the lines may also mean "The world (Jahan) received beauty and dignity from Muhammad the Apostle and Jahan (the queen) from Muhammad the king."

Gold coins are almost unknown except a few that were issued by Muhammad Adil Shah and bear the same inscriptions as those on the copper ones. Silver coins also are unknown in the series in the style of the copper ones; but a silver currency of quite a different and indeed of a foreign pattern was issued by them. This was the curious Larin currency which had originated in the district of Lar at the head of the Persian Gulf and was most popular amongst Arab marine traders. The Larins were merely a piece
of silver wire or slender rod doubled at its middle. They afford a scanty surface for receiving any inscription. Hence, it is not easy to read the inscriptions on them. However, most of the Adil Shahi Larins bear Sultan Ali Adil Shah on one side and Zarb Lari dangi (or dabul) san...on the other. The dates on these coins are rarely found to be clear; but what could be read shows that they were issued by Ali II. But whether these Larins were at any time current over the whole extent of the Adil Shahi kingdom is difficult to say. Since their territories embraced a large portion of the Konkan littoral, it is quite likely that they caused these Larins to be struck to meet the local demand for this strange coastal money.

**QUTB SHAHI DYNASTY**

Qutb-ul-mulk Sultan Quli, the governor of Telingana (which included Golconda and Warangal), remained loyal to the Bahmani kings till the beginning of the sixteenth century. Then he declared his independence, the exact date of which is difficult to ascertain. However, even after being independent, he neither mentioned his name in the Khutba nor struck any coin in his name. The coins of his successors only are known and they are all in copper. The coins appear to be of various denominations and of many weights, differing from king to king. So no definite metrology can be suggested for them.

The Qutb Shahi rulers were least fastidious about the inscriptions on their coins. It is only Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah and Muhammad Qutb Shah who adopted the title of *abul-muzaffar*; others remained content with the simple title of Sultan. The coins bear the name on the obverse and the mint’s name with or without date on the reverse. Besides the common type, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah issued some coins with a Persian couplet:

*Paivastah be lanate-Ilahi*
*Taheerdah-fuloos-i-shahi.*
(God’s curse be on him who finds fault with the royal fuloos—copper coin.) Some of these coins do not bear the king’s name and have a demistich on each side; on others the entire couplet is on one side and the inscription Adl Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah with the mint’s name Dar-ul-sultanat Gulkundah and date 991 or 992 on the other. This shows that during his period the Qutb Shahi coins had fallen in the esteem of the people; so he had to place this curse. Another extraordinary inscription is found on the coins of Abdullah Qutb Shah and his successor and son-in-law Abul Hasan Qutb Shah. It reads: Khatam ba-l-khair wa al-sadath (It came to an end well and auspiciously). This shows that these coins were issued as a sigh of relief from some calamities that overshadowed the kingdom. These bear the dates 1068 and 1095 A.H.

The capital town Gulkundah was named Muhammadnagar; so the coins bear the mint name Muhammadnagar Gulkundah or Dar-ul-sultanat Gulkundah during the early period. From the reign of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the coins bear the name Dar-ul-Sultanat Haiderabad. In the time of Abdullah Qutb Shah coins are known to have been issued both from Muhammadnagar and Haiderabad.

BARID SHAHI DYNASTY

Qasim Barid, who rising from the humble post of sarnaubat had made himself the minister at the Bahmani capital, became the de facto ruler of the province of Bidar at the cost of the Bahmani kings in about 1490-91 A.D. But he and his successors wielded their power under the cover of the weak Bahmani rulers, Ahmad Shah IV, Muhammad Shah IV, Waliullah and Kalimullah. Whether Qasim Barid issued any coins or not is not known from any sources; but for his successor Amir Barid I, Farishta has used the epithet Sahib-i-sikka, which suggests that he did strike coins. But no coins of his period are yet known. The third ruler Ali Barid I took the bold step of calling himself Shah in his inscriptions; yet he too refrained from issuing coins. It is only the fourth ruler Ibrahim Barid (1579-1586 A.D.), who issued coins in his name
and that too only towards the end of his reign. He at first retained
the name of the Bahmani ruler Kalimullah on one side and insc-
ribed on the other side his name Sultan Amir Barid Shah with the
date 993 A.H. Then immediately he dispensed with the sham and
issued exclusively his own coins. The coins of Ibrahim Barid
Shah and his successors are all anonymous. They uniformly
bear the inscription Sultan Amir Barid Shah on one side. The other
side of the coins of Ibrahim Barid Shah has the legend bi-nasr
allah al-ali. On some al-ali is omitted. His successor, Qasim
Barid Shah II (1587-1592 A.D.), issued coins with the reverse legend
Al-muwayyid ba-nasr Allah sultani. No coins are known which
could be attributed to the next two rulers. The eighth ruler,
Amir Barid III, issued coins with the legend al-muwayyid ba nasr
Allah al-mulk al-qavi al-ghani on the obverse and Al-sultan al-adil
Amir Barid Shah Barak on the reverse. A few coins do not have
al-mulk al-qavi on the obverse and Barak on the reverse.
The Barid Shahi coins are exclusively of copper and weigh
280, 180, 125 and 90 grains and do not bear the name of the mint.
CHAPTER XIV

COINS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

In the fourteenth century A.D., the Mongol Taimur had conquered Western Asia and raided India as far as Delhi. But it was only five generations later that the Mongols, under the name of Mughals, set their foot in India, when Zahiruddin Babur, driven out of Transoxiana, settled in Afghanistan in 1505 A.D., and twenty years later entered India and defeated and killed Ibrahim Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi, at the Battle of Panipat in 1526 A.D.

Babur and his son Humayun occupied the Delhi Sultanate, but they could not settle down well. Humayun, after years of campaigning, was driven out of India in 1542 A.D. and after thirteen years of wanderings in exile in Persia and elsewhere he recovered his lost kingdom and captured Delhi once again; but soon after he died in 1556 A.D. He was succeeded by his son Akbar, who laid the foundation of the Mughal empire on a secure basis. In his long reign, he extended his rule successfully over the provinces of North and Central India; and the conquests in the Deccan in the early years of the seventeenth century carried his empire far to the south before his death.

Babur, Humayun and Akbar (during the first three years of his reign) issued silver Shahrukhis, which were introduced by the Timurid ruler Shah Rukh in the early fifteenth century A.D. and were current all over Central Asia and Persia and were also the prevalent coins of the Shaybanid rulers of Transoxiana. These coins were thin broad pieces of about 72 grains. On the obverse of the coins is the Kalima enclosed in areas of various shapes with the names of the four Khalifas and their epithets in the margin. On the reverse is the king’s name in an area and in the margin are his titles together with the name of the mint and date. Babur’s coins bear the name and titles Al-sultan al-azam wa al-khakan al-mukarram Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur Badshah Ghazi. On Humayun’s coins the titles are the same as those on the coins
of Babur. For his name, Muhammad Humayun Badshah Ghazi is used. Akbar also followed his father. He retained the earlier titles and placed his name as Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah. Babur had issued Shahrukhis from Agra, Jaunpur, Kabul and Lahore in India and from Badakhshan and Samarkand outside India. Some of the coins issued from Badakhshan, Samarkand and Kabul are found counterstruck by Babur himself by the devices by which he had counterstruck the Shaybanid coins. These counterstriking devices are of three types: (i) Adl Babur arranged inside a small cartouche in the form of an ornamental diamond; (ii) Adl Babur Ghazi within a lined quatre-foil; and (iii) Zahiruddin Muhammad Babur arranged in a cartouche shaped like an inverted heart. Humayun had issued Shahrukhis from Agra, Kabul, Lahore, Champanir and Qandahar. Akbar’s Shahrukhis are confined only to Lahore. But he had counterstruck some Shaybanid Shahrukhis with Adl Akbar with a date placed inside a lined oval or pear-shaped area. The dates found on the counterstriking devices are 983 and 984. Some Shaybanid coins are found counterstruck with Adl Kabul or Adl Kabul with dates the 963, 964, 968, 982. They also might have been counterstruck by Akbar.

Humayun had also issued a few tiny gold pieces of the Shahrukhi style which bear no mint. Copper coins were also issued by Babur and Humayun but they all are anonymous. They bear only the mint’s name on one side and the date on the other and were issued from places from where the Shahrukhis were issued. The copper coins perhaps followed the standard laid down by Bahlol Lodi, the Sultan of Delhi. During his short reign of six months, Humayun adopted the new silver and copper standards of the Suris that had become current in the country during his absence. The coinage of the subsequent rulers of the dynasty is based on this new standard.

Akbar issued gold, silver and copper coins on the pattern of Suri coinage and adopted their weight and fabric. The gold coins were now called muhar; they weighed 11 mashes (168-170 grains). The silver rupee weighed 11½ mashes (178 grains) and the copper dam weighed 1 tola 8 mashes and 8 surkh (323 grains). Forty
COINS OF THE MUGHAL EMPERORS

_dams_ were equal to one rupee and nine rupees were equal to one gold _muhar_ in their value. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar had issued gold coins of two other values of rupees ten and twelve, which weighed 186-188 and 215 grains, respectively. But the coins of the value of twelve rupees are unknown so far. Coins of the value of nine rupees were issued till 985 A.H.; thereafter coins of the value of ten rupees, _i.e._, weighing 186-188 grains, were introduced. Henceforward till about the 42nd regnal year (1005 A.H.) the gold coins of the two values were concurrent; but the light-weight coins were rare and the heavy-weight ones were common. Thereafter the heavy-weight coins became rare and the light-weight coins became the common issue. No fractional coins in any metal are known earlier than 988 A.H., but thereafter some fractional coins are seen in all the metals; but they are rare.

The original shape of Akbar’s coins was round; but it was changed to square for gold and silver coins. Then between the regnal years 30 and 35 (993-998 A.H.), both round and square coins were issued simultaneously. In the regnal year 35, the square shape seems to have been abandoned. Almost all the coins of the later period are round. Akbar had issued some gold coins in _Mihrabi_ shape also to commemorate some events; but they are extremely rare.

As by weight and shape, the coins of Akbar may also be distinguished in two styles according to the content of their inscriptions. During the first 29 years of his reign, _i.e._, up to 1555 A.D., the gold and silver coins were issued in the _Kalima_ type. They followed the earlier _Shahrukhi_ coins of Babur and Humayun, _i.e._, they had the _Kalima_ on the obverse with the names of the four Khalifas. On the reverse was the name of the emperor _Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar Badshah Ghazi_ with or without the titles _Al-sultan al-azam al-khakan al-mukarram_, the pious wish _Khalid Allah talaah mulk wa saltanat_, the name of the mint with or without an epithet and the date in the Hijri era. The dates in the Hijri era were inscribed in a regular manner till 988 A.H. Then the word _Alif_ was put on them to represent 1000. By now Akbar’s
eclectic ideas had crystallised and he felt convinced that the millennium of the Islamic dispensation was drawing near and as such he passed an order that the coins should show the era of the millennium. Along with this we find that he also dispensed with the name of the mint-place. The mint-name was replaced by the word Urdu-zafar-garin, which means "camp associated with victory". This continued most likely up to 1555 A.D. Then the change in the religious thinking of Akbar was reflected on the coins in a better manner. The Kalima was ousted from the coins; its place was given to the Ilahi creed Allah Akbar Jalla jalalah. The name and titles of the emperor were also withdrawn. He probably preferred to remain anonymous on the coins, unless we take it that his name lies in the punning creed Allah Akbar. The Ilahi coins issued after 1555 A.D. may be distinguished into four types. The earliest coins bear the Ilahi creed exclusively. On them Allah Akbar is on one side and Jalla jalalah on the other. These were issued in the 30th year of his reign. The second type is very much similar to the first; but has the year with the word Ilahi on the Jalla jalalah side. Such coins are known up to the regnal year 35. The third type was introduced some time in that year, where the full Ilahi creed was placed on one side and the other side bore the date in two lines. The top line had the year followed by the word Ilahi and in the second line he introduced the name of the Persian month. This was quite an innovation in numismatic history. Now onward the coins issued in different months had the names of the month of issue. Thus the coins became monthly issues. During this time the suspension of the mint-name had continued. But soon after with the issue of the third type the mint-name was reintroduced. It was added on the reverse. This practice continued till the end of his reign.

Akbar also introduced the use of metrical legends on some of his coins. This kind of legend was earlier known in India on the coins of Gujarat Sultan Ghiyasuddin Muhammad Shah. After Akbar, it became the fashion on the coins of most of his successors. The earliest coins with a couplet was issued in the fortieth year of his reign; but were suspended shortly after; they were re-issued
in the forty-ninth year and continued as monthly issues till the end. Another metrical legend on gold was used on the coins of the Agra mint just a month before his death. On silver coins, the metrical legend is seen on Allahabad issues regularly from the regnal year 45. On the conquest of Bandhogarh, silver coins with the metrical legend were issued. Akbar also re-introduced the pictorial motifs on some of his coins. The earliest of this kind were issued in the regnal year 45. The gold coins that were issued to commemorate the conquest of the fortress of Asirgarh, the strong place of Khandesh, bear a hawk on one side and the mint-name and date on the other. Perhaps some silver coins were also issued on this occasion, on which Akbar is shown riding a horse with a hawk. Then mintless gold and silver coins were issued in the beginning of the 50th regnal year, where the effigy of Rama and Sita with the words Rama-siya in Nagari is seen on one side. A third pictorial coin was issued in the same year in the month of Khurmad from Agra. It shows a duck on one side.

The mint-name had not found much importance on the earlier Muslim coinage, though it was considered important. Akbar attached prime importance to it and from his time it became an integral part of the Mughal coins. The steady territorial expansion of Akbar’s empire was accompanied by the expansion of the mints; over twenty names are seen on the gold coins and about forty-five on the silver. But most of the names are only the records either of the halting places of the Royal camp during some sojourn or are the commemoration of the occupation of the place or territory. Regular mints for gold were situated at the provincial capitals—Agra, Lahore and Jaunpur in the beginning; then Delhi was added to the list. But Delhi was soon suspended and Ahmadabad was added when Gujarat was conquered. Likewise coins were issued from Patna after Bihar was annexed to the empire. These mints, which struck gold coins, also issued silver and copper coins. Besides them, there were three or four mints which issued only silver and copper coins. Copper was allowed to be issued from many other places also.

Immediately after the death of Akbar, Jahangir came to the throne; but his formal coronation took place several months later
in the following year. So he had ordered that no coins should be issued in his name till he was crowned at Delhi. But this order was, it appears, not carried out fully by all the mints. During this period Agra issued some gold coins with a couplet and were dated the regnal year 51. They are considered to be posthumous issues in the name of Akbar. The couplet runs:

\[ Zad sat az muhar Akbar badshah nur \\
Bar in zar nam Shah Nur ali nur. \]

(By the stamp of the emperor Akbar gold becomes bright; this gold is still brighter with the name of the king Nur, i.e., Nuruddin Jahan- gir). A gold muhar was also issued with the portrait of Akbar, bearing the first regnal year of Jahangir and the Hijri year. Silver coins were issued from Ahmadabad and Kabul during this interim period with his name as the prince, Salim.

Immediately after his coronation, Jahangir ordered that the weight of gold and silver coins be increased by 20 per cent, i.e., to issue gold coins of 202 and silver coins of 212 grains. The weight was again raised by 5 per cent sometime in the fourth year. Now the coins weighed 212 grains in gold and 222 grains in silver. But in the sixth year, when people represented to him that these new heavy-weight coins were inconvenient in transactions, the old weight of the time of Akbar, i.e., 170 grains for gold and 178 grains for silver, was restored. Hereafter till the end of his reign, gold and silver coins of these weights were issued.

In his order about coinage after the coronation, to which a reference has been made above, he also issued instructions that his coins should bear a couplet, which was composed by Amir-ul-umra Sharif Khan. This couplet runs as:

\[ Rui zad ra sakht Nurani barang Mihr wa Mah \\
Shah Nuruddin Jahangir ibn Akbar badshah. \]

(Made the face of money to shine with the hue of the sun and the moon, Shah Nuruddin Jahangir, the son of Akbar Badshah). But
again, this order does not seem to have been faithfully carried out. Only during the first three years was this legend placed on the coins issued from Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Akbarnagar, Qandahar and Kashmir. During this period, coins with the *Kalima* on one side and *Nuruddin Muhammad Jahangir Badshah Ghazi* on the other were also issued. Jahangir had dispensed with the Ilahi era and had introduced his regnal year in its place, which was reckoned by the solar system, like the Ilahi era. So now the coins bear both the regnal year and the Hijri year.

The coins that were issued in or after the sixth regnal year bear the name *Nuruddin Jahangir Shah Akbar Shah* on one side and the other side follows the Ilahi coins of Akbar, *i.e.*, it bears the mint’s name, the Ilahi (Persian) month, the regnal and the Hijri years. Such coins were issued till the 19th year, though these coins were not exclusively issued. Coins bearing couplets were also issued during this period from Ajmer, Ahmadabad, Akbarnagar, Agra, Allahabad, Burhanpur, Patna, Delhi, Fatehpur, Qandahar, Kabul, Kashmir, Lahore and Mandu. The issues from each of these mints have the couplets of their own with some other individual characteristics. Between the sixth and the ninth years Jahangir also issued some coins bearing his own portrait for being presented to his favourites. These coins are in the same tradition in which he had earlier issued the coin with the portrait of his father Akbar. The portrait coins that were issued during the sixth year have the bust of the emperor in profile, resting his hand on a balcony. On some of the coins he is holding either a flower or a cup in his right hand. On the reverse of these coins a lion is shown either to right or to left. The coins of the seventh year show the emperor seated cross-legged on the throne and holding the cup in the right hand. The reverse has a legend. The eighth-year coins show the seated emperor on one side and a lion on the other. Each side of the coin also occupies a hemistic of a metrical legend in the exergue. So far, the portrait coins do not reveal the place from which they were issued; but the coins of the ninth year show that they were issued from Ajmer. The obverse of the coins of this year is almost covered with the portrait holding the cup and each hemistic of the metrical legend is placed to the right and left
in the blank space. The reverse shows a small radiate sun in the
centre; the mint’s name, the regnal year, the Hijri year and an in-
vocation *Ya Muin* on its left and right. The upper and the bottom
spaces are covered by a second couplet.

In the thirteenth year, it occurred to Jahangir, he writes in his
diary, to replace the name of the month which was being written on
the reverse of the coins by the figure of the constellation, which be-
longed to that month. Accordingly, gold and silver coins that were
issued from his camp-mints hereafter bear the zodiacal signs on one
side. They are remarkable in their execution; but they are rarely
found.

In the later days of his reign, Jahangir’s physical and mental
powers had begun to fail; so he left the administration to his queen
Nurjahan and was himself contented, in his own words, by a seer of
wine and half a seer of meat. So, by the nineteenth year, Nurjahan
was virtually the ruler of the empire. She left nothing to chance
and proclaimed her *de facto* authority through the coins that were
issued thenceforward from Agra, Ahmadabad, Akbarnagar,
Allahabad, Kashmir, Lahore, Patna and Surat. The coins now
bear a couplet:

*Ja hukm Shah Jahangir yaft shud zewar
Ba-nam Nurjahan Badshah beghum.*

(By order of Shah Jahangir gold attained a hundred beauties when
the name of Nurjahan Badshah Beghum was placed on it). These
coins continued till the end of Jahangir’s reign. But as soon as
Shah Jahan came to throne, he imposed a death penalty for the use
of these coins as well as those having the zodiacal signs and ordered
that they should be returned to the mint and melted. And for this
reason, these coins are extremely rare.

Between Jahangir and Shah Jahan, Dawar Bakhsh, the son of
Khusru, was a stop-gap. He ruled for three months and issued some
silver coins from Lahore which bear the *Kalima* on one side and *Abu-
muzaffar Dawar Bakhsh Badshah* on the other. Shah Jahan, during his
entire reign, issued coins bearing the *Kalima* and the mint’s name on
one side and his name and title Sahib Qiran Sani Shihabuddin Muhammad Shah Jahan Badshah Ghazi on the other. The superscriptions on the coins during the first five years were plain and simple. But from the fifth year to the end of his reign, except at the Tattah mint, where the earlier style was retained, Shah Jahan employed a type endless in its varieties, where squares, circles and lozenges formed borders enclosing the Kalima on the obverse and the emperor's name on the reverse. The names of the four Khalifas were re-introduced; and they appear with the epithets in the margin on the obverse. The reverse margin bears the titles of the emperor. He used a couplet only on the coins of Shahjahanabad, the new Delhi that he had built in 1048 A.H., during the last ten years of his reign. The couplet runs:

Sikka Shahjahanabad raij dar jahan
Jawedan bada banam Sani Sahib-qiran.

(May the coins of Shahjahanabad be current in the world for ever in the name of the second Lord of the conjunctions). The predeccessors of Shah Jahan did not use any pretentious titles; but he in imitation of Timur, his ancestor, who had adopted the title of Sahib-i-qiran (Lord of the fortunate conjunctions, i.e., of the planets), called himself Sahib-i-qiran sani (the second lord of the fortunate conjunctions). Eight later emperors followed his example and used this title. Like Jahangir, from the second to the fifth year, Shah Jahan also used the Ilahi (Persian) months on the coins along with his regnal year, but unlike Jahangir, he ordered to reckon his regnal year according to the lunar system, on which the Hijri era is based. And this system was subsequently followed by all his successors.

After the serious illness of Shah Jahan in 1656-57 A.D., the struggle for succession to the throne followed and in this period Shah Shuja and Murad Bakhsh asserted their claims by issuing coins in their names. The former issued his coins from Akbarnagar in Bengal and the latter from Ahmadabad, Surat and Khambayat in Gujarat. They used the square type of their father with the Kalima and the names of the Khalifas on one side and their name
and title on the other. Both styled themselves on the coins as Sikandar-sani (second Alexander).

Aurangzeb, on coming to the throne, forbade immediately the use of the Kalima on his coins; he thought that the holy words would be defiled as the coins would pass into the hands of Kafirs (non-Muslims). Hence onward it vanished for ever from the Indian coins. He utilised the obverse for his name and title Abu-al-zafar Muhiuddin Muhammad Bahadur Shah Alamgir Aurangzeb Badshah Ghazi in the early years; then he introduced the following couplet which was composed by Mir Abdul Baqi Shahbai: Sikhazad dar jahan chu mehr (or badra)\(^1\) munir Shah Aurangzeb Alamghir (struck money through the world like the shining sun (or moon) Shah Aurangzeb Alamghir.) The couplet came into use at different dates at the different mints; but was used by all mints, with the exception of Akbarabad, after the fourth year and continued till the end of his reign. Akbarabad adopted the couplet very late in the twenty-ninth year. The square area like Shahjahan’s coins was used during the early years in the mints at Akbarabad and Junagarh. On the reverse, Aurangzeb introduced a formula, which runs—Sanh jalis mainanat Manus zarb—with the name of the mint. This meant “struck at (the mint’s name) in the year (the regnal year) of the accession associated with prosperity”.

After Aurangzeb, the Mughal empire had gradually begun to break up and the history of India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is one of a multitude of independent States. But outwardly they maintained the prestige of the Mughal empire. So, though a large number of coins bear the names of the Mughal rulers, they are really not their issues. Thus the numismatic history of the post-Aurangzeb period is quite confused. To it, still more confusion was added by the policy of farming out the mints adopted by Farrukhsiyar. The coins continued in the name of the Mughal rulers, Azam Shah, Kam Bakhsh, Shah Alam Bahadur (Shah Alam I), Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar, Rafiud-dar-jat, Refuuddaula (Shah Jahan II), Muhammad Ibrahim, Muhammad Shah, Ahmad

\(^1\) According to Khalfikhan the word miler was to be used on gold and badr on silver. But in actual practice this does not seem to have been strictly followed.
Shah, Alamgir II, Shah Jahan III, Shah Alam II, Bedar Bakht, Akbar II and Bahadur Shah till 1857 A.D. Of this period, if the Mughal and non-Mughal mints, which issued coins in the names of the Mughal rulers, be taken together, they would number about two hundred.

In addition to the regular gold *muhar* and the silver *rupee*, coins of small denominations were also issued by the Mughal rulers from time to time; and some of them were struck for largesse. The commonest of these was the *nisar*, a quarter *rupee*, struck by Jahangir, Shah Jahan, Aurangzeb, Jahandar Shah and Farrukhshiyar. Gold *nisars* are also known; but they are extremely rare. Jahangir had issued such pieces, which he had named *Nur afshan* (light-scattering) and *Khair Kabul* (alms for acceptance). In 1679 A.D., when Aurangzeb reimposed *jaziya* (poll-tax on infidels), he issued coins called *dirham Sharai* (legal dirham) for its payment in the orthodox manner. These coins are square in shape and were issued from many mints. Farrukhshiyar also issued these *dirhams* when he re-instituted the *jaziya* in the sixth year of his reign.

Besides the gold *muhar* and the silver *rupee* and their fractions, the Mughal rulers struck coins of higher denominations in gold and silver for presentation to ambassadors, ladies and other favourites. These coins varied from 2000 tolas to two tolas. While these coins are mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* and are referred to by many foreign travellers, only a few pieces are now known. In the British Museum are two five-*muhar* pieces, one of Akbar and the other of Jahangir, both struck in the Agra mint. The British Museum also has a cast of 200-*muhar* piece of Shah Jahan. The original coin is now not known. During the last century, such a piece was with a rich family at Varanasi and it is said that it was later presented to the then Scindia Maharaja of Gwalior. A lead cliche of a twenty-five *muhar* piece of Aurangzeb is in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, the Museum of Banaras Hindu University. A silver coin of Aurangzeb is reported to be in Dresden, weighing five and a half English pounds. A few double rupees of later rulers and a ten-rupee piece of Shah Alam II from the Surat mint are also known.
The Mughal emperors had also issued copper coins; but in fabric they are generally rude and dumpy. They are based on Sher Shah’s copper paisa of 320-330 grains. They are known as a dam and with its half, quarter and eighth parts continued to be struck until the fifth year of Aurangzeb. Between the forty-fifth and fiftieth years of Akbar, some coins of about 644 grains were issued and they were called tankah. Its half, quarter, eighth and sixteenth parts were also issued during the period. But these coins are confined only to a few mints. He also issued during this period a new series of four, two and one tanki coins, which were based on the decimal system in relation to the tankah coins. After the fifth year of Aurangzeb, the weight of the dam was reduced to 220 grains, perhaps due to the rise in the price of copper. However, a few heavier dams of the subsequent period of Aurangzeb, Shah Alam I and Farrukhsiyar are also known. While the copper coins of Akbar are known in plenty, those of the subsequent rulers are known only in a small quantity. With the exception of the tankah and tanki coins, Akbar’s copper coins are anonymous. His Ilahi copper, like the silver and gold, are dated in the Ilahi year and were issued monthly. Those of the succeeding rulers, with the exception of a few of Aurangzeb, have the king’s name and Hijri date on the obverse and the mint and the regnal year on the reverse.
CHAPTER XV

COINS OF THE HINDU RULERS OF THE MUSLIM PERIOD

With the expansion of Muslim rule in India, the indigenous States had gradually vanished. So there was not much by way of Hindu States during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Yet in some obscure corners, some Hindu rulers were asserting their independence now and then and some of them also issued coins of their own. But the history of their coinage is as obscure as their rule. However, the little that is known of a few of these States is described in this chapter.

KANGRA

A small hill State lying between the rivers Ravi and Sutlej existed from very early times. In the pre-Christian centuries, there existed a tribal republic, of which coins are mentioned in the earlier pages. But not much is known of the State and its rulers till the time of the Muslim incursions into India. The rulers of Kangra now and then submitted to the Muslim forces; but at the same time they asserted their independence as and when they found an opportunity. These rulers perhaps issued coins of the bull and horseman type of Samantadeva during the early period. From the beginning of the fourteenth century A.D., copper coins are known bearing the names of the rulers of the State. The earliest ruler whose coins are known of the bull and horseman type with his name is Pithama Chandra (1330 A.D.). His name Sri Pithama Chandra is found on the bull side. His successor Apurva Chandra (1335 A.D.) also placed his name Sri Apurvachandra on the bull side. But soon he discarded the bull motif and used the entire reverse flan for a longer legend Maharaja Sri Apurvachandra Deva. And now onwards till the end of the dynasty at about the beginning of the seventeenth century A.D., this type of coins were issued by the successive rulers. But the figure of the horseman was gradually debased and
could hardly be recognised on the coins. Similar coins were probably also issued by neighbouring States like Guler but no proper study of these coins has yet been made.

MEWAR

Mewar, in Rajasthan, was perhaps issuing coins from quite early times. Some of the Indo-Sassanian and Gadhaiya type coins were perhaps issued by the rulers of Mewar. But the coins that may definitely be attributed to the Mewar rulers date back only from the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. These coins are of copper and the earliest of them were issued by Rana Kumbha (1433-1468 A.D.). They are all square and bear the Nagari legends and were issued in a number of denominations. The bigger coins have Sri Kumbhalameru Maharana Sri Kumbhakarnasya in Nagari on one side and Sri Ekalinga Prasadat (by the blessing of the god Ekalinga) and the date in the Vikrama era in the same script on the other. The smaller coins have either Sri Kumbhalameru on one side and Rana Kumbhakarna on the other or Kumbhakarna on one side and Ekalinga on the other. The coins known next are those of Rana Sanga or Sangrama Singh (1509-1527 A.D.). He imitated the Sultans of Malwa and placed Sultan bin Sultan in Persian on one side and his name Rana Sangrama Singh and the date in Nagari on the other. His type was followed by the succeeding rulers Ratan Singh (1527-1532 A.D.), Vikramaditya (1532-1535 A.D.) and Vanavira (1536-1541 A.D.). After Vanavira, the condition of Mewar became troubulous and no later ruler seems to have issued his coins.

CENTRAL INDIA

A Gond dynasty was ruling in the later part of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with its capital at Amarakantak, which extended in the Kosala area and also occupied some parts of the ancient Akara (the area round about Bhopal). This dynasty is known in history for the chivalry of Rani Durgavati who gallantly opposed the Mughal governor Asaf Khan, who had invaded her kingdom in 1564 A.D. Her father-in-law Sangram Shah had issued some gold
coins of about 167 grains. The obverse of his coins had a crested lion in a square and the margin had a Nagari legend which is read as *Pulasta-Vamsa Sri Sangram Sahi Samvat* followed by the year in numerals. On the reverse, the obverse legend is repeated in Nagari and Telugu without the date.

**MITHILA**

An Oinvara dynasty had established its kingdom in Mithila (northern Bihar) during the time of the Tughlaqs. Siva Singh the seventh member of the dynasty (1410-1414 A.D.) had issued some tiny gold coins of about 14 grains weight. They bear *Sri* on the obverse and *Sivasya* on the reverse. Silver coins are known of another ruler of the dynasty Bhairava Simha (1474 A.D.) of 162 grains weight. They bear a long legend divided into two parts and placed in a square area—*Maharaja Sri Darpanarayan-atmaja Tribhukti-raja Sri Bhairavasimhasya*. The regnal year is placed on one side in the four corners and the Saka era in a similar way on the other.

During this period, another family ruled in the territory south of Nepal on both sides of the river Gandak, roughly corresponding to Gorakhpur and Champaran districts. Madansimhadeva was one of the rulers of this dynasty. He perhaps issued the coins which bear on the obverse the Nagari legend *Govinda-charana-pranava-Madana* and *Sri Champakaranyasya* on the reverse.

**ASSAM**

Assam is well known in the history of India from very early times; yet no coinage is known before the third quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. The earliest coins are those that were issued from Tripura by the ruler Ratnamaniya in 1467 A.D. Since then, the coins were issued uninterruptedly till the last quarter of the nineteenth century A.D. These coins are all round and bear the inscription in Assamese script. Ratnamaniya first issued coins with inscriptions on both sides; but soon after he introduced for the reverse a grotesque lion. A similar device was used by the next ruler, Dhanyamaniya (1490 A.D.). Then in the time of Vijayamaniya a *trisula* was added at the back of the lion. This device continued
for some time. Then Vijayamanikya placed a figure of Ardhanarishvara on some of his coins, which he issued to commemorate his holy bath in the Lakshya river. Here the composite figure of Ardhanarishvara is made up of the half portion of the ten-handed lion-rider Durga and that of the four-handed bull-rider Siva. Yashodharamanikya placed the figure of flute-playing Krishna flanked by a Gopi on either side in the upper half of the flan and the lion-trisula device in the lower half. The inscription on the other side mentions the name of the ruler. Some of them used an epithet that disclosed their religious leanings. For instance, Ratnamanikya, the earliest ruler, used the epithet Narayana-charana-parah; Ratnamanikya II was Siva-Kalika-pada-padma-madhu. Some referred to Siva-Durga-pada; some others to Radha-Krishna-pada. A still more interesting feature of these coins is that, of the nineteen kings known during the period, sixteen have placed the names of their queens on some of their types.

Other coins of Assam were issued by the Ahom, Koch, Kachari and Jayantia dynasties, which were closely related to one another. The Ahoms invaded the Brahmaputra valley from their former home in the Shan States in 1228 A.D.; and when they issued their first coins in 1544 A.D., their power was firmly established in the upper part of the valley. The earliest coins were issued by the king, Suk-leng-mung. The shape, the language, the script and the era in which these coins are dated are characteristically original. Only the weight seems to have been borrowed from the silver tankah of the Sultans of Bengal. The octagonal shape of his coins is said to have been chosen in accordance with a passage in the Yogini Tantra, which describes Kamarupa as being eight-sided. All the subsequent Ahom coins followed this model; but the Ahom language and script of Suk-leng-mung’s coins were soon replaced by the Sanskrit language and the Assamese script and the date by the Saka era, except in the case of those few coins that were issued on ceremonial occasions and retained the language and script of the Ahoms. By the year 1695 A.D., this family had definitely submitted to the influence of Hinduism; before that date, expression of devotion to the tribal gods Lengdun, Tara and Phetuceng appears on the coins.
But the reverse legend of a coin of the Saka year 1618 (1696 A.D.) struck by Rudrasimha (1696-1714 A.D.) runs as Sri Hara-Gauri-padmadhukarasya. This was the characteristic of the later coin inscriptions. In this series are also found some coins in the names of the three queens of the king Sivasimha (1714-1744 A.D.), Phulesvari (also known as Parmarthesvari), Ambika Devi and Saraswati. The names of these queens were placed on the coins, it is said, to set at nought a prophecy that his reign would be short. Sivasimha declared his queens, one after another, to be the ruler with all the regal rights including coinage. Sivasimha and his consort Parmarthesvari issued a few extremely rare coins which are square in shape and bear a Persian legend and the distiches employed on them are a close imitation of the coins of the Mughal emperors. One of the later rulers, Rajeshwara Simha, also used Persian on some of his coins. Ahom coins were issued continuously till 1821 A.D.

The series of Koch coins begins with Naranarayana's coins issued in 1555 A.D. (Saka 1477). The Koch kingdom was established by Naranarayana's father on the ruins of the earlier kingdom of Kamtapur. On Naranarayana's death, the kingdom was divided between his son Lakshminarayana and his brother's son Raghudeva. Both of them issued their own coins. But the eastern kingdom of Raghudeva was soon absorbed by the Ahom kingdom and its coinage is confined to those of Raghudeva and his son Parikshita, which is exceedingly rare. The western kingdom of Lakshminarayana became a tributary of the Mughal empire and thenceforward its coinage became confined to the issue of half coins, which are known as Narayani rupees and are struck with dies bigger than the flan. To this are the exceptions, the full coins of Prananarayana bearing the date of his accession. These coins bear a legend on both sides. Naranarayana's coins bear Sri Sri Siva-scharana-kamala-madhukarasya on one side and Sri-Sriman-Naranarayana bhupalasya Sake followed by the date on the other. Similar devices were used along with their names by his successors. On some coins Siva is found replaced by Hara-Gauri. Here it may be interesting to mention that the coins that were issued in the name of Aurangzeb during the occupation of Kuch-Behar by Mir Jumla in 1661 A.D. when its name was
changed to Alamgirpur, are also, strangely enough, similar to the Narayani rupees of the Koch rulers, so much so that they also have the inscription in Assamese script instead of in Persian.

The Kacharis were the dominant power in the central part of the Brahmaputra valley till their capital was captured by the Ahoms in 1736 A.D. Then they established a new capital in the north Cachar Hills and maintained some degree of independence. The legends on the coins are very similar to the Koch coins, i.e., they bear on the obverse the expression of devotion to some deity and the name of the king and the date on the reverse.

The Jayantia kings ruled over the Jayantia Hills and the adjoining Jayantia Pargana in the Surma valley. Their earliest coins are known dated Saka 1591 (1669 A.D.); but whether this was the first coin is not certain. The rulers of this State seem to have issued their coins only on the occasion of their accession to the throne. They generally bear the expression of devotion to a deity, which changed with the ruler, on one side and Sri Sri Jayantapura-purendarasya with the date in the Saka era on the other. A few of the coins bear the name of the king.
CHAPTER XVI

SUCCESSORS OF THE MUGHALS

The Mughal empire began to crumble with the end of the reign of Aurangzeb. Three distinct types of power gradually came up and in due course swallowed up the empire. The first and foremost were the subordinate officers of the Mughal empire who took advantage of the weakness of their masters and asserted their independent power. The second were those who were not directly related to the Mughal administration, but were indigenous in their nature. They took advantage of the weakness of the Mughals and claimed their independent status. The third were the European trading companies which came to India for trade and took advantage of the mutual dissensions in the country and gradually occupied territories and became rulers.

Most of the rulers of the first category, who issued coins by their own authority, respected the Imperial authority, even at the time when it was at its lowest ebb. They issued their coins of the same weight and pattern as the Imperial coinage and also retained the Mughal superinscriptions and did not mention their own names. The only distinctions that may mark them out from the Imperial issues are the mint names and the symbols or the monograms that the issuers had placed on them. But they have not hitherto been treated comprehensively. So often it is not easy to set them aside from the Imperial coinage and to attribute them to the issuing states properly. It is only by the fact that these coins were gradually debased that one may take them to be non-Mughal issues.

THE MARATHAS

Amongst the other successors of the Mughals, the Marathas came as the earliest. Their rise in the seventeenth century A.D. was due to Shivaji (1627-1680 A.D.), who rising from a soldier in the service of Golkonda, had managed to establish his kingdom in the region of the Konkan. He proved a great challenge to the Mughal
emperor Aurangzeb. While he established his power in the north, his brother Venkaji or Ekoji established his family in the south at Tanjore. While the authority of the former soon passed into the hands of the Peshwas, the members of Ekoji’s family continued till the middle of the nineteenth century A.D.

Shivaji and his successors as well as the southern Maratha family issued gold and copper coins. The gold coins of both are of the *pagoda* type. Shivaji’s coins bear on the obverse *Chhatrapati* in Nagari on one side and *Sri Raja Shiva* on the other. Some *pagodas*, showing a figure of Siva on one side and a granulated surface on the other, without any inscription, are attributed to the South Maratha family. These gold coins are rare. The copper coins are found in large numbers. Shivaji’s copper coins bear the same legend as on the gold. The coins of the other rulers retain the title *Chhatrapati* on one side and the name *Sri Raja Shahu* or *Sri Sarabharaja* on the other.

When the Maratha power went into the hands of the Peshwas and they began the expansion of their power, they issued coins on the Mughal pattern and retained the names of the Mughal rulers; and only placed on them their own symbols. Such coins issued by them are mostly known from Muhiabad, Poona; but there were a number of other mints from where the Marathas had issued their coins. Copper coins were also issued by the Peshwas; but they have not received as yet any serious attention; and so not much is known about these coins. However, some coins were issued by them from Salsette which bear the mint’s name *Sashti* on one side and the Hijri date on the other. For these coins they used the Nagari script.

THE DURRANIS

During the declining days of the Mughals the weak defence of the North-West Frontier offered an opportunity to the Persians in 1739 A.D. to make a dash into India under the leadership of Nadir Shah, who reached Delhi and captured the Mughal emperor. The Persians massacred the citizens, looted the town and plundered the villages. Then Nadir Shah left Delhi and returned to his country along with a fabulous booty. The trans-Indus provinces of Sindh, Kabul and the western part of the Punjab were lost to the Persians.
Nadir Shah issued his coins in these territories in the Persian fabric. His atrocities in Delhi had so terrorised the people, that many of the governors of the Mughals issued coins in his name at such distant places which Nadir Shah did not even visit. Coins in the name of Nadir Shah from Ahmadabad and Saharanpur may particularly be mentioned in this connection.

After the assassination of Nadir Shah in 1747 A.D., one of his officers named Ahmad Shah established himself as the independent ruler of Afghanistan and styled himself as Durr-i-Durrani (the pearl of the age); and his successors were henceforth known as the Durrani. After establishing his power at home, Ahmad Shah led several expeditions into India from 1748 A.D. till 1767 A.D. The Punjab, Kashmir, Sindh and Sirhind were included in the kingdom of Afghanistan and were ruled by the Durrani princes from Lahore till the end of the nineteenth century A.D. But they had always to fight for their thrones. A number of coins of the Durrani bear the mint name Rikab (stirrup); and they suggest that they were issued during expeditions while the Durrani were moving on saddled horses. Bhakkhar, Derajat, Peshawar, Kabul, Multan, Lahore, Kashmir, Farrukhabad are some of the important mints from which the Durrani coins were issued. The silver and gold coins are mostly in the Mughal style and bear the name and title on the obverse and the mint and date on the reverse. The copper coins bear only the name on the obverse. Most of the Durrani coins are of high artistic merit.

THE SIKHS

The repeated invasions of the Punjab by Ahmad Shah Durrani led to the formation of the Sikh league, known as Khalsa. When in 1710 A.D. Sirhind, the capital of Ahmad Shah, was sacked, Banda, who was assuming the leadership of the Khalsa, came to be known as Sachcha Padashah (true emperor). He established a new era dating the victory at Sirhind and issued coins from Logarh bearing the Persian legend:

Sikka zad dar har do 'lam tegh-i-Nanak Wahib ast
Guru Govind Singh Shahi-Shahan Bazl-saka Sahib ast.
(Coin current in both the worlds; the sword of Nanak is the provider; and Guru Govind Singh, the king of kings, is by Grace, the true lord) on the obverse and Zarb be aminuddahar Maswarat-Shahar Zinatul-takht Mubarak bakht (Coined at the refuge from adversity, the walled city, the ornament of the blessed throne) on the reverse.

Then another coin is said to have been issued in about 1761 A.D. which is said to have the couplet—

Sikka zad dar jahan ba-fazl Akala
Mulk Ahmad girafat jassa Kalala.

But no coins of this type have so far been seen. A legend goes on to say that only 21 coins of this type were produced by the Qazis and Mallas and were sent to Ahmad Shah Durrani to anger him against the Sikhs; but some historians believe that they were really issued by Jassa Singh for circulation, but were later withdrawn in 1764 A.D. by a decree of the Sikh Guru-mata. In about 1777 A.D. coins from Amritsar were issued which were called Nanak Shahi. The legend on the obverse was very much similar to those issued from Logarh and on the reverse was a new legend Zarb Sri Ambratsar julus-i-takht Akala Sambat followed by the date in the Vikrama era.

Then Ranjit Singh issued coins, some with a Persian legend and others in the Gurumukhi script. The former had the couplet

Deg teg fath nasrat-i-bedarang
Yaft az Nanak Guru Govind Singh.

(Abundance, the sword, victory and help without delay Guru Govind Singh obtained from Nanak). These coins appeared regularly from Lahore and Amritsar throughout his reign; from Multan after 1818 and from Kashmir after 1819 A.D. A few rupees are also known from Peshawar, Jhang and Pind Dadan Khan. A characteristic leaf mark appears on all these coins. During the years 1861-63 v.s. first a peacock tail and then a thumb-mirror appeared on the Amritsar rupees. These are said to bear a reference to Ranjit Singh's favourite dancing girl, Mora. The coins with the above Persian couplet continued to be struck after Ranjit Singh's death
till 1905 v.s. (1848 A.D.). In about 1885 v.s. (1827 A.D.) Ranjit Singh had introduced coins with the Gurumukhi script. A few gold and silver coins of this type are known; but most of the coins are of copper. On them Akala Sahai Guru Nanak is generally found and they were issued mostly from Amritsar.

Before we conclude, it may be mentioned that Ahmad Shah Durrani created the State of Patiala and installed a Maharaja there. So, all the Maharajas of the State who issued coins used the Durrani Persian couplet; only different symbols were used to distinguish the issuers. Maler Kotla also followed the same pattern for its coins; but it used the initials of the issuers in place of the symbols. Jhind, Nabha and Kaital and the Dogra Rajas of Kashmir after 1846 A.D. issued their coins with the Persian couplets of Ranjit Singh’s coins. Some of the Dongra issues of Kashmir bear the letters I.H.S., the Christian monogram.

AWADH

Muhammad Amin, better known as Sadat Khan, who was the Wazir of the Mughal empire, was made Subedar of Awadh in 1720 A.D. His dominion included the divisions of Lucknow and Faizabad and the districts of Ghazipur, Banaras and Gorakhpur; to these were added in 1773 A.D. the districts of Allahabad and Kora and to it in the following year the area of Rohilkhand was annexed. He and his successors governed these territories as Nawab-Wazirs on behalf of the Mughal emperors. In 1818 A.D., Lord Hastings, the British Governor-General, induced Ghaziuddin Haider, the then Nawab of Awadh, to make himself independent of Delhi by assuming the title of king; accordingly, Ghaziuddin Haidar was crowned king in 1819 A.D. But the kingdom could survive only for thirty-seven years. In 1856 A.D. Wajid Ali was forced to abdicate by the English authorities.

A mint was opened at Banaras in 1737 A.D. under the name of Muhammadabad Banaras and it produced coins in the Mughal emperor’s name under the authority of the Nawabs of Awadh. When the district of Banaras passed into the hands of the East India Company, Asaf-ud-daula and his successors resumed the issue of
coins in the mint name Muhammadabad Banaras from Lucknow. When Rohilkhand came under the Awadh administration they issued coins from Bareilly also. But all these were issued as before in the name of the Mughal emperor.

When Ghaziuddin Haider took the title of king, even then for a while he hesitated to issue coins in his name. He retained in the beginning the usual obverse of Shah Alam II’s coins and only on the reverse did he introduce his coat-of-arms—two fishes facing each other surmounted by a crown, a tiger on either side holding a pennant as a support. These coins bear the regnal year 26 of the Mughal emperor, along with the Hijri year 1234. Then he placed his own legend in the form of a couplet. The obverse legend in the form of a couplet remained the fashion on the coins of all the subsequent rulers—Nasiruddin Haider (1827-1837 A.D.), Muhammad Ali (1837-1842 A.D.), Amjad Ali (1842-1847 A.D.) and Wajid Ali (1847-1856 A.D.). Ghaziuddin Haidar at first placed on his new coins the year 5 as the regnal year counting it from the date of his accession to the Nawabi; but soon he abandoned it and renewed the regnal year from the date of this assumption of kingship. The coins issued during the first year of his kingship had the mint’s name Suba Awadh Darul-amarat Lucknow. From the second year, the epithet Darul-amarat was changed to Darul-Saltanat.

All the five kings issued gold acharfi with its half, quarter, eighth and sixteenth parts; but all the five denominations only of Wajid Ali Shah are generally seen. Likewise five denominations of the silver rupee were issued by them. In copper, the first four rulers issued only fulus. Wajid Ali in his first regnal year had also issued its half, quarter and eighth parts.

Two large silver medals are also associated with the Awadh dynasty. The first commemorated Shuja-ud-daula’s victory over the Rohillas in 1774 A.D. and the second was struck by Ghaziuddin Haider on the occasion of his assumption of kingship. On the obverse of the latter is an ornate and realistic portrait of the king and the coat-of-arms on the reverse.

In 1857 A.D., when the country revolted against the British power, the people of Awadh declared Brijis Qadar as their Nawab-
Wazir. On that occasion they perhaps issued the coins in gold, silver and copper, which have the name of Shah Alam II and the mint name Suba Awadh and are dated 1229 A.H. with the regnal year 26. It is believed that the revolutionaries hated the idea of the kingship by the Awadh rulers under English influence. So they ignored the period of the kingship and dated their coins in the continuity of the Nawab-Wazirat, which had virtually terminated with the accession of Ghaziuddin Haider in the year 1229 A.H.

MYSORE

In 1761 A.D., when Haider Ali, the general of Mysore, took up the reins of power of the State in his own hands, coins of the Mughals as well as those of the type of Vijayanagar were simultaneously current. The latter were more popular amongst the people. So when he issued his gold coins of the pagoda series, he retained the Hara-Gauri image on the obverse in continuation of the tradition and placed only the Persian letter He, the initial of his name, on the granulated reverse. Along with the pagodas, he also issued half-pagodas and fanams in the same style. These were issued from Nagar, which was formerly known as Bednur. In 1780-81 A.D. he introduced copper coins, showing an elephant on the obverse and the date and mint on the reverse.

His son Tipu Sultan, during the sixteen years of his reign, issued coins in bewildering varieties. He continued to strike gold pagodas and fanams; and in addition to them, he also coined gold and silver coins of the Mughal series. He issued muhars and half-muhars in gold, double and full rupee with its half, quarter, eighth, sixteenth and thirty-second parts in silver and 40, 20, 10, 5 and 2½ cash pieces in copper. He gave a special name to each of these coins. Pagoda, equal to a quarter muhar, was called Faruqi; a double-rupee Haidari, a rupee Ahmadi; 20 cash pieces Zohra and so on. These coins were issued from no less than fifteen mints. Only Nagar, Bangalore, Calicut, Dharwar and Bellary appear under the names by which they are known now; all the other mint towns bear new and fantastic appellations, viz., Faiz Hisar, Farrukh yab Hisar, Khursheed-sawad, Nazarbar, Benazir. All the coins issued during the first four years of his reign
bear the Hijri date. In the fifth year, Tipu introduced his new Mauludi era which continued to the end of his reign. The new era takes its origin from the birth of the Prophet Muhammad and it is based on luni-solar years of twelve lunar months with intercalated months added at certain intervals. In making this change, Tipu adopted the Hindu calendar and replaced the names of sixty cyclic years and of months by Arabic names.

In the earlier pagodas, the obverse retains He, Haider's initial; and the mint and date are given on the reverse. On some of the pagodas, which were probably issued from Srirangapatam, occurs Ho Alsultan al-adil (He is the Sultan the just) on the obverse. On the pagodas struck after the Mauludi year 1215, the name of the coin also occurs on the coin with the mint and date on one side. The other side reads Muhammad ho Alsultan Al-wadeed al-adil (Muhammad. He is the Sultan, the Unique, the Just). Likewise, the other coins also do not bear his name and only a sentence of the above nature referring to the Prophet is found, which indicated his firm belief in Him. The copper coins depict the elephant, introduced by Haider, on one side and the date and mint on the other.

Soon after the death of Tipu Sultan, at the capture of Srirangapatam, Mysore State was restored to Krishna Raja Wodeyar, then a child of six years, in 1799 A.D. The gold coins issued now onwards were the pagodas, half-pagodas and fanams and they followed the Vijayanagar type, showing seated Hara-Gauri on the obverse and the king's name Sri Krishnaraja in Nagari on the reverse. The silver rupee and its fractions were issued in the Mughal tradition and they bear the name of Shah Alam II on the obverse and the mint's name Mahisur on the reverse. In addition to these coins, smaller fractions of the rupee were issued with the figure of Chamunda, the tutelary goddess of Krishnaraja's family. The quarter-rupee of this type bears the name of the Raja, date and mint in Persian; the other smaller coins simply give the value and the word mayili in Kannada. The early copper coins of Krishnaraja had the elephant with the sun and the moon on the obverse and the name of the ruler in Nagari on the reverse. Later on, the copper coins retained the elephant on the obverse and added to it the word Sri or Sri Chamundi. The
reverse of these coins bore inscriptions in English and Kannada giving the words *Mayili Kasu* and the value. The earlier coins were struck at Mysore; but from 1833 A.D. they were minted at Bangalore. In 1843 A.D. the coinage of Mysore came to an end.
CHAPTER XVII

INDO-EUROPEAN COINS

India had commercial relations with the countries of the West from very early times. But about the seventh century A.D., her sea-borne trade passed into the hands of the Arabs, who began to dominate the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea. The merchants of Venice and Genoa now purchased Indian goods from the Arabs. This continued till the geographical discoveries of the last quarter of the fifteenth century A.D. gave a new turn to the commercial relations of various countries. The Europeans now sought direct relations with India; and the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes, the English and the French came to India one after the other. They traded and at the same time also indulged in local politics and to various degrees they established their hold on the land and issued their own coins.

THE PORTUGUESE

The Portuguese were the first to think of India. In 1497 A.D., an expedition consisting of three ships started from Lisbon under the leadership of Vasco da Gama and cast anchor off the coast of Malabar near Calicut in May 1498 A.D. He obtained a letter from the Zamorin, the Raja of Calicut, permitting trade between India and Portugal. Thus the merchants of Portugal, who were coveting the advantages of the Eastern trade, came into direct maritime touch with India and established their commercial relations with her. But they, instead of confining themselves within the limits of legitimate trade, became unduly ambitious to establish their supremacy in the eastern seas. They began to indulge in the political intrigues of the Indian States. Alfonso de Albuquerque, who was the Governor of Portuguese affairs in India, captured the rich port of Goa in November 1510 A.D. and established there a Portuguese settlement. Gradually, the Portuguese succeeded in establishing their settlements at Diu, Daman, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and
Bombay on the west coast, San Thome near Madras and Hooghly in Bengal. They also extended their authority over the major part of Ceylon. But the fortunes of the Portuguese suffered an eclipse in course of time and they lost most of their territories. Only Diu, Daman and Goa were left with them by the end of the eighteenth century A.D. These too were included in the Indian Republic a few years ago.

Portuguese coins in gold and silver were immediately issued from Goa after its occupation in 1510 A.D. The gold coins, called Cruzado or Manoel, were issued of the same size, value and weight as the pagodas or hons that were current there and were meant to replace them, as Albuquerque had ordered them to be withdrawn and melted. Along with Manoel, meio-Manoel in gold and Espera and meia-Espera in silver were issued. The gold Manoel and the silver Espera had the Cross of the Order of Christ on the obverse and the armillary sphere, the device of King D. Manoel, on the reverse. The half pieces of these coins had the word mea surmounted by a crown on one side and the armillary sphere on the other. In 1519, the issue of these coins was suspended by the order of the then Governor of Goa. Thereafter only in 1549 were gold and silver coins reintroduced. By now, the Portuguese had adopted Apostle St. Thomas as their patron saint for India and decided to have his effigy on their Indian coins and to call them St. Thome after him. Now the gold and silver coins had a seated or standing figure of St. Thomas with the letters S and T on one side and the crowned arm of Portugal with the initials of the reigning monarch on the other. At times these coins had a small inscription on this side also. During the reign of the King Joas III (1521-1557 A.D.), a few gold coins were minted at Lisbon of the type and size of the Portuguese Sao Vicantos, perhaps as commemoratives. They bear a circular legend INDIA. TIBI. CESIT on the St. Thomas side and JOA III. POR. ET. AL. R on the other side. In 1728 A.D. the figure of the saint was substituted on the gold coins with his cross. And from now, the design on the gold coins was modified from time to time to suit changing needs; but the modifications were not very much materially different from the above device. The gold coins now
issued were of the value of 20, 10, 5 and 2½ Xerasfins.

During the reign of D. Sabastiad (1557-1578 A.D.), silver coins of the value of 300 reis, known as Bastiad or Xerasfim were issued with the figure of St. Sebastian. In this period silver Tanga were also issued which had the arrow as the device on one side. In the reign of D. Filipe I (1580-1598 A.D.), coins of only one Tanga and half-Tanga were issued. They showed the standing figure of St. Fillipe. In 1614, in the reign of D. Fillipe II (1598-1621 A.D.), silver coins of two, one and half Tanga were decided to be issued and later in about 1619 another decision to issue 30, 20 and 10 Bazaruccos in silver was taken. These coins show the Cross of Calvary instead of the figure of the saint. In the time of D. Fillipe III (1621-1640 A.D.), the silver coins had the Cross of Aviz. Some saint-type coins were issued again towards the end of his reign; and they continued in the reign of D. Jaos IV (1640-1656 A.D.). But now the figure of St. John was placed on the coins. In 1650 A.D. the saint-type was abolished and new coins with the Cross of the Order of Christ were introduced. This device continued till 1726 A.D. when in the reign of D. Jaos VI, the bust of the king was introduced in place of the Cross on the coins of higher denominations. Only on the Tanga coins did the Cross of the Order of Christ continue. In 1775 the word Rupia was adopted for the coins of 2 Xerasfins; and thence onward the value of the coins was reckoned in terms of rupees. In 1869, the Goa mint was closed down. Now onward, the coins for Portuguese India were minted at the British mint at Bombay.

In 1568, a decree was issued to open a mint at Cochin for the issue of gold and silver coins; but whether it operated and issued any coins is by no means certain. In 1611 A.D. two mints were opened at Bassein and Daman for the issue of copper Bazaruccos. Later on tutenag coins were also issued from these mints. These mints were closed down in 1739 A.D. Thereafter, a mint was probably established in 1644 at Chaul; but it was closed down on its cession to the Marathas in 1740. The copper Bazaruccos issued there had the coat-of-arms on one side and a sheaf of arrows on the other. Later, in 1684 a mint was opened at Diu, which continued to work till 1859; but it was quite irregular. It issued silver Xerasfins and
copper and tutenag coins. The coins of this mint at first had no distinguishing mint mark; but later do, dc, oo or the full name dio was used.

The silver Xerafins issued in 1684-85 bear the barbaric representation of the crowned arm of Portugal on one side and the Cross of St. George on the other. Since these coins did not correspond with the Goa pieces either in design or in weight, a new coin was issued in 1688 with the crowned arm and the Cross of the Order of Christ. In 1729 Rupia and Xerafim or Pardeo (equal to half a rupee) were issued with the Cross of St. Thomas. But again in 1741, they reverted to the Cross of St. George, but now with the date in the angles of the Cross. The Cross of St Thomas is again seen on these coins in 1806 and it survived till the mint was closed down. In 1781 some coins were issued from this mint with the conjugate busts of D. Pedro III and Maria I.

The copper coins, called Atia, its half and quarter, were issued during the eighteenth century off and on showing the arm of Portugal and the Cross of the Order of Christ. Buzaruccos of tutenag were issued intermittently from about 1745 to 1828. These coins are so numerous in their varieties that it is practically impossible to describe them in any detail.

THE DUTCH

During the sixteenth century, Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam, all in Holland, were the great emporia whence eastern produce, imported by the Portuguese, was distributed to Germany and even to England. This attracted the Dutch to have direct trade with the East. Cornelius Houtman doubled the Cape of Good Hope and reached Sumatra and Bantam in 1596 A.D. Within the next five years no less than sixty-five Dutch vessels sailed to the Indies. Private companies for trade with the East were formed in many parts of Holland; but in 1602 A.D., they were all amalgamated by the State-General into the United East India Company of the Netherlands, which was granted a monopoly of the trade for twenty-one years. The Company obtained in India a factory at Pulicat in 1609 and in 1616 they established themselves at Surat. Between
1661 and 1664 they wrested from the Portuguese all their settlements on the pepper-bearing coast of Malabar. By 1664, they possessed factories at Masulipattam and other places on the Coromandel coast, at Hooghly, Cossimbazar, and Dacca in Bengal, at Patna in Bihar, and at Surat, Ahmadabad and Agra in northern India, besides the seven stations in Malabar. Thus the Dutch had obtained a strong hold over Indian trade as far as the European market was concerned. But the three fiercely contested naval wars between Holland and England—1652-54, 1665-67 and 1672-74—and the almost continuous fight between Holland and France from 1672 till 1713 placed a heavy strain on Dutch resources. So they were forced to relax their hold upon the coasts of India. The death-knell of Dutch supremacy was sounded by Clive, when in 1759, he attacked the Dutch settlement at Chinsura in Bengal by both land and water and forced them to an ignominious capitulation. During the great French wars between 1795 and 1811, England wrested from Holland all her colonies.

An extensive series of coins was struck for general circulation in the east by the Dutch East India Company—the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie—at mints in their homeland itself. The provincial mints of Holland, Utrecht, Zeeland, Gelderland and Overyssel issued Ducatoons, popularly known as ‘silver riders’. They bear on the obverse a cuirassed man on horseback and the provincial monogram below with the inscription MON: FOED: BELG: PRO: (HOLL:) USUM SOCIET: IND: ORIENT. (HOLL bracketed here meant for the province of Holland. The coins of the other provincial mints had the names of their own province at this place). On the reverse are shown the arms of the State-General supported by two lions; below it is the monogram VOC in an ornamental frame representing the Company. Above the crown of the arm is the date. The inscription on this side is CONCORDIA RES PARVAE CRESCUNT. Besides the Ducatoons, three Guilder, one Guilder and half-Guilder in silver were issued by four of the five provinces for the use of the Company. These have the standing Pallas (later known as Neerlandia), the date and the inscription HAC NITIMVR—HANC TVEMVR on one side and the other side bears the arms of the State-General, the
value, the monogram of the Company and the inscription MO : ARG : ORD : FOED : BELG, followed by the name of the issuing province in an abbreviated form. Copper Doits were also issued for the Company in 1726 and half-Doits in 1749. They bear the crowned shield of the issuing province on one side and the voc monogram of the Company on the other. In India these coins were current on the Coromandel coast and in Cochin.

The Dutch Company also used its monogram for counter-striking the Persian Abbasid coins, the Indo-Portuguese Tangas, the Larins and the Mughal rupees of the Surat mint; and thus converted them into their own coins and used them in trade. Besides them, the Dutch Company also issued some coins of the local types in its own name from Pulicat, Nagapatam, Masulipatam, Pondicherry and Cochin. The pagodas, having a four-armed deity on the obverse and the convex granulated reverse, known as the Porto Novo type, were issued from Nagapatam or Masulipatam. A few pagodas and fanams are said to have been issued from Pulicat also. The pagodas attributed to this mint had an unintelligible Nagari legend and the fanams a Persian one, which was equally unintelligible. These are said to bear a female figure, perhaps Lakshmi. From Pulicat and Nagapatam, the Dutch are said to have issued some silver coins also; but no specimens of these coins are known so far. According to some casual references, they had perhaps a Persian inscription meaning "Silver coin for the use of the East India Company of the United Provinces of the same size and weight as the siccas." But it is extremely doubtful if any coin would have had such an inscription. It may only be said from it that the Dutch had perhaps issued some coins of the Mughal type. The only silver coins that may be attributed to the Dutch with some confidence are the Cochin fanams which show a figure of a female deity (Kali?) on one side and a horizontal j surmounted by oc (Oostindische Compagnies) and twelve dots below on the other.

Some copper, lead and tin coins are also said to have been issued by the Dutch. Copper 15-cash, 10-cash, 4-cash, 2-cash and cash coins were issued from Nagapatam having the voc monogram with N for Nagapatam above or below on one side and Nakapatraman in
two lines in Tamil on the other. Some cash of a similar type were issued from Nagapatam in lead also. Some copper two and one Stivers, Doits and half-Doits showing the crude figure of the female deity on one side and the Tamil legend Nekapattanam on the other are said to have been issued in 1695 A.D. Copper cash of this latter type with the Tamil legend Puduchheri are known from Pondicherry. They were perhaps issued between 1693 and 1698. From Cochin were issued copper Rasi and half-Rasi of the type of the silver fanams. Copper Buzaruccos with the Company’s monogram are said to have been issued between 1663 and 1724; but no such copper coin has come to light. However, some tin Buzaruccos of this type with various reverses are known. Pulicat is also said to have issued some copper coins. It is said that before 1646, double and single cash were issued from this mint with the Company’s monogram with P for Pulicat above on one side and a Nagari legend Ratnirih Paraga, of which the meaning is not clear. After that date, the coins had on the reverse a Persian legend, which is read as Rabb Sultan Abd and is believed to be the seal of the Golkonda kings. This legend during the long period of its currency became more and more corrupt, and ultimately only a part of it was left on the coins. In the eighteenth century the Pulicat cash had the name Paleacatta on the reverse with a G, which perhaps stood for Gelria, the name of the fort there.

THE DANES

In 1616 A.D. a company named Dansk Ostindisk Compagni (Danish East India Company) was formed at Copenhagen to trade in the East under a charter issued by King Christian IV of Denmark. Their first ship the Oeresund left Denmark in August 1618 under a Dutchman named Roelant Crape. It was attacked by the Portuguese off the Coromandel coast and lost. Five other ships, which left home in November 1618, reached the Indian shore safely. A treaty was concluded between Denmark and the Nayak of Tanjore in November 1620 and the Danes obtained from the Nayak the sea-port of Tranquebar, situated 18 miles north of Nagapatam with fifteen neighbouring villages—a strip of land of one and a half
hours’ breadth and two hours’ length, against an annual tribute of about Rs 4,000. In the following year the Danish castle, the Dansborg, was built there and thus a Danish settlement was founded on Indian soil. In course of time the Dane merchants also established their settlements at Porto Novo and Serampur and Balasore in Bengal. But Tranquebar remained their main settlement. Unlike other European traders, the Danes kept themselves aloof from the politics of the land and maintained peaceful relations with the neighbouring states and concentrated on their own business. So they remained unaffected excepting for a short period, when in 1807 England went to war with Denmark and Tranquebar was seized by the Madras army. It was restored to the Danes in 1814 on the conclusion of peace. In 1845, the settlement of Tranquebar was sold to England for two million Kroner.

During this period of more than two centuries, the Dane factors, without any political aspirations, issued their own coins in gold, silver, copper and lead. In between this period, in 1729 the Dansk Ostindisk Compagni was dissolved. Later in 1732, during the reign of Christian VI, a new company was formed under the name of Dansk Asiatiske Compagni (Danish Asiatic Company) and it carried on its business till 1839 A.D.

The earliest Danish coins were of lead. They are most difficult to obtain; and when they are found they are so much oxidised that it is scarcely possible to decipher the legends on them. The lead coins commenced in 1640 A.D. and were issued only during the reign of Christian IV (1620-1648 A.D.), Frederik III (1648-1670 A.D.) and Christian V (1670-1699 A.D.). None of the lead coins bear on them the value, but they were called Kas (English Cash, Tamil Kasu). The copper coins seem to have been issued in the reign of Frederik III and the earliest known date on them is 1667 A.D. They were also called Kas and were issued of the value of 10, 2 and 1 Kas. But the value was not designated on the coins in the reigns of Frederik III and Christian V; and the first attempt was made at doing this in the reign of Frederik IV (1699-1730 A.D.). Since then, the coins were thus designated till the end of the Danish presence in India. The silver coins began to be struck in the
reign of Christian V and they were called Fano, i.e. Fanam. The earliest of them are known of the year 1683 A.D. This Fano, which conformed to the then popular monetary system of South India, was superseded in 1755 by the introduction of a new coinage named Royalin. The change was, however, nominal. The value of this new coin was the same as that of Fano, i.e., one-eighth of the ordinary sicca rupee or 80 Kas of copper. In 1816 a return was made to the old nomenclature Fano, which continued till 1818. In that year the issue of silver was abandoned. The gold coins were issued only in the reign of Christian VII (1766-1808 A.D.) of the type of the hons or pagodas and are extremely rare.

These Danish coins invariably have on one side the king's monogram with or without the crown. This monogram is formed with his initials and the figure of his line. The initials during this period are only two, for all the kings were called either Christian or Frederik alternately. In the first case, the figure is placed inside the letter C; in the second case the figure is interlinked with the initial F. Occasionally the king's monogram is doubled. In the reigns of Frederik VI and Christian VIII, the initial is mixed with R, the initial for Rex (king) and below it the figure of the line is given in Roman letters.

On the other side of the coins, in most cases, the initials of the companies interlinked and found and at times covered with the royal crown. Since there were two companies with different names, the monograms are also different. The monogram of the first company consisted of the letters DOC—D and C interlinked with O. The monogram of the second company was DAC—D and A interlinked with A. In some rare cases only are DC found as the monogram. The silver coins have the Danish coat-of-arms—three Norse lions running to left, the whole shield being topped by a crown. In some cases a garter is shown hanging down on either side of the shield.

Besides these coins, some gold ducats are believed to have been struck at Copenhagen for circulation in India. The ducats of Frederik III bear on the reverse a ship and the legend Dominus Providebit around and a tandem on either side of the ship.
THE FRENCH

France also realised the importance of Eastern commerce and a Compagnie des Indes Orientales was formed in 1664 A.D. and the first French factory in India was established in 1668 at Surat; and they succeeded in establishing another factory at Masulipatam in 1669 by obtaining a patent from the Sultan of Golkonda. In 1672 the French seized San Thome, near Madras but were later forced to surrender it to the Dutch. In 1673 the French obtained a village from the Muslim governor of Valikondipuram and the foundation of Pondicherry was laid there which later developed as an important French settlement. In Bengal, the Nawab granted a site to the French in 1674, on which they built the factory of Chandernagore in 1690-92. But the European rivalries between Dutch and the French adversely affected the position of the French in India. Pondicherry was captured by the Dutch in 1693 but was handed back to them in 1697. But the French lost their influence in other places and their factories at Bantam, Surat and Masulipatam were abandoned by the beginning of the eighteenth century. The resources of the French Company were practically exhausted by this time. With the reconstitution of the Company in June 1720 as the perpetual Company of the Indies, prosperity returned to it. The French occupied Mahe on the Malabar coast in 1725 and Karikal in 1739. The objects of the French during this period were purely commercial. But after 1742 political motives began to overshadow the desire for commercial gain and the French began to cherish the ambition of an Empire in India. But they were challenged by the English and there was a long-drawn contest between the French and the English, which ultimately ended in the overthrow of French power in India.

Coins issued by the French for their Indian settlements are of two distinct types. The first type are those that followed the Mughal pattern. They were issued from Pondicherry under the mint-name Arcot after obtaining permission from the Nawab of Arcot in 1736. These coins continued till 1830 A.D. when the mint was closed down, barring the period when Pondicherry was under British occupation, i.e., 1761-1763, 1778-1783, 1793-1802 and 1803-1816. These coins
had Mughal inscriptions on both sides with a crescent as the distinctive mark and were issued in the name of the Mughal emperors Muhammad Shah, Ahmad Shah, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II. The coins in the name of Shah Alam II continued even after his death in 1806 A.D. The early coins had the Hijri year and the corresponding regnal year of the Mughal emperor; but from 1817 A.D., a single Hijri year 1221 and the corresponding regnal year 45 appeared on all the coins, irrespective of the date of their issue. From Masulipatam some coins were issued of the Mughal type between 1751 and 1759 with a trident as the mint-mark. In 1749 when the Nawab of Surat granted permission to mint coins, some coins bearing the name of the Mughal emperor Ahmad Shah with the regnal year 2 (1749-50 A.D.) were issued there. It is also believed that some coins in the name of Shah Alam II were also issued by the French from Surat during the period when they were ousted from Pondicherry between 1793 and 1816 A.D. These coins are of native workmanship and without any mint-mark. The French had also obtained the privilege of coining in Bengal in 1738. They perhaps issued coins from their settlements at Chandernagore in the mint-name of Murshidabad; but what those coins were has not yet been determined.

The second type of French coins were based on the South Indian metrology. Some gold pagodas were issued from Pondicherry and Yanon, with the distinguishing feature of a crescent placed in the central part of the granulated reverse. The obverse of the Pondicherry pagodas had the figure of Lakshmi and those of the Yanon the three Swami figures. The silver double-fanam, fanam and half-fanam were issued with types changing from time to time. The earliest were issued in 1700 A.D. with a fleur-de-lis with the superinscription PONDICHERY 1700 around it on one side and another fleur-de-lis within a circle, which was surmounted with inverted double L's at the four cardinal sides, on the other. In 1720, the fanam series was issued with a crown and a fleur-de-lis on one side and another fleur-de-lis placed in a circle surmounted with four sets of introverted double L's. In 1750, the series was issued in a native type bearing the legend Franci Company in Persian on one side and Phulcheri San
1750 with a capital $p$ on the other. In 1837, they were issued with an Indian crown on one side and five fluer-de-lis on the other. The same year another set was issued where the reverse five fluer-de-lis were replaced by a new device of a cock having outspread wings and the date 1837. The copper coins were Doudo, half-Doudo and Cash. They had earlier a fluer-de-lis on one side and Puducheri in Telugu on the other. In 1836 the fluer-de-lis on the obverse was replaced by the cock and the date as on the silver coins. Some coins bear the name Kareikkal on one side and Puducheri on the other, both in Telugu script. Some copper Biche and half-Biche were perhaps issued from Mahe having a fluer-de-lis on one side and the date in a beaded border on the other. The coins bear the dates 1730, 1753, 1792, 1820.

**THE ENGLISH**

The English, though they were not the last European traders to land on Indian soil, stayed here longest. The English saw the prosperous trade of the Portuguese in the East, which was continuing for about a century. It induced them to enter into the Eastern market almost simultaneously with the Dutch. On the last day of 1600 A.D., the Company of the Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies, which was formed a year earlier got the Royal Charter from Queen Elizabeth I granting them the monopoly of eastern trade for fifteen years. In 1608 A.D. the English Company made its first attempt to establish factories in India. But it was only in 1613 that it could get the permission of the Mughal emperor Jahangir to establish a permanent factory at Surat. Gradually the English established their factories at Surat, Agra, Ahmadabad and Broach. In 1668 Bombay was transferred to the East India Company by Charles II, who had got it from the Portuguese as a part of the dowry of his wife Catherine of Braganza, at an annual rental of £10. Bombay gradually grew more and more prosperous and in 1687 it superseded Surat as the chief English settlement on the western coast. On the south-eastern coast the English had established a factory at Masulipatam in 1611. They opened another factory in 1625 at Armagaon. In 1639 A.D. the English obtained the lease
of Madras from the ruler of Chandragiri and built their fortified factory which came to be known as Fort St. George. It superseded Masulipatam as the headquarters of the English settlements on the Coromandel coast. The next stage in the growth of English influence was their expansion in the north-east. Factories were started at Hariharpur in the Mahanadi Delta and at Balasore in 1633. In 1651, a factory was opened at Hooghli and soon after factories were established at Patna and Cossimbazar. Thus by the first half of the seventeenth century A.D., the English Company expanded its hold over the trading centres and confined itself only to commerce. But thereafter, they began to indulge in local politics and became eager for power. They ultimately succeeded in their ambitions and gradually grabbed almost the entire sub-continent; and by 1834, the English became the masters of India. In 1857, the Indian people revolted against this foreign rule; but they failed to achieve their goal. However, it resulted in the termination of the Company’s administration and India became a part of the British Empire. The Indians continued their struggle for freedom and in 1947 they achieved it. The British had to quit India.

Just like the other European companies, the English Company also required coins to meet the exigencies of their trade. So, they employed several means, fair as well as foul, to produce their coins. When they took Madraspatan on lease, they also obtained permission to mint coins of the local type. When Charles II’s queen brought him, as part of her dowry, the port and island of Bombay, the Company issued coinage of their own with English inscriptions for circulation on the island and the immediate neighbourhood. But these coins did not serve their purpose of a wider circulation amongst the traders all over the country. So, in spite of having their own mints, the Company was forced either to send their bullion to the mints of the Mughal governors, or to copy at their own mints the common coins of the contemporary Mughal emperor. The Company preferred the latter course and forged Mughal coins. The local authorities raised an objection against their undue exercise of the privilege of coining. Then to legalise their illegal actions, the Company obtained power from their king James
II in 1686 to issue copies of the native coins of equal weight and fineness. But the Company was always conscious of its illegal production of coins; so it remained always anxious to obtain the sanction of the Mughal authorities. After great persuasion, at last, Farrukhsiyar gave his consent in 1717 to the Company minting his coins in the island of Bombay. Likewise, the Company was also permitted in 1742 to mint Mughal coins with the mint-name Arcot from their Madras mint. In Bengal, till 1759, the English factors did not issue coins of any type. They sent their bullion to the mints of the Nawab of the province at Dacca, Patna and Murshidabad for coining. Only in that year were they permitted to have their mint at Calcutta. In 1764, when the Company took up the administration of Bengal in its hands, it also assumed the right of coining. Then it issued coins from its Calcutta mint in the name of the Mughal emperor and the mint-name Murshidabad. These coins served their purpose in lower Bengal. The upper country was then served from other mints, of which the chief were Banaras and Farrukhabad. In 1835, the Company established one coining for the whole country on the English pattern with the head of the ruler of England, in place of the name of the Mughal emperor. This type continued in the country till the English left India in 1947. The English coins issued in India thus relate to the following series.

Madras coins of South Indian pattern. The earliest coins of the Madras mint are of South Indian metrology and pattern and are known in all the three metals—gold, silver and copper. In gold they issued pagodas, which are known as Three-Swami pagodas and bear the figure of Venkateswara with his two consorts on one side and the granulated convex surface on the other. Some similar pagodas are said to have been issued by the Dutch from Nagapatam. It is not certain if the English copied them or issued their own. But the English definitely copied the Dutch Porto Novo pagodas having the single figure of Vishnu on the obverse and the convex granulated surface on the other in about 1691 and tried to pass them on at par. In 1730, the English introduced another type of pagodas with the letter M on either side of the figure of Vishnu. But they proved
a conspicuous failure; they were unacceptable to the local treasuries. Then they introduced another type, sometime between 1735 and 1741, wherein they placed a star above the head of Vishnu on the obverse and the reverse granulated surface had a five-pointed star. This *pagoda* remained current in South India till the end of the eighteenth century A.D. In 1807 were introduced the *pagoda* and double-*pagoda* of a broad thin flan with Vishnu in a very crude form on one side and a *gopuram* of a temple on the other, with the their value in English and Persian on one side and in Tamil and Telugu on the other. Then in about 1815 A.D. the *pagodas* were abandoned and a *muhar* series in gold was introduced on the English pattern. The *muhar* and half-*muhar* had the arms of the Company with the inscription ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY on the obverse and a Persian legend on the reverse. Along with them a gold five-*rupee* coin was also issued. It had a shield with a lion holding a crown with the inscription EAST INDIA COMPANY on the obverse and the Persian legend on the reverse.

In silver the double-*fanam*, *fanam* and half-*fanam* were the coins that were issued by the English Company. The earliest series known bears the figures of Vishnu on the obverse and two c's inter-linked on the reverse. The inter-linked c's are believed to refer to King Charles II. Then coins were issued with an orb and cross inscribed with the letters *CCE* on one side and the value in the local scripts on the other. Thereafter the coins of the Vishnu-*gopuram* type, like those of gold, were issued of the value of a half-*pagoda* and a quarter-*pagoda*. Along with them were also issued five-*fanam*, double-*fanam* and *fanam* coins. These had only the value in English and Persian on one side and in Tamil and Telugu on the other. These coins remained current till 1812 A.D.

The copper coins issued at Madras were called *pice* or *fulus*, *dodie* or *dub* and *cash*; but when they were issued earliest cannot be suggested; nor can the different varieties known of these coins be chronologically arranged for want of necessary information. Some of the coins follow the pattern of the gold coins having a granulated reverse. Some others bear *Sri* in Tamil on one side and *Kumpani* in Tamil on the other. Then some others have a seven-pointed star on one side
and Kumpani in Tamil on the other. The word Sri Ranga on one side and an orb and cross on the other are seen on some other coins. Some coins with the orb and cross and the letters cce are also found. They bear the date on the reverse and appear to have been issued in the last decade of the seventeenth century and continued throughout the eighteenth century. In 1802 machine-made coins of 10-cash, 5-cash and cash were issued. The coins of the first two denominations have the arms of the Company with East India Company and the date on one side and the value in Persian and English on the other. The cash coins bear the lion-carrying crown. In 1807 coins were issued with only the value inscribed in Persian and English on one side and in Tamil and Telugu on the other.

Bombay coins on English pattern. The acquisition of the island of Bombay by the Company from the king of England gave the Company's factors a settlement of their own, which they could fortify and administer in their own way, free from any outer interference. From the very beginning a plan was made for the establishment of the English currency there. It was then thought that it would, besides meeting local needs, gradually win its way in general use for the purpose of trade in other parts of India. Accordingly a mint was set up there and it was decided to coin gold, silver and copper of the weight and fineness of the Mughal coins of the Surat mint, so that they could conveniently pass in the territories of the Portuguese, the Marathas and the Deccan and could be used in trade. It was also then decided to call the gold coins Carolina in remembrance of King Charles II, the silver coins Anglina (or Angliana) after the name of their nation, the copper coins Coperoon and the tin coins tinny. The mint started in December 1672 and silver, copper and tin coins were struck. Gold coins could not be struck for want of metal. The obverse of these coins had the arms of the Company (above two rosettes at the sides; two lions and two fluers-de-lis quartered in the middle; three ships below) and the inscription Hon: Soc: Ang: Ind: Ori: (i.e., Honorabilis Societas Anglicana Indiarum Orientalium) on one side and Mon Bombay Angelic Regime a° 7° in the centre and A: Deo Pax: &: Incrementvm around on the other. But these coins do not seem to have been struck in
large numbers. In 1673 some silver coins were struck with the arms of the Company on one side and the date and the letters CR on the other, which perhaps meant King Charles II. Thereafter only in 1677 were new coins issued with the rupee of Bombay in the centre and by authority of Charles the Second 1677 around on the obverse and a crown, below it the royal arms of England in a shield in the centre and King of Great Britain, France & Ireland on the reverse. This was also issued next year. Coins were then issued having the arms of the Company on one side and Pax Deo in the centre and Moneta Bombaiensis around on the other. This perhaps continued till 1687. Thereafter the issue of English pattern silver coins was abandoned.

The copper and tin coins of the seventeenth century are not much known. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, double and single pice in tin were issued with the English crown and the letters GR (meaning George Rex) and bomb on the obverse and AVSPICIO REGIS ET SENATVS ANGLAE on the other. Later on, coins with the Company’s shield were used on the reverse. Then the Bale mark1 of the Company on one side and a balance with the Persian word Adl on the reverse were used for the later copper coins of Bombay. But no proper chronological descriptions are available.

Mughal pattern coins. The English factors at Bombay were freely minting copies of the Imperial Mughal coins of the Surat mint for their trade in the country without any authority of the India Government. They had however obtained power for this forgery from the king of England in 1686. These coins are indistinguishable from Mughal coinage. After the discontinuation of their English pattern coins, the English factors thought of having coins in the name of their own sovereign in the Mughal pattern. They thought that they would easily pass as Mughal coins in the Mughal territories. Accordingly, they issued silver coins bearing

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1The letters V.E.I.C within a heart-shaped area surmounted by the figure 4 were used as a mark on the bales of the English goods imported into India. This mark came to be known as a ‘Bale mark’ and was later adopted as the motif for the copper coins.
the Persian legend *Sikka zad Dauran king William yeen cueen Mary* (i.e., Coin issued during the reign of king William and queen Mary) on the obverse and *Sikka jalus Angrez kampany zarab Mumbai* (auspicious coin of the English Company struck at Bombay). The specimens available show that they were issued during the fifth and sixth regnal years of King William III, i.e., in 1692 and 1693. Whether they were issued earlier cannot be said. However, when these coins came to the knowledge of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, he became furious. The English factors were at the point of losing their hold in India; but it was due to Khafi Khan, who was sent to enquire into the matter, that they were saved. All the coins were so scrupulously withdrawn that they are known today only by a few pieces. Thereafter, the English never dared to issue coins in their own name on the Mughal pattern and reverted to their practice of forging the Mughal coins till they obtained permission from Farrukhsiyar in 1717 A.D. to coin Mughal money at the Bombay mint. Since then till 1774 A.D. the coins are known in the name of the Mughal emperors bearing the mint-name *Mumbai*. Then the coinage of silver at the Bombay mint was suspended for about twenty years.

In about 1793 A.D., the Surat rupee of the Mughals was adopted as the currency of the Bombay Presidency. By an agreement with the Nawab of Surat, the rupee coined by the English and that by the Nawab were both circulated at par and there was nothing to distinguish between the two. When in 1800 A.D. the authority of the Nawab was abolished, the coins in the name of the Surat mint were issued from the Bombay and Calcutta mints. The former, perhaps, issued the coins in the native style and the latter struck the machine-made ones. The native style Bombay issues of the year 1802 bear an oval label with the Christian date 1802. The same is found repeated in 1825, when the reverse was impressed with a similar label bearing the figure 1825. The Bombay coins had a mint-mark also. This was a crowned head on the reverse till 1804. In that year, it was decided to have a fixed coinage, i.e., the coins were to bear the fixed regnal year 46 of Shah Alam II irrespective of the date of their issue and without any Hijri or other
date. With this change the mint-mark was also changed to a small crown, which was now placed on the obverse. The Calcutta machine-made coins were issued in 1800 bearing the date 1215 A.H. on the top of the obverse and had a plain edge and a plain rim on both sides. How long this coin was issued is not known. But it is said that in 1818 the Calcutta mint suspended minting Surat coins. If this be the fact, then it will have to be believed or presumed that the Bombay mint issued native style coins as well as machine-made coins. Certain other machine-made coins which have a milled edge with straight milling and a linear circle round the coin on both sides are attributed to the period between 1818 and 1825. Coins with a serrated rim and plain edge on both sides are attributed to the period between 1825 and 1835.

Madras also had its coins of the Mughal pattern. They issued the earliest coins sometime towards the end of the seventeenth century with the mint-name Chinapattam, which was the area of Madras, perhaps where the English had their mint. This mint probably worked till the reign of Muhammed Shah. Coins in the name of Aurangzeb, Shah Alam I, Jahandar Shah, Farrukhsiyar and Muhammad Shah are known but are not many. Some coins bearing the mint-name Mailapur are also found. This was also situated in the area of Madras, not far from Chinapattam. Of this mint, a few coins are known of Aurangzeb and Shah Alam I. The English also issued coins of the Mughal pattern from Masulipattam, which was one of their important trading centres on the Coromandel coast. The coins of this mint are known of Aurangzeb. Later coins of this mint from the time of Shahjahan II to Shah Alam II are also found. But these coins of Chinapattam, Mailapur and Masulipattam have nothing particular in them to attribute them to the English factors except the fact that these places were under their control. These were perhaps issued without any authority from the Mughal emperors or the local governors.

When the Nawabs of Arcot occupied an important position in the area in which the Company was operating, the Company thought it advisable to obtain the sanction of the Nawab and to issue coins with the mint-name Arkat from their mints at
Madras and Pondicherry, when it was in their occupation. They began to issue coins after the sanction was obtained in 1742 A.D. in the name of Muhammad Shah and the mint Arkat. From the regnal year 6 of Alamgir II, the Company’s Arcot rupees bear uniformly this year irrespective of the Hijri year and this continued even after his death. In 1815, machine-made milled coins were issued in the name of the Arkat mint and they lasted till 1834 and were issued at the Madras mint with the mint-symbol trisul and at Calcutta with a rose. They uniformly have the date 1172 A.H. and the regnal year 6.

For use in the territories of Bengal and Northern India, the English factors were having copies of the Bengal coins from their mint at Madras. In 1756, when the young Nawab of Bengal, Siraj-ud-daula, was forced by the English army to retire from Calcutta, after its capture and to conclude a treaty, the Company stipulated to have an article in that treaty to the effect that the rupee could be coined at Alinagar alias Calcutta in the same manner as at Murshidabad. Subsequently an order was obtained from the emperor to the same effect. Immediately rupees bearing the mint-name Calcutta were issued in the name of Alamgir II. Coins were also issued later in the name of Shah Alam II. When the Mughal emperor submitted to the Company and they took over the administration in their hands, they got three mints—Murshidabad, Patna (then known as Azimabad) and Dacca (then known as Jahangirnagar). Now the Company had no need to issue coins in the name of their Calcutta mint. So from the year 1763, the Calcutta mint was employed for issuing coins bearing the names of other mints, viz., Arkat, Murshidabad, Farrukhabad, etc.

After assuming control over the mints at Murshidabad, Patna and Dacca, the Company had first thought of issuing machine-made or European-style coins, similar to their own Calcutta issues, in the name of Murshidabad. But the idea was dropped after issuing some coins of the year 1176 A.H., i.e., the regnal year 4. Murshidabad continued to issue coins of the native style. From the 10th regnal year (1768 A.D.), coins of the native as well as of European style are found concurrently issued, which suggest that Murshidabad
continued the minting of the former type and the issue of the latter type was taken up by the Calcutta mint. Sometime in 1777, the Company declared the rupee of the 19th year as the established coin of the country and decided to have this year on the coins, irrespective of the actual Hijri date of issue. Now the coins bearing this regnal year, in both the styles, are known of the years 1191 to 1205 A.H. (1777-1791 A.D.).

In 1793 it was decided to issue coins without the Hijri date, retaining the regnal year 19 and to have their edge milled oblique. The oblique milling on the coins continued till 1818, when it was replaced by straight milling. This milling continued till 1832. In 1833, a new standard for the coins was fixed at 180 grains with 85% silver and 15% alloy; and instead of a milling, a dotted rim on the face was introduced. This continued till 1834 when the Mughal pattern was replaced by a purely English pattern, which was meant for the whole country.

The Patna and Dacca mints perhaps continued to issue coins on their old pattern till about 1770 A.D. and are indistinguishable from the earlier Mughal issues. In that year the Mughal mint-mark that continued from the earlier period was dropped and a set of new marks was introduced, but the coins with the new mint-marks were short-lived. The mints were closed down in 1771 or 1772 A.D. In 1793, these mints were revived but now only to mint coins in the name of Murshidabad. Then the mints were closed down in about 1796. Now onward the Calcutta mint alone issued coins in the name of Murshidabad till 1834.

Besides the above, there were two other important mints—Banaras and Farrukhabad in Northern India that worked for the English Company. The East India Company had annexed Banaras from the Nawab of Awadh in 1775, where a mint was already working from 1734. The Company placed the mint in the hands of Chait Singh, the local ruler of Banaras. He issued coins in the continued tradition of the mint; but now the regnal year 17 of the emperor Shah Alam II, which was the year of the annexation of Banaras by the Company, became a fixed one, while the Hijri year changed from year to year. In 1779, the regular regnal year
of Shah Alam II was reintroduced; but at the same time the figure 17, denoting the year of annexation was retained. So, now the coins had three dates instead of two. When Shah Alam II died, the regnal year 40 along with 17 also became static. In 1811, the Company decided to issue new coinage with the milled edge on the style of the Calcutta mint coins. The new coin was an exact reproduction of the native-style coins to the extent that even the double regnal years were perpetuated on them, and they bear the Hijri year 1229. These coins were issued till 1819. Thereafter, the Banaras mint ceased to issue its own coins and resumed the issue of coins in the name of the Farrukhabad mint till its suppression in 1830 A.D.

Farrukhabad was ceded to the East India Company in 1802 A.D. by the Nawab of Awadh. Under the Company, the mint that was working there continued to issue coins of its own pattern till 1805 and they contained the perpetual regnal year 31, which had its origin as early as 1797. Then in that year milled coins of the Calcutta mint type were issued with the perpetual regnal year 45, without any Hijri date till 1819. Then the Farrukhabad rupee was declared the local currency of Banaras Province and the milling of the edge was changed from oblique to straight. This new coin was issued till 1824 from the Farrukhabad mint as well as from the mints at Banaras and Calcutta. Thereafter the Farrukhabad mint ceased to operate, but coins in its name continued to be issued from the Banaras, Calcutta and Sagar mints. The latter was ceded to the Company only in 1818. When the Banaras mint was closed down, the other two mints continued their issue till 1833. In 1833 the straight milling was dropped and coins with plain edge and plain rim were issued till 1834.

Besides these mints, Bareilly, Allahabad and a few others were employed by the Company for short periods, when those towns were ceded to them. But there is little to mention about them.

Gold coins were also issued from all these mints, from time to time, according to their needs; but they need not to be referred to separately, as they were similar to the silver coins in all respects. But the copper coins need some mention, though they also, like
gold, were struck at these mints at the convenience of individuals, who carried their metal to the mints to be converted into coins. From 1772, when the mints at Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad were withdrawn, no copper coins were minted in the province of Bengal till 1783. Then a contract was concluded with one Prinsep (other than the renowned numismatist James Prinsep, who was associated with the Banaras mint) for coining copper coins in four denominations—pice, half-pice, quarter-pice and one-eighth pice. These are known as Calcutta or Prinsep's pice. They had the inscription Badshah Shah Alam and the date 1195 with two stars on the obverse and San Julus 22 with 5 stars on the reverse. In 1795, it was decided to issue from the Calcutta mint coins of only two denominations—pice and half-pice. These coins bear Shah Alam Badshah 37 on the obverse and the value in Persian, Bengali and Nagari, as Ek pai sikka and Neem pai sikka. On some coins, the Bengali is found missing. These coins were again issued in the year 45. Thereafter in 1809, coins with the arms of the Company with the date on one side and the value in Persian, Bengali and English were contemplated; but if they were ever issued is by no means certain. Then in 1825, coins of the value of 4, 2 and 1 pai were issued with the arms of the Company on the obverse and the value in Persian words with the date 1240 and the Roman figure representing the value on the other.

Like the copper coins of Bengal, copper coins were issued by the Company from the Banaras mint also; but the issues were not frequent. The known coins were issued first in 1806-07 and then in 1813. They bear the legend Falooz Shah Alam with the date in Persian and the mark trisul, which was used on the earlier coins of this mint prior to the Company. The reverse had zarb Banaras and trisul with the figure 48 in the case of the coins of 1806-07 and 49 in the case of those of 1813. These coins were double-pice, pice and half-pice.

Universal Coinage. In about 1834, when the rule of the East India Company had extended almost all over the country, the necessity of a uniform coinage was felt by the Calcutta Mint Committee and as a preliminary measure the coins of the Mughal type were suspended. In 1835, double-muhar of the
value of thirty rupees, *muhar* of the value of fifteen rupees, ten-
rupee and five-rupee coins in gold and *rupee*, half-rupee, quarter-
rupee coins in silver were issued with the bare head of King
William IV with his name *WILLIAM III* on the obverse. The
reverse of the gold coins had a lion and a palm with *EAST INDIA
COMPANY* and the value in English and Persian. The silver
coins had their value within a wreath and the superinscription
*EAST INDIA COMPANY* and the date. The copper coins issued
along with these coins were *pice*, double- *pice* and *pie* (one-
twelfth of an anna). These coins had the arms of the Company
with the date on the obverse and the value in English and Persian
within a wreath and *EAST INDIA COMPANY* around. The value
on these coins is reckoned in the fractions of an anna in English
and in terms of the *pai* in Persian. Curiously enough, the word
*pai* is used for quarter-anna as well as for one-twelfth anna. These
copper coins were issued till 1844 without any change. Then
coins with a new date were issued. Along with the change of
date, a new coin of half- *pice* denomination was issued that year.

In 1840, the gold and silver coins were issued in the name of
Queen Victoria. On these the head of the Queen was introduced
with the name *VICTORIA QUEEN* on the obverse. The reverse
followed the earlier pattern, though the form of the wreath was
changed on the silver coins. While only the *muhar* in gold was issued,
a new coin of two *annas* was introduced in silver in 1841. When
in 1858 Queen Victoria assumed the Government of India and the
career of the East India Company came to an end after an existence
of more than two and a half centuries, coins in silver and copper
with changed devices were issued. Now they had the bust of the
Queen wearing an Imperial crown and a richly-embroidered
robe with *VICTORIA* to left and *QUEEN* to right. The reverse
followed the earlier pattern. These coins came into existence
in 1862. These coins without any change in date were issued
till 1872. But upon the reverse of rupee coins, immediately above
the centre of the scroll border and just below the date, small dots,
numbering one to ten were put as the distinction for the subsequent
years. Thence after 1873 to 1876 the coins are regularly dated.
Coins of the other denominations are known regularly dated from the year 1870. A two-anna coin was perhaps not issued in 1871. Gold and copper coins followed the silver.

In 1877 Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India. So, it necessitated a little change in the dies of coins. While retaining the general design used for the coins so far, the word queen was substituted with the word EMPRESS on the obverse. The coins were regularly issued year by year. The double-pice copper coins were suspended in the year 1891.

In 1901, after the death of Queen Victoria, King Edward VII came to the throne and coins were issued in his name. These coins had the truncated head of the king with EDWARD VII KING AND EMPEROR. While the copper coins retained the reverse of Queen Victoria’s coins, the silver coins had a reverse having the value in English and Persian within two sprays of lotus flowers surmounted by a crown. No gold coins were issued in this reign. In about 1906 or 1907 the issue of a new coin of one anna was proposed and along with it, it was also proposed to re-issue half-anna coins. Accordingly patterns were prepared for both to be issued in nickel. But later, it was decided to issue only the anna coin, which was dodecagonal in shape with rounded angles. While all the earlier issues of silver and copper coins of the ruler, in close imitation of the design adopted for the coinage of Great Britain, bear the uncrowned bust of the king, for these nickel coins a new design of his truncated bust in full royal robe and crown was adopted. It is said that this was the correction of a mistake, which, in the opinion of the Times (London), was serious from the political stand-point. It was pointed out that the effigy on the obverse was not merely uncrowned, it was emphatically bald-headed; and nothing could be more alien than these to the Indian conception of sovereignty. The Bombay Chamber of Commerce and possibly some other institutions and societies protested against issuing coins with the bare-headed effigy of the king. The cause of some serious disturbances at Madras that occurred in those days was even traced to these coins. While the so-called serious political mistake was rectified with the new nickel coin, the coins of the
other denominations continued to be issued bearing the old bald-headed design.

After the death of Edward VII, when George V came to the throne, coins were issued in his name in 1911 on the occasion of the Delhi Durbar. On these coins, the king was shown crowned and in full royal robes. This must have given satisfaction to those who believed that Edward's coinage did not inspire feelings of respect for Royalty. But then, the new rupee coins provoked another section, i.e., Muslims. Amongst the decorations of the robe was a chain with an attachment figuring an elephant. The trunk of the elephant was so engraved that it gave a porcine appearance. This led to a rumour that the new coin bore a pig. According to The Times of India, this new issue was universally criticised and no amount of explanation could do away with the belief of the Muslims about the coin. Consequently, the circulation of this rupee coin was withdrawn within a month and new rupee coins with a new die were issued in June 1912 having a much more realistic figure of the elephant.

The rupee coins were issued in the reign of George V only till the year 1922. After that it is not known if the issue of silver rupee was at all suspended or was issued with the dies dated 1922 or any earlier date. The silver half-rupee, quarter-rupee and two-anna coins were suspended in 1918 and in place of them coins of those value were issued in cupro-nickel. But the cupro-nickel half-rupee was not issued after 1919 and the quarter-rupee after 1921. They were re-issued in silver. Only two-anna coins in nickel continued throughout the period. Copper quarter-anna, half-pice and pie were issued during this reign but not very regularly. The pies were issued only for four or five years during the entire reign. A gold fifteen-rupee coin, similar to the rupee, was issued in 1918.

After George V, no coins were issued during the short reign of Edward VIII. When George VI came to the throne, all coins except the rupee were issued in 1937—half-rupee and quarter-rupee in silver, two-anna and anna coins in cupro-nickel and quarter-anna, half-pice and pie in copper. The silver rupee was issued earliest in 1940. The cupro-nickel two-anna and anna coins were replaced
by the aluminium-bronze coins in 1942 which continued up to 1946. The silver coins were suspended in 1945 due to shortage of the metal and these coins were issued in 1946 in cupro-nickel. The new cupro-nickel coins had a new reverse showing a tiger with the value in English, Hindi and Persian and the date. A new half-anna coin in aluminium-bronze was also introduced in 1942. Amongst the copper coins, a thin-flaned one-twelfth anna was introduced in 1941; but in 1943 along with half-pice coins it was dropped forever. In 1943, to meet the shortage of copper a new holed thin pice was issued which had a flowered design on one side and the other side had the crown and the date along with the value in English, Hindi and Persian and the word INDIA. All these coins were issued till 1947, and ceased thereafter when India became free.

During all this period 1835-1947, two mints at Calcutta and Bombay minted coins simultaneously of similar designs. In the early period of Victoria, there was not much to distinguish the issues of the two mints. But on some later coins a minute c was used on the reverse on the floral wreath of the Calcutta coins. Later a dot below the date was used to denote Bombay issues and continued till the end. A little before the creation of Pakistan in 1947, a mint was also started at Lahore. The coins that were minted there are said to have an L in some obscure place on the reverse. Madras, which was an active mint in the Company's time, was closed down in 1867.
CHAPTER XVIII

COINS OF THE NATIVE STATES

As has already been observed before, the Native States arose gradually as the Mughal power declined and the Marathas and the British power came into prominence. The rising states assumed the right of striking coins for themselves; but for economic, political or some other reasons, they issued coins in the prevailing Imperial Mughal type, retaining the emperor's name. They only added to it a characteristic ornament or monogram, which distinguished them from the Mughal issues. Yet it is difficult to-day to allocate them to their issuers properly. These coins have been much neglected in the past by numismatists and coin-collectors, when information about them could have been gathered easily; that has now been lost. So little may be said about these coins, beyond the fact that more than a hundred Native States existed throughout the country, which claimed the right of striking their own money, when the English Crown assumed the power of administration in India in 1858 A.D.

The English had become the supreme authority in India much before 1857, the year of the Indian revolt. They were not only the masters of vast territories, but also wielded a powerful influence in almost all the Native States, which were bound to it as subordinates by a series of engagements and treaties. Yet, for some reason or other, they did not interfere with the coinage of the Native States. The Native States carried the impression of the Mughal emperors on their coins uninterrupted. After the revolt of 1857, the last Mughal ruler Bahadur Shah was deported to Rangoon and the whole situation changed. Now the retention of the name of the Mughal ruler on the coins of the Native States had no meaning. So the English administrators at the top, sitting in England, now became anxious that the Native States should have the Queen's head or something else on their coins to admit British paramountcy and to indicate their own subordination. But the Govern-
ment in India was so much frightened at the upheaval of 1857 that it did not dare take any step which might endanger British influence. So, in spite of pressure from England, the administrators in India remained almost indifferent in this matter and took no steps by themselves to remove the name of the emperor of Delhi and to put in its place the name of the Queen of England.

The Native States, however, themselves were not only realising the futility of retaining the Mughal emperor’s name, but some of them were also anxious to express their loyalty to the English administration. As far back as 1846 the Rao of Kutch had proposed to have the name of the British Government on his coins. The Maharaja of Rewa, Raghuraj Singh, was so over-zealous that in 1849, he struck his coins with the name of the English Agent, Bushby. However, it was only after 1857 that the Native chiefs and princes gradually removed the Mughal superinscriptions from their coins and by 1872 this process was almost complete. But not all the States imprinted the name of the English Queen on their coins.

In the meantime, the English administrators in India vigorously scrutinised the claims of the Native States about their rights of striking money and conceded it only to thirty-four, which stood the test. Of these thirty-four Native States, which retained the right to issue their own coins, only fifteen—Alwar, Bharatpur, Bikaner, Bundi, Dewas, Dhar, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jhalawar, Jodhpur, Karauli, Kuchwan, Kishangarh, Kotah, Kutch and Tonk replaced the Mughal emperor’s name by that of Queen Victoria. All of them except Bharatpur superscribed only Queen Victoria’s name with her title. Bharatpur added her effigy too. The legends bearing the name of the Queen on the coins of these States are not uniform. While all followed the old practice of the Persian inscription, Bundi placed the name Queen Victoria in English and also used the Christian date. Among those who did not place the name of the Queen, Mewar (Udaipur) saved its face by calling itself Dosti London (friend of London) on its coins. Bhopal, Jaora, Ratlam and Sailana avoided the awkward situation by having their coins only with the name of the State, date and value. Others not only ignored the Queen but also boldly placed their
own names on their coins.

In 1876, the India Government offered these States to strike their coins free of charge, if they agreed to close down their own mints and to send the metal for coining to the English mint and to have them uniform with the British Indian coins. This offer was accepted only by a few, amongst whom Alwar and Bikaner are prominent. We have their coins with the bust of the Queen on the obverse and the reverse bears their own name and date, etc. In 1893, the offer of the free coinage was withdrawn. It is said that the withdrawal of this privilege brought such a depreciation in the value of the Native State coins, that most of the Native States agreed to surrender their right of coinage if the British Government purchased their coins at market value. Consequently, the right of coinage was retained only by Hyderabad, Mewar (Udaipur), Jaipur, Tonk, Orchha and Travancore in silver and copper, by Bundi, Kutch, Jaisalmer and Kishangarh in silver and by Bahawalpur, Baroda, Gwalior, Indore, Jodhpur, Junagarh, Puddukota, Ratlam and Sailana in copper. But of these, Orchha, Jaisalmer and Kishangarh do not seem to have ever exercised their right to issue coins; at least their coins are not known. Tonk, Bundi, Junagarh, Bahawalpur, Ratlam, Sailana and Puddukota occasionally issued coins; but they all seem to have them minted at the British mint. It is only Hyderabad, Mewar (Udaipur), Jaipur, Travancore, Kutch, Gwalior, Jodhpur, Indore and Baroda that regularly issued their coins, till they were merged in the Indian Republic.

Of these, Kutch and Jodhpur were the two States which maintained their loyalty to the British Crown by issuing their coins in the name of each of the successive rulers year by year. They issued coins even in the name of Edward VIII in 1936, whose coins are unknown in the series of the coinage of his own country. As such, these coins are taken to be the most prized of modern coins. Likewise, Mewar (Udaipur) since 1851 issued only one type of coin, though in various denominations, which bear the Nagari words Dosti London on the obverse and Chitrakuta Udaipur on the reverse. These coins were minted before 1932 in the native style
and, thereafter, they were minted for the State at the Calcutta mint. Hyderabad issued coins in 1858 with the Persian inscription *Nizam-ul-mulk Bahadur Asaf Jah* and the date on the obverse and retained the old Mughal type for the reverse. In 1903-04 a new type of machine-made coins were issued which introduced the Charminar, an important monument of Hyderabad, on the obverse with the above legend placed around it. Similarly, the value was placed on the reverse with the old Mughal-type legend. These coins do not bear the name of the ruler, but used the initial letter of his name in the arch of the minar on the obverse. In denominations and metals, the British Indian coins were followed. Jaipur continued the Mughal-style Persian inscriptions with the name of the English ruler on the obverse and the name of the reigning Maharaja on the reverse. In 1944, a nickle-bronze *anna* was issued with the portrait of Madho Singh III and his name in Hindi on the obverse and the name of the King of England in Persian on the reverse, with the mint's name and value. Whether any coins were issued thereafter is not known. Gwalior, Indore and Baroda used the portrait of the ruler on most of their coins.
CHAPTER XIX

COINS OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC

In 1947, India became free and independent and soon it declared herself to be a Republic. But till 1950, no new coins were issued. In that year for the first time the coins of Free India were issued; but they followed the old pattern of the Indo-English coins almost in all respects. The value, weight, metal and fabric all were the same; only the designs were changed which were still slavish. On the obverse, the effigy of the king was replaced by the figure of the Sarnath capital of Asoka, which was adopted as the insignia of the Republic; the name of the king was replaced by the words GOVERNMENT OF INDIA in English. On the reverse, the floral decoration was removed and a pair of ears of wheat were placed on the two sides of the Roman numeral showing the value. The value was also shown above in Hindi and below in English with the date. This reverse was used for the coins of rupee, half-rupee and quarter-rupee. The reverse of the coins of other denominations testifies to much more originality on the part of the exchequer and the mint. A bull was placed there on the coins of two annas, one anna and half anna and a flying horse on the copper paisa. These coins continued till 1956.

In 1957, the metric or decimal system was introduced in various spheres of Indian life. Consequently, the value also was now reckoned in this new term. This system was not so new as some might presume. As early as the later Vedic period, a coin of the value of a hundred units called Satamana is known. The Srauta Sutras mention several terms, which indicate that the value was reckoned then in terms of multiples of ten. But this system probably did not find favour with the people and was soon abandoned. Then the coins of the Khiljis and the Tughlaqs in the fourteenth century A.D. had introduced a pentanic system in their coinage, which was akin to the decimal system. Thereafter, in the Mughal period, Akbar had also issued his copper coins on the pentanic and decimal
systems. Even the English had thought of decimal coinage. In 1851, the Assay Master of the Mint of Fort St. George (Madras) had mooted the idea of issuing coins representing the hundredth part of an anna; but meanwhile came the proposal for the abolition of the Madras mint and the idea did not materialise. Lastly, only a few years before the British administrators left India, they had planned to issue decimal coinage on the American pattern. Everything was finalised and the mints were ready with the dies to strike the coins. But in the meanwhile Mahatma Gandhi vehemently opposed the proposal. His condemnation of the proposal left no way out to them and the idea had to be silently shelved. But after independence, when our leaders and administrators began to think and see each and everything in terms of internationalism, they found fault with the quarternary system of our money, which had prevailed for more than two thousand years and served the purpose well. They introduced the new metric system, which had originated in France and had been gradually adopted by most countries of the world.

Now the rupee was reckoned equal to a hundred paisa and to distinguish the new paisa from the old one, it was given the name of naya paisa. The coins issued in the new system were a rupee, 50 naye-paise, 25 naye-paise, 10 naye-paise, 5 naye-paise, 2 naye-paise and one naya-paisa. These coins were similar to the earlier coins in respect of their obverse; but now the words Bharat in Hindi and India in English were substituted for the earlier government of India. On the reverse the value of the coins was given in terms of fractions of the rupee as well as in terms of paisa. In 1964, when the old paisa became obsolete, the word naya from the coin-denominations was dropped and the coins that were issued since that year bear only the term paisa.

That very year a new coin of three paisa was introduced, which was of quite a new metal, i.e., of aluminium. The next year, i.e., in 1965, the nickel paisa and 2-paise coins were replaced by the coins of aluminium. Then in 1967, the 5-paise coins of nickel were

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1 An anna is most likely an inadvertent error in the record. Perhaps a rupee was meant.
replaced by the aluminium coins. Lastly, towards the end of 1968, 10-*paisa* coins were also issued in aluminium. Along with that, a new coin of 20-*paisa* was also introduced. Thus now the coins that are issued in nickel are only the *rupee*, 50-*paisa* and 25-*paisa*. It would not be surprising if they, too, in the not too distant future, are converted into this light metal.

Thus, we come to the end of the history of the coins of India. But it remains to remark that in 1964, commemorative coins of the value of a *rupee* and 50-*paisa* were issued in honour of the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The coins had on the obverse the truncated naked head of Nehru to left with his name in English at the top and the dates 1889-1964 below. Some coins of 50-*paisa* value were later issued where the name was inscribed in Nagari. The reverse of these coins has the Asokan capital at the top, the words *Bharat* in Nagari and *INDIA* and the value in both the languages.
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PLATES
KEY TO PLATES

PLATE I

Punch-marked Coins

6. Kosala. (Early type). Silver. Obverse: Four symbols (i) Three S around a circle; (ii) Two leaves placed opposite each other; (iii) Six dots within a semi-circle; (iv) triangle composed of semi-circles. Reverse: Blank.
7. Kosala (Later type). Silver. Obverse: Four symbols: (i) Three S around a circle; (ii) a circle with a dot, below it a crescent; (iii) a taurine within an area; (iv) bull to left. Reverse: Minute symbols (not illustrated).
12. Chedi. Silver. Obverse: Four symbols. Two of them elephant (crude folk-art type); (iii) a scorpion and a palm; (iv) a longish taurine-like symbol. Reverse: One or two small symbols (not illustrated).
13. Andhra. Silver. Obverse: Four symbols. (i) an elephant to-
right; (ii) a conventional tree; (iii & iv) a symbol composed of a central solid circle and four circles around it with dots in between. \textit{Reverse}: Blank.

14. \textbf{Unknown. Silver.} \textit{Obverse}: Four symbols: (i) An elephant to left; (ii) an oblong symbol with dots around; (iii & iv) a wheel. \textit{Reverse}: Blank.

15. \textbf{Magadha.} (Imperial; Early type). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}. Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol with three arrows and three ovals alternately placed; (iii) a lion to right; (iv) a crab-like object; (v) a triangle. \textit{Reverse}: A few minute symbols (not illustrated).

16. \textbf{Magadha.} (Imperial; Early type). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}. Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol similar to No. 15; (iii) a wheel within a square; (iv) A rectangle with four compartments having a dot in each of them; (v) a branch of a tree. \textit{Reverse}: Some minute symbols (not illustrated).

17. \textbf{Magadha} (Imperial type). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}: Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) a long tree; (iv) a bull to right; (v) an elephant to right. \textit{Reverse}: A few symbols (not illustrated).

18. \textbf{Magadha} (Imperial type). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}: Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) Three fishes around a circle; (iv) a taurine within a semi-circle; (v) five dots within a square. \textit{Reverse}: Some minute symbols (not illustrated).

19. \textbf{Magadha} (Imperial type; found all over the country). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}: Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) rhinoceros; (iv) four fishes around a square within a pond; (v) an elephant. \textit{Reverse}: Many minute symbols (not illustrated).

20. \textbf{Magadha} (Imperial type; found all over the country). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}: Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) six-arched hill with a taurine above; (iv) four taurines around a solid square; (v) an umbrella-like symbol with a taurine on either side. \textit{Reverse}: Many minute symbols (not illustrated).

21. \textbf{Magadha} (Imperial type; found all over the country). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}: Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) six-arched hill; (iv) two fishes within an S-like curve; (v) two fishes within a rectangle. \textit{Reverse}: Some minute symbols (not illustrated).

22. \textbf{Magadha} (Imperial type; found all over the country). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}: Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) a hare on the hill; (iv) a bull to right; (v) a tree. \textit{Reverse}: Some minute symbols (not illustrated).

23. \textbf{Magadha} (Imperial type; late, found all over the country). \textbf{Silver.} \textit{Obverse}: Five symbols. (i) The sun; (ii) six-arched symbol; (iii) three gates; (iv) a hare with a pup in mouth; (v) an elephant. \textit{Reverse}: A few minute symbols (not illustrated).
24. **Magadha** (Imperial type; late, found all over the country). **Silver. Obverse**: Five symbols. (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) a bull within a square with a fish at the back and another below the mouth; (iv) four taurines around a solid circle; (v) a wrench-like object with a taurine on either side. **Reverse**: A few small symbols (not illustrated).

**PLATE II**

25. **Magadha** (Mauryan; found all over the country). **Silver. Obverse**: Five symbols. (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) three-arched hill with crescent at the top; (iv) a branch of a tree at the corner of a four-squared railing; (v) a bull with a taurine in front. **Reverse**: A big symbol (not illustrated).

26. **Magadha** (Mauryan; found all over the country, but rare). **Silver. Obverse**: Three human figures separately punched; a branch of a tree at the corner of a four-squared railing; (v) an elephant and a spider. **Reverse**: A big symbol (not illustrated).

27. **Magadha** (Mauryan; found all over the country, but rare). **Silver. Obverse**: Three human figures placed into one punch; a peacock on a hill; and a steel-yard. **Reverse**: A big symbol (not illustrated).

28. **Magadha** (Mauryan; a tiny coin; one-sixteenth of the above coins in weight; found all over the country but exceedingly rare). **Silver. Obverse**: Six-armed symbol (partly punched). **Reverse**: Blank.

29. **Magadha** (Probably Sunga; confined to Bihar). **Copper. Obverse**: Five symbols: (i) The sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) three-arched symbol with a crescent above; but slightly different from that seen on coin No. 25; (iv) a J-like symbol; (v) a circle with a hook to left. **Reverse**: Four symbols. (i) A lotus; (ii) a conch; (iii) a solid square with four circular arms at the four points; (iv) a stupa with a crescent.

30. **Eran-Besnagar region** (probably Sunga). **Copper.** Five symbols. (i) six-armed symbol; (ii) elephant to left; (iii) triangle-standard within a railing; (iv) a taurine within an arc; (v) fishes within zig-zag river. **Reverse**: Blank.

**Cast Ancient Coins**

31. **All over northern India. Copper. Obverse**: An elephant to left; **Reverse**: A three-arched hill with a crescent at the top.

32. **Copper.** Same as No. 30, but two coins joined together.

**Indo-Bactrian Coins**

33. **Decadrachm** (Perhaps issued by Seleucus in Babylonia). **Silver. Obverse**: A horseman with a lance at rest charging at a retreating
elephant on which are two men. It is taken to be the depiction of the Puru-Alexander war. *Reverse*: Alexander in the form of the Greek god Zeus.

   *Reverse*: Naked Herakles standing to front, holding a chaplet in right hand and a club and lion’s skin under the left arm. Basileos to right Euthydemos to left.

35. Demetrius. Silver. Obverse: Diademed bust of the king wearing an elephant’s scalp. *Reverse*: Naked Herakles standing to front, crowning himself with his right hand and carrying a club and a lion’s skin under his left arm. Basileos to right; Demetriou to left.


**PLATE III**

37. Agathokles. Silver. Obverse: Head of Alexander to right wearing a lion’s scalp; to right Alexandrou, to left Toy Philippou. 
   *Reverse*: Zeus seated on throne to left holding eagle and a long sceptre. Legend: Baseleontos Dikeiou Agathokleou.


**PLATE IV**


KEY TO PLATES

aegis on outstretched left arm, hurling a thunderbolt with right hand. Legend in Kharoshthi: Maharajasa tratarasa menadrasa.


PLATE V


Saka and Parthian Coins


51. Azes. Copper. Obverse: King seated cross-legged to front on a raised cushion with head turned to left; sword or mace across body and an ankush in outstretched right hand. Greek legend: Basileos Basileon Magalou Azou. Reverse: Hermes with caduceus walking to left. Kharoshthi legend: same as on No. 50.

52. Azes. Copper. Obverse. Demeter seated on a throne holding cornucopiae in left hand and right hand outstretched. Greek legend:
same as on No. 50. Reverse: Hermes to left holding caduceus in left hand. Kharoshthi legend: same as on No. 50.


PLATE VI


56. Azilises. Silver. Obverse: same as on No. 54 (not illustrated). Reverse: Lakshmi standing facing on a lotus with twin stalks and leaves. On each leaf stands an elephant sprinkling water on the head of the deity (Abhisheka Lakshmi). Kharoshthi legend same as on No. 54.

57. Azilises. Silver. (Execution crude). Obverse: King on horseback holding spear, Greek legend sames as on No. 54. Reverse: Goddess standing to left holding flames in right hand and palm bound fillet in left. Kharoshthi legend same as on No. 54.


Kushana Coins


KEY TO PLATES

Kharoshthi legend *Khushanasas yauasa kuyula kaphasasa sachadhramathidasa.*

62. **Wima Kadphises.** **GOLD.** *Obverse:* King seated to front on a low couch with head turned to left, holding thunderbolt in right hand. Greek legend *Basilieus Ooemo Kadphises. Reverse:* Siva standing in front of a bull holding trident in right hand. Kharoshthi legend *Maharajasa rajadirajasa sarvaloga-isvarasa mahisvarasa Vima Kathaphishasa.*

63. **Wima Kadphises.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* King seated to front on clouds with head turned to right, holding club in right hand. Greek legend same as on No. 62. *Reverse:* Same as on No. 62.

**PLATE VII**

64. **Wima Kadphises.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* King standing with his head turned left, offering with his right hand on an altar. Greek legend *Basilieos Basileon Soter Megas Ooemo Kadphises. Reverse:* Same as on 62.

65. **Kanishka.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* King standing to left holding a spear in the left hand and offering with his right hand on altar. Greek Legend *Basilieus Basileon Kaneshkou.* *Reverse.* Helion standing left with right hand outstretched. Greek Legend *Hlios.*

66. **Kanishka.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* Same as No. 65 but Iranian legend *Shao Nano Shao Kaneshki Kushano.* Iranian bearded deity radiate to left with fillet in right hand. Legend *Athsso.*

67. **Kanishka.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* Same as No. 66. *Reverse.* Female deity standing to right holding cornucopiae. Legend *Ardosako.*

68. **Kanishka.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* Same as No. 66. *Reverse.* Buddha standing. Legend *Boddo.*

69. **Kanishka.** **COPPER.** *Obverse.* Same as No. 66. *Reverse:* Buddha seated cross-legged to front. Legend *Oduobou Sakama.*

70. **Huvishka.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* Half-length figure of the king radiate and diadem holding sceptre in right hand and an ankusha in the left. Legend *Shao Nano Shao Oeshki Koshano.* *Reverse:* Bearded deity facing right. Legend *Athsso.*

71. **Huvishka.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* Same as No. 70. *Reverse.* Male deity radiate to left holding purse in the right hand and a long sceptre in the left. Legend *Pharo.*

72. **Huvishka.** **GOLD.** *Obverse.* Same as No. 70. *Reverse.* Bearded Herakles to left holding club in right hand and lions skin over the left arm. Legend *Hrakilo.*
PLATE VIII

73. Huvishka. COPPER. Obverse. King seated facing right. Legend same as on No. 70 but not clear. Reverse. God standing facing left. Legend Mi\(\text{rw}\) (not clear).


75. Huvishka. COPPER. Obverse: King reclining on a low cushioned couch. Legend same as on No. 70. Reverse: Four-armed Siva to left. Legend Oesho.

76. Huvishka. COPPER. Obverse. King riding on an elephant to left. Legend same as on No. 70. Reverse. Two-armed Siva to left holding trident in right hand and gourd in the left. Legend Oesho.

77. Vasudeva. GOLD. Obverse. King standing to left with trident in the left hand and offering with the right hand on alter. Legend Shao Nano Shao Bazdeo Koshano. Reverse: Siva standing with trident in right hand before the bull. Legend Oesho.

78. Later Kushana. GOLD. Obverse. Same as No. 77. Legend not clear. Reverse. Same as No. 77.

79. Kanishka III. GOLD. Obverse. Same as No. 77. Legend not visible Reverse: Goddess seated on high-backed throne to front holding cornucopiae in the left hand and a noose in the right. Legend Ardoksho.

80. Tribal Kushana. GOLD. Obverse. Same as No. 77. Shaka to the right of the king. No circular legend. Reverse. Same as No. 79.

81. Tribal Kushana. GOLD. Obverse. Same as No. 77. Payasa under the right arm of the king. No circular legend. Reverse. Same as No. 79.


PLATE IX

83. Kidara. GOLD. Obverse. Same as No. 77 but crude. Legend Kedara under king's arm. Reverse: Same as No. 79 but crude.

Post-Mauryan Local Coins of North India

84. Taxila. COPPER. Obverse. Two symbols (i) a conical rod (ii) three-arched hill with crescent. Reverse: Blank.

85. Taxila. COPPER. Obverse. Two symbols (i) three-arched hill with crescent (ii) tree in railing. Reverse: Blank.


88. Taxila. Copper. Obverse. Elephant moving to right; three-arched hill with crescent above. Reverse. Lion to left; a small three-arched hill with crescent in front and a small svastika over the back.

89. Kausambi. Copper (Cast). Obverse. Lanky bull before a post, a symbol at the back. Reverse. Six-arched hill surmounted by a tree in railing to left a wheel; to right Ujjain symbol.


91. Ujjain. Copper. Obverse. Deity standing facing holding a staff in the right hand and a pot in the left; to his left a tree in railing; to his right six-armed symbol. Reverse: Ujjain symbol.

92. Hiranyasrama. Copper. Obverse: Horse to left; six-arched hill in front, three-arched hill with crescent at the back. Kharoshthi legend Hidujasame. Reverse: Elephant standing facing Svastika and three-arched hill with crescent to left and a palm tree to right.

93. Uddehika. Copper. Obverse: Bull to right; tree in railing placed horizontally over it. Reverse: Three symbols (i) Ujjain symbol; (ii) two fishes in a rectangle; (iii) tree in railing. Below them Brahmi legend Udehaki.


PLATE X


97. Audumbara. Silver. Obverse: Visvamitra standing facing with right hand raised. Visvamitra in Kharoshthi in front; around Kharoshthi legend Mahadevasa rana dharagheshasa. Reverse: Trident-
battle-axe and tree in an enclosure placed side by side. Circular
Brahmi legend same as on the obverse.

98. Kuninda. Silver. Obverse: Deer to right and a female standing
facing, placed side by side, a few minute symbols near deer.
Kharoshthi legend around Rajnah Kunimdasva Amoghabhutiya
maharajasya. Reverse: Six-arched hill with an umbrella at the
top, Svastika and a triangle-standard to right and tree in railing to
right, Nandipada above. Around Brahmi legend similar to obverse
legend.

99. Kuninda. Copper. Same as No. 98 on both sides but legends
incomplete.

100. Yaudheya. Copper. Obverse: Six-headed Kartikeya standing facing
holding spear in right hand, left hand resting on hip. Brahmi
legend around Bhagavatasa samina Brahmanyakdevasa Kumaraasa.
Six-headed goddess Bhadraka standing facing. Six-arched hill with
umbrella and nandipada to her right and Tree in railing to her left.

101. Yaudheya. Copper. Obverse: Kartikeya standing facing holding
spear in right hand, left hand on hip; peacock to left near the foot.
Brahmi legend Yaudheya Ganasya jaya. dvi. Reverse: Female deity
walking to left with right hand raised and left hand on hip; Sankha
on left and Naga symbol on right.

facing, with right hand upraised. Symbols to right and left; Brahmi
legend above Purushadatasva. Reverse: Three elephants with riders
(not very clear).

Reverse: Lakshmi standing facing; symbols on either side and
below; Brahmi legend around Khapatasa Sivadatasva.

bust of the king, Basileos Basileon Soteros Raju. Reverse: Pallas to
left holding aegis in her left hand and hurling thunderbolt in the right.
Kharoshthi legend. Aprathiatachakrasa Chhatrapasa Rajuvulasva.

PLATE XI

placed in a line; below Brahmi legend Phalgunimitasva. Reverse:
Female deity standing facing; a symbol to left.

in bold Brahmi letters.

107. Kausambi. King Nava. Copper. Obverse: Bull to right; a circle
above. Reverse: Tree in railing; spear on left and trident on right;
below Nevasva in Brahmi letters.
KEY TO PLATES


PLATE XII

Early Coins of South India

116. Pandya. SILVER (Punch-marked). Obverse: Five symbols (i) sun; (ii) six-armed symbol; (iii) Stupa; (iv) tree with two taurines; (v) Trident-battle-axe in railing. Reverse: Fish as on the reverse of No. 117 (not illustrated).

117. Pandya. COPPER. Obverse. Elephant to right before a post, above some small symbols. Reverse: Fish.

118. Andhra. COPPER. Obverse: Tree in railing flanked by svastika on left and taurine on right, waivy line below. Reverse: blank.

Pre-Satavashana Coins


120. Ananda dynasty. Mulananda. LEAD. Obverse: Hill of two tiers
of small arches surmounted by a large arch; Brahmi legend *Rano Mulanandasa*. Reverse: Tree in railing with symbols on either side.


*Satavahana Coins*

126. Sri Sata. Copper (Punch-marked). Five punches (i) Triangle-headed standard in railing; (ii) Ujjain symbol; (iii) elephant; (iv) river symbol; (v) *Rano Siri Satasa* in Brahmi. Reverse: One punch showing Ujjain symbol with crescent on one orb.

127. Sri Satakarni. Copper (Punch-marked). Five punches, first four same as on No. 126, fifth *Rano Siri Satakansasa* in Brahmi.

*PLATE XIII*


with crescent placed side by side, below waivy line; around legend same as on the obverse but in Tamil language.

**Coins of Western Kshatrapas**

132. **Bhumaka. Copper. Obverse.** Pillar-capital showing a lion and a wheel. Brahmi legend around *Kshaharatasa Kshatrapasa Bhumakasa.* Reverse: Arrow and thunderbolt; Kharoshthi legend around same as on the obverse.

133. **Nahapanā. Silver. Obverse:** Bust of king; Inscription in Greek letters (very much currupt). Reverse: Arrow and thunderbolt; Legend in Brahmi and Kharoshthi *Rajno Kshaharatasa Nahapanasa.*

134. **Rudrasimha I. Silver. Obverse:** Bust of king; Date 306 behind the head. Reverse: Three-arched hill with crescent; sun and moon on either side; around *Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Rudradamaputrasa Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Rudradahasa.*

135. **Anonymous. Copper. Obverse:** Bull facing; Reverse: Three-arched hill with crescent; moon and sun on either side.

**Coins of Gupta dynasty**

136. **Chandra Gupta I. Gold. Obverse:** King and queen standing facing each other. *Sri Kumara Devi* on left; *Chandra Gupta* under the right arm of the king. Reverse: Goddess seated on lion holding cornucopiae in left hand and a noose in the right. Legend *Lichhavayah* on right.

137. **Samudra Gupta. Gold. Obverse.** King standing left, holding standard in left hand, offering with right hand on altar. Garuda standard on the left. *Samudra* beneath the king’s left arm. Around *Samarasatavitatavijayo jitaripur afito divam jayati.* Goddess seated on a high-backed throne, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in left arm. On left Parakramah.

138. **Samudra Gupta. Gold. Obverse.** King standing left, holding bow in left hand while right hand holds an arrow. Garuda standard on the left. *Samudra* beneath the king’s left arm. Around *Apratiratho vijitya kshitim sucharitair divam jayati. Reverse.* Same as No. 137 but legend *Apratirathah.*

139. **Samudra Gupta. Gold. Obverse.** King standing left holding battle-axe in left hand while right hand rests on hip; on left dwarf to right; behind crescent topped standard. Behind left arm *Samudra.* Around *Kritantaparasur jayatjavitarajajetajita. Reverse:* Same as No. 137 but holding lotus in place of cornucopiae. Legend. *Kritantantaparasuh.*
140. **Samudra Gupta.** **GOLD. Obverse.** Horse standing to left before the sacrificial post. Legend around **Rajadhrajah prithvira vitya divam jayatya apratitavayavirah.** **Reverse.** Queen standing left holding fly-whisk over her right shoulder in right hand. On left the sacrificial spear. Legend Asvamedhaparaksamah.

141. **Chandra Gupta II.** **GOLD. Obverse.** King standing left, holding bow in left hand and arrow in right hand. Garuda standard on the left. **Chandra** below the left arm. Legend **Deva-Sri maharajadhira Sra Chandraguptah.** **Reverse.** Same as No. 139, Legend **Sri Vikramah.**

142. **Chandra Gupta II.** **GOLD. Obverse.** Bare bodied king to left but looking to right, holding bow in left hand arrow in right hand. Garuda standard on the left. **Chandra** on the right outside the bow. Legend same as on No. 141. **Reverse.** Goddess seated on lotus, holding lotus in the left hand and noose in the right. Legend **Sri Vikramah.**

143. **Chandra Gupta II.** **GOLD. Obverse.** King standing to left, holding bow in the left hand stretching the string with right hand up to the ear, shooting at a lion, which is on the left. Legend. **Narendrachandrah prathitaranorane jayatyajaya bhuvui simhavikramah.** **Reverse.** Goddess riding on a lion to left, holding lotus in right hand, left hand rests on the lion. Legend **Simhavikrama.**

144. **Chandra Gupta II.** **GOLD. Obverse.** King standing to right, striking at the lion with sword. Legend same as on No. 143. **Reverse:** Goddess seated facing on lion couchant to left, holding lotus in left hand and noose in the right. Legend **Simhavikrama.**

145. **Chandra Gupta II.** **GOLD. Obverse.** King standing to right, bare bodied, shooting at the lion with bow and arrow. Legend as on No. 143 (only part visible). **Reverse.** Same as on No. 144.

146. **Chandra Gupta II.** **GOLD. Obverse.** King riding on fully caprisoned horse to left. Legend. **Paramabhagava maharajadhira Sra Chandraguptah.** **Reverse.** Goddess seated to left on wicker-stool, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and lotus in her left. Legend **Ajitavikramah.**

147. **Chandra Gupta II.** **GOLD. Obverse.** King bare bodied seated three-fourth to left with feet folded up on a couch. Legend. Same as on No. 146. **Reverse.** Goddess seated facing left on a couch holding lotus in right hand, left hand resting on the couch. Legend **Vikramadityah.**

148. **Chandra Gupta II.** **GOLD. Obverse.** King bare bodied seated three fourth to left with right foot folded up on the couch and the left foot
KEY TO PLATES


149. Chandra Gupta II. GOLD. Obverse. Chakra-purusha standing to right with double halo around him, offering three round objects, held in his palm to king standing facing him. Reverse: Goddess standing three-fourth to left holding lotus in her left hand. Legend. Chakravikramah.

PLATE XV


154. Kumara Gupta I. GOLD. Obverse. King and queen standing facing each other; king holding a flower in his right hand left hand on the hilt of the sword. Reverse. Goddess facing seated on a lion couchant to right, holding lotus in right. Legend Sri Kumara Gupta.

155. Kumara Gupta I. GOLD. Obverse. Horse facing right before the sacrificial post. Devo jitasatrih Kumaraguptodhiraja. Reverse. Queen standing to left holding flywhisk in right hand placed over the shoulder; the sacrificial spear in front. Legend Sri Asvamedhama-hendra.

156. Kumara Gupta I. GOLD. Obverse. Horse facing left before the sacrificial post. Legend same as on No. 155. Reverse. Same as No 155.
157. **Kumara Gupta I.** GOLD. **Obverse.** King to right riding on a caprisoned horse attacking on a rhinoceros with the sword in the right hand. Legend *Bharta Khadgatrata Kumaragupta jayatyanism*. Reverse. Goddess Ganga standing to left on a *makara* (crocodile); behind a female attendant holding the parasol. Legend *Sri Mahendra-khadgha*.

158. **Kumara Gupta I.** GOLD. **Obverse.** King riding on a caprisoned elephant to left, holding goad in right hand; behind a seated attendant holding a parasol over the king, Legend. *Kshataripu Kumaraguptoraja jayati ripun*. Reverse. Goddess standing facing holding a lotus in the right hand and a cornucopiae in the left; a sankh in lower right corner. Legend. *Sri mahendra-gajah*.

159. **Kumar Gupta I.** GOLD. **Obverse.** A male figure in the centre facing front; to his right and left figures talking to him. Legend. *all around the coin but not identified*. Reverse. Goddess seated on lotus facing, Legend *Apratigha*.

**PLATE XVI**

160. **Ghatotkacha Gupta (Kramaditya).** GOLD. **Obverse.** King standing left, right hand on the hilt of the sword; dwarf behind holding parasol over the king. Legend, not clear. Reverse. Goddess standing to left holding a fillet in right hand and lotus in the left. Legend. *Krama-dityah*.


162. **Budha Gupta.** GOLD. **Obverse.** King standing to left holding bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right. *Budha* written under the left arm. Legend not clear. Reverse. Same as on No. 161 but legend *Sri Vikramah*.

163. **Narasimha Gupta.** GOLD. **Obverse.** Similar to No. 162 but *Nara* under the left arm. Reverse. Same as on No. 161 but legend *Baladiyah*.

164. **Prakasaditya.** GOLD. **Obverse.** King riding on the horse to right attacking on a lion with sword. Legend *vijitya vasudham divam jayati*. Reverse. Same as on No. 161 but legend *Sri Prakasadityah*.

165. **Kumara Gupta I.** SILVER (Western India). **Obverse.** Head of the king to right; degenerated copy of Greek letters to right. Reverse. Garuda facing. Legend around *Paramabagavata Maharajadhitaja Sri Kumaragupta Mahendradityah*. 
KEY TO PLATES


**Coins of the Hunas**


169. **Toramana. Silver. Obverse.** Head of the king to left (copy of the Gupta silver coins). *Reverse.* Peacock with out-spread tail. Legend around similar to Coin No. 166 with the name changed.


**Post-Gupta Bengal Coins**

171. **Sasanka. Gold. Obverse.** Siva reclining to left on bull to left. On right Shri Sa below Jaya. *Reverse.* Goddess seated facing on lotus; Elephant above on either side. Legend Sri Sasankah.

**PLATE XVII**


173. **Anonymous (Imitation of Gupta coins). Gold. Obverse.** King standing to left holding bow in left and arrow in right hand. a horse under the left arm; left standard. *Reverse.* Goddess winged (?) to right standing. Meaningless letters on the right.

**Post-Gupta coins of Northern India**


Coins of Kashmir


Coins of Bull and Horseman type


185. Asatapala or Amritapala. SILVER. Obverse. Horseman as on No. 183 but degenerated. Reverse. Bull to left (ruđe); above Asa-(or mru)tapala. In early Nagari letters.

PLATE XVIII

Gold coins of the late medieval period


Later South Indian Coins


190. Eastern Chalukya. Raja Raja I. Gold. Obverse. Within the central punch a boar facing right flanked by a lamp-stand on either side surmounted by anusha. chhatra and two charuis. Around Legend Sri Raja Raja sa and a numerical figure in Kannada script, each letter punched separately.


192-196. Anonymous. Gold. Obverse. Five punches bearing lion; Four others variously punched. These coins are unattributed.

197. Anonymous. Gold. Obverse. Hanuman in the central punch; Four punched bear Sun symbol and four others have Kannada Sri, alternately punched.

198. Unattributed. Gold. Obverse. Boar or elephant to left in central punch; Sri in two punches; lotus in two punches; inscription in four punches, not properly read.

199. Unattributed. Gold. Obverse. Four punches. Two bear Kannada Sri; One bears symbol like conical dome; one bears indistinct inscription.

PLATE XIX


204. Later Chalukyas of Satara. Gold (V-shaped). Three punches. Boar in the top punch; Trahi in the left arm punch and Macha in the right one in Kannada script.

205. Kadambas of Goa. Gold. Obverse. Lion standing left. Reverse. In Nagari script legend in five lines beginning with Sri kotishcharana labdha vara vira followed by the name of the king which is not clear.

207. Kongudes.** GOLD. Obverse.** Elephant to right. Reverse. Floral pattern.

208. Chola. **Uttamachola. SILVER. Obverse.** Tiger seated under a canopy, chowrie on either side followed by two fishes. Reverse. **Uttamachola** in Nagari letters.

209. Chola. **Rajendra Chola. SILVER. Obverse and Reverse.** Symbols as on the obverse of No. 208; below them **Sri Rejendrah.**


212. Pandya, Pandya Dhyanajaya. **GOLD. Obverse.** Two fishes, two stars above and crab or scorpion below. Reverse. In Telugu **Sri Pandya Dhyanajaya.**

213. Pandya, Pandya Dhyanajaya. **GOLD. Obverse.** Two fishes in the centre under a canopy; symbols indistinct on either side. Reverse. In Nagari **Sri Pandya Dhyanajaya.**


**PLATE XX**

**Coin of Mahmud Ghazni**


**Coins of the Muslim Sultans of Delhi**


PLATE XXI


228. Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq. BILLON. Obverse. Al-sultan al-ghazi Ghiyas
206 KEV TO PLATES


230. Muhammad bin Tughlaq. SILVER. Obverse. In double circle a sahid in la allah wa a sahid in muhammad wa abdah wa rasulah Reverse; In circle Al-wasiq be-tayeed al-rahman Muhammad Shah al-sultan. Around zarb hundah al-dinar ba-hazarat Delhi sanah sat wa usrain wa Sabamayah.


PLATE XXII


237. Sher Shah. SILVER. Obverse. In square Kalima; around Awa Bakr al-siddiq; Umar al-faruq; Usman al-afan al-Ali al-murtazi. Reverse: In square Sher Shah Sultan 947 khald Allah mulkha; below it Sri Sersahi in Nagari; around Same as on No. 236.


239. Islam Shah. SILVER. Obverse. In square Kalima and date 953 in


PLATE XXIII

Coins of Sultans of Bengal


245. Ghiyassuddin Mahmud Shah. SILVER. Obverse. In centre within a small circle Badr Shahi. All over the flan Al-sultan bin al-sultan Ghiyas al-duniya wa al-din abu al-muzaffar Mahmud shah. Reverse. In centre within a small circle Badr Shahi. All over the flan al-sultan bin Shah sultan Husen khañd allah mulkah wa saltanat Husainabad.

Coins of Gujarati Sultans


PLATE XXIV

Coins of Malwa Sultans


Coins of Sultans of Jaunpur


Coins of Sultan of Kashmir


Coins of Bahmani Dynasty

258. Muhammad Shah II. Silver. Obverse. al-nasir al-din al-diyan


PLATE XXV


Coins of the Adil Shahi Dynasty


Coins of the Mughal Emperors


268. Humayun. SILVER (Shahrkhi). Obverse. Same as No. 267. Reverse; In an ornamented oblong area Muhammad Humayun Badshah


271. Akbar. Gold. Overse. In square Kalima; around the names of Khalifas (truncated). Reverse. Same as on No. 270 but area different; below ... Shaharpattan.


PLATE XXVI


PLATE XXVII


gir Shah Akbar Shah; at right sanh 6 jalus.


facing left; goblet in right hand; Couplet on either side of the portrait 
gaza bar sikka zar kard tassavir; sabih hazarat Shah Jahangir. Re-

verse. Sun in centre; couplet around Harooof Jahangir wa allah 

Akbar; za roz az dar adad shud barabar.

sanh jalus 13. Reverse. (couplet) Yaft dar Agra rui zar zewar; az 
Jahangir Shah Shah Akbar. Hijri year 1028 in the third line to the left.


abi bakr wa adl Imam ba-zarm Usman wa Ilm All. Reverse. In 
square Badshah Ghazi Shahjahan; around Shihabuddin Muhammad 
Sahib qiran Sani followed by the name of the mint.


Ilahi sanh 3 Khurdad Mah. Reverse. Shihabuddin Muhammad Shah-
jahan badshah ghazi sahib qiran sani. Hijri year 1038 in the second line.

290. Shahjahan. Gold. Obverse. Within circle Kalima; around Same 
as on coin No. 288. Reverse. In circle. Badshah Ghazi Shahjahan; 
around couplet Sikka Shahjahanabad raij dar jahan; Jawedan bad 
banam sani sahib qiran.


mehar munir; Shah Aurangzeb Alamgir. Reverse. Zarab darul-aman 

Multan Maimnat Manus jalus sanh 3.


5 zarb Mustiqirul-mulk Akbarabad.

293. Muhammad Shah. Silver. Sikka Mubarak badshah Ghazi Muhammad 


294. Shah Alam II. Gold. Obverse. Enclosed in a wreath of roses, 
thistles and shamrocks (couplet) Sikka zad sahib qirani za tayeed allah; 
hami din Muhammad Shah Alam Badshah. Reverse. Enclosed in a 
wreath as above Zarab Darul-khilafat Shahjahanabad Jalus maimnat 
manus sanh 47.
Assam Coins

295. Pramatha Simha (1744-1754 A.D.) Silver. Ahom. Obverse. In Ahom language and script. Chao Sunen pha pin Khun Lakni Kat-ke-u (The God Sunenphya (Pramatha Simha) became king in the year Katkeu (1744 A.D.). Reverse. Kao bai pha Lendan he-u chu (I offer my prayer in the name of heavenly Lendan, i.e., Indra). Below dragon to left. (Coins like this were issued in Ahom language only on the occasion of the coronation of the rulers.)


Maratha Coins


301. In the name of Shah Alam II. Silver. Obverse. (Sikka Mubarak) Badshah (Ghazi) Shah Alam. Reverse. Same as 300. Bracketed portions are out of flan. Mint mark spectacles.

Sikh Coin

KEY TO PLATES

PLATE XXIX

Durrani Coins


Awadh Coins


KEY TO PLATES

Mysore Coins


PLATE XXX

Indo-Portuguese Coins


Indo-Danish Coins


323. Silver (Ducatoon also known as silver Rider). Obverse. Cuirassed man on horseback galloping to right below the provincial arm of West Frisia Legend MON: FOED: BELG: PRO: WEST F. IN USUM SOCIET: IND: ORIENT. Reverse. Arms of the State Geeral supported by two lions; VOC below date 1728 above the crown. Legend. CONCORDIA RES PARVAE CRESCUNT.

PLATE XXXI

324. Silver (3 Guilders). Obverse. Pallas (Later known as Neerlandia) standing holding a spear with liberty cap, resting on a column. Legend. MAC NITTMVR HANCNVEMUR. Reverse. Arms of the State General 3 to let GC. to right; VOC below. Legend, MO: ARG; ORD; FOED: BELG: TRAI.


Indo-French Coins

327. Copper. (Biche). Obverse. 5 fleurs-de-lis. Reverse. 1730.


East India Company Coins


KEY TO PLATES

Half Pagoda in English and Nim hon phuli in Persian. Reverse. Standing 
figure of Vishnu within a triple dotted circle, around Tamil and Telugu 
legends meaning half a flower Pagoda.

334. COPPER (Bombay issue). Obverse. The arms of the Company. Legend 
around HON:SOC:ANG:ENG:IND:ORI (off the flan on illustrated 
coin). Reverse. In centre MON BOMBAYE ANGLIC REGIMIS A° 
7o; around A: DEO. PAX & INCREMENTVM. (Only part seen 
on the coin).

335. GOLD (Bombay issue). Obverse. Sikka Mubarak Alamgir badshah Ghazi 
Sanh 1184 in Persian. Reverse. BOMBAY 1770, 15 RUP.S.

PLATE XXXII

336. SILVER (Bombay issue). Obverse. THE RUPEE OF BOMBAIM 
Around BY THE AUTHORITY OF CHARLES THE SECOND 1877. 
GREAT BRITAIN FRANCE X IRELAND.

337. SILVER (Bombay issue). Obverse. Sikka Zad Dauran King William Zeen 

338. SILVER (Mughal type, Bombay Mint). Obverse. Sikka Mubarak Bad-
shah Ghazi Alamgir. Reverse. Mainmnat Manus Sanh Jalus 9 Zarb 
Mumbai.

339. SILVER (Mughal type, Surat Mint). Obverse. Sikka Mubarak Bad-
shah Ghazi (Shah Alam). Reverse. Sanh Jalus zarb Surat; in English 1825.

340. SILVER (Mughal type, Arkat Mint). Obverse. Sikka Mubarak Badshah 
Ghazi Muhammad Azizuddin Alamgir 1192. Reverse. Mainmnat Manus 
Sanh Jalus 6 zarb Arkat. Mint mark Trisul.

341. SILVER (Mughal Type, Calcutta Mint). Obverse. Sikka Zad bar haft 
kishwar sayah fazl Shah Alam Badshah hamin din Allah Muhammad 1186. 
Reverse. Same as 320 but Zarb Kalkatala Sanh 4.

342. SILVER (Mughal Type, Murshidabad). Obverse. Same as 321. Reverse. 
Same as 321 but Zarb Murshidabad Sanh 19.
KEY TO PLATES

PLATE XXXIII


British Coins


350. George VI. Cupro-Nickel. Obverse. Crowned head of king GEORGE VI KING EMPEROR. Reverse. Same as 348 but different date (not illustrated.)


PLATE XXXIV

Native States


360. Travancore. Silver. Obverse. Sankha within a wreath around Tiruviddankur ara Rupa 1064 in Malayalam. Reverse HALF RUPEE 1889 in centre around RAMA VURMA TRAVANCORE.


Coins of Indian Republic

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