



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

No. 159

Spring 1999

ONS News

Annual General Meeting 5 June 1999.

The annual general meeting of the Society will be held at 2 p.m. on 5 June 1999 at the Cumberland Coin Fair in the Cumberland Hotel, Marble Arch in London. The business of the meeting will be:

- to receive the Council's report on the activities of the Society during the previous year;
- to receive and consider the Society's accounts for the previous year;
- to elect members of the Council.

The Society's constitution provides that at the annual general meeting in 1999, and at every third annual general meeting thereafter, all officers and other members of the Society's council (with the exception of the regional secretaries) are to stand for election or re-election. The officers are Secretary General, Deputy Secretary General, Treasurer, Newsletter Editor, Secretary, Membership Secretary, Publications Secretary and not more than three other members of the Society. The members of the provisional council are Nick Rhodes, Secretary General; Stan Goron, Deputy Secretary General and Newsletter Editor; David Priestley, Treasurer; Peter Smith, Secretary; Joe Cribb, Publications Secretary; Paul Withers, Membership Secretary; other members Tony Holmes, Venetia Porter, and Howard Simmons. All members of the provisional council are standing for re-election at the meeting. No other candidates have been nominated. If you are unable to attend the meeting but wish to vote you may appoint the chairman of the meeting or some other member as your proxy to vote on a poll in your place. A form of proxy for use at the meeting is enclosed. To be valid this must be signed and returned in accordance with the instructions on it.

After the meeting there will be talks on the following:

- Tony Holmes: a glance at Sri Lanka
- Nicholas Rhodes: Tripura
- David Priestley: a Turkoman subject

All members are invited to attend

New Regional Secretary for the United Kingdom and Ireland

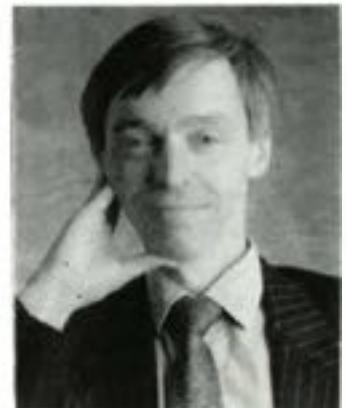
Having acted as Regional Secretary for the United Kingdom and Ireland since 1975, Ken Wiggins has finally decided to hand over the reins to a younger member of ONS. Now in his 70s, Ken is one of the founder members of ONS. He has been collecting coins since he was a small boy and his main area of interest for many years has been the coins of the Indian Princely States and other contemporary Indian issues. A short profile of Ken appeared in Newsletter 106 (May-June 1987). The Society is greatly indebted to Ken for all his work on its behalf and we hope he will continue to enjoy his collecting activities and his membership to the full.

The new Regional Secretary, to replace Ken, is Peter Smith, the Society's current Secretary, who has generously agreed to take on both roles. Peter has collected coins since he was very young and has a broad interest in the ancient and medieval coinage of Iran, Afghanistan and northern India. He is a lawyer and lives in

Wandsworth in south west London.



Ken Wiggins



Peter Smith

Would members in the UK and Ireland please note that any unpaid subscriptions should be paid as soon as possible to Peter at the address above.

ONS Website

ONS member Vladimir Belyaev has kindly undertaken to set up an ONS Website on the Society's behalf. The address is <http://www.onnumis.org>. At the moment, the site is in an initial state. The aim is to have information about the ONS and its activities, its publications, an index of contents of newsletters, selected articles and information on oriental coins, a forum for members etc. There would be pages available to the general public and others for members only. Please have a look at the site as it is at the moment and let me and Vladimir have any comments and suggestions.

I have compiled an extensive index of newsletter contents which is now available on the site. Any members wishing to have a copy of the file by e-mail should let me know.

Back-copies of Newsletters

Back copies of most of the Newsletters (not necessarily all issues, though photocopies can be made of most of those no longer available) can be obtained from Paul and Bente Withers at Galata Print. For details of prices etc., contact: Paul Withers, e-mail: Paul@galatacoins.demon.co.uk, <http://www.galatacoins.demon.co.uk/Netlist/Main.html> or by post: The Old White Lion, Market Street, Llanfyllin, Powys SY22 5BX, UK. Do not forget to include your mail address. Regional Secretaries also hold limited stocks of certain back issues of the newsletter.

From the Editor

With this issue we are publishing a supplement by Steve Album entitled *The anonymous coinage of the Barakzays and their rivals in Afghanistan: a reappraisal*.

Jena

The regional meeting of the ONS, which, in previous years, has taken place in Tübingen, will be held next time in Jena on 17 to 18 April 1999. The programme will be as follows:

Saturday, 17 April 1998

- 14.00 Welcome
14.30 L. Baratova, Taschkent: *The Silk Road between the Sasanian and Chinese Kingdoms*
15.00 A. Naymark, Berlin: *Bukharkhuda Drachms*
15.30 M. Feodorov, Ilmenau: *The Jalalabad hoard of Qarakhanid Dirhams*
16.00 Coffee break
16.30 S. Heidemann, Jena: *The Murom Hoard, Gouvernement Wladimir*
17.00 L. Ilisch, Tübingen: *Hares and ravens on coins of the Mongol period*
17.30 J.-H. Hinrichs, Bremen: *Shiite coins of the Ilkhan period (1282-1345 AD)*
19.00 Dinner and informal gathering in the "Schwarzen Bären", Lutherplatz 1, Lutherzimmer.

Sunday, 18 April 1999

- 9.30 D. Schnädelbach, Berlin: *The akçe issues of Sulaiman Celebi*
10.00 J. Mikeska, Bad Homburg - H. Wilski, Bad Soden: *A hoard from the time of Mehmet III (1003-1012)*
10.30 Coffee break
11.00 R. Ehler, Heidelberg: *The introduction of the para and the beshlik in Constantinople during the reign of Murad IV*
11.30 Celil Ender, Istanbul: *The Ottoman mint of Gümüşhane*
12.00 Celil Ender, Istanbul: *The Ottoman army mint*
13.00 Lunch

Members of the ONS and other interested in oriental numismatics are invited to attend. For further information please contact: S. Heidemann, Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients, Orientalisches Münzkabinett, Loebdergraben 24a, D-07743 Jena, Germany. Tel: ++49 3641 944850
e-mail: x7hest@dagobert.rz.uni-jena.de.

London

The ONS meeting at the British Museum Coin and Medal Department on Saturday 13 March 1999, mentioned in the previous newsletter duly took place, immediately after a meeting of the ONS council. Following coffee, those attending were treated to a highly informative guided tour by Joe Cribb of the Raffles exhibition then on display at the British Museum. Then after lunch, three talks were given, namely:

- Vesta Curtis: *Parthian coins in the service of Parthian art history*
Elizabeth Errington: *Numismatic evidence for dating Buddhist remains in Gandhara*
Virginia Hewitt: *the paper money of Sri Lanka*

There will be an ONS Indian Coin Study Day at the British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, 10.30am-4.30pm, 8 May. The topic of the day will be Indian punch-marked coins

Anyone interested in participating or giving a short presentation, is invited to contact Joe Cribb on 0171 323 8585 or e-mail jcribb@british-museum.ac.uk

Cambridge Study Day

Pseudo-Mughal Coinage, Second Cambridge Indian Coinage Study Day, Saturday 12 June 1998, 10.30 - 4.30, at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Following the success of last year's Indian Study Day on the coinage of the Mughals, this year's colloquium will focus on those issues that purport to be struck for Mughal rulers but were in fact produced by other authorities. These include the coinages of the emerging indigenous rulers such as the Marathas, Jats, and Rajputs, the Princely States down to the 1850s, and the European mercantile companies. The speakers will include Shailendra Bhandare, Jan Lingen and Ken Wiggins, and we also hope to involve historians of the period. Offers of further papers would be very welcome.

The colloquium is open to all. There is no fee, but space will be limited so those wishing to attend should contact Mark

Blackburn, Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge CB2 1RB (te. 01223 332917; e-mail: mab1001@cam.ac.uk).

Members News

A get-together of ONS members took place during the September 1998 Long Beach Coin & Stamp Exposition, California. Pictured below at dinner are, from left to right: Hakim Hamidi, Bill Warden, Dr Larry Adams, Bill Spengler and Rear Admiral Sohail A. Khan.



Æ Saka	10	Miscellaneous	74
Early Saka / Sogdian	117	Tribal / city coins	120
Gondophares I	221	Punchmarked	165
Abdagases	152	Kushan	126
Duplicates Gond/Abd.	61	Parthian	98
Orthagnes / Gadana	61	Choresmian	30
Ybouzanes	8	Eastern Arabian	148
Sarpedanes	39	Other	100
Sanabares	8		

2. Michael Bates has written to say that he has found the Encyclopaedia Iranica on the Internet, at least part of it. As an experiment, the editors have put the articles for the letters D and E on their Web page. These articles can be read and printed. The letter D includes the articles "Dinar" and "Dirham" which you may enjoy reading. The letter E, because of EIranica's unusual transliteration, includes men with names beginning "Ibn."

The address is <http://www.iranica.com/>

You have to download a font to be able to read the articles - it is provided on the page and quite easy to use. Hint: download into c:\Windows\fonts\. Then close your browser (get off the net) and come back in again.

3. Emin Ulug (ulug@mail.utexas.edu) has informed us that a new electronic listserver has been set up by Mr. Fawzan Barrage for discussions related to medieval Islamic numismatics. The purpose of this discussion group is to provide "a place to share knowledge and information about the hobby of collecting Medieval Islamic coins. It is a place for the novice and the experienced alike. A place to meet, exchange the latest news, and address the latest concerns."

To date, some 40 persons have already signed up for this service, which functions as either an e-mail or internet-accessible network for discussions in the field. To date, topics have included the identification of coins, deciphering of legends, mints, sources for books and coins, internet auctions, websites, etc. The discussions are very informal but extremely informative to both the novice and the specialist. Of course, these services are free of charge and participants are under no obligation whatsoever. Interested parties can sign up for this service by sending a blank email message with the following headers:

TO: islamic_coins-req-s113@egroups.com

RE: Please join islamic_coins@egroups.com.

Alternatively, information regarding this group can be requested from the group moderator (Fawzan Barrage) at barrage@sympatico.ca or myself (Emin Ulug) at ulug@mail.utexas.edu, or by visiting the e-group help page <http://www.eGroups.com/info/help.html>

As more and more people gain access to the internet, it is hoped that the listserver will provide a new avenue for communication among persons interested in Islamic numismatics and we extend a hearty invitation to all members of the ONS.

4. The International congress on Money Museology will be held in Madrid from 4 to 8 October 1999 in the Casa de la Moneda Museum facilities. During the course of this congress, the International Committee for Monetary and Banking Museums (ICOMON) will hold its VI annual conference. The theme for the congress will be *A new monetary museology for the 21st century*. Invitations to this congress are extended to all museum professionals who carry out their activities in the museums of banks, mints, numismatic houses, etc. or in those attached to university departments, research centres, conservation laboratories anywhere in the world. For further information please contact Dr Rafael Feria, Director of the Museo Casa de la Moneda, tel: ++34 91 566 6544; fax: ++34 91 566 6809; e-mail: musco@fnmt.es

You can also visit the Museum on the Internet at <http://www.fnmt.es/museo>

5. American Numismatic Society Acquires New Home

The ANS will be leaving its Audubon Terrace site to a new home at 140 William Street in lower Manhattan's historic, cultural and financial centre. The new location is a fine seven storey building originally built as a bank. It is over the Fulton Street subway station and close to the World Trade Center. The date for the move is not yet available.

Other News

1. Senior Collection Of Indo-Scythic Coins

Over a period of 40 years R. C. Senior amassed the largest and most comprehensive collection of this series ever made and it contains over 90% of all the known coin types. RCS has written many articles on these coins and for nearly a decade has been working on a catalogue and history of the coinage. In December 1998 the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford was enabled to acquire the entire collection which, together with their existing collection of Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, makes the Museum the leader in the study of ancient oriental coinages of north-western India.

In total the Senior Collection comprises 5,600 coins, a great many of which are known from a single specimen or are very rare and no study of the Indo-Scythians would be complete without reference to it. It is highly unlikely that such a collection could ever be amassed again. A lifetime study of these coins has convinced the collector that, contrary to received wisdom, there was only one king called Azes - who died c.20 BC, that Gondophares I ruled c. 50 - 5 BC and that if St. Thomas did visit India then it was Gondophares-Sases he would have met c. 40 AD. These conclusions have a direct effect on the identification of the coinage of the Apracarajas, the chronology of the Kushan and of the Satraps who followed Azes. Notes on these and related topics have been published by the ONS over the years and will be fully covered in the aforementioned catalogue when it finally comes to print.

The Ashmolean is refurbishing the entrance to the Heberden Coin Room and when this is completed, a selection from the Senior Collection will be exhibited there. A summary of the range of the collection is as follows:

Ruler / dynasty	No.	Ruler / dynasty	No.
Mausae	86	Sanabares Æ drachms	76
Azilises	334	Pakores	97
Vonones group	144	Cheiroakes	2
Azes	1891	Later Indo-Parthian	55
Apracas / Aspavarma	256	"Arda Mitra" types	21
Gondophares-Sases	193	Paratarajas	36
Zeionises	61	Abhiraka	6
Misc. rulers	9	Bhumaka	24
Kharabostes family	65	Nahapana	73
Bhadrayasha	2	o/s Nahapana	24
Rajuvula family	65	Chastana	41
c/n Parthian etc.	57	other satraps	451

6. Hirayama Trainee Curators at the British Museum

As part of a scheme funded by the Hirayama Institute for Silk Road Studies, in Kamakura, Japan, the Museum invites young numismatists from abroad to study its Central Asian coin collection and to learn about modern numismatic method and museum practice. This year the Museum is hosting two Hirayama Trainee curators: Miss Sutapa Sinha, a fellow of the Centre for Archaeological Studies and Training, Eastern India, Calcutta, and Mrs. Christine Fröhlich-Willey, a research student working on coin collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Musée Guimet, Paris.

Sutapa Sinha is a specialist in the coinages of the Sultanate of Bengal, and is studying the coinages of Northern India in the pre-Islamic period to broaden her understanding of the context of Sultanate Coinage. She will be in the Museum until July. Christine Fröhlich-Willey is specialising in the coinages of the Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian rulers of ancient Pakistan, and will be with us until May.

Auction News

Baldwin's Auctions Ltd. recently held their first Islamic auction in Dubai. For further information on this and future events please contact Charles Riley, Baldwin's Auctions Ltd., 11 Adelphi Terrace, London WC2N 6BJ, UK; tel: ++44 171 930 9808; fax: ++44 171 930 9450

Spink & Son Ltd will be auctioning the Turath Collection of Islamic coins on 25 May and 13 October 1999 in London. This collection, formed in the 1970s, contains over 6000 coins in gold, silver and copper and includes many rarities from the earliest Umayyad coinage to modern Iran. For more information and the catalogues please contact Julie Franklin on ++44 171 747 6864; fax: ++44 171 839 4853; e-mail jfranklin@christies.com

New and Recent Publications

'THE DECLINE OF THE INDO-GREEKS' A reappraisal of the chronology from the time of Menander to that of Azes. R. C. Senior and D. MacDonald. Monograph 2 of the Hellenic Numismatic Society. 17.5 x 24.5 cm, 126 pages of which 70 are in English and 56 are the Greek translation of the text. 10 tables and three pages of plates plus map and several other figures and illustrations in the text.

The following information has been provided by Bob Senior. The impetus to write this paper came from an overstrike identified by Dr. D. MacDonald. Published in this monograph, it is of Heliocles II over Hermaios and changes the considered order of these kings. A study of all the known overstrikes and examination of the hoard evidence completely revises the previously accepted sequences and shows a more logical succession of monograms and types. This necessitates a revised chronology for many of these 'Indo-Greek' monarchs. A possible peripatetic 'Court mint' is also suggested. The relationship with the early Indo-Scythian coinage is considered and the matter of who issued the posthumous-Hermaios coins. In an addendum a new and remarkable find is published, the coin of the 'Indo-Greek' king Artemidoros on which he states that he is the son of the Scythian king, Maues! This coin alone forces one to reconsider just who were Scythians and who Greeks in this time of transition. Several of the coins illustrated are unique or not to be found in other published works and this monograph will prove to be a landmark in future studies of this series.

Printed in limited numbers, copies can be obtained from the Hellenic Numismatic Society or direct from R. C. Senior, Butleigh Court Tower, Glastonbury, Somerset BA6 8SA, U. K. (£20 + p.p. £1.50 UK, £2.50 Europe or £4.50 world wide/airmail). Fax 0044 1458 850119.

NOMISMATIKA XPONIKA No. 16. The Journal of the Hellenic Numismatic Society. This publication is issued annually to members (subscription £22) and usually averages around 150 pages. Articles are usually in English with a Greek translation after them. The Journal is printed on high quality china clay paper. Articles of interest to ONS members in volume 16 are: *The last Greek kings in India* by R. C. Senior, which deals with the Kings called Strato who struck coins in 'Jammu' up to the rule of

Rajuvula. Some early thoughts on the subject have appeared in past ONS Newsletters. *The Tax receipt from Hellenistic Bactria* by Rea, Senior and Hollis. Mostly in Greek but with an English summary, this article publishes a colour photograph of the only Greek parchment to survive bearing the name of a Bactrian king - Antimachos Theos. It also refers to two joint kings, Eumenes and a second Antimachos, thus solving the mystery of whether there were two kings of this name or just one. Two plates of Bactrian coins are included. Other articles are on Greek coins.

The address of the HNS is A.Metaxa 28, 106 81 Athens, Greece. R. C. Senior has a few copies available.

Vol. 15 had articles by O. Boppearachchi on *Sophytes, the enigmatic ruler*, a tribute to Kenneth MacKenzie (ONS member) by Hans Wilski and A. P. Tzamalís, a note by K. MacKenzie on *A billet' from Ophrynon*, an article by P. G. Kokkas *Concerning the Ottoman mint of Serres*, and S. K. Kofopoulos *The forged billets of Mytilene in the Ottoman period*.

Lists Received

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707-539-2120; fax ++1 707-539-3348; e-mail album@sonic.net), list 151 (February 1999) and list 152 (March 1999)

2. Spink Numismatic Circular for February 1999 (Vol. CVII, number 1), included a section of Islamic coins for sale. (Spink & Son Ltd, 5,6,7 King Street, St. James's, London SW1Y 6QS; tel ++44 171 930 7888; fax ++44 171 839 4853).

3. Robert Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, UK, HS8 5SJ; tel ++44 1878 710300; fax ++44 1878 710216; e-mail robert.tye@ndirect.co.uk) list S1 This is a main stock list.

4. Galerie Antiker Kunst (Dr Simonian BrmbH, Oberstrasse 110, D-20149 Hamburg, Germany; tel ++49 40 455060; fax ++49 40 448244) list of Islamic and oriental coins, March 1999

5. Jean Elsen (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; <http://www.elsen.be>) list 203, March-April 1999, includes various oriental coins.

6. Spink Numismatic Circular, vol. CVII / 3 (April 1999) contains a list of Ottoman coins for sale (Spink & Son Ltd, 5, 6 and 7 King Street, St. James's, London SW1Y 6QS, UK; tel: ++44 171 930 7888; fax ++44 171 839 4853; e-mail spink@btinternet.com)

Reviews

Magic coins of Java, Bali and the Malay Peninsula by Joe Cribb 288pp 80 plates with 464 coin illustrations and figures. London 1999, ISBN 0 7141 0881 2

Published by the British Museum Press. Price: £75

More than 125 years have passed since the publication of Millies' catalogue of the coinage of the Indian Archipelago and Malayan Peninsula which included a substantial number of Javanese temple coins. In those 125 years only fragmentary numismatic documentation involving magic pieces was published. Therefore the publication of the present book is a modern milestone. The book contains a wealth of documentation not only of the pieces themselves, but also of their non-currency purpose and the background of the ceremonies, symbolism and mythological figures shown. The catalogue is based on the Raffles collection of coin-shaped charms from Java in the British Museum, supplemented with data from other sources. Raffles' activities emphasize plainly the lack of interest of the Dutch for Javanese history and culture during the preceding VOC administration that was devoted mainly to the pursuits of commerce. Only in 1847 did a Dutch publication appear mentioning Javanese temple-coins (gobogs).

The pieces are classified into 333 different types based on 1050 specimens and grouped within 19 series according to their likely date and place of production.

The catalogue is preceded by a number of introductory sections. These include:

1. Content and Arrangement,
2. Classification and Scholarship,
3. Classification and Designs.

Notice concerning some rare Sasanian coins

By M I Mochiri, Paris

This note brings to the attention of those interested in Sasanian coins some material apparently unpublished to date.

1. Ardashir I (A.D. 224 - 241)

It would be surprising if the sign of *fravahr*, which is usually present on coins of other kings, did not appear on those of Ardashir I. We can anyway observe this sign engraved on both shoulders of the latter on the obverse of coins nos. 1* and 2. These two coins, found in the same hoard and issued from two different dies, show that the presence of the sign of *fravahr* on the coinage of Ardashir I is not exceptional.

* This coin has already been published in UNESCO's *History of Civilizations of Central Asia*, 1996, Vol. III p. 45, Fig. 3.



1. Obv. Bust of king r., wears crown surmounted by globe. Sign of *fravahr* on each shoulder. Legend from 11 to 1: Mzdysn bgy 'lthsd MLK' n MLK' 'yl' n MNW cily MN yzd' n
Rev. Holy pyreum on altar. Legends, from 3 to 1: 'lthsl
From 11 to 9: NWL' Y
2. Obv. as no. 1.
Rev. as no. 1, but legends inverted;
from 9 to 12: 'lthsl
from 1 to 3: NWL' ZY

2. Shapur I (A.D. 241 - 271)

The interest of coin no. 3 concerns the crown of the attendants on the reverse. Without doubt, students of Sasanian coins have wondered why, contrary to those of other kings, the coins of Shapur I do not have the attendants wearing exactly the same crown as the king: in effect, the crowns of the attendants usually lack the globe (or *korymbos*). On the present coin, however, the attendants wear a crown surmounted by the globe. This coin is therefore typical of the usual coinage of the Sasanian kings and atypical of that of Shapur I, since this coin is the only specimen that I have observed during more than 30 years of research.

The coinage of Ardashir I shows on the reverse the image of a fire altar without attendants. Shapur I is therefore the initiator of the image of the fire altar with attendants wearing the crown without the globe. Afterwards with the reign of his successors until the end of the dynasty, the attendants wear a crown with the globe. I suspect that coin no. 3 was devised at the end of the reign of Shapur I and served as a model for his successors.

3. Obv. Bust of king r., wears maat crown surmounted by globe, with earflap, diadem and drapery. Legend from 11 to 1: mzdysn bgy shpwhly MLK' n MLK' 'yl' n MNW cily MN yzd' n
Rev. Fire altar; on either side, attendant with same crown as the king's surmounted by globe. Legends, at left: NWL' ZY
at right: shpwhly



An unpublished Mongol dinar from the mint of Shum, issued by Chingiz Khan

By Lawrence Adams and William Warden, Jr



سو ه
لا اله الا
الله و حده
لا سر با
له

لا اله الا
الله علمنا
رسول الله
س ه

Obverse

Shum
la ilah illa
Allah wahdahu
la sherik
lahu
Margin: probable legend from
the Koran, mostly incomplete

Wt. 2.39 grams

Reverse

la ilah illa
Allah Mohammed
rasul Allah
Margin: الحمد لله
(bismillah duriba) haza ed-dinar
fi sanar theman ...
AH (61)8

This dinar was minted at Shum (Shuman), a town in modern Kazakhstan. This region in Transoxania had been part of the Khwarazmshah realm, but came under the control of Chingiz Khan when he defeated 'Ala al-din Muhammad in 1220 (AH 617).

This low-weight dinar is rather unusual in that it has the first part of the Kalima on the obverse and the second part on the reverse. Neither the Great Khan or the Caliph are cited. Although the coin is in the style of the Khwarazmshah dinars, it is apparent that the mint was no longer under their control.

Thanks to Steve Album and Doug Nicol for translating the last number of the date as an 8 and attributing the coin.

Finds of dirhems minted in the Chu and Talas valleys in the middle of the 11th century

by Michael Fedorov

The finds of such coins in north-east Kirghistan are quite rare and provide valuable information. In 1973, at the hill-fort of Krasnaia Rechka (the remains of the mediaeval town of Nevaket) in the Chu valley, a dirhem of Qaz Urdu was found. According to Mahmud Kashgari, this was the second name of the mediaeval town of Balasaghun¹. This coin was minted in 460/1067-68 in the name of the supreme ruler of the Western Qarakhanids, Ibrahim Tafghaj Khan and his vassal Yusuf b. Burhan al-Daula. The fact that in the course of internecine war, the Western Qarakhanids reconquered from the Eastern Qarakhanids not only Ferghana and district but also the Chu valley together with Balasaghun, and in so doing re-established their state to the frontiers of what it had been in AH 415, was not mentioned in surviving chronicles on the history of the Qarakhanids. It has become known only following the discovery of this dirhem of Qaz Urdu². Several other coins found during the 1960s and through the period of the 1980s at the hill-

forts of Krasnaia Rechka and Burana (the remains of mediaeval Balasagun) brought to light the names of some otherwise unknown Qarakhanid appanage rulers of the Chu valley during the period of the civil wars (1057-1068 AD). In the 1990s, several new coins were found. Most of these coins were shown to me by the students of the Kirghiz State University where I was lecturing in the numismatics, archaeology and mediaeval history of Central Asia between the years 1971 - 1996.

During this period, two rare coins of Taraz (modern Djambul in Kazakhstan) were shown to me by a student who found them at Sadyr-Kurgan hill-fort (the mediaeval town of Sheldji) in the Talas valley.

1. Taraz, AH 436 (AD 1044/1045). Diameter 27.5 mm

Obverse: in the field: $\text{عبد لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له / الدولة}$

Mint/date legend forms a square on the sides of the Kalima:

$\text{بسم الله ضرب ايها الدرهم / بطراز سنة ستة وثلثين و اربع مائة}$

Reverse: within a circle:

$\text{سيف / محمد رسول الله / القائم بامر الله ... / المعطر بفرات ... / السلام}$

Circular legend:

$\text{محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ}$

(Qur'an IX, 33).

This coin was struck by the Eastern Qarakhanid Bughra Khan Muhammad, son of Qadir Khan Yusuf, who was the head of the Eastern Qarakhanids with his capital at Kashgar. After the death of Qadir Khan, Muhammad b. Yusuf obtained possession of Shash, Ispidjab and Taraz as an appanage dominion. Hitherto, only the coins of AH 428, 431, 441 and 445 of Taraz, minted by this ruler were known. The coin published here gives a new date of AH 436.

2. Taraz, AH 45x (ie between AH 451-459, AD 1059-1067).

Diameter 28.5 mm.

Obverse: in the field $\text{د لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له}$

Mint/date legend form a square on the sides of the Kalima:

$\text{... / الدرهم / بطراز سنة ... / خمسين و اربع ...}$

Reverse: within a circle: $\text{الله القائم بامر الله عماد الدولة / و تاج الحلة سيف خليفة}$

Circular legend: $\text{الله / طغاج خان / الرهيم / لله / محمد رسول}$

(Qur'an IX, 33) ... ارسله الخ

This coin gives us valuable information. Profiting from the civil war among the Eastern Qarakhanids, the head of the Western Qarakhanids, Ibrahim Tafghaj Khan attacked them and reconquered from them Ferghana, Shash, Ilaq, Ispidjab and Quz Urdu, which were lost by the Western Qarakhanids to Qadir Khan Yusuf in the war he started around AD 1025. The fate of Taraz was not known. The coin of AH 45x proves that this town was also reconquered by the Western Qarakhanids, as Ibrahim Tafghaj Khan minted coins there.

Another interesting dirhem shown to me was found at the hill-fort of Burana.

3. Taraz, AH 449; AD 1057-1058. Diameter 24.5 mm

Obverse: in the field: $\text{عبد لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له}$

Mint/date legend forms a square on the sides of the Kalima:

$\text{بسم الله ضرب ايها الدرهم ... / بطراز سنة تسع و اربع مائة}$

Reverse: within a circle:

$\text{الله / محمد رسول الله / القائم بامر الله الملك العادل / الرسلان خاقان}$

Circular legend:

$\text{ابو / المعطر / عن الدين / ابراهيم}$

(Qur'an IX, 33) $\text{... محمد رسول الله ارسله الخ}$

According to Ibn al-Athir³, Bughra Khan Muhammad named as heir apparent his elder son Husain. One of his wives, the mother of his younger son Ibrahim, contemplated a coup d'état. In AH 449 (AD 1057-1058), she poisoned Bughra Khan, ordered his brother Arslan Khan to be strangled (he had been imprisoned by Bughra Khan), slaughtered several other Qarakhanids and brought her son to the throne. Some time later she sent him with an army against Inal-tekín, the Qarakhanid ruler of Barskhan. Ibrahim's army was

routed and he fell in the battle. The head of the Western Qarakhanids, Tafghaj Khan Ibrahim b. Nasr used this to his advantage. He attacked the Eastern Qarakhanids and reconquered Taraz (as coin number 2 shows) and other territories lost to Qadir Khan Yusuf about thirty years previously.

So dirhem number 3 above was the first known coin of Ibrahim b. Muhammad. From this coin we learn that his regal title was *Arslan Khaqán*, his kunya *Abū 'l muzaffar* and his laqab *'Izz al-dīn*.

1. V. D. Goriacheva: *Srednevekovye gorodskie tsentri i arkhitekturnye ansambli Kirghuzii*, Frunze 1983, p. 58.

2. M. N. Fedorov: *Politcheskaja istorija Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI veka*. Numizmatika i epigrafika, tom XIII, Moskva 1980, pp. 43-44; *Monety idushchie po sledam zavovatelei*. Po sledam pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury Kirghizstana, Frunze 1982, pp. 76-79, fig. 48, 49.

3. V. V. Bartold: *Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia, tom 2 chast' 1*, Moskva 1963, p. 44.

A new type of coin with the threatening legend By Michael Fedorov

In the Museum of History and Folk Lore at Osh in the Kirghiz Republic there is a collection of mediaeval coins gathered by the late archaeologist E.V. Druzhinina with the help of Osh school-children. Two of the coins in this collection attracted my attention because of their unusual type (Inv. Nr. KP 142/2).

At first it was impossible to read the legends, then it occurred to me that they were not in Arabic but in Turki. After the words "this", "this", "this" "he who will not take", "will be" were read it became clear that this was a new type of coin with a threatening legend.

A. A. Davidovich¹ wrote that the threatening legends on coins were an unprecedented phenomenon for Central Asia and that neither before nor after the 13th century AD had such coins been minted. The threatening legends were testimony to the worsening of the so-called "silver crisis" when the fiduciary silvered copper dirhems were so debased that the population refused to accept them at the high official value set by the state.

The search for analogues led me to 13th century Samarqand where the coins with threatening legends had first appeared. Thus in Rajab of AH 630 (13 April to 12 May 1233 AD), silvered copper dirhems were struck in Samarqand with the Persian inscription

$\text{كناه كار بود / بسرقتد و نواحي اين شهر كه نكرد}$

"In Samarqand and the neighbourhood of this town anyone who will not accept (this coin) will be deemed a felon"². And in AH 663 (24 October to 12 November 1265 AD), coins were struck with a threatening legend in Turki:

$\text{سرقتندا ايچئين تاشئين الماچوجي يار ايل! و قلوغ بولجاي}$

ie. "In Samarqand inside and outside anyone who will not accept (this coin) will be deemed a felon"³, or "hireling and slave"⁴.

A comparison of the legend in the reverse field of the coins in the Osh museum with the legend on the Samarqand dirhems of AH 663 showed that they were almost identical, the only difference being the absence of the conjunction "and" before the word "slave" on the Osh museum coin. The obverse field legend of this coin, however, differed totally from that of the AH 663 Samarqand dirhem. And the most important distinction was the absence of the name of a town.

The most difficult part to read proved to be the first line of the obverse legend. The first word was undoubtedly "this", with the *nuqta* under the letter showing it to be the letter "b". The first four letters of the next word read براق with the two *nuqtas* clearly visible above the loop of the letter ق . The word

براق may be translated in the sense of "valid". The last two

letters can be read as ب , ie. the accusative case affix. It is strange though that the letter ق is not linked to the following letter as it should be. But mistakes in spelling and writing words on the coins of the Jagatayids in the 13th century are very common. For instance, E. A. Davidovich⁵ wrote about such mistakes on the AH 663-665 dirhems struck in Khojend. So I propose to read the first line of the obverse legend as

بو براقنى

ie. "this valid coin".

Here is the description of the coins in question (figure 1)



Mint name and date are not visible on the coin. Osh Museum of History and Folk Lore Inv. Nr. KP 142/2.

Diameter: 35-36 mm

Obverse: in the field, within a circle *بورقانس / الماغوجس*

under the second line of the legend is an arabesque.

Circular marginal legend: *بشر... ذا العمار [؟]...*

(Mint/date formula?).

Reverse: in the field, with a double circle:

باز قلوب / مولغاي

under the second line of the legend is an arabesque.

Circular marginal legend *بشر... ذا العمار [؟]... [؟]...*

(Mint/date formula?).

I propose to translate the obverse and reverse field legends as follows: "He who would not accept this valid (coin) will be deemed a felon and a slave".

As it happens, the Osh museum coins settle a question of how the first word of the obverse field legend should be read. V.V. Bartold⁶, who, in 1899, was the first to publish the AH 663 dirhems of Samarqand, read it as *باز* "felon". A. A. Al'khamova⁷, who in 1950 published the first board of such dirhems⁷, read it as *بازال* "hireling". On the Osh museum coin it can be clearly seen that such a reading is impossible because the third letter is half as long as the preceding letter "alif" and thus cannot be a "lam". So the reading proposed by V.V. Bartold has proved to be correct.

If the reading of the word *بورقانس* "valid" proposed by the present writer is correct, then it looks as if the legend on the coin from the Osh museum was not only threatening but was also meant to be persuasive and admonishing. First it sought to persuade people that the coin was valid, then it threatened with punishment ("will be deemed a felon and slave") anyone who refused to accept it. It is interesting that in Samarqand the silvered copper dirhems with the persuasive legend preceded those with the threatening legend. Thus in 622/1225 silvered copper dirhems were minted with the legend "in Samarqand and neighbourhood this coin is current"⁸, in other words, this coin was valid in Samarqand and its neighbourhood. But persuasion and admonishment did not appear to have worked. So threatening legends appeared in 630/1232-33. As E.A. Davidovich⁹ thought, threats did not help either as in 634/1236-36 a quantity of real silver dirhems were minted. But since there was not enough silver to satisfy the needs of trade fully, those coins soon disappeared from circulation. After that Samarqand entered into the "coinless period" of about thirty years, which ended in 663/1264-65 when silvered copper dirhems were minted, this time with a threatening legend in Turki.

It is unfortunate that the marginal legends on both the coins in the Osh museum are badly worn and it is impossible to make out the date and mint name. As to the date, the coins in question could have been minted between 630/1233, when the first coins known with the threatening legend appeared (with the legend in Persian), and 663/1264-65, when the dirhems with the threatening legend in Turki were struck. The fact the second part of the threatening legend on the AH 663 Samarqand dirhems is almost identical to the second part of the Osh Museum dirhems legend, may suggest that they were rather close in time. Anyway, the coins in question could not have been minted later than 670/1271-72, when after the monetary reform of a merchant, Mas'ud Beg, the viceregent of the Mongol *qaans* in Central Asia, dirhems of pure silver once again began to be minted. The place of minting could have been

Samarqand, as we do not know of any other town where coins with a threatening legend were struck, but the fact that coins were found in Osh may suggest they could have been minted there. Future finds of such coins will, it is hoped, settle this question.

1. E.A. Davidovich: *Denezhnoe khozaistvo Sredney Azii v XIII*, Moskva 1972, p. 132
2. Op. cit. p.17
3. V.V. Bartold: *Iz minti-kabineta pro SPb Universitete*, in *Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia Imp. Russkogo arkhelogicheskogo obshchestva*, vol 12/1, 1899, pp. 01-04.
4. Z.A. Al'khamova: *Klad mednykh poserebrennykh samarkandskikh dirhemov 663 g. kh. Trudy Tashkentskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, n.s. vol. 11: *Gumanitarnye nauki* vol. 3, 1950, p. 72.
5. E.A. Davidovich: *Denezhnoe khozaistvo*, pp. 19-20.
6. V.V. Bartold: *Iz minti-kabineta*,... p. 01-14.
7. Z.A. Al'khamova: *Klad mednykh*,... p. 72.
8. E.A. Davidovich: *Denezhnoe khozaistvo*,... p. 15.
9. Op. cit. pp. 39, 45.

A Mamluk ashrafi with countermarks



Julie Franklin of Spink & Son Ltd, London has sent a photograph of a gold ashrafi of the Mamluk sultan Qa'itbay (AH 873-901), Balog 809, countermarked with a cross and another unidentified countermark. She asks whether anyone can identify the countermark(s).

A new Asmaka quarter unit

By Paul Murphy

The following table illustrates the unit range of the Asmaka coinage. The main symbol for Asmaka coinage is normally a variant based on the symbol.

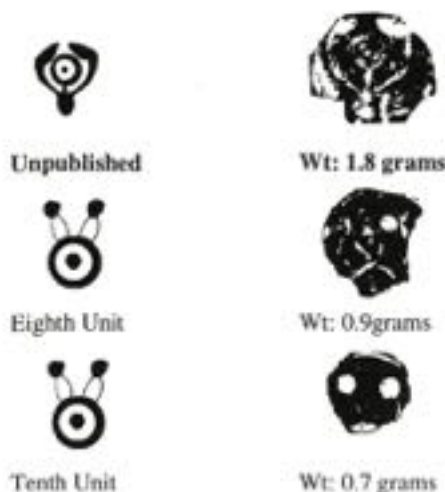


The table shows a new symbol for a quarter unit.

The coin is from a private collection. As far as I know this is an unpublished type. Could members with Asmaka coinage, review their collection and let me know if they have this symbol on any other Asmaka units?

Asmaka - Archaic series

Symbol	Coin Image
One Unit	Wt: 7.2 grams
Half Unit	Wt: 3.6 grams
Quarter Unit	Wt: 1.8 grams



New varieties of the Narhan hoard-type punch-marked coins

By Shinji Hirano



The origin of Indian punch-marked coins is mysterious. A series of punch-marked coins from the Narhan hoard, one of the oldest punch-marked coins, could give an answer to this issue. The Narhan hoard was first reported by Purusottam Singh¹ and examined later by Parmeshwari Lal Gupta². Gupta categorized the coins into five types. Type 1 coins are blank cut-silver and their weight is half satamana. Type 2 coins have a single punch on a cut-sheet of silver, and their weight is half satamana (about 5.5g). Type 3 coin is a unique coin, which is reminiscent of Kosala coins. Type 4 coins are similar to type 2 coins but their weight is double karshapana (about 6.8-7.0g). A variation of Type 4 coins with different symbols was also reported by McIntyre and Pieper^{3,4}. However, the main symbols on type 2 coins seem to be more diverse than those of the type 4 coins. Type 5 coins are Magadha single punch-type punch-marked coins.

Recently, I encountered rare varieties of type 2 Narhan hoard-type punch-marked coins. One came from a dealer along with type 4 Narhan-type coins with a pentagon symbol although it was not known whether these coins were from the same hoard or not (Fig.1). The coin was 5.51g in weight. It had an elaborate geometric symbol as a main symbol. The symbol may be related to those of the Narhan hoard coins like Nos.8, 15, 18, and 20 (Gupta's numbering) with semicircles at four corners². One minute symbol showed a complex radial pattern. On the obverse, there was a big hollow as a result of metal breaking off. There is, however, a possibility that it might have been deliberately done to adjust the weight because its weight was normal for a half satamana. The reverse was blank.

The second coin was from Robert Tye's catalogue as unpublished⁵ (Fig.2). The weight was 5.57g. The main symbol was not clear but it seemed to be a radial type design like a sun. The sun symbol can be seen on coins nos.13 and 30 of the Narhan

hoard². The main symbol, however, may be a more complex pattern than a simple sun symbol. There were five banker's marks: four were variations of the sun symbol and one was a cruciform in a square. The reverse was blank.

Unfortunately, the provenance of these coins was not known. However, the similarity of design and fabric indicated that these were the same type of coins as those of the Narhan hoard. Because the Narhan hoard is the only one well-known hoard (especially for type 2 coins), it is difficult to determine their attribution and chronology at present. Hardaker considered that type 4 coins belonged to Kosala⁶. Recently, Gupta and Rajgor attributed type 2 Narhan coins as coins of Malla and type 4 as a coin of Vajji or Sakya^{2,7}. Based on the different weight standard, we may say that these coins belong to different Janapadas. However, we can not exclude the possibility that the type 2 coin is an earlier version of the type 4 coin as happened with Magadha coins when they were transformed from the *satamana* system to the *karshapana* system⁸. The observation that there are more varieties of type 2 coins than type 4 coins may support this possibility. Thus, there are possibilities in the development of the Narhan hoard-type punch-marked coins that the type 1 coin could be a precursor of the type 2 coins², and that type 2 could have been replaced by the type 4 coins. The boundary of different weight standards runs between Kosala and Magadha⁹ but it is not determined yet precisely. The fact that Magadha single punch-marked coins were found in the Narhan hoard without apparent later coins suggested that the hoard reflected the early phase of circulation of punch-marked coins. The archaeological evidence suggested it was buried around 4-6 century BC¹. At this moment, it seems reasonable to suppose that type 2 and type 4 coins were circulated in the same or neighbouring areas around the boundary of two weight standards around 4-6 century BC. More hoard evidence of this type of punch-marked coins is needed to clarify the relationship of the very early punch-marked coins.

1. Purusottam Singh, *The Narhan hoard of punchmarked coins. Proceedings of the 19th International Numismatic Congress, 1986*, pp165-169; *Excavations at Narhan, 1985-1989*, pp227-233, 1994
2. Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Narhan hoard of silver punchmarked coins. Numismatic Digest*, 20 pp1-24, 1996
3. Donald P. McIntyre, *On a newly discovered hoard in India*, ONS Occasional paper 26, 1991
4. Wilfried Pieper, *A new double karshapana punch-marked silver coin of ancient India*, ONS 137, 1993
5. Robert Tye, *List 32*, 1997
6. Terry R. Hardaker, *Punch-marked coinage of Kosala-Towards a classification*, *Indian Numismatics: History, Art & Culture*, pp3-11, 1991
7. Dilip Rajgor, *Rediscovering the Janapada punch-marked coins of early historic India*, *Man and environment* XXIII(1), 45-62, 1998
8. Michael Mitchiner, *Ancient and Classical World 600 B.C.-A.D.650*, Hawkins Publication, 1978.
9. Michael Mitchiner, *The origins of Indian coinage*. Hawkins Publications, 1973.

Two forgeries of punch-marked coins in India

By Shinji Hirano



Punch-marked coins are ancient coins and they have many variations. Because of their primitive-looking fabric and frequent poor state of preservation, it is often difficult to determine the authenticity of punch-marked coins. Recently, I encountered two types of forgeries of punch-marked coins in India. The first type are forgeries of Kosala coins (Fig. 1A, B). The coins had identical layout of designs and other details, suggesting that these were made not by a punch but by casting. The casting mould was probably made from a genuine punch-marked coin of type no.7 in the Hardaker classification¹. The weight was 4.33 and 4.55g. It is difficult to identify such pieces as forgeries if they are found as a single piece. These were rather common forgeries in Varanasi because I saw another set of the same coins there.

The second type is a forgery of Magadha punch-marked coins (Fig. 2A, B, C, D). This type of forgery was primitive and easy to identify. The coins disregarded the Magadha five-punch system: they bore more than five punches. Some symbols were apparently unusual (Fig. 2 e, h, i). However, some symbols followed those of the period I and period VI coins (Fig. 2 b, c, d, f [Gupta and Hardaker's mark number 276, 275, 311, 115, respectively²]). Some symbols appeared twice on individual coins (Fig. 2 b, f, h). One example had a protuberant symbol of a small star (Fig. 2 g). On the reverse of coins A and B, there was a symbol c. Coin C had a symbol f on the reverse. The shape was round or rectangular, and the weight was around 7.26-8.02g which was far from the regular Karshapana. These samples were found in Tamil Nadu but I saw similar types of forgeries in Delhi, suggesting they are prevalent all over India.

1. T. R. Hardaker, *Punch-marked coinage of Kosala-Towards a classification*, Indian Numismatics: History, Art & Culture: Essays in honor of Dr. P.L. Gupta, 1994

2. P.L. Gupta and T.R. Hardaker, *Silver punchmarked coins of the Magadha-Maurya Kathapana series*, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, 1985.

Two Tchaman-i-Hazouri Coins recovered By Shinji Hirano



Recently, I acquired two silver bent-bar coins from independent dealers. Fortunately or unfortunately, they are coins which were stolen from the Kabul Museum in the confusion of the civil war in Afghanistan. The coins were a part of the Tchaman-i-Hazouri hoard (Nos. 3 and 12) that was published by R. Curriel & D. Schlumberger¹. The hoard contained 12 silver bent-bars and 29 local punch-marked coins. So far, fourteen Tchaman-i-Hazouri coins have been recovered by Rahman and Boppearachchi². The remaining coins have not yet been recovered. The fact that two coins were found in the market suggests that the others may still be circulating among collectors and dealers. Therefore, we have to be careful when handling those types of coins in the future. The present coins will be deposited at UNESCO for return to the Kabul Museum at some future date. I appreciate Dr. Boppearachchi's help in identifying the coins and with the correct procedure for returning them.

1. R. Curriel & D. Schlumberger, *Tresors monetaires d'Afghanistan*, 1953
2. Dr. Osmund Boppearachchi & Aman Ur Rahman, *Pre-Kushan coins in Pakistan*, Ifikhar Rasool IRM Associates, 1995

Two Remarkable Bactrian Coins By RCS & AH



This is a preliminary note intended to bring these coins to a wider audience. A more detailed investigation will follow elsewhere when a complete study has been made. The above coin of Euthydemus gives him the epithet ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ which is previously unknown. The mint (generally allocated to Merv) is also one that Euthydemus did not use. This coin is in fact a *pedigree* coin similar to the well known coins of Agathocles and Antimachos Theos. Two other coins of the same mint and style are already known, a unique tetradrachm of Diodotus Soter is in the British Museum and a unique coin bearing the name Antiochos Nikator published by Osmund Boppearachchi and A. U. Rahman in their book on 'Pre-Islamic coins of Pakistan'. The issuer of those coins is not known because, as is the case here, he did not put his own name on the coin. The monogram was used by Demetrios I, the son of Euthydemus, and his successors, Euthydemus II, Pantaleon, Agathocles and Antimachos Theos as well as Eukratides. As issuer, Eukratides can be eliminated on stylistic grounds; Agathocles and Antimachos Theos both issued pedigree coins bearing the portrait of Euthydemus I but they gave him the epithet Θεου. The most likely contenders at the moment would seem to be either Demetrios I or his probable son Euthydemus II. The latter is closer chronologically to the issuers of the other pedigree coins but stylistically the coin is closer in some ways (note the diadem tie-ends) to the coinage of Demetrios I. 16.21 gm.



This remarkable coin bears the monogram of Bactria and the portrait of Antiochos I (as it appears on his initial issues in his own name with horses-head reverse). The dies are medallitic, being much larger than normal and omitting the dotted border. The style is truly beautiful and the Apollo holds two arrows as opposed to one as is more usual at this mint. The most remarkable thing about the coin however is the unique reverse legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (King) is regular but there is no sign of the king's name in the left field. Though the coin is off centre the name usually intercepts the end of the arrows and comes close to the knee but there is no sign of a name on this coin. To the right of the title 'King' is ΜΗΝΟΣ ΞΑ or 'month of Xa(ndikou - March). It was not until a century later that dates appear on Seleucid coins and this coin must have had very special significance to bear one. Above Apollo's head is an inscription written upside down that is so far quite enigmatic. Attempts to resolve the meaning have so far proved inconclusive. It is possibly a date beginning ΕΤ(ΟΥΣ) but if the next two letters are the numerals then they are in the wrong order to what is later the norm. ΕΙ would be year 15 (presumably of Antiochos's reign, therefore 266 BC). Seleucos' regnal years were continued by Antiochos to become the Seleucid Era (beginning in 313 BC) and it would be unusual to have a date in regnal years. The second letter could be a Rho but then the date would be 105 but the era

would be unknown. Other letters are visible after the Iota/Rho but they are unclear. It is possible that the coin is overstruck on an earlier variety because possible letters are visible between the large obvious letters. The inscription may not be a date but an epithet, especially if these possible letters are part of the inscription. NEΩTEPOY (the younger) has been considered but is unsatisfactory. From 280 BC, Antiochos's eldest son Seleucos was his co-regent and from 266 it was Antiochos, later Antiochos II. No coins are known of the former nor Bactrian tetradrachms of the latter. The monogram on this coin does not appear on coins of Antiochos II in this form. If the epithet was 'the younger' or even 'second' king then it may refer to one of these co-regents and the early portrait would suggest Seleucos. He was removed (executed) c. 266 BC for attempting to overthrow his father. The Apollo reverse was introduced by Antiochos I early in his reign and became not only the common reverse for all his mints but the common type of his successors. As yet no definite conclusion has been reached concerning the complete inscription nor the meaning of this remarkable coin, nor even the certainty of its issuer. Further research is required and a fuller note will be penned when a more satisfactory solution has been arrived at. 16.97 gm.

A report regarding a hoard of Kota and Kota-related copper coins from the Punjab and a possible fixed dating for them.

By Les Riches

The hoard was found in 1989 during excavation work at Sanghol on a site known locally as Ucha Pind (High Village). The site is in the tahsil of Ludhiana, 40 km west of Chandigarh (see map).



Excavation work on this site, led by Sh. R.S. Bisht, started in December 1968. Two trenches were laid on the fringe of the mound which yielded a continuous occupation sequence from late Harappan times to the early mediaeval period. The excavation was done in small steps, as only limited work could be carried out at this time. Work continued during 1969-1970. The primary objective was to ascertain the nature of the remains in the Hathiawa Mound, which contained indications of a quadrilateral fort with massive ramparts and corner towers. This excavation, besides confirming the sequence already known, brought to light much more information relating to the early and late historic periods.

During the 1980/1981 seasons, all adjoining trenches on the western fringe of the mound were horizontally joined to get the various house plans etc. The northern and southern areas of the monastery and stupa were also joined up. These had previously been left unexposed. The work on this site (monastery and stupa) was continued into the 1984/1985 season and had far-reaching consequences because of the finding of 117 cross-bars, coping stones and railing pillars, all in pink stone of the Mathura school of art of the Kushan period of c. 1st/2nd century AD. These depicted Salabhanjikas in various forms and postures. This find necessitated further work for getting complete details of the stupa, which is laid out on the Dharma-Chakra pattern (wheel). The coin hoard in question was found in a pit on the north side of the stupa some 30

cm below the surface. It was in a small dish, covered by another dish of the same type. When I showed the photographs to pottery experts from the Punjab University in Chandigarh and to other experts from the Department of Archaeology and Museums, the pottery was dated to the late Kushan period of c. 250-300 AD.

In total, there are 174 coins in the hoard, some of which were quite worn. This indicates that they had been in circulation for some time before being buried. This being the case, they can be dated with some confidence to early in this period or some years before. This could put them into the time of the Kushan ruler Vasu Deva or a few years after his downfall in c. 230. As nearly all of this type of coin are copied from the coins of Vasu Deva, this makes sense.

The hoard contained the following types of coin. 82 are of the main Kota type with the Kota symbol as the main feature, and symbols such as the trident, vajra (thunderbolt) on the left or right.



74 coins are of the KO-HA type



with a chakra symbol to the left.



11 coins are of the KOTA-BALA type



1 coin is a half unit of the KO-HA type
This is the first time I have recorded a half unit of this type (weight 2.4 g).



1 coin is a KO-HA type overstruck on a Kota main type



There are three coins stuck together with oxide and two coins which are so worn that their identification cannot be determined.

Another indicator for the dating of these coins is a find from the main excavation of a KO-HA type (accession no. 328). The excavation report stated that "a KO-HA coin of c. 250-300 AD came from this layer, being of the late Kushan/pre-Gupta date". Another interesting point came to light while I was talking to the excavators of the site. It came from the excavation reports of Sunet District Ludhiana (Indian Archaeology review 1983/84) relating to period 6 - late Kushan, pre-Gupta, c. 250-300 AD. The report states "we encountered a large amount of Kota coins on this level, the houses being constructed of re-used baked red Kushan bricks, with ash in great abundance, coarse dull red slipped pottery and iron bangles, terracotta figures etc also being found".

The excavators themselves thought that the houses had been destroyed by fire and rebuilt by the people who used the Kota type coins. On this site, this may indicate that the Kota coin users were invaders of the area. Another interesting fact is that in none of the reports that I read was there any mention of any late Yaudheya coins being found in these levels. Does this tell us they had moved out (or been driven out) of this area by the Kota coin using people?

The levels in these excavations at this point are very shallow and this makes it very hard to determine exactly which level is which. I was told that the Kota coins came from below the Gupta levels, but only just! This again tells us that these coins are dated before the rise of the Guptas in northern India.

The conclusions that I have come to regarding these coins are that they were issued by a late Kushan tribe that was on the move most of the time. Judging from some of the very crude dies they were using to produce some of these coins, this would also make sense. It is also borne out by the use of older coins as blanks and the restriking of many other types of coins, eg Kushan coins.

The average weight of the coins in the hoard was 4.3 g, this is about the same as most of the other known full unit Kota coins.

All the above and evidence from other sources and sites suggest a date for the start of the issue of the Kota/Koha coinage of around 260 AD plus or minus some years.

I would like to thank the Department of Cultural Affairs, Archaeology and Museums, in Chandigarh; Drs Kuldip Singh, K.K. Rishi, Gurdev Singh (excavators) and Dr Lalman, Department of Ancient history, Punjab University, Chandigarh for allowing me to see and record the hoard and making available various unpublished reports.



C.H. Biddulph - Unpublished catalogue of the coins of Tranquebar (Danish East India).
By Uno Barner Jensen, Denmark



Early Indian numismatics contributed but few publications on the coins of Tranquebar, and these publications were generally issued around the years 1888 - 1895 (Rangachari & Desikachari 1889 and 1895 and Hultzsich 1893). The main publication is Rangachari & Desikachari 1889, which only provides an extensive description of the coins when the authors, prior to the printing of the article, added the coins from the 1879 auction catalogue covering the collection of Jules Fonrobert as well as the 1863 covering the known copper coins by Neumann. Later another article (Heras 1934) referred to the auction catalogue of H.T.Grogan's collection, 1914. Heras referred to the Grogan catalogue as the only catalogue describing the coins of Tranquebar. In general terms, early Indian numismatics suffered from a lack of knowledge about Danish publications on the coins of Tranquebar.

Public collections in India only contain a limited number of coins of Tranquebar, and the coins in these collections do not appear to have been adequately examined. The lack of Danish coins in the Indian collections is no doubt due to Europeans, including Danes, purchasing considerable quantities of coins from Tranquebar itself. The population of Tranquebar found, at an early stage, a good source of income from covering the needs of eager coin collectors, and most of what has been found has presumably been sold to collectors outside India. Georg Galster (Galster 1933) described a clear example of this phenomenon "A pair of native vicars, who in appropriate measures unite the eagerness of spirit with the sense of the Worldly goods, have for many years sent their harvest of coins to The Royal Danish Coin Cabinet at the National Museum in Copenhagen, who in many cases have paid for the old lead coins from Christian IV and Frederik III so much in gold as the weight of the lead". This trade in coins has continued over the years, and even today a few people in Tranquebar are dependent on the sale of the coins to tourists, Indian coin dealers as well as foreign purchasers. In this way all information about the place and the circumstances in which the coins are found are being lost.

From the time around 1880 to about 1930 many books and

articles about Indian numismatics, including European colonial coinage, were published. However only the previously mentioned publications about the Danish colonial coinage were issued in India. At the same time a number of publications were issued in Denmark (C.T. Jørgensen 1888, H.H.Schou 1926), where the coins of Tranquebar are integrated into the catalogue and Bergsøe from 1895, where the coins of Tranquebar are treated separately. In the period 1928-29 Villiam Nielsen's articles "Lidt om Trankebar og Trankebarmønter" were published through the Danish Numismatic Society. The Royal Danish Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen was a frequent purchaser of coins from Tranquebar, and Georg Galster told in a number of annual reports from the years 1923-24 to 1937-38 about the considerable purchasing of coins via Indian connection. So, all in all, the subject was well dealt with in Denmark.

The reason that the Indian publications about the coins from Tranquebar reveal a lack of references and but little cooperation with Danish publishing institutions, might be that previous methods of communication where not as fast as they can be today. Also a translation of a Danish catalogue or an article was inconvenient and difficult.

In March 1998 the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies in Nasik handed me a photocopy of a manuscript of a catalogue of the coins of Tranquebar. The text was devised by Mr. Charles Hubert Biddulph in the period from about 1933 to 1953. In comparison to what was published before 1948 in Denmark and India about the coins of Tranquebar, this manuscript is the most extensive of all and at the same time based on not only Indian, but also Danish publications. A few Dutch and German auctions also formed part of the material upon which the manuscript is based. Further more C.H. Biddulph was in contact with a number of Danish persons with knowledge of the subject.

C.H. Biddulph is surely unknown to most Danish collectors, and this manuscript is the first that I have heard of him. In an obituary (P.L.Gupta 1967) we learn that C.H. Biddulph was born on the 28th July 1898 at Abu, Rajasthan, and that he studied at the Philander Smith College, Nainital for some years and later at the Crystal Palace School of Engineering in London. In 1924 he joined the South Indian Railway as Assistant Engineer. In 1951 he occupied the post of the Deputy General Manager of the said Railway. After serving the Railway for a full term he retired and went to England, where he settled on the 11th October 1966. He was a member of the Numismatic Society of India since 1934. After his retirement, when he devoted himself exclusively to numismatics, he published a large number of papers in the Journal of the Society and the books "Coins of the Pandyas" and "Coins of the Cholas". That C.H. Biddulph was considered a prominent numismatist is confirmed by many times his name comes up in connection with Indian numismatics. I have not, however, found any published articles concerning the coins of Tranquebar.

Both the textual part and the catalogue part of the manuscript is in handwritten English. The handwriting of the manuscript is at times illegible because of the many deletions and corrections, and this again may cause misunderstandings in the transcription of the text. The textual part was unfinished and the catalogue part appears to end with Frederik IV. I cannot, however, exclude the possibility that some pages of the catalogue part have been lost. No reason is given for the manuscript not being published. Perhaps one possible explanation is the publication in 1948 in Copenhagen of the Chr. Funck-Rasmussen catalogue of the coins of Tranquebar - a catalogue that C.H. Biddulph obtained knowledge of around 1952, and which he bought around 1953.

C.H. Biddulph prefaces his manuscript as follows: *While resident in Tanjore District during the years 1933 to 1936 it was possible for me to visit the old Danish settlement of Tranquebar fairly frequently. During these visits the Danishity was taken of making as complete a collection of the Danish coins issued at Tranquebar as possible, which was fairly plentiful if one knew from where they could, especially the silver and lead coins, be provided. A few Danish coins were procured in Madura and Karikal and copper coins from Kumbakonam.*

The procured coins were made from three different metals, silver, copper and lead, but, due to the fact that they were washed up by the sea and have been exposed to the corroding salt water and sand from the beach, most coins were worn out, corroded and

practically useless. The lead coins were, because of their long stay in the sand and the corroded surface, furnished with scraping marks obtained during the test of the metal at the time of finding. A representative collection was soon established of a good series of the earlier issues in lead from Christian IV, Frederik III and Christian V.

It was difficult to classify the coin findings, which is why Biddulph started to obtain published literature and auction catalogues. In so doing, he added an interesting catalogue, namely the auction catalogue of the L. White King collection, 1904.

It is interesting that Biddulph at an early stage managed to collect and describe a number of lead coins, e.g. Christian IV kas DANMARCK UBJ-33, St MICHAEL UBJ-32, STEGE UBJ-22, KE DA UBJ-11, PER LEN UBJ-7, Frederik III HAAB UBJ-90 and Christian V kas 1687 UBJ-162 - coins with inscriptions that we in Denmark did not obtain knowledge about until 1966, when Chr. Funck-Rasmussen published some corrections and additions to his 1948 catalogue, and in 1971 when Olav Bonefeld described a number of hitherto unknown coins of Tranquebar, and also in 1978 when I published my first catalogue of the coins of Tranquebar.



UBJ 33



UBJ 90



UBJ 162

The major part of the Biddulph material comprises working papers for the catalogue part containing the different coins listed together with the accompanying attempts to interpret the meaning of the inscriptions. It is a thorough piece of work and generally all results of readings and interpretations made by Biddulph conform with the theories that we use today. Therefore a 1952 publication, even with the Chr. Funck-Rasmussen catalogue of 1948 at hand, would have been most appropriate, and a catalogue at that time would today have been used as a major reference. Unfortunately the manuscript does not contain any theories about the interpretation of inscriptions on coins, that we are not familiar with today.

Biddulph used the previously mentioned Indian publications in order to devise his catalogue. Furthermore, he was helped by Georg Galster at the Royal Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen to get hold of the Schou catalogue, the cabinet's annual reports from 1931-32 to 1937-38, the William Nielsen publications NFM 1928-1929, the Galster publication "Blykas fra Trankebar" 1933 and "Pagoder" from 1925 as well as the Kay Larsen publication of 1925. Biddulph also corresponded with Georg Galster and William Nielsen, both of whom are mentioned in the manuscript with gratitude for their assistance.

Biddulph was not able to translate the Danish text into English. For this job he obtained help from, among others, the Church of Sweden Mission in Trichinopoly. Others also helped him with the translations, but they are difficult to verify in the hand-written letters and the manuscript, where Biddulph expresses his desire

that a part of the translations should be published to be used for collectors and students who wished to know more about the Danish coins issued in Tranquebar.

In 1937 Biddulph donated to The British Museum a collection consisting of 14 coins of Tranquebar. At the same time the museum made an exchange for a further 4 coins of Christian V. In 1970 after the death of Biddulph the British Museum obtained Biddulph's collection, or at least a part of it. Among the collection were 80 coins of Tranquebar (purchasing record 14.05.1970 no. 1272-1351).

C.H. Biddulph's manuscript is a good example of the importance of and positive results that can be achieved from cooperation between private individuals and public institutions. This in turn leads me to reflect not only on how important the public collections are to amateur numismatics, but also on how important amateurs can be to the professionals working on numismatic research.

This article could not have been published without the help of many people. During my research I received speedy answers from The Royal Coin Cabinet in Copenhagen, The Royal Coin Cabinet in Stockholm, The British Museum Department of Coins and Medals in London, Mr. Jan Lingen in Holland, the Indian Institute of Research of Numismatic Studies in Nasik as well as prompt attention via the Internet (rec.collecting.coins). All information collected led on to supplementary information for later use. This most open and helpful attitude from all people involved deserves to be mentioned. I am most grateful to everybody, and I sincerely hope that other people will start searching for information required, and that they will also share their knowledge with others in the same situation.

This paper was first published in Danish in "Festskrift til Jørgen Steen Jensen", NNU, October 1998. For help with the English translation I would like to express my thanks to the Danish member of ONS Mr. Jørgen F. Clauson-Kaas and Mr. Stan Goron, Editor of the Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter, for checking the proofs. The author acknowledges the help of the IIRNS in Nasik in the production of this article and for permission to examine a copy of the manuscript, the original of which is in the Institute's archive collection.

Auctions:
Collection White King, Première Partie, 26. September 1904, J. Schulman, Amsterdam
Collection Henry Thomas Grogan, 23. February 1914, J. Schulman, Amsterdam
Jules Fonnobert'schen Sammlung, Berlin, 14. January 1879.

Literature:
Bonefeld, Olav J.: *Nogle hidtil ukendte Trankebarmonter*, NNUM no. 7, 1971.

Bergsøe, Vilhelm: *Trankebar-Mønter (1644-1845) samt Mønter og Medaljer vedrørende den danske Handel paa Ostindien, China og Guinea (1657-1777)*, Copenhagen 1895.

Funck Rasmussen, Chr.: *Beskrivelse af danske mønter fra Trankebar 1620-1845*, Copenhagen 1948.

Funck-Rasmussen, Chr.: *Trankebarmonter*, NNUM no. 1, January 1966.

Galster, Georg: *Pagoder*, Numismatisk Forenings Medlemsblad no. 22, October 1925.

Galster, Georg: *Blykas fra Trankebar*, Nationalmuseets Arbejdsmark 1933.

Gupta, P. L.: *Obituary, Charles Hubert Biddulph*, Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Vol. XXIX (1967)

Heras, H.: *The Danish Coins of Tranquebar*, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic supplement No. XLV, 1934, page 79-86.

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Jensen, Uno Barner: *Trankebarmonter ca. 1620-1845*, P.Flessborgs Forlag, Gentofte 1978.

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Larsen, Kay: *Oplysninger om Trankebarmonterne*, Numismatisk Forenings Medlemsblad VII nr. 21, September 1925, page 295-296.

Neumann: *Beschreibung der Bekanntesten Kupfermünzen*, Volume III, Prag 1863.

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Rangachari, T. M. & E. T. Desikachari: *Indo-Danish Coins*, The Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Fourth Session, 1888-1889, page 69-82 incl. plate with drawings. And *Indo-Danish Coins*, The Indian Antiquary, A Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XXIV, 1895, page 22-28.

Schou, H. H.: *Beskrivelse af Danske og Norske Mønter 1448-1814 og Danske Mønter 1815-1923*, Numismatic Society, Copenhagen 1926.

Abbreviations
NNUM = Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad / Nordic Numismatic Association's Periodical

An Unpublished Coin-Die for a Bikaner Rupee By Dilip P. Balsekar and Wolfgang Bertsch

Recently one of us (Wolfgang Bertsch) acquired a coin-die from a Tibetan curio dealer in Calangute, approximately 15 km north of Panjim in Goa. On striking the positive impression of the die, we found that it was a coin-die for striking Bikaner rupees. It is not known how it reached Goa. Although a few Indian Islamic coin-dies have been published¹, as far as we are aware, no die for Bikaner state coins has been published so far. Hence, the present die is worthy of notice. It may be described as follows:

Bronze; wt. 106.80 gm; diam. 2.7 cm; height 1.8 cm



Left: reverse die of rupee coin of Surat Singh, ruler of Bikaner
Right: positive impression of the die



شہادتہ کفایت
مہمانتوں سن
جلوس ۵۲

Legend, *tarh baldat Bikaner manus / maimanat / sanah jalus 52* (coin struck in the city of Bikaner in the 52nd year of his auspicious reign)

The die was prepared for striking the reverse of the Bikaner rupees during the reign of Surat Singh (AH 1202-1244; AD 1787-1828) and shows the regnal year 52 of Shah Alam II, in whose name Surat Singh's rupees were struck². Surat Singh's coins are known to bear the regnal years between 28 and 52 of Shah Alam II, obviously, 52 is a posthumous regnal year of Shah Alam II, as the last true regnal year known for him from his issues is 49 (AH 1221 = AD 1809).

A rupee of year 52 of this ruler, struck from a different reverse die, was illustrated by Mitchiner³ though he read the regnal year as being of Alamgir II.

1. Only a few Indian Islamic coin-dies have been published so far. Some of these are:

R.K. Sethi, *A coin-die of Sultan Alauddin Mohammad Shah II of Delhi*, Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography, vol. 4, 1981-82, Indore, pp. 64 and pl. II-5.
Jagdish Gandhi, *Some old coin-dies from Rajasthan*, Numismatic Digest, vol. 4, no. 2, Dec. 1980, pp. 60-65. Dies of Mughal and native state coins are described.
R.J. Hebert, *Coin dies of Tonk state from Smithsonian Institute*, Journal of

the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography, vol. IV, Indore, 1981-82, pp. 60-63 (with editor's note).

The same author published one Khalji dynasty, three Mughal, one East India Company, Bengal Presidency and one die of Muhammad Akbar II of Jaipur state. He believed, however, that these six dies received by the Smithsonian Institution were of fairly recent manufacture.

Raymond S. Hebert, *A donation of dies*, Journal of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography, vol. VI, Indore, 1985-86, p. 85 and pl. II.

Raymond S. Hebert published further "unofficial" Indian Islamic dies in *Numismatics International Bulletin*:
Vol. 23, no. 1 (Jan 1989), pp. 18-20
Vol. 23, no. 2 (Feb. 1989) pp. 44-45
Vol. 23, no. 3 (March 1989), pp. 62-64
Vol. 23, no. 4 (April 1989), pp. 94-95
Vol. 23, no. 5 (May 1989), pp. 117-119

Some of these dies were published by the same author in S.K. Bhatt (ed.), Professor Ajay Mitra Shastri Felicitation Volume, Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography, Indore, 1988, p. 88, *A donation of dies*.

2. Colin Bruce, et al. (ed.), *The Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money since 1556 AD* (first edition), undated, p. 147.

3. *Oriental Coins and their Values, the World of Islam*, 1977, coin no. 3591, p. 427.

The First E.I.C. Copper Coins for Bengal by N. G. Rhodes



The first copper coins struck by the East India Company for Bengal are of considerable rarity, so it is a pleasure to be able to publish two specimens that recently turned up in Calcutta¹. As noted by Fred Pridmore², these pieces were first struck in 1757, in order to provide small change to pay the labourers employed in the building of Fort William. In an order dated 24th October 1757, Mr Frankland was instructed to strike a number of copper tickets of various values for this purpose. The only denomination specifically referred to in the early documents is the anna, but it was implied that other smaller denominations were also struck. In April 1760, there were complaints that the copper tickets were not being accepted in the bazar for the full value at which the Company paid them out, and an order was then issued that they should be accepted at 54 *panas* of Cowries or 1 rupee for 16 copper annas. Fred Pridmore tentatively suggested that two copper coins in the British Museum, with the Company's baemark on one side and a large numeral "1" on the larger one, and "6" on the smaller one, may be the pieces referred to. They presumably continued to be used until replaced by a new type, struck in the name of the Emperor Shah 'Alam, and with the mint name "Kalkutta" written in Arabic.

As far as I am aware, the examples in the British Museum were the only pieces of the first issue to have been published, until Partha Banerji showed me the two pieces illustrated here. They are similar to the larger coin in the British Museum, weighing 28.7 g and 29.2 g, compared with 28.6g of the BM specimen. The diameter, however, is much smaller, being only between 25 & 27 mm, rather than 33.2 mm. The dies used are also different, with the "C" in the baemark on No.1 not leaning backwards, while on No.2, although the "C" leans backwards, the whole baemark is shown in mirror image.

The appearance of these two new specimens in Calcutta, supports the attribution to Bengal, and the fact that they are struck with different dies and are different in diameter from the previously recorded example, indicates that the issue must have been reasonably substantial, and that they were issued in more than one batch. Their rarity can presumably be explained because copper was not generally accepted as coinage in Bengal, so that the coolies who received them as payment, and the money changers or other traders, who accepted them as payment for goods or converted them into cowrie shells, would have redeemed them with the Company as soon as possible, rather than risk demonetisation. Also, it is likely that pieces of this original type were withdrawn

from circulation when the new type of 1763-4 was issued, and they may have been demonetised either then, or later in the century when further efforts were made to introduce copper coins throughout Bengal.

1. My thanks to Partha Banerji for allowing me to publish these two specimens.

Editor's note: We have just learnt of the untimely death of Mr. Banerji.
2. *The Coins of the British Commonwealth of Nations, Part 4 India, Vol. 1: East India Company Presidency Series c. 1642-1835.* Spink & Son, London 1975, pp. 198 & 244.

Catalogue of British India Passes, Tickets, Checks and Tokens

Part II - Passes, Workmen's Tickets and Tokens of the Calcutta Mint

By Robert P Puddester

The illustrations in this article are derived from crude sketches made in the Calcutta Mint during research visits in the 1980s. The diameter is correct, unless otherwise noted, but other details are not to scale and are approximate. The illustrations emphasise those points necessary to ensure recognition but are not so complete as to depict every detail. If edge is other than plain it will be noted. The numbering system follows the book, *Catalogue of British India Historical Medals*; these passes, tickets and tokens will eventually be incorporated in a new edition. All were struck at the Calcutta Mint.

Mints are generally strictly controlled establishments imposing increasingly severe levels of security the closer one comes to the bullion room, die storage or minting facilities. Persons seeking entry to the Calcutta Mint were and are closely scrutinised; the rank or status of the visitor often determining the strictures imposed. Persons visiting the Mint Master (General Manager, now) or other high officials were escorted at all times but did not have to leave their cameras, etc. at the gate. A tour of the mint requires that a camera be left in the official's office. Everyone entering the Mint compound was escorted or controlled in one manner or another. Passes and tickets were the normal method of control and these were available for workmen and for various types of visitors.

Calcutta Mint Canteen Tokens - old style

990.2.1 ONE RUPEE

Obv: around top half of border: CALCUTTA MINT In centre: TOKEN

Rev: in centre: 1 / RUPEE

Diameter: 30 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole.



990.2.2 HALF RUPEE

The 1/2 rupee is identical to the rupee except that it is 24 mm and the 1 is replaced by the 1/2.

990.2.3 QUARTER RUPEE

Obv: at top, slightly curved: CALCUTTA In centre: MINT / TOKEN

Rev: in centre: 1/4 / RUPEE

Diameter: 19 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole.



990.2.4 ONE EIGHTH RUPEE

Obv: at top, slightly curved: CALCUTTA In centre: MINT /

TOKEN. At bottom to left and right, plus signs: + +

Rev: in centre: 1/8 / RUPEE

Diameter: 15 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole.



Canteen tokens were purchased by employees for use in the Mint canteen. Employees were forbidden to utilise legal tender coinage within the Mint.

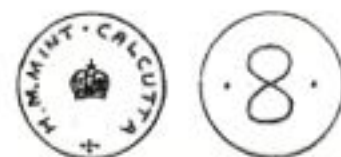
Calcutta Mint Canteen Tokens - new style

990.2.5 EIGHT ANNAS

Obv: around border: H.M.MINT • CALCUTTA, with: + at bottom. In centre, a crown.

Rev: in centre, a large 8 with dots to either side: • 8 •

Diameter: 19 mm Metal: brass Round with no hole. 8 annas.



This series replaced the previous tokens (990.2.1 to 990.2.4) on 20 March 1944. Six denominations were struck, all 19 mm, all brass, and all identical to the illustration except for the reverse value. Reverse values were 8, 4, 2, 1, 1/2, 1/4. The numbers were all stylised and without serifs. Pridmore illustrates the 4 denomination (Pridmore 171) and indicates it is nickel-brass. Mitchiner illustrates the 1 denomination (Mitchiner 599) and indicates it to be copper. Mint records indicate these new tokens were brass but they could have been struck in other metals. The canteen tokens replaced by these "new style" tokens are believed to have been in use from the early years of this century.

990.2.6 4 annas (Pridmore 171)

990.2.7 2 annas

990.2.8 1 anna (Mitchiner 599)

990.2.9 1/2 anna

990.2.10 1/4 anna

Calcutta Mint Access Passes and Delivery Tokens

990.2.11 MINT COMPOUND - Large size

Obv: around top border: MINT COMPOUND Ribbon-like ornament in bottom third

Rev: blank

Diameter: 37 mm Metal: brass Round. Centre hole.

Provides access to the mint compound.



990.2.12 MINT COMPOUND - Small size

Obv: at top border: MINT At bottom border: COMPOUND

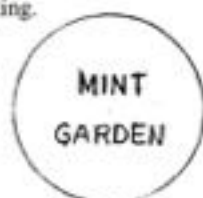
Rev: blank

Diameter: 24 mm Metal: brass Round. Central hole.



990.2.13 MINT GARDEN
 Obv: in centre: MINT / GARDEN
 Rev: blank

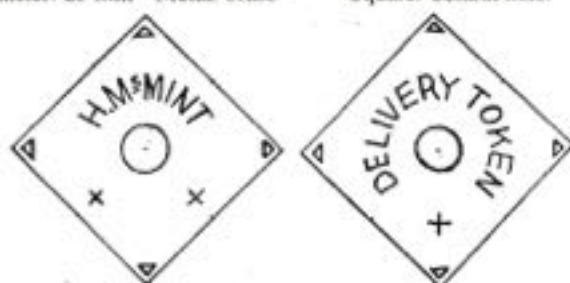
Diameter: 25 mm Metal: brass, copper Round. No hole.
 An entry in the die impression book at the Mint notes that this pass was also struck from the "pice blank" in copper. This would not be possible. Probably meant the 1/4 anna blank (same value as a pice) as it was copper (bronze after 1906) and approximately the same diameter. Provides access to the mint garden. It was very popular with the public to visit gardens attached to public buildings on weekends for an outing.



990.2.14 DELIVERY TOKEN
 Obv: around top border curved: H.M. MINT Plus signs to bottom left and right: + +
 Rev: around border: DELIVERY TOKEN Plus sign at bottom: +
 Diameter: 25 mm Metal: Brass Round. No hole.



990.2.15 DELIVERY TOKEN
 Obv: small triangles in each of four corners. Around top half of border curved: H. M^S MINT Multiplication signs in lower left and right: x x
 Rev: small triangles in each of four corners. Around centre hole curved: DELIVERY TOKEN Plus sign at bottom: +
 Diameter: 25 mm Metal: brass Square. Central hole.



Workmen's Tickets

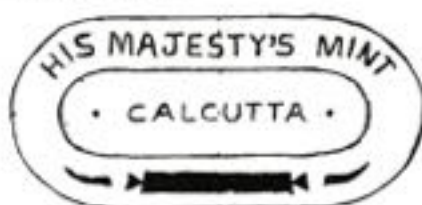
990.2.16 WORKMAN TICKET - Hexagonal
 Obv: at top: H.M. MINT At bottom: CALCUTTA
 Rev: blank
 Diameter: 27 x 39 mm Metal: nickel Hexagonal. No hole.
 First issued 18 February 1927. Used to grant admittance to workmen.



990.2.17 WORKMAN TICKET - Round
 Obv: approximately in centre, a royal crown. Around bottom border: H.M.'s MINT • CALCUTTA
 Rev: blank
 Diameter: 30 mm Metal: nickel Round. Hole at top.
 First issued 18 February 1927.



990.2.18 WORKMAN TICKET - Oval
 Obv: around top border: HIS MAJESTY'S MINT Ornament in bottom border. In centre: • CALCUTTA •
 Rev: blank
 Diameter: 25 x 54 mm Metal: brass Oblong. No hole.
 First issued 18 February 1927.



Bullion Office Passes or Tokens

990.2.19 BULLION OFFICE - Early issue
 Obv: at top: C at bottom: M Royal crowns to left and right of centre hole.
 Rev: blank
 Diameter: 25 mm Metal: copper Round. Central hole.
 First issue 1914. Labelled at Mint "for Bullion Office". Mint note says "struck from pice blank copper". As with 990.2.13, I believe the blanks used were 1/4 anna ones.



990.2.20 BULLION OFFICE - Three Crowns
 Obv: to left of centre: C To right of centre: M Royal crowns at top and to left and right at the bottom.
 Rev: blank
 Diameter: 30 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole (may be found holed after striking). First issue not known.



990.2.21 BULLION OFFICE - Two crowns
 Obv: to left of centre: C To right of centre: M Royal arched crowns at top and bottom.
 Rev: blank
 Diameter: 30 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole, but

found holed after striking.
First issue not known. This issue has peaked arches in the crown.



990.2.22 BULLION OFFICE - One crown
Obv: royal crown in centre. To left of crown: C To right of crown: M
Rev: blank
Diameter: 30 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole (may be found holed after striking). First issue not known.



990.2.23 BULLION OFFICE - Four crowns
Obv: in centre: C M Four royal crowns at top, bottom and both sides.
Rev: blank
Diameter: 30 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole, but found holed after striking.
First issue not known.



Below are photos of 990.2.21 and 990.2.23 showing punched holes. 990.2.21 also exhibits peaked arches in the crown, thus differing from the other four bullion office issues. It is possible these four issues were also struck with peaked-arched crowns. Note also the differing rim in the two photographs. 990.2.19 appears to have been the first issue. While it might seem more logical to arrange the latter four by number of crowns, i.e. one crown to four crowns, it has been decided to leave them in the order found in the die-impression book at the Mint as the order may have significance.



990.2.21

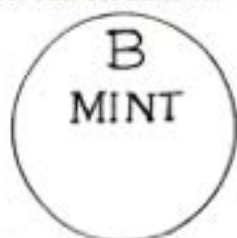


990.2.23

Exact use of the bullion office pieces is not known. The first (990.2.19) was definitely used by or in the bullion office and was so labelled by the Mint. The others, so similar in style, probably were too. Should any member have additional information it would be gratefully received.

General

990.2.24 B MINT
Obv: at top: B Below: MINT
Rev: blank
Diameter: 30 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole. Use unknown.



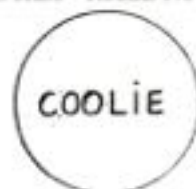
990.2.25 ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT
Obv: in top half: ELECL. DEPT
Rev: blank
Diameter: 29 mm Metal: copper Round. No hole.



990.2.26 BOY
Obv: in centre: BOY
Rev: blank
Diameter: 24 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole.



990.2.27 COOLIE
Obv: in centre: COOLIE
Rev: blank
Diameter: 24 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole.



990.2.28 KHALASI
Obv: in centre: KHALASI
Rev: blank
Diameter: 24 mm Metal: brass Round. No hole
Khalasi equates roughly to labourer



The above five passes would probably all be found holed with a number stamped on the reverse, especially the latter three as their usage was most likely one of identification. Further information on any of these items would be welcomed.

References

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The anonymous coinage of the Bārakzāys and their rivals in Afghanistan: A reappraisal

by Stephen Album

One of the curious features of the Bārakzāy coinage of the nineteenth century is the appearance of anonymous coinage on a number of occasions. In the following pages I intend to examine each of these instances and to determine, as best as possible, the actual issuer of each anonymous emission. As the readily accessible sources for this endeavor may not suffice to resolve every dilemma associated with this coinage, I shall also indicate suggestions for further research.¹

Anonymous coinage has always presented difficulties in attribution, particularly when struck in a kingdom ruled by an hereditary dynasty, as it had become customary for most Islamic dynastic states to allow or require the name of the ruler to be imprinted on the coinage. This concept had its roots in a pre-Islamic tradition that arose some two centuries after the inception of coinage in the ancient city-states of Asia Minor, i.e., towards the end of the fifth century BC. The practice later became normative in most of the Hellenistic kingdoms and was canonized under the Roman emperors. The Roman and subsequent Byzantine tradition spread far and wide, and from the ninth century onwards, came to characterize most Islamic coinage as well. Over the course of the tenth and eleventh centuries, the concept of the *sikka* was incorporated into Islamic law.² The *sikka* was the right of the ruler to have his name cited on the precious metal coinage (copper currency was generally regarded as a local affair, exempt from the prescriptions of *sikka*) and constituted, together with the *khurba*, the right to have his name cited in the Friday sermon, the formal expression of sovereignty in the Islamic polity.

Although the Mongols, having no real coinage tradition of their own, at first produced a mishmash of anonymous, quasi-anonymous and fully named coinage, by the turn of the fourteenth century it had become standard throughout the eastern Islamic world for all precious metal coins to bear the name and titles of the ruler (what I call the royal protocol) on the one side (conventionally regarded as the obverse), the profession of faith and other pious phrases on the other (reverse). Nonetheless, anonymous coinage was occasionally produced during episodes of political or dynastic uncertainty. In most cases the reasons for the production of anonymous or quasi-anonymous coinage can be elucidated via an analysis of the historical circumstances in which the coinage was produced.³ Under the Durrānis, who seized power in Afghanistan and the Panjab following the death of the tyrannical Nādir Shāh in 1160/1747, the first anonymous coinage in precious metal appeared at Qandahar in 1234, followed by sporadic anonymous issues until the last occurrence of anonymous coinage in 1297. By no means was all coinage from 1234 to 1297 anonymous or quasi-anonymous. Indeed, the majority of coins struck during that period bear the name of the current ruler, but at most of the still active mints for precious metal coinage episodes of anonymous coinage did occur from time to time.

¹Acknowledgments: First of all I should thank the trustees of the Arthur Sackler Fellowship in Art History for the generous support in providing the leisure time necessary to pursue the present inquiry. Second, I thank Hakim Hamidi (Torrence CA), whose articles in the *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* provided the impetus to delve into this surprisingly challenging subject. Third, my thanks to the editorial staff of the Krause-Mishler cataloging staff, especially Clifford Mishler and Colin R. Bruce III, for their continuing receptivity to improvements in the catalog listings of Afghan coins. Fourth, I am indebted to William Spengler (Colorado Springs CO) for his untiring efforts to oversee the Afghan listings in the Krause-Mishler catalogs. Fifth, my thanks to W.L. Treadwell (Ashmolean Museum), Mark Blackburn (Fitzwilliam Museum), Venetia Porter (British Museum), Lutz Ilisch (Tübingen University) and Michael Bates (American Numismatic Society) for their supportive cooperation. Finally, I am indebted to Michael Metcalf (Ashmolean Museum) for his guidance and support in bringing this effort to fruition. And my apologies to any whose names I have inadvertently omitted. I'm afraid my memory for names is a coarsely woven sieve.

²The origin of the right of *sikka* in Islamic jurisprudence remains an area for further research. According to my own intuition, based on examination over the past 35 years of hundreds of thousands of Islamic coins, the concept of the ruler's right to place his name on the coinage probably first emerged at the time of the civil war between the sons of al-Rashid in 193-198 but does not seem to have become mature until some 200-250 years later. Clearly, there is a future dissertation lurking here.

³Album 1974:passim.

Let me first explain what constitutes anonymous and quasi-anonymous coinage (hereafter I shall use the term 'anonymous' to refer to both). An anonymous coin is one that lacks the name of the issuing ruler or that of his suzerain. In general, some form of pious or secular expression appears in lieu of the royal protocol, occasionally expressed poetically in the form of a complete distich or a *mujra'* (half a distich). Quasi-anonymous coinages fall into three categories. The most prevalent class of quasi-anonymous coinage is one that bears the name of a ruler who cannot have held any authority at the time and location in which the coin was issued. Most commonly this means the naming either of a deceased ruler or of a living ruler of a "safely" distant kingdom. Another class of quasi-anonymous coinage bears an indirect reference to the ruler's name, sometimes enconced in a pious phrase or evocation (e.g., *yā karīm* on the otherwise anonymous coins of the Iranian ruler Karīm Khān), sometimes as an allusion within a verse. Only the poetic allusion is encountered in the Bārakzāy and contemporary series. The anonymous or quasi-anonymous protocol is thus a surrogate for the named royal protocol and is typically unique to a particular ruler, though in some cases, as we shall see, the identical anonymous protocol could pass from one ruler to his successor, especially if that successor were a uterine brother, as we shall observe in the case of the Qandahar sardars. Furthermore, it is a general rule that the same anonymous protocol is never used simultaneously by more than one ruler, for an anonymous protocol is just as much the badge of the coin issuer as is a named protocol.⁴

At times one ruler may use more than one protocol simultaneously. In Iran and Afghanistan during the 18th and 19th centuries, multiple protocols were often used to distinguish different coin denominations. Thus a few Durrāni fractional rupees—all extremely rare—bear shorter protocols, to some extent necessitated by the smaller size of the fractional dies. Another example concerns the coinage of the Kashmir mint, where several Durrāni and Bārakzāy rulers used a distinctive couplet for their rupees of that mint, perhaps for political reasons, perhaps to indicate that the Kashmir rupees were struck to a lighter weight standard.

In the context of an established dynastic line, such as that of the Durrānis and their subdynastic groupings, it would normally be expected that the precious metal coinage would always bear the name of the ruler, whose legitimacy would, at least theoretically, be uncontested. Thus the appearance of anonymous coinage by an established dynasty is invariably anomalous, indicative of serious disputes regarding succession, legitimacy or security. Such concerns underlay every appearance of anonymous coinage under the Bārakzāys and their Sadozāy and Alikozāy contemporaries (more on these subgroups later). On the other hand, there is no general rule for the elucidation of an anonymous coinage. Each emission must be examined individually in the light of contemporary events. It is my intention here to examine each interlude of anonymous or quasi-anonymous coinage and to ascertain, as far as possible, who was responsible for each issue and under what circumstances it was produced.

Anonymous coinage appears from time to time at the three mints of Kabul, Herat and Qandahar, the last normally called by its epithetical name Ahmadshāhī on coinage from 1170 to 1273 Hijri.⁵ Aside from a short-lived issue at Peshawar (1247-1249), anonymous precious metal coinage does not occur at any other Durrāni mint. The coinage of Kabul and Qandahar has recently been treated in some detail in a pair of articles by Hamidi⁶, but there remain serious shortcomings in his analysis. He relied solely on the Afghan sources,

⁴A protocol, whether named or anonymous, is defined not only by the inscription, but may also be determined, especially for anonymous protocols, by the arrangement of the inscription or, more commonly, by the frame enclosing the entire inscription or a centrally placed portion thereof.

⁵A few issues of Peshawar, Kashmir and the various mints of Sind do not directly concern us here, but will be mentioned at the conclusion of this paper for the sake of completeness.

⁶Hamidi 1995a & 1995b.

ignoring the British (including Indian) and Russian sources of the period. The recent historical works of Yapp (1980), Waller (1993), Lee (1996), and Noelle (1997) have sought to bridge the gap between the Afghan and European sources, which must be taken together, as they each provide information lacking in the other. In general, the Afghan sources provide disconcertingly few dates and often arrange information out of chronological sequence, because the structure of the web of alliances and interrelationships between what were essentially tribal principalities is their chief point of focus. The European sources, on the other hand, are of three sorts, contemporary travel accounts normally containing few dates (e.g., Masson 1842), nearly contemporary and later historical accounts of the First and Second Anglo-Afghan Wars, which usually are replete with dates but only for events in which British interests were directly involved, and archival records (including espionage reports) which are almost invariably dated. Most of the archival material is stored in the temporarily inaccessible India Office Library⁷, but there are further resources in Moscow and Delhi which have been scarcely touched. The European sources often fail to comprehend the complexly intertwined personal and tribal aspects of nineteenth century Afghan political structures and tend to focus on the principal rulers in the main population centers, especially those with whom European agents personally came into contact. The means by which nineteenth century Afghan rulers constructed their governance is for that reason at best superficially reflected in the European material. One consequence of this narrow focus is that traditional western numismatists have tended to assign all coins struck within the reign dates of the principal ruler to that individual, even issues which, as I shall show, were clearly struck at mints where that ruler exercised no influence whatsoever. Thus all anonymous coins struck between 1239 and 1255 have been indiscriminately attributed to Dost Muhammad Khān, even issues of Qandahar, where he exercised no authority until the year 1272.

This received wisdom was first put into print in the rather superficial catalogue of Bārakzāy coins published by White King in 1896 (though useful in its day), was subsequently adopted uncritically by Craig 1976, then by Bruce *et al.* in the *Standard Catalog of South Asian Coins* and in post-1982 editions of the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*. Hamidi was the first to make an effort to question this received wisdom. The deficiencies of his results have become apparent in light of more recent scholarship, much of which was only published after Hamidi's nonetheless trail-blazing efforts.⁸

Numismatists have traditionally divided the post-Nādir Shāh rulers of Afghanistan into two main dynastic groups, "Durrāni" and "Bārakzāy", plus a short group at Herat (1258-1272/1842-1855) customarily but wrongly regarded as "Sadozāy". These monikers are inaccurate, as has been amply demonstrated not just in modern historical scholarship, but also in contemporary scholarship of the nineteenth century, both British and Afghan. In fact, all groups were part of the Durrāni constellation—the name Durrāni is relatively recent, having apparently first been assumed by Ahmad Shāh (1160-1186/1747-1772), who styled himself, as his coins clearly show, *dorr-e dorrān*, "pearl of pearls", sometimes misconstrued as *dorr-e dorrān*, "pearl of the age". In fact, Ahmad Shāh was of the Sadozāy branch of this constellation, descended through a male line from its eponymous founder Sado. Other branches of the Pashtun confederacy which feature in 19th century events include the Bāmīzāy, Popalzāy, Alīkozāy and Bārakzāy, and in particular, the Muhammadzāy branch of the Bārakzāy, as well as others who exerted only local influence and left no numismatic record (e.g., Alīzāy, Nūrzāy, Āchīkzāy, etc.). The Bāmīzāy ruled autonomously and struck coins only briefly in Kashmir (1223-1228). The autonomous rulers of Herat after the death of the last Sadozāy, Kāmran Shāh, in 1258/1842 were of the Alīkozāy branch, not the Sadozāy. Finally, the twenty sons of Pāyinda Khān and their descendants were of the Muhammadzāy Bārakzāy clan, who

ruled over parts of Afghanistan from 1233/1818 and over the entire country from 1279/1863 until the establishment of the socialist republic in 1393/1973. None of the Popalzāy ruled independently over any mint location, though they at times wielded considerable authority over several local regions.

In the following analysis I will examine the anonymous issues of Kabul, Qandahar and Herat in that order. Citations are given to individual specimens only when it is deemed necessary. Otherwise, citations can be found, albeit superficially, in the *Standard Catalog of World Coins*, where nearly all types are photographed. Inscriptions are noted where necessary (in transcription only). Because of the complexity of the series and the inadequacy of the chronology provided by the *Standard Catalog*, I have appended a tabular recapitulation of the coins of these three mints, together with reference table of Durrāni and Bārakzāy weight standards and a *dramatis personae* of the principal persons cited in the text.

Only precious metal coinage has been taken into consideration, for the simple reason that copper coinage was not a regal affair but a local civic matter. By the 1230s copper coinage was *always* anonymous and, as best as can be determined, never reflected political developments within the Bārakzāy kingdom. Frequent renewal or overstriking of the copper coinage was an often abused means of raising revenue at the local level, as will be noted in the discussion of the Qandahar coinage.

During the 19th century there were only three mints in Afghanistan engaged in the production of precious metal coinage, Kabul, Qandahar and Herat. Other mints now in modern Pakistan (Peshawar, Bhakkar, Dera, Derajat and Multan) struck Durrāni coinage during the earlier decades of the century before they were seized by the Sikhs; of these only Peshawar produced an anonymous coinage, but just briefly (1247-1249). The mint of Balkh was active during the 19th century only for copper coins, as were several additional mints during the period from about 1855 to 1885 (Ghaznayn⁹, Jalālābād, Badakhshān, Khānābād, Tāshqūrgān, possibly others). The restriction of precious metal coinage to the three above-mentioned mints persisted even during the most chaotic interludes of political disintegration. Thus the virtually anonymous amirs in the north (Maimana, Mazar-i Sharif, Badakhshan, etc.) never ventured to produce a silver coinage of their own, not even a coinage in the name of an Afghan or Bukharan sultan. Compare this situation to the proliferation of temporary mints during the English civil war of the 1640s, the Mexican revolution of the 1910s or the Maratha uprisings in the early 18th century Mughal Empire. What forces deterred local potentates from producing their own coinage? Certainly there was no technological reason for eschewing the establishment of a mint, for any halfway competent silversmith or coppersmith would have had the knowhow to produce coins, albeit rather primitively. We have here an enigma that surely merits further inquiry.

Many of the coin types discussed in this paper were produced within very short intervals of time, in some cases as little as two or three weeks, perhaps less. How long might it have taken for a new administration to produce the first coins of a new type? I recently discussed this matter with David Greenhalgh of Kettering, a modern "moneyer" who regularly demonstrates the techniques of medieval coin production at fairs and educational events throughout Britain. He confirmed that during the 13th/19th century, the dies for Durrāni and Bārakzāy were produced by a combination of punches and intaglio engraving, a much more time-consuming process than simple punching. He estimated that a skilled engraver could have produced a high quality die for a typical Bārakzāy rupee in about two hours, three hours at the maximum. The determination of the design would have been a matter of just a few minutes, unless there were serious disagreements over the content of the coin inscriptions, and just a few minutes would have been required to sketch a drawing of the type for the engraver to use as a model. In other words, if the design were agreed over breakfast, the first coins could have been hammered out by

⁷Temporarily closed (1998) during transfer to the new British Library.

⁸There are two principal structural errors in Hamidi's work. For one, he failed to perceive the relevance of quasi-anonymous coinage, such as posthumous Shāh Zāmān issue of 1258 or the Ayyūb Shāh issues of Qandahar 1234-1239. Secondly, he attempted to analyze the anonymous coins in isolation from the named coins, thereby overlooking many important connections.

⁹Ghazayn was the 19th century spelling for the city most commonly found on modern maps as Ghazni.

lunchtime.¹⁰ The only serious delay might have come either from a lengthy debate over the inscriptional content or from the temporary absence of the local engravers.

As is the case for virtually all Islamic coinage, Durrāni and Bārakzāy silver coinage was struck to specified weight and fineness standards. Unfortunately, no statutory documentation of these standards is known to have survived from the period under consideration. The actual weight and fineness standards can only be reconstructed from the coins themselves, in conjunction with the occasional but not always unambiguous references to these standards in contemporary chronicles, surviving documents and the reports of foreign, mainly British, travelers to the region. In this paper weight standards are expressed in grams, though it must be remembered that at the time weight standards were calculated in the then current units of weight. The basic unit for weighing precious metals was the *mithqāl*, which had become standardized in Iran at about 4.61 grams by the early 11th/17th century. The *mithqāl* was divided into 24 *nokhad*, and the *nokhad* into 4 *habbeh*.¹¹ In other regions and at other times, the *mithqāl* weighed anywhere from about four to more than five grams, but the 4.61 gram *mithqāl* came to dominate in Iran, probably because of its compatibility with the Indian rupee, which was established in the middle of the 10th/16th century at 11.52 grams. Thus the standard Indian rupee was precisely two and a half Iranian *mithqāls*. In Durrāni and Bārakzāy times, it seems that the Iranian *mithqāl* was used at Herat and probably also at Kabul. The discrepancy between the Kabul and Qandahar rupees suggests that a somewhat lighter *mithqāl* was employed at Qandahar. It is likely that the exact values of many of these weights can be determined through a study of travelers' reports and archival records.

Fineness standards are more complex. In theory, from the time of the reform of Ghāzān Mahmūd (694-703/1295-1304) all Iranian related silver coinage was struck from "pure" silver, i.e., silver refined to the maximal purity obtainable with the available technology. Modern analyses of pre-modern "pure" silver invariably show some degree of impurity, typically from a fraction of 1% to as much as 5% or even more. One of the main impurities is gold, whose presence is a clear indication of the limitations of pre-modern refining techniques, for it was always far more valuable than silver. By the beginning of the 19th century, relative modern refining technology was available in Europe and at the British mints in India, but it was almost certainly unknown in Afghanistan. Thus variations of a few percent from one group of rupees to another need not necessarily be interpreted as a change of standard. Nonetheless, as is evident from the color and specific gravity of many late Durrāni and Bārakzāy silver coins, debasements of the silver alloy were frequently undertaken; at times the level debasement was drastic, 50% or more. There is unfortunately no published data concerning the fineness of these coins. Until such data is available, any attempt to determine the trade value of the various silver coins of the period is purely speculative.

Transliteration: Commonly known geographical names are given their usual English forms, without diacriticals (Herat, Peshawar, Kabul, etc.). Other geographical names, Afghan and Iranian personal names and Arabic inscriptions take the Arabic transliteration following the Library of Congress system, except for the suppression of the 'h' for the *ā* *marbūta*. Persian inscriptions are given a Persian transliteration. Hence, for example, Arabic *mohammad* and *sikka* in the narrative, but Persian *mohammad* and *sekkeh* in the transcription of a Persian text.

¹⁰He demonstrated the production of a punched die for a pseudo-Islamic coin at the Ashmolean Museum. It took him about 15 minutes to set up his tools. I prepared a design for him, from which he cut a die, into which, just for fun, he concealed the letters O.P.P.A. From the time I handed him the design to the time the first coin was hammered out (using a reverse die he had made earlier), less than forty minutes had elapsed.

¹¹During my visits to Iran in the 1960s, the *mithqāl* and its divisions were still universally employed for weighing precious metals, but by the 1970s metric units were becoming more common.

I. Kabul

Durrāni power reached its apogee towards the end of the reign of its Sadozāy founder, Ahmad Shāh, who established a new capital at Qandahar, which he renamed Ahmadshāhi after himself, apparently during the year 1170, as indicated by the coinage. Early in the reign of his son and successor, Taymūr Shāh, Kabul emerged as the dynastic capital, and remains the national capital to the present day. At the same time, numerous peripheral provinces inexorably fell away from Durrāni authority. This centrifugal process worsened during the reign of Taymūr's son and successor, Shāh Zamān (1207-1216/1793-1801). During the decade after the latter's death the process of disintegration had accelerated to the point where the authority of the ruler of Kabul was effectively limited to that city and a few immediately adjoining districts, though this development remained obscured by the tendency of local potentates to exercise their authority in the name of an increasingly powerless Sadozāy scion. Outside Kabul, local tribal elites, most of whom had ancestral roots in their respective regions that antedated the ascendancy of Ahmad Shāh, held the reins of power, while they squabbled amongst themselves largely oblivious to and unaffected by events at the capital. In other words, Afghanistan had succumbed to a form of warlordism not all that different from what has transpired during the 1990s. Nonetheless, there remained a concept of an "Afghan" state led by a descendant of the Sadozāys, not a national state as recent Afghan historians such as Reshtia and Ghubar have argued but as an imperial "state" under Sadozāy/Durrāni aegis, i.e., as the hereditary possession of the Sadozāy branch of the Durrāni confederation. Individual warlords typically portrayed themselves as potential restorers of the Durrāni empire and exercised their authority not in their own names but in the names of one or another scion of the Sadozāy clan, under whose banner they could justify the legitimacy of their *de facto* authority. With the defeat of the Sadozāy Shujā' al-Mulk at the hands of his brother Mahmūd Shāh in 1224/1809, all semblance of effective Sadozāy authority evaporated, for Mahmūd was no longer his own master but the figurehead of the Muḥammadzāy Bārakzāys, headed at the time by Fath Khān, son of Pāyinda Khān, who wrangled for himself the position of vizier to Mahmūd.¹² However, it was not until a quarter of a century later, in 1250/1834, that the leading member of the Bārakzāy clan, by then Dost Muḥammad Khān, took the decisive step of formally proclaiming his kingship in the *khutba* and *sikka*, the formal prerogatives of kingship noted in the introduction. During the twenty-six years between 1224 and 1250, all coins struck under Bārakzāy authority either bore the name of a Sadozāy figurehead, or cited a deceased individual, or were fully anonymous.

During Mahmūd's second reign at Kabul (1224-1233/1809-1818)¹³, the Bārakzāy vizier Fath Khān and his brethren were able to consolidate their respective positions in various parts of the disintegrating Durrāni patrimony. In 1233/1818, while at Herat, Mahmūd was coaxed by his son Kāmran into a doomed attempt to reassert Sadozāy influence by blinding and then cruelly murdering Fath Khān, an act that aroused the antipathy of the latter's remaining Bārakzāy brothers. One of them, Muḥammad 'Azīm Khān, whose center of power had been at Kashmir and Peshawar, sent his half-brother Dost Muḥammad Khān to Kabul. Mahmūd's deputies deemed it futile to resist the Bārakzāy advance and fled to Qandahar, to which Mahmūd had in the meanwhile returned. After further defeats, Mahmūd fled northwards by the mountain route to Herat, where he

¹²Shujā' al-Mulk fled to British territory in India and settled in Ludhiana. He made two further attempts to regain power in the Durani lands (in 1227 and 1233/34, confirmed by coins struck in his name at Peshawar on these two occasions, KM723 & KM724, respectively), both only fleetingly successful (there were additional unsuccessful attempts in the 1240s). He was ultimately restored to his throne at Kabul by the British in 1255/1839, not as a truly independent Durrāni ruler but as a figurehead for British rule. He was assassinated at Kabul during the time of anarchy in 1258/1842.

¹³Mahmūd Shāh had been governor of Herat during the reign of his father, Taymūr Shāh (1186-1207). After his father's death, he at first opposed the enthronement of his brother, Shāh Zamān (1207-1216), choosing to rule autonomously from Herat. From 1207 to 1212 and again briefly in 1216, coins were struck at Herat under the authority of Mahmūd in the name of his deceased father (thus quasi-autonomously); from 1213 to 1215 he accepted his brother's seniority and struck coins in his name. After the overthrow of Zamān in 1216, Mahmūd began his first reign, which lasted just two years (1216-1218/1801-1803).

subsequently ruled until his death in 1245, followed by Kāmran until his death in 1258.¹⁴ The flight of Mahmūd and Kāmran in 1233, however, marked the end of Sadozāy Durrāni leadership at Kabul and the beginning of an extended period of internal strife that has periodically resurfaced to rear its ugly head until the present time.

Muhammad 'Azīm seems to have taken over the leadership of the Bārakzāy clan following the murder of his elder brother Fath Khān, whom he had previously served as governor in Kashmir. Muhammad 'Azīm at once began to parcel out the Bārakzāy possessions to several of his brothers. In particular, he appointed Dost Muhammad, formerly governor of the relatively minor district of Ghazni, to the important governorship of Kabul. During the final months of 1233, coins continued to be struck at Kabul in the name of Mahmūd Shāh, either because Dost Muhammad feared that Mahmūd would attempt to retake Kabul or as an act of defiance towards his brother, Muhammad 'Azīm.¹⁵ The latter had already appointed a brother of Mahmūd by the name of Ayyūb Shāh to the Sadozāy throne at Peshawar; coins were struck in his name at both Peshawar and Kashmir before the end of 1233.

It would seem that Dost Muhammad entertained the idea of defying his brother, Muhammad 'Azīm, and declaring his intention to rule independently as Kabul. As a non-Sadozāy, any claim to fully independent rule would seem illegitimate. Consequently, he selected another brother of Mahmūd by the name of Sultān 'Alī as his nominal sovereign at Kabul, an act of insubordination that led to threats from Muhammad 'Azīm. After some half-hearted resistance, Dost Muhammad acquiesced to his brother's choice. Sultān 'Alī was deposed and sent off to retirement (he was murdered soon afterwards). As soon as Muhammad 'Azīm arrived at Kabul, his petty sovereign Ayyūb Shāh in tow, Dost Muhammad withdrew to his apanage at Ghazni.¹⁶ There are no coins known in the name of Sultān 'Alī. It would seem that Dost Muhammad hesitated to proclaim his nominal sovereign in the *khutba* and *sikka*, perhaps fearful that such a move might infuriate his brothers, in particular his half-brother Muhammad 'Azīm who was about seven years his senior.¹⁷ After the rapprochement between Dost Muhammad and Muhammad 'Azīm, coins were struck in the name of Ayyūb Shāh from 1234 to 1239 at both Kabul and Qandahar (at the latter, only late in 1234, following an ephemeral anonymous coinage to be discussed later), as well as at Peshawar from 1233 until 1246 and at Kashmir in 1233 and 1234. At Kashmir, Ayyūb was provided with a distinctive couplet that surreptitiously alludes to his dependency on Muhammad 'Azīm:

*shāh ayyub sekkeh bar zar o sim
zad be-ta'yid-e kardegār-e 'azīm*

("Shāh Ayyūb struck the royal stamp on gold and silver by affirmation of the Great Creator").¹⁸ The presence of the word '*azīm*', "great", albeit as modifier to *kardegār*, "the creator", should be understood as a *sub rosa* reference to Muhammad 'Azīm. Ayyūb exercised no real authority; actual power at Kabul remained in the hands of Muhammad 'Azīm until his death in 1239.

The death of Muhammad 'Azīm seems to have occurred at Kabul during the month of Rabī' II 1239 (December 1823) as the result of a bout of typhus that afflicted him not long after his defeat by the Sikhs at Nowshehra (between Peshawar and Attock), just after a brief

sojourn at Jalalabad en route back to Kabul.¹⁹ He was succeeded at Kabul by his dissolute son Habīb Allāh under the tutelage of 'Abd al-Jabbār Khān, another of the sons of Pāyinda Khān; Ayyūb was retained as nominal sovereign.²⁰ This arrangement was challenged by several members of the Bārakzāy clan, especially the sardars (chiefs, especially in a military capacity) of Qandahar²¹, the uterine brothers Shērdil Khān and Purdil Khān, both sons of Pāyinda Khān, both desirous of a larger role. Although Shērdil was preoccupied with matters at Herat, Purdil mounted a force and entered Kabul, reconfirming Habīb Allāh's position but taking Ayyūb prisoner, who had been brought to Kabul by Muhammad 'Azīm some time before, as noted above. Purdil did not attempt to remain at Kabul. Just before leaving that city to return to Qandahar, Purdil permitted Ayyūb to seek exile in the Punjab, possibly in the entourage of the Peshawar sardars but more likely further east under either Sikh or British protection. None of the historical sources that I have consulted mention the subsequent fate of Ayyūb, not even the year of his death. Nonetheless, the Peshawar sardars continued to strike rupees at Peshawar in Ayyūb's name in every year through 1246, after which the anonymous rupees were struck for three years, until in 1250/1834 the city was annexed by the Sikhs.

At this juncture (1239), the dismantling of the Durrāni state was essentially complete. Habīb Allāh ruled only at Kabul and his authority barely extended beyond the immediate environs of the city. We do not know precisely how long Habīb Allāh ruled, but he was still at least in nominal control at the time of Moorcroft's arrival at Kabul on 22 Shawwāl 1239/20 June 1824, and probably still so at the time of Moorcroft's departure for Bukhara nearly two months later, on 20 Dhū al-Hijja 1239/16 August 1824.²²

There is no need to delve deeply into the complex state of affairs in and around Kabul during the short "reign" of Habīb Allāh. The essential outlines of the relevant chronology are as follows: Habīb Allāh succeeded his father around Rabī' II or Jumādā I 1239, was challenged by the Qandahar sardar Purdil Khān (acting on behalf of his brother Shērdil) some four to eight weeks later, and then, about the end of Sha'bān 1239, was threatened by the sardar of Ghazni, Dost Muhammad, and the sardars of Peshawar (also sons of Pāyinda Khān), one of whom, Yār Muhammad Khān, joined him at Kabul at about this time. Presumably in order to strengthen his position inside the city vis-à-vis the incompetent Habīb Allāh, Yār Muhammad summoned his uterine brothers Fir Muhammad and Sultān Muhammad from Peshawar to Kabul. It was in the latter's entourage that Moorcroft traveled to Kabul.²³

As a counterbalance to the influence of the Peshawar sardars at Kabul, at some point towards the end of 1239, Habīb Allāh or his mentors summoned help from one of the Qandahar sardars, Shērdil Khān, who came to Kabul ostensibly to assist Habīb Allāh, but instead took both him and Dost Muhammad prisoner (Dost Muhammad was seized by a contingent that fetched him from Ghazni), seized the riches deposited by Muhammad 'Azīm in the Kabul treasury and hastened with this booty to Qandahar, apparently suspicious of the intentions of his remaining brothers in the latter city.²⁴ Before his departure from

¹⁴The rump Sadozāy state at Herat (1233-1258) survived largely by appeasing the Shah of Iran while at the same time acting as a buffer state between Iran and the hostile tribal states north and east of Herat.

¹⁵There is, of course, the remote possibility that the mint was inactive in those last months. In light of the rapidly deteriorating political situation following the death of Fath Khān, such a possibility seems remote. Armies had to be raised and the tribes bought off, two processes that required considerable quantities of cash, most of which would probably have had to be newly manufactured from requisitioned or confiscated bullion.

¹⁶The flow of events was actually quite complex and at times difficult to elucidate, but these developments did not lead to the introduction of anonymous coinage, except for an isolated issue of Qandahar dated 1234 discussed below (for further detail, see Masson 1842:177 and Restia 1990:51-71, where these events are related in great detail).

¹⁷Moreover, Dost Muhammad was the son of a Qizilbash mother, whereas Muhammad 'Azīm was the son of full Bārakzāy mother (Noelle 1997:8-9).

¹⁸Whitehead 1934:180.

¹⁹The precise date does not seem to have been recorded either by Afghan or European chroniclers. However, Moorcroft, who was in Peshawar at the time (he arrived there on 8 December 1823/4 Rabī' I 1239), states that the battle of Nowshehra had taken place recently. He and others confirm that Muhammad 'Azīm died not long after that battle. Thus a date of death during the month of Rabī' II/December seems likely (Moorcroft 1841:333-334). Restia's narrative, deriving largely from indigenous Afghan sources, corroborates this chronology (1990:70-71).

²⁰Restia 1990:72-73.

²¹The Qandahar sardars were five brothers, Purdil Khān, Shērdil Khān, Kuhandil Khān, Rabandil Khān and Mihēdil Khān, all sons of Pāyinda Khān by a *lakhel* Hotaki wife.

²²Moorcroft 1841:347, 362, 377. Much of the consternation of modern historians, Moorcroft does not describe the situation in Kabul during his eight weeks' sojourn in that city, claiming that Elphinstone's description of some fifteen years earlier would suffice! This neglect illustrates the unimportance attached by European eye-witnesses to local Afghan affairs which did not directly impinge on European interests.

²³Moorcroft 1841:345-362.

²⁴Noelle 1997:13, Restia 72-78.

Kabul, but after a few indecisive skirmishes between Shērīl and Dost Muhammad, an agreement was forged between the various Bārakzāy brothers that effectively divided the patrimony into a large number of autonomous polities under the nominal (but never effectively enforced) leadership of Shērīl Khān. Reshtia sums up the division of the Durrāni patrimony as follows: (a) Yār Muhammad and his full brother Sultān Muhammad as joint rulers in Kabul; (b) 'Atā Muhammad and his full brothers Pir Muhammad and Sayyid Muhammad at Peshawar; (c) Dost Muhammad in Kohistan; (d) Amīr Muhammad at Ghazni; (e) 'Abd al-Jabbār at Laghmān; (f) Nawwāb Asad Khān in those bits of Derajat that had not yet been seized by the Sikhs; (g) Rahīmīl Khān in Sind (capital at Shikarpur); (h) Muhammad Zamān b. Asad Khān at Jalalābad and (i) the worthless Habīb Allāh in Logar.²⁵ Shērīl retained control over Qandahār and its dependencies as his personal apanage.

In accordance with this agreement, Yār Muhammad and Sultān Muhammad assumed power at Kabul, probably after Moorcroft's departure, thus in late Dhū al-Hijja 1239 or early Muḥarram 1240, to judge by Moorcroft's silence concerning this pact between the various Bārakzāy scions. Yār Muhammad did not stay long, but was summoned to Peshawar by his dying brother and chief sardar of Peshawar, the blind 'Atā Muhammad Khān, handing Kabul over to Sultān Muhammad. 'Atā Muhammad died before the end of 1824 (ended on 10 Jumādā I 1240), which would constitute a *t.a.q.* for the accession of Sultān Muhammad as ruler of Kabul.²⁶ Let us now examine the coins.

There are three issues of coins at Kabul dated 1239 12(KM468), one in the name of Ayyūb Shāh and two anonymous types, the first bearing the kalima on the obverse together with a short and still undeciphered inscription in four short marginal segments (KM473), the second bearing the inscription *sikka-ye doulat-e soltān-e zamān* (KM476). A fourth type has been published, purportedly a rupee dated 1239 in the name of Mahmūd Shāh (KM475), but no example of this type is traceable; the type is neither illustrated nor given any description, other than that it is said to be in the name of Mahmūd, whence I would suggest that the listing is based on an erroneous reading of one sort or another, if not a mere typo.²⁷

There can be little doubt that the Ayyūb issue of 1239 was initiated by Muhammad 'Azīm, as it falls at the end of a continuous series of similar coins dated from 1234 to 1239. There are two minor variants of this issue, one with, the other without regnal year four.²⁸ Coins of this type dated 1238 bear either the regnal year 3 or 4, thus confirming the hypothesis that the Ayyūb coin should have been struck during the earlier part of the year 1239. Perplexingly, the regnal years employed for the coinage in the name of Ayyūb at Kabul and Peshawar do not match. At Peshawar, 1238 is combined with years 5 and 6, 1239 with 6 and 7.²⁹ At present I can offer no explanation for

this discrepancy; it does not seem to correspond to what is known about the Bārakzāy amirs running the affairs of those two cities. All that can be said with certainty is that due to the large number of dates and dies involved, the discrepancy was intentional rather than merely accidental. Incongruous regnal years are encountered rather frequently in the Durrāni coinage.³⁰

Of the anonymous types, the kalima type is clearly the earlier, for it retains the year 1239 and the regnal year 4 of the last Ayyūb issue.³¹ Both the Ayyūb type and the kalima type of 1239 are extremely rare, with fewer than a dozen of the former and only two confirmed specimens of the kalima type in existence, the latter both struck from the same pair of dies.³²

Considerably more plentiful is the second anonymous type (KM476). Its anonymous legend, *sikka-ye doulat-e soltān-e zamān*, may be translated as "the stamp of the government of the sultan of the age (or time)", leaving open the question of just who might be that sultan. However, both the use of the term *sikka* and the inclusion of regnal year "one" (*ahad*)³³ indicate that this type must have been the initial issue of a new ruler, for which the only candidate is Habīb Allāh, the nominal ruler of Kabul from about Rabī' II until approximately the turn of the year 1239/1240, as noted above. Under certain circumstances, reference to an unspecified king had become quite customary in eastern Islamic polities since the 8th/14th century, particularly in cases where a new dynasty (in this case, a new clan) assumed power without having yet acquired the formal trappings of legitimacy.³⁴ As we have noted, reference to an unspecified ruler was in fact just one version of anonymous or quasi-anonymous coinage. Since the authority of Pāyinda Khān had been that of a civil servant, admittedly of a rather exalted nature, but not that of a sovereign ruler, his sons were unwilling to proclaim their *de facto* authority in their own names, lest they be regarded as usurpers in the eyes of the ulema. As we shall later observe, in 1245 Dost Muhammad sought to establish his own legitimacy by citing his deceased father on his coins.

But who could have been the issuer of the rare kalima type (KM473)? Was it the last issue of Muhammad 'Azīm, who for some reason decided to remove the name of his Sadozāy sovereign just before his death? After all, it bears the fourth regnal year, though it cannot be excluded that the solitary reverse die was simply left over from previous coinage. Or was it the first issue of his son and successor, Habīb Allāh? Or could there be a third possibility? We have already noted that Ayyūb retained his position as nominal sovereign for a few weeks after the accession of Habīb Allāh at Kabul, and that several weeks later, Purdīl Khān occupied Kabul and reconfirmed Habīb Allāh as ruler of that city. Herein lies the solution to the issuer of the rare kalima type. The Ayyūb type would have been struck first by Muhammad 'Azīm and then by his son and successor, Habīb Allāh, until the arrival of Purdīl. Ayyūb Shāh had been the nominal prince of Muhammad 'Azīm, who belonged to a faction of the Bārakzāy clan that was opposed by the Qandahār sardars, Purdīl Khān and his uterine brothers. Although the textual sources are silent in this respect, it seems that one of Purdīl Khān's motivations in attacking Kabul must have been to lay hands on Ayyūb Shāh, the last

²⁵Reshtia 1990:78.

²⁶Noelle 1997:14.

²⁷Unfortunately, erroneous entries all too commonly wind their way into the listings of the *Standard Catalog*, especially for the Islamic series. Nonetheless, the catalog is a useful compilation, so long as the reader remains aware of its shortcomings. Unless clearly illustrated, an entry in the *Standard Catalog* must be understood as nothing more than an indication that somebody, not necessarily knowledgeable, claims to have seen an example of that date and type.

The source of the 1239 rupee allegedly bearing the name of Mahmūd is White King (1896:33), #2, his own collection, not illustrated. The White King collection eventually found its way to the sale rooms of J. Schulman at Amsterdam (June 1905), but I have not had the opportunity to track down the fate of this specimen.

²⁸This date has not yet been published for type KM468, but there are two examples at Tübingen (95-4-201 with regnal year 4, 95-31-214 without regnal year).

²⁹The combined use of Hijri dates and regnal years was a Mughal innovation from the time of Jahangir (1014-1037/1605-1628) (Hodivala 1923:199-200), subsequently adopted by the Durrānis and many of the Princely States. In Afghanistan regnal years were gradually eliminated between the 1220s and 1240s, with a few later exceptions, as can readily be ascertained by scanning the listings in the *Standard Catalog*. Regnal years were occasionally used in Europe, especially in the papacy, and on rare occasions in Britain (e.g., the Jubilee crowns of Queen Victoria), normally together with Christian dates.

Muslim regnal years normally refer to the ruler named on the coin; for this reason they are normally excluded from anonymous coinage. The kalima rupee of Kabul 1239 is a rare exception (KM475).

³⁰Whitehead 1934: xi, xviii, liii, lxi, lxxvii. Further anomalous usages of regnal years have been discovered since Whitehead's catalog; most are listed in the *Standard Catalog*.

³¹The illustrated specimen in the *Standard Catalog* lacks the date, though the regnal year is vaguely visible in the lower left of the reverse. However, there is a lovely specimen in the Ashmolean Museum on which both date and year are boldly clear. Hamidi (1995b:10) states that he has never seen an example with legible date or year. I have not had the opportunity to determine if the reverse die of the kalima type is linked to the Ayyūb coins of 1239/4.

The Ashmolean specimen provided the motivation for me to examine the entire question of the anonymous Bārakzāy coinage. I had long been suspicious of the existence of this type, and had just a year ago suggested to the editors of the *Standard Catalog* that it be delisted.

³²I have lately learned that two additional specimens of this rare coin, one showing both Hijri year and regnal year, one showing only the Hijri year, are in the collection of W.F. Spengler, whom I thank for this reference.

³³On most Mughal and Durrāni coins the year "one" is represented by the word *ahad*, whereas later regnal years are invariably given in numerals, presumably to avoid confusion between the numeral '1' and the letter *alif*.

³⁴Albani 1974:168-171.

remaining Durrānī in the region. His presence must have been worrisome to the Qandahar sardars, who feared that other factions of the Bārakzāy constellation, such as the rival Peshawar sardars, might use him as a rallying point for their own ambitions. I would thus propose that Purdil Khān probably arrested Ayyūb Shāh immediately upon entering Kabul, perhaps leaving Habib Allāh nominally in charge of administering the city. When it came time to withdraw back to Qandahar, Purdil Khān reconfirmed Habib Allāh. I believe that it was during this short interval, between the arrest of Ayyūb Shāh and the reconfirmation of Habib Allāh, an interval of perhaps two or three weeks in or about Rajab 1239, that the kalima rupee was struck. These may well have been produced in considerable haste, in which case reverse dies left over from the last Ayyūb type, still bearing the regnal year four, may simply have been kept in use.³⁵ The anomalous regnal year was either overlooked or regarded as irrelevant. In any case, it was different from the regnal year used by Sultān Muhammad at Peshawar for his issues in the name of Ayyūb. Habib Allāh remained in Kabul after the departure of Purdil Khān, whereupon he introduced the *sofān-e zamān* type.

There exists further circumstantial evidence for assigning the kalima type to Purdil Khān. As will be discussed in the chapter on Qandahar, the first anonymous issue there, dated 1234, was struck under the authority of Purdil Khān. Like the Kabul 1239 type, it too bore just the kalima on the obverse, though arranged very differently. What is more, after the Qandahar sardars restored the name of Ayyūb to the coinage of that city, later in 1234, they continue to place the kalima on the coinage. In other words, the kalima functioned as a badge representing the Qandahar sardars.³⁶ In fact, all coins struck at Qandahar between 1234 and the British invasion of 1255, bear the kalima, either together with the name of Ayyūb (1234-1239) or on various sorts of anonymous coins (1234, 1240-1255), during which time the city was under continuous control by the Qandahar sardars. Thus the adoption of the kalima at Kabul should also be seen as a mark of Qandahari authority at Kabul.

Reshtia reports that after Purdil Khān had reappointed Habib Allāh ruler of Kabul and returned to Qandahar, there were a few brief skirmishes between Habib Allāh and Dost Muhammad, during which the latter besieged Habib Allāh briefly in the Bālā Hissār before a settlement was reached, under which Habib Allāh would remain in command of Kabul, Dost Muhammad would return to Ghazni and Habib Allāh would pay Dost Muhammad an annual subvention of 20,000 rupees.³⁷ It was probably for the payment of this subvention that large numbers of the *sofān-e zamān* type were produced, by far the most plentiful issue of Kabul in the year 1239.³⁸

The next coin type survived for between a year and a year and a half and bears the expression *fakhr kon ey sim o zar az sekke-ye sāheb-e zamān*, "be proud, O silver and gold, of the stamp of the master of the age" (KM477). Coins of this type are found with the date and regnal year combinations 1240/one, 1240/2 and 1241/2. The appearance of the expression *sāheb-e zamān* ("master of time" or "master of the age") on the coinage of a Sunni ruler is rather curious. The expression, which bristles with a panoply of meanings, is used in Shiite contexts to refer to the twelfth Imam, al-Mahdi Muhammad, who is said to have occulted himself towards the end of the third century of the Hijra and would reappear as the Messiah at some

unforeseeable moment in the future. Since, according to Shiite belief, he did not die but rather went into hiding (occultation), he is presumed to have conquered time itself, whence the epithet "master of time". This appellation seems incongruous on a Sunni coin, though its interpretation as the "master" or "ruler" of the time can readily be understood as appropriate, and was perceived as such by the contemporary Josiah Harlan, as noted below. This coinage must have been initiated by the brothers Yār Muhammad and Sultān Muhammad, who commenced their joint rule at Kabul just after the beginning of 1240, and was perpetuated without change after Yār Muhammad was summoned to take over at Peshawar, leaving Kabul under the sole rule of Sultān Muhammad. The uninterrupted continuation of an anonymous type under two distinct administrations has parallels elsewhere in Bārakzāy coinage, specifically at Qandahar (1243-1254) and Herat (1261-1269), under circumstances that will be discussed later. However, despite the fact that the same legend, albeit in a different arrangement, was continued after 1241 under the authority of Dost Muhammad (though without regnal years), the traditional attribution of this type (KM477) to Dost Muhammad is clearly incorrect, as will become evident in the following discussion.³⁹

As is so often the case, the resolution of this problem is beset with contradictory evidence. Both the Afghan and most European sources agree that Dost Muhammad occupied Kabul only after the death of the Qandahar sardar Shērdil Khān, who died during the month of August 1826 (26 Dhū al-Hijja 1241-27 Muharram 1242); Reshtia places it even later, during the year 1827 (began 2 Jumādī II 1242).⁴⁰ On the other hand, Masson provides a detailed description of Dost Muhammad's entry into Kabul:

Sultān Mōhamed Khān governed Kābal for about a year without gaining the good opinion of any-one, and as he discouraged the Kazilbish interest, that faction still inclined to Dost Mōhomed Khān. The latter chief, availing himself of a favourable opportunity, suddenly invested his half-brother in the Bālā Hissār, or citadel. The means of defence were inadequate, and mediation was accepted; the result of which was that Sultān Mōhamed Khān retired to Peshawar. Dost Mōhamed Khān, engaging to remit him annually the sum of one lakh of rupees, became master of Kābal and its dependencies.⁴¹

Masson does not make any mention of the supposedly prior death of Shērdil Khān in connection with these events. If his report is trustworthy, and there seems to be no reason to query its accuracy, then the acquisition of Kabul by Dost Muhammad and the retirement of Sultān Muhammad to Peshawar coincide well with the transition from the first *fakhr kon* type (KM477) to the second *fakhr kon* type (KM478) in the middle of the year 1241. Although it can never be assumed that the pace of mintage was uniform across an entire year, it is worth noting that amongst the coins dated 1241, the first type is several times rarer than the second, an observation which cautiously suggests that the transition more likely occurred earlier in that year, rather than later. Thus it does indeed appear that the rule of Sultān Muhammad at Kabul probably lasted only somewhat over one year, well in conformity with Masson's report. The elimination of the regnal year on type KM478 is further evidence for the change of issuer at this juncture.

In the division of the Sadozāy patrimony following the assassination of Fath Khān in 1234, Dost Muhammad received the region of Ghazni as his apauage (though not without opposition), then gradually extended his sphere of influence to encompass many regions west and north of Kabul, in particular the resource-rich district of Kohistan to the north, to which he ultimately gained formal recognition under Shērdil's conciliations of 1239.⁴² Although it seems that Sultān

³⁵Moreover, the 1239 Ayyūb type with regnal year 4 is quite rare and may have only been struck in limited numbers, leaving behind reverse dies that were still in serviceable condition.

³⁶Previously, the kalima had not been used at either Kabul or Qandahar since the reign of Shāh Jalāl I (1037-1068/1628-1658), except for a single issue at Qandahar in the name of the Ghilzāy chief, Mahmūd Shāh dated 1135.

³⁷Reshtia 1990:75-76.

³⁸The relative abundance of the *sofān-e zamān* type compared to the two earlier issues of that year. In a hoard of at least 1000 Kabul rupees (terminal date probably 1245), there were at least 150 rupees in the name of Ayyūb (1234-1239), of which no more than 10 were dated 1239. There was not a single example of the kalima type, though one or both of the pieces acquired by Spengler may have come from a part of the hoard that I did not see. But there were about 75 examples of the *sofān-e zamān* type. Despite the fact that the hoard was severely contaminated with hundreds of miscellaneous Durrānī, Bārakzāy and Mughal rupees (in addition to more than 1000 that dated from between 1228 and 1245), these proportions suggest that the first two issues of 1239 were indeed of minimal extent.

³⁹The misattribution to Dost Muhammad may be rooted in the confusion over the regnal years. The date of 1239 has often been given as the year of Dost Muhammad's accession at Kabul. If that were true, then 1240/one, 1240/2 and 1241/2 of KM477 would be valid regnal years for Dost Muhammad. But the date 1239 is wrong.

⁴⁰Reshtia 1990:79-80. Reshtia was often careless with dates.

⁴¹Masson 1842:1249.

⁴²Noelle 1997:13. Reshtia 1990:66-69, 78. Technically, in the 1239 division, Kohistan was given to Dost Muhammad, Ghazni to his younger full brother, Anūr Muhammad. But Anūr Muhammad was always the loyal subordinate to his elder

Muhammad was not at first inclined to capitulate to his ambitious half brother Dost Muhammad, it is conceivable that external pressures might have forced his hand. Sultān Muhammad's base of power remained Peshawar, despite his residence at Kabul, and Peshawar was at the time under constant threat from the expansionist policies of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh. Could it be that Sultān Muhammad regarded it in his best interest to appease Dost Muhammad by acknowledging his claim to Kabul? The numismatic evidence strongly suggests that this was indeed the case, as I shall now explain.

There are two crucial items of numismatic evidence that need to be taken into account. First of all, the coinage of Peshawar, the true home of Sultān Muhammad, continued until 1246 to cite the nominal Sadozāy sovereign Ayyūb Shāh with regnal years that commence in 1233. Secondly, the *sāheb-e zamān* legend of type KM477 is perpetuated verbatim on the two subsequent anonymous issues of Kabul, KM478 with dates 1241 through 1244 and KM479 with dates 1244 and 1245. In addition, the obverse of KM479 closely mimics the arrangement of the same legend on the 1240 and 1241 issue (KM477). From these two observations I would conclude that Sultān Muhammad perceived himself as autonomous ruler at Peshawar and as reluctant caretaker for Dost Muhammad at Kabul, presumably from the very commencement of his assignment to the latter city at the beginning of 1240. Otherwise, why would Sultān Muhammad have used an anonymous protocol at Kabul and a Sadozāy protocol at Peshawar? A pragmatically divided policy of this nature makes perfect sense in view of the complex web of interrelationships that characterized early Bārakzāy ascendancy in Afghanistan: proclaim oneself in one's personal apanage but conciliate one's powerful neighbor elsewhere. Further evidence for Sultān Muhammad's willingness to accede to Dost Muhammad is that he readily deferred to the latter's challenge, offering to withdraw from the Bālā Hīšār before the onset of actual hostilities, as Masson makes clear in the passage cited above.

Before considering the anonymous issues of Dost Muhammad, let us return for a moment to the adoption of the expression *sāheb-e zamān*. I have not been able to assess the level of influence exercised by the Qizilbash of Chindawul during the ascendancy of Sultān Muhammad at Kabul. The Shiite Qizilbash, who resided in their own quarter (Chindawul) just outside the city of Kabul, had been a significant force in Durrānī rule from the very beginning. Their sectarian divergence from the Afghan mainstream was frequently cause for friction of greater or lesser seriousness, especially as they had become the principal administrative and scribal class within the Durrānī polity. Could it be that Sultān Muhammad's adoption of the *sāheb-e zamān* legend was intended to placate the Qizilbash nobility and thus cement their loyalty, for the Qizilbash seem to have periodically expressed a preference for Dost Muhammad over the Sadozāy claimants as well as over other members of the Bārakzāy nobility? Or was it simply that the ostensibly pro-Shiite expression, *sāheb-e zamān*, had by this juncture become devoid of any significant Shiite flavor?

The association of the term *sāheb-e zamān* with the Bārakzāys was noted by the insightful contemporary observer Josiah Harlan, a Pennsylvania physician who traveled as a mercenary to Afghanistan and saw service for several years as military advisor to Dost Muhammad, then anxious to strengthen his military acumen by adopting western style organization and discipline. In regard to Dost Muhammad's placement of his own name on the coinage in 1250/1834, Harlan provides the following commentary:

The title of Ameer is simply political; but as politics always forms a part of the religion of Mahomedans, the prince's flatterers soon added to the semi-royal distinction "Ul Mominen," and he became, in colloquial acceptance, "commander of the faithful," as they euphoniously style the Khulleefa or Calif of the Mahomedan world. The coin of Cabul, which, since the change of dynasty had been struck in the name of "Saheb i Zeman," which is incognito or *innominally* "ruler of the day or the time then passing," was

now impressed with the cognizance of "Ameer Dost Mahomed, by the grace of God."⁴³

He does not specifically associate the *sāheb-e zamān* legend with any one of the Bārakzāys, but rather implies that it was common to more than one of them, thus adding further evidence for the hypothesis that the *sāheb-e zamān* coinage was initiated by Yār Muhammad and Sultān Muhammad and retained by Dost Muhammad. Harlan's assignation of this motto to the "coin of Cabul", together with what is clear about the inscriptions of the coin of Peshawar, lends further support to the somewhat anomalous situation in which Sultān Muhammad was simultaneously promulgating two completely distinct sorts of coinage, his own proper coinage at Peshawar in the name of his erstwhile protégé Ayyūb Shāh and an anonymous coinage for Dost Muhammad at Kabul in the "name" of the *sāheb-e zamān*. In effect, Sultān Muhammad, through the formality of the *sikka*, was promulgating the artifice that Peshawar and Kabul were two distinct polities, one under his own firm control (Peshawar), the other held nominal by another of the sons of Pāyinda Khān, in this case Dost Muhammad (Kabul). It cannot, however, be ascertained whether the impetus for this distinction came from Sultān Muhammad himself, from Dost Muhammad, or from the Chindawul Qizilbash administrators.⁴⁴

One final note concerning this issue is germane. The rupee of Kabul had at first retained the Mughal/Afsharid standard of 11.52 grams, but was reduced to approximately 10.6-10.7 grams in 1228/1813 during the reign of Mahmūd and manifested on the coins themselves by the adoption of a toghra-like reverse design towards the middle of that year (KM463⁴⁵). Type KM477 (1240-1241) inaugurated a lighter standard of about 9.85 grams, which would continue at Kabul (but not at other mints!) until 1245, as we shall see. Is it not ironic that the weight reduction of 1240 should have been signaled by a verse that admonishes silver and gold to be proud of the new royal stamp?

The next anonymous type (KM478) preserves the *fakhr kon* legend of type KM477 but arranges it very differently on the die. The words *sāheb-e zamān* are enclosed in a central pointed quatrefoil, with the date and the remainder of the royal protocol in four marginal segments. The disposition of the mint/date legend on the reverse was also visibly altered, to the extent that the old and new versions could readily be distinguished even by an illiterate peasant. This new type was struck in large quantities from 1241 through 1244. The regnal year is no longer included, as would be the case for virtually all subsequent issues of Kabul. The date is repeated on obverse and reverse. As a result, a number of mismatches are known, surely the result of a reluctance to throw away a still serviceable die from the previous year, either obverse or reverse.⁴⁶ This type is clearly an issue of Dost Muhammad, who, as we have noted, was recognized at Kabul by about the middle of 1241, though it is certainly possible that he did not physically occupy the city until some months later, perhaps even after the death of Shērdīl, as many of the sources allege. Coins of this

⁴³Harlan 1842:123. The italics are his. The coin legend adopted in 1250 does not bear the Persian equivalent of "by the grace of God". Instead, it bears an appeal by the ruler for assistance from God for a planned jihad, an expression that Harlan probably saw as an Islamic equivalent to the British *dei gratia*. At that time, American coinage was purely secular, without the term "in God we trust" that was first added to the American coinage in 1864.

⁴⁴Although the simultaneous maintenance of two coinages by a single ruler for different regions was a rare phenomenon in Islamic numismatic tradition, there are numerous precedents. A most instructive example is the coinage of the Safavid ruler, Tahmāsp II (1135-1145/1722-1732), who after the liberation of Isfahān from Afghan control in 1142/1729 produced a coinage in his own name at mints under direct Safavid administration but permitted an anonymous coinage (in the "name" of the Eighth Imam, 'Alī b. Mūsā) at those mints forming the apanage of Tahmāsp Qulī Khān (the future Nādir Shāh), in particular Mashhad.

⁴⁵The listings in the *Standard Catalog* are incorrect. There is no coin of this type dated 1226, but the initial issue is 1228/5 (Fibinger IL3 E2). Subsequent years are 1230, 1231, 1232 and 1233, all with corresponding regnal year, though the regnal year is off the flan on most known specimens. The type is relatively rare. In the hoard of 1000+ Kabul rupees (terminal date about 1245) cited in a previous note, there were at least 150 examples of the Ayyūb issues of 1234-1239 but no more than a dozen or so of KM463 (1228-1233). The hoard has by now been widely dispersed throughout the market.

⁴⁶E.g., Tubingen 95-31-215 (1242 obverse, 1241 reverse) and 95-4-212 (1242 obverse, 1243 reverse).

brother, whence it can be persuasively argued that in fact Dost Muhammad had remained the ultimate authority at Ghazni.

type are quite plentiful, perhaps because they were struck in substantial numbers to cover, amongst other fiscal obligations, the agreed annual allowance or tribute to Sultān Muḥammad of 100,000 rupees. Of course, such allowances need not have been paid in actual rupee coins of Afghan mintage. Either commodities or foreign coin, especially imported gold and East India Company rupees, might have constituted a portion of these transfers. However, despite the lack of contemporary evidence, I am inclined to postulate that a large, if not overwhelmingly large, proportion indeed consisted of indigenous silver rupees. Copper coins could not have been used, as their circulation was restricted to the city of origin and its immediate environs, whereas gold coins were struck in infinitesimal quantities and were no longer utilized as day-to-day currency.

In 1244, Dost Muḥammad altered the type (KM479) by restoring the obverse design of the 1240-1241 coinage (KM477) but maintaining the reverse design of 1241-1244 (KM478). The inscriptional content and weight standard (~9.85g) remained unchanged. The reasons for the change in design remain obscure. The type was struck in just 1244 and 1245 and is rather rare. Like its predecessor it bore the date on both sides, and a muling of the two years is known.⁴⁷

A cautionary note regarding the phenomenon of mismatched dates is in order. These mulings occur quite frequently: there are nearly 30 examples in the Tübingen collection of Durrāni and Bārakzāy coins, dating from 1188 to 1305, as well as numerous improperly matched Hijri dates and regnal years. The frequency of this phenomenon signifies that mint officials were not especially bothered by the use of an outdated die, especially for the reverse, which normally bore just the mint name, together with the date, regnal year or both, but no portion of the royal protocol. For this reason, the numismatic researcher must never rashly assume that every paired obverse and reverse necessarily belong together. We have already encountered one disconcerting example of this phenomenon, the coupling of the 1239/year 4 reverse with the kalima type I have ascribed to the brief tenure of Purḍil Khān in Kabul (KM473). Normally, in the Durrāni and Bārakzāy series, the mismatched dies are from adjacent years, but in some other series, notably the Maṅghits of Bukhara, intervals of up to three or more years are commonplace. In fact, mismatched dies tend to occur in nearly all Islamic series where the date is included on both obverse and reverse.⁴⁸

During the middle of the year 1245 (1829/1830) Dost Muḥammad introduced a new coin type at Kabul, incorporating a weight reduction to about 9.3 grams and a radically new obverse protocol in the name of his deceased father, Pāyinda Khān (KM480). The protocol is in the form of a couplet

*sim o talā beh shams o qamar midehad navid
vaqt-e ravāḡ-e sekke-ye pāyendeh khān rasid*

"silver and gold have brought news to the sun and moon that the time of currency of the stamp of Pāyinda Khān has arrived". This is a classical example of what I have termed a quasi-autonomous coinage, for it bears the name of the long-deceased father of Dost Muḥammad, Pāyinda Khān. What might have convinced Dost Muḥammad that the time was indeed ripe for such a change? It cannot be pure coincidence that the two remaining Sadozāy nominal rulers, Maḥmūd Shāh, who still enjoyed a modicum of independence at Herat, and Ayyūb Shāh, the nominal sovereign of the Peshawar sardars, both disappeared from the scene in the year 1245, Maḥmūd by death, Ayyūb by obscurity (and perhaps death). At Herat, which by this time had fallen into the sphere of influence of Iran and Russia, Maḥmūd was succeeded by his son Kāmran, whose coins of Herat are known dated from 1244 (sic) until 1257. At Peshawar, the Bārakzāy amir Sultān Muḥammad (Yār Muḥammad had died in 1828, which began on 13 Jumādā II 1243, leaving Sultān Muḥammad in sole charge of Peshawar) continued to adorn the coinage with the name of the ostensibly deceased Ayyūb into the year 1246, though altering the design to create a visually distinctive

⁴⁷Tübingen 95-4-214 (1244 obverse, 1245 reverse).

⁴⁸A notable exception is the coinage of the 'Alawī rulers of Morocco in the 18th and 19th centuries, for which mismatches are virtually unknown.

type for the supposedly posthumous issue of 1245-1246 (KM734).⁴⁹ Formal Sadozāy power had thus come to an end everywhere except nominally at distant Herat, whereas Bārakzāy power was in the process of consolidation, though the Sadozāy Durrāni faction retained a modicum of influence within Afghanistan, especially in the traditional Sadozāy lands in the Qandahar hinterlands. Thus the proclamation of Bārakzāy prowess in the *khutba* and *sikka* was appropriate at this juncture. However, Bārakzāy authority was still very much divided, with Dost Muḥammad only in control of Kabul and a few adjacent districts. Thus, by resurrecting the name of his father Pāyinda Khān, the acclaimed martyr of the Bārakzāy clan and the father of virtually all the remaining Bārakzāy contenders for power, he could announce Bārakzāy supremacy over the Durrānis while at the same time assuaging his brothers, most of whom were still fully autonomous and fearful of Dost Muḥammad's expansionist ambitions. Moreover, it appears that Dost Muḥammad's finances remained dangerously precarious, whereupon a reduction of the weight of the rupee, however it was implemented, would have seemed a sensible policy.⁵⁰ In light of all these factors, the new coinage was an appropriate response to the circumstances of the time. Not surprisingly, however, contemporary chronicles are silent with regard to the new coinage and its lowered weight.

Five years later, in 1250/1834, Dost Muḥammad proposed a jihad to seek revenge upon the infidels, specifically the Sikh rulers of the Punjab who had ousted Sultān Muḥammad from Peshawar and taken possession of the city earlier in the same year. Moreover, most of the Sikh territories had once been part of the Durrāni empire, so that Dost Muḥammad could appeal simultaneously to both religious and nationalist sentiments. In preparation for the campaign, Dost Muḥammad sought affirmation from the ulema (religious scholars) of Kabul both for his formal sovereignty and for his pleas to the nobility to finance the mobilization of a ghazi force for the upcoming campaign. In a ceremony somewhat reminiscent of Ahmad Shāh's coronation nearly a century earlier, he received the title of *amir al-ma'mūn* and the formal rights of *khutba* and *sikka* from the ulema.⁵¹ This event is reflected in the coinage by the insertion of his own name into the coin inscriptions:

*amir dōst muhammad bi-'azm-e jaṅg-e jehād
kamar bebast o bezad sekkeh nāserash haqq bād*

"Amir Dost Muḥammad, intending a war of jihad, girded his loins and struck coins; may the Truth (i.e., God) grant him success", a totally appropriate inscription for a ruler planning a jihad. Since Dost Muḥammad did not have a genealogical claim to formal legitimacy, he instead called for a jihad and appealed to the ulema to provide formal acknowledgment of his sovereignty. The campaign was indeed carried out, but was relatively inconclusive and failed to dislodge the Sikhs from Peshawar. It might be added that the previous coinage, citing the name of his father, the long-deceased Pāyinda Khān, as though he were the actual ruler, could have provided, in the eyes of the ulema, yet another justification for Dost Muḥammad's claim to legitimacy. The five years' production of coins citing Pāyinda Khān was tantamount to a posthumous *de jure* proclamation of Pāyinda's *de facto* ascendancy

⁴⁹Clearly dated examples of both years at Tübingen (IL6 F1 for 1245, IL6 F2 for 1246). As mentioned earlier in the text, I have been unable to determine the date of death of Ayyūb Shāh.

⁵⁰It is not clear how a reduction of the weight of the rupee might have affected the accounts of state. The major causes of Dost Muḥammad's fiscal stringency were the tribute he was required to supply to his brothers, especially Sultān Muḥammad, as well as often onerous allowances dished out to various tribal leaders whose pacification was a prerequisite for maintaining stability within the kingdom. The account rupee was known as a *khām* ("raw") rupee and was apparently fixed at ten account shahis, as had been established by Nādir Shāh in 1150/1737. Actual coins were known as *pakāsh* ("cooked"). The value of the *pakāsh* rupee relative to the *khām* varied over time and from place to place. No attempt has been made here to trace the value of the various Durrāni and Bārakzāy denominations in the 19th century, but it is likely that considerable unpublished data exist, especially in the archives of the India Office Library (Noelle 1997:398-399, Kakar 1979:215). A contemporary observer of this practice was Mohan Lal (1846:236): "All the government and mercantile accounts are received and paid in Khām rupees, equal to ten shahis each. This is not a current coin, but is used in the accounts".

⁵¹Noelle 1997:15-17. As noted above, the assumption of the title *amir al-ma'mūn*, which does not appear on the coinage, was recorded by Harlan.

and could thus be interpreted as grounds for converting Dost Muhammad's *de facto* rule into *de jure* rule, in accordance with the principle that the son of a *de facto* ruler was automatically entitled to *de jure* recognition, no matter how the father might have acquired his throne.⁵² Dost Muhammad's named coinage (KM481) was struck from 1250 to 1255, though some years, notably 1253, are remarkably rare, perhaps mirroring the relentless financial crises that beset the Kabul regime during these troubled times.

On 30 Rabi' I 1254/23 June 1838 the Tripartite Treaty was signed by Shāh Shujā' al-Mulk (the Durrāni scion living in exile at Ludhiana in British territory), the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh, and the British government in India. The treaty envisioned a British-led invasion of Afghanistan and the restoration of Shujā' al-Mulk to the Durrāni throne at Kabul, in hopes of stabilizing the often chaotic political situation in the region in order to thwart Russian and Iranian expansionism in the region. The British invasion was successful and Dost Muhammad fled towards Bukhara, but upon receiving no quarter there, he surrendered to the British and was despatched into exile in India. Shujā' al-Mulk was proclaimed king and enthroned at Kabul, his sixth proclamation, on 26 Jumādā I 1255/7 August 1839, having earlier been proclaimed, for the fifth time, at Qandahar by his British mentors on 10 Safar 1255/25 April 1839 (his fifth enthronement).⁵³ Three types of coins bearing the name of Shujā' al-Mulk were struck at Kabul between 1255 and 1257. The first of these bears the same couplet that had been introduced some three months earlier at Qandahar:

sekkeh zad bar sim o zar roushantar az khorshid o māh
hāmi-ye din-e nabi soltan shujā' al-molk shāh

"The sultan Shujā' al-Mulk Shāh, protector of the Prophet's religion, struck the royal stamp on silver and gold, brighter than the sun and moon", and is known dated 1255 only (KM483).⁵⁴ The second issue bears the inscription *solṭān shujā' al-molk durr-e durrāni*, and is also dated 1255 only (KM484.2). The date is rarely visible, as the final digit is placed at the top of the reverse. Below the first '5' of the date appears a *damma*, representing the vowel *a* following the *b* of Kabul,

⁵²Album 1976:127-128, 130-131. Whereas Dost Muhammad circumvented the accusation of usurpation by honoring his deceased father as sultan, the Qarā Qoyūnlū ruler Qarā Yūsuf (809-823/1406-1420) accomplished the same feat by naming his son Pir Būdāq to the sultanate. Several years earlier, Pir Būdāq had been made an adoptive son of the Jalayirid ruler Sultan Ahmad, whose legitimacy was never questioned as the legitimate heir to the Jalayirid throne (his coins are common) (*ibid.*, 124).

⁵³Shujā' al-Mulk never exercised any independent authority during his fifth and sixth reigns, 1255-1258. Although the British forces may at first have envisaged a true restoration of Durrāni power as a buffer between their possessions in India and the encroaching influence of Russia and Iran from the north and west, in reality Shāh Shujā' remained little more than a vehicle for increasing British involvement in the affairs of Afghanistan. This led to widespread resentment amongst the Afghans and ultimately to the uprising of November 1841. The intervening course of affairs, exacerbated by a sequence of poor judgments on the part of the British command, are well-documented but irrelevant to the present study. After 1842 the British increasingly supported Dost Muhammad as the candidate most likely to constitute the desired bulwark against Iranian and Russian aggression.

⁵⁴There is an amusing tale associated with this coinage. Citing various Afghan sources but without having examined actual specimens of the coinage, Noelle presents a slight variant, with *nur-e chahm-e durr-e durrān* in place of *hāmi-ye din-e nabi solṭān*, which was altered by the hostile populace of Kabul to:

sekkeh zad bar sim o solṭān shujā' al-molk
nur-e chahm-e lāt o barni o khāk-e pāy-e lompani

"The Armenian Shāh Shujā' struck the royal stamp on silver and gold, the light of the eye of Lord and Burnes, dust at the feet of the [East India] Company" (Noelle 1990:307, n. 184). The references are to the British officers P. B. Loel and Alexander Burnes. The mother of Shāh Shujā' was reputedly of partial Armenian origin.

It is conceivable that this type, utilizing the couplet introduced some three and a half months earlier at Qandahar, was actually struck prior to Shāh Shujā' sixth enthronement at Kabul, or at least from dies prepared beforehand. The general rule at the time was that a new enthronement should have required the introduction of a new coin type. Thus the sixth enthronement should have heralded a new type, in this case the *durr-e durrāni* type (KM484.2). Perhaps dies bearing the couplet type introduced earlier at Qandahar were prepared before the nature of the new type had been decided, either between the time of Dost Muhammad's flight and the enthronement at Kabul or in the days between the enthronement and the decision to adopt of the *durr-e durrāni* type. In any event, the couplet type at Kabul (KM483) must have been struck only very briefly.

Whitehead (1934:184) slightly misconstrued the verse by placing the word *solṭān* at the beginning of the second *misra'*. For metrical reasons *solṭān* must follow *nabi*. The sense of the verse is unchanged.

which has been misconstrued for either the numeral '6' or '9', leading to the false interpretation of the date as either 1256 or 1259.⁵⁵ Finally, the third and overwhelmingly the most common type bears the simple legend *solṭān shujā' al-molk shāh*, and is known dated 1255, 1256 and 1257 (also 1258, to which we shall later refer) (KM482 & KM484.1, the former a presentation version of the latter, which was an ordinary circulating coin).⁵⁶

The transition from the ephemeral *durr-e durrāni* type to the simple *shāh* type in 1255 can perhaps be explained by the antipathy of the Kabul population for the Durrāni, i.e., Sadozāy, lineage ever since the assassination of Fath Khān some 22 years earlier. Whereas the British leaders correctly anticipated that the restoration of Shāh Shujā' would elicit substantial support at Qandahar, they apparently failed to take into account the disdain with which Kabul would have regarded any scion of Sadozāy ancestry.

In order to understand the events that shaped the convoluted sequence of coinage in late 1257 and 1258, some notion of the topography of the city is essential. The main urban area lay in the valley of the Kabul River abutting a hilly area to the west and southwest. Immediately to the southeast, situated at some elevation above the city, lay the citadel, the *Bālā Hisār* (literally, "high fortress"), where the residences of Shujā' al-Mulk and much of the nobility were situated. Some two miles to the northwest lay the district of Chindawul, which was the quarter of the Qizilbāsh, who provided much of the administrative personnel of the Kabul regime. Finally, some three miles to the north/northeast was situated the British cantonment, surrounded by defensive walls, outside of which had arisen a small mercantile colony dedicated to the victualing of the British garrison. The mint was most likely located in the city proper, though it would not have been difficult to set up a second mint within the *Bālā Hisār*, which, as a fortified location, would have offered better security in troubled times.

British rule at Kabul was plagued by a series of counterproductive military and financial decisions and a general lack of understanding of the nature of governance in Afghanistan. Growing Afghan exasperation with *farangi* rule spilled over into open rebellion in Kabul following the assassination of Alexander Burnes on 17 Ramadān 1257/2 November 1841. On this occasion, or very shortly afterwards, the British forces and camp followers abandoned the city proper and retreated to the *Bālā Hisār* (where Shāh Shujā' continued to maintain his residence) and to the cantonments, until, on 23 Dhū al-Qa'da

⁵⁵The specimen published and illustrated by Whitehead (1934:185, #1224) shows what appears to be the date 1259 written vertically (though only the alleged '9' is visible), similar to many reverses of 1257 and 1258 of various types. However, the purported '9' is again the *damma*. Moreover, the numeral '5' was nearly always written not as a plain circle (as at Qandahar) but with a point at its apex, as is typical of modern Iranian and Afghan practice. If the date were indeed vertically written, then the point would be at the apex of the numeral, i.e., at the right when the coin is held upright, but it is clear in Whitehead's illustration that the '5' is actually written horizontally, with the point facing "north". The date is in fact 125x. The same is true of the Tübingen specimen of KM484.1 (SNAT 963) and British Museum 1922-4-24-2288, both of which should also be read as 125x. Where the date is visible on the *durr-e durrāni* type, it is 1255, its digits arranged in the same fashion as the presentation style KM482 (=Whitehead 1218, same specimen, in the British Museum), also struck at Kabul in 1255. The proposed sequence of the couplet and *durr-e durrāni* types is based on the assumption, not necessarily valid, that the content of the couplet would suggest that it was intended to reassure the Muslims of Afghanistan that Shāh Shujā' was not intending to sacrifice the country to the infidel, whereas the latter type was indicative of the idea, surely still common in Afghanistan, that the Durrāni empire could somehow be reconstituted. Further evidence for this sequence of types is the identical placement of the digits of the date on the *durr-e durrāni* type and the presentation version of the *solṭān* type.

White-King mentions yet another example of an alleged 1259 date, with normal *solṭān* obverse but with *sana* and regnal year 5 below, from Theobald's collection (1896:334, #19). There is no illustration, and I have been able to trace the future of this or any similar specimens. The possibility that any of the rulers of Kabul after the murder of Shāh Shujā' on 21 Safar 1258 would have restored his name to the coinage is ludicrous. By the time of his assassination Shāh Shujā' was universally scorned by all the Afghan factions. Besides, any faction could have chosen (and several did!) one of his many surviving progeny as a Durrāni figurehead under which to rule.

⁵⁶The 1255 and 1256 issues must have been immense: twelve specimens of these two years in the British Museum collection exhibit not a single die link. I have not been able to ascertain whether the vast quantities of silver bullion required for this coinage came from local levies or from cash, presumably in the form of East India Company rupees, brought from India by the British forces.

1257/6 January 1842, they abandoned their positions at Kabul altogether, intending to withdraw at least as far as Jalalabad. A few days later the British force was utterly annihilated between the passes of Jagdalak and Gandumak by the savvy Eastern Ghilzay tribesmen, one of the most disastrous defeats ever to befall a colonial British force, largely because the British officials had failed to comprehend the importance of maintaining the annual subsidies to the Ghilzays.⁵⁷

The leader of the rebellion at Kabul was a nephew of Dost Muhammad by the name of Muhammad Zamān Khān (b. Nawwāb Asad Khān b. Pāyinda Khān), who had earlier been in control of an apanage at Jalalabad. It must have been under his authority that coins were struck bearing the still inconclusively read inscription, which I have tentatively deciphered as *madad kon darin zamān yā sāheb az-zamān*, "give succor in this age, O master of time" (KM485).⁵⁸ The reference to *sāheb az-zamān* here was surely intended as a calque on the name of Muhammad Zamān.⁵⁹ Coins of this type are invariably dated 1257. There seem to be very few dies for the issue (perhaps as few as two obverse dies?), though no proper attempt has yet been undertaken to estimate the volume of this comparatively rare emission.⁶⁰ It remains unclear whether this issue was initiated before or after the withdrawal of British forces at the end of Dhū al-Qa'da 1257. The British had completely evacuated the city proper shortly after the assassination of Burnes and retreated to the cantonment, while Shāh Shujā' remained in the Bālā Hisār. The mint, which might well have been located at this juncture in the city and not in the Bālā Hisār, could thus have struck the new type at any time from as early as Shawwāl 1257 until the end of the year and perhaps into the first weeks of 1258 if the 1257-dated dies were still serviceable. I should emphasize in this context that one must never discount *a priori* the possibility that dies might have remained in service for some time after they had become technically obsolete, as at a change of year or upon an uncontested change of ruler. Thus some types may seem relatively plentiful in proportion to the short duration of their currency, either because the dies long remained in service, particularly when there was no political or economic reason to discard them, or because the issue was initiated in response to an inordinately large requirement for new coinage, as would commonly have been the case during periods of intense military or political conflict, when the need to mobilize an army or cement political support would have been most acute. Such a scenario could understandably have arisen during the turbulent year 1258, when the constantly shifting political alliances and military buildups would have created an inordinately large demand for cash.⁶¹

⁵⁷Noelle 1997:49.

⁵⁸No specimen showing the top portion of the obverse inscription has yet been illustrated; two unpublished examples are in the British Museum (1859-2-20-43) and Tübingen (not yet accessioned). The Tübingen example shows what appears to be a *yā* with reverted tail forming the uppermost long horizontal stroke. Could it be that the exhortation is *madad kon* rather than *madad kon*, in other words with an appended indefinite participle to the word *madad*? And if so, does the use of the indefinite suffix alter the sense of the inscription, which I doubt? Note that I have translated the word *zamān* as "age" in the first instance, "time" in the second. Note also that *darin* is written as a single word rather than as two words, *dar in*.

⁵⁹The reference to the "master of the age" took two forms, the Persian form *sāheb-e zamān* and the Arabic form *sāheb az-zamān*; the latter form is transcribed here as though it were Persian, for it is found in Persian verse as an alternative to the proper Persian form when needed for metrical reasons. Both are found on the coins as well.

⁶⁰The obverse die of SNAT 952 and the illustrated specimen of KM485 in the *Standard Catalog* are different, though the obverse of SNAT 952 and the reverse of the KM specimen are combined on a specimen in the Ashmolean. Over the years I have handled approximately twenty specimens of this type.

⁶¹A remarkable occurrence of such a scenario occurred just after the Islamic revolution in Iran. The Shah fled the country on 16 February 1979/28 Bahman 1357, just over a month before the end of the Shamsi year 1357. Nonetheless, gold *pahlavis* bearing the portrait of the Shah and the date 1356 were struck, presumably intended for use as Nouruz (New Year) gifts, as had become customary in Iran (and remains so amongst Iranians living in Los Angeles and New York). What is surprising is that these coins must actually have been released after the revolution, when any acknowledgment of the Shah would presumably have been anathema. Later in 1358, the gold *azādi* of the Islamic Republic first appeared, to the same British sovereign weight standard as the former *pahlavi*. But as there was no possibility to select a design and prepare new dies in the month before Nouruz, the 1358 *pahlavis*, undoubtedly struck in advance for the holiday, were released. It should be pointed out that for technical reasons modern coin design and die production is a more complex and time-consuming process than had been the case in the time of hand-produced dies.

The other important contender for power in Kabul was Dost Muhammad's son, Muhammad Akbar Khān, who pursued what was left of the destroyed British force towards Jalalabad, where he laid siege to the British garrison. From all accounts, it appears that Muhammad Akbar was content to allow Muhammad Zamān to remain as "temporary sovereign" while he himself pursued the siege at Jalalabad.⁶² At the same time Shāh Shujā' remained in the Bālā Hisār, though technically stripped of even nominal authority. During Muhammad Akbar's absence from Kabul, the most powerful person in the city was the Logārī chief Aminullāh, who, supported by most of the Bārakzāy and Qizilbāsh leadership, persuaded Muhammad Zamān to recognize Shāh Shujā' as nominal king at Kabul; at the same time Muhammad Zamān had himself appointed vizier. This must have happened towards the end of the year 1257 (late January/early February 1842). Numismatically, the result was the resumption of coinage in the name of Shāh Shujā' bearing the date 1258 and utilizing the same inscriptions as the issues of 1255-1257 (KM484.1 & KM487, a silver rupee and gold mohur, respectively, the mohur being a small issue probably intended more as a presentation coin than as circulating currency). It is conceivable, though highly unlikely given the constraints of the time frame, that a few 1257 coins in the name of Shāh Shujā' might have been struck after the reconciliation of Shāh Shujā' and Muhammad Zamān, rather than during the eight months before the uprising, as would certainly be the case for the majority, if not the entirety (as I regard as most probable), of the 1257-dated coins of type KM484.1. Given his Sadozāy affiliation and the blemish of his association with the by then detested British, the restoration of Shāh Shujā' must have been deeply unpopular amongst most of the Kabuli factions. It is thus not at all surprising that several weeks later, after reluctantly agreeing to lead a relief force to reinforce Muhammad Akbar at Jalalabad, Shāh Shujā' emerged from his residence, only to be assassinated on the following day, 21 Safar 1258/3 April 1842. The relief force then disbanded, leaving Muhammad Akbar to succumb to defeat by the British garrison just four days later.

Following the assassination of Shāh Shujā', internal divisions within Kabul once again intensified. On the day after Shāh Shujā's murder, his son Fath Jang was named king by some of the factional leaders. Muhammad Zamān refused to acknowledge the new nominee, who was compelled to take refuge in the Bālā Hisār. Once again in charge of the city, Muhammad Zamān promulgated a new quasi-anonymous coinage, though, as I will suggest below, it is conceivable that the earliest of the Fath Jang types may have preceded it. For the obverse inscription Muhammad Zamān exhumed the first couplet type of the aged and blind Shāh Zamān, who had been the Durrānī ruler 1207-1216/1793-1801, and was still alive either at Kabul or in exile in British territory:⁶³

qarār yāft be-hokm-e khodāy-e har dou jahān
ravāy-e sekke-ye doulat be-nām-e shāh-e zamān

"By order of the Lord of the two worlds (i.e., God), the currency of the royal stamp of the dynasty has become established in the name of the shah of the age." Here, *shāh-e zamān* referred simultaneously to the long-deposed Durrānī and indirectly, thus quasi-anonymously, to Muhammad Zamān as "shah of the age" (KM486). The inscription is vague in respect to which dynasty is intended, Durrānī or Bārakzāy, and the choice is left to God. It should not be forgotten that the Durrānī prince Fath Jang was still nominally ruling, either in the Bālā Hisār or elsewhere in the immediate environs of the city, whilst the Bārakzāys and their various allies were *de facto* rulers of most of the Kabul region. The ambivalence of the coin inscription was surely intentional.

Muhammad Akbar returned from defeat at Jalalabad, entering Kabul on or very shortly after 25 Rabī' I 1258/6 May 1842. After a

⁶²Waller 1983:240-241.

⁶³The residence of the aged Shāh Zamān at this juncture is uncertain. Kaye (1874:370-371) states that he accompanied the British forces upon their withdrawal from Kabul in October 1842, along with Fath Jang and other descendants of Shāh Shujā'. Other sources suggest that he had long been in exile in British territory. Perhaps he was brought back to Kabul during the previous month by the British relief forces sent to rescue the British hostages then held at Bamian.

convoluted series of negotiations and intrigues, during which Fath Jang remained in the Bālā Hisār, an arrangement was reached on 18 Jumādā I 1258/29 June whereby Muhammad Akbar formally acknowledged the kingship of Fath Jang and accepted for himself the subordinate position of vizier, though in fact, it was Muhammad Akbar and his allies, Muhammad Shāh Bābākr Khāil and Aminullāh Logārī, who were the actual wielders of power; Fath Jang remained nothing more than a figurehead. This incident amounted to the second enthronement of Fath Jang, as we shall note below. As for Muhammad Zamān, his allies largely abandoned him and he disappeared from the scene for several years. Both the Afghan and European sources are vague about his whereabouts in the next couple of years, though he later became a familiar and reputedly influential figure at the court of Dost Muhammad.⁶⁴

At present several aspects of this complex period that impinge on the attribution of the coins remain uncertain, in particular the relationship between Muhammad Zamān and Fath Jang during the months immediately following the murder of the latter's father, Shāh Shujā' (i.e., during what would constitute the first "reign" of Fath Jang). Fath Jang struck three types of coins during the year 1258 (surely it would be better to say, given his impotence, that three types of coins were struck in his name!), which, I shall argue, correspond to his three enthronements during that year. One type bears a still unread couplet, within which the words *ma'dan* and *shāh-e jahān* can be read in addition to his name; it occurs in two variations of legend arrangement (KM488.1 & KM488.2). A second type bears a somewhat more exalted titlature, *sultān fath jang pādshāhī ghāzi*, thus implying that he, or rather Muhammad Akbar acting in the name of Fath Jang, had undertaken some sort of campaign against the infidel, by which the British must have been meant (KM484.4), despite the fact that Fath Jang was still supported by the British (how confused were these times!). A third type bears the simple titlature *sultān fath jang dorr-e dorrāni* (KM488.3). The sequence of the three types cannot at present be definitively established. Nonetheless, I have attempted here to suggest a sequence of the three types, along with the resurrected Shāh Zamān type, based partly on their relative rarity but especially on the content of their inscriptions as they relate to the historical developments surrounding the three enthronements. Also of interest is a die-link between the two of the types struck in his name. The example of the *ma'dan* couplet type KM488.1 illustrated in the *Standard Catalog* shares a reverse die with one of two specimens of the *pādshāh-e ghāzi* type in the Ashmolean Museum, a link that might suggest that the couplet type and the *pādshāh-e ghāzi* types were issued in succession. Despite this link I believe that the two types were interrupted by the resurrected Shāh Zamān type, for the reasons described in the following paragraphs. Thus I would propose the following sequence of types:

(1) The *ma'dan* couplet type of Fath Jang would have been struck by Aminullāh Logārī and Fath Jang after the murder of Shāh Shujā', with at least the tacit approval of Muhammad Zamān. The exalted claim to *shāh-e jahān*, "king of the world", outlandish as it might seem, is most appropriate to Fath Jang's first julūs. This is the rarest type of Fath Jang, despite its occurrence in two distinctive arrangements of the obverse inscription, and was presumably suppressed by order of Muhammad Zamān very shortly after Fath Jang fell from favor in the eyes of Muhammad Zamān. It would thus have been struck from roughly late Safar to some point in Rabi' I 1258.

(2) The resurrected Shāh Zamān type would have been struck from some point after Muhammad Zamān had effectively dislodged Fath Jang and the latter's staunchest supporters from real authority, but before the rapprochement between Muhammad Akbar and Fath Jang, thus from roughly the end of Rabi' I until either the end of Rabi' II or possibly early Jumādā I 1258. It appears that Aminullāh Logārī had favored the retention of Fath Jang as nominal ruler. However, at some time during the month of Rabi' I Muhammad Zamān had engineered the removal of Aminullāh from any real authority in Kabul. The ouster

of Aminullāh left Muhammad Zamān as the sole effective chief at Kabul, a development that seems to have been marked by the new coin type bearing the name of Shāh Zamān. However, given that Fath Jang was still in the Bālā Hisār at this juncture, it is possible that the production of the couplet type of Fath Jang and the revived Shāh Zamān type may have briefly overlapped, the former produced in the Bālā Hisār, the latter within the city; a proper die study of the two types might determine whether this could have been the case. The revived Shāh Zamān type is relatively rare.

(3) The *pādshāh-e ghāzi* type of Fath Jang would have been instituted by Muhammad Akbar as a proclamation of their rapprochement, perhaps for the formal ceremonies confirming the new relationship on 18 Jumādā I 1258/27 June 1842, i.e., for Fath Jang's second enthronement. The accolade *ghāzi* was typically adopted by a Muslim ruler who had undertaken, successfully or otherwise, military action against the infidel. It had been adopted by Zahir al-Dīn Bābur, founder of the Mughal imperial line, in 933/1525 after his victories in India (albeit over Muslim rulers in the largely Hindu land), and was frequently adopted by his successors in India, generally signifying Muslim dominion over the Hindu population of India. Only two "infidels" are relevant to the period of Fath Jang, the Sikhs and the British, of whom the British were far more likely to have been the reference point of this inscription, for Muhammad Akbar and his allies were at this juncture endeavoring to defend Kabul against them. British forces still occupied Qandahar and Jalalabad, and fear was widespread in Kabul that they would at some point mount an attempt to rescue the British hostages (including Lady Sale) still held by Muhammad Akbar at Kabul and perhaps to exact retribution for the calamity that had befallen them in the previous January. The *pādshāh-e ghāzi* type is the most common type in the name of Fath Jang, and was likely struck from the time of his second julūs on 18 Jumādā I/29 June until his third julūs under British tutelage on or just after 9 Sha'ban 1258/15 September, thus for somewhat more than two and a half months.

(4) The fourth emission must have been the *dorr-e dorrāni* type of Fath Jang. This rare type was of extremely short duration, having been introduced, as I shall argue, by the British immediately upon their reentry into Kabul on 9 Sha'ban 1258/15 September 1842 and suspended upon Fath Jang's abdication and the enthronement of Shāhpūr at some point between 2 and 4 Ramadān 1258/7-9 October 1842. The resumption of the title *dorr-e dorrāni* is clearly an affirmation of the Durrāni lineage, whose underpinning was part of British strategy in Afghanistan.

Let us examine the situation surrounding the British assault on Kabul in Sha'ban 1258/September 1842, starting with the relationship between Muhammad Akbar and Fath Jang prior to the arrival of the British armies. While Muhammad Akbar had earlier conceded the advisability of placing a Durrāni scion on the throne, he never intended that Fath Jang would exercise anything but nominal authority, as a legitimizing tool for his own *de facto* power. In fact, not long after his second proclamation, Fath Jang was confined to the Bālā Hisār, at first in conditions of reasonable luxury, eventually as a mere prisoner in what were alleged to have been deplorable conditions. At some point during the month of August, Fath Jang managed to escape from his incarceration, by bribery if Reshtia's account is to be believed, and reached Pollock's camp on 25 Rajab 1258/1 September 1842 while Pollock was still encamped at Jalalabad or perhaps soon after he had begun his march towards Kabul; the sources are unclear as to Pollock's precise position at the moment of Fath Jang's arrival.⁶⁵ Pollock must have regarded Fath Jang as of some potential future use, for he was allowed to remain with his entourage during the approach to Kabul. The first British forces reached the outskirts of Kabul on 7 Sha'ban/13 September. Muhammad Akbar fled forthwith to the relative security of the mountainous region above Istālif, while the British entered the city of Kabul two days later, on 9 Sha'ban/15 September. Kaye noted that "both Pollock and Macgregor were of opinion, that so long as the British were to remain at Caubul, it would

⁶⁴Noelle 1997:253. Kaye (1874, 3:272, 301-302) gives rather lurid details of Muhammad Akbar's despicable behavior towards Fath Jang.

⁶⁵Kaye 1874, v. 3:301-303. Reshtiya 1990:182.

be desirable that a government of some kind should be established, if only to enable our armies more surely to obtain their supplies."⁶⁶ Thus Fath Jang was treated to his third enthronement in less than year, probably on the day following the British entry. There must have been a rather urgent need for cash money, for Pollock had come up from Jalalabad with only enough supplies to last at most a week, presumably hoping to purchase the needed victuals while at Kabul. It was under these circumstances that the third coin type bearing the name of Fath Jang was introduced, the *dorr-e dorrāni* type, bearing a title that reflects the British desire to place a Sadozāy prince on the throne.

From the start the British authorities intended only to remain at Kabul long enough to rescue the hostages, who had in fact succeeded in bribing their way out of captivity in Bamiyan and were already en route to Kabul when the British occupied the latter city, and to effect some sort of retribution on the city. They had no concern for Fath Jang or his welfare, refusing to promise military or financial support after their departure. Realizing that his position at Kabul would be extremely tenuous after the expected British withdrawal, Fath Jang abdicated the throne, probably in the early days of October, after a reign that had lasted somewhat longer than two weeks.⁶⁷

It should be remembered that at this juncture the British still had allies within the city of Kabul, especially the Qizilbāsh community, who remained fearful of the brutal and rapacious Muhammad Akbar. For some time the Qizilbāsh had been proposing that Fath Jang's younger brother, Shāhpūr, be set up as king, though it is unclear whether their recommendations were made only after it became known that Fath Jang was intent on abdicating.⁶⁸ According to Kaye, Shāhpūr was elevated to the throne at the behest of the British commanders at some point between 2 Rāmādān 1258/7 October 1842 and the destruction of the Kabul bazaar on 9-10 October. Reshtīya, confirming this in essence, states that Shāhpūr was placed upon the throne at Kabul by "pro-British" forces on 9 Rāmādān 1258/14 October 1842, just before the departure of the British.⁶⁹ However, all of the British sources are unanimous in placing the final departure of the British armies two days earlier, as noted above. Perhaps this contradiction can best be understood by examining Reshtīya's conceptualization of the Anglo-Afghan conflict, which he depicts rather simplistically as a struggle of Afghan nationalist forces against foreign invaders and their domestic lackeys. He is unwilling to accept the hypothesis, universally espoused by both western and Indian scholars, that the troubles besetting Afghanistan during so much of the nineteenth century were largely the result of centrifugal tribalist conflict that was inherent in Afghan society. Nonetheless he is fully aware, in his own words, of "the vast intensification of tribalism and civil strife" that emerged after the execution in 1234/1818 of Fath Khān, the eldest son of Pāyinda Khān, but ascribed the lack of unity and the descent into civil strife not to structural aspects of Afghan society but to the specific personalities and individual strivings of Dost Muhammad and his numerous brothers and nephews.⁷⁰ Thus he repeatedly blames the inability of the Bārakzāy brothers to unite behind a common policy as the overriding factor that led to internal political disintegration. He cannot accept the possibility that the centrifugal tendencies were structural and not merely personal.⁷¹

As had been the case, the British had no intention of providing support to any Afghan regime after their departure from Kabul. The final British act of retribution, the unnecessary and short-sighted destruction of the bazaar, put paid to any hopes of further British support within the city. Two days after the destruction of the bazaar, on 7 Rāmādān 1258/12 October 1842, the British armies left the city, abandoning to his fate its nominal ruler, Shāhpūr. The notables then remaining in Kabul, led by the formerly pro-British Qizilbāsh leadership, then summoned Muhammad Akbar from Tāshqūrgān, to which he had fled a few weeks before. Immediately following Muhammad Akbar's arrival in Kabul, which must have occurred towards the end of Rāmādān or early Shawwāl 1258 (late October 1842 to mid-November 1842), Shāhpūr was compelled to flee to Peshawar, his ultimate fate apparently unrecorded.⁷²

From these accounts, one may surmise that the "reign" of Shāhpūr extended roughly one month from about 3 Rāmādān to early Shawwāl 1258, i.e., from about 8 October to early November 1842. His rare coinage consists of one type (KM489), with an obverse couplet that has not yet been fully deciphered, but which seems to be, with lacunae, (*sekkeh?*) *zad ... (az?) alāf-e Elāh / khosro-ve 'ālam setān shah pūr* (sic) *shāh*⁷³, "the world-conquering Caesar Shāhpūr struck (... the royal stamp) (by) the favor of God", an incredible hyperbole, as Shāhpūr was the antithesis of 'ālam setān, "world-conqueror".

All sources agree that there was no opposition to the resumption of power in Kabul by Muhammad Akbar after the British withdrawal. As part of the terms agreed to by the British just prior to their departure, Dost Muhammad was freed from exile in Calcutta and allowed to return to Afghanistan. Apparently reassured by Muhammad Akbar that he would be welcomed into the city, he travelled in leisurely fashion from Calcutta to Kabul, at one point spending about three weeks at the court of the Sikh ruler at Lahore, Sher Singh, before his arrival in Kabul in the spring of 1843, during the month of April according to Reshtīya, which corresponded almost exactly with the month of Rabi' 1 1259. It was under the authority of Muhammad Akbar that the last 1258-dated coinage of Kabul was struck, bearing just the kalima in square on the obverse, the mint and date on the reverse (KM493). The type was closely modeled on the earlier kalima type of 1239 (KM473), but is distinguished by a broader border on the obverse and the lack of any inscription in the obverse marginal segments. The type was presumably introduced around the beginning of Shawwāl 1258 and struck at least until the end of the year, though no specimens are known bearing the date 1259. The type is not especially rare, and there seem to be quite a large number of both obverse and reverse dies. No dies links to earlier 1258-dated coins have yet been observed.

There is an interesting and instructive aspect to Muhammad Akbar's choice of the kalima type, which, as noted above, had become a sort of badge of the Qandahar sardars. Muhammad Akbar was, like his father, opposed to those sardars. It appears that by usurping the kalima type for his own coinage, the type became tainted for further use by the sardars. Thus when the Qandahar sardars returned to Qandahar from their refuge in Iran (probably in Dhū al-Qa'da or Dhū al-Hijja 1258, as discussed in the chapter on Qandahar), they rejected the kalima type utilized before the British invasion and adopted a different sort of anonymous type. Muhammad Akbar's motive for co-

⁶⁶Kaye 1874, v. 3:342.

⁶⁷Kaye 1874, v. 3:366. Kaye mentions that Fath Jang was mortally afraid of Muhammad Akbar, and cites the principal reason for his decision to abdicate was that McCaskill's forces, while victorious at Istāf, had failed to capture Muhammad Akbar. Noelle gives a different account (1997:53), claiming that the British intended to seize Fath Jang to the Durrāni throne but that Fath Jang refused when he heard of the then imminent departure of the British forces from Kabul, apprehensive, undoubtedly correctly, that he would have little support after their departure and that his life would therefore be in mortal danger were he to accept the kingship. Kaye is quite clear that not only did Fath Jang indeed accept the throne but that on 18 September he named Ghulam Muhammad Khān Popalzay as his vizier (1874, v. 3:344).

⁶⁸Kaye 1874, v. 3:367. Noelle (1997:53) follows Kaye's account closely.

⁶⁹Reshtīya 1990:185.

⁷⁰Reshtīya 1990:64.

⁷¹I do not mean to degrade Reshtīya's scholarship, but rather to identify his point of view and factor that point of view into my understanding of his work. British scholarship, whether of the 19th or the first half of the 20th century, is if anything

even more riddled with prejudicial perspectives, but their narratives are nonetheless of great utility, when contemplated in light of their particular biases. It is very sad that the recent calamities in Afghanistan have squelched a nascent indigenous scholarship that would surely have developed into a wonderful contribution to historical research.

⁷²Reshtīya 1990:186, Noelle 1997:53. Kaye (1874, v.3:373) states that Shāhpūr was dethroned "before the British army had reached the provinces of India", i.e. no later than the end of November 1842, and adds (v.3:394-395) that around the middle of December 1842 the Governor-General, then at Ferozepore, learned that Shāhpūr had "narrowly escaped with his life" and fled into Sikh territory at Peshawar. He also mentions that Fath Jang, the blind Shāh Zaman and other descendants of Shāh Shujā' were admitted to the British camp on the day before their departure. These remaining Durrānis remained as exiles in India, living on pensions provided by the British government.

⁷³Whitehead 1934:187, n. 1.

opting the former badge of Qandahar is unknown; the choice may have been merely fortuitous and of no particular significance.

Despite the strained relationship between Muhammad Akbar and his father Dost Muhammad, the latter was welcomed into Kabul during the spring of 1259 (probably circa Safar or Rabi' I). Immediately thereafter, Dost Muhammad introduced a new coin type (KM496) bearing a couplet clearly announcing his resumption of power:

*be'ad za 'ayn-e 'enāyār-e khāleq-e akbar
amir dōst mohammad dōubāreh sekkeh bar zar*

"by the fount of favors of the Supreme Creator, Amir Dost Muhammad once again (*dōubāreh*) placed the royal stamp on precious metal". The inclusion of the word *dōubāreh* clearly indicates that this coinage reflected the resumption of Dost Muhammad's authority, his second reign, so to speak. More interestingly, the word *akbar* ("supreme") can be seen as a pun on the name of his son Muhammad Akbar, implying that it was essentially by the kindness of Muhammad Akbar that Dost Muhammad was permitted to resume his kingship⁷⁴; after all, the new type was conceivably some sort of commemorative of the Dost's reentry into Kabul, for which the dies would likely have been previously prepared when Muhammad Akbar was still the effective authority in the city, albeit nominally on behalf of his father. Nonetheless the relationship between the Dost and his son was anything but cordial, and it is widely alleged that Muhammad Akbar's death in February 1847 (began 14 Safar 1263) was far from accidental.⁷⁵

There are two varieties of the 1259-dated 'ayn-e 'enāyār type (not distinguished in the *Standard Catalog*), one elegantly struck on flans more or less equal in diameter to the dies, the other from indifferently engraved dies on ordinary flans.⁷⁶ Both types are extremely rare, with fewer than half a dozen specimens known to exist *in toto*. There are no precious metal coins known from the Kabul mint dated 1260 and 1261, despite the multiple thousands of Kabul rupees of the second reign of Dost Muhammad that have entered the numismatic market over the past decades. The type was resumed in 1262, with a number of modifications, most notable of which is the use of much broader dies which reveal only a relatively small portion of the inscriptions on any individual specimen (KM497). There was also a slight reduction in the weight of the rupee, from about 9.45 to about 9.28 grams (possibly falling to about 9.22 grams by the end of the reign, but not enough specimens have yet been weighed to make this determination⁷⁷). This revised version was struck in massive quantities and is known from every year between 1262 and 1280, though certain years, especially 1264 and 1280, are very rare. The great rarity of the 1259 coinage and the total absence of 1260 and 1261 dated coinage at Kabul is informative, for it seems to mirror an extreme impoverishment of the royal finances as a consequence of the British irruptions, the subsequent internal discord and the burdensome allowances paid to tribal leaders.

The chronology of the 1258-dated Kabuli coinage that I have proposed in the foregoing discussion must be regarded for the time being as provisional. In particular, the sequence of the three types of Fath Jang, the relationship between the Shāh Zamān type and the first Fath Jang type, and the proper placement of the kalima type must all be regarded as tentative. My hypotheses have been based on a somewhat superficial analysis of the historical context of the coinage, fortified by the assumption that there was but a single mint in Kabul, presumably

located within the city and not in the Bālā Hisār. The possibility that there might have been two simultaneously operating mints, one in the city, the other in the citadel, should not be *a priori* excluded, though I find it very unlikely. A great deal of further work is needed in order to put these hypotheses to the test. In particular, large numbers of additional specimens of the various 1258-dated types must be examined in order (a) to determine whether additional die-links between successive types exist and (b) to determine whether the repertoire of dies were employed at one or two distinct mints (or perhaps more!). I have made my point and challenge others to hoist the gauntlet.

There is just one more later anonymous issue from the Kabul mint, dated 1282 and bearing the simple obverse inscription *yā sāheb az-zamān* (KM504). Dost Muhammad had died at Herat on 21 Dhū al-Hijja 1279/9 June 1863, barely two weeks after conquering the city from the Qājār vassal, Sultān Aḥmad Khān, as shall be discussed in conjunction with the coinage of Herat. His son and previously designated heir-apparent, Sher 'Ali Khān, was named as successor, apparently while still at Herat, but was immediately threatened from various quarters, as other members of the Bārāzkāy clan challenged his succession. Even after his establishment at Kabul in the early months of 1280, opposition to his rule erupted from time to time, including a particularly discouraging uprising at Qandahar towards the end of Rabi' I 1282 (August/early September 1865) in which two of his sons lost their lives, Muhammad Amin Khān and Muhammad 'Ali Khān. As a consequence Sher 'Ali became increasingly morose and despondent. He renounced his throne and dedicated his hours to religious devotion, though continued to be regarded as *amir* by the notables of Kabul and elsewhere. His depression culminated in a curious incident at the beginning of Sha'bān 1282 (late December 1865), in which he jumped from a palace window into a cistern, where he believed he would recover one of his dead sons. Despite his melancholy in the pre-Prozac age he was able to manage much of the affairs of state, during what are described as rather extended periods of lucidity. Nonetheless, his cousin 'Abd al-Rahmān supported the candidacy of Sher 'Ali's half brother Muhammad Afdal, with the result that the latter was proclaimed king on 25 Dhū al-Hijja 1282/11 May 1866, whereupon Sher 'Ali was forced to flee. Coinage at Kabul was introduced in the name of Muhammad Afdal at the beginning of the following year, 1283. The *yā sāheb az-zamān* coinage, which is not especially scarce, may thus be dated from Rabi' II or Jumādā I until the end of Dhū al-Hijja 1282.⁷⁸ All subsequent precious metal coinage of Kabul bears the name of the current ruler, including all machine-struck issues.

Qandahar (Aḥmadshāhī)

Although there is far more anonymous coinage from Qandahar than from Kabul, it presents fewer problems of interpretation. This is largely due to the fact that from shortly after the murder of Fath Khān in 1233/1818 until the annexation of Qandahar by Dost Muhammad in 1272/1855, the city was ruled by Shērdīl Khān and his uterine brothers, except during the interlude of the First Anglo-Afghan War. Shērdīl and his brothers managed to avoid the intense domestic dissension that periodically convulsed Kabul, so that conditions remained relatively stable within the city, though the brothers were from time to time required to deal with the hostile intentions of their tribal neighbors and with the severe impoverishment of the city and its environs. Their disagreements with one another never attained the calamitous proportions observed elsewhere in the country, though their harsh regime contributed to a decline in the city's fortunes.

Although Qandahar had been the home base of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī since the start of his reign, he did not mint coins there until his ninth year (1169).⁷⁹ In the following year the mint was relocated to the new capital, which Ahmad Shāh named Ahmadshāhī after himself,

⁷⁴The expression *khāleq-e akbar* can be translated equally as "the supreme Creator" or as "the Creator of Akbar". As usual it is safe to assume that the ambiguity was intentional.

⁷⁵Noelle 1997:55.

⁷⁶For the former, see the illustration of KM496 in the *Standard Catalog*; for the latter, Tübingen 92:20-196. The elegant style was undoubtedly a presentation or nazarana coin intended for use in the ceremony staged to welcome Dost Muhammad back into Kabul. A coin of similar quality was prepared 21 years later for Sher 'Ali (KM502).

⁷⁷The 9.22 gram weight corresponded precisely to two Iranian *mirghāl*s of 4.61g each. That *mirghāl* was pegged in Iran at that level in the 11th/17th century and remained in use in Iran until at least the 1970s. It was the standard measure for precious metals in Iran during my visits there between 1964 and 1973.

⁷⁸Lee 1996:308-309.

⁷⁹A remarkable and still unpublished coin, with mint name *qandāhār* and epithet *dār al-quadr* (Tübingen 97:14-89). As best as I can determine this epithet is nowhere else utilized on the coinage of Qandahar.

some three miles west of the old city.⁸⁰ Thenceforth, a continuous production of silver and copper coinage persisted until the cessation of precious metal coinage at the provincial mints in 1308/1890; copper coins continued to be struck at both Qandahar and Herat for several decades longer. From 1170 until 1272, all but a single issue dated 1210 bear the mint name Ahmadshāhi. In the middle of 1273, about a year after the annexation of Qandahar by Dost Muhammad, the name reverted to Qandahar for all but a few exceptional issues that resuscitated the Ahmadshāhi name. Except for the 1297 issue naming the mint as Qandahar, all the anonymous coins discussed below bear the mint name Ahmadshāhi.

The first anonymous issue of Qandahar, the earliest of any Durrāni mint, is a rupee dated 1234 (KM160). As on all coins of Qandahar struck after 1221, there is no regnal year. It bears the kalima on the obverse, the mint and date within an inner circle on the reverse, surrounded by a broad band filled with a floriated pattern. It is extremely rare, with just two reported specimens.⁸¹ However, there are two additional issues dated 1234 from Qandahar, one in the name of Mahmūd (KM158.2, a type that was struck 1232-1234), the other in the name of Ayyūb (KM162, struck 1234-1236). Who then was the issuer of the anonymous kalima type, and where does it fit in the sequence of types?

During Mahmūd's second reign at Kabul (1224-1233/1809-1818), his son Kāmran was assigned to Qandahar. The latter had at some point before 1233 named Gul Muhammad Khān Popalzāy as his chief minister at Qandahar. The situation in Mahmūd's kingdom was rather complex in early 1233. An Iranian army sent against Herat by Fath 'Alī Shāh under the command of the governor of Mashhad, Hasan 'Alī Mirzā, had occupied the border locality of Ghūriyān and was preparing to assault Herat. Because the Qājār invasion was perceived as a serious threat, Mahmūd sent first the Bārakzāy chieftain Fath Khān and later his own son Kāmran to Herat, while he himself advanced as far as Farāh. The Iranian forces abandoned Ghūriyān and returned to Mashhad. At the insistence of Hasan 'Alī Mirzā (and undoubtedly with the connivance, if not the instigation, of the wily Kāmran as well), Fath Khān was stripped of his position and blinded, still at Herat in Ramadān or Shawwāl 1233; he was gruesomely executed several weeks later, still before the end of 1233.⁸² The result of this dastardly act was a general uprising of the Bārakzāy amirs, the effective disintegration of the Sadozāy kingdom and the permanent loss of the wealthy provinces of Kashmir, Multan, Attock and most of Derajat to the Sikhs.

As soon as word of Fath Khān's demise had reached Muhammad 'Azīm, then governor of Kashmir, he released Dost Muhammad from detention and sent him westward with the goal of seizing Kabul for the Bārakzāys.⁸³ Meanwhile, Mahmūd's deputies at Kabul set up the young Jahāngir, son of Kāmran, as ruler in Kabul on Mahmūd's behalf. To date, no coins have been identified as issues of this ephemeral Jahāngir, who in any case would likely have struck coins bearing the name of his still living grandfather, Mahmūd.⁸⁴ At the same time, Mahmūd hastened from Farāh to Qandahar, which he was able to occupy without interference. Dost Muhammad entered Kabul, forcing Jahāngir and his entourage to join his grandfather at Qandahar (Kāmran remained at Herat with a deterrent force poised to repulse a

feared second Iranian attack that in fact never materialized). Mahmūd and Kāmran, from Qandahar and Herat respectively, now planned a co-ordinated attack on Dost Muhammad at Kabul, but withdrew after having briefly camped a short distance south of Kabul. When they learned that Purdil Khān had in the meantime laid siege to Qandahar, still under the command of Kāmran's chief minister Gul Muhammad Khān Popalzāy, they veered north and hastened to Herat.⁸⁵ Gul Muhammad saw no choice but to surrender to Purdil, who at first kept him in office as his deputy in Qandahar but later exiled him to Peshawar.⁸⁶

When did all this take place? The sources, of which Masson is perhaps the most informative, provide despairingly few dates, but enough can be gleaned from the general course of events to establish relatively precise dates for these events and thus for the dating of the coin issues of 1234. The year 1819 commenced on 4 Rabi' I 1234. Muhammad Yūsuf, the chronicler of Herat, places the departure of Mahmūd from Farāh still under the year 1233, but then adds that at the beginning of 1234, after the Bārakzāys had seized Kashmir, Peshawar and Kabul, Mahmūd and his son were in control of only Herat, Qandahar and Farāh.⁸⁷ This is consistent with Reshtia's dating of Mahmūd's futile campaign to regain Kabul in "late 1818" (Reshtia did not have access to the chronicle of Muhammad Yūsuf), i.e., no earlier than Dhū al-Hijja 1233 and most probably in Muharram or even Safar 1234, after which the passes between Qandahar and Kabul were subject to being blocked by snow. Reshtia then adds that by early 1819 (Rabi' I-Jumādā I 1234), Muhammad 'Azīm was in control of Kabul, Purdil in control of Qandahar.⁸⁸ On the basis of these reports, I would tentatively place the occupation of Qandahar by Purdil at some point between the middle of Safar and the end of Rabi' I 1234 (mid-December 1818 to late January 1819).

This proposed dating is confirmed as well by the coins bearing the date 1234, for the 1234 dated issue bearing the name of Mahmūd (KM158.2) must have been struck before Purdil took over, (either by Mahmūd himself before his departure towards Kabul or (more likely) by his deputy Gul Muhammad Khān. The perpetuation of the kalima on a named coin for the first time in just about a century is significant, for, as we mentioned during the discussion of the 1239 issues of Kabul, it was to become in effect the badge of the Bārakzāy Qandahar sardars until a kalima obverse was introduced by Muhammad Akbar at Kabul in 1258.⁸⁹ The anonymous kalima type of Qandahar (KM160) must then be Purdil's first coinage after the surrender of Gul Muhammad. Purdil would certainly not have continued to strike coins in the name of Mahmūd, the murderer of his brother Fath Khān. The kalima type must have been of rather brief duration and was replaced by the Ayyūb type (KM162) as soon as word of Ayyūb's confirmation by Muhammad 'Azīm at Kabul would have reached Qandahar, assuming that Purdil would have accepted the nominal sovereignty of the Sadozāy scion, as would have been likely in light of the general Bārakzāy unwillingness to proclaim their formal independence at this early stage.

At present there are three types of coinage known from Qandahar in the name of Ayyūb, all citing the same couplet used at Kabul and Peshawar, but unlike the issues of those mints, all incorporating the kalima. All three bear the couplet arranged in identical fashion, with the portion *az khorsid o māl atop the field*, but are distinguished by their reverse arrangements. The first type, used 1234-1236, bears the mint and date in a central frame, normally a plain circle, surrounded by the kalima, usually divided between two panels (KM162). The second type bears the kalima in a central hexalobe cartouche, with the mint and date in four surrounding panels, and is known only from the year 1236

⁸⁰Old Qandahar was located at the foot of a steep hill which afforded it some degree of protection from both invading armies and the late afternoon sun. The old city was destroyed by Nādir Shāh in 1735 and replaced by a new and larger foundation some four miles to the northeast, dubbed Nadirābād after its founder. After Nādir's death, Ahmad Shāh Durrāni ordered the dismantling of Nadirābād and the establishment, somewhat to the south, of a still larger city that he named Ahmadshāhi after himself, which survives to this day as the central core of the modern city, now much expanded outside the original walls. The old city is now an abandoned ruin, inhabited only by a few squatters.

⁸¹Ashmolean Museum, Tübingen (94-44-84).

⁸²Mahammad Yūsuf 1990:18-19, Reshtia 49-55.

⁸³However, Muhammad 'Azīm was not yet ready to abandon the tradition of a Sadozāy figurehead and therefore summoned Shāh Shujā' from Ludhiāna to join Dost Muhammad in an assault on Kabul, but the plan did not come to fruition. Reshtia 1990:57.

⁸⁴For a discussion of the coins of the Ghilzāy ruler Mahmūd (1135-1137/1722-1724) and their former issuer to this later Jahāngir, see Whitehead 1934:187, #1230 and n.2.

⁸⁵Reshtia 1990:60-62. It was during Mahmūd's advance towards Kabul, at Sa'īdābād in Wardak district, that the blind Fath Khān was cut to pieces alive.

⁸⁶Masson 1842:277.

⁸⁷Mahammad Yūsuf 1990:19-20.

⁸⁸Reshtia 1990:60, 63.

⁸⁹The last occurrence of the kalima on a named coin at Qandahar was on a rupee of the Hotaki ruler Mahmūd (1135-1137) (Whitehead 1934:187, #1230). A specimen with clear date 1135 was offered (and illustrated) by Presh Gallery in the mid-1990s, but I do not have the exact reference at hand here in Oxford.

(KM163, as the photographed specimen).⁹⁰ The third type (KM164⁹¹) bears the kalima in a central lozenge cartouche, with the mint name *ahmadshāhī* divided below (*ahmad*) and above (*shāhī*) the central cartouche, with the date either below or within the cartouche, and was struck in 1236 and 1237 from reasonably pure silver and in 1239 from severely debased billon; coins dated 1238 remain unknown.⁹²

Not long after the events of 1234 Purdil Khān stepped down as *primus inter pares* of the Qandahar sardars in favor of his younger full brother Shērdil Khān, but this change was not reflected in any change in the coinage, which continued to bear the standard couplet of Ayyūb until 1239, though with several changes of design, as noted in the previous paragraph.⁹³ Shērdil Khān remained in control of Qandahar until after the cessation of coinage in the name of Ayyūb during the year 1239. As we have already noted, Ayyūb Khān was deposed by Purdil at Kabul at about or just after the middle of 1239, taken under arrest to Qandahar but soon afterwards allowed to seek refuge in the Punjab, where coins continued to be struck in his name at Peshawar until 1246.

In the following year, 1240, anonymous coinage was resumed at Qandahar, again in debased metal. The obverse bears the kalima, the reverse, in addition to the mint and date, the phrase *yā shāh-e ghouth al-a'zam*, "O king of the supreme refuge (i.e., God, but *sub rosa* to Shērdil himself as the current 'shah')," inscribed within a cartouche nearly identical to the reverse cartouche of the third Qandahar type in the name of Ayyūb (KM165). The new type is known from all three years 1240-1242, all in heavily debased billon.⁹⁴ It is very rare, with probably fewer than two dozen specimens known of all three dates. Although the reasons for its adoption are obscure, it would seem plausible that the new type, with its implied supplication for divine assistance, should reflect Shērdil's hopes that the division of Bārakzāy authority approved at Kabul during the *jirgāh* (assembly of tribal elders) at the turn of the year 1239/1240 would prove stable and successful.

I have not been able to ascertain the reasons for the severe debasement of the rupee between 1239 and 1243. To be sure, there was a severe financial crisis at Qandahar at the time, but it was probably no worse than the chronic shortage of financial resources that seems to have prevailed at Qandahar during most of the century; at no other occasion, however, was there a resort to such visibly obvious debasement. However, there is a contemporary witness who observed this debasement. Charles Masson, who passed through Qandahar in 1827 or 1828 and again several years later observed, on the occasion

of his second visit to Kalat in or about 1830 (began 6 Rajab 1245) that "the financial necessities of the Kalāt rulers have introduced a base coinage into circulation at the capital [i.e., Kalat]—an expedient fatal to the trade and prosperity of the country. The same evil existed at Kāndahār when I was there, originating, I was told, with the late Shīr Dil Khān, but Fīr Dil Khān was wisely taking measures to remedy it."⁹⁵

Shērdil's death occurred in either July or August 1826 (beginning respectively on 4 Dhū al-Qa'da and 4 Dhū al-Hijja 1241).⁹⁶ He was succeeded by Purdil Khān without any overt opposition. A new coin type was introduced in 1242, bearing the kalima on the obverse as the previous issue, the mint and date within a circle or other frame on the reverse (KM168, rupee), but without the additional phrase *yā shāh-e ghouth al-a'zam*. At first the low-grade billon of the previous issue was retained, as there exist rupees of this type dated 1242 and 1243, as well as half rupees of 1243, all struck in the same inferior metal as the previously noted coins of 1239-1242.⁹⁷ Commencing in 1244, full rupees were struck in relatively fine silver during every year thereafter until 1255.⁹⁸ The billon coins of this type retain a rupee weight standard (but far from the full concomitant of precious metal!) of about 10.4 grams (160 grains) that had been initiated at Qandahar in 1229 during the second reign of Mahmūd, but the fine silver coins were struck to a reduced standard of approximately 9.15 grams. There is a great variety of different frames around the mint and date on the reverse and some variation in the obverse arrangement of the kalima as well as the surrounding frame; the reverse calligraphy alternates between naskhi and nasta'liq at irregular intervals. None of these variations can be linked to contemporary events, and they appear to represent little more than the whim of the mint officials or the engraver, at best some sort of code aimed either at indicating the chief mint official or at dissuading potential counterfeiters. It is at present impossible to determine whether the replacement of the debased *ghouth al-a'zam* currency by the equally debased kalima type in 1242 was intended to indicate the change of rule at Qandahar from Shērdil to Purdil, which had occurred either late in the year 1241 or in the early days of Muharram 1242. Given that the brothers seem to have exercised their rule as a sort of condominium, there would seem to have been no urgency in confirming the succession of Purdil. As far as I have been able to find in the sources, there is no citation of the specific date of Purdil's succession. Perhaps the *ghouth al-a'zam* type continued to be struck into 1242 until the time of Purdil's formal confirmation as chief sardar of Qandahar. Even more surprisingly, there is no noticeable change in design marking the introduction of the lighter (9.15 grams) fine silver rupee in 1244, though the two can readily be distinguished by color and feel. Purdil died not long afterwards, in 1245 or early 1246, but there is no alteration in the coinage to indicate the succession of yet another brother, Kohandil

⁹⁰Whitehead 1934:177 #1186 in the British Museum, which is also the photo specimen for KM163. Neither Whitehead nor the Krause-Mishler editions noted the date 1236, which appears in the right portion of the margin and is reasonably clear in Whitehead's photo and very clear on the specimen itself, which I examined at the British Museum.

⁹¹The listings in the *Standard Catalog* are wrong, though the illustrations for each type are correct. KM162 is known for 1234, 1235 and 1236; KM163 for 1236 only; KM164 for 1236 and 1237 in good silver, 1239 in severely debased silver.

⁹²All dates of the first and third Ayyūb types are represented in the Tübingen collection, mainly from a hoard of rupees of Herat and Qandahar, with terminal date 1237, that appeared in the market in the early 1990s, comprising at least 600 coins, perhaps considerably more. The proportion was roughly 70% Herat, 30% Qandahar. The hoard group of about 600 coins that I was able to examine contained not a single coin of Kabul, perhaps because (and this should be further examined) the Kabul rupees of the time contained a different proportion of silver and were routinely segregated according to their value, either at the time the hoard was assembled, or in modern times by either the finder or some dealer involved in the marketing of the lot.

⁹³Whitehead knew of only one specimen of a Qandahar rupee in the name of Ayyūb (1934:177), as noted above. In 1990 or 1991 at least 100 examples came into the numismatic market (ten examples at Tübingen). Whitehead also published the debased silver issue of 1239 (1934:180, #1201, in the British Museum) but misread the mint as Multan; this error has been perpetuated by KM680, which should be expunged. Multan had been permanently annexed by the Sikhs during the confusion following the collapse of Sadozāy rule at Kabul in 1233, probably even before Ayyūb had been proclaimed, and long before 1239. Copper coins struck at Multan in the name of Mahmūd bearing dates from 1233 to 1270 are issued of the Sikhs.

⁹⁴Hamidi 1995a:5, nos. 1 & 2. Both of these are billon rupees, not falus. KM is also wrong in calling the coin a falus. The only references for the 1241 coin are the KM photo and the fixed price list of Perse Gallery 32, lot 327, where the date is very clear. Rupees of 1240 and 1242 are at Tübingen.

⁹⁵Masson 1842:ii:107-108. Rupees of Kalat are unknown for this period, but the report regarding Qandahar is fully corroborated by the surviving coinage of that city. At another point in his narrative, Masson (1842:289) states that at the time of his first visit to Kalat (1829/1245-1246/77), the local ruler, Mīhrāb Khān, paid an annual tribute to Purdil Khān at Qandahar of one lakh rupees in "Kalāt base coin", equivalent to Rs. 4000 of the Qandahar currency. This ratio suggests that one Qandahari rupee of circa 1245/46 was equivalent to 25 base Kalāt rupees and thus that the Kalāt rupee was virtually pure copper, if such a coin had indeed been struck. Given that no rupees of Kalat are known from this period, one might surmise that the low-value Kalāt rupee was not an actual coin but a unit of account, whereas the debased Qandahar rupee was an actual coin, as confirmed by extant examples. Yet it seems strange that Masson, whose eyewitness accounts are usually so accurate, would have confounded two different forms of currency manipulation, adulteration of the precious metal content of actual coins with devaluation of a unit of account. The resolution to this dilemma is fortunately at hand. The highly debased Kalāt "rupee" must be the coin that has been regarded by modern numismatists as a falus (KM11 on page 640), for it is indeed inscribed *fālis-e qalāt* (sic). It is known dated 1237, 1238, and 1240, precisely the range of dates one should expect in view of Masson's report; the specimen photographed in the *Standard Catalog* appears to be dated 1237. There was no silver coinage at Kalat, which is not known to have been a mint for precious metal coinage at any time.

⁹⁶Noelle 1997:11 has the month as August but 1997:235 places it in July!

⁹⁷The 1242 rupee is unpublished, in the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM T.1335-1918, ex-Tremlett). The final digit is clearly '2'. The other coins are at Tübingen.

⁹⁸The 1255 date remains unpublished, but a very clear example has lain in the trays of the British Museum for 120 years (1878.7.14.83). The year 1253 is noted in the KM catalog, and is illustrated in the price list of Omar Hamidi #29, lot 397. Examples of all other dates are at Tübingen.

Khān, at that juncture. The coins thus confirm what is apparent from the texts, that in general, despite occasional but limited episodes of disagreement, the Qandahar sardars, at first five uterine brothers, managed to maintain a semblance of unity and mutual co-operation.

Following up on the terms of the Tripartite Agreement, British forces reached Qandahar on 5 Safar 1255/20 April 1839. Three days later the sardars fled to Herat and from there to Iran, while the British armies secured the city. On 10 Safar/25 April, Shāh Shujā' was crowned at Qandahar, his fifth coronation. Coinage began immediately in the name of Shāh Shujā' (KM173, as well as quarter and half rupees of identical type), bearing the same couplet as would be used a few months later for his initial issue at Kabul, cited above in the previous chapter. Coins of this type are known dated 1255 and 1256 and are rather rare. There is no confirmed coinage at Qandahar of 1257⁹⁹, but a rupee of this type of 1258 has recently been noted.¹⁰⁰ The next emission is an extremely rare rupee bearing the name of Fath Jang and the date 1258 (KM178). All these coins were struck under the British aegis.

Upon the departure of Nott's forces from Qandahar on 26 Jumādā II 1258/4 August 1842 (for the punitive expedition against Kabul), the British left behind a small garrison, with Safdar Jang, a son of Shāh Shujā', as nominal ruler at Qandahar. There is considerable confusion regarding what transpired thereafter. According to Reshtia, around the second week of October 1842 (first week of Ramadān 1258), the Durrāni prince Muhammad Timūr (b. Shāh Shujā') was sent to Qandahar to replace his brother as nominal ruler, but never reached Qandahar, as he is reported to have left Kabul for India along with the main British force via Peshawar, presumably leaving Safdar Jang in charge of Qandahar. It is likely that upon this occasion any remaining British garrison would also have left the country. The British then summoned the three remaining Qandahar Sardars, Kohandil Khān, Mihdīl Khān and Rahmdīl Khān, who had taken refuge in Iran. No date is provided by Reshtia for the reentry of the sardars into Qandahar.¹⁰¹ The situation seems in fact to have been somewhat more complex. According to Yapp, the British evacuation of Qandahar was total and took place over a three-day period, 29 Jumādā II-2 Rajab 1258/7-9 August 1842. Safdar Jang was left in charge of the Qandahar government. The Durrāni chiefs, who controlled much of the *mahallāt*, the districts surrounding Qandahar, pressured Safdar Jang to restore their positions and privileges that had previously been gradually dismantled by the Bārakzāy sardars (and partially restored by the pro-Durrāni British garrison). The remaining Bārakzāy leaders were expelled from the city. This renewed attempt at a Sadozāy renaissance proved ephemeral, for at some point after the beginning of 1843 (began 29 Dhū al-Qa'da 1258) the sardars returned from their Iranian exile to resume their authority in Qandahar, once again led by Kohandil Khān.¹⁰²

The next coin type is anonymous and known in two variants, both unique, both dated 1259 on the obverse, one dated 1259 on the reverse as well¹⁰³, the other coupled with a 1258-dated reverse.¹⁰⁴ Both bear the same Arabic phrase on the obverse, *al-mulk lillāh al-wāhid al-qahhār*, "the kingship is God's, the One, the All-conquering". There is a further rupee of 1259 (KM183), a rather rare type bearing the Persian phrase *sāheb-e molk dar haqiqat ast*, "the possessor of kingship in truth is he", where the word "he" is an intentionally ambivalent reference both to God and to the current ruler, whosoever that might be. The latter type is surely an issue of the Qandahar sardars, under the leadership of Kohandil Khān, as it is not especially rare and is closely related to a still later type introduced in 1260.

Who then was the issuer of the *al-qahhār* type? Was it Safdar Jang and his Durrāni cohorts or Kohandil Khān immediately upon his

return to Qandahar? It would seem that if Safdar Jang were the issuer, he would have proclaimed his Sadozāy authority by placing his name on the coinage, as had his father and two of his brothers, Fath Jang and Shāhpūr. Certainly his British mentors would not have objected to his doing so, and might even have encouraged him to do so, as a Sadozāy bulwark against Bārakzāy adventurism (though with the restoration of Dost Muhammad at Kabul, relations between the British and the Bārakzāy chief had begun to thaw). It is thus more likely that the coin was in fact the first issue of Kohandil, perhaps, as Hamidi has described it, "a unique inauguration issue for his 2nd reign". Further indication is provided by the report of MacGregor that after the departure of the British on 8 August 1842, "Safdar Jang then took possession, but in 4 months he was driven out by Kohan Dil Khān who returned from Persia"; this account would date Kohandil's return to approximately the beginning of Dhū al-Qa'da 1258, thus nearly two months before the end of that year and some two months prior to the date suggested by Yapp, as noted above.¹⁰⁵ As for the 1258-dated reverse used for the Tübingen specimen, it must have been an old die still in the mint at Qandahar, possibly originally employed for an as yet undiscovered coinage of Safdar Jang. It is significantly different from the known reverse dies used for the 1258 issues in the names of Shāh Shujā' and Fath Jang, bearing the mint and date within a lobated square.

Why didn't Kohandil Khān, upon his resumption of power at the end of 1258, restore the kalima design that had served as a badge of the Qandahar sardars before the British invasion of 1255? As noted in the previous chapter, it must have been because of the adoption of a kalima type by Muhammad Akbar at Kabul. The Qandahar sardars rigorously opposed Muhammad Akbar and his father Dost Muhammad, presumably entertaining the hope of some day seizing control of Kabul. The sardars could no longer use the kalima type as their symbol and thus needed a new obverse inscription.

The *sāheb-e molk* rupee (KM183) was struck only in 1259. In the following year the obverse inscription was slightly altered to read *soltān-e jahān-e haqiqi ast*, "the true sultan of the world is he", with the same ambivalent usage of the word "he" (KM182). The type was struck in substantial quantities in every year from 1260 to 1265, then in far lesser numbers from 1266 to 1271.¹⁰⁶ There is considerable variation both in the arrangement of the obverse and reverse legends and in the frame around the reverse inscription. All of these are issues of Kohandil, who retained the leadership of the Qandahar sardars and their increasingly politically active sons until his death in August 1855 (17 Dhū al-Qa'da-18 Dhū al-Hijja 1271).¹⁰⁷

The *soltān-e jahān* type differed radically from its predecessors, however, in one important way. Whereas all previous rupees struck between 1244 and 1259 perpetuated a weight standard of about 9.15 grams of slightly lighter, the new issue of 1260-1271 was considerably lighter, only about 5.75 grams. Kakar has argued that in the time of Sher 'Alī Khān (1280-1296/1863-1878) "one Kabuli rupee was equal to 1.7 Qandahari rupees".¹⁰⁸ Since the Kabuli rupee of the 1260s still weighed about 9.45 grams, this ratio would imply a Qandahari rupee of 5.56 grams, somewhat lighter than the actual Qandahar coin of 1260-1272, which maintained the standard of about 5.75g and would imply a ratio of about 10:16.5. However, the later Qandahari rupee, struck 1272-1297, indeed weighed about 5.56 grams, though the Kabuli rupee had been reduced to 9.28 grams by 1262. Perhaps Kakar's unnamed source had in mind the pre-1262 Kabuli rupee and the post-1272 Qandahari rupee. Another explanation

⁹⁹MacGregor 1871:518. This dating would place the return of the Qandahar sardars about the first part of Dhū al-Qa'da 1258, perhaps a few weeks to a couple months too early, but nonetheless suggestive that the return of the sardars must have occurred either very late in 1258 or at the very outset of 1259.

¹⁰⁰The KM catalog naively splits the type into types 181.1 and 181.2, based on incorrect criteria. I have not yet personally seen examples of the years 1268 and 1271, and the only 1270 coin known to me is the piece illustrated by KM for type 181.2. The unlisted 1266 date is at Tübingen. KM also lists a coin of 1272 of this type, but every 1272-dated coin I have seen has proven to be the issue which I have ascribed to Rahmdīl Khān (KM184) (the attribution to Rahmdīl in the KM catalog was submitted by me several years ago).

¹⁰¹Noelle 1997:241.

¹⁰²Kakar 1979:215.

⁹⁹KM reports a year 1257 rupee of type no. 173, marked as "Rare", but I have not been able to confirm its existence.

¹⁰⁰Tübingen (1998), not yet assigned an accession number.

¹⁰¹Reshtia 1990:185-187.

¹⁰²Yapp 1964:371.

¹⁰³Hamidi 1995a:5, no. 6 (not yet listed in KM). Hamidi erred in his reading of the obverse inscription, perceiving *Allāh* for *lillāh*.

¹⁰⁴Tübingen II.8 C5.

for this discrepancy might lie in a difference in the fineness of the metal, a possibility that cannot be dismissed until analytic data for the relevant coins become available.¹⁰⁹ In any case, the new denomination introduced in 1260 could not have been a half rupee, as hitherto unquestioningly accepted by the *Standard Catalog*, Hamidi, myself and others.

Major Lumsden, describing the situation in Qandahar at the time of the British mission of April 1857 to May 1858 (Ramadān 1273-Ramadān 1274), presents a table of equivalences which would suggest a ratio of about 10:16.67 at Qandahar as follows:

6 Cabuli rupees, 5 Co.'s Rupees. [i.e., 5 East India Company rupees]
 1 Qandahar rupee, 1/2 "
 12 Shahi makes 1 rupee Qandahar
 6 Pice Qandahar or 4 Company's pice, 1 Shahi
 2 Shahies Qandahari, 1 miskal
 4 Shahies Qandahari, 1 abbas¹¹⁰

According to these equivalencies, 6 Kabuli rupees are worth 10 Qandahari rupees, a relationship which yields a ratio of 10:16.67. The penultimate equivalency seems incorrect, for the "miskal" (*mīshqāl*) ought have weighed about 4.61 grams or slightly more, but elucidation of this matter cannot be undertaken in the present context.

Mihrdil Khān had died about five months before his older brother Kohandil Khān, so that after the latter's death only one of the original five sardars remained alive, Rahmdil Khān. He became enmeshed in a vicious struggle for authority with a son of Kohandil, Muhammad Saḍīq, but emerged as the victor just before the end of 1271, as he announced in a letter to Dost Muhammad dated 25 Dhū al-Hijja 1271/8 September 1855. Despite this apparent resolution of the conflict, Dost Muhammad used the pretense of Rahmdil's earlier request for assistance against Muhammad Saḍīq as an excuse for launching an invasion of Qandahar, which he occupied on or very shortly after 4 Rabi' I 1272/14 November 1855.¹¹¹

The short reign of Rahmdil has left one coin type, an anonymous Qandahari rupee of 1272, which is essentially identical to the emission of Kohandil, except for the addition of the word *rāyej*, "current", within a floriated cartouche in the reverse center (KM184).¹¹² This rare type, known from no more than half a dozen examples, can securely be dated to the first two months of 1272, between the death of Kohandil and the occupation of the city by Dost Muhammad. The addition of *rāyej* to the reverse design thus can be regarded as the distinguishing feature of Rahmdil's coinage.

With the occupation of Qandahar by Dost Muhammad, anonymous coinage ceased. Curiously, the couplet adopted by Dost Muhammad at Qandahar differed slightly from the couplet used on his second reign coins of Kabul, which is noted in the discussion of the Kabul coinage of 1259. The Qandahar variant is as follows:

bezd be-jaḥl o 'enāyāt-e khāleq-e akbar
amir dōst mohammad dōsbāreh sekkeh bar zar

The variant does not, however, materially alter the basic sense of the couplet. Its only purpose may well have been nothing more abstruse than an indication of the difference between the two rupee standards. Nonetheless, the revised couplet was employed not just on the Qandahari rupee, now reduced to about 5.55 grams (KM186) but on a rupee of the old Qandahari standard of about 9.15 grams (KM188), both struck in 1272 and 1273¹¹³ with the classical Durrāni form of the

mint name, Ahmadshāhi. The heavier coin may have represented an attempt by the ruler of Qandahar to strike a Kabuli rupee in addition to the 5.55 gram Qandahari rupee, perhaps for reasons of trade; I have not found any textual reference to this ephemeral 9.15 gram silver coin; its position in the currency system of Qandahar thus remains obscure. The heavier rupee is moderately rare, the lighter rupee rather plentiful.

In 1273, the design was altered to include in the reverse center the title *yā amir-e koll-e amir*, "O amir of all amirs", surrounded by a marginal legend containing mint and date (KM187). This ambivalent phrase was intended to refer both to God, the ultimate possessor of all power, and to Dost Muhammad, who by the use of this title was asserting his claim to an imperial position above all the local amirs of Afghanistan; at the same time, the mint name reverted from Ahmadshāhi to Qandahar, which thereafter remained the standard form of the mint name for all but a couple of rare issues of the mid-1280s and the late 1290s. Dost Muhammad's efforts to consolidate his power at Qandahar were fraught with numerous difficulties, despite his receiving substantial aid from the British (now firmly entrenched in Sind and the Punjab), but these events were not mirrored in the coinage and do not concern us here.¹¹⁴

There is a curious passage in Bellew's journal that is of relevance not only because it bears on the nature of currency manipulation and the rapacity of the Qandahar rulers but also because it incorporates inaccuracies that could lead to misconceptions. The observation is recorded in his journal under the date 21 November 1857/3 Rabi' II 1274:

Yesterday all the silver [sic] coin circulating in the city was called into the government treasury, as on a former occasion, by order of the Sardar [Ghulam Haydar], at one-half its current value; after a few days' detention the coin was again circulated at its original value, the Sardar adding some fifty thousand rupees to his treasury by this *coup de finance*. It is such ill-judged and despotic measures that have ruined the trade of the city, and made a great portion of it desolate and uninhabited. This appears to be a favourite method of increasing the government finances amongst the Afghans, for during our stay at Kandahar it was put into practice on some five or six different occasions.¹¹⁵

Because of the intrinsic value of silver coin it is inconceivable that an edict of this sort could ever have been promulgated, not even once, much less five or six times in the course of a sojourn that lasted about one year. As is clear from the following quotation, the reference is actually to the copper coinage, for which the practice of periodic recall at half its value had enjoyed a long history in Iran and Afghanistan. Bellew also neglects to mention that during its "detention" the coppers were overstruck with the latest type. This is clear from extant coins of Qandahar from the period of the 1270s, which are typically multiply overstruck, to the extent that frequently neither the original nor the subsequent types can be readily identified; the more egregious examples more closely resemble a copper version of the proverbial "squashed milk bottle top" than anything recognizable as a coin. The occasional legible date on these ugly coppers confirms that this nefarious practice had reached absurd proportions at roughly this time. This practice is more accurately described by another member of the same mission, Major Lumsden, as follows:

¹⁰⁹They are described in much detail by Noelle 1997:243-248. The new type (KM187) comes in two variants, of which the first is KM187.1, bearing *yā amir-e koll-e amir* in a teardrop and anested for all years 1273 to 1280. The year 1272 listed for this type by KM is a relic of the time when types KM186 and KM187 were not distinguished and likely does not exist. The year 1279, listed still as "reported, not confirmed", is at Tübingen, while the year 1280 was published by Hamidi (Pensic Gallery, list 31, lot 393, illustrated). The 1281 coin of type KM187.2 illustrated by KM was originally illustrated by Hamidi as well (Pensic Gallery 32, lot 333), with a photo considerably clearer than the KM photo. Interestingly, the 1280 and 1281 coins from Hamidi's lists share a common obverse die, and the date on the later coin has been altered from 1280 to 1281. The retention of the type into 1281 may reflect some strife between Kabul and Qandahar, for it is known that the local potentate at Qandahar at the time of Sher 'Alī's accession, his brother Muhammad Amin Khān openly refused to acknowledge that accession and remained in rebellion against Sher 'Alī for at least the better part of a year (Tate 1911:163-164).

¹¹⁰Bellew 1862:332.

¹⁰⁹The discrepancy may also derive from some sort of arbitrage. It is possible that the exchange rates between the two currencies might have been different at Kabul and Qandahar in order to take into account the cost of shipping the coins from one place to the other.

¹¹⁰Lumsden 1860:105.

¹¹¹Noelle 1997:242-243. The second edition of the 19th century *Standard Catalog* has added the date 1271 for this type, but I doubt its existence.

¹¹²Hamidi 1995a:5, no. 8, where the wrong photo is used to illustrate the type. The date of the illustrated specimen is unclear in the photograph.

¹¹³The listing in the *Standard Catalog* is the only reference I have seen to the 1273 old standard rupee. Over the years I have seen perhaps two dozen coins on this standard, always dated 1272. Thus I remain skeptical of the existence of the 1273 coin on the 9.1 gram standard. The Qandahari rupees (5.55g) of both years are common.

The whole of the copper coinage is called in every two or three months, at the will of the ruler of Kandahar (who regulates the value of the shahi and usually brings them down to half price for a few days before they are called in,) and taken at half price, stamped and re-issued at their full value. All which remain in the market of the old supply (unstamped) are called ghaz.¹¹⁶

It is clear from this passage that Bellew's report must also refer to the copper currency. As for the term *ghāz*, it is a well-attested denomination used throughout Iran and Afghanistan from at least the 17th century onwards. In Iran it was typically valued at one tenth of a shahi (five dinars), but its value in Afghanistan has yet to be researched. A few rare Afghan coppers actually bear the term as a denomination, including a falūs struck at Kabul in 1252.¹¹⁷

Only one further anonymous coin type was struck at Qandahar, a scarce light Qandahari rupee bearing the simple phrase *al-mulk lillāh*, "the kingship is God's", on the obverse, the mint on the reverse. Both sides bear the date 1297 (KM221). The ruler of Afghanistan from 1280 to 1296 had been Sher 'Ali Khān, who died at Mazar-i Sharif on 28 Safar 1296/21 February 1879 while fruitlessly seeking Russian support against an anticipated British advance into his country that did in fact materialize.¹¹⁸ He was succeeded by his son Muhammad Ya'qūb Khān, who was accepted throughout Afghanistan with little opposition. Muhammad Ya'qūb abdicated his throne during the month of Dhū al-Qa'da 1296 (October/November 1879), by which time both Kabul and Qandahar had once again been occupied by British forces. The principal Bārakzāy contender for power at this time was another son of Sher 'Ali, Muhammad Ayyūb, who had come to Herat from exile in Iran and had accepted the nominal suzerainty of his brother Muhammad Ya'qūb. During the following year, as the British position was becoming increasingly untenable, 'Abd al-Rahmān was proclaimed king by the amirs of Badakhshān and Qataghān in the north on 4 Jumādā II 1297/14 May 1880 and began his inexorable march toward Kabul and the reunification of the country.¹¹⁹

Earlier in 1297—I have not yet found the precise date—the British at Qandahar named another person by the name of Sher 'Ali, a son of one of the original Qandahar sardars, Mihrdād Khān, as nominal ruler. Sher 'Ali is often known as Wālī Sher 'Ali because his position was that of wālī of Qandahar, as inscribed upon his coinage.¹²⁰ Coins were struck at Qandahar in the name of Wālī Sher 'Ali in 1297 in three denominations (KM217, 218, 219, the last a lovely gold tilla). On 19 Sha'ban 1297/27 July 1880, a British army was routed by Muhammad Ayyūb in the Ma'wand plains, not far from Qandahar. Muhammad Ayyūb then besieged Qandahar for about a month, and it is probably during this siege that the *al-mulk lillāh* coinage was produced. Muhammad Ayyūb was unsuccessful, Wālī Sher 'Ali was reinstated for a few more months (his coins cannot be segregated into "first" and "second" reign issues) until the final British retreat from Qandahar, at which time the city was reincorporated into a united Afghanistan under 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān.¹²¹

Herat

Few places in Asia were more a bone of contention during the nineteenth century than the region of Herat. Coveted by Iran, Russia, Britain, the Pashtun rulers (Durrānī, Bārakzāy, etc.) and even the amir of Bukhara, the city and its environs nonetheless managed to eke out a

precarious independence throughout most of the century, instructively mirrored in its coinage. Until the treacherous death of the feckless Sadozāy ruler Kāmran in 1258, all coins of Herat bore the name of a ruler, the current ruler except for a series of posthumous Taymūr Shāh mohurs and rupees of 1208-1212 and 1216 that were actually issues of his son Maḥmūd when in opposition to the acknowledged Sadozāy chief, Shāh Zamān. From 1258 to 1272 a sequence of anonymous coin types was produced at Herat, followed by named coins citing the Qājār ruler of Iran, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, dated from 1273 to 1280. These are in turn succeeded by an anonymous issue dated 1280 which will be discussed below. From still later in the year 1280 until the suppression of precious metal coinage at the provincial mints in 1308/1890, all coins of Herat bear the name of the ruler. It is only the coinage of 1258 to 1280 that concerns us here, though the later coinage is by no means unproblematic.¹²²

Kāmran ruled Herat from 1245 (or possibly late 1244) until he was seized and jailed by his erstwhile vizier, Yār Muhammad Khān Alīkōzāy, at some point during the year 1257, allegedly because Kāmran had appealed to the Shah of Iran, Muhammad Shāh Qājār, for assistance against the British (this appeal occurred during the First Anglo-Afghan War but before the uprising that followed the murder of Alexander Burnes at Kabul) and had allegedly, either late in 1256 or early in 1257, exercised the *sikka* and *khutba* in the name of the Shah of Iran.¹²³ Yet no coins of Herat in the name of Muhammad Shāh are known. In fact, no coins of Herat of any sort are known bearing the date 1256¹²⁴ and the only known coins of 1257 are 1/6 rupees bearing the short legend *kāmran shāh* on the obverse, mint & date on the reverse (KM400). Under the following year (1257-1258), the chronicler of Herat, Muhammad Yūsuf, provides the curious statement that "after some time he (Yār Muhammad) openly exercised the *sikka* and *khutba* in the name of the king of Iran" (after the imprisonment of Kāmran in 1257).¹²⁵ Again, no corresponding coins are known, and given the rather large number of Herati coins of this period that have been discovered in recent years, it seems unlikely that any were struck. It is nonetheless conceivable that on one or both of these occasions the *khutba* was indeed recited in the name of the Qājār king, but that the *sikka* was never exercised for the simple reason that there was no need for coinage (or for new dies) during what could only have been very transient episodes of Qājār recognition at Herat. Although no formal die studies have been attempted, it is clear from my long observation of these coins that all of the Herat coinage from the late 1230s until at least 1280 was of minimal extent, with rarely more than three or four obverse or reverse dies per year, as well as a couple of years for which no coins at all are known. Thus there must have been significant periods during which the mint was inactive, perhaps for several months at a stretch, or longer.¹²⁶

Seven months after his detention Kāmran was strangled, then interred with full honors at Herat, perhaps at the end of 1257 but more likely during the early months of 1258.¹²⁷ In 1258, the new ruler of Herat, Yār Muhammad Alīkōzāy, inaugurated a new coinage at Herat, consisting of 1/6 rupees bearing the kalima on the obverse, the mint and date on the reverse, but without the mint epithet, *dār al-saltana*. These tiny coins, known dated 1258, 1259 and 1260 (KM404), are sixths of the classic Mughal standard of about 11.52 grams, thus about

¹¹⁶Lumsden 1860:105. The portions in parentheses are his.

¹¹⁷Lumsden's description suggests that the *ghāz* (often written *qāz* in Iranian sources) was the equivalent to half a paisa, which was worth one sixth of a shahi according to his report (loc. cit.), which was in turn one twelfth of a Qandahari rupee. The relationship between the copper paisa and the shahi (a unit of account representing 1/12 of the Qandahari rupee) was probably not fixed at 6:3, but would vary over time, as Ferrier has eloquently described (see below). In Iran the normal relationship was one shahi (30 dinars) = 2-1/2 bisfil = 5 qāzbeği = 10 qāz. The problems of the metrology and value of copper coinage lie outside the scope of this paper. For the 1252 Kabul copper bearing this denomination, see Valentine 1914:169, 448 (a similar specimen at Tübingen, JA10 P6). Valentine failed to recognize the word *ghāz*, but it is clear in his illustration.

¹¹⁸Reshtia 1990:374-375.

¹¹⁹Reshtia 1990:406.

¹²⁰The use of the prefix Wālī also helps to distinguish him from the previous Sher 'Ali, who had died only in the previous year.

¹²¹Reshtia 1990:408-417.

¹²²The sequence of rulers, types and legends at Herat from 1280 to 1308 diverges in significant ways from the sequence at Qandahar and Kabul, but that is another story for another time.

¹²³Muhammad Yūsuf 1990:37-38.

¹²⁴Muhammad Yūsuf mentions that Kāmran exercised the *khutba* in the name of Muhammad Shāh but makes no reference to the *sikka*. Could this mean, given the absence of known coins of Herat dated 1256, that the mint was essentially inactive during the year 1256, under which rubric he inserts this report (1990:37)?

¹²⁵Muhammad Yūsuf 1990:38.

¹²⁶In my estimation no more than 150-200 dies for each side were utilized at Herat during this entire interval of more than forty years. Moreover, the rather high estimated ratio of coins to dies, which I would intuitively estimate at about 4:1, would suggest that well over half of the dies originally employed are currently known.

¹²⁷The traditional date of Kāmran's death is given as 1258. I wonder if his tombstone is still in place in Herat, for the stone would likely be inscribed with the precise date of his death.

1.92g,¹²⁸ a denomination that had been introduced in the previous year, 1257, for the brief issue of similar sixths in the name of Kāmrān noted in the previous paragraph. This denomination was locally known as *jendak*, as noted below in the excursus on Ferrier's report: since the classical rupee weighed precisely 2-1/2 *mithqāl*, equal to 60 *nokhad*, the *jendak* weighed ten *nokhad*, as confirmed by extant specimens. Although no example of this coinage has been assayed, the silver appears to be quite fine, as seems to be the case for all subsequent silver coinage at Herat until the final issue of 1308. This had not always been the case. Although the full rupee standard of 11.52 grams was retained at Herat until the end of the 1230s, rupees from the late 1220s onward appear to be significantly debased, though once again no formal analysis has yet been undertaken. In 1240 a new pure silver rupee was introduced, at a reduced weight of about 10.3 grams, used by Maḥmūd and his successor Kāmrān until the last rupee issue in 1255. Why Kāmrān and his doughty vizier Yār Muḥammad should have tallied the *jendak* against the heavier rupee in 1257 remains unexplained, though it is quite plausible that the equivalence of the *jendak* to one sixth of a classical Mughal rupee was purely fortuitous, insofar as the *jendak* had been established at ten *nokhad*.

In the following year, 1261, the sixth rupee was replaced by a "half rupee" to the same standard, thus weighing about 5.76 grams, or 30 *nokhad*, and equivalent in weight (probably also in fineness, though this remains to be determined) to the new Qandahari rupee that had been introduced in 1260 (KM405.1).¹²⁹ The obverse type retained the kalima, arranged as on the earlier sixths, but with the mint epithet *dār al-saltāna* added to the reverse, undoubtedly because the larger denomination permitted more extensive verbiage. There is no known coinage of Herat dated 1262.¹³⁰ In the following year, 1263, the weight of the Herati silver coin was reduced to something over 5.3 grams, probably to a theoretical standard of 5.37 grams and thus identical with the contemporary Qājār *qirān* (kran) that had been struck to that weight at all Iranian mints since 1255 (28 *nokhad*). Given the increasingly close commercial ties between Herat and Iran at this juncture, it is not at all surprising that the masters of Herat should have adopted the Iranian *qirān* standard in lieu of any local Afghan, Central Asian or Indian standard. It therefore makes sense to refer to all coins of Herat commencing with the 1263 issue by the denominational name *qirān* rather than *half rupee*, as will become more apparent in the following discussions. We shall observe that the weight of the Herat *qirān* did indeed follow its Qājār counterpart (with one enigmatic exception, in 1269-1270). The Qājār *qirān* was reduced to 4.99 grams (26 *nokhad*) between 1271 and 1275—the transition year varies from mint to mint¹³¹—and to one *mithqāl* (4.61 grams, 24 *nokhad*) with the introduction of machine-struck coinage in 1295. Parallel reductions are witnessed at Herat.

The lighter Herat *qirān* of 1263-1267 (also designated KM405.1¹³²) is distinguished from the heavier issue of 1261 only by subtle changes in style and the addition of a small mintmark on the reverse, normally within the curve of the *dāl* of *dār*, usually either a star or a flower. All years 1263-1267 are known. The number of dies

for each year seems to be quite small, though no proper die count has yet been undertaken.¹³³ The style and layout of the *qirān* is uniform from 1263 to 1266 but the issue of 1267 has a distinctive arrangement of the kalima (reading upwards rather than downwards, KM405.3). It is possible, but by no means proven, that this was connected to the fact that during the year 1267 Yār Muḥammad died (at Isfizar of natural causes). After a hiatus of just twelve days, his son Sa'īd Muḥammad was proclaimed successor, receiving in the following year the title of *Zakir al-Dawla* from the ruler of Iran, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, the same title that his father had enjoyed.¹³⁴

There is no coinage of Herat known bearing the date 1268, and given the relatively "large" quantities of this material that have surfaced in recent years¹³⁵, it is quite likely that the mint did not operate during that year or continued to use 1267 or earlier dies that were still in usable condition. As it is generally presumed that nineteenth century Iranian and Afghan mints manufactured coins only when someone, either the state or a private individual, delivered bullion to the mint to be made into coins, it is not surprising that gaps in mint activity might periodically have occurred at a mint such as Herat, where production was relatively paltry. At the mints of Kabul and Qandahar, far more prolific during the years 1230-1294, production must have been virtually continuous, due to the incessant need for large quantities of cash, principally for the army and for tribal subventions.

The Herat coinage of 1269-1272 presents a panoply of problems, not all of which can be resolved at the present time; the schemata presented here should be regarded as tentative. In all likelihood, the first issue of 1269 was a *qirān* bearing the standard names and titles of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, retaining the Qājār *qirān* weight standard of 5.37 grams.¹³⁶ This unusual coinage, of which no more than two or three specimens are known, was apparently struck from a single pair of dies that were likely prepared by the Qājār mint at Mashhad, as the workmanship is quite distinctively Qājār and unlike earlier and later dies of Herat.

How can we explain the presence of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's name on the Herat coinage in 1269? It is known from contemporary sources that Sa'īd Muḥammad, far more so than his predecessor Yār Muḥammad, strove to maintain good relations with Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh and the latter's governor at Mashhad, as a counterbalance to the Bārakzāy rulers of Kabul and Qandahar who were undoubtedly keen to reannex Herat to the Afghan polity. The chronicler of Herat, Muḥammad Yūsuf, emphasizes the sending of annual gifts to Mashhad and Tehran, though his sycophantic stance towards the Qājār ruler must have led him to exaggerate the role of the Iranians in the affairs of Herat. In 1268 an Iranian force bolstered Sa'īd Muḥammad's resistance to the advance of Ajdal Khān b. Purdil Khān from Qandahar. Two years later a joint campaign was undertaken by Sa'īd Muḥammad and an Iranian contingent from Mashhad to punish some Turkomans who had plundered a merchant caravan and taken its people captive.¹³⁷ It is probably in conjunction with his co-operation with Iran at this time that Sa'īd Muḥammad received the laqab *Zakir al-Dawla* from Tehran. Nonetheless, this rare 1269 coin is an isolated issue, the only named coin produced during the entire period of Alākozāy rule at Herat. The issue was undoubtedly minuscule, for the sole known reverse die was still serviceable for subsequent use by Sa'īd Muḥammad in combination with an obverse die dated 1270. The historian Muḥammad Yūsuf remarks that in 1268 (sic), after the repulsion of the Qandahari forces, "by order of sardar Sa'īd

¹²⁸The three specimens at Tübingen weigh 1.91, 1.89 and 1.83 grams.

¹²⁹Two specimens at Tübingen weigh 5.69 and 5.70g.

¹³⁰Coins of Herat dated 1262 are listed by Krause-Mishler and in my handlist of the collection at Tübingen. However, all coins purportedly of this date that I have examined should be reclassified as 1263, including those that were formerly in my own collection. By now I have examined at least 50 coins of "1262" and 1263 and have come to the conclusion that all should be regarded as 1263. On some specimens the rightmost of the two arcs that form the top of the '3' is relatively weak and seems rather to be a part of the background scrollwork that is characteristic of all issues of Herat struck during this period. In such cases it is easy to interpret the digit as a '2' and thus read the date as 1262. In my opinion—this should be checked by a die study—the weakness of the right arc is simply the result of the wear. Although the 1263 seems to be the most plentiful Herat issue of the Alākozāy interlude, there seem to be very few dies cut for the series, probably no more than five or six for each face, perhaps fewer.

¹³¹Albani 1998:137. I know of no other instance in Safavid and later Iran where a change in weight standard was not implemented more or less simultaneously at all operating mints. The Qājār silver coinage of 1271-1275 presents other anomalies, as yet largely unresearched, but which cannot be discussed in this paper.

¹³²The change in weight standard between 1261 and 1263 had not yet been discovered when the 19th edition of the *Standard Catalog* was first published and was not corrected in the 2nd edition (*new cupa*).

¹³³Interestingly, in the Tübingen collection, two *qirāns* of 1263, one of 1264 and one of 1265 all share a common obverse die, whose deterioration over time is clearly noticeable.

¹³⁴Muḥammad Yūsuf 1990:51.

¹³⁵The quantities are not large. I would estimate that fewer than 400 examples are known of all dates and types of the anonymous coinage struck from 1258 to 1272! However, given the limited demand for so obscure a coinage, such a quantity is indeed "relatively large". At the present I have at least 100 examples for sale but few taken.

¹³⁶Tübingen 91-13-145 (bold and ex-moult, 5.12g); the type has recently been incorporated into the second edition of the *Standard Catalog* (p.719, type KM824, not yet differentiated into coins of the 5.37 gram and the 4.99 gram standards). A second specimen passed through my hands in 1996.

¹³⁷Muḥammad Yūsuf 1990:53-57.

Muhammad Khān, a great deal of coined money equivalent to six thousand tomans of the current money of Iran at Herat was sent to Tehran, and in the following year a "sum of money as a gift" was despatched to Tehran. It would seem that the Nāsir al-Dīn issue must have been struck in conjunction with one of these two occasions. The gift coins may well have borne the Iranian sovereign's name in order to curry his favor or to fulfill some previously agreed contingency.

It is worth examining the possibility, which I hold to be likely, that the 1269 coins in the name of Nāsir al-Dīn were prepared for the shipment of six thousand tomans, despite the fact that Muhammad Yūsuf records that event under the rubric of 1268.¹³⁸ At the time, the Iranian (and therefore, the Herati) toman was equal to ten *qirān*, whence 6000 tomans would be the equivalent of 60,000 *qirān*, each weighing 5.37 grams of what was probably .900 fine silver. This would correspond to about 10,360 troy ounces of similarly alloyed silver, equivalent to about 34,000 Kabuli rupees (assuming a like fineness for the Kabuli rupee, an assumption not yet investigated), not unlike the sums typically paid by the Kabul government as annual allowances (bribes) to any of several surrounding tribal districts.¹³⁹ The question arises: could 60,000 *qirān* have been struck from a single pair of dies? The author of the *Matla' al-Shams*, a local history of Mashhad completed in the early 19th century, informs us that on the occasion of the Qājār occupation of Mashhad by Āghā Muhammad Khān in 1211 the Mashhad mint was compelled to strike up 30,000 rupees in the name of the Qājār conqueror.¹⁴⁰ These coins are known today, and I suspect that all specimens are from a single pair of dies. Unfortunately, when I saw a group of about a hundred examples in Mashhad in 1965 I had no inkling of the importance of recording the number of dies. If it could be shown (as I instinctively suspect) that the Mashhad 1211 coinage was indeed struck from a single die pair, then it would be entirely plausible that the 60,000 *qirān* of 1269 were similarly produced, especially as the *qirān* was less than half the weight of the 1211 rupee and as such would cause less wear to the dies. The quantity of coins obtainable from a single pair of dies would also to some extent depend on whether the mint was using bronze or steel for its dies; both technologies had long been available.¹⁴¹ Of course, the possibility can never be excluded that some portion of the payment consisted of other kinds of coins, older *qirāns* of whatever origin or foreign coins such as Russian rubles or Bukharan tengas, for our source does not specify the nature of this coined money, or even whether it consisted entirely or only partly of silver. There was no local gold coinage at the time in Herat, but imported gold coins, such as Ottoman liras, Iranian tomans, Russian five rubles or French napoléons, would likely have been available in the bazaar.

¹³⁸It is likely that Muhammad Yūsuf, like most Safavid and later Iranian historians, perceived the Hijri year not as the Hijri year proper but as the solar year, according to the Chinese animal cycle, that would have commenced during that year. The solar year *sihāqān-i* extended from 28 Jumādā I 1268 to 8 Jumādā II 1269.

¹³⁹Gulzād (1994:73) notes that in 1877-78 (1294), Sher 'Alī's revenues amounted to Rs 13,323,174, of which Rs 11,751,112 were given to expenditures and Rs 1,482,062 were surplus added to the treasury. Even taking into account that the revenues of independent Herat in 1269 were but a fraction of those of all Afghanistan in 1294, a "gift" of some Rs 34,000 would not likely have bankrupted the treasury.

¹⁴⁰Sanī' al-Dawla 1885, v. 2:351. The quantity struck is not cited here; regrettably I have been unable to find my notes regarding that tidbit of information. The author does somewhat confuse the issue, for he speaks of a "large sum" of coins minted at Herat, rather than Mashhad, in the name of Āghā Muhammad Shāh, adding parenthetically that he possessed an ashrafi (sic) of this coinage in his own collection of ancient coins. No coin of Herat in the name of the Qājār ruler is known. Given that the account occurs within a discussion of events at Mashhad, it is probable that the reference to Herat is either a simple error or (more plausibly) an allusion to the denomination of the previous coinage of Mashhad, which conformed not to the Iranian monetary system but to the Durrāni system as used at Herat and elsewhere within the Durrāni patrimony.

An interesting aspect of this report is that, at least as far as Sanī' al-Dawla was concerned, coin collecting was alive and flourishing in Iran as early as 1885.

My thanks to A.H. Morton of the School of Oriental and African Studies for providing me with access to his personal copy of the *Matla' al-Shams*.

¹⁴¹According to Arabic sources steel had been available for die manufacture since at least the 4th/10th century. See Christopher Toll, "The fabrication of Arabic coins", *Commentationes de numis antiquarum IX-XI in Saecula reportis*, new series, v.6, pp.331-334.

But if Herat prepared an issue in the name of Nāsir al-Dīn during 1269, why did the mint revert to the kalima type later in the very same year, well before the joint campaign against the rebellious Turkomans? Were in fact relations with Tehran far less sanguine than the groveling Muhammad Yūsuf depicts them? Given the subsequent Persian invasion of Herat, such was likely the case. The ephemeral 1269 coinage in the name of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh was most likely produced in fulfillment of some agreement concerning the assistance provided by the Persians against the encroachment of Afdal Khān, after which the anonymous kalima coinage of Sa'īd Muhammad was restored. Sa'īd Muhammad must have had no intention of becoming a Qājār vassal.

The restoration of the kalima type in 1269-1270 was accompanied by a reduction in the weight standard to 4.61 grams (one mithqāl), a curious deviation from the practice (since 1263) of maintaining the contemporary Iranian *qirān* standard for the Herat *qirān*. There are two variants known with the date 1269, one with *nāshī* reverse (as KM405.1), the other with *nāshī* reverse (KM405.2), both with the downwards reading kalima of 1261-1266. The issue of 1269 seems relatively large, as there are several obverse and reverse dies known for the issue.¹⁴² The coinage of 1270 revives the upwards reading kalima of 1267 and retains the *nāshī* reverse. As with the 1267 issue, the date 1270 is engraved on both sides, beneath the kalima on the obverse and above *darb* on the reverse. Only one obverse die has been noted, on which the date is engraved without the point for the zero, thus just "127", following by a four-pointed star resembling a small cross, which has led to the date being misconstrued as 1272.¹⁴³ There are at least two reported reverse dies dated 1270 for this type, as well as the reused 1269 die of the Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh issue, which by this point had developed a huge die break, as is evident on the Tübingen specimen.¹⁴⁴

One might argue that because the old 1269 die of the Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh type is known coupled only with a 1270 obverse and not a 1269 obverse of the anonymous kalima type, the Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh issue of 1269 should have been struck at the end of the year 1269, before the kalima coins of the same year. However, to account for that possibility, one would have to predicate that the 4.61 gram standard was adopted early in 1269, briefly abandoned for the heavier 5.37 gram standard late in the year, then once again replaced by the 4.61 gram standard at the beginning of 1270, before being yet again replaced by the 5.37 gram standard in 1271. In other words, does the die-linkage between the 5.37 gram Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh type and the 4.61 gram kalima type constitute more persuasive evidence than the continuity of the 4.61 gram standard? There is no reason, as I see it, to assume that the two utilizations of the 1269 die first used for the Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh type had necessarily to be immediately consecutive. We have already observed the retention of an undated obverse die from 1263 to 1264 and 1265, even though other obverse dies are attested for each of those years. Thus the continuity of weight standard should be regarded as stronger evidence for determining the sequence of types than the die-link. The reasons for the temporary weight reduction to 4.61 grams in 1269-1270 remain obscure; nothing I have seen in the historical sources sheds any light.

In the following year (1271), an altogether new type was introduced, bearing the obverse inscription *mālek al-molk dar haqiqat ūst*, "the possessor of kingship is truly he", reminiscent of the legends used at Qandahar from 1259 to 1272, though there is no evidence of Qandahari influence in Herat at this juncture. The Iranian *qirān* weight standard of 5.37 grams was restored, whence it can be inferred that the new type was intended primarily to indicate the value of the new coinage rather than as any sort of political statement. There are four variants of the reverse, for which I will tentatively propose the

¹⁴²The four examples at Tübingen, two of each subtype, comprise three obverse and four reverse dies.

¹⁴³This confusion has led the editors and contributors to SCWC to postulate two distinct types, KM-A406 dated 1270 and KM-408 dated 1272. In fact, KM-408 does not exist as a separate type. In the second 19th century edition of SCWC (1997), the illustrated examples of KM-A406 and KM-408 share a common obverse die. Both bear the date 1270 on the reverse, though the date is not clear on the illustrated reverse of "408".

¹⁴⁴Tübingen 96-52-82.

following sequence. The first issue (Tübingen IL9 B3) bears a *nasta'liq* legend in a circle similar to coins of 1269. The second bears a modified *naskhī* reverse enclosed within an ornamented square, a particularly elegant type (Tübingen IL9 B4). The third and fourth reverses both restore the legend-in-circle design, one with *nasta'liq* (Tübingen 97-22-90), the other with *naskhī* calligraphy (Tübingen 97-22-91). The third and fourth reverses are characterized by the addition of a large isolated letter 'ayn within the reverse legend; their sequence relative to one another is undetermined. What is the meaning of this letter 'ayn?

Muhammad Yūsuf notes that by the early part of 1271 Sa'īd Muhammad had become quite mad and utterly unpredictable, ordering executions without cause, persecuting the powerful Hazāra tribes that had once formed the bulwark of his support and at one point even threatening to kill his own mother. Real power shifted increasingly to his courtiers, especially to the vizier, 'Isā Khān Bardarāni, who was leading the struggle to maintain the independence of Herat against threatened Iranian and Bārakzāy encroachment. It seems entirely conceivable that 'Isā Khān added his initial to the reverse of the coinage as a cryptic sign that he was in control. The combination of the 'ayn with the intentionally ambivalent statement of kingship on the obverse seems consistent with the contemporary perception of the right of *sikka*. Although it is somewhat remarkable to find this practice as far west as Herat, the use of initials or symbols to indicate a local ruler was commonplace in India, including the Cis-Sutlej states such as Patiala, Nabha and Maler Kotla that had once briefly formed part of the empire of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. Moreover, the common second reign rupees of Dost Muhammad struck at Kabul from 1262 to 1280 bear a sequence of mint symbols (stars, flowers, sprigs, Arabic letters, etc.), whose specific meaning is unknown, though in all likelihood they constituted some sort of control mark ordered by the mintmaster.¹⁴⁵

During the second week of September 1855 (25 Dhū al-Hijja 1271-2 Muharram 1272), Sa'īd Muhammad was overthrown during a rebellion of the Hazāras led by two grandsons of Firuz al-Dīn (b. Mahmūd Shāh Sadozāy) by the names of Muhammad Ridā and Muhammad Yūsuf, of whom the latter seems to have been more prominent.¹⁴⁶ This Muhammad Yūsuf Sadozāy at first negotiated some sort of *modus vivendi* with the Iranians, but soon thereafter a large Iranian force set forth for Herat under the command of the governor of Mashhad, Husām al-Saltāna Sulṭān Murād Mīrzā. At the end of April 1855 (beginning of Ramadān 1272), Muhammad Yūsuf was overthrown by the vizier 'Isā Khān Bardarāni and handed over to Husām al-Saltāna (he was later sent to Tehran and executed). The only attested coin of Herat dated 1272 is a gold tilla (KM409) with the *mālek al-mālek* obverse of 1271, thus identical to the last issue assigned to Sa'īd Muhammad, except for the arrangement of the word *mālek* (*lek* to the left of *mā* rather than below it). There is some uncertainty over the fate of Sa'īd Muhammad in early 1272. Lee argues that he was deposed and incarcerated but not executed until several months into the year 1272, whereas the chronicler Muhammad Yūsuf places his death immediately upon the entry of Muhammad Yūsuf Khān into Herat.¹⁴⁷ The retention of Sa'īd Muhammad's type into 1272 weighs in favor of Lee's explanation, for had Muhammad Yūsuf Khān immediately seized power, he would likely have either introduced a distinctive anonymous coin type of his own or acknowledged Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh as overlord from the commencement of the year. In any

case, it seems appropriate to assign the 1272 tilla to Muhammad Yūsuf and to regard the alteration of the form of *mālek* as a possible, perhaps clandestine, allusion to the change of administration.

It is clear that the coinage of Herat between 1258 and 1272 presents problems that remain difficult to resolve. The above analysis, for all its detail, is really quite superficial. Additional historical sources need to be examined, such as the detailed report of Ridā Qulī Khān in his chronicle, the *Rawḍat al-Safā*. A definitive analysis cannot be undertaken in a general discussion such as the present one.¹⁴⁸

After the capture of Muhammad Yūsuf Khān in Ramadān 1272, the Iranians at first withdrew from Herat, in accordance with the agreement they had negotiated with 'Isā Khān, but Husām al-Saltāna perceived the weakness of the situation at Herat and renewed his attack, reoccupying the city on 26 Safar 1273/26 October 1855. Husām al-Saltāna removed 'Isā Khān and appointed the Bārakzāy prince Sulṭān Ahmad Khān, son of Muhammad 'Azīm Khān (and thus a nephew of Dost Muhammad), as ruler in Herat. The Persians withdrew in the following year, in accordance with the Anglo-Persian Peace Treaty of 1857, but their underling Sulṭān Ahmad continued to rule at Herat until his death on 15 Ramadān 1279/6 March 1863 during the siege of the city by Dost Muhammad, which had begun on 29 Muharram 1279/27 July 1862.¹⁴⁹ The coins reveal that Sulṭān Ahmad retained his formal loyalty to Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, for the *qirāns* of Herat struck from 1273 to 1280 (none is known dated 1276) retain the name of the Shah of Iran. In addition, there is a unique gold tilla dated 1276 in the William Kazan collection.¹⁵⁰ Thus every year from 1273 to 1280 is represented by coinage bearing the name of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh. Muhammad Yūsuf has preserved a contemporary description of a *qirān* of Nāsir al-Dīn dated 1277, which is accurate in all but one minor detail (the coins read *al-sulṭān abn al-sulṭān* instead of just *al-sulṭān*):

At Herat the *sikka* and *khutba*, as was appropriate, were adorned with the name of his auspicious excellency Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh. The legend on one side of the coined *qirān* of this time is *darb-e dār al-nasrah-ye herāt 1277*, and on the other side is engraved *al-sulṭān nāsir al-dīn shāh-e qājār*.¹⁵¹

Sulṭān Ahmad was briefly succeeded within the besieged city by his son Shāhnawāz Khān, but to little avail, for Shāhnawāz surrendered to Dost Muhammad less than three months later, on 8 Dhū al-Hijja 1279/27 May 1863. However, Dost Muhammad was already gravely ill and expired just thirteen days later, on 21 Dhū al-Hijja 1279/9 June 1863, having never set eyes on the interior of Herat.¹⁵²

The *qirāns* of Herat in the name of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh dated 1273 through 1275 preserve the 5.37 gram standard, those of 1277-1280 follow the reduced 4.99 gram standard, thus conforming to contemporary Qājār usage. No coins can at present be assigned to the brief period of 'Isā Khān's ascendancy over Herat (Ramadān 1272-Safar 1273). Nor are there any *qirāns* known bearing the date 1276, and it is likely that none were struck. There exist mulings of obverses dated 1275 with reverses dated 1277¹⁵³, a fact that would suggest that no dies were prepared bearing the year 1276.¹⁵⁴ There are no known coins of Herat in the name of Dost Muhammad, though the coins

¹⁴⁵In fact, a thorough analysis of the Durrāni and Bārakzāy coinage of Herat, including a die study, a metallurgical study and a reasonably thorough sifting through the literary and archival historical sources, should constitute a viable topic for a doctoral dissertation. Any takers?

¹⁴⁶Lee 1996:251, Noelle 1997:242, 250, Muhammad Yūsuf 1990:60-65. Muhammad Yūsuf's version is somewhat different in detail but not in substance.

¹⁵⁰I was recently able to examine this coin and can confirm that the date is bold and clear. The Kazan collection has recently been acquired by the National Museum of Qatar, where I was privileged in having the opportunity to examine this and many other coins.

¹⁵¹Muhammad Yūsuf 1990:68. All the known dates are represented in the Tübingen collection, including the recently discovered example dated 1274 (a second example, also recently discovered, is in the collection of W.F. Spengler).

¹⁵²Lee 1996:287-288, Muhammad Yūsuf 1990:75.

¹⁵³Tübingen IJ2 E3. The muling is not especially rare, for I have seen numerous specimens over the years.

¹⁵⁴W.F. Spengler has informed me that he possesses an otherwise unattested coin bearing the date 1279 on one face, 1280 on the other, still in the name of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh (at present I do not know which date appears on which side of the coin). Mr. Spengler has kindly offered to send me a photograph of this coin.

¹⁴⁷The most durable example of this phenomenon is the coinage of Hyderabad in the Dekkân, which bears the name of the Mughal emperor (from 1175/1761 until 1277/1857), later the name of the founder of the state, Āsaf Jāh (until 1368/1949), but in both cases together with the initial of the local nawab. Isolated letters have appeared as symbols on Islamic coins since the earliest Islamic coinage, though their significance and function must have varied greatly from time to time. The issue is treated in a forthcoming article by W.L. Treadwell concerning the Buyid dies signed by al-Hasan b. Muhammad from the 330s to the 360s.

¹⁴⁸Lee 1996:243, Noelle 1997:242, Muhammad Yūsuf 1990:56-57. Lee regards the two brothers as grandsons of Shāh Zamān, but both Muhammad Yūsuf and Noelle give their descent as sons of Malīk Qāsim, the son of Firuz al-Dīn, the latter a brother of Kāmrān Shāh who had once governed Herat on behalf of Mahmūd Shāh. The account of Muhammad Yūsuf seems more plausible.

¹⁴⁹Lee (1996:243) claims that Sa'īd Muhammad was not killed until several months later, but Muhammad Yūsuf (1990:57) states that he was strangled with a black silken cloth at the time of the revolt.

bearing the date 1279 on one face and 1280 on the other were presumably struck after Dost Muhammad's victory from dies that had been prepared in advance by the officials of Shāh-nawāz Khān for the anticipated coinage during the year 1280.

From the time of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī until 1272, all coins of Herat bear the mint epithet *dār al-saltana*, except for a few fractions where the small size of the flan precludes the inclusion of the epithet. The 1273 coins of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh bear three distinct epithets, *dār al-saltana* ("the abode of the sultanate") *dār al-islām* ("the abode of Islam"), and *dār al-nusra* ("the abode of victory"), presumably in that order. Coins of 1274-1279 in the name of Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh retain the epithet *dār al-nusra*, but *dār al-saltana* was restored commencing with the anonymous issue of 1280 and continuing until the end of precious metal coinage at Herat in 1308. However, some copper coins of the 1310s and 1320s revive the *dār al-nusra* epithet, rather surprisingly, for the *dār al-nusra* epithet appears to have originally been intended to mark the Iranian victory over the city in 1273.

The final anonymous issue of Herat bears the date 1280 and is inscribed with the short legend *sāheb al-zamān* on the obverse, the mint and date on the reverse, known in both gold and silver, all struck from a single pair of dies.¹⁵⁵ On 24 Dhū al-Hijja 1279/12 June 1263, three days after the death of Dost Muhammad, his son Sher 'Alī was proclaimed amir at Herat.¹⁵⁶ Shortly afterwards he and most of his entourage departed for a slow journey via Qandahar to Kabul, which they reached around the beginning of November (began 19 Jumādā I 1280), where Sher 'Alī was officially enthroned. However, several of his brothers refused to accept the succession, throwing their support to one amongst them, Muhammad Afdal, who was eventually to overthrow Sher 'Alī briefly and to rule at Kabul in 1283-1284. Upon his departure from Herat, which must have begun just at the turn of the year 1279/1280, Sher 'Alī named his twelve year old son, Muhammad Ya'qūb, governor of Herat under the tutelage of a military officer named Farāmūz. It would appear that this Farāmūz ordered the mint to utilize an anonymous protocol in order to protect his own position, should the opposition to Sher 'Alī succeed, as must at the time have seemed a strong possibility. Viewed from Herat, the political situation may well have favored Muhammad Afdal and his co-conspirators; better to honor the "Master of the Age" than any of the contenders. Thus the anonymous *sāheb al-zamān* coins should be considered as an issue of Farāmūz, in the name of Muhammad Ya'qūb as governor of Herat, during the months of uncertainty between Sher 'Alī's departure from Herat and the receipt at Herat of news of his enthronement at Kabul. Thereafter, commencing later in the year 1280, a reasonably continuous series of coins were struck at Herat in the name of Sher 'Alī through the year 1295 (KM410-414). The 1295 issue (KM413) is especially plentiful, perhaps because it coincided with the reduction in the weight of the *qirān* standard from 4.99 to 4.61 grams.

All subsequent coinage of Herat bears the name of the current ruler, with one exception. During the autonomous "reign" of Muhammad Ayyūb Khān, which extended at Herat from 1296 to 1298, krans were struck in the name of his nominal overlord, Muhammad Ya'qūb Khān, whose actual fall from power had occurred towards the end of 1296. No coins are known bearing the name of Muhammad Ayyūb, nor are there anonymous coins associated with his tenure. Thus the Muhammad Ya'qūb issues of 1297 and 1298 should be regarded as quasi-autonomous coinage of Muhammad Ayyūb. With the introduction of machine-struck coinage at Kabul in 1308 the production of precious metal coinage at Herat was suppressed, though sporadic issues of hammered copper coins continued to appear at Herat until 1348.

Peshawar

We have already noted that the coinage of Peshawar retained the name of Ayyūb Shāh after his capture by Purdīl Khān in 1239 until 1246, during which years the city was controlled by the half-brother of Dost Muhammad, Sultān Muhammad (types KM733 struck 1233-1245 and KM734 struck 1245-1246¹⁵⁷). In the following year, Sultān Muhammad promulgated a quasi-anonymous coinage, bearing the couplet

*kandeh bar khod chehre-ye mehr o 'enān
sekke-ye doulat-e soltān-e zamān*

("the stamp of the fortune of the sultan of the age has engraved on itself the face of the sun and the heavens") and known from rupees dated 1247, 1248 and 1249 (KM739).¹⁵⁸ In the following year Peshawar was taken by the Sikhs, who struck coins there bearing the Vākrama Samvat dates 1891-1894, equivalent to approximately 1250-1253/1834-1837. There is only one further issue of coinage at Peshawar, a still unpublished rupee dated 1265 bearing the second reign couplet of Dost Muhammad as used at Kabul and the somewhat unusual reverse formula ... *jolūs-e olkū-ye Peshāvar 1265* (the first word is largely off the flan and thus undecipherable on the solitary known specimen).¹⁵⁹

The Durrānī legacy at other mints

At more than a dozen mints, Durrānī prototypes were perpetuated as local coinages, differing from anonymous coinages primarily in the retention of the name of a Durrānī ruler, often deceased, as the distinguishing aspect of the coinage. It is not my intention to present a definitive study of these difficult coinages but rather, secondarily to provide a succinct overview, and primarily to encourage others to pursue the subject further. The following brief survey is based almost exclusively on the Krause-Mishler catalogs, arranged by mint in alphabetical order.

1. *Ahmadpūr* – Some extremely rare coins in the name of Mahmūd Shāh were struck here in 1248 and 1249 (KM108), issues of the autonomous nawabs of Bahāwalpūr. The frozen year 1217 and the couplet of Mahmūd's first reign appear on the obverse. The "regnal" years on the reverse, 48 and 49, must be shorthand for the Hijri years 1248 and 1249, which fell just prior to the introduction of the local anonymous type in 1251. No coins are known dated 1250.
2. *Bahāwalpūr* – Lost to the Durrānīs in 1233 or 1234, Bahāwalpūr resumed striking coins under the local nawab but in the name of Mahmūd Shāh from 1239 until 1250, after which anonymous coinage was introduced. Issues of 1250 bear a hand-cut reeding on the edge, coarsely imitating contemporary East India Company coinage.¹⁶⁰
3. "*Baltisān*" – This mint name appears on much of the coinage of Ladakh struck between 1771 and 1850 (KM1-KM7), and has often been misread as "Butan". Some of these issues bear the name of Mahmūd Shāh, though Durrānī forces never penetrated so far to the northeast (KM5-KM6).
4. *Bhakkar* – An important Durrānī mint until 1234 or 1235, the last issue of which bears the name of Ayyūb Shāh.¹⁶¹ Coinage

¹⁵⁷Dated coins of type KM734 have not yet been published, but clear examples of 1245 and 1246 are in the collection at Tübingen (IL6 F1 and F2, resp.).

¹⁵⁸The KM catalog lists the same type twice, as KM738 assigned to Dost Muhammad and as KM739 assigned to Sultān Muhammad. Only the latter is correct. The known dates are 1247-1249. While it is certainly plausible that coins of this type dated 1246 might exist, none has been confirmed to date; it is likely that all so-called issues of 1246 are misreadings of 1249.

White-King (1896:328) read the couplet somewhat differently, but as best I can determine his version, which conveys the identical meaning, is metrically incorrect.

¹⁵⁹Tübingen IM1 B3. There are also less rare anonymous copper falms of Peshawar of the same year bearing the same mint prefix *olū* ("district") (Valentine 1914:214, #751-752).

¹⁶⁰Khānpūr, the third mint of the Bahāwalpūr nawabs, did not issue coins in the name of the Durrānīs but only commenced production with the anonymous types of the nawabs of Bahāwalpūr.

¹⁶¹Date off flan, but presumably 1234 or 1235, Tübingen 95-4-190 (unpublished).

¹⁵⁵Gold *tilā*, Tübingen 92-12-114 (3.41g); silver *qirān* in the ANS collection. Neither type has yet been listed in the *Standard Catalog*. Both types are exceedingly rare, with probably no more than three or four specimens known of each.

¹⁵⁶Restrepo 1990:247-251.

resumed shortly thereafter in the name of Mahmūd and continued in his name, with some lacunae, until 1270. Issues dated 1259 and later were struck under British authority. Some bear the British lion as a mint symbol.

5. *Derājāt* – *Derājāt* was the mint of Derā Ismā‘īl Khān in modern Pakistan, and was lost to the Bākrakzāys about 1234. The mint continued to strike rupees in the name of Mahmūd Shāh under the Sikh governors from 1234 until 1251, after which normal Sikh coins with dates in the Vikrama era were struck.
6. *Jind* – A nazarana rupee was struck for Ranbir Singh on the event of his 50th anniversary or reign in 1937 (Vikrama era 1993), bearing the usual couplet of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī on the obverse (KM-Y2). Some earlier rupees of Ahmad Shāh type are assigned to Jind (KM1, 2, 3, and Y1), but I have not seen these and query their existence.
7. *Kaithal* – Rupees bearing the usual couplet of Ahmad Shāh were struck at this town in Haryana state at some point in the late 18th or early 19th century (KM10).
8. *Maler Kotla* – Large quantities of rupees and fractions with the usual couplet of Ahmad Shāh were struck here from the late 18th century until at least 1326/1908. The local ruler is indicated either by his initial or by a distinctive symbol.
9. *Mulān* – Copper coins bearing the name of Mahmūd Shāh were struck here by the Sikhs for nearly 40 years after the town was lost to the Durrānīs (1233-1270).
10. *Nabha* – Some rare rupees bearing the name of Ahmad Shāh were struck at Nabha (Nābhā) during the reign of Jaswant Singh (1783-1840) (KM20, 25). These are dated in the Vikrama era and bear a symbol indicating the local ruler.
11. *Patiala* – The name of Ahmad Shāh was retained on the rupee, mohar and fractional coins of Patiala in the eastern Punjab from the time of Amar Singh (1765-1781) until at least 1937, perhaps until the end of the British Raj in 1947. The states of Jind, Kaithal, Maler Kotla, Nabha and Patiala were known as the Cis-Sutlej states because of their location south of the Sutlej River and north of Delhi. The region had been sporadically occupied by Durrānī forces during the reign of Ahmad Shāh but never thereafter.
12. *Sind (Haydarābād)* – A Durrānī mint under Ahmad Shāh and his son Taymūr Shāh, Sind was revived as a mint and struck coins in the name of Taymūr from 1239-1252. Sind was the provincial name; the mint is believed to have been located at Haydarābād, which is appended to the name Sind on some rare rupees dated 1252.
13. *Tatta* – It is believed that many of the rupees in the name of Taymūr Shāh Durrānī were actually struck some 50-60 years later by the independent local sardars (KM-C45).

Ferrier's report on metrology

The most informative description of the various coins in circulation in Afghanistan that has yet come to my attention is Ferrier's report in his *History of the Afghans*, for which I have used Jesse's 1858 English translation. This remarkable passage refers to the year 1845, which extended from 21 Dhū al-Hijja 1260 to 2 Muharram 1262, thus presumably reflecting the situation in 1260-1261. The report is worth quoting in full (italics are his).

The princes of Afghanistan have not coined gold pieces; those which are current in that country are the ducat of Russia and the tellah of Bokhara. The gold toman and the silver *kran* of Persia are also in circulation, but at a depreciation of a tenth of their value, whereas that of the ducat and tellah is augmented in the same proportion. Small silver coins called *djindek* are struck at Herat, in value about fourpence; and at Kandahar rupees, also of silver, and of the value of a shilling. At Kabul the rupee is worth two shillings.

There are two fictitious light coins current in the three principal cities, called *chahee* and *abbasee*; two *chahees* make one

abbasee, and two *abbasees* a *djindek* or fourpence; there are three Herat *djindeks* in the Kandahar rupee, and two rupees of Kandahar to one of Kabul. Fractions of the *chahee* and *abbasee* are represented by a copper coin called *poul* or *pāiseh*; its value is never fixed, and varies according to the abundance or scarcity that exists in the market at the time. This value is determined every three months by the sovereign on the report made to him by the chief agent of police and the five principal merchants, who previous to the audience consult their fellow merchants of the locality on the subject. There are from three to five *pouls* in a *chahee* according to circumstances, but this copper coin has no currency except in the towns, where it is compulsory to receive it. The country-people will not take it... (the report continues with matters irrelevant to coinage).¹⁶²

The equivalencies supplied in this report are in general accurately confirmed by extant coinage. The *jendak* ("djindek") of Herat is obviously KM404, the fine silver coin of about 1.92 grams struck from 1257 to 1260. The Qandahari rupee introduced in 1260 (KM182) weighed about 5.7 grams, thus almost precisely three times the *jendak* of Herat (and thus equivalent to half a traditional Mughal rupee). However, the Kabuli rupee was no longer the Mughal rupee of 11.5 grams, which would have been equal to two Qandahari rupees, but a silver coin of two mithqāls, about 9.22 grams and possibly of somewhat lower fineness as well. Unless there was some sort of government decreed overvaluation of the Kabuli rupee of the time—for which no textual evidence seems to have survived, though the possibility cannot be categorically dismissed—Ferrier's statement that one Kabuli rupee was equivalent to two Qandahari rupees is inaccurate, as confirmed by the reports of Lumsden and Kakar discussed above under the rubric of the Qandahar coinage.¹⁶³ It is possible that Ferrier confounded the *khām* rupee and the *pokhteh* rupee and that the *khām* rupee still retained the value of the old Mughal rupee of 11.52 grams in 1260/61, though neither the value of the *khām* rupee nor the relationship between the *khām* and the *pokhteh* at the time is known.

A few words on the nomenclature used by Ferrier are in order. The term *jendak* became totally obsolete in the 20th century. However, the great Persian lexicographer, A. Dehkhoda (1879-1955), inserted a personal note in his dictionary under the rubric of *jendak*, stating that when he was a child the *jendak* was a copper coin about the size of one's fingernail and equivalent to one fourth of a shahi, thus 12-1/2 dinars.¹⁶⁴ This coin can be none other than the copper 12-1/2 shahi known dated 1301 (1883/84) (KM881, formerly Y1).

The formal designation of the copper coin was *fulūs*, a term found inscribed on nearly all copper coins of Iran and Afghanistan from the 15th to the end of the 19th century. The term was not a denomination, for in cases where multiple denominations were simultaneously struck all bear the designation *fulūs*. In other words, *fulūs* was a generic term best translated as "copper coin". However, in 19th century Afghanistan (unlike Iran), all copper coinage was struck to a single denomination, invariably called *fulūs* on the coins. The popular terms were, as Ferrier points out, *pāl* and *pāisa*. *Pāl* is probably of Turkish origin and may originally have been the Turkish designation for the Chinese square-holed cash; the term is attested on some coppers issued by the Golden Horde Mongols in Russia and the Crimea in the 14th century, and remains the common word for "money" in modern

¹⁶²Ferrier 1858:318.

¹⁶³There is also a problem with the relationship between the shahi and the 'abbasi noted by Ferrier. Since its inception upon the accession of Shāh 'Abbās I in 996/1588, the 'abbasi had been regarded as a coin of 200 dinars, thus equal to four shahis of 50 dinars each, not two shahis as posited by Ferrier, though Lumsden, writing some 15 years later, states that there were four Qandahari shahis to the 'abbasi, as noted above. It is conceivable but highly unlikely that the nature of the two denominations had changed by this time at Kabul, though it remained fixed at 1:4 in Iran until the 1960s and was also 1:4 for the machine-struck coinage introduced at Kabul in 1306/1891. In Iran after 1931 the shahi was valued at 5 new dinars, which were equivalent to 50 old dinars. When I first visited Iran in 1964, the rial was valued at 100 new dinars (or 1000 old dinars) and the half rial was popularly known as *dashshahi*, "10 shahis", though the term 'abbasi seems to have fallen out of use in Iran during the middle of the 13th/19th century.

There is one other minor error in Ferrier's text. Russia was not producing ducats during the later 18th century or at any time in the 19th century. From 1817 onwards, large quantities of five rouble gold coins were struck to a standard of 6.544 grams of 22 carat gold (KM132, 174, 175, 176 and other types after 1854).

¹⁶⁴Dehkhoda 1993, v.5:6914.

Persian. *Paisa* is a generic Indian name for a copper coin; under British rule it was fixed at 1/4 anna (thus 1/64 rupee). With decimalization (1957 in India, 1961 in Pakistan), the paisa was fixed at 1/100 of a rupee, which it remains to the present day.

Epilogue

In this paper I have tried to present a synopsis of the current state of research regarding the anonymous Bārakzāy and associated coinages. In every aspect my work is surely far from exhaustive. On the numismatic side, there remain several important collections that need to be examined, such as the fine collection of the American Numismatic Society and several private collections both in the West and in Pakistan. On the archival side, there is undoubtedly much additional information, especially in the collection of the India Office Library in London. And on the historiographical side, there are surely numerous informative tidbits to be gathered from the contemporary and secondary English, Russian, Persian and Pashtu literature, only a smattering of which has been consulted during the present endeavor. I sincerely hope that by scratching the surface of a complex and difficult subject I shall have encouraged others to identify my mistakes,

oversimplifications and omissions and to bring additional resources into consideration, thus carrying forward the progress of Durrānī and Bārakzāy numismatics.

TABULAR SUMMARIES

In the following table I have summarized the information discussed in the text, in order that the user might conveniently access the often verbose analyses provided therein. The date range is given in Hijri years only; the Christian equivalents may be sought in the text, which is arranged in essentially the same sequence as the table. The ruler is the person whose name is actually on the coin. In the case of anonymous coinage, either the name of the actual holder of power or an appropriate description is supplied in italics. For the type description, a mnemonically convenient indication is cited. Finally, the Krause-Mishler (KM) numbers corresponding to the data in the first three columns are listed in the fourth column, irrespective of denomination (gold types in italics, unlisted types indicated by a long dash). Only the issues of Kabul, Qandahar and Herat are included in the table.

Kabul			
Date range	Ruler	Brief type description	KM numbers
late 1233-Rabi' II 1239	Ayyūb Shāh	<i>sho'ā'</i> couplet ¹⁵⁵	468, 469
ca. Jumādā I-Jumādā II 1239	<i>Purdil Khān</i>	kalima type	473
2nd half of 1239	<i>Habīb Allāh</i>	<i>sekke-ye doulat-e soltān-e zamān</i>	476
beginning of 1240 to middle of 1241	<i>Sultān Muḥammad</i> ¹⁵⁶	<i>fakhr kon ...</i>	477
middle 1241-middle 1245	<i>Dost Muḥammad</i>	<i>fakhr kon ...</i> (differently arranged)	478, 479
1245-1250	<i>Dost Muḥammad</i>	couplet naming his father Pāyinda Khān	480
1250-1255	Dost Muḥammad	couplet announcing <i>jihād</i>	481
1255	Shāh Shujā'	<i>hāmi-ye dīn</i> couplet	483
1255	Shāh Shujā'	<i>dorr-e dorrān</i> type	484.2
1255-Ramādān 1257	Shāh Shujā'	<i>solṭān shujā' al-molk shāh</i> type	482, 484.1, 487
Ramādān 1257-end of year 1257	<i>Muḥammad Zamān</i>	<i>yā sāheb oz-zamān</i> type	485
beginning of 1258-Safar 1258	Shāh Shujā' (as puppet of Aminullah Logari)	<i>solṭān shujā' al-molk shāh</i> type restored	484.1, 487
ca. Safar-Rabi' I 1258	Fath Jang	<i>mā'dan</i> couplet type	488.1, 488.2
ca. Rabi' II-Jumādā I 1258	<i>Muḥammad Zamān</i>	couplet as first couplet of Shāh Zamān (originally used 1207-1214)	486
mid-Jumādā I to mid-Jumādā II 1258	Fath Jang	<i>pādshāh-e ghāzī</i> type	488.4
end Jumādā II-Sha' bān 1258	Fath Jang	<i>dorr-e dorrān</i> type	488.3
Sha' bān-Ramādān 1258	Shahgūr Shāh	couplet type	489
Shawwāl to end of year 1258	<i>Muḥammad Akbar</i>	kalima type	493
early 1259-1280	Dost Muḥammad	<i>doubārek</i> couplet type	496, 497, 498, 499 ¹⁶⁷
early 1280	Sher 'Ali	<i>be-valā-ye amir</i> type	502
mid-1280-Rabi' I 1282	Sher 'Ali	<i>za 'eyn-e marḥamat</i> type	503
Rabi' II-end 1282	<i>Sher 'Ali</i> nominally abdicated	<i>yā sāheb oz-zamān</i> type	504
<i>(later issues lie outside the scope of this study)</i>			
Qandahar			
Date range	Ruler	Brief type description	KM numbers
Rabi' I-about Rabi' II or Jumādā I 1234	<i>Purdil Khān</i>	kalima type	160
ca. Jumādā I 1234-1237	Ayyūb Shāh	three variants of the <i>sho'ā'</i> couplet type	162, 163, 164
1239	Ayyūb Shāh	as the third variant of above, but in debased metal	*164a*
1240-1242	<i>Sherdil Khān</i>	<i>yā shāh-e ghoub al-a'zam</i>	165
1242-1243	<i>Purdil Khān</i>	kalima type, in debased metal	168
1244-1255	<i>Purdil Khān</i> until 1245 or 1246, thereafter <i>Kohandil Khān</i>	type as last, but in fine silver	168 (should be renumbered *168a*)
1255-1258	Shāh Shujā'	<i>hāmi-ye dīn</i> couplet	171, 172, 173
1258	Fath Jang	<i>pādshāh-e ghāzī</i> type	178
1259	<i>Kohandil Khān</i> (probably)	<i>al-mulk lilāl al-wāhid al-qahhār</i> type	—
1259	<i>Kohandil Khān</i>	<i>sāheb-e molk</i> type	183

¹⁵⁵The couplet used for all coins of Kabul, Peshawar and Ahmadshāhī in the name of Ayyūb.

¹⁵⁶At first together with Yār Muḥammad. No change in type marked the latter's departure from Kabul and his resumption of authority at Peshawar.

¹⁶⁷Type 498 is a minor variation on KM497 and should not be construed as a distinct type.

1260-1271	<i>Kohandil Khān</i>	<i>sulṭān-e jahān</i> type	182
1272	<i>Rahimāl Khān</i>	<i>sulṭān-e jahān</i> type with <i>rajej</i> added to reverse	184
1272-1273	Dost Muhammad	couplet type, mint name Ahmadshāhi	186, 188
1273-1281 (sic)	Dost Muhammad	couplet type, mint name Qandahār	187
<i>(later issues lie beyond the scope of this study)</i>			
Herat			
1216-1244	Mahmūd Shāh	<i>khosrov-e giti se'ān</i> couplet, several arrangements	398 (also fractions)
1244-1255	Kāmrān Shāh	couplet type	402, 403
1257	Kāmrān Shāh	name only (<i>jendak</i>)	400
1258-1260	<i>Yār Muhammad</i>	kalima type (<i>jendak</i>)	404
1261	<i>Yār Muhammad</i>	kalima type (Qandahār rupee)	405.1
1263-1267 ¹⁶⁸	<i>Yār Muhammad</i>	kalima type (Persian <i>qirān</i>)	405.1, 405.3
1269	Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh	name & titles	Iran 824
1269-1270	<i>Sa'id Muhammad</i>	kalima type	405.2, A406 ¹⁶⁹
1271	<i>Sa'id Muhammad</i>	<i>mālek ol-molk</i> type	406, 407
1272	<i>Muhammad Yūsuf Khān??</i>	<i>mālek ol-molk</i> type	409
1273-1279 (and possibly 1280)	Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh	name & titles	Iran 824
1280	<i>Muhammad Ya'qūb</i>	<i>sāheb ol-zamān</i>	— (both silver & gold)
1280-1295	Sher 'Alī	name & titles	410, 411 412, 413, 414
<i>(later issues lie outside the scope of this study)</i>			

Tables of weights

A thorough analysis of Durrāni and Bārakzāy metrology would be a massive effort entailing the weighing of many thousands of coins and the chemical analysis of several hundred. For the Sadozāy period, extending from 1160 to 1233, Whitehead's corpus of Durrāni coinage at least provides the weight of nearly every specimen catalogued, so that the variation in weights between the several mints can readily be ascertained. For the years from 1233 to the end of hammered coinage in 1308 there is virtually no metrological information available in the published literature, including the

otherwise valuable listings in the *Standard Catalog*.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, no analysis of the silver content of the coinage has ever been attempted. The following tables are thus restricted only to the bare weights of the silver rupee (or other denomination when appropriate) and do not take into account the frequent (after 1233) debasement of the silver content, often apparent to the naked eye. Gold is excluded. The weight standards suggested are approximate, but should be accurate to the tenth of a gram or better. Only the mints of Kabul, Qandahar, Herat and Peshawar are noted. The Punjabi mints are excluded, as they do not figure in the Bārakzāy anonymous coinage.

Dates	Weight Standard (in grams)	Weight Standard (in local units) (when known)	Denomination	Comments
Kabul				
1160-1228	11.52g	2-1/2 <i>mishqāl</i>	rupee	
1228-1239	ca. 10.6g		rupee	possibly closer to 10.7g
1240-1245	ca. 9.85g		rupee	
1245-1259	ca. 9.45g		rupee	
1260-1261	<i>no coinage</i>			
1262-1280	ca. 9.28g		rupee	through type KM502 of Sher 'Alī
1280-1308	9.22g	2 <i>mishqāl</i>	rupee	continued for the machine struck coinage from 1308 to 1338
Qandahar				
1169-1228	11.52g	2-1/2 <i>mishqāl</i>	rupee	
1229-1243	ca. 10.4g		rupee	good silver 1229-1237, severely debased silver 1239-1243
1244-1259	ca. 9.15g		rupee	fine silver resumed
1260-1272	5.75g	30 <i>nokhud</i>	Qandahār rupee	
1272-1297	5.55g	29 <i>nokhud</i>	Qandahār rupee	
1297-1308	9.22g	2 <i>mishqāl</i>	Kabuli rupee	=48 <i>nokhud</i>

¹⁶⁸The 1267 coin could be either an issue of Yār Muhammad or of his successor in that year, Sa'id Muhammad.

¹⁶⁹A kalima type coin has been reported for 1272 (KM408), but the date is "127" followed by a cross-like ornament that has been misinterpreted as the digit "2". The coin is dated 1270 (sometimes repeated on the reverse) and is thus just a variant of type KM-A406. Type 408 should be deleted.

¹⁷⁰*Meo calpa!* The more than 500 coins of these years in the Tübingen collection have for the most part not yet been weighed, a task that I myself should have undertaken during one of my many visits to Tübingen, if not earlier, as most of these coins derive from my original collection. Alas I was just too lazy or too involved in other activities to succumb to the time-consuming process of weighing coins on an ancient twin-pan balance, and too stingy to invest in a proper electronic scale! Fortunately the Ashmolean collection is sufficiently representative for determining the changes in weight standards during this period. For the Kabul mint, the Eastern Khorasan volume of the Tübingen *Sylloge* (Schwarz 1995) provides weights for all listed examples.

Herat				
1160-1236	11.52g	2-1/2 <i>mithqāl</i>	rupee	increasingly debased from some point in the 1220s onward
1237-1239	<i>unknown</i>			very few coins known, none weighed
1240-1255	ca. 10.2-10.4g	54 <i>nokhud</i>	rupee	probably close to 10.36g, which would be 54 <i>nokhud</i> ; few specimens of known weight
1256	<i>no coins known</i>			
1257-1260	1.92g	10 <i>nokhud</i>	<i>jendak</i>	=1/6 canonical rupee
1261	5.75g	30 <i>nokhud</i>	Qandahari rupee	
1263-1269	5.37g	28 <i>nokhud</i>	<i>qirān</i>	contemporary Iranian standard
1269-1270	4.61g	24 <i>nokhud</i>	<i>qirān</i>	contemporary Iranian standard
1271-1275	5.37g	28 <i>nokhud</i>	<i>qirān</i>	contemporary Iranian standard
1276	<i>no silver coins known</i>			
1277-1292	4.99g	26 <i>nokhud</i>	<i>qirān</i>	contemporary Iranian standard
1293-1294	<i>no coinage</i>			
1295-1308	4.61g	24 <i>nokhud</i>	<i>qirān</i>	follows the weight standard of Iranian machine-struck <i>qirān</i> introduced in 1294
Peshawar				
1160-1227?	11.52g	2-1/2 <i>mithqāl</i>	rupee	
1228?-1245	ca. 10.6g		rupee	perhaps slightly heavier, closer to 10.7g ¹⁷¹
1246-1249	ca. 9.4g		rupee	starting date approximate ¹⁷²
VS1891-1894	ca. 8.4g		rupee	Sikh issues with Vikrama years equivalent to 1250-1253 Hijri

Most of the suggested standards are approximations, based on insufficient samples; only the canonical rupee of 11.52 grams and the Qājār-related *qirān* standards at Herat should be regarded as accurate. For the others, at most several dozen specimens have been published with weights or were available to me for weighing, often considerably fewer. Far larger quantities are needed to determine the weight standards with an accuracy approaching the hundredth of a gram. The task must be left for future researchers. Equally importantly, the fineness of the silver coinage must eventually be investigated.

Nonetheless, a few observations should be noted. The canonical rupee weight standard¹⁷³ of 11.52 grams was inherited from Nādir Shāh, who had quite successfully endeavored to integrate the Iranian and Indian monetary standards for both gold and silver during the course of a series of reforms between 1150 and 1152 (1737-1739). This standard was identical to the contemporary silver rupee standard of the Mughal Empire. The original Durrānī rupee was undoubtedly of pure silver, again like the Mughal rupee. My intuition is that the Durrānī rulers only began to meddle with the fineness of the rupee after the death of Shāh Zamān in 1216, but divergences in weight at a few mints began much earlier. Thus at Derajat a standard of about 11.12 grams had already been introduced during the lifetime of Ahmad Shāh (1160-1186). Similar developments in India resulted in divergent rupee standards in various parts of the county beginning roughly during the reign of Muhammad Shāh (1131-1161/1719-1748), with local weight and fineness standards proliferating during the later 18th century and throughout the 19th century.¹⁷⁴

The year 1228/1813 appears to have been a decisive point in the development of the Durrānī silver coinage, for at Kabul, Qandahar and most probably Peshawar the weight of the rupee was reduced.¹⁷⁵ Rather curiously, for the next thirty years (1229-1259) the Qandahari

rupee remained approximately 3-4% lighter than its Kabulī counterpart, except during the years 1239-1243 when the Qandahari rupee was struck in low-grade billon. Unfortunately, I have not located any contemporary indications of the exchange rate between the two sorts of rupee.¹⁷⁶ Nor is it clear whether the weight differential was compensated by a difference in fineness or was rooted in the use of divergent systems of weights.

Conclusion

The analysis that I have presented above cannot be considered as definitive. For one, the rarity of so many types and the frequent appearance of previously unknown dates and variants suggest that many more types will be discovered, whether in new hoards or lurking in existing collections, public or private. Secondly, I have not attempted anything approaching a definitive survey of the relevant histories and travelogues. Thirdly, I have made the timid decision not to peer into the records of the India Office and into other potentially relevant archival material, or even to consult all the accessible British accounts of the two Anglo-Afghan wars. Thus there remains a broad opportunity for further research and refinement.

The complexity of this coinage and the ambiguous attributions to issuer clearly stem from the juridical position of precious metal coinage in the Islamic polity, where the right of *sikka*, the ruler's right to place his name on the coinage, becomes the determinant factor for the content of coin inscriptions. Further difficulty arises from the ostensibly subtle alterations in the design, layout and calligraphy of the

¹⁷¹Further research is needed to determine the exact time of transition from the canonical 11.52 gram rupee to the lighter, circa 10.6-10.7 gram rupee and the visual differences between the two emissions, if any.

¹⁷²I have no weights for the 1245-1246 coins of type K734 in the name of Ayyūb Shāh; all coins of Sulṭān Muhammad (1247-1249) were struck to this standard, apparently about 9.4-9.5 grams. More research is needed.

¹⁷³This standard was initiated in Bengal by the Mughal emperor Humayun circa 944/1537-38. It was equivalent to 12 *mashā* or 96 *ratī* (both are traditional Indian weight standards). The contemporary gold *moḥar* was fixed at 11-1/2 *mashā*, about 11.04 grams. Both standards were adopted by Ahmad Shāh for the Durrānī coinage in 1160.

¹⁷⁴Here too lies a potentially very interesting avenue for further research. While the East India Company and other European rupee standards are well researched, the later Mughal and early princely state standards remain enshrouded in uncertainty.

¹⁷⁵It may well be that although the weight of the Herat rupee was not lowered until 1240, the silver content was adulterated from 1228 onwards. Further research is needed.

¹⁷⁶All citations known to me refer to the period after 1259, when the weight and apparently also the value of the Qandahari rupee had been reduced to approximately 60% of the Kabulī rupee.

coinage that were presumably employed to indicate changes in the nominal or fiduciary value of the coins. At the present time there is little that can be confidently said about these changes, for while there exists enough available information to determine or extrapolate the weight standards of each issue, we are still completely in the dark regarding the fineness of the silver coinage—and silver was the fundamental coinage of the Durrāni and Bārakzāy kingdoms. In my opinion, the determination of the fineness of Durrāni and Bārakzāy coinage is the most important prelude to any further monetary studies of the region.

There are additional points of uncertainty that one would hope would eventually be elucidated by further research. For one, the ratio between coins of the three metals remains to be determined. Was the ratio of the gold mohar to the silver rupee constant? How was that ratio affected by changes in the weight or fineness of the silver rupee (Durrāni and Bārakzāy gold appears to be invariably of extremely high purity, like its Mughal counterpart)? Why was coin production concentrated at a remarkably limited number of mints, given the many autonomous or quasi-independent regions, especially in the north of Afghanistan, for which there is no known coinage? How did the increasing dominance of European coinage and the adoption of bimetallic ratios¹⁷⁷ in Europe affect the viability of traditional Afghan coinage?

As a final comment I would like once again to emphasize the importance of deciphering and elucidating the actual royal protocols, whether in prose or verse. Too often these difficult inscriptions, especially those in verse, have been dismissed by modern numismatics as mere panegyric or stock formulae of little significance. As has become apparent in numerous places in the present study (especially in the determination of the sequence of the seven Kabul issues struck during 1258), an understanding of the coin inscriptions, including all their ambiguities and word-plays, is of utmost importance for determining the historical context of the coins themselves. These inscriptions were taken very seriously by those who composed and used them. Modern numismatists should take them equally seriously.

Cast of Characters

Due to the complexity of the historical setting of the coins treated in this paper and the similarity of so many of the names of the *personae dramatis*, my proofreaders have persuaded me to include an index of all the Afghan individuals who are mentioned in the paper. Those who issued coins anonymously or quasi-anonymously are marked with (§), those who struck coins in their names with an asterisk (*). Individuals mentioned casually in the text but without any significant role in events relevant to the coinage are omitted from this list.

‘Abd al-Jabbār Khān Bārakzāy — Son of Pāyinda Khān Bārakzāy, tutor to the young and dissolute Ḥabīb Allāh in 1239/1824.

‘Abd al-Rahmān Khān Bārakzāy (*) — Son of Muhammad Afḍal Khān, grandson of Dost Muhammad, ruled at Kabul 1297-1319/1880-1901, but active politically from 1280/1863 onwards.

Aḥmad Shāh Durrāni (*) — Founder of the Durrāni empire, descended from the Sadozāy branch of the Durrāni family. Ruled 1160-1186/1747-1772.

Aminullāh Logari — Influential leader of the Logari clan, master of Kabul for a few weeks at the beginning of 1258/1842. Coins struck during his fleeting ascendancy bear the name of Shāh Shujā’.

‘Aṭā Muhammad Khān Bārakzāy — Son of Pāyinda Khān, sardār of Peshawar circa 1233/1818 until his death in 1240/1824. Coins in the name of Ayyūb Shāh.

Ayyūb Shāh Durrāni (*) — Son of Taymūr Shāh, raised to the throne at Peshawar in 1233/1818 and recognized at Kabul in the

following year. Ousted from Kabul in 1239/1824, but recognized at Peshawar until 1246/1830-31. His fate seems unrecorded.

Dost Muhammad Khān Bārakzāy (§) (*) — Son of Pāyinda Khān Bārakzāy and first important Bārakzāy ruler. He ruled at Kabul 1241-1255/1826-1839 and 1258-1279/1842-1863. Coins were struck in his name at Kabul in 1280, as news of his death at Herat just a few days before the end of 1279 probably did not reach Kabul until after the change of year; in any case, dies for 1280 may have been prepared in advance of the change of year. Prior to 1241 he was governor of Ghazni.

Fath Jang Durrāni (*) — Son of Shāh Shujā’, ruled at Qandahar and Kabul during parts of 1258/1842.

Fath ‘Alī Shāh Qājār (*) — Ruler of Iran, 1211-1250/1797-1834.

Fath Khān Bārakzāy — A son of Pāyinda Khān, vizier to Mahmūd Shāh during his second reign at Kabul (1224-1233), treacherously murdered by order of Mahmūd in 1233/1818.

Ḥabīb Allāh Khān Bārakzāy (§) — Son of Muhammad ‘Azīm Khān, briefly in control of Kabul during 1239/1824.

Ḥusām al-Saltāna — Iranian governor of Mashhad in the 1260s and 1270s, took active role in affairs of Herat during those decades.

‘Isā Khān Bardarāni — A high-ranking military officer under several rulers of Herat in the 1260s and 1270s, probably of Hazāra origin, briefly succeeded Muhammad Yūsuf as *de facto* ruler of Herat 1272-1273/1856. No coins known.

Kāmran Shāh Durrāni (*) — A son of Mahmūd Shāh, ruled at Herat 1245-1258/1829-1842.

Kohandil Khān Bārakzāy (§) — Son of Pāyinda Khān and chief of the Qandahar sardars 1245 or 1246-1255/1829-1839 and again 1259-1271/1843-1855.

Mahmūd Shāh Durrāni (*) — A son of Taymūr Shāh, ruled at Herat 1207-1212/1793-1798 and 1216-1245/1801-1829. He also held Kabul and was recognized as chief of the Durrānis 1216-1218/1801-1803 and 1224-1233/1809-1818.

Mihrdil Khān Bārakzāy — One of the five Qandahar sardars, a son of Pāyinda Khān. Never ruled on his own.

Muhammad Afḍal Khān Bārakzāy (*) — Eldest son of Dost Muhammad, challenged his younger brother Sher ‘Alī, ruled independently at Kabul 1283-1284/1866-1867.

Muhammad Akbar Khān Bārakzāy (§) — Son of Dost Muhammad Khān, leading power in Kabul at various times from 1257-1259/1841-1843; his anonymous coins struck in the last two or three months of 1258/1842-43.

Muhammad Ayyūb Khān Bārakzāy — Son of Sher ‘Alī Khān, succeeded at Herat 1296-1298 but struck coins only in the name of Muhammad Ya’qūb.

Muhammad A‘zam Khān Bārakzāy (*) — Second oldest son of Dost Muhammad, opposed Sher ‘Alī from the beginning of the latter’s reign, ruled independently at Kabul 1284-1285/1867-1868.

Muhammad ‘Azīm Khān Bārakzāy — A son of Pāyinda Khān, at first governor at Kashmir, later placed Ayyūb Shāh on the throne at Peshawar in 1233/1818. He was the effective ruler at Kabul (but in the name of Ayyūb) from 1234/1819 until his death in 1239/1823, and at Kashmir 1233-1234 (also in the name of Ayyūb).

Muhammad Sadiq Khān Bārakzāy — Son of Kohandil Khān and rival to Rahandil Khān 1271-1272/1855; no coins are ascribed to him.

Muhammad Shāh Qājār (*) — Ruler of Iran, 1250-1264/1834-1848.

Muhammad Timūr Khān Durrāni — A son of Shāh Shujā’, sent to govern Qandahar on behalf of the British forces after the second deposition of Fath Jang in 1258/1842. He apparently never took up his post.

Muhammad Ya’qūb Khān Bārakzāy (§) (*) — Son and successor of Sher ‘Alī, ruled for a few months in 1296/1879 before abdicating. He had earlier ruled briefly at Herat in 1280/1863, where he struck an anonymous issue.

Muhammad Yūsuf Khān Durrāni (§) — Greatgrandson of Mahmūd Shāh (former ruler at Kabul and Herat), grandson of Firūz al-Dīn Durrāni, ruled at Herat for a few months in 1272/1855-1856.

Muhammad Zamān Khān Bārakzāy (§) — Son of Nawwāb Asad Khān, grandson of Pāyinda Khān (thus nephew of Dost Muhammad), governor of Jalalabad from 1233/1818. He controlled Kabul briefly during parts of 1257/1841 and 1258/1842, later occasionally holding influential positions during the second

¹⁷⁷By a bimetallic ratio I mean a fixed ratio between coined silver and gold, as was common in Europe and the Americas during much of the 19th century. More efficient technologies for extracting silver from its ore developed in the 1860s and 1870s led to the collapse of the price of silver relative to gold and to the replacement of bimetallic systems by the gold standard during the 1870s and 1880s. The transition from a bimetallic to a monometallic (gold) standard became a key political issue in late 19th century America and proved deleterious to the economies of those nations still adhering to a monometallic silver standard, such as Iran, India, China and Afghanistan.

reign of Dost Muhammad. His father had been governor of parts of the Derajat in the 1230s.

- Nādir Shāh** (§) (*) — Founder of the Afshārid dynasty in Iran, conquered Afghanistan and the Punjab. The latter territories became the nucleus of the Durrāni state after his death in 1160/1747.
- Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh Qājār** (*) — Ruler of Iran, 1264-1313/1848-1896. Coins were struck in his name at Herat in 1269 and 1273-1279.
- Purdil Khān Bārakzāy** (§) — Son of Pāyinda Khān and chief of the Qandahar sardars 1234-1235/1818-1819 and again 1241-1245 or 1246/1826-1829.
- Rahimdil Khān Bārakzāy** (§) — Son of Pāyinda Khān and chief of the Qandahar sardars 1271-1272/1855.
- Safdar Jang Durrāni** (§) — Son of Shāh Shujā', governed Qandahar during the last months of 1258/1842. While no coinage is known in his name, there is a possibility that he did strike coins (see text).
- Sa'id Muhammad Khān Alikozāy** (§) — Son of Yār Muhammad Alikozāy, autonomous ruler at Herat 1267-1271/1851-1855.
- Shāh Shujā' al-Mulk Durrāni** (*) — A son of Shāh Zamān, ruled at least five separate times between 1216/1801 and 1258/1842.
- Shāh Zamān Durrāni** (*) — A son of Taymūr Shāh, ruled over all the Durrāni lands 1207-1216/1793-1801.
- Shāhnawāz Khān Bārakzāy** — Son of Sultān 'Alī Khān, ruled for a few weeks at Herat in late 1279/mid-1863. No coins.
- Shahpūr Shāh Durrāni** (*) — Son of Shāh Shujā', ruled for about one month in late 1258/1842.
- Sher 'Alī Khān Bārakzāy** (§) (*) — Ruler at Kabul 1280-1283/1863-1866 and 1285-1296/1868-1879. Anonymous coinage in 1282 only.
- Shērdil Khān Bārakzāy** (§) — Son of Pāyinda Khān and chief of the Qandahar sardars 1235-1241/1819-1826.
- Sultān 'Alī Durrāni** — A son of Shāh Zamān, briefly raised to the throne at Kabul in 1233/1818 under the tutelage of Dost Muhammad; no coins known.
- Sultān 'Alī Khān Bārakzāy** — Son of Muhammad 'Azīm Khān, grandson of Pāyinda Khān, ruler of Herat 1273-1279/1856-1863, struck coins in name of the shah of Iran, Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh.
- Sultān Muhammad Khān Bārakzāy** (§) — Son of Pāyinda Khān, ruler of Kabul from the beginning of 1240 to mid-1241 (1824-1825 or 1826), then sardar of Peshawar 1243 or 1244/1828 until ousted by the Sikhs in 1250/1834. Coins struck anonymously at Kabul 1240-1241, in the name of Ayyūb Shāh at Peshawar 1243-1246, then quasi-anonymously at Peshawar 1247-1249.
- Taymūr Shāh Durrāni** (*) — Son of Ahmad Shāh and second ruler of the dynasty. Ruled as viceroy in the Punjab, with title *nizām*, from 1170-1186/1757-1772 and as king 1186-1207/1772-1793. Coins struck both as *nizām* and as king, all bearing his name.
- Wālī Sher 'Alī Khān Bārakzāy** (*) — Son of Mīrdil Khān Bārakzāy (one of the Qandahar sardars), grandson of Pāyinda Khān, set up at Qandahar by the British for a few months in 1297/1880.
- Yār Muhammad Khān Alikozāy** (§) — At first vizier to Kāmārān Shāh at Herat, whom he jailed in 1257/1841. Ruled autonomously at Herat after Kāmārān's death, 1258-1267/1842-1851.
- Yār Muhammad Khān Bārakzāy** — Son of Pāyinda Khān, briefly joint ruler of Kabul with his uterine brother Sultān Muhammad for several months at the beginning of 1240/late 1824. Coins issued anonymously during the joint ruler cannot be distinguished from those struck afterwards during the sole governorship of Sultān Muhammad. Later sardar of Peshawar 1240-1243 or 1244/1824-1828.

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