

*The Copper Coins of the old Mahárájás of Kashmir.\*—By C. J. RODGERS.*

(With two Plates.)

Some years ago General Cunningham wrote for the Numismatic Society of London, of which he is a most distinguished and worthy member, a Paper on "*The Ancient Coinage of Kashmir.*" That paper is now out of print, and as it was written 36 years ago, the present generation cannot obtain it. It identifies "no less than 18 Rájás of Kashmir extending from *Toramána* to *Jaga Deva*, who reigned from about A. D. 500 to 1200." In the present paper I propose to cover less ground and to start with *Avanti Vermá* or *Adityá Vermá*, the first Mahárájá of the Utpala Dynasty, which commences from the year 875 A. D. The coins are all from my own cabinet. In the majority of instances where I have duplicates I have chosen that coin for my plates, which has the greatest number of legible letters on it. The accessories which are very interesting have been made to give way to this, as I regard the identification of the coin as of primary importance.

As yet I have come across only two silver coins of any of these Mahárájás. They are of *DIDDA*, who was a *Maharání*, and of *KALASA*. These two coins are of much finer execution than any of the copper ones. The reverses have different letters on them. Nothing but photographs of them would do them justice. I reserve them therefore for a separate notice. They are round, but thicker than the copper coins and are much less worn. The silver coins of the Sultáns of Kashmir are square. General Cunningham informs me that he has two gold coins of *Harsha*. I believe they are the only gold coins known to exist of any one of the old Kashmir rulers.

The following is the list of the rájás as given in Prinsep's Tables.—(Those kings whose coins are in this paper are in italics.)

## UTPALA DYNASTY.

A. D.

875. *Adityá* or *Avanti Vermá*.  
 904. *Sankara Vermá*.  
 922. *Gopala Vermá*.

\* I am much indebted to General Cunningham for help in reading the coins of the Mahárájás. My cabinet contains several not before published both in the Sultáns and Mahárájás. I have several older coins, such as *Vasukal*, *Milukal*, *Pratápáditya*, *Vininyá*, *Durlabachá*.

## Sankata.

924. *Sugandha Rání.*  
 926. *Pártha.*  
 941. *Nirjita Vermá.*  
 942. *Chakra Vermá.*  
 952. *Sura Vermá.*  
 953. *Pártha, a second time.*  
 954. *Chakra, a second time.*  
 954. *Sankara Verdhana.*  
 956. *Chakra Vermá, a third time.*  
 957. *Unmatti Vermá.*  
 959. *Sura Vermá, a second time.*

## LAST OR MIXED DYNASTY.

- |                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| 960. <i>Yaskara Deva.</i>   | 1062. <i>Harsha.</i>                    |
| 969. <i>Sangrama Deva.</i>  | 1062. <i>Udayama Vikrama.</i>           |
| 969. <i>Parvagupta.</i>     | 1072. <i>Sankha Rájá.</i>               |
| 971. <i>Kshemagupta.</i>    | 1072. <i>Salha.</i>                     |
| 979. <i>Abhimanyu.</i>      | 1072. <i>Sussala.</i>                   |
| 993. <i>Nandigupta.</i>     | 1088. <i>Mallina.</i>                   |
| 994. <i>Tribhuvana.</i>     | 1088. <i>Jaya Siñha.</i>                |
| 996. <i>Bhímagupta.</i>     | 1110. <i>Paramána.</i>                  |
| 1001. <i>Didda Rání.</i>    | 1119. <i>Bandi Deva.</i>                |
| 1024. <i>Sangrama Deva.</i> | 1126. <i>Bopya Deva. (?)</i>            |
| 1032. <i>Ananta Deva.</i>   | 1135. <i>Jasu Deva.</i>                 |
| 1054. <i>Kalasa.</i>        | 1153. <i>Jaga Deva, &amp;c. &amp;c.</i> |

The list goes on to 1298. But I have no coins of later kings than Jaga Deva. It will be seen, however, that out of these two lists alone I have given the coins of 19 kings. I have given another coin which reads *Jaga Deva Deva*. This must be a coin of a king who reigned near to the time of Jaga Deva. He must be either an usurper or a man who is known to history under some other name. I give with some diffidence another coin. I attribute it to Bopya Deva. Of this man it is written that his folly exceeded all bounds. The historians give us the following specimen of his lack of sense, which after all might have come from the banks of the Shannon. One day Bopya was taking his ease on the river. Looking over the side of the boat he saw a reflection of himself in the water. He smiled. The reflection smiled. He grew angry. It grew angry. At once he threw a stone which I suppose disturbed the water and disposed of

the mimic for the time. On looking at his finger Bopya discovered that he had lost his ring. Nothing disconcerted he took his stick and threw it on the running stream and ordered the boatmen to row home. Arrived there he ordered his servants to go and bring his ring telling them that he had put his stick on the water where it fell. One is reminded on reading this of the Irishman who dropped the ship's tea-kettle overboard in Dublin harbour. He cut a mark in the side of the ship where it fell. When the ship arrived off Cork, he asked the Captain whether if anything were lost he knew where it was? We may imagine the answer. Pat said, "Well, you know the tay kettle is at the bottom of Dublin harbour, and the ship's side has a mark on it to enable us to judge where it fell."

I regret that up to the present I have seen no coin of Ratangirí who is said to have been the first Sultán of Kashmir. He was a second Solomon. One day two mares foaled. The foal of one died. The foal of the other took to both mares with equal affection. The owners could not tell whose foal had died and whose was the living foal. They came to Ratangirí. He ordered them to throw the living foal from a bridge into the water, the mare that followed it was to be adjudged the mother.

Of Yaskara it is written that in his days thieves and highwaymen were nowhere to be seen. Shops and houses were left open at night. It seems a pity that this king, whose rule was as effective as that of our own Alfred who preceded him by only half a century, should have seen fit to leave the scene he had graced so long, to hide himself like a second Charles V. in a monastery, or rather I expect in some jungle as an ascetic.

Now for a few words about the coins themselves. Both obverse and reverse have crowned figures on them. The figure on the obverse is probably that of the king. But the face is in nearly every case more like that of an ass or bullock. There are large earrings in every instance. Round the waist are apparently two bands. The waist compared with the shoulders and chest is very thin. Mountaineers to the present day wear a rope round the waist. This figure is always seated, the legs being disposed of in a peculiar fashion. Sometimes they are hidden in the skirts, sometimes bare, and in one case the ancles have anklets on them (see figs. 22 and 24). The name comes on the obverse, and is generally divided into two parts by the figure. Sometimes *Srí* is present on the left of the figure and the name commences on the right. Sometimes *Srí* and part of the name are to the left and the remainder of the name to the right. Sometimes *Srí* is omitted and the name occupies both sides of the figure. The figure has a canopy over the crown. This is shown very well in some specimens of *Jaga Deva*, lately obtained from a heap of about two hundred. (See figs. 23, 24.)

The reverse has a figure crowned. But the earrings give way to four dots which may represent jewels in the ear as worn by women. This figure

is standing. The skirts are arranged peculiarly. The drawers resemble the broad and flowing drawers worn by women. The skirts are about as high as the knee. The legs are in some cases visible, with ties of an immense size to the boots: in other cases the legs seem to be naked. The waist is supported by a cross belt. The right hand contains a wreath. The left hand holds a trident or lotus. The shoulders seem to be covered with a cape which sticks out very much like epaulettes. The left hand side of the coin generally has a circle of dots in it, over the right hand of the figure. On the right hand side of the figure the remnants of the titles and names are generally found, under the left arm, such as *vermá, gupta, deva, rájá*. In one case the *d* of *deva* comes on the left hand side of the coin.

I have not as yet been able to trace anything like a sign approaching to a date on any coin.

In scarcely any case is there any difficulty about the identification of the coin; the names are very easily made out.

Many of the coins have several types. The coins of Gopala, Jaya Siñha, Sussala, Jaga Deva are of several kinds. The last mentioned, however, has the most. In only one case have I come across a smaller coin than the ones in the plates. The coin I have is evidently a half of whatever these coins were called. It is one of *Kalasa's*.

Having given so much by way of preface, I now give a table of the coins represented in Plates XI and XII, showing exactly the inscription on each coin and its position, whether on the right or left of the obverse or reverse figure. In every case I speak of the right and left of the coin after the usual numismatic fashion. When speaking of the figure of course the right hand of the figure is on the left of the coin and *vice versá*.

No. of Figure.	Kings' Names.	Obverse Inscriptions.		Reverse Inscriptions.		REMARKS.
		Left.	Right.	Left.	Right.	
1	Avanti, .....	व	व		देव	Duplicate. British Museum.
2	Sankara, .....	—	स क		व से	Rare.
3	Gopala, .....		गोपल		व से	Rare.
4	Sugandha, .....	श्री	सु गन्ध		व	Rare.
5	Yaskara, .....	य	क		देव	Duplicate. General Cunningham.
6	Dikshema, .....	दि	क्षे म		गु प	Common.
7	Abhimanyu, .....	अ	भि म		गु प	Duplicate. General Cunningham.
8	Nandigupta, .....	न	दिगु		प	Rare.
9	Tribhuvama, .....	त्रि	भु व		गु प	The gift of General Cunningham.
10	Bhimagupta, .....	भी	म गु		प	Rare.
11	Didda Rání, .....	डी	दि द	—	—	
12	Sangrama, .....	स	कृ म		अ दे व	Common.
13	Ananta, .....	अ	नन्त र		अ दे व	Common.
14	Kalasa, .....	क	कसर		अ दे	Common.
15	Harsha, .....	ह	र्ष रज		दे	Common.
16	Sussala, .....	सु	सल		दे व	Rare.
17	Jaya Siñha, .....	जय	शि ह		दे व	Rare.
18	Paramána, .....	पी प	र म		दे व	Duplicate. General Cunningham.
19	Jaga Deva, .....	ज	ग	दे	व	Common.
20	Java Deva, .....	ज वा	दे		दे व	Duplicate. J. D Tremlett, Esq.
21	Bopya Deva, .....	प*	दे व		दे व	*Perhaps.
22	Not identified, ...	—	श्री	—	अ*	*Perhaps.
23	Jaga Deva, .....	ज	म दे व			Obverse only.
24	Jaga Deva, .....	ज	म			Ditto.
25	Jaga Deva, .....			दे	व	Reverse only.
26	Jaga Deva, .....			—	—	Ditto, showing circle of dots.

*The Copper Coins of the Sultáns of Kashmír.*—By C. J. RODGERS.

(With a Plate.)

In nearly all the bazaars of the large cities of the Panjab large quantities of old coins of a peculiar stamp and bearing signs of much usage are obtainable. The obverse of these coins has a bar, with central knot, running from right to left of the coin. This central knot is in some cases elaborate, in others it degenerates into a carelessly formed circle. Above the bar come the words *السلطان الاعظم*. The *و* of Sultán is nearly always hung on the *ل* of that word, while the *ع* crosses the field completely. Below the bar the name of the king is written, occupying as a rule the whole space. In every case, except that of Zain ul-Abidín, the word *Sháh* is added to the name. The reverse is occupied completely with the words *شهر سنه* *ضرب كشمير در*, and the year is added in Arabic words. Were these coins obtainable in anything like a legible form, they would be exceedingly valuable in settling the chronology of Kashmír. But hitherto, in spite of most extensive search, only poor specimens of most of the kings have been obtained.

The silver coins of these Sultáns are all, so far as I know, *square*. Two of them, Muhammad Alí Sháh and Muhammad Yúsuf Sháh, were published by Mr. Delmerick in J. A. S. B., Pt. I, 1876, Pl. VI, figs. 24 and 25. I have silver coins of the above Muhammad Sháh, Isma'íl Sháh, Zain ul-Abidín, Nádir Sháh and Akbar. General Cunningham has others, amongst which are Husain Sháh and Humáyún. In all, this prince of Indian Numismatists has the silver coins of ten Sultáns. They are all square and are exceedingly rare.

The copper coins with which this paper has to do are common as a rule. But some of them are of necessity rare. Zain ul-Abidín was the only one who seems to have deviated from the track of the cross bar and central knot. The reverses of his coins exhibit also a divergence from the usual form. They have the word *ضرب* crossed by the word *كشمير* and around these words is a quarterfoil lozenge with elaborate knots in the outer corners. Some of this king's coins conform to the bar and knot. I have not given specimens of these, as with so many other kings having them, they were not needed. Some of this king's coins are *brass*. See No. 2.

After the time of Akbar the reverses contained the year in *Persian* instead of Arabic. The coins of Husain Sháh and Yúsuf Sháh exhibit these peculiarities. One of the three coins I have of Akbar has on the reverse <sup>۳۸</sup> *ضرب دادالهي*, where the year is Akbar's Iláhísan. I have said above that I have a square silver coin of Nádir Sháh. Who this king was I do

not know. But I have three copper coins of his, with the name on, beyond a doubt. On the silver coin too the name is unmistakeable. But history is silent about him, and no list of Kashmir kings that I have seen contains his name. Unfortunately the year is altogether rubbed off. Archæological explorations in Kashmir should reveal something about this Sultán. It is possible that some of the Sultáns may have rejoiced in several names, and that the one by which he is known to historians is not the one on the coins. We have several instances of this in Indian numismatics. I have not given this king's coins, though I possess three of them. I reserve them for further light, research may throw upon them.

By me just now I have a coin of Dr. Stulpnagel's. It is of a Kashmir Maharájá. It reads *Srí Pesuta Jáyá Siñha*. This has not yet been identified. I have one of my own which reads *Java Deva Deva*. This I am going to publish though not able to identify the coin. Further study of these coins will give us fuller results. Hitherto numismatists have somewhat neglected them. They (the coins) are filthy looking, very much worn and being nearly illegible are too hard nuts for one to crack in leisure hours, inasmuch as the lines left are so hard to make out that only long study enables any one to feel any certainty about any point. The Kashmir Sultáns as given in Prinsep's Tables are as follows:—

A. H.	A. D.	
715.	1315.	Shams-uddín Sháh Mír.
750.	1349.	Jamshed.
752.	1351.	Alísher Ala-uddín.
765.	1363.	Shaháb-uddín.
785.	1386.	Kutub-uddín, Hindal.
799.	1396.	Sikandar, Butshikan.
819.	1416.	Amír Khán, Alí Sháh.
826.	1422.	Zain ul-Abidín.
877.	1472.	Haidar Sháh.
878.	1473.	Husain Sháh.
891.	1486.	{ Muhammad Sháh and Fath Sháh were contending for the throne during these years. Muhammad Sháh reigned <i>four</i> times and Fath Sháh <i>three</i> .
902.	1496.	
911.	1505.	
942.	1535.	Názuk Sháh. (Humáyún.)
948.	1541.	Mirzá Haidar Daghlát.
960.	1552.	Ibráhím.
963.	1555.	Isma'il.
964.	1556.	Habíb.

971. 1503. Husain Sháh.  
 986. 1578. Yúsuf Sháh.  
 997. 1588. Annexation of Kashmir by Akbar.

Up to the present I have seen neither silver nor copper coins of one of the first five Sultáns. The coins in our Plate XIII begin with *Sikandar Sháh*.

No. 1. This coin has the name and titles of the king with bar and knot on the obverse, and on the reverse the legend in Arabic of *Zarb-i-Kashmír fi shahúr i san*. But the year is not legible. There are many features of the reign of each king which it would be interesting to notice, but I will confine myself to the coins.

No. 2. *Zain-ul-Ábidín*. Obverse. Name and titles of king, with portions of a knot at the top. Reverse. The words *Zarb Kashmír* in a quarterfoil, crossing each other. Date on obverse illegible.

No. 3. Same king. Obverse. Name and titles of king, without bar and knot, in a doublecircle, surrounded with a circle of dots. Reverse. *Zarb-i-Kashmír fi Shahúr i san i ahd wa arbáin wa Samánmáita* = 841 A. H.

No. 4. Same king. Obverse. *Zain ul-Ábidín Sultán*, no bar or knot. Reverse. *Zarb Náib i Amír ul Momanín*. 851 A. H.

This king was to Kashmir pretty much what Fíróz Sháh and Akbar were to India. He was a great builder and poet. He got the *Mahábhárata* translated into Persian and was a patron of learned men. The rulers of Mecca and Egypt, of Gilán, Irán and Túrán kept up correspondence with him. He is the only Sultán who calls himself the *Náib* of the *Amír ul-Momanín*.

No. 5. *Haidar Sháh*. Obverse. Name and titles of king with bar and knot and the year illegible. Reverse. *Zarb.....fi.....sabáin wa samánmáita* = 87—. The 4 on the obverse is distinct; this according to the tables, it ought to be 7. I have two coins of this king. The reverses give no help in solving this difficulty. The second coin has the year on the obverse worn off.

No. 6. *Hasan Sháh*. Obverse. Name and titles of king, bar and knot. Reverse. The usual legend, but illegible.

No. 7. *Muhammad Sháh*. This man began to reign when he was seven years old. Fath Sháh the grandson of *Zain ul-Ábidín* came from India and took the throne. These two kings went on fighting for the supreme power for many years. Fath Sháh gained the throne three times but Muhammad Sháh at last drove him away and sat for the fourth time on the throne of his father. The coin has on the obverse the usual name and titles with bar and knot. Reverse. The year looks like 895. If so this coin was struck during the first period Muhammad reigned.

No. 8. *Fath Sháh.* Obverse. Name and titles with bar and knot. Reverse. Struck in Kashmír in year 897. There is some doubt as to the reading of the 7.

No. 9. *Ibráhím Sháh.* Obverse. Name and titles, with bar and knot. Reverse. All illegible, but date &c.

No. 10. *Isma'il Sháh.* Obverse. Name and titles, with bar and knot all in good preservation. Reverse. A complete muddle of remains of date illegible: remnants of *Kashmír* legible.

No. 11. *Husain Sháh.* Obverse. Name and titles, with bar and knot and probably remains of date. Reverse. *Zarb Nuhsad wa haft wa haftád* = 977 A. H. This coin is in splendid preservation.

No. 12. *Muhammad Yúsuf Sháh.* Obverse. Name, titles, bar and knot as usual, but titles illegible. Reverse. *Nuhsad wa shash wa hash-tád* = 986. This coin is very little worn, but it was struck on an irregular and ill-prepared piece of copper.

I regret very much that the *years* of the coins are so unsatisfactory in so many instances. The names, however, afford no ground for dispute. They are all easily read, though in some cases at first sight they are not decipherable. I found I had several of Isma'il's coins when I could read one. One's power of reading progresses as one's acquaintance with the coins increases. I have still several which up to the present I have not made out satisfactorily. These together with the coins of Nádír Sháh, a coin of Názuk Sháh (so I read it, I want others to help me read this one) and the coins of Akbar struck in Kashmír with the bar and the knot must stand over for another paper.

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*Observations on some Chandel Antiquities.*—By V. A. SMITH, B. A., C. S.,  
and F. C. BLACK, C. E.

(With six Plates.)

The careful and accurate descriptions of the Chandel remains at Khajuráho and Mahoba, published by General Cunningham, might be supposed to have exhausted the subject of which he treats, and to leave no gleanings to be picked up by amateur hands. We have, however, in the course of several years' residence in the Hamírpur District, in which Mahoba is situated, and after careful inspection of the buildings at Khajuráho, collected a few notes, which may, we venture to think, form a useful supplement to the more systematic record of the Director of the Archæological Survey.