



ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

NEWSLETTER

No. 165

Autumn 2000

ONS News

Membership List

It is intended to issue an updated membership list to go out with the winter newsletter. This document will also include the ONS constitution. Would all members please inform their Regional Secretaries as soon as possible of any changes they wish to have included in the new list. Please include any e-mail addresses too if not already in the list or reported in these pages since the last list was issued. Regional Secretaries should pass the information on to Paul Withers as soon as practicable.

Regional Secretary, South Asia

Farokh Todywalla has agreed to take over as Regional Secretary for South Asia from K. K. Maheshwari. We are very grateful to Mr Maheshwari for his stewardship of the Region in recent years and look forward to a successful continuation of the Region's activities.

Commemorative Lectures

The ONS Council has decided to honour the memory of Michael Broome and Ken Wiggins by lectures to be given at the Society's AGMs for a number of years. The lectures will be on Islamic and Indian numismatics, respectively. The North American Region has also been invited to hold similar lectures in memory of Bill Warden at an appropriate gathering.

ONS Website

A reminder that the ONS Website can be found at <http://www.onsnumis.org>. The site contains a full index of newsletter contents which members may find useful.

Auction News

In their London auction on 16 and 17 November 2000, Sothebys offered a superb group of post-reform Umayyad dirhams. These included an unusual number of very rare mints, for example Bardasir, Bizamqubadh, Bazija Khusra, Bahurasir, Bihqubah al-'Ala, al-Jisr, Janza. Jur, al-Dasakir, Dastaq, Dasht-i-Maysan, Fasa, Fil(?), Madina Bahurasir, al-Niq. There was also a unique dirham of Adharbayjan 78.

Obituaries

Bill Warden

William B. Warden, Jr., born 16 July 1947 in Florence, Italy; died 5 August 2000 in New Hope, Pennsylvania.



Bill Warden, whose loss is lamented throughout all sectors of the numismatic community, epitomised to a great degree the quiet supportive teacher that many collectors and numismatists had come to rely upon. He introduced neophytes to the obscure coinages of many series, and was instrumental in providing support for a number of numismatic communities.

His interest in numismatics pervaded his life from an early age. His numismatic interests ranged from the Roman Imperial series through Parthian, Sasanian, Kushano-Sasanian, Hephthalite, Arab-Sasanian and Mughal coinage. The son of the late William B. Warden Sr. and Franca C. Warden, he received a BA degree from Ryder College (New Jersey), and went on to receive a MA degree in Near Eastern history from Rutgers. While he spent fifteen years working in the engineering industry, he finally decided in 1985 to become a full-time coin dealer. Though many in the numismatic community knew him from his commercial association with a number of other dealers, most recently in partnership with Keith Candiotti in the form of Hippocampus, Inc., it was from his support for several numismatic associations that he left an imprint on many others.

Besides his long-time involvement with the Society, Bill was a member of the American Numismatic Society since 1968, becoming a Life Fellow and chairman of the Society's Islamic

Committee. He was a fellow of the Royal Numismatic Society, a life member of the American Numismatic Association, as well as a member of the Archaeological Institute of America, British Institute for Persian Studies, Society for Ancient Numismatics, and the Society for Paper Money Collectors. Bill was also a board member of the New York International Numismatic Convention, and as such chaired their Educational Forum.

It was with his involvement with the American Numismatic Society that Bill came to co-chair the ANS Islamic Curatorial Chair Endowment Campaign, and his quiet, persistent efforts impressed many and drew them to the cause. This, the last of many fund-raising efforts with which he was involved, symbolised to many the unselfish support for numismatics that he had shown over many years, often working in the background to rally contributions and commitment to worthy causes. He was always available to counsel and advise experienced numismatists and neophytes alike, and his guidance and encouragement will be missed.

In addition to his mother, Bill is survived by seven siblings, including Derek Warden, a member of this Society.

Samuel Lachman

It is with much sadness that I report the recent death of Samuel Lachman, of Haifa, Israel. He was not just a collector, specialising in Ottoman and Qasimid coinage, but an enthusiastic researcher with a lust for knowledge. His articles on Qasimid coinage, published in Spink's Numismatic Circular, remain a brilliant example of what can be accomplished when one brings together coins and archival material, even for a series where the coins are relatively unknown.

During his working life, Sam was employed at the post office, rising from a menial position to postmaster of Haifa. He worked under three administrations, the Ottomans, the Mandate and the State of Israel, in a career that spanned close to fifty years. After his retirement, he lived in a small but delightful apartment in Haifa, until failing health compelled him to move into a hospice for the elderly. He was 96 years old at the time of his death.

I first met Sam in 1965, when I was a volunteer worker at Kibbutz HaZorea in Israel, about 45 minutes by bus from downtown Haifa. He and I corresponded frequently over the years, and in 1983 he invited me to come to Israel and purchase his collection of Ottoman coins, which I did. Sam was a true numophile, always more interested in the information that could be gathered from a coin than its condition or commercial value. Like myself, he would just as soon have a holed and worn specimen as a pristine example, so long as the coin showed the features that were important to his research.

Sam continued his research until after his 90th birthday. Sadly, during a potentially dangerous illness a couple years ago, while he was in hospital, his landlord, thinking he would not recover, cleared out his apartment and binned all of his research materials and his extensive notes on Ottoman and Yemeni coinage. When he recovered and returned home, he was deeply angered and depressed by his landlord's precipitous actions, and never again regained his enthusiasm for research.

A great numismatist has passed on. May his memory last unto eternity.

Steve Album

North American Regional Secretary – Charlie Karukstis



Charlie Karukstis, current American regional secretary, lives in Claremont, California. A member of the ONS for ten years, he is currently at work on a monograph of the studies of the imitative coinages of Syria during the early Umayyad period. A technology consultant to the banking industry, Mr. Karukstis holds two degrees in economics from Duke University.

Cologne

The latest meeting of the Indian collector circle took place in Cologne on 4 November 2000. There were 21 participants. Messrs. Bartonitschek and Lingen started the proceedings off with a talk on Rađiyya, female Sultan of Dehli, her career and coinage. This was followed by a talk by Mr Bonny on the coins, especially the copper ones, of the Nepalese ruler, Tribhuvana. Jan Lingen then reported on his recent trip to Uzbekistan and gave a synopsis of the coinage issued there over the past 1700 years. That concluded the formal part of the meeting, after which lunch was taken and the opportunity to discuss and exchange coins. The next meeting is scheduled for Saturday 10 November 2001, venue to be decided. For more information please contact Nikolaus Ganske, Kreuzerstrasse 2, 50672 Köln, Germany. Tel: fax: ++49 221 951495-7.

London

Saturday 2 December, commencing 11.00, an Indian Coin Study Day will take place at the Coin and Medal Department, British Museum. The topic will be Indian Numismatics and Religion. So far, three talks have been announced. These are:

Shailendra Bhandare: Representation of a river goddess on ancient Indian coins.

Marzbeen Toddywalla: Zoroastrianism and representation of gods on Kushan coins.

Joe Cribb: Unorthodox Muslim coins from mediaeval Sind.

Other offers of talks are welcome. Please contact Joe Cribb at the British Museum on 020 7323 8585.

The meeting on 14 October in London duly took place, albeit a week later than originally planned to avoid clashing with Coinex.

The following is a summary of the talk given by Vincent West on Axumite coinage.

The Aksumites of ancient Ethiopia were one of the great civilisations of the ancient world. At their capital of Aksum they

erected the largest standing stones in Africa, one of which was taken to Rome by Mussolini in the late 1930s. At the height of their power their empire stretched west into the Sudan and across the Red Sea into Arabia, and they traded with the Mediterranean world and India. Only three other contemporary civilisations - the Romans, Persians and Kushans - issued gold coins.

The first king to coin was Endubis about 270 AD. His coins bear Greek legends and pagan symbols. The king's bust is in profile on both obverse and reverse, but his eyes and shoulders are facing, following Egyptian conventions. Like many Aksumite kings he is otherwise unknown so the coins are a key source for Aksumite history.

The conversion of Ezanas to Christianity about 330 is reflected in the replacement of the pagan symbols by the cross, which also becomes the usual reverse type on the silver and copper. The cross (or crown etc) may have a gold inlay applied. This unique and unexplained phenomenon must have been very labour-intensive. Gold coins continued to have the king's bust on both sides.

One of the few other minting kings known to history is Kaleb, who invaded Yemen about 520 in support of persecuted Christians.

On the later silver and copper coins the local Semitic language Ge'ez replace Greek and Christian legends like "through Christ he conquers" and mottoes like "joy and peace to the people" appear. Byzantine influence is apparent with the facing busts seen on later copper coins.

Armah the last king to issue coins about 630 used a novel design on his coppers with the king enthroned. With the loss of Yemen to the Persians and the rise of the Arabs, the Aksumites lost their foreign trade and abandoned Aksum.

The coins, though not in general as rare as they once were, are still scarce and many types are extremely rare. Anonymous copper coins are the ones most often seen. One large hoard of over 800 gold coins was found at al-Madhariba near Aden in the late 1980s and is now in a museum.

The best book on the coinage is *Aksumite Coinage* by Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen. VW

Leiden

The annual ONS-meeting in the Netherlands took place in Leiden on 21 October 2000. The meeting was very well attended with 30 members present. The welcome took place in the library of the Royal Coin Cabinet where coffee was served. After that, members moved to the auditorium in the Museum of Antiquities next door, where the lectures were held.

Paul Murphy first of all showed the progress made on the joint project of the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies and the ONS on the CD-ROM on Indian punch-marked coins. With the help of a number of members of the ONS and the IIRNS, the project is developing well. Using his computer and modern technology, Paul reported that the thesis of Parmeshwari Lal Gupta on punch-marked coins, the manuscript of which is badly deteriorating due to age, has been completely retyped and added to the CD-ROM. In this way, this most valuable study on the Indian punch-marked series has been saved for the benefit of future generations. At present, the Kosala series is near completion, despite the fact that almost every day new types and varieties are still being reported and recorded. Hundreds of symbols found on these and other series of punch-marked coins have been drawn. The amount of information, coins and symbols found on the Indian punch-marked series is simply amazing. The first results of the CD-ROM are expected to be ready some time next year.

Nico Arkesteijn told about his experience with a small lot of tiny gold coins given to him by a Dutch dealer for attribution. The lot consisted mostly of small gold coins of the Sultans of Atjeh

(Sumatra), but it also included about 10 pieces, which did not belong to this series. After recognising the names of the Caliphs of Baghdad (Al Muti' 334-363/946-974 and Al Ta'i 363-381/974-991) on them he was able to attribute them to the dynasty of the Saffarids of Seistan. Some historical aspects of the Saffarids were presented, as well as the legends on these rather scarce fractional dinars. The 10 coins in the lot ultimately turned out to be of 5 different varieties that could be attributed to Khalaf b. Ahmad and the usurper Al-Husain b. Tahir, some of which still seems to be unpublished. Gerard Pronk presented a paper on the VOC copper doits. After a short explanation of the organisation of the Dutch East India Company and the demand for money from the East, he achieved his aim to see whether it would be possible to arrive at some statistical results from a few large accumulations of copper VOC-doits from Java and Ceylon (present-day Sri Lanka). Earlier researches by scholars like J.P. Moquette (1856-1926) were, as could be expected, based on material found on Java. Would the statistics, like the rarity of dates and varieties be different for Ceylon? His initial research, based on two almost equal quantities of about 3000 doits from Java and Ceylon, indeed showed some statistical differences. Some series of dates were absent on Ceylon; others appeared relatively more common on Ceylon and others on Java.

After the lunch-break, Tjong Ding Yih continued his series of papers on the typology of Xinjiang silver ½ miscal pieces with the 3rd part: Obdan Gumush/Besh Fen Series. A summary of his paper is presented below.

The customary auction of oriental coins and some books attracted many bidders in the room as well as postal bidders from abroad. The auction resulted in the most successful one ever, with a net result for the Society of Dfl. 2,735 (approx. £ 735) thanks particularly to André de Clermont who had donated a substantial number of coins for the auction.

After the meeting, which ended at 17.00 , most of the people met for a drink and dinner afterwards, in a cosy oriental atmosphere at the Asian Palace restaurant.

The next meeting in Leiden in 2001 is scheduled for the 3rd Saturday in October, i.e. 20 October 2000. So do make a note in your diary now! JL.

Typology of Xinjiang Silver 1/2 Miscal Pieces

III. OBDAN GUMUSH/BESH FEN SERIES

(Summary of a talk given to the ONS meeting in Leiden on 21 October 2000 (a full paper is in preparation)
T.D. Yih, The Netherlands

This is the 3rd part of the series on silver Xinjiang ½ miscal (5 fen) pieces. As with the previous series, a part of the legend is often off the flan with rims only partly present. Moreover, probably as a result of the blanks being cut from round silver bars they often have an oval shape with great differences in thickness from one side to the other. On the background of the legends there is generally an elaborated Paisley leaf background design.. Very peculiar is the looped rim decoration that is present on a number of pieces. The pieces do not bear a mint-indication.

The obverse bears the legend "Obdan gümüş" meaning "fine silver". The two letters "B" and "D" are always connected and the letter "A" is located to the left of them. Together with the dot of the "B", the whole arrangement makes it look like the date 1290. The final "N" is situated at the right-hand side below the tail of the "G" of "gümüş". In a few cases the "N" is incorporated in that tail. The reverse bears the value indication "besh fung" meaning "5 fen". The two initial letters "FU" and the two final letters "NG" of "fung" are always connected. However, many pieces bear, in addition to the value indication, "besh fung", the word "vezn" or "vezny" meaning "weight". The word "vezn" is always situated at the bottom part of the reverse. The word "vezny" can be located either on the top or bottom of the reverse side. In the first case the

"Y" has a very long tail that cuts off a segment of the reverse side. Often the left-hand part with the dot of the "N" is off the flan and only the "V" and "Z" are visible. When the word "vezny" is located at the bottom, the letter "Y" has only a short tail.

There are dated and undated pieces. The dated pieces form only a minority. However, in contrast to the previous series, the dates are not restricted to a single year, but comprise the dates 1294, 1295 and 1296. This covers the period from 16 January 1877 till 26 December 1878. During this period the Moslem rebel, Yakub Beg, still held the northern part of Xinjiang. Of the pieces with a readable date (47), 32 (about 68%) bear the date 1294; 8 (17%) have the date 1295 and 2 pieces (4.2%) have the date 1296. 4 pieces have both the dates 1294 and 1295.

The numeral "5" can be present in the Persian or Turkish writing style. Dates may be present on either the obverse or reverse side or on both. The dates are generally situated in the curls of the final "S" of "gümüş" and "G" of "fung" on the obverse and reverse sides, respectively. Sometimes the last digit may be situated elsewhere, e.g. in the curl of the "S" of besh. When no date appears, these places are generally filled with a leaf or branch-like decoration. On a few pieces, the obverse and reverse data are different. Some pieces bear a tiny character that possibly represents the Chinese character "zhong"

In the present study, an attempt has been made to offer a more detailed classification of this series of Xinjiang silver five fen pieces. It is based upon some 190 coins or photographs from the author's own collection as well as museum and private collections.

The various arrangements of legends and letters mentioned above have been used as keys for the gross typology of obverses and reverses. About 17 obverse and 22 reverse subtypes have been distinguished. The combination of obverse and reverse types has been worked out into a catalogue which comprises at present about 40 different specimens. It is far from complete and will have to be amended as new types and varieties will undoubtedly turn up.

Other News

Arab-Byzantine forum

The sixth forum on the Arab-Byzantine coinage of Bilad al-Sham in the seventh and eighth centuries took place at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C., USA on 18 November 2000 with Michael Bates in the chair. The forum was hosted by Dumbarton Oaks and co-sponsored by the American Numismatic Society and the ONS. Special interest this year was paid to Byzantine influences on Bilad al-Sham, with discussions on archaeological and historical aspects of interest to numismatists.

Beijing

Anyone interested in Chinese coins with an hour or two to spare in Beijing will find a visit to the Beijing Numismatic Museum (Beijing Gudai Qianbi Bowuguan) worthwhile. The Museum is situated at the foot of the bastion tower of the Gate of Righteous Victory (De Sheng Men), built in 1439 and restored in 1981. The tower is one of the few remaining fragments of the ancient city wall, torn down in 1969 to make way for the Beijing Metro; it lies a few minutes' walk from the Jishuitan Metro station. In addition to a small but comprehensive general series of historical Chinese coinage, there is an interesting special display of forgeries, with detailed descriptions of counterfeiting techniques. Attached to the Museum is a shop which offers for sale a large selection of coins of all periods (all guaranteed genuine!) as well as a few coin catalogues. Outside the Museum is the Numismatic Exchange Market (Gudai Qianbi Jiaoliu Shichang), comprising a number of stalls where coins (some of doubtful authenticity) and other curios are offered for sale.

Charles Aylmer, Cambridge (based on a visit on Saturday 4 November 2000)

Francine Tissot celebration at the BM.

Silk Road Art and Archeology, vol. 6 : Papers in Honour of Francine Tissot

Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, 1999/2000 ISSN 0917-1614

Edited by Elizabeth Errington and Osmund Bopearachchi

This volume was released on the 12th September at a celebratory function held at the British Museum. Francine Tissot is a world renowned art historian in the field of Buddhist Art of Gandhara and the volume was brought out as a scholarly acclaim to her important contribution to the subject. The volume and the celebrations were sponsored by Prof. Ikuo Hirayama of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura. The event was organised by the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum conjointly with Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Paris, and the Royal Numismatic Society, London. Amongst papers that concentrate mainly on the theme of Buddhist Art from Gandhara, one may find noteworthy numismatic contributions by Joe Cribb, Elizabeth Errington, Michael Alram and Katsumi Tanabe.

Joe's paper is titled 'Kanishka's Buddha image coins revisited' and offers a very comprehensive treatment of the subject based on the study of 6 Gold and 109 copper coins of Kanishka depicting the Buddha. It is an extension of his previous studies on the topic, published in 1984-85. In this paper Joe has been able to

offer more constructive numismatic evidence to the dating of Buddha iconology as seen in the sculptural images of the Gandharan School. The paper is therefore a significant contribution towards understanding the evolution of the Buddha image from a chronological and historical perspective. From a purely numismatic standpoint, Joe presents a die analysis with respect to the engraving of motifs and inscriptions to construct a chronology for the production of these coins and makes suggestions towards the volume of currency output of the Kushana monetary system under Kanishka on a statistical basis.

Liz Errington's paper translates the accessible numismatic evidence from Buddhist remains into a chronological framework. It is titled 'Numismatic Evidence for Dating the Buddhist remains of Gandhara'. She describes the coin finds associated with such remains from various explorations and excavations and appends to the paper descriptive data in a reader-friendly tabulated form. With her analysis, she is able to propose a chronology for the introduction, apogee and demise of Buddhism in Gandhara. Needless to say, her contribution goes a long way in understanding the historical context of these developments and offers a clearer assessment of the understanding of Gandharan Art.

Michael Alram treads rather unfamiliar territory in dealing with coins of the Alchon Huns when he writes about 'A Hoard of Copper Drachms from the Kapisa-Kabul region'. He carries forward Robert Göbl's methodological analysis of the Hun coinage by establishing die linkages in the coins found in the hoard under consideration. A comparative analysis of type features of the coins contained in the hoard with those of the Nezak Huns is offered and several links have been demonstrated convincingly. In conclusion Alram reiterates Göbl's hypothesis about the re-emigration of the Alchon Huns from India to Afghanistan tracing their way through the ancient region of Gandhara. Such a migration apparently had considerable impact on the demise of Buddhism in Gandhara, hence the importance of Alram's historical construct.

Katsumi Tanabe utilises numismatic evidence to study the iconography of Vaisravana, the Buddhist God of Wealth and an equivalent of the Classical Indian Kubera. His paper is entitled 'King Huvishka and the emergence of Vaisravana images in Gandharan Art'. An analysis of the iconic features of the 'Pharro' image seen on the coins of Huvishka is undertaken by Tanabe who identifies a syncretism between these features and the attributes of the Buddhist and Hindu gods of wealth. His description of Pharro as a wealth donor in the Iranian tradition marks the beginning of this syncretism. He adduces data from sculptural representations from the Gandharan School to chart the advent of the iconic modification of Pharro into Vaisravana and also discusses the influence that the Roman imagery of Hermes/Mercury may have had in the process. He concludes by emphasising the 'catalytic role' played by the Irano-Kushan tradition in the development of the imagery of Buddhist Art in Gandhara and its chronological context.

Apart from the important papers included in the publication, the day itself offered an intellectual treat for enthusiasts of Ancient Indian History. It was a worthwhile idea for the day to be marked with the presentation of papers in conjunction with the actual function. Accordingly, the following papers were presented:

Osmund Boppearachchi – New Finds from Afghanistan and Pakistan
Michael Willis – The Indravarman Seal
Joe Cribb – The Buddha Coins of Kanishka – A reappraisal
Harry Falk – Literary evidence for the absolute chronology of the Kushanas

The last mentioned paper might well be described as a 'quantum leap' in understanding ancient Indian chronology. Harry Falk, who is a Sanskritist working in the Freie Universität, Berlin, produced evidence that conclusively dated Kanishka to 127 AD on

the basis of astronomical data contained in a 3rd century text called the 'Yavanajataka' of Sphujidhwaja. His lecture was profoundly interesting for its contents, narrative and interpretation. Michael Willis displayed and described a recent and important acquisition by the Department of Oriental Antiquities of the British Museum – the seal of the Apracaraja ruler, Indravarma. Made of etched garnet set in gold, the seal bears a human figure and a bilingual inscription naming the ruler. Joe's paper was a précis of the paper published in the book and he also presented a die linkage study to conclude that coins depicting both the seated and standing figures of Buddha were struck contemporaneously. Osmund presented recent discoveries from Hund, which is the site of the Shahi capital Ohind or Ubbhandapura. Paul Bernard of the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique and Catherine Jarrige (on behalf of her husband Jean-François Jarrige, the Director of the Musée Guimet, Paris) spoke about the achievements of Mme. Tissot and Osmund Boppearachchi made concluding remarks. A celebratory toast in champagne was raised to Mme. Tissot, by courtesy of Prof. and Mrs. Hirayama.

The day ended with some of the participants treating Mme. Tissot to a very pleasant Italian meal.

SB

"The Heritage of Sasanian Iran: Dinars, Drahms and Coppers of the Late Sasanian and early Muslim Periods": A Conference in Honor of William B. Warden, Numismatist (1947-2000)

To be held June 8-9, 2001 at The American Numismatic Society at Audubon Place (155th and Broadway), New York, NY, USA.

Late Sasanian coins and their subsequent Muslim, Dabuyid and Hunnic imitations formed an important part of the monetary systems of late Classical and early medieval Iran. Late Sasanian coins became the pre-eminent silver coinage in the Near East during this period. The early Muslims in Iran and dynasts of northern and eastern Iran later copied these coins creating distinct provincial and inter-regional coinages. The coins today represent documents of social, political and economic life at a time of great cultural efflorescence as well as social and political change.

The conference will consist of a workshop where collectors and scholars of all levels may learn how to read or improve their abilities in reading the Pahlavi legends on these coins, a round-table where collectors and scholars will discuss issues of common interest and coins if any wish to bring them in, and several panels of papers addressing various topics about these coinages.

The conference invites papers treating any aspect of the late Sasanian and early Muslim coins of Iran as artefacts of civilisation and culture. The topics of papers may be numismatic, historical or art historical. They may examine problems in the reading and interpretation of the Pahlavi and Arabic legends or the iconography, the representation of sovereignty, Zoroastrianism and Islam, or the production, use and regulation of these coinages.

Abstracts and / or queries about further information and registration should be sent by email to: sears@aucegypt.edu or by mail to: Dr. Stuart D. Sears, The American University in Cairo, Department of Arabic Studies, Box 2511, Cairo, Egypt 11511. Communications by E-mail are preferred.

New and Recent Publications

- *Arab-Sasanian Copper Coinage* by Ryka Gyselen, 208 pages, 15 plates, 30 x 21 cm, paperback. Published by the Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, Vienna, Austria. ISBN 3-7001-2893-2. Price: ATS 1390; DM 190; CHF 169.

The publishers state: "This volume is associated with the research project "Sylloge Nummorum Sasanidorum" carried out by the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften and the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. It is a survey of copper coinage minted during the first 150 years

of Arabic domination in regions previously under Sasanian rule. The value of Arab-Sasanian copper coinage lies in the variety of its iconography and in the content of the inscriptions which provide evidence of the political and cultural fermentation in regions previously under Sasanian hegemony after the Arab conquest. The Arab-Sasanian copper coins serve as evidence to the determination of the Iranians to retain signs of their cultural identity and the desire of the Arabs to articulate their Muslim faith in a region where an older cultural and religious ideology remained strong. The available corpus contains approximately 330 coins of more than a hundred different types. These are described and illustrated in the catalogue, which is supplemented by a synopsis in order to give a clear picture of the iconographic repertoire of these coin issues."

The book can be ordered from the above publishers, A-1011 Vienna, Postfach 471, Postgasse 7/4, Austria; tel ++43 1 51581 401; fax ++43 1 515 81400; e-mail verlag@oeaw.ac.at; <http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at>

- CNG/Seaby have published as No. 3 in their "Classical Numismatic Series" *The coinage of Hermaios and its imitations struck by the Scythians* by ONS member, R.C. Senior.

The author writes: "The book attempts to distinguish the lifetime issues of the Indo-Greek ruler from those struck in his name posthumously. The various types are discussed and analysed in their historical context. Eighty-two pages of text with numerous diagrams, tables and maps examine letter forms, monograms, thrones, diadems, hoards and find spots etc. Twenty-three plates of line drawings depict all the known major types (including the copper currency in the form of imitation Eukratides and Apollodotos coins) with tables listing all the known varieties. This is a most comprehensive listing and takes the work of Drs. Walton Dobbins and Boppearachchi further by identifying many previously unreported varieties and types as well as recognising their Scythian issuers and investing the coinage with an entirely new chronology." The author intends to keep the catalogue current by notifying collectors of any new varieties discovered in the future on a page of his website www.rcsenior.com

The expected price is around £25 or US\$ 35.

ISBN 0-9636738-6-6

- *Sarasvati* is a twelve page bulletin issued by Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, India, giving details on new publications on Indological subjects. The latest issues, Vol. 5, No.2, April-September 2000, also lists a selection of works currently available. To contact the company, members can write to them at Post Box 5715 43 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi 110 055, India. Fax: ++91 11 361 2745; e-mail mrml@mantraonline.com
- "A Menteşe coin struck in AH 825 in the name of a son of Ilyas Beğ" is the title of an article published by Kenneth Mackenzie in *Arkeoloji ve Sanat*, 96, May/June 2000.
- David W. Macdowall published "A hoard of later Kushan copper coins from Bambore" in *Indologica Taurinensia*, the official organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, volume XXIII-XXIV, 1997-98, Turin, Italy.
- ISRAEL NUMISMATIC JOURNAL VOLUME 13 1994-1999, (pp. 174, pls. 28). Among the articles are three on Islamic coins:
 - Clive Foss, "The Coinage of Syria in the Seventh Century: The Evidence of Excavations."
 - Nitzan Amitai-Preiss, Ariel Berman and Shraga Qedar, "The Coinage of Scythopolis-Baysan and Gerasa-Jerash."
 - David J. Wasserstein, "The Earliest Dated Coin of Taj al-Dawla of Saragossa."

Price: \$40 including p&p. Orders and enquiries should be sent and cheques made payable to the Israel Exploration Society, POB 7041, Jerusalem 91070, Israel.

- Kh. Mousheghian, A. Mousheghian, C. Bresc, G. Depeyrot, F. Gurnet: *History and coin finds in Armenia, Coins from Ani, Capital of Armenia (4thc. BC - 19th c. AD)*, Wetteren, 2000, 160 pages, 16 plates; Price: BEF 2,700
Information and orders: <http://www.cultura-net.com/moneta>

This is the 5th book of our programme of study of the coin finds and issues in Armenia. After antiquity, Ani became one of the most famous cities in Armenian history. After the Sasanian period, the town became, in the 10th century, the capital of the Armenian Batraguni kingdom. In 961, after several attempts to take Duin (occupied by Islamic armies), King Ashot III proclaimed Ani as the new capital of the whole Armenian kingdom.

During the following centuries, armies attacked Ani, but the 10-12th centuries were the period of splendour of all the Armenian kingdoms. In 1045, Ani became a Byzantine city but was soon afterwards devastated by Alp Arslan and occupied by the Shaddadids. In 1236, Jalal al-Din and the Mongols devastated Ani. It was the beginning of the decline of the city.

Nearly 2,000 coins and 12 hoards have been found found in Ani. The most important part was Byzantine bronze coins sometimes with countermarks and Islamic coins.

Khatchatur Mousheghian was director of the Coin Cabinet of Yerevan. Anahit Mousheghian is a researcher, Institute of History, Yerevan. Cécile Bresc is a specialist in Islamic coinage. Georges Depeyrot is a researcher, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Francois Gurnet is a specialist in Sasanian coinage.

- *Money in Georgia*. Edited by National Bank of Georgia, Tbilisi, 2000. 280 pages in Georgian and English, 864 colour illustrations. Authors: Iulon Gagoshidze, Mary Antadze, Tsiala Gvaberidze, Medea Tsotselia, Tinatin Kutelia, Medea Sherozia.

Contents:

Introduction (Location of Georgia; Natural conditions; Population of Georgia; The Georgian language; The Georgian alphabet; The Georgians – permanent residents of the Caucasus; Georgian state system; Historical fate of Georgia; Money in Georgia; Money - a mirror of history; A structure of the book).

Part One. 6th c. BC – 1834. (The 6th – 4th c. BC - Colchian coins; 4th – 2nd c. BC - Hellenistic period; 2nd c. BC – 4th c AD - Circulation of money in the Kartli Kingdom; The 4th – 7th c. - The First Coins with Georgian Legends; The 8th – 9th cc. - The Arabs in Georgia; The 10th – 11th c. - Uniting of Georgia; The 12th c.; The 13th c.; The 14th c.; The 15th c.; The 16th – 18th cc.; 1804-1834 - Issue of Russian-Georgian money).

Part Two. 1834-1991. (1834-1917 - Russian money; 1917-1924 - Bonds of Georgia and Transcaucasia; 1924-1991 -Money of the USSR).

Part Three. 1991-1999. Georgian national money.

Appendix. (Descriptions of coins and paper money illustrated in the book; A list of main literature).

The book costs \$75 without postage. Responsible for this book is Mr. Ivane Vakhtangishvili in the National Bank of Georgia. fax: (99532) 92 32 64

- Ernst Wasmut Verlag has announced the forthcoming publication of one more volume of the Tübingen sylloge of Arabic coins. This is volume XIVc, "Balkh und die Landschaften am oberen Oxus", by Florian Schwarz, and will contain ca. 180 pages and 77 plates. The price is not yet known. Publication is expected toward the end of 2000.

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) lists numbers 163 (October 2000) and 164 (November 2000).
2. Persic Gallery (PO Box 10317, Torrance, CA 90505, USA; tel ++1 310 326 8866; fax ++1 310 326 5618; e-mail persic@msn.com) list 51 (October 2000) of Islamic, Central Asian and Indian coinage.
3. Galerie Antiker Kunst, N & Dr S Simonian BmbH (Oberstrasse 110, D-20149 Hamburg, Germany; tel ++49 40 455060; fax ++49 40 448244) list of Islamic and oriental coins (November 2000).

Book Reviews

SYLLOGE OF ISLAMIC COINS IN THE ASHMOLEAN, VOLUME 10, ARABIA AND EAST AFRICA, by Stephen Album. Ashmolean Museum Oxford, 1999 (published 2000). Hard bound, 92 pages including 34 plates; ISBN 1 85444 125 6; Price GBP 35, USD 60.

The book under a review is the first of a planned series of ten volumes cataloguing the Islamic coins now in the possession of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. There was a good reason for the last volume being published first and that is explained by the series editor, Luke Treadwell, in a foreword. The coins catalogued are not only those which are permanent holdings of the Heberden Coin Room, but also those in the Samir Shamma collection deposited in the Museum on long-term loan. Next comes an introduction to the coinages of the Arabian peninsula and East Africa from the beginning of Islam up to the introduction of machine-struck coins. The numismatic history of Yemen is given first. In an overview – after the quotation of some standard works on this subject known to the author – are listed the dates of striking of particular denominations, a discussion of the metrology, terminology, monetary systems and general history. As a reviewer I would like to make the following remarks and additions to the author's statements:

1. The first known published fals with mint-name San'a was struck in 139 AH (Augst, 1962); the silver coin of year 172 AH has, on the State Hermitage, SPb. piece (GE No. 1272) the name written as al-Ghitrif (not fully visible on the Ashmolean specimen) and the first gold dinar ascribable to Yemen (though without mint-name) is of 201 AH (Turath collection, Part I, Spink 133, # 37), that with mint-name San'a of 215 AH (Artuks, Part I, # 299, p.86, tab.V).

2. The first series of dinars is known with the dates 201 (and names Muḥammad and 'Abd Allāh), 202, 203, 204 (all with name Muḥammad only) and the last is 205 (with name al-Ifriqī). The identity of Muḥammad was a matter of some confusion. Those coins were published for the first time by Kubitschek and Muller in 1899 without specific attribution. Later some numismatists (Darley-Doran 1988, Nebehay 1989) ascribed the coins with the name Muḥammad to Muḥammad b. Ziyad and recently a cataloguer of the Turath collection ascribed coins of 201 and 204 AH to Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Isa b. Mahan, with 'Abd Allāh being his son and deputy at San'a in 201. In other sources the *ism* of this governor is given as Hamdavayh (Bikhazi, 1970); Muḥammad b. Mahan is mentioned also by G. R. Smith in his list of San'ani governors in 1983. In SICA there is listed a silver coin, probably of 204 AH, with the names Muḥammad and al-Ifriqī (# 221). The author connected the *ism* and *nisba* of these two persons to one, Muḥammad al-Ifriqī. The *ism* of al-Ifriqī is given as Ibrahīm (by both Bikhazi and Smith), so the mentioned coin was struck under joint authority.

3. The name of the post-249 dinar is known as *al-mutawwāq* and its weight standard (*norm*) was 2/3 mithqal and 2 habbah (i.e. 2.9573 g); the post-303 gold coins were known as *dinar as'adi* with weight of 2/3 qafflah (i.e. 1.9833 g). There is no specific reason to describe post-313 dinars of distinctive type and calligraphy as *dinar amiri*, as almost all dinars struck without the name of a local ruler or 'Abbāsīd governor were issued under the authority of a Yu'firid amir after the 30s of the 3rd century AH (but they do have the appearance of 'Abbāsīd issues). Though there are no known coins with the names of the Yu'firids, rulers of the Ziyadid(?) and Tarfid(?) dynasties placed their own names on the coins in 346 AH and 350 AH respectively. The weight standard of their dinar was originally 2/3 mithqal (i.e. 2.8333 g) and was called *'athhariyyah* probably after the most widespread coins of the time (used also in al-Makkah).

4. There is also a short discussion of Ottoman coinage in Yemen, though not a single coin is represented in either collections. Ottoman authority, at least nominally, was acknowledged in some parts of Yemen already in 922 AH since coins of that date are known from Zabid (Nadir Osmanlı Madeni Paraları, Istanbul 1973, # 4 etc.) and probably from al-Hudaydah, too. Gold coins of Murad III (*dhahab al-sultani* or *altun* or *altun*) have been published from the mint of San'a (C. Olcer, TND Bulten No. 26, p. 18) and Muhammad (Mehmed) III. (Artuks, Part II, Istanbul 1974, # 1655, p. 566).

5. The weight of waqīyyah/uqīyyah in Yemen certainly fluctuated at times according to area and purposes of usage in a similar way as they did in other parts of the Islamic world. There are known one waqīyyah weight of 33.2677g and two waqīyyah stamped by (imam Aḥmad) an-Nāṣirīdīn Allāh and date (1)375 of 66.0284g.

After the Yemeni chapter there is information on the so-called Asir hoard, al-Yamama and al-Hijaz coins and a study on East Africa Islamic numismatics (Shanga, Pemba, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mogadishu, Mombasa, Lamu and Harar).

The introductory essay is followed by a bibliography and indices of names, titles and dynasties which highly facilitate the usage of the catalogue.

The catalogue itself is in sylloge format with short descriptions of 728 coins illustrated on 34 plates. The coins are grouped into 2 sections - Arabia and East Africa. Arabian coins are listed chronologically within each mint, arranged according to the Arabic alphabet (but the mint-name is strangely given in English transcription only). East African coins are listed regionally in English alphabetical order. It is obvious that such an arrangement, though practical, should also have been divided regionally into Yemen and 'Asir, 'Umān and the rest of the peninsula (al-Hijāz and al-Yamāma).

In the catalogue part are many remarkable, unique or previously unpublished pieces. It is noted, however, that many common coins are missing from both collection, so "not published in SICA" would not mean a rare coin.

Some published coins are well below the average state of preservation available on the market (e.g. Rasulid dirhams etc.). The coins from the 'Asir hoard were partially reattributed through comparison with previous listings and die-link studies for which the author is to be congratulated.

I have only a few remarks on the catalogue part:

289: the coin has the same rev. as # 290 (in private collection).

308: was published by Lachman in NI Bulletin, p. 156, fig. 1-2 and tentatively attributed to Aḥmad b. Hashim, 1266-1267 AH, which, of course, does not mean that the attribution in SICA cannot be a correct one.

309: this is not the type published by Lachman in 1990, p.7, # 17 - on that coin (from private coll.) is clearly the legend *al-imām al-Hadī* on obv.; on coin # 309 there is only *al-Hadī*. This is

a different type (and maybe a denomination, too) with at least 2 sub-types/variants - either with 4 dots or a circle in the centre of the side with the mint-name, most probably struck during different reigns or periods. The calligraphy of the coin with the circle is a bit better, so this could have been struck in 1256-1259 AH and those with 4 dots in 1265-1266 or 1267-1269 or even 1272-1276 AH by 'Ali b. 'Abd Allāh or Ghalib b. Muḥammad respectively.

552: the last word on the obverse is probably *bi-San'a*, so the coin could be attributed to this mint-place.

The whole work, as published, is masterly written by an esteemed specialist in Islamic numismatics and the book is highly recommended to anybody interested in this subject. It certainly gives an impetus to further studies of those series, which are still not fully understood. More research of other public and private collections is needed as is the cooperation of enthusiasts in this field. Finally, I would like to express my wish and hope that by the time this review is published, the author will be fully recovered from his recent injury and will continue his work on publishing further volumes of SICA as planned.

Dr. Vladimir Suchy

SYLLOGE NUMORUM ARABICORUM TÜBINGEN: NORD-UND OSTZENTRALASIEN, XV b MITTELASIEN II by Tobias Mayer, Tübingen, Ernst Wasmuth, 1998, 78 pp., including 30 plates. ISBN 3 8030 1103 5 ISSN 0945-4020.

The collection of the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik am Orientalischen Seminar der Universität Tübingen is one of the best in Germany, much to the credit of Dr Lutz Ilisch, due to whose efforts the collection has doubled in size since he became its curator. In 1995 and 1998 I had the opportunity to work with the Central Asian part of the collection, which proved to be both comprehensive and very interesting. What is more, the Tübingen collection includes rare coins which are not found in the collections of Central Asia. One of the recent achievements of the Forschungsstelle is the compilation of the *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen* by an international body of authors. It is noteworthy that Dr Ilisch enlisted the co-operation of numismatists from Central Asia (Bishkek, Bukhara and Samarqand). The series dedicated to the Muslim coins of Central Asia was inaugurated with the volume under review, written by the young and competent numismatist, Tobias Mayer.

The volume illustrates and describes 616 coins minted from the ninth to the beginning of the nineteenth centuries AD in Eastern Uzbekistan, South-Eastern Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, Tajikistan and Chinese Turkestan at 34 mints. Since some mints had two or more mint-names, there are 43 mint-names in the list. Oddly enough, the numbering of the pages in this list does not always correspond to the pages in the text. Thus, according to the list (p.4), coins of Yarkend should be found described on page 50, but they are actually described on page 72. And there are other, similar discrepancies. In congratulating Dr Ilisch on the publication of the volume, I drew his attention to this. Some time later, I was sent "Corrigenda zu Seite 4" with amended page numbering.

The book is in folio format and begins with a *Vorwort* by the general editor, Dr Ilisch (p. 5), followed by a five-page introduction by Tobias Mayer (*Zum Ordnungssystem der Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum, Einleitung, Textsiglen der Münzbeschreibungen, Kartuschen, Bibliographie, Abkürzungen*) which contains necessary historical and numismatic information. Judging by the bibliography (about 90 items), the author is well versed in the literature concerning the numismatics of Central Asia, published over the past two centuries, not only in Western European languages but also that written in Russian and Chinese. Thirty superb plates matching 30 pages of coin descriptions are followed by a concordance of catalogue and inventory numbers, with provenances given, where known.

This book does credit to the author, who has shown himself to be a competent and painstaking scholar of Central Asian numismatics. The merits of the book are obvious but there are some errors and shortcomings which I propose to analyse below and, in so doing, to help the author avoid such things in the future.

The arrangement of coins adopted by Mayer seems a little strange to me in places. For example, coins with the mint-name Farghāna he describes under the heading Akhsiket (pp. 18-21). The facts are as follows: coins 39-43 do have the mint-name Akhsiket. Then under the subheading "Münzstättenbezeichnung Fargāna" coins 44-52 are described, with mint-name Fargāna. Then comes "Münzstättenbezeichnung Ahsiket (coins 53-54), then "Münzstättenbezeichnung Fargāna" (coins 55-58), then "Münzstättenbezeichnung Ahsiket" (coins 59-61) and finally "Münzstättenbezeichnung Ahsī" (coins 62-65). In the list of contents, the mint-name Fargāna is shown as being on page 62. But when one opens page 62, one reads: "Siehe Ahsiket". It is the same with Ahsī (p. 17): "Siehe Ahsiket". Now, while under the Sāmānids, Akhsiket was the capital of Farghāna and coins with the mint-name Farghāna can be described under the heading "Akhsiket", under the Qarākhānids the capital of Farghāna was Uzgend and it was there that falūs with the mint-name Farghāna were struck during their reign. Sometimes falūs with mint-name Farghāna were minted in other towns of the province but in that such cases a double mint-name was used: Farghāna – Akhsiket, Farghāna – Osh, Farghāna – Qubā, Farghāna – Marghīnān (Kochnev 1995, 206/47, 208/77, 215/176). Only the mint-name Farghāna – Uzgend is not found on coins because it was well-known that the mint with the name Farghāna was located in Uzgend.

The same situation applies to Binkat (capital of Shāsh province): "Münzstättenbezeichnung Madinat aš-Šās" (135), then "Münzstättenbezeichnung Ma'din aš-Šās" (136-172), then "Münzstättenbezeichnung aš-Šās" (173), then "Münzstättenbezeichnung Šās" (176). The first coin with the mint-name Binkat appears as Nr. 185. Then comes "Münzstättenbezeichnung Madinat aš-Šās" again (186-218) and "Münzstättenbezeichnung aš-Šās and Binkat" (219-220). Then "Münzstättenbezeichnung aš-Šās" (221-286) and so on. And that is not all: on page 51 there is the heading "Tāshkand" and the sub-heading "Münzstättenbezeichnung Šās" again. On page 60 is the heading "Šās / aš-Šās" and under it: "Sieh Binkat und Tāshkand". On page 7 of the book, the author himself wrote that it is not clear whether coins with the mint-name "Ma'din aš-Šās" were struck in Binkat or in Kūh-e Sīm (the silver mines of Shāsh). Bearing this in mind as well as the fact that the mint with the name Farghāna under the Qarākhānids was located in Uzgend, it would have been more correct methodologically (and more convenient for readers) if coins with the mint-name Farghāna had been described under the heading "Farghāna", coins with the mint-name Shāsh under the heading "Shāsh" and so on. The headings should reflect the actual mint-name on the coins and should unite such coins into a group of their own.

Coming now to the mysterious mint of Chinket(?), Meyer (p. 7) thought this could be identified as Chimkent. He wrote: "Činkat (? = Šimkent)". I cannot agree with this. The fals of AH 401 of so-called Chunket (?), as Kochnev read it (1995, 221/265), is of the same type as the falūs of that year from Farghāna, Uzgend and Akhsiket-Farghāna. It cites Naṣr (b.) 'Alī, who possessed the province of Farghāna at that time. Kochnev paid attention to this fact and was quite positive that this enigmatic mint was situated in the Fergana valley. He tried to identify this mint with the village of Chunket mentioned in a nineteenth century document from Khoqand (Kochnev 1993, 58). Anyway, this mint could not have been in the region of Ispījāb (later Sairām, later Chimkent). My own view is that the mint-name is probably "Khshiket" i.e. Akhsiket engraved wrongly.

The main problems arise, however, when Mayer steps upon the thin ice of Qarākhānid numismatics. I have been studying this field for about 40 years and would therefore like to pay special attention to that part of the present volume.

In 1874, V.V. Grigor'ev wrote "The history of the Turkic dynasty which reigned over Mawarānnahr in the fifth and sixth centuries AH (eleventh and twelfth centuries AD) is the least known and the least explored both in the Muslim world and in Europe". A century later, in 1977, E.A. Davidovich wrote (p. 177) "The political history of the Qarākhānids has been explored far from satisfactorily...and Qarākhānid numismatics is the most difficult and the most complicated part of the mediaeval numismatics of Central Asia." Similar conclusions were drawn by every other scholar who studied the numismatics and history of the Qarākhānids, e.g. B. Dorn (1881, 705), V.V. Bartold (1900; 1963, 330), R. Vasmer (1930, 93) and the present writer. Mayer himself wrote (1998, 8) "die Forschung karachanidischen Münzen gehört zu den schwierigsten Gebieten der islamischen Numismatik überhaupt".

Any chronicles written in the territory of the Qarākhānid khaqanate for and about the Qarākhānids have not survived. Almost all we know of the Qarākhānids is contained in contemporary chronicles of the Ghaznavids, Seljuqs, Khwārizmshāhs, or in chronicles written after the Qarākhānids ceased to exist (Ibn al-Athīr and others). Information on the Qarākhānids in those chronicles is scarce, sometimes obscure, sometimes contradictory. This is why Qarākhānid numismatics is very important and sometimes the only source for the history of this or that Qarākhānid, or of this or that period of history in the Qarākhānid khaqanate.

A particular difficulty is that the Qarākhānids used to have several *laqabs* and used to change their titles several times during their careers. More often than not on the coins, only a *laqab* or some other title was placed and not the proper name. Hence most of the protagonists were hidden behind these anonymous titles. The first and most important (and most difficult) task facing any scholar studying Qarākhānid numismatics and history is to correctly ascribe those anonymous titles and *laqabs* to some Qarākhānid known in chronicles or cited by name on other coins. There is plenty of information on the coins but they are tricky, I would even say, treacherous things. One may study 1000 Qarākhānid coins, contemplate them many times, come to quite logical conclusions and eventually come up with a historical interpretation of the information provided by those coins. And after (never before!) the article has been published, a single rusty coin may be found which will turn everything upside down. That is why not a single scholar, who has studied Qarākhānid numismatics and history, has avoided errors and mistaken conclusions.

Returning now to the present volume and its author, while reading the Qarākhānid passages, I could not help thinking that he had been influenced by Kochnev (and not only by his works but perhaps also by personal contact, as the latter had been working at the Forschungsstelle at that time). Those who do not know Kochnev are prone to believe his every word. But his works need to be approached with caution because some of his notions are contradictory and mutually exclusive. Some appear to me to be absurd. Thus in 1979 (p. 129) he at first asserted that the struggle between Qadir Khān and Toghān Khān, brother of 'Alī-tegīn, resulted in the "death of Toghān-khan, about whom Beihaqi wrote". But later (1984, 370), Kochnev insisted on exactly the opposite: that Toghān Khān did not perish but simply lost power. In another case, he wrote (1979, 138), citing the mediaeval historian, Shebankarai (14th century), that 'Alī-tegīn was the son of a brother of the father of Qadir Khān, i.e. he was the cousin of Qadir Khān. But later he asserted that 'Alī-tegīn and Qadir Khān were brothers and that the name of their father was Hārūn-Ḥasan

(1984, 370-1), which was to explain why 'Alī-tegīn on coins was called 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and Qadir Khān was called Yūsuf b. Hārūn. Are we really meant to believe this?

Moreover: in one of his articles, Kochnev wrote that Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula was the son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf. Several pages later in the same article he insisted that Ḥusain b. Shihāb al-Daula and Ḥusain b. Ḥasan were one and the same person (1979, 129, 136). If I also add that later (1984, 371) he went on to assert that Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula and Sulaimān b. Hārūn were one and the same person, we arrive at the wondrous phenomenon of Shihāb al-Daula being Yūsuf, Hārūn and Ḥasan simultaneously!

In 1996, Kochnev wrote (p. 356) that the word "Egdish" (the name of a Turkic tribe) in the titlage of the Qarākhānids shows that the latter came from that tribe. In his "Corpus of Inscriptions on Qarakhanid coins" (1995, 271-8; 1997, 245-315) he published 1354 varieties of Qarākhānid titlages. Of these, only 3 (or 0.22%) included the word which he read as "Egdish" (and which could have been something else). And that 0.22% sufficed for him to infer that the Qarākhānids stemmed from the Egdish tribe. It is strange that Dr Jürgen Paul (Halle), the translator of this article into English, did not draw attention to this statistic or maybe he did not appreciate its significance or lack of it. It is also odd that "Der Islam" published such a strange article.

I have given these examples to demonstrate that Kochnev's works have to be approached with caution. Before accepting this or that notion of his, one should be aware of the reasons for him coming to this or that conclusion and the argument that lies behind it. The arguments have to be analysed (which Mayer appears not to have done) and only then should the conclusions be accepted or not.

Thus, in describing the coin minted in Kāsān by the Qarākhānid, Muḥammad b. Naṣr, Mayer (63, 520) accepted implicitly the date of reign given for this ruler by Kochnev, viz. "578-598 H" (1997, 271/1126). Despite the fact that, on the Tübingen coin, the date is quite distinctly written as 598, Mayer dated it 578. He wrote: "5(7)8 H. (verschrieben "598" H.)". But let us examine how Kochnev (1997, 306) argued for the date being 578. He wrote "at least from 587 AH, Muḥammad b. Naṣr started to mention the caliph, al-Nāṣir, on coins, but there is no such mention on coin Nr. 1126". This is hardly a conclusive argument.

Mayer has read the date on a coin of Marghinān (70/595) as 444. It is true that the date is rather worn and easy to misread. But there are some circumstances that preclude the date from being 444. Around 442, a monetary reform was carried out in Farghāna and the Chu valley. As a result, a totally new kind of coin appeared. They were made of an alloy of mainly copper (59.7 – 78.7%) and lead (15.43 – 37%), but were named *dirham* in the mint/date formula (Davidovich 1960, 104). These earliest Qarākhānid fiduciary coins with a forced token value, declared by state decree, were minted in Fergana in 442-449 and caused by the so-called "silver crisis".

Around the year AH 451, the head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ibrāhīm Ṭafghāch Khān attacked the Eastern Qarākhānids, who were fighting among themselves at the time. He first conquered Farghāna and later the Chu valley. In Farghāna he carried out a currency reform, banning the copper-lead dirhams and introducing the so-called "al-Mu'ayyadi" dirhams, which he had been striking in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. These latter dirhams were silver-plated and contained about 25% silver. Since the old copper-lead dirhams continued to circulate in the Chu valley, the coins which were banned in Farghāna made their way there in large numbers. This influx of fiduciary coins triggered inflation and a monetary crisis there (Davidovich 1960, 105; 1983, 15-18). So the Eastern Qarākhānids of the Chu Valley also started to strike "al-Mu'ayyadi" type dirhams. The earliest such

dirhem that I know of was minted in Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn) in AH 45(1 or 2 or 4).

In Marghīnān during the period 442-9 copper-lead dirhems were struck, that is why the billon Marghīnān dirhem in Tübingen could not have been struck in the year 444. Nor could it have been struck in 454 for, starting at least in 453 (Davidovich 1960, 105), the coins of Marghīnān were citing Ibrahim Ṭafghāh Khān. Nor could it have been struck in 424 because the dirhams of that time had more silver in them. So the dirham which Mayer dated to 444 must have been struck in AH 434.

The remainder of my comments concern the dates of the reigns of various of the rulers.

On page 20, Mayer writes: "Aḥmad ibn 'Alī, Karachanide, nachgewiesen 384-405". On page 8 he writes: Aḥmad ibn 'Alī hier mit 384-405 angegeben ist, obwohl man mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit (aber eben nicht mehr -? M.F.) mit einer zwei Jahre länger währenden Regierungszeit rechnen kann, da bis 407 H Prägungen mit dem von ihm verwendeten Titel Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān ausgegeben werden." And there is a dirham of AH 408 of Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 238/486) citing Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān. Of course, a single coin might not be considered as conclusive evidence but, taken together with the words of Ibn al-Athīr that Toghān Khān (Aḥmad ibn 'Alī) died in AH 408, it may be considered reliable. From a methodological point of view it would be more correct to show the dates when this or that Qarākhānid ruler appeared upon and disappeared from the historical scene, both according to the coins and written sources. So the dates for Toghān Khān Aḥmad ibn 'Alī should be 384-408.

On page 28, we find "Maḥmūd ibn Aḥmad, Karachanide, in Uzgend 607-607 H oder 608-609". Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad in fact ruled in Uzgend in AH 608-609.

On page 48, wrote "Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, Karachanide, nachgewiesen 393-415". He has missed coins struck in Īlāq in AH 386-7 (Kochnev 1995, 205/29, 206/43, 44) citing Muḥammad b. 'Alī. So the dates for Muḥammad b. 'Alī should be revised to 386-415.

On the same page the dates for Maṣṣūr ibn 'Alī are given as 404-415. But there is a coin of AH 403 struck in Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 224/304), which the author missed and which cites Īlek Maṣṣūr. So the dates for Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī should be at least 403-415. Also on that page the dates for Muḥammad ibn Naṣr ibn 'Alī are given as 415-425. But 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr appears as 'Ain al-Daula on coins of Uzgend in AH 411 and is cited as Muḥammad b. Naṣr on coins of Qubā struck in AH 445-7 (Kochnev 1995, 243/582; 1997, 280/1229). So the dates for this ruler should be 411-447.

On page 50 the author has written: "Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan, Karachanide, nachgewiesen 399-440". But here two rulers have been amalgamated into one. Toghā (Toghān) Khān (II) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (Kochnev 1995, 218/218, 250/686) appears on coins of Shāsh in AH 399 as Toghā-tegīn and is cited on coins of Akhsīket of AH 418 as Toghā Khān. He disappears from the coinage after AH 418. Contemporaneously with those events, Beihaqī wrote that there was a war and that Toghān Khān, "brother of 'Alī-tegīn", برافند. Arends (Beihaqī 1962, 467) translated this as "fell in war". Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) wrote that in AH 435 "Sharaf al-Daula" (Arslān Khān Sulaimān, son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf, who was the son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn) gave his uncle, Toghā (Toghā) Khān, the whole of Farghāna". This Toghā Khān III is cited on coins of Marghīnān struck in AH 439-40 (Kochnev 1997, 278/1194). Hence the date of 440 quoted by Mayer. But this Toghā Khān was the son of Hārūn while Toghā Khān Muḥammad was the son of Ḥasan. Mayer appears to have been influenced by Kochnev (1984, 370-2) who wrote that the Toghā Khān of 435 and 439-40 was the same person because Boghrā Khān Hārūn (the conqueror of Bukhārā in AH 382) had the double name Hārūn-Ḥasan. Such a strange opinion was first advanced by

Pritsak (1950, 223-4) and subsequently accepted by Davidovich (1970, 85) and Kochnev. I argued against this notion (Fedorov 1974, 168-9; 1983, 105-6) because it has nothing to do with the real facts. Qadir Khān Yūsuf is never cited on coins as Yūsuf b. Ḥasan; only as Yūsuf b. Hārūn. Nor are Toghā Khān Muḥammad or his brother, 'Alī, ever cited as 'Alī b. Hārūn or Muḥammad b. Hārūn; only as 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Elsewhere in the present volume (p. 8) Mayer, himself, wrote: "So dürfte Buḡra Ḥān Hārūn wohl nicht einen zweiten arabischen Namen – al-Ḥasan – getragen haben, der im Zusammenhang mit seinen Söhnen Qadir-khān Yūsuf (b. Hārūn) und Sulaimān (b. Hārūn) nie auftaucht. Die linie der 'hasanidischen' Karachaniden Toḡān Ḥān Muḥammad (b. al-Ḥasan) und 'Alī (b. al-Ḥasan) wird somit einem anderen Zweig zuzuordnen sein". So the second date for Toghā (Toghān) Khān (II) Muḥammad b. Ḥasan should not be 440.

On page 55 we read "al-Ḥusain ibn al-Ḥasan, Karachanide, nachgewiesen in Tūnkat 404-415". Jaghrā-tegīn Ḥusain is cited in the circular legend of falūs struck in Bukhārā in AH 406-7 as "Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusain b. Maṣṣūr" (Kochnev 1995, 233/415-7), i.e. he was the son of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. Then in 405-15 in Tūnket, 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrā-tegīn Ḥusain was appanage-holder and vassal of his father, Arslān Khān. Only once, in a circular legend of an AH 412 fals of Tūnket, is 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrā-tegīn cited, according to Kochnev (1995, 244/579), as "Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan". I have seen such a fals and, in my opinion, the reading "al-Ḥasan" is questionable. To me the first three letters look more like *alif* followed by the ligature of *lam-alif*. There are also coins of AH 418 Tūnket (Kochnev 1995, 251/692) citing 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrā-tegīn and his suzerain, Khān Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān). So the dates for al-Ḥusain ibn Maṣṣūr (and not "ibn al-Ḥasan") should be 404-418. In any case "al-Ḥusain ibn al-Ḥasan (Kochnev's reading) is mentioned only once, in AH 412.

On page 61 Mayer wrote: "Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī, Karachanide, nachgewiesen 405-413". Again he has merged two people into one: Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī and Aḥmad al-Khāṣṣ. In 404-5, coins of Akhsīket (Kochnev 1995, 227/333) cite Nāṣir al-Daula Atim-tegīn and his suzerain, Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. Alī (as an aside, it looks as if the Akhsīket dirham of AH 404 was struck from mismatched dies, the die with the date "404" being obsolete). In 406 and part of 407 (Kochnev 1995, 232/411) dirhams of Akhsīket still cite Atim-tegīn and Arslān Khān. In 408 (Kochnev 1995, 238/480) coins of Ispījāb cite Nāṣir al-Daula Atim-tegīn and his suzerain, Arslān Khān. On a fals of AH 408 of Ispījāb (Fedorov 1971, 166), Atim-tegīn is called "Aḥmad b. Īlek. A fals of AH 406 of Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 234/428) citing Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī shows that Īlek was Muḥammad b. 'Alī. So Atim-tegīn Aḥmad was a son of Muḥammad b. 'Alī. After Arslān Khān died, Atim-tegīn Aḥmad was a vassal of Toghā Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan in 416 in Ispījāb and 417 in Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 249-50/655, 681). Kochnev (1995, 239/493) mentioned coins of Ūch citing Atim-tegīn Aḥmad and his suzerain, Khān Malik al-Mashriq (i.e. Qadir Khān). He read the dates on these coins as 412-413 but I believe that the dates should be 422-423. As for Aḥmad al-Khāṣṣ cited on AH 405-6 coins of Ṭarāz, he was quite another person. While Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had in 405-6 the princely title, Atim-tegīn, Aḥmad al-Khāṣṣ did not have any such title. *الخاصة* means "retinue, nobility". Thus, Yūsuf Balāsāghūnī, who in 462/1069-70 presented the ruler of Kāshghar with his poem "Qūtādghū Bīlīk" was granted the high court rank of Khāṣṣ Ḥājib. So it looks as though this other Aḥmad belonged to the retinue of the Khān but was not a Karākhānid. Mayer also identified Aḥmad al-Khāṣṣ with a certain Īl Ūkā, which, to me, is very doubtful. So the dates for Atim-tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad should be (404?) 405-417 or even 423.

On page 61 the dates for Yūsuf ibn Sulaimān are given as 461-472 AH. Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 59-60) wrote that

Boghrā Khān “Maḥmūd” (i.e. Muḥammad – MF) was succeeded by Ṭoghrlū Khān, *son of Yūsuf Qadir Khān*. But several words later he wrote that Ṭoghrlū Khān Yūsuf was the brother of Hārūn Boghrā Khān. In 1898 Bartold wrote: “After that, there ruled in Kashgar and Balasaghun for 16 years (451-467/ 1059-74) another son of Qadir Khān, Ṭoghrlū-qarākhān Yūsuf together with his brother, Boghrā Khān Hārūn (my italics – MF). But in 1923, Bartold established that the real name of that Boghrā Khān was Ḥasan (not Hārūn), that he was the son of Arslān Khān Sulaimān, who was the son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf (Bartold 1963a, 44; 1968, 419-20). So it is not clear whether Ṭoghrlū Khān was the son of Yūsuf Qadir Khān or the son of Sulaimān Arslān Khān and it is not clear whether he really had the name Yūsuf. Kochnev’s attribution of a dirham struck in Ṭarāz in AH 472 (1988, 61) to this Ṭoghrlū Khān is also moot. I actually believe it was struck by ‘Umar, son of Ṭoghrlū Khān, who accepted his father’s title after the latter died. I am convinced that the date of the reign of Ṭoghrlū Khān (Yūsuf or not Yūsuf) established by Bartold, i.e. 451-467/ 1059-74 – a 16 year reign – is the only correct one.

On page 63 Mayer wrote: “Yūsuf ibn Hārūn, Karachanide, nachgewiesen in Fergana in 416-423 H., im Kāshghar 395-417 H.” But he, himself, described a coin of AH 423 Kāshghar (64/523) citing Naṣir al-Ḥaqq Qadir Khān (i.e. Yūsuf b. Hārūn) and his co-ruler and son, Abū Shujā’ Arslān Khān. So according to the coins, the dates for Yūsuf ibn Hārūn in Kāshghar should be 395-423. Moreover, Jamāl Qarshī wrote that Qadir Khān died in Muḥarram 424 (Bartold 1963a, 43). So the dates for Kāshghar should be 395-424.

On page 64 wrote: “Sulaimān ibn Dā’ūd, etwa Anfang 7. Jahrhundert H.” On the coins only “Suleimān” is written; there is no “ibn Dā’ūd”. There is no explanation why the author decided that this Sulaimān was “ibn Dā’ūd”.

On page 70 the dates for Ibrahīm ibn Naṣr are given as 431-460. Ibrahīm b. Naṣr is cited as Būrī-teġīn on coins of AH 408-11 of Īlāq and AH 430 of Ṣaghāniyān (Kochnev 1995, 238/478). So the dates for this ruler should 408-411, 430-460. Būrī-teġīn was also mentioned by Beihaqī (1962, 484, 495) in AH 429, when he managed to escape from imprisonment by the ruler of Samarqand, Arslān Īlek Yūsuf b. ‘Alī.

Concluding this review, I should like to stress again that Qarākhānid numismatics is one of the most difficult subjects which face the student of Central Asian numismatics. So it is not surprising that Thomas Mayer, who is at the beginning of his numismatic career, has made a few mistakes. Even scholars who have been studying this area for 50 years (Davidovich), 40 years (Fedorov) or 30 years (Kochnev) have and are not safe from them.

I would also like to use this opportunity to join my voice to the discussion about how sylloges should be organised. I believe that they should be organised geographically. The arrangement by mint appears to me to be more productive than by dynasty. I should also like to thank your editor for prompting me to write this review, especially as I am the type of scholar that likes to write articles and monographs rather than reviews. But because of the importance of the present volume, it has been well worth the effort.

Prof. Dr. Michael Fedorov

References

- Bartold, V.V., 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia. Sochineniia*, t. I, Moskva.
- Bartold, V.V., 1963a. “Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia”, *Sochineniia*, tom 2, ch. I, Moskva.
- Bartold, V.V., 1968. “Bogra-khan, upomianutyi v Kutadgu bilik”, *Sochineniia*, t. 5, Moskva.
- Beihaqī, Abu-l-fazl. 1962. *Istoriia Mas'uda 1030-1041*, perevod ...A.K. Arends, Tashkent.
- Davidovich, E.A. 1960. “Iz oblasti denezhnogo obrashcheniia v Srednei Azii XI-XII vv.”, *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, II, Moskva.
- Davidovich, E.A. 1970. “Klad saganianskikh monet vtoroi chetverti XI v. kak istoricheskii istochnik”, *Pis'mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka* 1968, Moskva.
- Davidovich, E. A. 1977. “Voprosy khronologii i genealogii Karakhanidov vtoroi poloviny XII v.”, *Sredniaia Aziia v drevnosti i srednevekov'e*, Moskva.
- Davidovich, E. A. 1983. “Reforma v Fergane - krizis denezhnogo obrashcheniia v Semirech'e (seredina XI v.)”, *Tezisy dokladov nauchnoi konferentsii*, “Kul'tura i iskusstvo Kirgizii”, vyp. 2, Leningrad.
- Dorn, Bernhard. 1880. “Über die münzen der Ilke oder ehemaligen Chane von Turkistan”, *Mélanges Asiatiques, tirés du Bulletin historique-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, tome VIII.
- Fedorov, M. N. 1971. “Khodzjenskii klad serebriannykh dirhemov vtorogo desiatiletiia XI v.”, *Material'naiia kul'tura Tadjikistana*, 2.
- Fedorov, M. N. 1974. “Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse pervoi i vo vtoroi chetverti XI v.”, *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XI, Moskva.
- Fedorov, M. N. 1983. “Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X - nachala XIII vv.”, *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
- Grigor'ev, V. V. 1874. *Karakhanidy v Maverannagre po Tarikhi Munedzhim-Bashi*. S. Peterburg.
- Kochnev, B. D. “Zametki po srednevekovoi numizmatike Srednei Azii. Chast' 2. (Karakhanidy)”, *Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana*, vyp. 15, 1979.
- Kochnev, B. D. “Novye dannye po genealogii i khronologii Karakhanidov”, *Folklor, literatura i istoriia Vostoka*. Tashkent, 1984, P. 371.
- Kochnev, B. D. 1988. “Togryl-khan i Togryl-tegin (Numizmaticheskie dannye k istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI.)” *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 24.
- Kochnev, B. D. 1995. “Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimii i titulatura, 1”, *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
- Kochnev, B. D. 1997. “Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimii i titulatura, 2”, *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
- Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, 1973, vyp. 1, Moskva.
- Pritsak, O. 1953. “Die Karachaniden”, *Der Islam*, Bd. 31, Heft 1.
- Vasmer, R. 1930. “Zur Münzkunde der Qarachaniden”, *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen zu Berlin, Westasiatische Studien*, Jg. XXXIII.

Articles

The Coinage of “Ibn Mālik”

by A.S. DeShazo

The Sasanian style dirham assigned by John Walker¹ to al-Mughira ibn al-Muhallab (see fig.1) was reattributed by Dr M.I. Mochiri to a “Nomayra b. Mosleh”². There are still problems with this governor’s personal name as there are two too many strokes³ between the “M” and “R”⁴ for a normal transliteration of his name into pahlavi script as “Nomayra”. His father’s name is confidently readable as Mālik and allows some plausible speculation as to his political position and a partial identification through a putative family connection. Since history seems to be silent as to his identity, “Ibn Mālik” will have to suffice for now. The mark indicating long vowels has been omitted for all names except Mālik since, for the present purposes, it is necessary to distinguish this name from Malik as the names are different and are written differently in Pahlavi and in Kufic.

There was a prominent family living in Basrah near the end of the second *fitna* headed by Mālik b. Misma’ who had led his tribesmen in the battle of the Camel in the forces of ‘A’ishah many years earlier. Following that battle, Mālik was asked for protection by Marwan, the future caliph and father of another future caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, and on the advice of his brother Muqatil b. Misma’, it was given. Later under the annal for 71 AH⁵ when ‘Abd al-Malik b. Marwan was vying with the Zubayrids, we are informed that he sent Khalid b. ‘Abd Allah to enter Basrah secretly to raise support for the Marwanid⁶ cause. Khalid first went to a

home where he must have thought he would be welcome. His host apparently was more concerned with his own safety and sent a message to the Zubayrite police chief asking for permission. Consent was not given, and a warning of an impending arrest was sent back with the messenger. Khalid was then advised by his host to leave and seek shelter with Mālik b. Misma'. This advice was well taken, as Khalid had to flee on horseback wearing little more than a nightshirt. A confrontation soon took place between the Zubayrites and the allies of Mālik b. Misma' that escalated into fighting which lasted twenty-four days. Mālik received an eye injury forcing him to withdraw personally from battle, but after a pause and some negotiations, a compromise was reached by which Khalid was allowed to leave Basrah with a safe conduct from the Zubayrite deputy governor, 'Umar b.'Ubayd Allah b. Ma'mar. When the actual governor Mus'ab b.al-Zubayr returned, he was absolutely furious over the handling of the situation. He handed out severe punishments to many of the prominent men of Basrah for not acting against Khalid, looted Mālik's house and then had it razed.

When the Marwanid branch of the Umayyad family gained control of Basrah and its dependencies, Khalid b.'Abd Allah returned as governor replacing the squabbling, local, self-appointed candidates. Mālik was rewarded for his past and recent services, and although he did not live long to enjoy it, his family members benefited greatly. We are informed under the annal for 72 AH⁷ that Muqatil b. Misma' was made governor of Ardashir Khurrah, 'Amir b. Misma' governor of Sabur, and Misma' b. Mālik b. Misma' governor of Fasa and Darabjird. The coin of Ibn Mālik was struck in 73 AH with the mint signature now thought to represent the district of Veh-az-Amid-Kavad⁸ with Arrajan as its principal city. Based on the father's name, the subordination of the mint's district to Basrah and the date on the coin, it seems reasonable to consider this governor a son of Mālik b. Misma'.

The chronology of al-Tabari can be off by a year or two on specific events, and since his information was passed through generations of transmitters, the facts are not always correct, but alternate versions are often given. One of the problems presented in his history is that the recorded appointment of Muqatil b. Misma' to Ardashir Khurrah allegedly took place in 72 AH. Coins exist in his name dated years 72 and 73, but the mint signature is for Bishapur (see fig.2) and there are none known to me for the district supposedly assigned to him. The governor of Basrah, Khalid b. 'Abd Allah, ordered Muqatil to take his army to the territory of Khalid's brother 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd Allah to help in the fight against the Kharijites. The combined forces were advancing but in a disorderly fashion when they fell into an ambush set by the Kharijites. Muqatil fought to the last and died fighting bravely, but this was still 72 AH according to al-Tabari⁹. From the coins it appears that the appointments of Muqatil and his brother 'Amir were reversed as to place and that the former did commence his service in 72 AH, but his death occurred in the following year. The rare coins of his nephew Ibn Mālik are also of year 73, and one might speculate that this man might not have been able to order further coinage if he also died in the ambush. The silver dirham (see fig.3)¹⁰ in the name of Khalid b.'Abd Allah of year 73 from the Veh-Az-Amid-Kavad mint seems to confirm that a further issue by Ibn Mālik should not be expected. The brevity of his career might have contributed to his being lost to history. More research, however, could possibly restore his little claim for lasting recognition.

1. Walker, John, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London 1967, Cam.11, p.106.
2. Mochiri, Dr M.Iradj *Etudes de numismatique iranienne sous les Sassanides et Arabe-Sassanides. II*, Tehran 1977. Revised and corrected, Leiden, 1983, pp.435-7
3. The diphthong *ay (ai)* in Pahlavi script is normally

represented by a single stroke just as it is in Kufic.

4. This letter can equally be an "L". In the genealogical work by Ibn al-Kalbi, the name Numaylah appears more than once, Numayr only once and Numayra (Numayrah) not at all.
5. Al-Tabari, Abu Ja'far Muhammad b. Jarir, *The History of Al-Tabari*, Volume XXI, (trans. Michael Fishbein) State University of New York Press, 1990, pp.171-97.
6. Umayyad also would be correct, but Marwanid is more specific.
7. Al-Tabari, pp.198-223.
8. Gyselen, Rika and Kalus, Ludvik *Deux Trésors Monétaires Des Premiers Temps De L'Islam* pp. 149-51.
9. Al-Tabari, p. 200.
10. Photograph is by courtesy of the late William B. Warden, Jr.



Figure 1



Figure 2

An Altın of Shahin Giray, Struck in the Baghcheserai Mint

By Kenneth M. MacKenzie

In the early 1780s, Shahin Giray, the last of the Crimean Khans, began to mint gold coins at Baghcheserai and Kaffa bearing his name in tughra form. It was the first time that gold coins had been issued by any Crimean ruler. They appear to have been presentation pieces given in his 6th regnal year just prior to the ending of their independence by Russia in 1782 AD.

Last year I was permitted to examine a specimen of one of these gold issued struck at the Baghcheserai mint. It had been sold at an auction of Islamic objects in New York City, where it was described as a Turkish gold medallion¹. It was a rare event for a Krim gold coin to appear in the market. I referred to the standard work on the subject by Retowski² and an article concerning all Krim coins by the foremost Turkish scholar, Nurettin Ağat in 1981³. The specimen which is described here came from an unknown European source and had obviously been worn as a decorative ornament since a clasp had been on the obverse and subsequently removed. The coin is similar to the specimen catalogued by Retowski on page 301, except for the ornament at the right-hand side of the khan's tughra, which does appear on a similar issue struck in the Kaffa mint, which Ağat catalogued.

The present writer, after much research, failed to locate a complete listing of the gold issues from either of the two mints. Such a list may possibly rest in the archives in Moscow.

The Turkish name for its denomination has been used since the Crimean state under Shahin Giray had adopted the kuruş as its basic silver unit. This weighed five dirhams (16 g) about 40% less than the Istanbul kuruş at that time.

1. Griffin Galleries (New York), item 225
2. Retowski, O, *Die Münzen der Girei*, Moscow, 1905.
3. Ağat, Nürettin, *Kırım Hanları Paralarının Nitelikleri*, reprinted from *Emel Dergisi*, 1965, in *Bülten* no. 6-7 of the Turkish Numismatic Society, Istanbul, 1981.



Figure 3

A Mamluk dirham from al-Ladhiqiyya

By Frank Timmermann

I have recently had the opportunity to examine a group of Mamluk dirhams minted during the 3rd reign of the sultan, al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad (AH 709-41/ 1310-41 AD), mostly in his Syrian mints. The group includes a number of new and important varieties.

Presented here is a dirham from the mint of al-Ladhiqiyya¹. The date is not visible but the arrangement of the legends is typical for the 730s AH. The weight is 2.57 g.

السلطان الملك
[أ]ناصر ناصر الدين[ب]

محمد بن الملك



خبر بالانقية

لا اله الا الله
[محمد] رسول الله

[أرسله بالهدى]



1. A similar coin was described in *Yarmouk Numismatics*, 10th anniversary volume, 198/1419, p. 54/55 and p. 64, no. 5 (plate). This specimen is in a much lower state of preservation and incorrectly described to the reign of al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Ḥasan ("Ḥasan" not visible on the coin).

Obverse of 10 para copper coin of 1255 AH. Tughra of Sultan Abdul Mejid, regnal year 21, with the flower to the right of the tughra obliterated by the countermark within its frame.

ياسجان
باديان
يامنان
ياحنان
يارحمان
ياسلطان



Description:

Altılık altın (6 altınlık), 21.60 g, 46 mm, dated 1191 AH.

Obverse:

Shahin giray han bin ahmad giray in a tughra within an arabesque border and with an ornament on the right-hand side. Spaced around the border are six blooms, one of which has been damaged due to the removal of a clasp that had been previously attached to the coin.

Reverse:

Duribe fi baghcheserai 1191 contained within a "Suleyman seal" formed by a calligraphic device of six Arabic words commencing at the right side, and reading anticlockwise:
yā subhān yā deyyān yā mannān yā hannān yā rahmān yā sultān – *God be praised; O, judge, most bounteous, most compassionate, all merciful; O, sultan.* All contained within an arabesque border (as on the obverse) around which are the six blooms with one at the right damaged by the removal of the clasp.

Note: this gold coin had been pierced and the hole plugged. Kind permission for its publication has been granted by the LT Collection (USA).

A Variant of the Pterounta Countermark Used in Mytilene 1887 By Kenneth M. MacKenzie

The compendium on countermarks on Ottoman coins which Dr Hans Wilski published in 1995 will be updated next year by a supplement now in active preparation. After the ONS meeting in Tübingen last year, I had the pleasure of visiting him in Sülzbach to review the drawings, photographs and corrections to his book, which will be included in his supplement. He has received important data from numismatists interested in the subject. I had submitted a few sketches and photos after cataloguing a small collection of countermarked coins in the New York City¹. One of the coins happened to be from the Lesbos village of Pterounta, with the abbreviation of the village name in Greek letters – ΦΤΡ (see the illustration below with a sketch of the countermark within a frame 10 x 8 mm). This will be numbered G21-05.



This village countermark, without a year date, had been found on a coin in the ANS collection and published². It was not possible at that time to name the place where it was countermarked.

It was not until the Greek numismatist, Costas Hadziotis, obtained information from a native of Lesbos who attended his lecture in Athens in 1973 and who recalled that the countermark "TEA" had been well known in his village of Telōnia (now Antissa), that the clue to the reading of so many of the countermarks from that island was provided. Mr Hadziotis' remarks on the "TEA" coin were published in the Numismatic Circular in that year, too late to include in a work then being printed in London.

Countermarks with year dates from 1879-1894 are recorded from the island of Lesbos.

1. LT collection (coin no. 100)
2. MacKenzie, Kenneth M., and Samuel Lachman, *Countermarks of the Ottoman Empire*, 1974, p. 18

Notes on a Talismanic Magic Square.

By Bob Forrest

Figure 1 shows, actual size, a silver talisman acquired in Istanbul and which probably dates from about AD 1900 or so. It is said to give protection from evil spirits; to ward off the effects of the evil eye; and to bring good luck generally to its wearer. On the obverse is what I call, for want of a better term, a magic square. It consists of five rows, each row made up of five cells, and each cell containing two letters. The cells of each row of the magic square are a simple re-arrangement of those on the first row, done in such a way that each pair of letters appears once and once only in each row and each column of the magic square. (The method of permutation also results in a number of other interesting patterns among the five different cell types, but I will not go into these here: by way of an example, though, the central cell and the four corner cells are also a re-arrangement of the first row.)

What puzzled me for a long time was the significance of the five pairs of letters making up the key first row of this magic square. I shamelessly pestered several ONS members to see if they knew, and Kenneth MacKenzie kindly pestered others on my behalf. But no-one seemed to know, and there appeared to be no published account of it either. As a solution has now presented itself – a solution arrived at independently by Khalid Malik and myself – it might be of interest to other ONS members to publish it here.

Looking at figure 2 it can be seen that the letters making up the first row of the magic square are the *muqattat* letters from the beginnings of surahs 19 and 42 of the Qur'ān. The upper tier, reading right to left, are those from surah 19, whilst the lower tier, reading left to right, are those of surah 42. As can be seen, the *qaf* from surah 42 has become a *fa* on the talisman, but since this involves only the loss of a simple dot, it is easily explained as a copyist's error. (On another version of this talisman – also silver, also from Istanbul, and which is shown actual size in figure 3 – the *qaf* has apparently lost both its dots and become a *waw*, as indeed it has in the fourth row of figure 1!)

This solution fits too well, I think, to be a figment of our imaginations, though why the *muqattat* letters of these two surahs (the only two to feature five letters) should be set to run in opposite directions is not clear.

Incidentally, the inscriptions round the outsides of the magic squares in figures 1 and 3 appear to be the names of the angels

Jibraïl (top), Azraïl (right), Israfil (bottom) and Mikail (left).

As to the reverses of both talismans, they feature a hexagram (presumably the Seal of Solomon) formed from elongated letters which are part of an inscription whose significance remains almost totally obscure. If anyone reading this can make any sense at all from it, both Khalid Malik and I would be very grateful to hear from them.

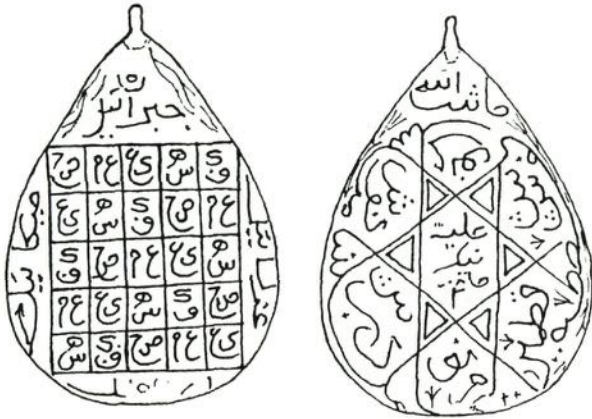


Fig. 1.

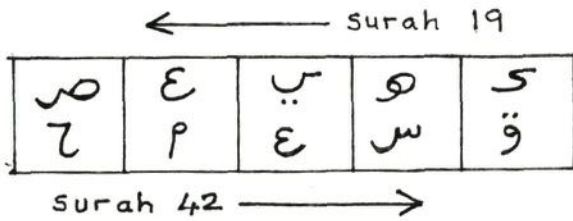


Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.

Two unreported coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit
By Osmund Boppearachchi (C.N.R.S. Paris)

The aim of this short article is to present two unpublished coins from the second Mir Zakah deposit which represent a great interest. As we now know, the second Mir Zakah treasure is one of the largest ancient coin deposits ever attested in the history of mankind. It was discovered accidentally in 1992 in the village of Mir Zakah, 53 km north-east of the city of Gardez in Afghanistan.

It must have consisted of three to four tons of gold, silver and bronze coins, in another words about 500,000 specimens. It contained more than five hundred kilograms of silver and gold objects. The results of our investigations on this important deposit have been published from time to time.¹ Two interesting coins found in the same deposit reached the London market recently, and I am most grateful to the collector - who wished to remain anonymous - for authorising me to publish them.

The first coin which deserves our attention is a gold coin weighing 8.11 g. with a diameter of 16 mm which correspond to an Attic standard stater or a gold daric (see figure 1.)



The dies are adjusted parallel. As on popular silver issues of Alexander, the head of Heracles to right wearing lion's skin head-dress is depicted on the obverse.² One would expect on the reverse the usual Zeus naked down to the waist, enthroned to left, holding a sceptre in his left hand and an eagle on his outstretched right hand and the legend ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, but instead we see a winged Nike standing to left, holding a wreath in extended right hand. This is the usual reverse type of Alexander's staters where, on the obverse, the head of Athena to right, wearing crested Corinthian helmet is depicted.³ A few observations have to be made regarding this unique coin. Firstly, the most important characteristic of this coin is that it is an overstrike. It is struck over an eastern type Daric. On the obverse, in the middle of Heracles' head the oblong incuse impression of the under-type can be seen. Furthermore, the thickness and the irregularity of the flan correspond to a gold daric rather than to a gold stater of Alexander the Great. Secondly, the coin is legendless and of crude style. So, it is evident that the dies were cut purposely to strike this coin. Thirdly, it is the only gold coin of this series, with types copied from two different series. It may be a local Bactrian issue, minted after Alexander's death. It is difficult to say, at this stage, who issued this coin.



The second coin is a gold stater of the Graeco-Bactrian king Euthydemus I of 8.07 g, characterised by a new monogram: which is not so far attested on his coinage. The second important characteristic of this coin is the depiction of a middle-aged portrait of the king, instead of the young portrait of the known staters of Euthydemus I.⁴

According to the coin sequence which I have proposed for Euthydemus' coins based on Prof. Bivar's hypothesis,⁵ stylistically speaking, this middle-aged portrait is quite closer to that of the sixth group of the same king with frontal fold and strand of curly hair.⁶ Our classification was based on the difference in age of the royal portrait, the variants in the disposition of the ribbons of the diadem, the iconography and style of the representations of Heracles on the reverse, the elimination of the dotted circle on the reverse and finally the change in orientation of the dies. According to our classification, the coins of the sixth group with the portrait of the sovereign, stylistically closer to our coin, have, on the reverse, Heracles seated on a rock holding a club against his right thigh. However, on the reverse of our coin, the club that Heracles holds rests aslant on a pile of three rocks in front of him. Apart from the right foot of the divinity lifted up and posed on a rock, this reverse type is somewhat closer in style to the one depicted on the known staters of Euthydemus I which I have attributed to the first group.⁷ Furthermore the dies of this coin are adjusted anti-parallel, and this characteristic corresponds to the known staters of Euthydemus I. Our coin is thus exceptional in many ways, and cannot be attributed to any of the groups of our previously proposed classification.

Unfortunately, it is not the only coin which shows such characteristics. Coins from the Kuliab hoard contained three exceptional coins of this nature. This hoard was found, in January 1998 in the region of Kuliab, situated in modern Tadjikistan, about 8 to 10 km from the Qizil Mazar in the Qizil Su valley, on the right bank of the Oxus River. The hoard seems to have been composed of 800 tetradrachms and drachms. We have had access to 205 coins, 52 tetradrachms, 48 drachms and 105 obols.⁸ All coins in question are Greek and Graeco-Bactrian, struck according to the Attic standard. This hoard is composed of coins of Eucratides I and of his Bactrian and Greek predecessors: coins in the name of Alexander the Great: 6, Seleucus I:1, Antiochus: 6, Antiochus II: 3, Diodotus I & II: 22, Euthydemus I: 28, Demetrius I: 55, Euthydemus II: 7, Agathocles: 5, Antimachus I: 48, Eucratides I: 21. In this hoard there were many unreported coins either with new types or known series with new monograms. To my knowledge, no coin of Heliokles I or Plato, who are now considered as Eucratides I's successors, was attested in this lot. By its composition this batch thus reminds us of the three hoards from Ai Khanum, published in 1975 and in 1980 and the stray finds from the same site.⁹ Since the region of Kuliab is situated in the Oxus valley to which Ai Khanum historically and geographically belonged, one may not wonder why the hoard is deprived of any post-Eucratides issues.



We have illustrated here one of the tetradrachms of Euthydemus I of the Kuliab hoard weighing 16.50 g characterised by some unusual features. On this coin, the portrait of the sovereign, powerfully realistic, is that of an old man. According to our classification, it belongs to the obverse type of the seventh group. One would thus expect, on the reverse, the depiction of an old Heracles seated on a rock holding the club against his right thigh, but on our coin, the club is set down vertically as on the coins of the second group. This means, on our coin, the obverse with the old portrait has the reverse usually seen with the young

portrait. Although such anomalies may result from the accidental mixing of old dies, it is not impossible that this would have been done purposely. Further investigations in this direction may enable us to give a solid answer to the question.

1. O. Bopearachchi & Aman ur Rahman *Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan*, Karachi, 1995; "Na st en, a hitherto unknown Iranian ruler in India, *Studies in Silk Road Coins and Culture, Silk Road. Art and Archaeology*, Kamakura, 1997, pp. 67-74; "Le dépôt de Mir Zakah. Le plus grand trésor du monde, son destin son intérêt", *Dossiers d'Archéologie*, 248, November 1999, pp. 36-43.
2. For silver tetradrachms in the name of Alexander, see for example M.J. Price, *The coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great & Philip Arrhidaeus. A British Museum Catalogue*, vols I & II, London, 1991, p.1. XVII.
3. *Ibid.*, pls I-XIV.
4. See for example, O. Bopcarachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes et indo-grecques, Catalogue raisonné*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, 1991, p.1. 2, nos 1 & 2.
5. A.D.H. Bivar, "The Bactrian coinage of Euthydemus and Demetrius", *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1951, pp. 22-39.
6. Cf. O. Bopearachchi, "The Euthydemus' imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independance", in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 2, Kamakura, 1991/2, pp. 1-21, particularly pp. 5-6, p. 18, no. 24.
7. Cf. O. Bopearachchi, *Monnaies gréco-bactriennes*, p.1. 2, nos 1 & 2.
8. For a complete publication of these coins, see O. Bopearachchi, "La circulation et la production monétaires en Asie Centrale et dans l'Inde du Nord-Ouest (avant et après la conquête d'Alexandre)", *Pubblicazioni di Indologica Taurinensia, Collana di Letture*, Turin, 2000 (in print).
9. C.-Y. Petitot-Biehler, "Trésor de monnaies grecques et gréco-bactriennes trouvé à Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan)", *RN*, XVII, 1975, pp. 23-57; Fr. Holt, "The Euthydemid coinage of Bactria: Further hoard evidence from Ai Khanum", *RN*, XXIII, 1981, pp. 7-44; P. Bernard, *Fouilles d'Ai Khanoum IV. Les monnaies hors trésors. Questions d'histoire gréco-bactrienne (MDAFA XXVIII)*, Paris, 1985, pp. 97-105.

The Use of Maldivian Cowries as Money According to an 18th Century Portuguese Dictionary on World Currencies

by Wolfgang Bertsch

In the section of rare books of Brazil's National Library in Rio de Janeiro¹ I examined a manual on the world's currencies, probably written for Portuguese merchants and sailors, published anonymously in Lisbon in 1793 and from which I extract a chapter which is dedicated to the money cowries from the Maldive Islands and the Philippines.

The author severely criticizes the African slave trade which was still going on at the end of the eighteenth century and in which the cowries played a highly important part.² This criticism is probably the reason why the Portuguese author, who at the end of the preface, only identifies himself as "Hum Natural de Lisboa" (a native of Lisbon) preferred to publish his manual anonymously.

The title page reads as follows:

DICCIONARIO UNIVERSAL DAS MOEDAS ASSIM METALICAS, COMO FICTICIAS, IMAGINARIAS, OU DE CONTA E DAS DE FRUCTOS, CONCHAS, &c. QUE SE CONHECEM NA EUROPA, ASIA, AFRICA, E AMERICA. RECOPIADO POR ***** NA OFF. DE SIMÃO TADDE FERREIRA LISBOA MDCCXCIII

On pp. 109-114 the following chapter on cowries is to be found:

MOEDAS DE CONCHAS

Bouge, na costa de Guiné, e também em alguns sitios dos dilatados serões da Africa, he que se dá este nome áquella qualidade de conchas brancas, que ha nas Ilhas Maldivas, a que na India Oriental aonde servem em lugar de Moeda, ou fazem as vezes de Moeda, chamão Coris, ou Cauris.

Cauris, ou Coris, conchinhas alvissimas, que vem das Ilhas Maldivas, e servem de Moeda pequena, ou miuda na maior parte da India Oriental, com especialidade nos vastissimos Estados, e possessões do Impenio da Grão Mogor.

Não obstante serem estas conchas numa producção maritima, encontrão-se pela terra dentro, e enterradas em covas fundas, donde os Maldivos ou naturaes das Ilhas Maldivas os extrahem para alborcarem por arrôz, e algumas lençarias grossas d'algodão, alias groarias d'algodão, fazendas que alguns Negociantes Indios, e Europeos lhe vão escambar annualmente, para em paga ou retorno trazerem das referidas Conchas.

Dão-se 50 a 60 Cauris por uma Pecha, ou Pessa, Moedinha de cobre que vale quatro réis, com pouca differença.

A maior, ou menor distancia da Costa maritima augmenta, ou diminue o valor destas Conchas; pois nas partes do interior, nas permutações que fazem, dão menos Conchas em pagamento do que na beira-mar.

Nas Ilhas Filipinas também se pescão Cauris, ou Conchas, a que os Hespanhoes dão o nome de Signeias. Os Póvos de Sião lhes chamão Bias; mas são de muito menor valor que as das Maldivas: dão os Siameses 800 coris, por hum Foang: o Foang he a oitava parte do Tical, de forma que oitocentos Cauris, valem sesenta e seis réis.

As Conchas Cauris, ou Coris das Maldivas, também servem a negociação que fazem os Europeos nas costas de Guiné, aonde os Negros da Cafania, que muito as prezão, lhe dão o nome de Bouges.

São os Holandezes quem provêm quasi todas as Nações da Europa que vão comprar, ou fazer, escravatura; não nos deve porém admirar a grande quantidade, que dellas vendem e a que dão extracção; pois se atendermos que só no Reino de Juda em Africa, onde os Francezes possuem algumas Feitorias de ponderação, dão esses mesmos Francezes por hum preto Africano escravo, oitenta arates de Coris, ou Bouges e as vezes mais, por hum só escravo, por huma peça de Algodão, por hum dente de marfim, por hum pão, ou forma de cêra, e da mesma forma em proporção pelos mais generos daquella terra.

Vendem-se, e reputão-se ordinariamente estas Conchas a 200, ate 240, e as vezes a 250 réis cada arratel; algum dia, isto he, haverá 25 annos pouco mais ou menos, que com 12 a 13,000 arrateis de pêzo destas mesmas Conchas, se fazia huma carregação de escravatura de quinhentas ate seiscentas pessoas, ou cabeças, (segunda a tosca, e inhumana expressão dos vendedores de carne humana, algozes da natureza, e infames negociantes de hum genero, que repugna a mesma razão, as Leis da Religião Sacrosanta, e que finalmente he o vituperia da humana progenia, e creação.) Dez annos ha porém, que custão mais estes infelizes escravos, (como dizem os durissimos interessados deste horrivel negociação, que ainda se conserva, e tolera em dela bono da humanidade;) e se comprão por alto preço, a tempo que da mesma fórma abaixo tanto a estimação, e valor dos Cauris, ou Coris na Costa de Guiné, que para semelhante carregação de quinhentos a seiscentos escravos dão-se mais de 25,000 a 28,000 arrates de pêzo destas Conchas, quando algum dia, só se davão 12 ate 13,000. São medidas, ou para melhor dizer, medem-se estas conchas, na Costa de Africa, em certa medida como de alqueire, a qual he de cobre amarello, semelhante e da feição, ou fórma de huma grande bacia, que leva Conchas em tanta quantidade, que o

pêzo dellas corresponde a oitocentos arrates.

Translation³

Universal Dictionary of Metal, Fictitious and Account Money as well as Fruit and Shell Money etc. which is known in Europe, Asia, Africa and America.

Compiled by ****

Published by Simão Tade Ferreira

Lisbon, 1793

SHELL. MONEY

Bouge is the name which is given to a kind of white shell on the coast of Guinea and also in some areas of the immense coastline of Africa. They come from the Maldive Islands and are taken to India where they serve as money or are used instead of money and called *coris* or *cauris*.

Coris or *cauris*, small, snow white shells which come from the Maldive Islands, serve as small money or change in major parts of India, especially in the very vast states and possessions of the Empire of the Great Mogul.

Although these shells are a marine product, they are encountered inland, and are buried in deep pits from where the Maldivians or the natives of the Maldive Islands extract them in order to exchange them for nice, crude cotton material or cotton cloth, goods which some Indian and European merchants bring for trade every year, who take the shells which we referred to as payment or exchange.

They give 50 or 60 *cauris* for one *pecha* or *pessa*, a small copper coin which is worth 4 réis, more or less.

The larger or lesser distance from the sea coast increases or diminishes the value of these shells: since in the interior regions, when bartening, less shells are given when making payments than in the coastal area⁴.

Cauris or shells to which the Spaniards give the name *signeias* are also fished in the Philippine Islands. The peoples of Siam call them *bias*; but they are of much less value than the ones from the Maldives: the Siamese give 800 *coris* for one *foang* the *foang* is the eighth part of the Tical which means that eighthundred *cauris* are worth, sixty-six réis⁵.

The *Cauri* shells or *coris* of the Maldives also serve the trading which the Europeans do on the coasts of Guinea, where the negroes from Cafania appreciate them [the cowries] very much and call them Bouges.

The Dutch are the ones who supply almost all nations of Europe [with cowries] who go buying or practice the slave trade; therefore we should not be amazed at the large quantity which they sell and extract⁶. It is noteworthy that alone in the kingdom of Juda in Africa where the French own some factories [trading posts] of importance, the same French give for one black African slave eighty *arates* of *coris*, or *bouges* and sometimes more, for a single slave, for a piece of cotton, for an elephant tusk, for a bread or candle and in the same way for the other goods of that country.

These shells are sold and are normally valued at 200 to 240 and sometimes 250 réis for each *arratel*⁷; one day, i.e. about 25 years ago, with 12 to 13,000 *arrateis* in weight of the same shells one could purchase a shipment of slaves consisting of five hundred to six hundred persons, or heads (according to the rude and inhuman expression used by the salesmen of human flesh, hangmen by nature and infamous traders of a kind who discard reason, the Laws of the Holy Religion and will finally receive the vituperation of the human race and creation.). Ten years earlier these unfortunate slaves cost even more (according to the cruel persons who are involved in this horrible trade which is still practised [...])⁸ and they were bought at a high price, but with time passing the value of the *Cauris* or *Coris* fell so much in esteem on

the coast of Guinea that for a similar shipment of 500 to 600 slaves one has to give 25,000 to 28,000 *arrates* in weight of these shells, while one day one had to give only 12 to 13,000. On the coast of Africa these shells are measured with a certain measure which is like an *alqueire* [bushel] which is made of yellow copper, similar to and of the finish of a large bowl which can hold shells to such an amount that their weight equals eight-hundred *arrates*.

Comments (W. Bertsch):

Cowries were used as money in China at least since the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B.C.). The Chinese radical for cowry 貝 "bei", in which the stylized rendering of the open underside of a shell is recognizable, appears in many composed characters which are related to concepts such as "buying" "selling" and "wealth"⁹ At one time cowries must have been so valuable that imitations in such precious materials as ivory and jade were produced in China.¹⁰ There is indication that they were used as currency in Yunnan at least till the Ming dynasty¹¹. It is not clear whether the Chinese obtained their cowries directly from the Maldives or by the mediation of other nations, like Bengal. When I stayed in the Maldives in the 1980's, curio shops in the capita, Male, offered Chinese ceramics, mainly a coarse, unmarked blue and white ware which may be attributed to the Yuan dynasty (1280-1367 AD); in my opinion this could indicate that, at that period, the Chinese had direct contact with the Maldivian Islands, probably bartering low quality China ware for cowries.

The use of cowries as money is also recorded for ancient times in Tibet.¹² Even nowadays cowries are sold in the markets of Lhasa where Tibetans use them as game tokens.

The Portuguese author reports that cowries were dug up from pits by the Maldivians. This may be understood in a way that the cowries were not only collected in the sea but were also occurring naturally in pits. In fact, one method of getting rid of the animal inside the shell was to bury the cowries in pits after they had been collected in the sea, mostly during low tide. This method was described as early as in the 14th century by Ibn Battuta and was still practised when H.C.P. Bell visited the Maldives in the 1880s¹³.

The *locus classicus* on Maldivian cowries reads as follows in the French translation (from the Arabic original by Ibn Battuta): "La monnaie des habitants de ces îles consiste en cauris. On nomme ainsi un animal [un mollusque] qu'ils ramassent dans la mer, et qu'ils déposent dans des fosses creusées sur le rivage. Sa chair se consume et il n'en reste qu'un os blanc. On appelle cent de ces coquillages *syâh*, et sept cents, *fâl*; douze mille se nomment *cotta*, et cent mille *bostoû*. On conclut des marchés au moyen de ces cauris, sur le pied de quatre bostoûs pour un dinâr d'or. Souvent ils sont à bas prix, de sorte qu'on en vend dix bostoûs pour un dinâr. Les insulaires en vendent aux habitants du Bengale pour du riz, car c'est aussi la monnaie en usage chez ceux-ci. Ils en vendent également aux gens du Yaman, qui les mettent dans leur navires comme lest, en place de sable. Ces cauris servent aussi de moyen d'échange aux nègres dans leur pays natal. Je les ai vu vendre, à Mâli et à Djoudjou, sur le pied de onze cent cinquante pour un dinâr d'or."¹⁴

Translation: "The money of the inhabitants of these islands consists of cowries. That is the way they call an animal [a mollusc] which they collect in the sea and which they deposit in pits dug on the shore. Its flesh decomposes and all there remains is a white bone. One hundred of these shells are called *syâh*, and seven hundred *fâl*; twelve thousand are called *cotta*, and one hundred thousand *bostoû*. Trading is done with the help of these cowries at the rate of four bostoûs for one gold dinar. Often they reach a low price so that they are sold at ten bostoûs for one dinar. The Islanders sell them to the inhabitants of Bengal in order to obtain rice, since they are also the money of the Bengalis. They also sell them to the people of Yemen who take them in their vessels as

ballast instead of sand. These cowries also serve as medium of exchange to the negroes in their native country I saw them being sold at Mali and at Djoudjou [Sudan] at the rate of eleven hundred and fifty for one gold dinar."

Ibn Battuta's first stay in the Maldives was from late 1343 till mid 1344 AD¹⁵

Footnotes

1. Another copy of the Portuguese World Currency Dictionary is to be found in the numismatic section of the library of the "Museu Historico Nacional" in Rio de Janeiro.
2. Possibly the best study on the cowries in the context of the slave trade is: Hogendorn, Jan and Johnson, Marion: *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade*. African Studies Series Nr. 49. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1986. This publication also contains a comprehensive bibliography. Two publications on cowries which have appeared since, may be worthwhile consulting: Hofrichter, P.: "Kauris - Kulturgeschichte". In: *Hanseatische Münzgilde e.V. - 25 Jahre*. Hamburg, 1994, pp. 127-222. This work contains chapters on the use of cowries in antiquity, in ancient China and in modern times, as well as a brief chapter on Siamese gambling tokens the denominations of which refer to cowries. Opitz, Charles: *Cowry Shells*. Ocala, Florida, 1992. Booklet which deals with the subject in an unacademic manner, but still of some use.
3. As my translation most probably will not be free of some errors it should be compared with the Portuguese original.
4. Cf. what the French 17th century traveller Tavernier writes in this context for Bengal: "Their other small Money are the little Shells which they call Cori; the sides wherof turn circularly inward. Nor are they to be found in any part of the World but the Maldive Islands. They are the greatest part of the revenue of the king of that Island. For they are transported into all the territories of the Great Mogull: into the Kingdoms of Visapour and Golconda: and into the islands of America to serve instead of money. Near the Sea they give 80 for a Pecha, but further you go from the Sea less you have: so that at Agra they will not give you above 50 or 55 for a Pecha." Tavernier: *Travels in India*. English Edition, London, 1684, p. 22. Quoted according to: Allen, J.: "The Coinage of the Maldive Islands with some Notes on the Cowrie and Larin." In: *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, Vol. XII, London, 1912, pp. 313-332.
5. According to Reginald Le May there were actually six different cowries (called *hia*) which were used in Siam and supposedly they were all of equal value. He writes: "Their value varied intermittently between 200 and 1600 to the *Füang* (1/8 Bat), but in the XIXth century it was usually fixed at 800 to the *Füang*, or 100 to the *Att*. Their use was discontinued in 1862." Le May, Reginald: *The Coinage of Siam*. Siam Society. Bangkok, 1932, p. 162 (Reprinted as part I of *Siamese Coins and Tokens. An Anthology by Le May, Ramsden, Guehlcr & Harding Kneedler*. Andrew Publishing Company. London, 1977). One can gather from the Portuguese World Currency Dictionary that in Siam the exchange rate of 800 cowries to one *Foang* was

already fixed in the late 18th century.

6. James Heimann gives the following brief account of the Dutch cowry trade:
"The Dutch first visited the Maldives in 1602 and in 1640, almost simultaneously with the first direct order (1642) from the Dutch East India Company in Amsterdam for cowries, the first Dutch ship came to the Maldives to enquire about trading possibilities. In 1669 the Dutch loaded 25,578 lb. (1,149 cotta) of cowries at the Maldives and this was repeated in 1671. From this date on the Dutch regularly sent ships to the Maldives to load cowries, or received shipments of cowries in Ceylon brought on Maldivian boats."
By the end of the 18th century, however, the Dutch had lost their monopoly of the cowry trade.
Heimann, James: "Small Change and Ballast: Cowry Trade and Usage as an Example of Indian Ocean Economic History." In: *South Sea. Journal of South Asian Studies*. New Series, Vol. III, No. 1, June 1980, pp. 48-69.
7. One *arrâtel* (plural: *arrates*) equals 459 grammes.
8. I omit the last part of this parenthesis as it contains an expression which I do not understand.
9. Zell, Tom: "House of Ancient Treasure seen through a little square hole." In: *ONS Newsletter*. no. 122, Croydon, January-February 1990.
10. cf.: Gibson, Harry E.: "The Use of Cowries as Money During the Shang and Chou Periods" In: *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* for the Year 1940, Vol. 71, Shanghai 1941, pp. 33-45.
11. Tang Guoyan et alia (editors): *The Historical Currencies of Yunnan*. Yunnan Renmin Chubanshe. Kunming, 1989.
12. cf. Rockhill, William Woodville: *Notes on the Ethnology of Tibet, Based on the Collections in the United States National Museum*. Smithsonian Institute. Washington, 1892-93.
pp. 718-719: "A Chinese author, called Wei Yuan, in his work entitled *Sheng-wuchi* (Book XIV, p. 53), says that in ancient times the Tibetans used cowrie shells and knife-shaped coins, but that since the Sung, Chin, and Ming periods (i.e., since the twelfth century) they have used silver."
13. Hogendorn, Jan S.: "A 'Supply-Side' Aspect of the African Slave Trade: The Cowrie Production and Exports of the Maldives." In: *Slavery and Abolition. A Journal of Comparative Studies*. Vol. 2, nr. 1, London, 1981, pp. 31-52.
14. Ibn Battuta: *Voyages. III. Inde, Extrême Orient, Espagne et Soudan*. Traduction de l'arabe de C. Defremery et B. R. Sanguinetti (1858). François Maspero. Paris, 1982, pp. 228-9.
15. J. Allen, op cit. p. 3, mentions earlier sources in Arabic language:
"The Arab geographers, Sulaiman and Masudi in the tenth and Idrisi in the eleventh centuries, all note the use of cowries as currency in these Islands (the Maldives)."

ZHONGGUO QIANBI / CHINA NUMISMATICS SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

Issues 68 (2000/1) and 69 (2000/2)

Helen Wang

Zhongguo Qianbi is published quarterly by the China Numismatic Society. It has been the leading journal on Chinese numismatics since the first issue appeared in 1983. All articles and announcements are presented in Chinese. The aim of summarising the contents is to present a concise English version of each issue, to allow speedy reference to articles of interest and to give an overview of what is happening in the world of Chinese numismatics.

ZHONGGUO QIANBI / CHINA NUMISMATICS (68) 2000/1 ARTICLES

KANG Shuangning, CHEN Baoshan, YU Fenglian, GUO Ju'e and SHI Daimin. **The need for forecasting the quantity and composition of renminbi in circulation**, (pp.3-9). Considers (1) the quantity of money in circulation 1978-1998; (2) forecasts for 1999-2010; (3) policy recommendations.

WANG Xuenong. **Officially made silver ingots of the Song dynasty - their shape and weights**, (pp.10-14). Author looks at (1) the characteristics of Song dynasty silver ingots. Northern Song ingots are rare: details are given of three examples from Inner Mongolia and Qinhuangdao. Over 300 Southern Song ingots are known: details are given of the major finds, including 292 ingots found in Huangshi, Hubei province in 1955. (2) the characteristics of Jin dynasty silver ingots, and details of the major finds; (3) the correlation between weights and grades of Song ingots; (4) the correlation between weights and grades of Jin ingots; (5) comments on the Jin system.

JIN Deping and LI Jingyang. **Comments on the book *Gold and Silver of the Tang and Song dynasties***, (pp.15-18). Written by KATO Eda (1880-1946, of Japan).

LIU Yanwen. **Discussion on numismatics**, (pp.19-20). Considers (1) coins and money; (2) what numismatics covers; (3) how numismatics, the history of money and other fields fit together; (4) theory and methods of numismatics.

WANG Xiaoyu. **On Chinese numismatics**, (pp.21-22). Considers (1) the objects studied in numismatics; (2) what numismatic study entails; (3) numismatics and the history of money; (4) Chinese numismatics.

CHEN Hao. **The Southern Song gold plaques and ingots found recently in Hangzhou - and a look at how gold was used as money in the Southern Song**, (pp.23-30). Over 60 Song dynasty gold plaques and over 40 gold bars have been found in China (details given in tables 1-2). The author examines (1) the two recent finds in Hangzhou of 1 gold plaque (November 1998); and 3 gold plaques and 32 gold bars (July 1997) and considers the use of gold as money in the Southern Song period: (1) as a measure of value; (2) how it circulated, albeit indirectly; (3) as a store of wealth; (4) as a means of payment; (5) as an international currency.

DU Weishan [= Roger Wai-shan Doo, Canada], **The coins of the Sasanian king Shapur II**, (pp.31-37). Looks at the historical background, the coins of Shapur II, the inscriptions and marks.

SHEN Mingdi. **A history of gold money in China**, (pp.38-40). Looks at (1) early gold; (2) gold "cash" coins; (3) machine-struck gold coins; (4) other gold coins.

BIAN Ren, **Report on the Sino-Japanese Numismatic Conference**, (pp.41-47). China Numismatic Society and Japanese Numismatic Society. Papers included: DAI Zhiqiang on the history of money in China; Yasushi FUNAKOSHI on the Japanese Numismatic Society and the Bank of Japan; the Bank of Japan on the history of money in Japan and its close links with China; YOSHIDA on the casting technology of Song coins.

KANG Shuangning, **Fundamental questions about using gold and silver as money**, (pp.48-50).

LIU Hui, **The yuan notes issued by the Bank of China for Macao**, (pp.51-53). Looks at (1) the Bank of China's preparation to issue notes for Macao in 1995; (2) the design process; (3) the technology required and security measures taken.

MA Chuande and XU Yuan, **Proof that the people of Macao supported the Xinhai Revolution (1911) - a gold note of the Republic with stamp of KMT in Macao**, (p.54).

YE Changqing, **Two sets of new notes issued for the return of Macao to China on 20 December 1999**, (p.55)

YANG Xiaoshi, **An outline history of money in Macao, 1553-1995**, (p.57).

FAN Jun, **Byzantine coin found in Guyuan, Ningxia**, (p.58). Coin of Anastasius (491-518), said to have been found in a field, together with a yellow-glazed pot, in June 1998.

WANG Changqi and GAO Man, **Tang dynasty gold and silver bars unearthed in Xi'an**, (pp.59-60). One gold bar and one silver bar found during construction work, in an old well 6 metres below surface, along with broken bricks, pots and charred wood. Author suggests they may have been thrown into this disused well after fire destroyed the stores in the mid-8th century. Details of similar finds are given.

SHI Xiaoqun, **A Tang dynasty ingot in the Shaanxi Museum of History**, (p.61). Tax ingot dated Jianzhong year 2 (AD 781), 314 x 68 x 9.8 mm, 2100 g. One of 750 pieces of money seized from illicit traders by Xi'an police and offered to the museum.

YU Fengzhi, **Yuan dynasty silver ingots in the Guangxi Museum**, (p.62). Of the 31 silver ingots in the Museum, 19 are Yuan dynasty ingots unearthed in Tengxian county, Hezhou; 3 are Qing dynasty ingots unearthed near Liuzhou; 7 are Qing dynasty ingots unearthed in Nanning. Another 2 Qing dynasty ingots are known in Nandan county. The Tengxian ingots are all similar, though of different sizes, and were found together with a pair of silver bracelets in September 1979.

WANG Lianying, **Silver ingots found in the tomb of YUAN Wei, in Yuyao, Zhejiang province**, (p.63). Four silver ingots were found in this Ming dynasty tomb in May 1968, three with inscriptions.

FU Weiqun, **Inscriptions on stelae from Jiading county, Shanghai, giving Qing dynasty regulations relating to tax payments**, (pp.64-66). These 3 stelae were found during two surveys of antiquities in Shanghai in 1958 and 1962. The inscriptions are given, and a commentary.

WU Chouzhong and WU Danmin, **Paper money of Yangzhou and Suzhou**, (pp.67-69). Early provincial bank notes and local bank notes from Yangzhou: (1) provincial bank notes; (2) Bank of Communications notes in Yangzhou in the early Republic; (3) local Yangzhou issues and issues from the bigger banks. Official notes from the Yusu silver and coin office, Suzhou.

ZHANG Peilin, **The rise and fall of China's copper dollars - and collecting them (part 2)** (pp.70-75, 22). Part 2 looks at (A) three regional differences: different metals; different inscriptions and designs; denominations; (B) imitations, altered pieces and errors.

ZHOU Xiang, **A note on silver ingots of the Jin dynasty**, (p.76).

JIANG Qixiang, **New research on the gold coins of Bole, Xinjiang**, (pp.76-77). Three Islamic gold coins found in Bole in 1987.

LI Guiqin, **A look at silver ingots**, (p.77).

LI Tiesheng, **UK and Canada making New Millenium coins**, (pp.77-78).

LI Daxiang, **Silver Kaiyuan coins found in a hoard of Tang coins at Wuwei, Gansu province**, (p.78). The hoard was found close to the Liangzhou Hotel, in a clay pot 1.2 m below the surface. The hoard weighed 8 kg, and contained over 2000 coins - from Wang Mang and Han times, Northern and Southern Dynasties, Northern Zhou, Sui to late Tang issues. Most are Kaiyuan tongbao and Qianyuan zhongbao. Deposited c. AD 900. Six or seven silver Kaiyuan tongbao coins and fragments were found.

MOU Shixiong, **Byzantine gold coin found in Longxi, Gansu province**, (p.78). Coin of Theodosius II (408-450), 18 mm, 2.306 g, clipped and very worn.

Anon, **Luoyang copper casting plant supplying copper for the Euro** (p.78). The plant has a contract to supply 1000 tonnes of copper alloy per month to the Bremen Mint, Germany, for production of euros.

Anon, **Commemorative and circulating coins issued to commemorate the return of Macao to China, 20 December 1999**, (p.53). Commemoratives: 100 yuan (38,888 pieces issued on 5 July 1999), 1000 yuan (1999 pieces issued on 20 December 1999). Circulating coins: 7 denominations. New notes have also been issued.

Anon, **New commemorative coins issued to mark establishment of Macao Special Administrative Zone**, (p.56). Two new 10 yuan coins have been issued.

Anon, **Renminbi third issue notes to be withdrawn from circulation**, (p.56). With effect from 1 July 2000.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

(p.18) **Shijie zhubi baikequanshu** [World Coin Encyclopaedia], Zhongguo jinrong chubanshe, Beijing 1999/2000. Translated from the English.

(p.18) **Bai cao ji** [A collection of articles on paper money], 2 vols, by BAI Wen, Yazhou qianbi xuehui chubanshe [Asia Numismatic Society], Singapore 1999. Collection of 290 articles on Chinese paper money by Bai Wen (1922-1999) of the USA.

(p.60) **Sichuan tongyuan yanjiu** [The copper dollars of Sichuan], ed. by Chengdu shi qianbi xuehui [Chengdu Numismatic Society], Sichuan renmin chubanshe, Chengdu 1999.

(p.69) **Liangzhu wenhua yubi yanjiu lunwenji** [Collection of articles on the jade rings of the Liangzhu culture], ed. by Nan Song qianbi bowuguan [Southern Song Coin Museum], Zhejiang Xinwen chubanshe, Hangzhou, 1999. Articles presented at the conference on the jade rings of the [Late neolithic] Liangzhu culture, organised by Zhejiang Museum, Liangzhu Museum and Southern Song Coin Museum.

NEWS

(p.14) **International conference on early metallurgy**, organised by Oxford University and British Museum, 20-27 Sept 1999. HUANG Xiquan (Deputy Director of China Numismatic Museum)

and Zhou Weirong presented the paper, "New research on bronze knife money of Northern China".

(p.40) **Conference on gold in ancient China**, organised by Shanghai Numismatic Society, Shanghai. 18 papers included: references to gold as money in the *Guanzi*; gold as money in the Warring States period; historical records on gold in the Western Han (for exchange, payment, storage of wealth, international market) but as a commodity, not as money; the use of gold as money in practice, if not in political intention; evaluation of the book *Gold and silver of the Tang and Song dynasties*; the 30+ gold bars and 3 gold plaques discovered in Hangzhou, 1999.

(p.47) **WANG Guishen's donation of over 600 volumes of numismatic publications to China Numismatic Museum** in 1999. Many rare editions including Ming editions of MA Duanlin's *Qianbi kao*, LI Qingzhao's *Dama tujing*, HONG Zun's *Quanzhi*, catalogues of rubbings from famous collections, paintings, calligraphy and official documents.

(p.47) **Anhui Numismatic Society meeting held on 17 December 1999**. Details of new council members.

(p.50) **SHI Jiagan [=Kalgan SHIH]'s collection of 4086 coins presented to the China Numismatic Museum**.

(p.55) **Conference on coins of Nan Zhao Dali**, held in Dali, Yunnan, November 1999. Coins of Nan Zhao Dali were unknown until the discovery in Dali of coins with the inscription Shuiguan tongbao and Huoguan tongbao, now believed to be local issues.

(p.60) **International Coin Fair held in Beijing, 11-13 November 1999**. Organised by China Gold Coin Co., China Banknote and Coin Co., China Numismatic Museum. The fifth annual fair.

(p.66) **China Numismatic Museum staff attended the ICOMON conference, in Madrid, 18-22 October 1999**. Conference looked at Money Museums in the 21st century. YAO Shuomin, TONG Ziyu, WANG An and ZHAO Yunfeng attended.

(p.69) **Coins of the World exhibition on display in Nanjing**. To mark the return of Macao to China, the exhibition of over 3000 coins (6th c. BC - late 20th c.) from around the world, was displayed in Nanjing. Organised by Nanjing Numismatic Society and Nanjing Museum.

ZHONGGUO QIANBI / CHINA NUMISMATICS (69) 2000/2 ARTICLES

FAN Weihong, **The coin moulds and iron coins of Su-Liang unearthed in Nanjing**, (pp.4-7). Historical records state that Southern Liang cast wuzhu coins and "female coins" in AD 502, but such coins were unidentified until three discoveries in the south-eastern part of Nanjing (= capital of Southern Liang) of (1) in spring 1998 of a group of clay moulds for three varieties of wuzhu, several hundred bronze coins and bronze casting remains, ceramics, and over 200 roof tiles; (2) in the 1980s, over 100 kg of badly corroded iron wuzhu, and charcoal; (3) in December 1935, many moulds for wuzhu (sichu wuzhu), some now in the Shanghai Museum.

ZOU Zhiliang, **A study of small wuzhu (wuzhu zhiqian)**, (pp.9-11). Looks at the historical references and early catalogues. Previously these coins were believed to come from Shu (= modern Sichuan), but author proposes they are from Suzhou, and date from AD 456 onwards. Finds of these small wuzhu in Suzhou in 1986 and 1992 match descriptions in GU Xuan's catalogue.

ZHAO Huiyuan, **The coins of Shu-Han**, (pp.13-14). Considers the "worth-100" coins issued in Shu-Han immediately after the fall of the Han dynasty.

HUANG Xiquan, **On a new type of pointed-foot hollow-handle spade money**, (pp.15-17). Author compares inscription on this spade with inscriptions on wood slips from Baoshan, and offers a preliminary reading. He notes that most of the pointed-foot hollow-handle spades are found in Shanxi, Hebei, and especially around Houma in Shanxi, that they were issued during the Spring and Autumn period in the states of Jin, Wei and Zhao.

TANG Youbo, **On the hollow-handle spades unearthed at Jishan, Shanxi, and the inscription "jin-nie"**, (pp.18-20, 33).

TIAN Guang, ZHOU Weirong and ZHAO Renjiu, **Ming knives and pointed knives unearthed at Mancheng and Qianxi, Hebei province** (pp.21-27). In 1998, 30 ming knives were found at Mancheng (21 now in China Numismatic Museum; 8 in the Bank of Reconstruction Beijing branch). The authors give details of scientific analysis (incl. XRF) on 17 of them; and compare these results with the stylistic changes of the inscription, concluding that the previous notion that knives of Yan had a rounded inscription and knives of Qi had an angular inscription is not so straightforward. In March 1994, over 1000 pointed ming knives were found in a pot in Qianxi county (100+ of them now in China Numismatic Museum). The results of tests on 24 of these are given.

WANG Yusun, **Sanzhu [3-zhu] coins of the early Jianyuan period of Wudi's reign, Western Han**, (pp.28-31, 51). Author considers the textual and material evidence for the issue of sanzhu coins during the early Jianyuan period. The excavated sanzhu coins all come from Jianyuan period contexts - those issued before Jianyuan year 5 (136 BC) appear to be modelled on banliang coins (flat, plain reverse, no rims).

LIU Hehui, **Correcting a textual error - the first discovery of Chu gold was at Chungu cheng, not Gucheng**, (pp.32-33). The author corrects the error, considering the ancient place-names and administrative boundaries. The Han-Jin dynasty Chungu cheng corresponds with the adjoining parts of modern-day Fanchang, Nanling, Wuhu and Tongling counties in Anhui province.

SHI Xiaoqun, **Bronze moulds for banliang coins unearthed in Suide, Shaanxi province**, (pp.34-36). In 1994 four pairs of bronze moulds for banliang coins and a broken clay pot were discovered by villagers during digging (3 pairs are now in the Shaanxi Historical Museum; 1 pair is in the Suide County Museum). These moulds match the description found on the wood-slips from Yunmeng, and other bronze coin-moulds of the Qin state. Author concludes these moulds date to late Warring States period - early Qin.

ZHOU Qingzhong, **Hoard of coins of the Southern Dynasties found in Pingle county, Guilin**, (p.36). In January 1997, a hoard of 300 kg of bronze coins were found 0.5m below the surface, mostly corroded in strings. Over 40 kg of the coins were examined: Han wuzhu, clipped wuzhu, ring wuzhu, zhibai wuzhu, daquan wushi, huoquan, zhibai, dingping yibai, taiping baiqian, taiping jinbai, Shen Lang wuzhu, Shu wuzhu, sizhu banliang, chuanxing banliang, pingzi wuzhu, liangzhu wuzhu, and iron zhibai wuzhu. Also a rare zhiyi ("worth-1") and liuzhu wuzhu, wushi, small sichu wuzhu, small thin wuzhu.

CHEN Liang, **Hoard of bronze adzes found in Fufeng, Shaanxi province** (p.37). In March 1973 the Fufeng Museum acquired 16 Western Zhou bronze adzes, which appeared to have been a hoard of unused adzes. Author suggests these were stored wealth, and supports the argument by GU Jiegang and WANG Mingquan that axes also functioned as money.

JIAO Zhiqin and KONG Deming, **Hoard of Warring States banliang unearthed in Tangyin, Henan province**, (pp.38-42). Hoard of approximately 5,000 coins (over 20 kg), many corroded

in batches of 10 or 20 coins discovered in November 1995. About 5 kg of these coins were acquired by the Tangyin Cultural Relics Office. All are banliang of the Qin state during the Warring States period. The authors examined 300 large specimens, and offer 8 types: (1) thick and heavy banliang; (2) "lantern" banliang, so-called as the sprues at top and bottom are visible; (3) "pancake" banliang, so-called as the centre is thicker than the rim; (4) thick and heavy but neat banliang; (5) large-hole banliang; (6) slightly oval banliang; (7) reduced weight banliang; (8) unofficial issues.

CHENG Ming, **Double-sided bronze mould for Han dynasty banliang discovered in Zoucheng, Shandong province**, (p.43). Discovered in March 1997, this is a rectangular mould made of stone for sizhu (4-grain) banliang, which were first issued in 175 BC during the early Western Han.

LIU Jianping, **Small bronze axe found in Huzhou, Zhejiang province**, (p.44). Found in late 1998, probably used as money in the pre-Qin period.

LI Shengcheng, **Byzantine gold coin found in Dingbian county, Shaanxi province**, (p.44). Author saw the coin in September 1998. A small loop has been attached to transform it into a pendant/jewellery.

THIERRY François (YU Jun (trans.)), **Chinese coins unearthed in Yaphuwa, Sri Lanka**, (pp.45-46). Author examined 381 coins from the hoard of about 1500 Chinese coins. They date from AD 976 to 1264, and include one Vietnamese coin. [Published in French as "Les monnaies chinoises du musée d'Anuradhapura provenant du site de Yaphuwa", in *Topoi* 5 (1995), pp.431-37. Published in English as "Chinese coins from the Yaphuwa site in the collection at the Anuradhapura Museum", in Osmund Bopearachchi and DPM Weerakkody (eds) *Origin, evolution and circulation of foreign coins in the Indian Ocean*, Manohar, Sri Lanka 1998, pp.191-97.]

WU Chouzhong, **A rare note featuring the portrait of the Prince Regent Zai Feng, issued in 1911**, (pp.47-48).

DE Quan, **Millenium special: a 500 yuan note of the Russo-Asiatic Bank with the serial number 2000**, (p.49).

DAI Zhiqiang and JIN Deping, **The regulations relating to renminbi are there to help manage the the currency**, (p.50-51). The new regulations came into effect on 1 May 2000.

LIU Xuchuan, **Investigation of the forgeries of the new 100 yuan renminbi note**, (pp.52-53). Considers the different methods used to forge notes, information about the notes, and practices in other countries.

China Gold Coin Co., **Precious metal commemorative coins issued in China (part 9)**, (pp.56-57). Table of commemorative coins from November 1998 to December 1999.

WU Zhenqiang, **A rare set of bank drafts of the People's Bank of China**, (pp.58-59). Considers a set of 8 denominations (5 jiao, 1 yuan, 5 yuan, 10 yuan, 25 yuan, 30 yuan, 40 yuan, 50 yuan) of the 1950s.

WANG Xuenong, LIU Jianming and DA Jin, **Shanxi banknotes (part 5)**, (pp.59-63). Looks at (1) local finance in Shanxi 1919-1937, (2) the fall and then rise of private issues, (3) private issues after 1919, which fall into two periods: (a) 1919-1930 (copper dollars, silver dollars and "Jin notes"), and (b) 1931-1940 (silver dollars and "Jin notes").

ZHANG Peilin, **The rise and fall of China's copper dollars - and collecting them (part 4)**, (pp.64-68, 55). Considers (3) living with copper dollars, (4) identifying and collecting copper dollars.

WANG Chuanjin, **Celtic coins of Britain**, (pp.69-72). Considers (1) the Celts, (2) Celtic coins of Britain, (3) Celtic coin art.

LIANG Yiwu, **A tour of the International Collectors' Fair, held in Hamburg, September 1999**, (pp.72-73).

DAI Jianbing, **The collected works of the paper money specialist, Bai Wen**. Bai Wen (1922-1999) was one of the founder members of the International Banknote Society, and an expert on Chinese paper money. He published over 300 concise articles, which have been collected together in the new publication: Bai Wen, **Bai cao ji** (2 vols), Yazhou qianbi xuehui chubanshe [Asia Numismatic Society], Singapore, 1999. [ISBN 981-04-1058-1].

WEI Yong, **Evidence that moveable type was used to produce Yuanfeng tongbao coins**, (p.75).

ZHENG Qiming, **Letter to the editor on Northern Song coin casting techniques - use of moveable type**, (p.76).

LI Tiehu, **Contemporary coins of Myanmar - some corrections**, (p.77).

YU Teigen, **Letter to the editor - a response to LI Tiehu's letter on Myanmar coins**, (p.77).

LIN Xiaohu, **Kan'ei tsuho coins of Japan**, (p.78).

WANG Baoxing, **Two hollow-handle spades found in Dali, Shaanxi province**, (p.78). The hollow-handle spades, with inscriptions, with sloping shoulders and arched feet were found together with a jade pig in August 1998.

DONG Liugen, **Sanzhu coin found in Luoyang**, (p.78). A hoard of over 1900 Western Han coins (5kg) found in a clay pot in a brick factory in July 1999 contained three sanzhu coins.

LU Longchang, **Clay mould for daquan wushi coins found in Hangzhou**, (p.78). The mould turned up in the Hangzhou Collectors' Market, and had come from Xiecun village, north of Hangzhou. Previous finds of coin moulds in Hangzhou include clay moulds for wuzhu coins found in 1950 and 1990.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

(p.3) **Zhongguo lidai huobi (xiuding ban)** [The currencies of China (revised edition)]. The first edition, published in Chinese and English editions, was edited by a special team at the People's Bank of China, published by Xinhua chubanshe, Beijing 1982.

(p.14) **Money of the Zhao state**, ed. by Taiyuan Numismatic Society, 2000. (941 rubbings, many published for the first time).

NEWS

(p.3) **China Numismatic Society Meeting**: 19 January 2000, Honorary Director LI Baohua, Consultant TONG Cengyin, Deputy Directors LI Xueqin, XIA Liping presided. New council members are DUAN Yinling, LIU Shi'an, YI Duyou.

(p.27) **Jiangxi Numismatic Society Meeting**: 31 October 1999, Nanjing. The council was elected as follows: AN Xinmin (Director); LIN Yongli, HONG Jiafa, YU Zhaopeng, XU Huailin (Deputy Directors); CAI Yan (Secretary); ZHU Peiyong, QIAN Baosheng, XU Yunxiang (Honorary Directors); LIU Feng, ZHAO Chuandi, WANG Zhengzhi (Consultants).

(p.46) **China Numismatic Museum exhibition: Coins of the world**. Display of 748 banknotes and 686 coins from 120 countries, open 20 March to 10 September.

(p.48) **Obituary: WU Fenggang, aged 80 years, died on 22 February 2000 in Beijing**. He was a member of the Academic Committee of the China Numismatic Society, and Consultant of the Beijing Numismatic Society. He was the creative mind behind the two series of stamps featuring ancient Chinese coins.

NOTES ON THE QARĀKHĀNIDS AND THEIR COINAGE

Prof. Dr. M Federov

Qarākhānid coinage is very complicated. The rulers bore many names and titles and the coins often quote two or three different people who may be suzerain, vassal, sub-vassal. Moreover, the coins are not always easy to read. Much work has been done on this series in recent decades by eminent Russian numismatists and there is now a greater understanding of the personalities involved and their various titulage and relationships. There is still a divergence of views in certain areas, however, and new coin finds can only increase our knowledge of the Qarākhānids and their history. In the notes that follow, Prof. Dr Federov has taken a number of the more important mint-towns and sketched their history as seen from the coins that were struck there. Following the sketches are tables summarising the persons mentioned on the coins for easier understanding. The notes are preceded by a short history of the Qarākhānids and a map showing the principle towns mentioned. [ED.]

The Qarākhānids – a brief history

In AD 603, the Turkic qaganate split into Western and Eastern qaganates. The rulers of the Western Turkic qaganate (AD 603-704) set up their *Ordu* (camp, headquarters) at the walls of Suyab, the present-day hill-fort of Aq Beshim, situated about 60 km east of Bishkek, the capital of the Kirghiz Republic. Suyab got its second name of Ordukend from the *Ordu*. In AD 704, Uch Elig, the ruler of the Tiurgesh tribe of nomads, killed the last qagan of the Western Turkic qaganate and captured Suyab. This led to the creation of the Tiurgesh qaganate (AD 704-766). Around the year 766, Qarluq nomads defeated the last Tiurgesh qagan. This, in turn, led to the creation of the Qarluq state (Istoriia 1984, 226, 239, 254). Scholars named this state the "Qarluq qaganate", but initially, the Qarluqs were vassals of the Uighur qagan and the Qarluq rulers had the title of *yaghbū*. So their state was the "Qarluq yaghuate" rather than the "Qarluq qaganate". (Pritsak (1953, 24-5) and Kliashornyi (1970, 84) consider that the Qarluq yaghbū, Bilgā Kul, was the progenitor of the Qarākhānids. In AD 840, after the Uighur qaganate was overthrown by Qirghiz tribes, he proclaimed himself Qadir Khān.

Bilgā Kul had two sons. According to Pritsak (1953, 25), his elder son, Bazir Arslān Khān, was khaqan of the Qarluqs with his capital in Balāsāghūn, and his second son, Oghulchaq Qadir Khān, possessed Taraz. After the events of 280/893, when the Sāmānid ruler, Ismā'īl, captured Taraz, Oghulchaq transferred his capital to Kāshghar (Pritsak 1953, 25). There is, however, a weak point in Pritsak's theory. Muslim chronicles relate that the ruler of Taraz, taken prisoner by Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad in 280/893, converted to Islam. But Oghulchaq Qadir Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar was an infidel. His nephew, Satuq Boghrā Khān, son of Bazir Arslān Khān, having clandestinely converted to Islam, fled from Kāshghar to Atbāsh and raised there an army with the help of Muslim *ghāzīs*. He defeated his uncle in a *jihād*. Having captured Kāshghar, he created the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the first feudal state of Muslim Turks in Central Asia. Satuq died in 344/955. His son, Arslān Khān Mūsā, proclaimed Islam the state religion of the Qarākhānid khaqanate in 349/960 (Pritsak 1953, 25). Arslān Khān Mūsā was the founder of the Western Qarākhānid branch. Another son of Satuq Boghrā Khān, Ṭonghā İlek Sulaimān, was the founder of the Eastern Qarākhānid branch (Federov 1972, 149).

Initially the Qarākhānids expanded their state to the east at the expense of infidel Turks whom they defeated under the banner of a sacred war. In Muḥarram 388 (January 998),

during one such war, Arslān Khān 'Alī, son of Arslān Khān Mūsā, died (Bartold 1963, 330). Then the Qarākhānids turned their attention to the west, where the decrepit state of the Sāmānids promised to be easy prey. In 380/990, the ruler of Balāsāghūn, Boghrā Khān Hārūn, son of Ṭonghā İlek Sulaimān, captured the Sāmānid province of Ispījāb, having met no resistance. No later than AH 381, the Qarākhānids captured eastern Farghāna, where dirhems were minted citing Arslān-tegīn and his suzerain, Shihāb al-Daula Khāqān (Kochnev 1995, 203/1). According to Bīrūnī (1957/150), the *laqab* Shihāb al-Daula belonged to Boghrā Khān Hārūn, ruler of Balāsāghūn. In 382/992, Boghrā Khān Hārūn captured Bukhārā, the capital of the Sāmānids, but died in the same year.

After the death of Boghrā Khān, Qarākhānid expansion to the west was headed by Naṣr, the son of Arslān Khān 'Alī. It is not clear whether the Sāmānids recovered Farghāna after the death of Boghrā Khān in 382, but in 383 Naṣr b. 'Alī minted coins in Khojende (Kochnev 1995, 203/6), which means that the whole of Farghāna (i.e. the lands to the east of Khojende) already belonged to him. In Dhū'l Qa'da (the 11th month) 389 (October 999), the final blow was dealt: İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī captured Buikhārā and imprisoned the last Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ in his capital Uzgend (Beihaqī 1962, 566; Bartold 1963, 329). The Qarākhānid khaqanate extended from Khotan-Yarkend-Kāshghar to Samarqand-Bukhārā. The western part was ruled by the brothers Aḥmad, Naṣr, Muḥammad and Maṣṣūr, the sons of Arslān Khān 'Alī. The eastern part (at least from 395/1004-5) was ruled by Qadir Khān Yūsuf, the son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn, with his capital in Kāshghar. In due course Qadir Khān attacked the Western Qarākhānids and conquered from them the lands from Balāsāghūn to Khojende. This first war between the Eastern and Western Qarākhānids led to the disintegration of the vast state into two separate khaqanates: the Eastern and the Western.

The main feature of 11th century (AD) Qarākhānid history was the almost incessant internecine warfare both between and within the two khaqanates. As a rule, the interkhaqanate wars were triggered by internecine war within one of the khaqanates, the stronger side attacking the one weakened by the internal warfare, so as to reconquer the contested territories between Balāsāghūn and Khojende. More often than not, internecine wars within this or that khaqanate were triggered by the death of a supreme ruler and following the struggle for his throne. When there were no such wars, the Qarākhānids tried to conquer Khurasan or at least Tirmidh but were

inevitably expelled from there firstly by the Ghaznavids and then the Seljuqs.

The first internecine wars of the Western Qarākhānids were fought between Tonghā Khān (I) Aḥmad and his brother, İlek Naşr (400-402/1010-12), then between Aḥmad and his brother, Arslān Khān Manşūr (404-407/1013-17). In 411/1020-21, there was a war between İlek Muḥammad, brother of Arslān Khān Manşūr, and a Qarākhānid of the "Ḥasanid" line, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan ('Alī Tegīn of the chronicles), who captured Bukhārā, that had previously belonged to İlek Muḥammad. In 415/1024-5, Arslān Khān Manşūr died and supreme power in the Western khaqanate was usurped by the "Ḥasanid" line. In 416-18/1025-8, the first war between the Eastern and Western Qarākhānids was waged. In 430-3 in the Western khaqanate, there was a war between "Ḥasanid" Yūsuf, son of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, and İbrahīm, the son of İlek Naşr, who reconquered Mawarānnahr from the "Ḥasanids".

Around the year 440 AH, the Eastern Qarākhānid, Arslān Khān Sulaimān, son of Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf, attacked his uncle, Tonghā Khān (III) and conquered from him almost the whole of Farghāna. Some seven years later, in about 447, Arslān Khān Sulaimān attacked his brother, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad but was defeated and imprisoned by him. In 449/1057-8, the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf, was killed. Internecine war broke out within his state. The Head of the Western Qarākhānids, İbrahīm Taḡghāch Khān, son of İlek Naşr b. 'Alī, exploited this situation to attack the Eastern Qarākhānids and succeeded in recapturing all the lands they had lost to Qadir Khān I in 416-8 (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-4).

İbrahīm became ill and, before his death, abdicated in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naşr. Another son, Shu'aith, rebelled. Internecine war broke out between the brothers in 460/1068. This time, the Eastern Qarākhānids exploited the situation, attacked the Western Qarākhānids and reconquered most of the lands they had lost. Only Khojende, which became a border town, remained with Shams al-Mulk (Fedorov 1983, 122).

Around 467/1074-5, internecine war broke in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Again, this was used by the Western Qarākhānids who conquered Farghāna with its easternmost town, Uzgend (Bartold 1968, 419-20; Fedorov 1978, 175-6). In 473, Khidr b. İbrahīm succeeded his brother, Shams al-Mulk, in the Western khaqanate. He was attacked by the Saljuq, Tekesh, brother of Malikshāh. The Eastern Qarākhānid ruler, 'Umar Toḡhrul-tegīn did not miss this opportunity to reconquer Farghāna from the Western Qarākhānids and invaded their state. Meanwhile, Khidr Khān, having defeated Tekesh, advance against 'Umar Toḡhrul-tegīn and defeated him, too. (Buniyatov 1974, 7). And so it went on.

The last war between the two khaqanates broke out c. 492/1099. The Eastern Qarākhānid ruler of Ṭaraz and Balāsāghūn, Qadir Khān Jabra'il, son of 'Umar Toḡhrul-tegīn, captured Samarqand and Bukhārā and usurped the throne of the supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānids. In 495 he invaded the dominions of the Saljuqs, captured Tirmidh, but was killed by the Sanjar, the Saljuq ruler of Khurasan, in Sha'ban 495/June 1102 (Pritsak 1953, 49).

At the close of the 11th century AD, the Western Qarākhānids became vassals of the Saljuqs. This put an end to the incessant wars between the two khaqanates. On the one hand, the Saljuqs would have been concerned if their vassals had become stronger by conquering the lands of the Eastern Qarākhānids; on the other hand, the Western Qarākhānids,

supported by the military power of the Saljuqs, had become too strong an adversary for the Eastern Qarākhānids.

Around 1130 AD, the Eastern Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, harried by unruly Qarluq and Qangly nomads tribes, called upon another nomad tribe, the Khitay, for help to punish his aggressors. The Khitay came alright, but dethroned the weak Qarākhānid ruler, made Balāsāghūn their capital, and only after that did they severely punish the Qarluqs and Qanglys. Thus was the Khitay state created. The former ruler of Balāsāghūn became a vassal of the Khitay, who bestowed upon him the title "İlek-i Turkmān" ("İlek of Muslim Turks"). He was still mentioned for the year 553/1158 (Bartold 1963, 397). Shortly after that, the Khitay subjugated Kāshghar. The Eastern Qarākhānids became vassals of the Khitay. In 536/1141, at the battle of Qatwān, the Khitay defeated the armies of the Saljuq ruler, Sanjar, and his Western Qarākhānid vassal, Maḥmūd Khān. After that, the Western Qarākhānids also became vassals of the Khitay (Bartold 1963, 389).

In 560/1164-5, the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qilych Taḡghāch Khān Mas'ūd b. Ḥasan, conquered Tirmidh and Balkh. Yūsuf Andkhūdī wrote that in 560/1165 the Khitay sacked Balkh and Andkhūd. Bartold (1963, 399) connected this event with the campaign of Mas'ūd against the Ghūzz tribes that were harrying Khurasan. Mas'ūd was a vassal of the Gūr Khān (which was the title of the ruler of the Khitay) for whom he collected a poll-tax (of a dinar a year) in his dominions. Thus the words of Andkhūdī show that Mas'ūd conquered Balkh and Andkhūd in 560/1165 with the military help of the Khitay. The Gūr Khān was naturally interested in the new territorial acquisitions of his vassal as he would profit from the poll-tax levied there. It was in this way that the new Qarākhānid dominions of Tirmidh and Balkh were created. They existed for about 50 years and several Qarākhānid rulers succeeded each other there (Fedorov 2000, 19-21).

The second half of the 12th century AD saw the start of the disintegration of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate into several Qarākhānid principalities, each independent from the others. The Khitay encouraged this process. It was safer for them to have several weak vassals, ruling small principalities, than one strong vassal ruling a centralised Western Qarākhānid state. The principality of Farghāna with its capital in Uzgend was among the first to become independent from Samarqand, but then itself split into three smaller principalities with their capitals in Kāsān, Uzgend and Marghīnān. By the beginning of the 13th century AD, there were at least ten principalities in the lands of the Western Qarākhānids: Uzgend, Kāsān, Marghīnān, Bārāb, Benāket, Samarqand, Wakhsh, Khuttalān, Tirmidh and Balkh.

The last Qarākhānid ruler of Samarqand, 'Uthmān b. İbrahīm, wooed the daughter of the Gūr Khān, asked for her in marriage but was rejected. Offended, 'Uthmān changed his allegiance. In 606, coins of Samarqand cited 'Uthmān and his new suzerain, Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad (Kochnev 1997, 267/1099). The Gūr Khān sent 30,000 horsemen and captured Samarqand, but treated 'Uthmān leniently. He was made to pay a fine. After that, the Gūr Khān's vicegerent was left in Samarqand and the Khitay army went back. The Khwārizmshāh then advanced on Samarqand with his army. 'Uthmān, with his army, met him and joined the Khwārizm army. In Rabī' I 607 (August-September 1210), the armies of Khwārizm and Samarqand fought the Khitay near Ṭaraz. But the Muslim Khwārizmians and their ruler proved to be worse than the infidel Khitay. In 1212 AD 'Uthmān rebelled. The Khwārizmian troops stationed in Samarqand were massacred. The Khwārizmshāh marched on Samarqand with his army.

'Uthmān met him at the city gates and asked for pardon. This was refused and he was executed (Bartold 1963, 427-30). The Khwārizmshāh sent envoys to the "amirs of Farghāna and Turkistān" demanding obedience from them (Bartold 1963, 430). In 609/1212-13, Kūch Arslān Khān Maḥmūd, who in 608 had struck coin in Uzjend as an independent ruler, started to cite the Khwārizmshāh as his suzerain. But in that same year, 609, coins were struck in that town in the name of Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh only (Osh History Museum, KP 3598, Nr. 123, 123/1,2). Another Qarākhānid dethroned (and later executed) by the Khwārizmshāh was the ruler of Bārāb, a cousin of 'Uthmān. The same fate almost certainly befell most of the other Western Qarākhānid rulers and the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate came to an end.

Judging by his coins, the last Qarākhānid ruler of Kāshghar, Arslān Khān Yūsuf b. Muḥammad, came to power no earlier than AH 575. he died in Kāshghar in Rajab 601/22.3-23.3 1205 (Bartold 1963, 427). During his reign, there was an uprising against the Khitay in Kāshghar. It was quelled and "the son of the Khān of Kāshghar" was taken prisoner and kept as a hostage at the court of the Gūr Khān. Qushluk Khān, the ruler of the Nāiman nomads, who had fled to the west to escape Chīngiz Khān, was granted asylum by the Gūr Khān but later rebelled against him. In 607/1211, Qushluk Khān dethroned the Gūr Khān. He set free Abū'l Faṭḥ Muḥammad, the son of Arslān Khān Yūsuf, and sent him to ruler Kāshghar. But after the death of Arslān Khān Yūsuf in AH 601 and until 607, Kāshghar was ruled by some representative of the local aristocracy. The supporters of that ruler murdered Abū'l Faṭḥ Muḥammad at the gates of Kāshghar. Thus came to an end the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate (Bartold 1963, 431).

Before the Mongola invasion of Central Asia, the Qarākhānids were the only rulers who included in the titulage the Turkic titles Khān, Khāqān, Qarākhān, Qarākhāqān. Hence the name of the dynasty invented by the Russian orientalist, V.V. Grigor'ev (1874, 6). The presence of one of those titles on the coins indicated that they were struck by a Qarākhānid. Next below the title of Khān was Īlek, and then Tegīn.

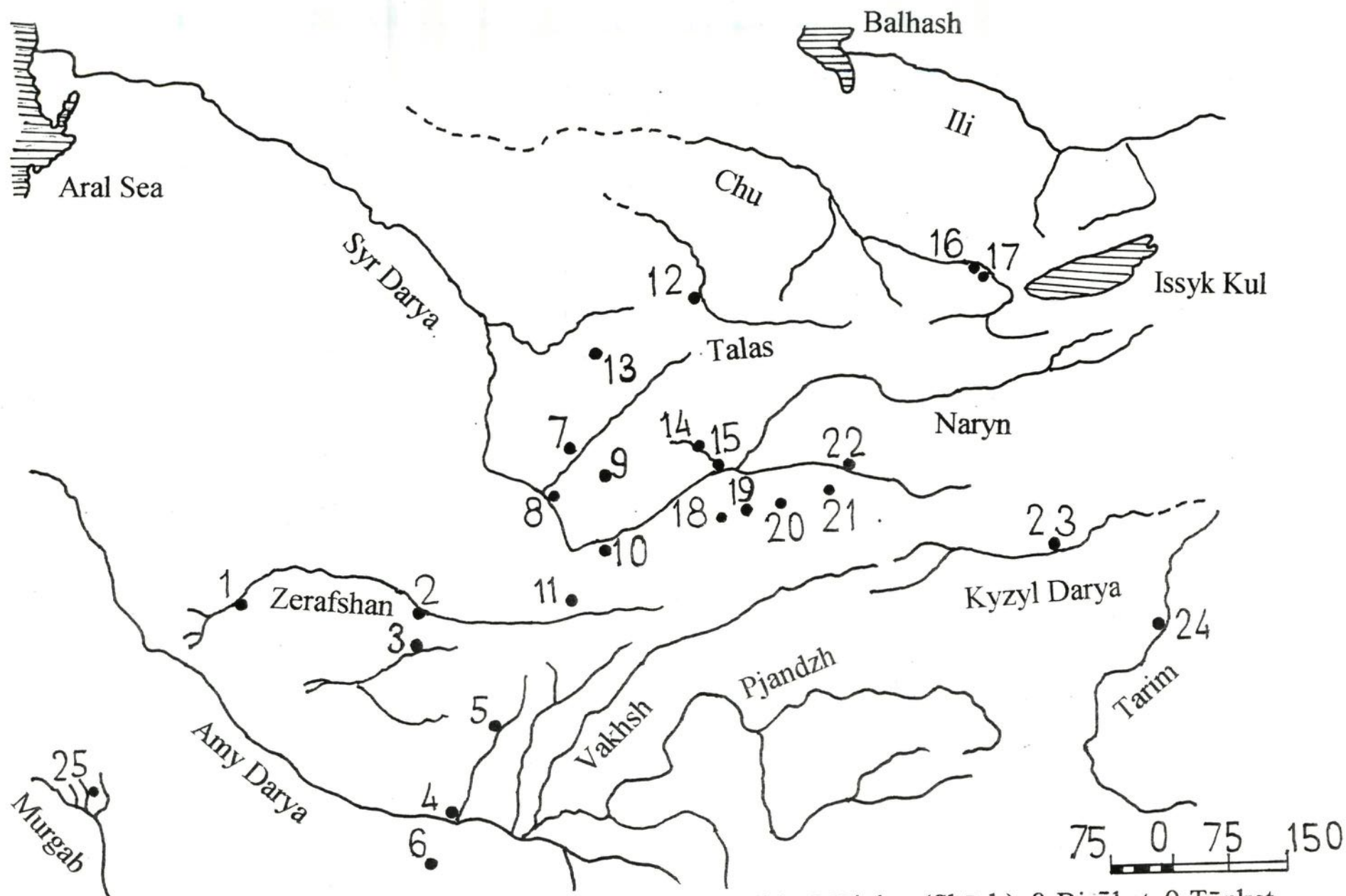
The most Qarākhānid titles were Arslān (tiger) Khān, Boghrā (camel stallion) Khān, Ṭonghā (hero, valiant) Khān and Qadir (might) Khān. Bilgā (wise) Khān was rarer. The title, Īlek, was used mostly on its own: Īlek Naṣr, Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Īlek 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. Sometimes Arslān Īlek was cited on coins. The title, Tegīn, was used mostly in combination with other words (given name included): Arslān Tegīn, Bogrā Tegīn, Ṭonghā Tegīn, Kuch (strong) Tegīn, Alp (mighty warrior) Tegīn, Ināl (ruler) Tegīn, Atim (sharp-shooting archer) Tegīn, Būrī (wolf) Tegīn and so on. Ināl Tegīn seems to have been a higher title than Arslān Tegīn. So one Qarākhānid was firstly Arslān Tegīn, then Ināl Tegīn, then Īlek.

References

1. Bartold, V.V. 1963, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*, *Sochineniia*, t. 1, Moskva.
2. Bartold, V.V. 1963a, "Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia", *Sochineniia*, tom 2, ch. 1, Moskva.
3. Bartold, V.V. 1968, "Boghra-khan, upomianutyi v *Kutadgu bilik*", *Sochineniia*, t. 5, Moskva.
4. Beihaqi, Abu'l Fazl 1962, *Istoriia Mas'uda 1030-1041*, perevod ... A.K. Arends, Tashkent.
5. Biruni, Abu Reihan 1957, *Pamiatniki minuvshikh pokolenii*, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia*, t. 1, perevod i primechaniia M. A. Sal'e, Tashkent.
6. Bunyatov, Z.M. 1981, "Gars an-Ni'ma as-Sabi i kamal ad-Din ibn Fuvati ob istorii Karakhanidov", *Pis'mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka 1974*, Moskva.

7. Fedorov, M.N. 1978, "Novye dannye k istorii Karakhanidskogo gosudarstva poslednei chetverti XI v. *Istoriia i arkheologiia Srednei Azii*, Ashkhabad.
8. Fedorov, M.N. 1980, "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XIII, Moskva.
9. Fedorov, M.N. 1983, "Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X – nachala XIII vv *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
10. Fedorov, M.N. 2000, "The geneology of the Qarakhanid rulers of Tirmidh and Balkh", *ONS Newsletter* 164.
11. Grigor'ev, V.V. 1874, *Karakhanidy v Maverannagre po Tarikhi Muneddzhim-Bashi*, St. Petersburg.
12. *Istoriia Kirghizskoi SSR*, t. 1. 1984, Frunze.
13. Kliashornyi, S.G. 1970, "Epokha kutadgu Bilik", *Sovetskaiia Tiurkologiia*, 4.
14. Kochnev, B.D. 1995, "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura, 1", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsal'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
15. Kochnev, B.D. 1997, "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura, 1", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsal'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
16. Pritsak, O. 1953, "Die Karachaniden", *Der Islam*, Bd. 31, Heft 1.

Mint	Page
Akhsiket and Kāsān	5
Farghāna	10
Ispījab	12
Khojende	15
Marghīnān, Qubā & Rishtān	19
Samarqand and Bukhārā	22
Soghd	29
Towns of Soghd: Kesh, Ishtīkhan, Kushānī, Dabūsiya, Karmīniya, Harluh (Qarlugh) Ordū	30
Ṭarāz	33
Ūch	37
Ushrūshana	38



1-Bukhārā 2-Samarqand 3-Kesh 4-Tirmidh 5-Şaghāniiān 6-Balkh 7-Binket (Shāsh) 8-Bināket 9-Tūnket (Īlāq) 10-Khojende 11-Usrūshana 12-Ṭarāz 13-Ispījāb 14-Kāsān 15-Akhsīket 16-Īl Ordū 17-Balāsāghūn (Quz Ordū) 18-Rishtān 19-Marghīnān 20-Qubā 21-Ush 22-Uzgend 23-Kāshghar 24-Yarkend 25-Merv.

Akhsiket and Kāsān.

During the time of the Sāmānids, Akhsiket was the capital and one of the biggest towns of Farghāna province. It was situated on the northern bank of the Syr-Darya near the confluence with its tributary, the Kasan-Sai, 15 km south-west of modern Namangan (Uzbekistan). Akhsiket had a rectangular shahristan (i.e. the central part of the town) with a square citadel in the south-western corner. A vast rabad (inner suburb) surrounded the shahristan on three sides (the southern side of the shahristan was on the precipitous bank of the Syr-Darya). This rabad, covered with verdure, spread for two kilometers along the Syr-Darya on both sides of the shahristan. As for the size of the shahristan, something mysterious happened to the various archaeologists who drew its plan. According to A. N. Bernshtam the size of the shahristan is 38-40, according to Iu. G. Chulanov 27, according to I. Akhrarov 25 and according to A. Anarbaev 10.5 hectares (Belenitskii, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973, 202; Khmel'nitskii 1996, 37).

Kāsān was higher up and closer to the mountains. It was situated about 40 km north of Akhsiket on the eastern bank of the same Kasan-Sai river, near the mouth of which Akhsiket lay. Kāsān was capital of the infidel kings of Farghāna from the eighth to the beginning of the tenth century AD (Bartold 1963, 216). Originally it was smaller than Akhsiket and consisted of a trapeziform shahristan (2.5 hectares) and castle, situated about 500 m to the east of it. This castle (0.6 hectare) crowned a hill at the foot of which lay the shahristan (Bernshtam 1952, 234). Such a plan (i.e. separately standing shahristan and castle) is characteristic for the early mediaeval period. Two walls were built between the castle and the shahristan. They formed a fortified elbow-shaped passage (about 70 m broad) which linked the shahristan and the citadel. In mediaeval times the shahristan was surrounded by a vast rabad spreading along the bank of the Kasan-Sai.

Akhsiket.

The earliest Qarākhānid coins (falūs) of Akhsiket were minted in 390-391/1000-01 (Kochnev 1995, 208/77, 210/106). There was a double mintname on these coins: "Farghāna-Akhsiket". The mint with the mintname "Farghāna" operated in Uzgend, the capital of Farghāna under the Qarākhānids. It functioned between 381-431/991-1040. Once, in AH 381, it minted silver dirhems but during the period 384-431 it minted only falūs (probably for the whole province of Farghāna). But sometimes falūs with the mintname "Farghāna" were minted in other towns of the province. In such cases a double mintname was put on the coins: "Farghāna-Akhsiket", "Farghāna-Osh", "Farghāna-Marghīnān", "Farghāna-Qubā" (Kochnev 1995, 206/47, 208/77, 215/176). But there were no coins with the mintname "Farghāna-Uzgend" for it was well-known that the mint with the mintname "Farghāna" operated in Uzgend. Coins of AH 390-391 Farghāna-Akhsiket were minted by İlek Naşr, ruler of Farghāna, which was conquered by the Qarākhānids c. AH 381. He was that same İlek Naşr, who in 389/999 conquered Bukhārā and put an end to the state of the Sāmānids.

In AH 392 (Kochnev 1995, 208/77) strange coins were minted with the mintname "Akhsiket-Uzgend". I believe it was a case of mismatched dies. Probably in 392 the mint of Akhsiket was temporarily closed and its dies were brought to the central mint of Farghāna in Uzgend.

Coins of AH 393 Akhsiket are not known. In 394-402 dirhems were minted in Akhsiket citing al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Naşr and his suzerain, Nāşir al-Haqq Khān (Kochnev 1995, 210/113, 212/130). A coin of AH 394 of Quz Ordū (Kochnev

1995, 212/133) citing Quţb al-Daula Nāşir al-Haqq Aĥmad b. 'Alī Qarākhāqān shows that the laqab "Nāşir al-Haqq" belonged to Aĥmad b. 'Alī, brother of Naşr. In AH 401 in "Farghāna-Akhsiket" and in 402 in "Akhsiket" (Kochnev 1995, 221/261, 223/280) falūs were minted citing only Naşr b. 'Alī, with no suzerain being cited. But sometimes, while silver dirhems cited a suzerain, copper falūs, serving petty local trade, did not cite a suzerain. I know cases when in the same year in the same town the suzerain was mentioned on the dirhems but not on the falūs.

In 403 Naşr died. His dominions came to his brother Toĥhān Khān (I) Aĥmad (Bartold 1963, 336). In 403-404 dirhems in Akhsiket were minted by Quţb al-Daula al-Khāqān Aĥmad b. 'Alī. In 403 in Akhsiket falūs were minted by Khān Aĥmad (b.) 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 224/301-302, 227/332.)

In 404 internecine war broke out between Aĥmad and his brother, Mañşūr. The situation in Akhsiket had changed. In 404-405 coins in Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 227/333) were minted by Nāşir al-Daula Atim-teġin and his suzerain Arslān-khān (Mañşūr b. 'Alī). But it looks as though the dirhem of AH 404 of Akhsiket was minted with mismatched dies, the die with the date "404" being obsolete. In 406 and part of 407 (Kochnev 1995, 232/411) dirhems of Akhsiket still cited Atim-teġin and Arslān-khān.

Then in that same year, 407, Arslān Khān granted Akhsiket as appanage to his brother İlek Muĥammad b. 'Alī. Dirhems of AH 407-410 Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 235/440-442, 241/521) were minted in the name of İlek and his suzerain Arslān Khān. Coins of AH 407 Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 233/427) citing Muĥammad b. 'Alī İlek show that the "İlek" of the Akhsiket coins was Muĥammad b. 'Alī. Coins of AH 409 from Quz Qrdū (Kochnev 1995, 240/256) citing Arslān-qarākhāqān Abū-l-Muzaffar Mañşūr b. 'Alī show that the "Arslān Khān" of the Akhsiket coins was Mañşūr b. 'Alī.

In 410 the situation changed again. Some dirhems of AH 410 Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 241/519) cited three persons: the suzerain, Arslān Khān, vassal İlek and subvassal Aĥmad b. Mañşūr (i.e. son of Arslān Khān Mañşūr). So the real owner of Akhsiket became Aĥmad b. Mañşūr but he owned it as a vassal of İlek Muĥammad b. 'Alī (who owned Akhsiket as a vassal of Arslān Khān). Apart from the privilege of being cited on the coins of Akhsiket, Muĥammad b. 'Alī was entitled (which is more important) to receive a share of the taxes collected from Akhsiket. Then the situation changed. In AH 412-413 Akhsiket had the same suzerain and vassal but there was a new subvassal. Falūs were struck citing Arslān Khān as suzerain, Muĥammad b. 'Alī as vassal and 'Ain al-Daula Malikān as subvassal. In 415, dirhems cited Arslān khān as suzerain, İlek as vassal and 'Ain al-Daula Malikān as subvassal (Kochnev 1995, 244/569-570, 246/615).

In 415/1024-25 both Arslān Khān Mañşūr and İlek Muĥammad b. 'Alī died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was usurped by another branch of the Qarākhānids, the so-called "Ĥasanids". Toĥhā (Toĥhān) Khān (II) Muĥammad b. Ĥasan usurped the throne and Balāsāghūn, the capital of Arslān Khān, which town also had the name "Quz Qrdū" (Fedorov 1980, 38-39, footnote 4).

At first, in 415, when it was not certain who would become the supreme ruler, 'Ain al-Daula cited on the coins of Akhsiket the anonymous "Qarākhāqān" (Kochnev 1995, 246/616) as his suzerain. Then in the same year (Kochnev 1995, 246/617) 'Ain al-Daula Malikān cited Toĥhā Khān as suzerain. Later a subvassal appeared in the town. Some of the coins of AH 415 struck in Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 246/618) cited Toĥhā Khān (suzerain), 'Ain al-Daula Malikān (vassal) and his son Malik b. Malikān (subvassal). V. N. Nastich and B. D. Kochnev (1988, 74) established that Malikān and 'Ain al-Daula

Muḥammad b. Naṣr (son of İlek Naṣr, the conqueror of Bukhārā in 999) were one and the same person.

In 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids, headed by Qadir Khān (I) İūsuf invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. At the same time, Maḥmūd Ghaznavī invaded Mawarānnahr from the south. The owner of Samarqand and Bukhārā, İlek 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (mentioned in the chronicles as "'Alī-tegīn"), who was the brother of Tonghā (Toghān) Khān (II) Muḥammad, hid with his troops in a desert. Soon afterwards, however, Maḥmūd returned to Ghazna having shrewdly decided that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other. But the intervention of Maḥmūd allowed Qadir Khān (I) in AH 416 to conquer Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna together with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsīket till AH 418 but then lost all Farghāna and Khojend to Qadir Khān (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

Kochnev (1995, 249/662, 671, 250/672) published dirhems of Akhsīket, citing Qadir Khān, on which he read the date "417". But on two of them (Nr. 671,672) Markov (1896, 253/385-386) read the date "427". As to the third dirhem, Kochnev (1995, 249/662) probably misread 419 for 417. Let us consider the coins in question. In 417-418 (Markov 1896, 246/352-354; Kochnev 1995, 250/673, 686) coins of Akhsīket cited: Tonghā Khān (i.e. Tonghā Khān (II) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, as suzerain), İlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan, as vassal) and Mu'izz al-Daula (as subvassal). This Mu'izz al-Daula was the son of 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr and his name was 'Abbās (Nastich, Kochnev 1988, 74).

In the same year, 418, Tonghā (Toghān) Khān (II) disappeared from the coins of Akhsīket. Contemporary with those events, Baihaqī wrote that there was a war and Toghān Khān, "brother of 'Alī-tegīn", بر اقتاد A. K. Arends (Baihaqī 1962, 467) translated this phrase as "fell in the war". Then in AH 418 Mu'izz al-Daula issued coins as the sole owner of Akhsīket (Markov 1896, 247/354-56). So I considered that although Tonghā (Toghān) Khān (II) fell in war, the Western Qarākhānids retained Akhsīket in 418 (Fedorov 1974, 174).

If the date on the dirhem of Akhsīket, which Kochnev (1995, 249/662) read as "417", is in fact "419" then this coin shows that Qadir Khān captured the town in 419 and granted it as appanage to Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula. Bīrūnī (Bīrūnī 1957, 150) wrote that Boghra Khān (Hārūn, father of Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf) accepted the laqab "Shihāb al-Daula" in AH 382. So this Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula was the brother of Qadir Khān Yūsuf. If the date is in fact "417", then this coin shows that, in 417, the Eastern Qarākhānids captured Akhsīket but then in that same year, 417/1026-27, the Western Qarākhānids reconquered the town and retained it in AH 417-418.

There are coins of Akhsīket on which Markov (253/385-386) read the date as "427" and Kochnev (1995, 249-250/671-672) as "417". They were minted by 'Aḍud al-Daula Kuch-tegīn citing Qadir Khān as suzerain. Nastich and Kochnev (1988, 74) considered the laqab "'Aḍud al-Daula" belonged to 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr. If that is the case it looks as if 'Ain al-Daula, who owned Akhsīket in 415 as a vassal of Tonghā Khān (II), changed allegiance after the Eastern Qarākhānids invaded Farghāna and became the vassal of Qadir Khān, as this dirhem of AH 417 Akhsīket shows, but later in the same year Qadir Khān took Akhsīket from him and gave it to his brother Sulaimān. And finally in the same AH 417 the Western Qarākhānids regained Akhsīket and retained it in 418/1027-28.

In AH 419, however, 'Aḍud al-Daula again minted in Akhsīket (Kochnev 1995, 251/696-697) and again as a vassal of Qadir Khān. A fals of 251/696 cites Badr al-Daula after 'Aḍud al-Daula. Since both *laqabs* are in the obverse circular legend they belong to the same person. Another fals of 251/697 cites

'Alī under the word 'Aḍud. Could this name refer to 'Aḍud al-Daula?

But in 420 (Kochnev 1995, 252/709) Akhsīket changed hands yet again. Mu'izz al-Daula (a son of 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad) minted there citing Qadir Khān as suzerain.

In 422, Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula minted falūs in Akhsīket citing Qadir Khān as suzerain. Could it be that in 421 and part of 422 it was Sulaimān who possessed Akhsīket as an appanage? But in the same year, 422, Akhsīket changed hands again. A dirhem of that year from Akhsīket cites, as suzerain, Qadir Khān, as vassal, 'Aḍud al-Daula Kuch-tegīn, and, as subvassal, Aḥmad (Kochnev 1995, 253/732-733). In 423 (Kochnev 1995, 254/742) dirhems of this mint cite Qadir Khān as suzerain, 'Aḍud al-Daula Kuch-tegīn as vassal and Aḥmad Alptegīn. In 424 Akhsīket changed hands once more (Kochnev 1995, 255/762). Mu'izz al-Daula minted there as vassal of 'Aḍud al-Daula. The supreme suzerain was not mentioned. But on small copper coins mention of the suzerain was sometimes omitted. Moreover, according to Jamāl Qarshi, Qadir Khān died in Muḥarram (the first month of the Muslim year) of AH 424 (Bartold 1963a, 43).

So during the period 416-424/1025-1033 Akhsīket changed hands almost every year. It looks as though it was a special policy of Qadir Khān not to allow his vassals to possess Akhsīket for a long period in order to prevent the tendency to turn it into a hereditary and (under propitious circumstances) independent dominion.

In 426-428 (Kochnev 1995, 258/802, 812, 259/816) there was the same master in Akhsīket. Mu'izz al-Daula minted there citing Qadir Khān (II) as suzerain. On the obverse of the coin of 258/812, under the Kalima are the letters ح س ن. Could this represent the name Ḥasan written in this strange fashion? Kochnev (1995, 258/807) published a fals of AH 426, Uzgend, citing Qadir Khāqān al-Amīr al-Ajall Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula. Thus, after the death of Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf, his brother Sulaimān accepted his title. The capital of Qadir Khān (II) was Uzgend where he minted in 425-430 (Kochnev 1995, 257/794-96). There is a coin minted in 428 in Uzgend by Malik al-Mu'ayyad Tonghā Khān (Kochnev 1995, 259/830). It may have been struck using mismatched dies, the die with the date being obsolete. In the event that this coin is authentic it means that Tonghā Khān (III) captured Uzgend in 428 but that in the same year Qadir Khān (II) retrieved the town and continued to mint coins in Uzgend in 428, 429 and 430 (1036-1039).

In AH 429-430 (Kochnev 1995, 260/832, 843) in Akhsīket there was a new master: al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Tonghā Khān (III). He must have been able to conquer Akhsīket from Mu'izz al-Daula or get it in some other way, for instance as a result of negotiations.

It seems that Qadir Khān (II) died in 430. But whatever the matter, in 430 he was succeeded in Uzgend by Tonghā Khān (III), brother of Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf (and brother of Qadir Khān (II) Sulaimān). Maybe in this connection Akhsīket was returned to Mu'izz al-Daula. He minted in AH 430-433 in Akhsīket (Fedorov 1968, 233) again, but this time as an independent ruler. He did not cite any suzerain. A dirhem of AH 43x Akhsīket (Collection of S. Khramov, Bishkek) cited Mu'izz al-Daula Abū-l-Muzaffar 'Abbās (b. ?) Muḥammad. This coin could have been minted either in 434 or in the beginning of 435, because for AH 435 Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) mentioned Tonghā Khān (III) as the owner of "the whole of Farghāna". So in AH 435 "Sharaf al-Daula" (Arslān Khān Sulaimān, son of Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf) gave his brother Bughrā Khān (Muḥammad) Ṭarāz and Ispijāb, and to his uncle "Toghā (Toghā) Khān" the "whole of Farghāna". In fact he did not give anybody anything. He was forced to sanction the dismemberment of his father's vast state

into three independent khanates: Tonghā Khān's (the whole of Farghāna), Bughrā Khān's (Shāsh-Ispjāb-Ṭarāz) and his own (Kāshghar-Yarkend).

But Arslān Khān could not reconcile himself to the disintegration of his father's state. Around the year 440 he attacked Tonghā Khān and re-conquered almost the whole of Farghāna. Coins struck in all the towns of Farghāna after 440 mention Arslān Khān as suzerain. The title "Tonghā Khān" disappeared from coins. Only in Akhsīket in 440-449/1048-58 were some coins minted by Tonghā-tegīn, citing Bughrā Khān as suzerain (Kochnev 1997, 278/1196). It looks as though, having retained Akhsīket, Tonghā Khān changed his khanian title to the humbler title of tegīn (prince) and recognized Bughrā Khān as suzerain, seeking his protection against Arslān Khān.

Around 447, Arslān Khān attacked Bughrā Khān but, this time, Dame Fortune did not smile on Arslān Khān. Bughrā Khān routed his army and took him prisoner. Bughrā Khān became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. 15 months later, however, he was poisoned by one of his wives (who also ordered the imprisoned Arslān-khān to be strangled). She put on the throne her juvenile son Ibrahīm. Internecine wars broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Ibrahīm was defeated and killed by the ruler of Barskhān, Ināltegīn. Having used this internecine war the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Taḡhāch Khān Ibrahīm attacked the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands lost in AH 416-418 by the Western Qarākhānids to Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf, including even Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

Coins reflect those events. The dirhems of AH 453 and 45(?) Akhsīket (Kochnev 1997, 250/ 895, 252/913) cite Taḡhāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr. Before his death the invalid Ibrahīm abdicated from the throne in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. Another son of his, Shu'aith, mutinied. Internecine war broke out between the brothers in 460/1068. The Eastern Qarākhānids used it, attacked the Western Qarākhānids and reconquered almost all the lands lost. Only Khojend, which became a frontier town, was left to Shams al-Mulk (Fedorov, 1983, 122). Markov (1896, 271/490) published a dirhem of AH 46x Akhsīket minted by the Eastern Qarākhānid, Toghrul-tegīn. But Kochnev (1997, 287/ 1336, 312) read the mintname as "Chīnānchīket". He considered that Markov was mistaken.

Around 467 an internecine war broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. This was now used by the Western Qarākhānids, who attacked the Eastern Qarākhānids and conquered Farghāna with its easternmost town of Uzgend (Bartold 1968, 419-420; Fedorov 1978, 175-176). There are coins of 465 and 467 Akhsīket (Kochnev 1997, 256/962) citing Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. But I believe that the coin of AH 465 Akhsīket was struck with mismatched dies, the die with the date "465" being obsolete.

Then there is a gap in the mintage of Akhsīket. The next coins of the town were minted in the sixth century AH. A hoard of 999 copper silvered dirhems was found in Fergana in Osh (Kirgiz Republic). Since they were in a bad state of preservation I could identify only 891 of the coins. No coin retained the date and only one coin retained part of the mintname "...sīket". Nevertheless these coins can be dated more or less accurately. 232 coins of the Osh hoard were minted by Arslān Khān Muḥammad (495-524/1102-30) and his son and co-ruler, Qadir Khān Aḥmad. They could have been minted only between AH 522-524. In the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate a mutiny broke out against Arslān Khān. He asked the Saljuid ruler, Sanjar, for help. Sanjar came with 70,000 soldiers, occupied Bukhārā and started to mint coins there in his name (Khodzhanizov 1979, 114/415; Bartold 1963, 383-384). Meanwhile, Qadir Khān Aḥmad managed to quell the mutiny and became co-ruler with

his father. There was no need for Sanjar's help, but he stayed in Bukhārā. So Arslān Khān and Qadir Khān minted in Samarqand while Sanjar minted in Bukhārā. Then Sanjar claimed that he had caught assassins sent by Arslān Khan to kill him. He besieged Samarqand and took it after several months of siege in Rabī' I 524. Arslān Khān was taken prisoner and deported to Balkh.

One hundred and fifteen coins of the Osh hoard were minted by Qadir Khān Aḥmad alone, not later than the middle of AH 526, when Sanjar invaded Mawarānnaḥr again to quell the mutiny of Qadir Khan (Bartold 1963, 383-384). Since Aḥmad's mutiny was quelled in the second half of AH 526 (and we know nothing about him after that), these 115 coins could not have been minted after AH 526. The hoard must therefore have been hidden about that time. Thus other coins in the hoard should also be dated circa AH 522-526.

Three hundred and ninety nine coins of the Osh hoard were minted by "Ḥasan Qarākhān" citing "Sanjar b. Malikshāh" as his suzerain. One coin retained part of the mintname: "...sīket". It shows that Akhsīket was the appanage of Qarākhān Ḥasan, vassal of Sanjar. In 524 Sanjar dethroned Arslān Khān and put on the throne in Samarqand this same Ḥasan b. 'Alī, known in the chronicles as "Ḥasan-tegīn" (Bartold 1963, 384).

The coins minted circa 522-526/1128-32 are the latest Qarākhānid coins of Akhsīket so far known. It seems that, after that time, the Qarākhānid mint of Akhsīket stopped functioning. The decline of the town started. In the second half of the twelfth century it ceded its status as the capital of the Qarākhānid principality to Kāsān. The final blow was dealt by a devastating Mongol invasion. The ancient town of Akhsīket ceased to exist. New Akhsīket sprang up at a site situated about 5 km to the west of the ancient ruins. This was the Akhsīket of the Timurid period, so vividly described by Timurid Bābur (Babur 1958, 14-15).

Kāsān

The earliest Qarākhānid coin of Kāsān is a dirhem of 421/1030 (Kochnev 1995, 252/722) minted by Mu'izz al-Daula Abū-l-Muzaffar Malik citing Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān as suzerain. It seems that, having lost Akhsīket after AH 420, Mu'izz al-Daula was compensated (or compensated himself) with Kāsān. Coins of AH 421-422 Kāsān from the collection of A. Kamyshev (Bishkek) differ from the dirhem published by Kochnev in that these coins cited on obverse one more person: "Aḍud/ 'Alī / al-Daula" (could it mean that 'Alī was the name of 'Aḍud al-Daula?). Usually the obverse was the place where the vassal or subvassal was cited. But judging by his other coins, 'Aḍud al-Daula could not be a vassal of Mu'izz al-Daula. It looks as though breaking the rule in this way was deliberate and characteristic of Mu'izz al-Daula. In 427 in Akhsīket and Kāsān (Kochnev 1995, 258/812, 259/ 816) he also cited his nominal suzerain Qadir Khān (II) on the obverse. So the real picture was like this: Qadir Khān suzerain, 'Aḍud al-Daula vassal, Mu'izz al-Daula subvassal and owner of Kāsān.

Other coins of AH 422-423 Kāsān (Kochnev 1995, 253/735) cited 'Aḍud al-Daula without the name 'Alī. In 423 fals of Kāsān (Kochnev 1995, 254/745) cited only Mu'izz al-Daula Malik b. Malikān, no suzerain was cited. But other fals of Kāsān, on which the date has not survived (Kochnev 1995, 255/762), cited Malik Mu'izz al-Daula (reverse) and 'Aḍud al-Daula (obverse).

In 427 in Kāsān (Kochnev 1995, 259/816) dirhems cited Mu'izz al-Daula Abū-l-Muzaffar Malik (reverse) and his suzerain Qadir Khān II (obverse). In AH 429-434 (Kochnev 1995, 259/823; 1997 277/1182-83) coins of Kāsān cited only Mu'izz al-Daula Malik, no suzerain was cited. In 433 fals of Kāsān cited "Abū-l-Muzaffar Malik", no suzerain was cited.

Then there is gap in the mintage of Kāsān. In the Gurmiron hoard (found in Northern Farghāna) there were coins minted in Kāsān by the Eastern Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn and Ṭarāz, Jabra'il (Kochnev 1997, 288/1347). In AH 492, this Djabra'il captured Samarqand, then Bukhārā and usurped the throne of Mawarānnahr. In 495 he invaded the Saljuqid state, captured Tirmidh but then was killed by the Saljuqid Sanjar (Pritsak 1953, 49). So these coins show that before the conquest of Samarqand and Bukhārā in 492/1098-99 Jabra'il conquered Kāsān (and at least the northern part of Farghāna). These coins could not have been minted later than 495/1101-02, when Jabra'il was killed. This fact helps us date the Gurmiron hoard. I believe that the conquest of Northern Farghāna took place around 488/1095. In AH 488 the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Aḥmad b. Khidr, set out from Samarqand to quell a mutiny by Toḡhrul Ināl Bek, the ruler of Kāsān. So Kāsān was, or at least considered to be, an integral part of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. But when he arrived at Kāsān, Aḥmad was arrested by his own officers who gave him over to the clergy. He was sentenced to death as a heretic and strangled with a bowstring on 18 Jumada (sixth month) 488/26 June 1095. Bartold (1963, 380) wrote that conspirators (clergy and officers) had persuaded Toḡhrul Ināl Bek to mutiny (it seems that they induced him to seize the town) in order to lure Aḥmad from Samarqand, were he was unassailable to conspirators.

Jabra'il was able to capture Kāsān after the death of Aḥmad, but I believe that it was Djabra'il, who, induced by conspirators, seized Kāsān when Aḥmad was alive, and that Aḥmad's ill-fated campaign was triggered by the loss of Kāsān. The historian Aḥmad al-Qubāvī wrote circa 522/1128, that Jabra'il was also named Toḡhrul Bek (Narshakhii 1966, 21). It appears that Toḡhrul Ināl Bek and Toḡhrul Bek were one and the same person and that, in AH 488-495, Kāsān belonged to Jabra'il.

In the Gurmiron hoard there are coins, minted in Kāsān by, Tabghāch Khān Ḥasan. Kochnev (1997, 288/1345) attributed them to the Eastern Qarākhānid ruler of Kāshghar, Tabghāch Khān Ḥasan (AH 467-496). But, I am sure, these coins were minted by the Western Qarākhānid appanage ruler Ḥasan b. 'Alī (named in the chronicles as Ḥasan-teḡin), who, as coins from the Osh hoard show, minted c. 522-526 in Akhsiket, and whom Sultan Sanjar put on the throne in Samarqand in 524, after he dethroned Arslān Khān Muḥammad. O. Pritsak (1953, 50-51) identified Ḥasan b. 'Alī with Saghun Bek who mutinied against Arslān Khān after the latter was put on the throne in Samarqand in AH 495 by sultan Sanjar. It would seem that the coins from the Gurmiron hoard were minted in Kāsān by Ḥasan b. 'Alī after the death of Jabra'il (killed in AH 495) when Ḥasan was fighting with Arslān Khān for the throne of supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate between AH 496-503. Having defeated the army of the mutineer in 503/1109, Sanjar deported him to Merv (Bartold 1963, 384; Pritsak 1953, 50-51).

The Osh hoard mentioned above breaks down into two different groups clearly demonstrating two different policies. The coins of the first group were minted by Ḥasan and his son Ḥusain. The main bulk of those coins (435 of 560 or 87%) cite sultan Sanjar as suzerain.

The coins of the second group do not mention Sanjar. After the dethronement of Arslān Khān, his son Qadir Khān Aḥmad was granted (or allowed to return to his) appanage in Farghāna. The fact that he did not mention any suzerain (neither Sanjar nor Ḥasan) suggests that these coins were minted during the time of Aḥmad's mutiny against Ḥasan, who occupied the throne of Aḥmad's father. In the summer of AH 526 Sanjar returned to Mawarānnahr and quelled the mutiny of Aḥmad. The appanage of Qadir Khān Aḥmad probably comprised East Farghāna to the

South of the Syr-Darya (i.e. Osh and Uzgend), for this river always was a natural frontier between appanages of Northern and Southern Farghāna.

As to Northern Farghāna, it was occupied by that time: coins of Akhsiket from the Osh hoard cite Qarā Khān Ḥasan b. 'Alī and his suzerain Sanjar. The Gurmiron hoard contained coins of Kāsān minted by Tabghāch Khān Ḥasan, who most certainly was that same Ḥasan b. 'Alī. It appears that Northern Farghāna with Akhsiket and Kāsān was the appanage of the family of Ḥasan b. 'Alī. That is why I am convinced that the coins from the Osh hoard citing Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain, son and vassal of Ḥasan b. 'Alī, were minted in Kāsān, situated 40 km to the north of, that is to say "behind", Akhsiket.

87% of coins minted by Ḥasan and Ḥusain cite Sanjar as suzerain. But there are coins (13% of Ḥasan's and 66% of Ḥusain's) without Sanjar's name. Only 34% of Ḥusain's coins cite Sanjar, while 100% of them cite Ḥasan as suzerain. It is natural to expect, that Ḥasan, having been granted Mawarānnahr by Sanjar, cited him as suzerain. Especially so, when Sanjar brought his army to quell the mutiny of Aḥmad directed against Ḥasan, who occupied the throne of Aḥmad's father in Samarqand. But when could the coins of Ḥasan and Ḥusain have been minted that do not mention Sanjar? It could have been when a war between Sanjar and Arslān Khān broke out at the end of AH 523-beginning of 524. Before that, Ḥasan and his son could have been either in exile in Merv or in their appanages in Farghāna. Anyway, the time, when Arslān Khān Muḥammad was being besieged in Samarqand by Sanjar, was, for Ḥasan and Ḥusain the best time to start an independent mintage. So it would seem that in the twenties of the fifth century AH, Kāsān was an appanage of the Qarākhānid Ḥusain b. Ḥasan.

In the second half of the twelfth century AD, there started the process of disintegration of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate into several Qarākhānid principalities independent from one another. The ruler of Samarqand, who was considered the nominal Head of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate, was never mentioned as suzerain on the coins minted in those principalities. Khytais, whose vassals were Qarākhānids after the battle of Qatwān in 1141, encouraged this process. It was safer for them to have several weak vassals, ruling small principalities, than one strong vassal ruling a centralised Western Qarākhānid Khaqanate.

The principality of Farghāna with its capital in Uzgend was among the first to become independent from Samarqand. But then it too disintegrated into three smaller principalities with capitals in Kāsān, Uzgend and Marghīnān.

The principality of Kāsān was ruled by Qarākhānids with the hereditary title "Toḡhrul Khān (Khāqān)". For a long time their known coins were without mint-name (which either did not survive or was not written on the coins). So I called their principality "the appanage principality of the Toḡhruls of Farghāna". In 1983 there was published a coin of AH 605(?) Kāsān (Kochnev 1983, 93) minted by Ulugh Toḡhrul Khān. In 1984 (Fedorov, 120) I supposed that the appanage principality of "the Toḡhruls of Farghāna" was in northern Farghāna (to the North of the Syr Darya) and comprised Kāsān and Akhsiket, with its capital at Kāsān. This supposition of mine was proved when coins of another "Toḡhrul of Farghāna" (Muḥammad b. Naṣr) were found, minted in Kāsān in AH 587, 591, 594, 598 (Kochnev 1997, 271/1127-1128).

Above I mentioned coins from the Osh hoard minted by Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain b. Ḥasan. This ruler happened to start the line of "the Toḡhruls of Farghāna". He himself, his son and grandson and one more ruler of Kāsān all had the title "Toḡhrul Khān(or Khāqān)". Having firstly appeared as a vassal ruler of one of the appanages (most probably Kāsān) in Farghāna,

Ṭoghrl Khān Ḥusain then disappeared from coins (and chronicles) for a long time. He probably stayed in Farghāna either as a private person or ruler of some appanage but without the right to mint coins. There is, however, some evidence that, for at least several of the last years of his life, he was the appanage ruler of Uzgend (as the town was named in the twelfth century AD). One inscription on the north mausoleum in Uzgend reads that construction of it was started on 4 Rabī' II 547/27. 07. 1152. Another inscription gives the name of a ruler for whom it was built: "al-Khāqān al-'Adil al-'azam Jalāl al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Alp Qutlugh Tūngā Bilgā Turk Ṭoghrl Qarākhāqān al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī" (Yakubovsky 1947, 29). Jamāl Qarshi (Bartold 1898, 132) wrote that "the ruler of Farghāna Ḥusain Ṭoghrl Khān ibn al-Ḥasan Qarā Khān" died in Rajab 551 i.e. between 20.08-19.09 1156. So at least in 547-551 Ṭoghrl Khān Ḥusain was ruler of Uzgend and probably of all Farghāna.

His son Ṭoghrl Khān (khāqān) Naṣr b. Ḥusain was the first hereditary ruler of the Kāsān principality. Davidovich (1957, 112-113), who knew of his coin minted in AH 564 (the mint-name of which has not survived) considered that he ruled Samarqand. But later she changed her opinion and wrote that he ruled some appanage in Farghāna (Davidovich 1971, 178). The mint-name did not survive on his coins. Coins of Ṭoghrl-khān Naṣr could not have been minted in Uzgend since in 559-574/1163-79 Uzgend was the appanage of Arslān Khān Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain (brother of Ṭoghrl Khān Naṣr). The topography of monetary finds helps to solve this question. A hoard of the coins of Ṭoghrl Khān Naṣr was found in Karavan, only 40 km from Kāsān (Fedorov 1999, 11-13). Single finds of his coins are also known from this region.

Both his son, Ṭoghrl Khān Muḥammad b. Naṣr, and the successor of the latter, Ulugh Ṭoghrl Khān, minted coins in Kāsān: Muḥammad b. Naṣr in 578(?), 587, 591, 594, 598 and Ulugh Ṭoghrl Khān in 605 and 608 (Kochnev 1997, 271/1126-1128, 1135; Mitchiner 1977, 163/897, 898). They seem to have inherited Kāsān together with the title Ṭoghrl Khān (khāqān). No doubt, the appanage of Ṭoghrl Khān Naṣr was also Kāsān. The Karavan hoard comprised both fiduciary, copper silvered dirhems (Type 1) and copper falūs (Type 2) minted by Naṣr b. Ḥusain. And fiduciary dirhems of Naṣr b. Ḥusain could circulate only within his appanage. Uzgend in AH 559-574 was an appanage of Arslān Khān Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain and fiduciary coins of Ṭoghrl Khān Naṣr did not circulate there.

And now to the coins. Fiduciary dirhems of Ṭoghrl Khān Naṣr were minted in 564/1168-69. It is the earliest date. Other dates are 568 and 576. Kochnev (1997, 271/1130-1131, 306-307) doubted as to whom to attribute the coins of AH 568 and 576: to Naṣr or to his son, Muḥammad? I do no reason to doubt that the coins in question were minted by Naṣr. By their appearance, by content and disposition of legends they differ from the coins which were minted by Muḥammad b. Naṣr.

Markov (1896, 268/585) published a dirhem of Ṭoghrl Khān Muḥammad b. Naṣr and read the date as "578". Bearing in mind that 70 and 90 differ only in diacritical marks, which were usually not placed on Qarākhānid coins, I suggested the date should be read as "598". Kochnev (1997, 305-306) rejected this suggestion saying that, from at least the year AH 578 onwards, Muḥammad b. Naṣr mentioned on his coins the caliph al-Nāṣir, and that this mention is absent on coin Nr. 1126. This argument is not conclusive. On a coin of such type in the Tübingen University collection the numeral in question is distinctly 90. Though having not placed the diacritical marks, die-sinkers often made it clear what numeral was meant by the simple expedient of making the first prong somewhat higher or setting it apart from the three following prongs that were closer together. On the dirhem of the Tübingen University collection the first prong is

higher than the following three. Probably influenced by Kochnev, Tobias Mayer (1968, 63/520) read the date on this coin as "5(7)8 H. (verschieden "598" H.)", i.e. he considered that the date should be "578" but was written mistakenly as "598".

Anyway if the date on this coin is "578", the reign of Ṭoghrl Khān Naṣr ended between 576 and 578. And if it is "598", the reign of Naṣr ended between 576 and 587 (the earliest coin of Ṭoghrl Khān Muḥammad so far known). The coins of Muḥammad b. Naṣr have dates AH 587, 591, 594 and 598 (Kochnev 1997, 271/1127-1128).

Ṭoghrl Khān Muḥammad b. Naṣr was succeeded in Kāsān by Ulugh Ṭoghrl Khān, who minted coins there in AH 605 and 608 (Kochnev 1997, 271/1135; Mitchiner 1977, 163/897-898).

Such is the history of Akhsiket and Kāsān in the light of Qarākhānid numismatics.

A Chinese chronicle mentioned a certain Ho-sse-mai-li (i.e. Ismā'il), ruler of Kāsān and Akhsiket who c. 1218 met the army of general Djebe Noion and submitted to the Mongols. When Djebe reported this to Chīngiz Khān, he ordered that Ho-sse-mai-li join Djebe in his campaign against Qushluk Khān, ruler of the Nāimān nomads. In 1218 Qushluk Khān was defeated and killed. Djebe gave Ho-sse-mai-li the severed head of Qushluk Khān and ordered him to carry it through the realm of Qushluk Khān, after which demonstration this land submitted to the Mongols (Bartold 1963, 469-470, 431). The chronicle also added that Ho-sse-mai-li was "a retainer" of Khytai Gürkhan and ruled Kāsān and Akhsiket as his vassal. Since Qushluk Khān dethroned Gürkhan in 607/1211, Ho-sse-mai-li (Ismā'il) could have been a vassal of Gürkhan only before AH 607. According to numismatic data, the ruler of Kāsān in AH 605 and 608 was Ulugh Ṭoghrl Khān. Which means that the Muslim name of this Ulugh Ṭoghrl Khān was Ismā'il. He could have been the son (or some other relation) of Ṭoghrl Khān Muḥammad b. Naṣr.

In 609/1212-13 the ruler of Samarqand, 'Uthmān b. Ibrahīm, having had his fill of Khwārizmshāh and the Khwārizmians, mutinied. Khwārizmshāh crushed the mutiny and executed 'Uthmān. Then he sent envoys to "amīrs of Farghāna and Turkistān" (i.e. Qarākhānids) demanding obedience from them (Bartold 1963, 430). In 609, the Qarākhānid Kūch Arslān Khān Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad, who minted coins in Uzgend as an independent ruler, started to cite Khwārizmshāh as his suzerain. But already in the same year of 609 coins were minted in Uzgend in the name of Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh only (Osh history museum, KP 3598, Nr. 123, 123-1, 123-2). Another Qarākhānid to be dethroned (and several years later executed) by Khwārizmshāh was the ruler of Otrār, Bilgā Khān, a cousin of 'Uthmān (Bartold 1963, 429). Having dethroned and executed 'Uthmān and some other Qarākhānids in 609/1212 Khwārizmshāh put an end to the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. Then until 1214 he spent every summer in Samarqand afraid that Qushluk Khān would invade Mawarānnahr. Later, being unable to protect the lands to the north of the Syr Darya he ordered the people of Ispījāb, Shāsh and Kāsān to migrate to the south-west and devastated those regions before leaving them to Qushluk Khān. So at least from 1214 Kāsān was under the sway of Qushluk Khān. That was probably why the Qarākhānid ruler of Kāsān, Ulugh Ṭoghrl

Khān Ismā'il survived the events of AH 609 and continued to rule Kāsān till the Mongol invasion of Central Asia, which he also managed to survive.

Ṭoghrl Khāns of North Farghāna

1 Ṭoghrl Khān Ḥusain b. Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Mu'mīn. (Kāsān), coins: c. 522-526/1128-32, Uzgend, from not later than 547/1152. Died in Uzgend in Rajab 551/20.08-18.09 1156.

- 2 Toḡhrul Khān (khāqān) Naṣr b. Ḥusain. From 551/1156? Kāsān, coins: 564/1168-69, 568/1172-73, 576/1180-81. Ruled no later than 587/1191 (or 578/1182-3?).
- 3 Toḡhrul Khān (khāqān) Muḥammad b. Naṣr. From 587/1191 (or 578/1182-3?) Kāsān, coins: 5(7?9?)8, 587/1191, 591/1194-95, 594/1197-98, 598/1201-02. Ruled no later than 605/1208-09.
- 4 Ulugh Toḡhrul Khān Ismā'il. From 598/1201-02? Kāsān, coins: 605/1208-09, 608/1211-12. Mentioned in the chronicle as a ruler of Kāsān during 615/1218.

References

1. Bābur, Zāhīr al-Dīn Muḥammad. 1958. *Bābur-nāma*, perevod M. Sal'e, Tashkent.
2. Bartold, V. V. 1898. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*. Chast' I. Texty. St. Petersburg.
3. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*. *Sochineniia*, t. 1, Moskva.
4. Bartold, V. V. 1963a. "Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia", *Sochineniia*, tom 2, ch. 1, Moskva.
5. Beihaqi, Abu-l-Fazl. 1962. *Istoriia Mas'uda 1030-1041*, perevod A. K. Arends, Tashkent.
6. Belenitskii, A. M., Bentovich I. B., Bol'shakov, O. G. 1973. *Srednevekovi gorod Srednei Azii*, Leningrad.
7. Bernshtam, A. N. 1952. *Istoriiko-arkheologicheskie ocherki Tsentral'nogo Tian'-Shania i Pamiro-Alaia*, Moskva-Leningrad.
8. Biruni, Abu Reihan. 1957. *Pamiatniki mimuvshikh pokolenii*, perevod M. A. Sal'e, Tashkent.
9. Davidovich, E. A. 1957. "Numizmaticheskie materialy dlia khronologii i genealogii sredneaziatskikh Karakhanidov", *Numizmaticheski sbornik*. Chast' II, Moskva.
10. Davidovich, E. A. 1971. "Zhanizmatike Srednei Azii, Ch. 1, (Karakhanidy, Dzhagataidy, Dzhaniydy)", *Material'naia Kul'tura Tadzhikistana*, 2, Dushanbe.
11. Yakubovskii, A. Iu. 1947. "Dve nadpisi na severnom mavzolee 1152 g. v Uzgende", *Epigrafika Vostoka*, I, Leningrad.
12. Fedorov, M. N. 1968. "Ferganskii klad karakhanidskikh dirhemov 1034-1043 gg.", *Sovetskaia arkheologiya*, 3, Moskva.
13. Fedorov, M. N. 1974. "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse pervoi i vo vtoroi chetverti XI v.", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XI, Moskva.
14. Fedorov, M. N. 1980. "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v.", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XIII, Moskva.
15. Fedorov, M. N. 1983. "Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X – nachala XIII vv.", *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
16. Fedorov, M. N. 1999. "Three hoards of 12th century Qarakhanid coins from south-western Kirghizstan", *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, 160, Summer.
17. Khmel'nitskii, S. 1996. *Arkhitektura Srednei Azii XI – nachala XIII vv. Mezhdru Samanidami i Mongolami*, Chast' I. Berlin-Riga.
18. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropimiy i titulatura, 1", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
19. Kochnev, B. D. 1997. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropimiy i titulatura, 2", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
20. Nastich, V. N., Kochnev, B. D. 1988. "K atributsii mavzoleia Shah-Fazil (epigraficheskie i numizmaticheskie dannye)", *Epigrafika Vostoka*, XXIV, Leningrad.
21. Markov, A. K. 1896. *Inventarnyi katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg.
22. Pritsak, O. 1953. "Die Karachaniden", *Der Islam*, Bd. 31, Heft 1.

Farghāna.

The mint with name Farghāna is the eldest among Qarākhānid mints. It started its work in 381/991-92 (Kochnev 1995, 203/1). Dirhems of AH 381 Farghāna were minted by Arslān-teḡīn b. Ulugh-teḡīn, who cited Shihāb al-Daula Abū Mūsā Turk Khāqān as suzerain. According to al-Bīrūnī, the *laqab* Shihāb al-Daula belonged to Boghrā Khān Hārūn, ruler of Balāsāghūn, who in 382/992 captured Bukhārā, the capital of the Sāmānid state but died in the same year. Bīrūnī (1957/150) wrote that "...Boghrā-khān, when he took the field in the year three hundred and eighty two, named himself Shihāb al-Daula" (i.e. he was not granted this *laqab* by the caliph).

After the death of Boghrā Khān, Qarākhānid expansion to the West was headed by Naṣr b. 'Alī. It is not clear whether the Sāmānids retrieved Farghāna after the death of Boghrā Khān in AH 382, but in 383. Teḡīn Naṣr b. 'Alī (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999) minted coins in Khojende (Kochnev 1995, 203/6), which means that all Farghāna (i.e. to the East of Khojende) belonged to him already.

Could Arslān-teḡīn, cited on coins of AH 381 Farghāna, be Naṣr b. 'Alī? If so, his father, Ulugh-teḡīn could be the ruler of Kāshghar, 'Alī b. Mūsā, who became the Head of the Qarākhānids in 382/992 after the death of Boghrā Khān Hārūn. 'Alī b. Mūsā was mentioned in chronicles as Arslān Khān. He fell in the war against the infidel turks in January 998 (Bartold 1963, 330).

The mint with the name Farghāna worked in Uzjend (the easternmost town of Farghāna), which was the capital of Naṣr b. 'Alī before he captured Bukhārā. After AH 381, the Farghāna mint never minted dirhems, but in the beginning of the tenth century AD it minted copious falūs for the whole province of Farghāna. Sometimes falūs with the mint-name Farghāna were minted in other towns of the province. In such cases a double mint-name was put on the coins: Farghāna-Akhsīket, Farghāna-Osh, Farghāna-Qubā, Farghāna-Marghīnān (Kochnev 1995, 206/47, 208/77, 215/176). There were no coins with the mint-name Farghāna-Uzjend because it was well-known that the mint with the name Farghāna operated in Uzjend.

The first Qarākhānid falūs of Farghāna were minted in AH 384 (Kochnev 1995, 203/7-10). Four types of falūs were minted. Two of them (203/7, 8) cited Khāqān al-Muzaffar, *Tonga-teḡīn* or *Tegin*, written in Uigur (reverse field), Amīr al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī (reverse circular legend) and Khumār-teḡīn (obverse). One type (203/9) cited Khāqān al-Muzaffar, *Tegin* (reverse field), Amīr al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī (reverse circular legend) and Teḡīn (obverse). One type (203/10) cited Khāqān al-Muzaffar Aḥmad b. 'Alī (reverse field), Amīr al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī (reverse circular legend) and Tonghā-teḡīn (obverse).

In 1972 (Fedorov 1972, 132-133) I proved that the title "Tighā (as I read it then)-teḡīn" belonged to Naṣr b. 'Alī, before he received the new, higher title, Īlek (second only to the title of Khān). There was no unanimity in how this title should be read: some scholars read "Tighā-teḡīn", others "Tonghā-teḡīn". A fals of AH 384 Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 203/7) settled the question: on this coin this title was written in Uigur "*Tonga-teḡīn*". Qarākhānid rulers used to change their titles as they rose in the scale of hierarchy. As an instance I would like to cite Muḥammad b. 'Alī, junior brother of Naṣr. On a coin of AH 393 Tarāz (Kochnev 1995, 211/121) he was cited as Muḥammad b. 'Alī *Sanā al-Daula* (obverse field), Amir al-Jalil al-Mumakkin al-Manṣūr *Sanā al-Daula* Arslān-teḡīn (obverse circular legend). This coin shows that, at the beginning of his career, Muḥammad had the title Arslān-teḡīn, which probably came to him from Naṣr

b. 'Alī after Naṣr received the title *Ṭonghā-tegīn*. Then Muḥammad was given a higher title. Coins of AH 403-405 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 266/320) cited him as Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sanā al-Daula Ināl-tegīn. And finally he received the title "İlek". Coins of AH 405-406 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 231/393) cited him as İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The same thing happened with Naṣr b. 'Alī. I believe he started as Arslān-tegīn, then (not later than AH 384) he received the title "*Ṭonghā-tegīn*" (Kochnev 1995, 203/7,10) and finally he received the title "İlek". On the reverse of a falūs of AH 389 Farghāna he was cited as Arslān (sic!) İlek, and on the reverse of a falūs of AH 389 Bukhārā he was cited as Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek (Kochnev 1995, 208/72, 208/82). The title "İlīk al-Jalīl" appeared for the first time on falūs of AH 386, 388 Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 205/40, 207/64).

And now it is possible to decide who is who on the falūs of AH 384 Farghāna. The suzerain, al-Khāqān al-Muzaffār, as coin 203/10 shows, was Aḥmad b. 'Alī, senior brother of Naṣr. The vassal, *Ṭonghā-tegīn* (or *Tonga-tegin*, written in Uigur), was Naṣr b. 'Alī, and Khumār-tegīn was the subvassal.

In 385/995 the mint of Farghāna minted 14 types of falūs (Kochnev 1995, 204/14-27). There is no other Qarākhānid mint which would have minted 14 types of falūs during one year. Two types, 204/14 and 15, were replicas of falūs 203/7 and 9 of AH 384. Type 204/17 differed from AH 384 type 203/10 only in that, on the obverse, it read Tegīn (not *Ṭonghā-tegīn*). Sometimes it looks as though die-sinkers took special pains to ensure that the dies differed from one another at least in some insignificant detail. Maybe it was needed to distinguish dies made by different die-sinkers; maybe it was a conceit of the die-sinkers's.

AH 385 fals 204/18 differs from AH 385 fals 204/17 in that on the obverse there is Naṣr instead of Tegīn. AH 385 falūs 204/19-21 cite Amīr *Ṭoghā* (sic!)-tegīn Bu-l-Ḥasan (reverse circular legend) and Tegīn (reverse field). No suzerain is cited on those coins. But sometimes on small copper coins, serving petty local trade, mention of the suzerain could be omitted. I know cases, where in the same year in the same town the suzerain was cited on dirhems but not on falūs. AH 385 fals 204/22 differs from AH 385 falūs 204/19-21 in that, on the obverse, the name Naṣr was added. AH 385 fals 204/23 cites Amīr *Ṭonghā-tegīn* Bu-l-Ḥasan (reverse circular legend) Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (reverse field). AH 385 fals 204/27 cites Mu'ayyid al-'Adl *Ṭoghā* (sic!)-tegn (sic!) *Ṭonghā-tegīn* (sic!). It looks that some bungler engraved it mistakenly "*Ṭoghā-tegn*", and then without more ado, engraved it correctly.

The majority (9 out of 14) of AH 385 Farghāna falūs 204/19-27 do not cite any suzerain.

There is a fals of Farghāna, which does not have a date. B. D. Kochnev (1995, 205/28) put it between the falūs of AH 385 and 386 Farghāna. This fals cites as suzerain, Khāqān al-Muzaffār (Aḥmad b. 'Alī); as vassal, Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī *Tonga-tegin* and, as subvassal, Aḥmad 'Alī Bā(?) Qasim

In 386 in Farghāna 13 types of falūs were minted (Kochnev 1995, 204/19, 205/30-41). One type (205/30) cites *Ṭonghā Khān*. Six types, 205/31, 35, 37-40, cite Khān, i.e. the suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī, and Amīr al-Jalīl *Ṭonghā-tegīn* al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl (sometimes without "Mu'ayyid al-'Adl", sometimes with "Abī (or Bū) al-Ḥasan" added), i.e. the vassal, Naṣr b. 'Alī. Five types, 205/32-34, 36, 41, do not cite a suzerain. Type 205/40 cites İlīk al-Jalīl, i.e. Naṣr b. 'Alī.

In AH 387, 9 types of falūs were minted (Kochnev 1995, 205/31, 206/45, 49-55). Fals 205/31 was a replica of AH 386 fals 205/31. Fals 206/45 cites Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī, fals 206/55 cites Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl *Ṭonghā-tegīn* Naṣr b. 'Alī. No suzerain is cited on these coins. Six falūs, 207/49-54, cite Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī) as suzerain. Fals 206/52 reveals the name of *Ṭonghā Khān*: it reads in the reverse

field *Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad* b. 'Alī. Fals 206/50 gives one more variety in the transcription of the Turkic word *Tonga* in the title of Naṣr: *Ṭoghān* (sic)-tegīn al-Jalīl.

In the year 388 10 types of falūs were minted in Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 204/27, 205/40, 206/51, 63-69). Three types are replicas of AH 385 204/27, AH 386 205/40, AH 387 206/51 types. B. D. Kochnev (1995, 207/60) mentioned falūs of İlāq and Farghāna citing Amīr al-Jalīl Aḥmad b. 'Alī Khān and Tegīn Bā Ṣāliḥ. I think his reading of the mint-name as Farghāna is doubtful for it would mean that in 388 İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī was not in possession of Farghāna, but that it was possessed by some Bā Ṣāliḥ, vassal of Aḥmad b. 'Alī. But seven other types of AH 388 Farghāna falūs (207/63-69) contradict it. They cite *Ṭonghā-tegīn* Abī (or Bū) al-Ḥasan, or Mu'ayyid al-'Adl *Ṭonghā-tegīn*, or Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Tegīn, or İlek (İlīk) al-Jalīl, i.e. Naṣr b. 'Alī as possessor of Farghāna. Or could "Bā Ṣāliḥ" be another *kunya* of Naṣr b. 'Alī? On all his falūs of Farghāna, excluding one (207/63), Naṣr cites Khān, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī as suzerain.

In AH 389 9 types of falūs were minted in Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 207-209/64, 69, 82-88). Two types are replicas of AH 388 types 207/64, 69. Two of seven new types 208-209/83, 86 do not cite a suzerain, the rest read, on the obverse, Khān, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī as suzerain. Six types 209/83-88 cite in the reverse field İlek (İlīk) al-Jalīl, and one type 208/82 cites Arslān İlek. The reverse circular legend cites Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī 208/82, 209/87; Amīr al-Jalīl İlīk al-'Adil 209/85, 86; Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Arslān Arslān 209/88 (sic! A mistake of some bungler again); Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl 209/84 or Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān 209/83. Could the last legend mean that Naṣr accepted title "Khān", or was it a die-sinker's mistake? All other falūs of AH 389 Farghāna do not cite Naṣr as „Khān“.

In AH 389 the first falūs with the mint-name Uzjend were minted (Kochnev 1995, 208/78-81). Maybe this resulted in the output of the Farghāna mint becoming less copious. In 390 the Farghāna mint issued only two types of fals (Kochnev 1995, 210/104, 105). One type, 210/104, cites Amīr al-Ajall Naṣr b. 'Alī Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek and his suzerain Khān al-'Adil Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Abū Naṣr Qarākhāqān, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī. One more type, 210/105, cites only Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek, no suzerain being cited.

In AH 391 the mint of Farghāna minted only one type of fals (Kochnev 1995, 208/77). It cited Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek and no suzerain. Falūs of AH 392 Farghāna are not known so far.

In AH 393 the output of Farghāna mint increased again. Seven types of falūs were minted (Kochnev, 210/105, 211-212/123-128). One of them is the exact replica of AH 390 type 210/105. All types cite Naṣr b. 'Alī. The suzerain, Qān al-'Adil, is cited only by one type, 212/125. One type, 212/126, is very interesting because it also cites an official of the mint "Mutavallī İusuf".

A fals of AH 394? (B. D. Kochnev [1995, 210/104] was not sure of the date) is like AH 390 type 210/104. It cites Amīr al-Ajall Naṣr b. 'Alī Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek and his suzerain Khān al-'Adil Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Abū Naṣr Qarākhāqān, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Coins of AH 395 Farghāna are not known so far.

In AH 396 two types of fals were minted in Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 215-216/177, 178). Both of them cite only Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek, no suzerain being cited. Two types of fals were also minted in Farghāna in AH 397 (Kochnev 1995, 215-216/177, 178). One is an exact replica of AH 396 fals 215/177. Another cites Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek and no suzerain.

In AH 398 three types of fals were minted in Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 210/104, 217/201-202). One is a replica of the AH 390 Farghāna type (210/104). It cites Amīr al-Ajall Naṣr b. 'Alī Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek and his suzerain, Khān al-'Adil Nāṣir

al-Haqq Abū Naṣr Qarākhāqān, i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Others, 217/201 and 202, cite Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek or Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek and no suzerain.

In AH 399 three types of fals were minted in Farḡhāna (Kochnev 1995, 210/104, 218/209, 216). One of them is a replica of AH 390, 394(?), 398 falūs of Farḡhāna, 210/104. Two of them, 218/209 and 216, cite Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek and no suzerain.

In AH 400 five types of fals were minted in Farḡhāna (Kochnev 1995, 210/104, 218/216, 221/ 256-258). One is a replica of AH 390, 398, 399 falūs of Farḡhāna, 210/104. Another is a replica of the AH 399 fals of Farḡhāna, 218/216. The rest cite İlek Pādīshāh or Naṣr İlek or Naṣr and no suzerain.

In AH 401 two types of fals were minted in Farḡhāna (Kochnev 1995, 221/261, 222/268). They cite Naṣr b. 'Alī Pādīshāh or Naṣr b. 'Alī and no suzerain. Only one type of fals was minted in AH 402 in Farḡhāna (Jalalabad History Museum, Kirgiz Republic, without number). It cites Amīr Naṣr b. 'Alī Mawlā Amīr al-Mu'minīn and no suzerain.

Then there was a gap in the operation of the mint of Farḡhāna until AH 410-411 when one type of fals was minted (Kochnev 1995, 242/538). It cites İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī and his suzerain Arslān Khān. Both İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī and Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī were brothers of İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī and of Toḡhā Khān (I) Aḥmad b. 'Alī.

In 416/1025-26 the Eastern Qarākhānids, headed by Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf, invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. Simultaneously Maḥmūd Ghaznavī invaded Mawarānnahr from the south. The ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā, İlek 'Alī b. Ḥasan (known in the chronicles as 'Alī-teḡīn), brother of the then Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Toḡhā (Toḡhān) Khān (II) Muḥammad, hid with his troops in the desert. But soon Maḥmūd realised that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other and returned with his army to Ghazna. Nevertheless, Maḥmūd's intervention allowed Qadir Khān to conquer Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farḡhāna in AH 416 together with Uzjend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farḡhāna with Akhsīket till 418 but then lost all Farḡhāna and Khojende (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

Coins reflect those events. In AH 416 falūs of Farḡhāna (Kochnev 1995, 249/665) cite Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān. No vassal is mentioned.

In AH 418 falūs of Farḡhāna (Kochnev 1995, 249/665) were minted by "...Yūsuf..." (preservation of the coin is bad). This "...Yūsuf..." was of course Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf b. Boghrā Khān Hārūn.

In AH 421 (Osh History Museum GIK 5219 FN 155 Nr. 15) falūs in Farḡhāna cited Naṣir al-Haqq al-Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān.

Ispijāb

Ispijāb ("White Town") originated as a Soghdian emporium-settlement on the ancient trade route in Kazakhstan about 2 centuries before the Arab Invasion of Central Asia. Its ruin (hillfort Sairam) is situated not far from the modern town of Chimkent. Even in the eleventh century AD descendants of Soghdian colonists retained their language. According to Maḥmūd Kashghārī, the townsfolk of Ispijāb spoke both Turkic and Soghdian (Bartold 1963a, 454). Arabs, who named it "Isbjāb" and sometimes "Madinat al-Baidā" (which is Arab for "White Town"), had conquered the town in the middle of the eighth century AD but failed to retain it. In the steppe of Keles between Shāsh and Ispijāb they built a rampart to stem the raids

of nomads. Then there was another gap in the mintage of Farḡhāna. In AH 431 (Osh History Museum GIK 5219 FN 155 Nr. 16) falūs in [Farḡh]āna cited "...[al-M]ju'ayyad ... Toḡhā (Toḡhā?) Khān..." (the state of preservation of the coin is rather bad). According to Ibn al-Athīr, Toḡhā (or Tonghā) Khan was a brother of Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf and around the year AH 435 possessed "all Farḡhāna" (Materialy 1973, 60). Malik al-Mu'ayyad Toḡhā (Toḡhā) Khān minted dirhems in Uzjend, Marghīnān and Akhsīket. The coin of AH 431 [Farḡh]āna is the first fals of Toḡhā (Toḡhā) Khān known so far and Farḡhāna is the fourth mint of his.

There then ensued a long gap in the mintage of Farḡhāna. The latest fals known so far of Farḡhāna (Kochnev 1997, 258/987) was minted by the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā, Muḥammad b. Sulaimān (495-524/1101-1130).

And so Farḡhāna, the oldest Qarākhānid mint known so far, started its work by minting dirhems in 381/ 991-92 when the Qarākhānids conquered Eastern Farḡhāna. But after AH 381 the mint of Farḡhāna minted only copper falūs. It mined most copiously in AH 384-402, during the reign of İlek Naṣr, and was situated in Uzjend, capital of this Qarākhānid ruler of Farḡhāna. Falūs of Naṣr minted at the mint of Farḡhāna are known for AH 384-391, 393, 394(?), 396-402. In all, during Naṣr's reign, the mint of Farḡhāna minted 89 types of fals (a record for Qarākhānid mints of a single ruler). Only in AH 385 alone, the mint of Farḡhāna issued 14 types of fals (a record for Farḡhāna mint). After the death of Naṣr the decline of this mint began. It worked recurrently in AH 410-411, 416, 418, 421, 431. The latest falūs of Farḡhāna were minted under the Qarākhānid, Muḥammad b. Sulaimān (1101-1130).

References

1. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestiia*, Sochineniia, t. 1, Moskva.
2. Biruni, Abu Reihan. 1957. *Pamiatniki minuvshikh pokolenii, Izbrannye proizvedeniia*, t. 1, perevod i primechaniia M. A. Sal'e, Tashkent.
3. Fedorov, M. N. 1972. "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse X - nachale XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskie istochnik)", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, 10.
4. Fedorov, M. N. 1983. "Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X - nachala XIII vv.", *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
5. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.

of nomads. The rampart stretched from the Syr Darya to the Sailyq mountains (Bartold 1964a, 327).

In AH 840 the Sāmānid amir, Nūḥ b. Asad conquered Ispijāb from the Turks and built a rampart "around the vineyards and ploughed fields of the residents" to protect them from nomads. Although having become a province of the state, Ispijāb was governed by a semi-independent local Turkic Dynasty, which enjoyed certain privileges, freedom from taxes among them (Bartold 1963, 269-270). To the province of Ispijāb belonged also some lands to the east of it down to the border of the the Talās valley as well as some lands to north-west up to Sabran. Some Turkic princes of Semirechie were subjects or at least looked up to the rulers of Ispijāb. So the ruler of Ordū (a town in the Chu valley) used to send gifts to the rulers of Ispijāb (Bartold 1963, 233-239).

Like other powerful vassals of the Sāmānids, the rulers of Ispijāb loathed their vassaldom and looked for any opportunity to get rid of it. When the khaqanate arose at the eastern frontiers of

the weakening Sāmānid state, the ruler of Ispījāb changed political orientation. In 380/990 the ruler of Balāsāghūn, Hārūn Boghrā Khān occupied Ispījāb having met no resistance (Bartold 1964, 507).

But after Hārūn Boghrā Khān died in 992, the ruler of Ispījāb again became a vassal of the Sāmānids. On falūs of 385-86/995-96 Ispījāb (Kochnev 1987, 57-59) Nūh b. Maṣūr and his vassal, Abū Maṣūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain are mentioned. There is also a name "Mut" on the coins. The name "Abū Maṣūr Muḥammad", placed in the circular legend after the words "mimma amara", shows that he possessed Ispījāb and the prerogative of striking coins there. Certainly he was the same Abū Maṣūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Mut Ispījābī mentioned in the chronicles (Bartold 1963, 326).

As a matter of fact there is a coin minted in Ispījāb in 307/917-20 by Aḥmad b. Mut, vassal of Naṣr II b. Aḥmad (Davidovich 1954, 94-98). We also know his nephew. Muḥammad b. Ḥusain b. Mut who participated in 922 in the abortive mutiny of Ilyās b. Ishāq against the Central Government. The mutiny having been crushed, this Muḥammad fled to Ṭarāz and was killed there by "the dihqān of Ṭarāz", implementing the order of the Sāmānid amir (Bartold 1963, 301).

The alliance with the Sāmānids proved to be shortlived: a year later in 997 Abū Maṣūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Mut Ispījābī mutinied against his suzerain and called on the Qarākhānid ruler of Uzgend Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī for help. The latter, however, having arrived at Samarqand, ordered the arrest of the mutineer. It seems that Īlek Naṣr considered that Abū Maṣūr Muḥammad Ispījābī might thwart his own plans. On 23 October 999 Īlek Naṣr captured Bukhārā, put an end to the Sāmānid state and created the new Qarākhānid dominion in Mawarānnahr (Bartold 1963, 326, 329).

On the early coins of 389-404/998-1014 Ispījāb there is a word which Markov (1896, 220-221 Nr. 199-202) read as "Malik" and the writer (Fedorov 1964, 97-98, 103) as "Milla" or "Malik". Kochnev (1987a, 160) read it as the name "Mut". He considered it "very popular" or "a patronymic", or "dynastic" name of the Ispījāb rulers, whom he named "Mutids". So the Qarākhānids did not abolish the local Dynasty of the Mutids but left them to exist as vassal rulers of Ispījāb.

In 389/998-9 dirhems of Ispījāb mention several names (Masson 1968, 240). On the obverse under the Kalima is written (in large letters as the Kalima itself) "Abū Naṣr". Above the Kalima is written "Muḥammad" and under the *kunia*, "Abū Naṣr", the name "Mut" is written in small letters. On the reverse under the name of the caliph is mentioned "al-Amir al-Jalīl Abū Maṣūr". Bartold (1963, 336) established that the *kunia* "Abū Naṣr" belonged to the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Amir al-Jalīl Abū Maṣūr Muḥammad Mut was a ruler of Ispījāb who became a vassal of the Qarākhānids again. There is some deviation from the rule in the mentioning of suzerain and vassal on the coin. The suzerain should be mentioned after the name of the caliph. One cannot tell whether this deviation was intended or not.

So as we see Abū Maṣūr Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusain b. Mut Ispījābī not only regained his freedom after being arrested by Īlek Naṣr but also retained Ispījāb though as a vassal of the Qarākhānids.

Kochnev (1995, 208, Nr. 75) published an interesting coin of 389 Ispījāb which reflects quite another political situation. There are two names on the obverse: "Mut" above the Kalima and "Aḥmad b. Naṣr" under the Kalima. On the reverse the last Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūh is mentioned. I supposed (Fedorov 1972, 142) that the Aḥmad b. Naṣr mentioned on early coins was the son of Īlek Naṣr. Kochnev (1987a, 158) shared my

opinion. So it happened that the second coin of 389 Ispījāb was minted from two different dies. On the obverse, Mut and his suzerain are mentioned. On the reverse, the last amir, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūh is mentioned. He was brought to the throne by conspiring Sāmānid generals in Ṣafar 389/February 999 and dethroned 14 Dhu-l-Qa'da 389/23 October 999 by Īlek Naṣr, who captured Bukhārā (Bartold 1963, 327, 329). So coins show that for about 9 months in 999 the ruler of Ispījāb was a vassal of the Sāmānids. Then during the last one and a half months of 999 he was the vassal of two Qarākhānids: first of Aḥmad b. Naṣr, then of Aḥmad b. 'Alī. As a compensation, instead of Ispījāb Aḥmad b. Naṣr received Khojende (Fedorov 1972, 142), where he minted coins as a vassal of Īlek Naṣr in 390/999-1000.

But in 392/1001-02 (Kochnev 1987a, 157) the name of Aḥmad b. Naṣr is on the coins of Ispījāb again. He is mentioned after the caliph. So he was apparently the suzerain. On the reverse are mentioned "Mut" (above the Kalima) and "Ṭāhir Rāzī" (under the Kalima). So Mut retained Ispījāb as a vassal of the Qarākhānids. The presence of Aḥmad b. Naṣr in Ispījāb was not quite necessary. He was entitled to get some part of the taxes gathered from the province and to be mentioned on the coins of Ispījāb as a suzerain of its ruler. As for Ṭāhir Rāzī, mentioned in the place where subvassals usually were mentioned, he might have been a representative of Aḥmad b. Naṣr. Kochnev (1987a, 157) considered him to be "an official connected with the work of the Ispījāb mint".

In 395/1004-5 the coins of Ispījāb (Kochnev 1995, 213 Nr. 149) were minted in the name of Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) as sole ruler of the town. Mut probably stayed there as a private person or served his suzerain in some other place.

The coins of 396/1005-6 show a new situation (Kochnev 1995, 214 Nr. 162-164). "Muḥammad Mut" (or "Abū Maṣūr Mut") again appears on the coins as a vassal of Quṭb al-Daula (i.e. of the same Aḥmad b. 'Alī). So it was also in 397-400/1006-10 (Kochnev 1995, 216-219 Nr. 189-193, 219-221): "Mut", "Abū Maṣūr Mu'izz al-Daula Mut" or "Abū Maṣūr Mu'izz al-Daula" minted coins as owner of the town and vassal of Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Apart from them, it is "subvassals" (or rather representatives of Aḥmad b. 'Alī) who are mentioned usually on the reverse: 'Alī (398, 400); Ṣāliḡ (398-399); Bu 'Alī (398-399); Mīrek (400); Ḥasan (397 or 399). It is usually "Mut" above and one of those names underneath the legend in the field. It is hardly possible that all of them were Mutids. More likely Mut was mentioned above as vassal and all the others as subvassals (or representatives of the suzerain).

But in 400/1009-10 the status of Ispījāb and its owner changed again. Internecine war broke out between Īlek Naṣr and his brother, Ṭoghān Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Ispījāb's owner took advantage of this situation. During part of 400 (Kochnev 1995, 219 Nr. 229) he minted coins as an independent ruler: on the reverse Abū Maṣūr Mu'izz al-Daula Mut and Mīrek are mentioned but there is no mention of their suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Later in the same year, 400, Abū Maṣūr Mut took sides with Īlek Naṣr and acknowledged him as suzerain: Naṣr b. 'Alī Pādishāh is mentioned on the reverse after the caliph and Mu'izz al-Daula Mut on the obverse (Kochnev 1995, 219 Nr. 230).

In 401/1010-11 it was the same at first: Pādishāh Naṣr b. 'Alī (reverse) and Mu'izz al-Daula Mut (obverse), but later the name or *nisba* of the subvassal (or rather representative of Naṣr b. 'Alī) appears under the reverse field legend: Ṣarāf. Then the name of Mut disappears from the coins of Ispījāb. Naṣr b. 'Alī is mentioned on the reverse and the name (or two names?) 'Alī/Ṣarāf is mentioned on the obverse, above and under the Kalima (Kochnev 1995, 221 Nr. 262-264).

But one can find the name of the ruler of Ispījāb on the 401/1010-11 coins of Shāsh, which he possessed as a vassal of

Naşr b. 'Alī. On the reverse "al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Pādīshāh" and "Mu'izz al-Daula Mut" are mentioned (Kochnev 1995, 223 Nr. 279). The *laqab* "al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl" had belonged to Naşr b. 'Alī at least since 384/994-5. So he was mentioned in the circular legend of Farghāna falūs: "al Amīr al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naşr b. 'Alī" (Kochnev 1995, 203 Nr. 7-10). Probably Mut participated in the conquest of Shāsh from Aḥmad b. 'Alī and was granted this town as an appanage. There is also mention of "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla" (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) in the circular legend of the reverse. But that should not surprise us. It seems rather strange but on most of his coins minted in 400-401 Naşr, while waging war against Aḥmad, continued to mention him formally as his suzerain. There is also a coin of AH 401 Ispījāb with the names of Mut and Aḥmad b. 'Alī, but this must certainly have been minted from an obsolete die, mentioning Aḥmad as suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 219 Nr. 226).

In 402/1011-12 Mut returned to Ispījāb where he continued to mint coins as a vassal of Naşr b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 223 Nr. 282-285). Then the situation changed again. Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī reconciled the warring brothers, peace was made. All returned to the "status quo ante bellum". In 402 coins were minted in Ispījāb which mention "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān" as suzerain and "Mu'izz al-Daula Mut" as vassal (Kochnev 1995, 223 Nr. 286). A dirhem of 394 Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 212 Nr. 133) mentioning "Quṭb al-Daula Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī" proves that the *laqab* "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān" belonged to Aḥmad b. 'Alī.

There is an interesting dirhem of 402 Ispījāb in the collection of the Bishkek antique dealer A. Kamyshev. On the obverse is "Mu'izz al-Daula Mut"; on the reverse. "Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī" (suzerain) and "Yūsuf" are mentioned. This Yūsuf was a vassal of Aḥmad b. 'Alī on the coins of Shāsh in 394, 395, 396 (Kochnev 1995, 213 Nr. 139-143). It appears that, after the peace treaty of AH 402, Yūsuf was for some time vassal (since he was mentioned on the reverse) of Aḥmad in Ispījāb. Mut, being mentioned on the obverse (a less prestigious place) was subvassal.

Coins of 403/1012-13 Ispījāb are not known. But certainly the situation did not change there because, in 404/1013-14, Mu'izz al-Daula Mut continued to mint coins in Ispījāb as a vassal of Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 227 Nr. 342). And then the local Turkic, semi-independent Mutid Dynasty of Ispījāb was abolished in that same year, 404. Of course it did not mean the physical extermination of the Mutids. Most probably they stayed in Ispījāb as private persons, rich and influential feudals.

Coins of 404 show the following sequence of events. At first coins in Ispījāb were minted in the name of Aḥmad b. 'Alī without any mention of a vassal or representative. Then the Khān's representative was appointed in Ispījāb. On the coins of 404 Madinat al-Baidā (which is another name of Ispījāb) Aḥmad b. 'Alī and Şarāf are mentioned (Kochnev 1995, 228 Nr. 343, 351). And lastly, in that same year of 404, Aḥmad b. 'Alī granted Ispījāb as an appanage to his junior brother, Muḥammad b. 'Alī. There are coins (Kochnev 1995, 228 Nr. 344) minted in Ispījāb in the names of "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān" (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain) and "Sanā al-Daula Ināl-tegīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī" (vassal).

Coins of 405/1014-15 Ispījāb are not known so far. There is an interesting dirhem of 406, Ispījāb, in the collection of Bishkek antique dealer V. Mardash. On the reverse Aḥmad b. 'Alī and Mu'izz al-Daula Mut are mentioned. Provided it is not a case of an old reverse die being used, this coin gives us interesting information. In 404-407/1013-17 an internecine war was waged between Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother, Maṣṣūr. Judging by the coins of 405/6 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 231 Nr. 393) and some others, the third brother, Muḥammad b. 'Alī took sides with Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. On the said coins of Ṭarāz "Shams al-

Daula Khān" and "Muḥammad b. 'Alī Īlek" are mentioned. Coins of 406 Shāsh prove that the *laqab* "Shams al-Daula" belonged to Maṣṣūr. They mention either "Shams al-Daula al-Malik al-'Adil Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī" or "Al-Malik al-'Adil Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī Shams al-Daula" and "Īlek" (Kochnev 1995, 234 Nr. 435-436). So it seems that, in 406/1015-16, Aḥmad b. 'Alī lost Ṭarāz to Maṣṣūr and Muḥammad but retained Ispījāb, where Mut was restored as a vassal appanage ruler.

In 407/1016-17 coins in Ispījāb (Kochnev 1995, 235 Nr. 447) were minted by "Arslān Khān" (i.e. Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī, suzerain) and "Sanā al-Daula Īlek" (i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, vassal). But in the same 407 in "Madinat al-Baidā" (which is the second name of Ispījāb) there was already another vassal of Arslān Khān: Nāşir al-Daula Tegīn. Kochnev (1995, 236 Nr. 450-452) read the name of Nāşir al-Daula Tegīn as "Muḥammad?", with question-mark i.e. he was not sure. Kochnev mistook "Aḥmad" for "Muḥammad". On other coins, Nāşir al-Daula Tegīn is called "Nāşir al-Daula Atim Tegīn" (Kochnev 1995, 238 Nr. 480-481). Atim Tegīn is called on a fals of 408 Ispījāb "Aḥmad b. Īlek" (Fedorov 1971, 166. As a matter of interest, Kochnev (1995, 239, Nr. 493) misread Ispījāb as "Uşrūshana"). Īlek in this case is Muḥammad b. 'Alī. So the coins show that in 407 Arslān Khān granted Ispījāb as an appanage to his nephew Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.

In 408-12/1017-22 in Ispījāb coins were minted in the names of Arslān Khān and Nāşir al-Daula Atim Tegīn (Kochnev 1995, 238-239 Nr. 480, 481, 496, 499-502). Sometimes subvassals (or rather representatives of Arslān Khān) are also mentioned: Rāzī (408), Mīrek (408), Naşr (409-410)

Most probably Atim Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad retained Ispījāb also in 413-415.

In 416/1025-26 Atim Tegīn Aḥmad possessed Ispījāb (Bishkek, collection of M. Omorov) but already as a vassal of Tonghā Khān, the new supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānids, who came to power after the death of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī in 415/1024-25.

In 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. In 416 they conquered Balāsāghūn, capital of Tonghā Khān. In 418 they conquered Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 249 Nr. 657, 251 Nr. 695). Since Ispījāb was situated between Balāsāghūn and Shāsh it will have been conquered between 416-418. Thus Ispījāb was annexed by the Eastern Qarākhānids.

The supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Qadir Khān Yūsuf, died in his capital Kāshghar at the very beginning of 424. His second son, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, inherited Ṭarāz, Ispījāb and Shāsh (Bartold 1963, 357). In 4(3?)5 (Kochnev 1997, 277/1190) coin of Ispījāb cite Boghrā Khān and his vassal, Toḡhāntegīn. In (437?) coins of Ispījāb (Kochnev 1997, 277/1193) cite Boghrā Khān and his vassal, Jaghrātegīn. Could it be that on coin 277/1190 Kochnev misread the name of the vassal? In 44(4?) coins of Ispījāb (Kochnev 277/1193) cite Boghrā Khān and his vassal, Jaghrātegīn. It looks as though Ispījāb was the appanage of Jaghrātegīn from 437 (or 435) to 444. Jaghrātegīn Ḥusain was the eldest son of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, who proclaimed him heir apparent around the year 449. That made one of Boghrā Khān's wives very indignant. She poisoned her husband, massacred other Qarākhānids and put her juvenile son, Ibrahīm, on the throne after which internecine wars broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate (Bartold 1963b, 44).

The Western Qarākhānids invaded the weakened Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate and reconquered all their lost territories. The supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānids, Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān, minted coins in his name in Akhsīket (from

451/1059-60), Uzgend and Shāsh (from 452/1060) and in other towns, including Ispījāb and Balāsāghūn (Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr died in 1068 AD. Internecine war started between his sons. Now it was the turn of the Eastern Qarākhānids to profit from such a state of affairs and they succeeded in recovering the lands previously lost to the Western Qarākhānids. The border between the Eastern and Western khaqanates was established to the east of Khojende (Bartold 1963, 377). Thus Ispījāb again became a province of the Eastern khaqanate.

In 467/1074-5 an internecine war broke out, this time in the Eastern khaqanate. And this time it was the Western Qarākhānids who profited from it. They conquered Farghāna including its eastern outpost, Uzgend, (Fedorov 1980, 54). As for Ispījāb, we have no information about it.

Circa 1130 AD Ispījāb went under the domination of Khytai nomad tribes, who came from the borders of China, conquered Balāsāghūn and created a state of their own. They appear to have left a Qarākhānid ruler as their vassal in Ispījāb. Anyway in the second half of the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth century AD there was a local dynasty in Bārāb (Fārāb, Otrār), near Ispījāb (Kochnev 1983, 97-102). It is possible that Ispījāb together with Bārāb formed a single vassal principality belonging to the Bārāb dynastic line of Qarākhānids.

In the beginning of the thirteenth century AD Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh assumed the role of liberator of Ispījāb from the yoke of the "infidel" Khytais. In 1212 AD, having defeated the Khytai army, he sent a detachment of warriors to Ispījāb to keep watch on the Khytai. Some time later, however, Khwārizmshāh realized that he would not be able to retain Ispījāb. He ordered the residents of Ispījāb to migrate to his state and devastated the province before leaving it to the enemy. But in the time of Chīngiz Khān, Ispījāb was thriving again (Bartold 1963, 431, 433). Internecine wars and plundering raids which started after the death of Chīngiz Khān caused the situation to deteriorate but Ispījāb, which now was more often called Sairam, remained the main town of the province until some time in the 18th century, when it ceded this position to Chimkent (Bartold 1965, 564).

References

1. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia, Sochineniia*, tom 1, Moskva.
2. Bartold, V. V. 1963a. "Tadjiki", *Sochineniia*, tom 2, ch. 1, Moskva.
3. Bartold, V. V. 1963b. "Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia", *Sochineniia*, tom 2, ch. 1, Moskva.
4. Bartold, V. V. 1964. "Bogra-khan", *Sochineniia*, tom 2, ch. 2, Moskva.
5. Bartold, V. V. 1964a. "Neskol'ko slov ob ariiskoi kul'ture v Srednei Azii", *Sochineniia*, tom 2, ch. 2, Moskva.
6. Bartold, V. V. 1965. "Chimkent", *Sochineniia*, tom 3, Moskva.
7. Davidovich, E. A. 1954. "Numizmaticheskie materialy dlia istorii razvitiia feodal'nykh otnoshenii v Srednei Azii", *Trudy Akademii Nauk Tadjikskoi SSR*, tom 27.
8. Fedorov, M. N. 1964. "Klad karakhanidskikh dirhemov nachala XI v. iz Tashkenta", *Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 5.
9. Fedorov, M. N. 1971. "Khodjenskii klad serebriannykh dirhemov vtorogo desiatiletiia XI v.", *Material'naiia kul'tura Tadjikistana*, 2.
10. Fedorov, M. N. 1972. "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse X - nachale XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskie istochniki)", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, 10.
11. Fedorov, M. N. 1980. "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v.", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, 13.
12. Kochnev, B. D. 1983. "Novye numizmaticheskie dannye po istorii Karakhanidov vtoroi poloviny XII - nachala XIII vv.", *Kirgiztia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.

13. Kochnev, B. D. 1987. "Klad mednykh monet X - nachala XI v. iz Tashkentskogo oazisa", *Novoe v sovetskoii numizmatike i numizmaticheskom muzevedenii. Tezisy dokladov i soobshchenii konferentsii k 200-letiiu Otdela Numizmatiki Ermitazha*, Leningrad.
14. Kochnev, B. D. 1987a. "Zametki po srednevekovoi numizmatike Srednei Azii. Chast' 8. (Karakhanidy)", *Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 21.
15. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
16. Markov, A. K. 1896. *Inventarnyi katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, St Peterburg.
17. Masson, M. E. 1968. "Kladik dirhemov kontsa X - nachala XI v. iz goroda langi-lul Tashkentskoi oblasti", *Istoriia, arkhologiiia i etnografiia Srednei Azii*, Moskva.

Khojende

The earliest Qarākhānid coin of Khojende so far known are falūs minted in 383-4/993-5 (Kalinin 2000, 15-16, Kochnev 1987, 57-8; 1995, 203/6-11). They provide some interesting information.

In May 992, after two victorious battles, the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, Boghrā Khān Hārūn, captured Bukhārā. The Sāmānid amir, Nūḥ II b. Maṣṣūr, fled to Āmul and started to raise an army. An illness caused by eating Bukharan fruit and by the climate caused Boghrā Khān to leave Bukhārā for Samarqand, where his health deteriorated. He died on the way to his capital, Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963, 320-321). Among the towns recovered by the Sāmānids was Khojende. In 383-4/993-95 coins of Khojende were minted by Nūḥ II or by Nūḥ II and his vicegerent, Bahrām. But there are falūs of 383-4, Khojende, minted by Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī. Kalinin thought that "during AH 383-384 Khojend changed hands several times" (Kalinin 2000, 16), but there could be another explanation: some coins may have been struck using mismatched dies, one of which was obsolete. The Sāmānid amir had no military power to recover Khojende once he had lost it. His generals blatantly disobeyed him and fought each other to become the vice-regent of Khurasan, the richest province of the agonizing Sāmānid state.

The coins of Khojende show that Qarākhānid expansion to the west did not stop with the death of Boghrā Khān Hārūn, but was led by the representative of another Qarākhānid branch. He was Īlek Naṣr, son of the ruler of Kāshghar, Arslān Khān 'Alī. Thus Naṣr captured Khojende in AH 383 or 384.

In the autumn of 386/996 Īlek Naṣr launched a new invasion of the Sāmānid dominions. Amir Nūḥ II was forced to cede to the Qarākhānids all the lands to the east of Samarqand. After that, Khojende went to the Qarākhānids irrevocably. In October 999 a final blow was dealt: Īlek Naṣr seized Bukhārā. The last Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ, was captured, sent to Uzgend (Īlek Naṣr's capital at the time) and taken into custody (Bartold 1963, 324-329).

Falūs of 390/999-1000 Khojende were minted by Īlek Naṣr. Although actually independent, Naṣr formally acknowledged his brother Khāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī as suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 210/104).

During part of 390 falūs of another type were minted in Khojende (Lane-Pool 1876, 121). Aḥmad b. 'Alī was not mentioned on them. Instead Īlek Naṣr was mentioned as suzerain of the appanage holder Aḥmad b. Naṣr, who proved to be his son. Fals of AH 411 Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 243/552) mentions "Aḥmad b. Īlek Naṣr", who turned up after 21 years of obscurity again as an appanage owner.

After AH 390 there is gap in the mintage of Khojende till 399/1008-09, but, as it was located in the middle of the state of İlek Naşr the town unquestionably belonged to him. He may have been the immediate possessor, or suzerain of an immediate owner of Khojende. But in AH 399 Naşr minted falūs in Khojende in his own name mentioning Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī as suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 210 Nr. 104).

In 401/1010-11 İlek Naşr minted falūs in Khojende in his own name without mentioning Aḥmad as suzerain (Tübingen collection of Dr. Lutz Ilisch. I wish to thank Dr. Ilisch for allowing the inclusion of this coin in the present article). In AH 401 Naşr waged war against his brother Aḥmad, which is probably why he did not mention him as suzerain.

In 403/1012-13 İlek Naşr died. His dominions were split among his brothers. On a dirhem of AH 403 Khojende 3 persons are mentioned: "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān" (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain), "Shams al-Daula İlek" (vassal) and "Abu Mañşūr Sanā al-Daula Arslān-tegīn" (subvassal and immediate owner of Khojende, who ordered this coin to be minted). On a dirhem of AH 403 Bukhārā "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān" (suzerain) and "Shams al-Daula Mañşūr", i.e. Mañşūr b. 'Alī (vassal and owner of Bukhārā) are mentioned (Kochnev 1995, 224 Nr. 304). This coin proves that the *laqab* "Shams al-Daula" belonged to Mañşūr b. 'Alī. The *laqab* "Sanā al-Daula" and title "Arslān-tegīn" belonged to Muḥammad b. 'Alī at least from AH 393. The dirhem of AH 393 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 211 Nr. 121) leaves no doubt about it. Written in the obverse field is "Muḥammad b. 'Alī /Sanā al-Daula" and in the circular legend "Sanā al-Daula Arslān-tegīn".

But in the same year, AH 403, Mañşūr b. 'Alī disappears from the coins of Khojende. It looks as though, after taking possession of Bukhārā as sole owner, Mañşūr ceased to be vassal and partial owner in Khojende. As for Muḥammad b. 'Alī, he was promoted in Khojende from a position of subvassal and partial owner to a position of a vassal and sole owner of the town (Kochnev 1995, 226, Nr. 325). Muḥammad was also mentioned with a new title "İnal-tegīn", which was probably higher than "Arslān-tegīn". The coins of this type have dates from AH 403 to 407. As for coins of AH 406-407, however, they were minted using obsolete reverse dies with an obsolete title, because already on some of the Khojende coins of AH 404 (as well as those of AH 405-407) Muḥammad is given the higher title of "İlek", while continuing to mention "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq" (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) as his suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 229 Nr. 370). But some coins with new dates 406 and 407 were in their turn minted using obsolete reverse dies that described a previous situation, because Muḥammad had changed allegiance being in 406 and 407 a vassal of Mañşūr b. 'Alī.

In 404/1013-14 an internecine war broke out between the brothers Aḥmad and Mañşūr b. 'Alī. On the Bukhārā dirhem of AH 403 mentioned above, Mañşūr was owner of the town and vassal of Aḥmad. The same situation obtained in Kesh in AH 403 (Kochnev 1995, 225, 312). In AH 404 coins of Bukhārā were minted in the names of "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla Abū Naşr Khāqān" and his vassal or rather vicegerent, Haravī (Bishkek, collection of V. Mardash). The coin of AH 404 Shāsh minted by "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla Aḥmad b. 'Alī Khān" (Kochnev 1995, 229 Nr. 372) proves that the *laqab* "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla" belonged to Aḥmad and not Mañşūr b. 'Alī. This means that he had lost Bukhārā to Aḥmad. The same situation applied to Kesh, the second appanage town, which Mañşūr possessed before. In Kesh, coins were minted in the names of "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla Khāqān" and his vicegerent Şāliḥ (Kochnev 1995, 228 Nr. 350).

As for Muḥammad b. 'Alī, he at first stayed loyal to his old suzerain. Then in 405-406/1014-16 some coins in Khojende

(Kochnev 1995, 232 Nr. 405; 234 Nr. 431) were minted in the names of "Arslān Khān" or "Shams al-Daula Khān" (Mañşūr b. 'Alī, suzerain) and "Sanā al-Daula İnal-tegīn" or "Sanā al-Daula İlek" (Muḥammad b. 'Alī, vassal). After the war had started, Mañşūr proclaimed himself "Arslān Khān". An thus was he titled on coins of AH 404-405 Akhsiket, conquered from Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 227, Nr. 333). That is why Muḥammad was promoted to the title "İlek" which had belonged to Mañşūr previously.

The situation in AH 405-407 in Khojende is not clear. The picture is complicated because, during this period, coins were minted there mentioning either Aḥmad or Mañşūr as suzerain of Muḥammad. There can be two explanations for this. The first explanation is that some coins were minted using mismatched dies, one of them obsolete. The reverse die always had the title of suzerain and usually the title of a vassal (though sometimes it could be on the obverse). The obverse die always had a date and sometimes the title of a vassal or subvassal. So the situation could be distorted owing to the use of mismatched dies, one of them obsolete, thus producing old titles with a new date or new titles with an old date.

The second explanation is that Muḥammad b. 'Alī changed allegiance several times, going over from one warring side to another and back. But anyway it is difficult to believe that every year from 405 to 407 AH Muḥammad at least twice a year regularly deserted one warring brother to join another and went back again, and again, and again, and so on.

In 407/1016-17 Khwārizmshāh offered his help as a go-between and reconciled the warring parties. Peace must have been made in the first part of AH 407, before the winter, because in the winter of that year an embassy from the Qarākhānids arrived at the court of Maḥmūd, Sultān of Ghazna and offered to mediate in the conflict between Khwārizm and Ghazna (Baihaqi 1962, 592-594).

It is not out of question that Khojende was able to return to the "status quo ante bellum". And that was probably why some coins of AH 407 Khojende mention Aḥmad as suzerain of Muḥammad.

In the beginning of 408/1017-18 Aḥmad b. 'Alī died (Fedorov 1972, 145). In 408-414/1017-24 Muḥammad continued to mint coins in Khojende as the immediate owner of the town and vassal of Arslān Khān (Kochnev 1995, 235 Nr. 441, 237 Nr. 467-8, 240 Nr. 517, 241 Nr. 521, 246 Nr. 611).

Then in 414-15/1024-25 a subvassal and immediate owner of the town appeared in Khojende. He was Sinān al-Daula Bektüzün, whom Kochnev (1995, 247 Nr. 631-3; 1989, 156-60) identified with a former Sāmānid warlord, who, after the collapse of the Sāmānid state, went to serve the Qarākhānids. Bektüzün cited "İlek" (Muḥammad b. 'Alī) as an immediate and "Arslān Khān" (Mañşūr b. 'Alī) as supreme suzerain.

In 415/1024-25 Arslān Khān died as did Muḥammad b. 'Alī about the same time. The supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was seized by another branch of the Qarākhānid dynasty, the so-called "Ḥasanids". Toḡhān Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan became the supreme ruler with his capital in Balāsāghūn (Fedorov 1980, 38, 39 footnotes 1-4). Khojende had changed hands. In the same year, AH 415, coins were minted there by "Toḡhān (another transcription of the word Toḡhān) Khān" (suzerain) and "Bahā al-Daula İlek" (Kochnev 1995, 247 Nr. 633). On the coins of AH 415 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 248 Nr. 640, 642) "İlek al-'Adil 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan" or "İlek al-'Adil Bahā al-Daula" are mentioned. Hence "Bahā al-Daula İlek" was a brother of Toḡhān Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. This 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan was more often mentioned in mediaeval chronicles as "'Alī-tegīn".

In 416/1025-26 a subvassal appeared in Khojende (Bishkek, collection of Dr. M. Omorov). In the reverse field after the name of the caliph (i.e. in the place usually reserved for the suzerain) "Tonghān Khān" (suzerain) and "Īlek" ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan, vassal) are mentioned. Under it the *laqab* of the subvassal "'Imād ad-Daula" is written in small letters. On the obverse under the Kalimah is title of the subvassal "Ṭoghān-tegīn".

In AH 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids, headed by Qadir Khān Yūsuf of Kāshghar, invaded the lands of the Western Qarākhānids. Simultaneously, Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna launched an invasion of Mawarānnahr from the south. The ruler of Samarqand, 'Alī-tegīn, fled to the desert. But some time later Maḥmūd withdrew his army having shrewdly decided that it was safer to have several Qarākhānids fighting each other than one victorious Qadir Khān behind his unprotected back. Nevertheless, the intervention of Maḥmūd allowed Qadir Khān to conquer vast territories from the Western Qarākhānids. In AH 416-417 he conquered Balāsāghūn and East Farghāna together with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained West Farghāna with Akhsīket until 418 but then the whole of Farghāna was conquered from them (Fedorov 1983, 111-113). Khojende, situated to the west of Akhsīket was to stay with the Western Qarākhānids until 418/1027-28.

There is a coin of AH 419 with the mintname "Khogend" or "Khokend" (Bishkek collection of A. Kamyshev). Kochnev (1995, 255 Nr. 759) read it as "Khokand(?)". But the name of this town is "Khūqand" and it was never written "Khokand". I believe that it is "Khogend" (cf. "Uzgend" and "Uzjend" as it was written on the coins of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries). If my reading is correct then this coin shows that in 419/1028 Khojende was conquered by Qadir Khān too. The coin in question mentions "Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān" (suzerain) and "Arslān-tegīn" (vassal). The *laqab* "Rukn al-Daula" on the obverse could belong to Arslān-tegīn or (which is less probable) to a subvassal.

Coins of AH 423 and 424 Khojende (Kochnev 1995, 254 Nr. 747; Tübingen University collection Nr. 922842) were minted in the names of "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān" (suzerain), "Rukn al-Daula" (reverse) and "Aḍud al-Daula" (obverse). Since "Rukn ad-Daula" is mentioned on the reverse, he was higher in the hierarchy. Or was "Aḍud al-Daula" the second *laqab* of Rukn al-Daula? These coins show that Qadir Khān also conquered Khojende.

There is a fals of Khojende of uncertain date, which Kochnev read as "AH 425(?)". This coin mentions "'Alī b. al-Ḥasan" (obverse field) and, as Kochnev read, "Ṭafghāch Khān". Based on such shaky ground, Kochnev jumped to the conclusion that 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (i.e. 'Alī-tegīn) had reconquered Khojende from the Eastern Qarākhānids "between 423-26/1031-35", "when 'Alī had the title of "Khān" (Kochnev 1995, 258 Nr. 801; Kochnev 1994, 70). But the title "Ṭoghān Khān" is easy to mistake for "Ṭafghāch Khān", especially when the state of preservation of a coin is bad. I believe that this coin was minted in AH 415, when, as the AH 415 dirhem of Khojende shows, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan was a vassal of "Ṭoghān Khān" in Khojende.

In 428/1036-38 Khojende was an independent principality. The local ruler, "al-Amīr Ajall Sayyid Fakhr al-Daula ...-tegīn" minted coins there in his own name and cited neither the head of the Western nor Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate as his suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 260 Nr. 831). Later a certain "Fakhr ad-Daula Bahrām" minted coins in Uzgend (AH 441-45), Qubā and Marghīnān (442-44) as a vassal of the head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Arslān Khān Sulaimān, whose capital was in Kāshghar (Kochnev and Fedorov 1974, 180-181; Bishkek, collection of A. Kamyshev). It is quite possible that "Fakhr al-

Daula" of AH 428 Khojende and "Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām" was one and the same person.

Kochnev (1993, 623 Nr. 1294) mentioned a coin (not available to me) minted in AH 431 Khojende by Boghrā Khān. That was the title of Muḥammad, the second son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf (and brother of Arslān Khān Sulaimān), who possessed Shāsh, Ispījāb and Ṭarāz. If the reading of Kochnev is correct, it means that Boghrā Khān had managed to capture Khojende. The time was opportune because the Western Qarākhānids were engaged in internecine war. In AH 429 Ibrahīm, son of Īlek Naṣr, who was being held in captivity by the ruler of Samarqand, Yūsuf, son of the late 'Alī-tegīn, escaped from him, raised an army and started a war to reconquer Mawarānnahr. By AH 431 he had reconquered Kesh and Samarqand. By 433-434 he had reconquered Mawarānnahr and became the Head of the Western Qarākhānids with the title Ṭafghāch Khān (Fedorov 1980, 41-42).

In 434/1042-43 coins were issued in Khojende by an appanage ruler 'Ain al-Daula, vassal of Arslān Khān Sulaimān, who was the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids (with his capital in Kāshghar). But Muḥammad 'Ain al-Daula was a Western Qarākhānid and son of Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī (conqueror of Bukhārā in 999). Before being in Khojende, he had been the appanage ruler of various towns in the Farghāna valley, Uzgend and Marghīnān among them (Kochnev 1995, 246 Nr. 610, 260 Nr. 848). In 430/1038-39 Akhsīket, Uzgend and other towns of Farghāna went to an Eastern Qarākhānid, Ṭoghā (Ṭoghān) Khān (Kochnev 1995, 260 Nr. 832, 834). In 435/1043-44 Arslān Khān Sulaimān "granted" Ṭoghān Khān "the whole of Farghāna" (Materialy 1973, 60). As a matter of fact Arslān Khān did not give anything to his uncle Ṭoghān Khān nor to his brother, Boghrā Khān. He was simply forced to sanction the dismemberment of the vast state of his father, Qadir Khān Yūsuf, into three independent khanates: those of Arslān Khān, Ṭoghān khān, and Boghrā Khān.

Having lost his last appanage (Marghīnān) in Farghāna 'Ain al-Daula was compensated by (or did he capture it himself?) Khojende. The fact that 'Ain al-Daula in Khojende was a vassal of Arslān Khān (and not of Ṭoghān Khān) shows that 'Ain al-Daula was looking for protection against his immediate neighbour Ṭoghān Khān. But Arslān Khān was far away in Kāshghar and was hardly in a position to help much.

That was probably why 'Ain al-Daula had changed his political orientation. In 436/1044-45 he turned up in Baghdād to solicit from the caliph an investiture for governing Khojende, Ushrūshāna and "part of Farghāna" as a vassal of the Head of the Western Qarākhānids Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr (Buniatov 1974, 8). It is not clear whether the caliph granted him the investiture and whether it helped 'Ain al-Daula to retain Khojende. Khojendian coins of that time are not known.

Having "granted" Ṭoghān Khān Farghāna, Arslān Khān was most unwilling to reconcile himself to the disruption of his father's state. At the beginning of the forties of the fifth century AH he attacked Ṭoghān Khān and conquered from him the whole of Farghāna with the exception of Akhsīket. This impacted on the political status of Khojende. Khojende was either restored to 'Ain al-Daula or the latter again changed his political orientation. One way or the other in AH 441 and 444 he minted coins in Khojende as a vassal of Arslān Khān (Fedorov 1980, 48-49). Khojende again became part of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Circa AH 447 Arslān Khān attacked his brother, Boghrā Khān but was defeated and taken prisoner. It is noteworthy that the latest coins of 'Ain al-Daula were minted in 447 (Kochnev 1997, 280 Nr. 1229). Then he disappears from the coins. The inscription on the "Shāh Fāḍil" mausoleum in Farghāna calls him "shahīd" (Nastich, Kochnev 1988, 70, 74), which means that he suffered a violent death (was assassinated or

fell in battle). It seems that 'Ain al-Daula joined his suzerain, Arslān Khān in the war against Boghrā Khān and fell in battle in 447. Which means that he could not have been in possession of Khojende later than AH 447.

About 450-51/1058-60 Khojende was conquered by the Western Qarākhānids, who took advantage of the Eastern Qarākhānids being engaged in internecine war, and regained all their dominions lost to Qadir Khān. Judging by his coins, the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr conquered Akhsīket in AH 451 and Uzgend not later than 452 (Fedorov 1980, 43). Khojende, situated to the west of those towns, will have been conquered in 451 or even earlier, since the coup d'état which cost Boghrā Khān his life and resulted in the imprisonment of Arslān Khān, took place in AH 449 (Bartold 1963a, 44). The date on the coin of Khojende minted by Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrāhīm (Kochnev 1997, 254 Nr. 937) had not survived.

Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrāhīm died in 1068. An internecine war broke out between his sons. The Eastern Qarākhānids made good use of this state of affairs and reconquered all their lost lands with the exception of Khojende. The border line between the Eastern and Western Qarākhānid khaqanates was drawn near Khojende, which remained with the Western Qarākhānids (Fedorov 1980, 122). The dirhems of Khojende are known minted in AH 461 and 466 in the name of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm, who became the Head of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate (Markov 1896, 268 Nr. 466, 269 Nr. 467).

In 1978 I published a dirhem minted in Uzgend in 473/1080-81 by Ṭafghāch Khān Khidr, brother and successor of Shams al-Mulk. Based on this coin I established a fact that was unknown and unmentioned in the chronicles that, having lost their dominions to the Eastern Qarākhānids in 460 AH, the Western Qarākhānids started another war and reconquered at least Farghāna with its easternmost town, Uzgend. I assumed that Farghāna was reconquered not by Ṭafghāch Khān Khidr but by Shams al-Mulk, who made use of an internecine war among the Eastern Qarākhānids in 467/1074-75 (Fedorov 1978, 173-176). This assumption was proved true by a recently found dirhem of AH 467 Uzgend and coins of AH 465, 467, 472 Akhsīket minted by Shams al-Mulk (Kochnev 1997, 256 Nr. 962). The dirhem of AH 465 Akhsīket, provided the date was read correctly, allows us to give a more precise picture. In Rabī' I 465/ December 1072) the Seljuqid Sultan, Alp Arslān was assassinated. An internecine war broke out between claimants to the throne in the state of the Great Seljuqs. Shams al-Mulk used it. In Rabī' II 465/ January 1073 he captured Tirmidh and left there his brother as a vicegerent (Fedorov 1991, 24). He was then able to move his army to Farghāna to reconquer it. As the dirhem of 465 shows (provided the date was read by Kochnev correctly), he managed to conquer at least Akhsīket. The destiny of Uzgend before 467/1074-75 is not clear.

Meanwhile Malikshāh, son of Alp Arslān, routed his rivals and ascended the throne. In Muḥarram 467/ September 1074 he reconquered Tirmidh and attacked Shams al-Mulk, who sued for peace. Peace was made (Fedorov 1991, 24). So if Shams al-Mulk did not conquer Uzgend in AH 465, he must have conquered it in 467, when internecine war broke out among the Eastern Qarākhānids, and when his rear was safe after the peace treaty with the Seljuqs had been concluded.

After the conquest of Farghāna by the Western Qarākhānids, Khojende ceased to be a frontier town and remained with the Western Qarākhānids till the end of the Qarākhānid khaqanate.

The Qarakhānid mintage of Khojende of the last quarter of the eleventh, twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century is not known so far. This may have been a result of the process of

decreasing the number of appanages and the concomitant growth of their territory. It was especially conspicuous starting with the middle of the twelfth century. Having ceased to be a capital of a special appanage, Khojende was deprived of its own mint. According to hoards of the second half of the twelfth century found in Khojende, the money needs of Khojende (and its province) were served by fiduciary copper silver-washed dirhems minted in Uzgend (former Uzgend), which, by that time, became the capital of the largest Qarākhānid principality in Farghāna. In Khojende alone (not to speak of its province) were found four big hoards of silver-washed dirhems minted in 559-574/ 1163-79. They were a kind of metal banknote with an enforced high value based on government decree and not on the value of metal from which they were made. They were accepted only in the principality which minted them. Proceeding from this consideration we may assume that in AH 559-574 (and later) Khojende was part of the Qarākhānid principality with its capital in Uzgend.

Later, in addition to the Uzgend principality, other principalities in Farghāna were formed based on Kasān and Marghīnān, so that Khojende became separated from Uzgend. It is not clear whether an independent principality was created in Khojende, or whether it became a part of a principality, which comprised Samarqand and Bukhārā, and which was the seat of the formal Head of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. So far coins minted in Khojende during that period are not known.

Such then is the history of Khojende that can be gleaned from Qarākhānid numismatics.

References

1. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*, *Sochineniia*, t. 1, Moskva.
2. Bartold, V. V. 1963a, "Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia", *Sochineniia*, t. 2, ch. 1, Moskva.
3. Baihaqi, Abu-l-Fazl. 1962. *Istoriia Mas'uda 1030-1041*, vstupil'naia stat'ia, perevod i primechaniia A. K. Arends, Tashkent.
4. Buniatov, Z. M. 1981. "Gars an-Ni'ma as-Sabi i Kamal ad-Din ibn Fuvati ob istorii Karakhanidov", *Pis'mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka 1974*, Moskva.
5. Fedorov, M. N. 1972. "Politicheskaia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse X – nachale XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskie istochniki)", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, t. X.
6. Fedorov, M. N. 1978. "Novye dannye k istorii Karakhanidskogo gosudarstva poslednei chetverti XI v.", *Istoriia i arkhologiiia Srednei Azii*, Ashkhabad.
7. Fedorov, M. N. 1980. "Politicheskaia istoriia Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v.", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, t. XIII.
8. Fedorov, M. N. 1983. "Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X – nachala XIII v. po numizmaticheskim dannym", *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
9. Fedorov, M. N. 1991. "K interpretatsii novykh dannykh po istorii Karakhanidov", *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Tadzh.SSR, Seriya: Vostokovedenie, istoriia, filologiia*, 1, 1991.
10. Kochnev, B. D. and Fedorov, M. N. 1974. "Dva klada Karakhanidskikh dirhemov serediny XI v. iz Kirgizii", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, t. XI.
11. Kochnev, B. D. 1987. "Klad mednykh monet X – nachala XI vv. iz Tashkentskogo oazisa", *Novoe v sovetskoi numizmatike i numizmaticheskom muzevedenii. Tezisy dokladov i nauchnykh soobshchenii k 200-letiiu Otdela Numizmatiki Ermitazha*, Leningrad.
12. Kochnev, B. D. 1989. "Biografiia na monetakh", *Vekhi vremen*, Tashkent.

13. Kochnev, B. D. 1994. "Musul'manskii chekan Ustrushany (po materialam monetnogo chekana Ustrushany i Zaamina)", *Drevnii Zaamin*, Tashkent.
14. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
15. Kochnev, B. D. 1997. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 2)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
16. Kalinin, V. A. 2000. "The Sāmānid coinage of Khojend", *ONS Newsletter*, 164, London.
17. Lane-Pool, Stanley. 1876. *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vol. II, London.
18. Markov, A. K. 1896. *Inventarnyi katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, Sankt Peterburg.
19. *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, 1, 1973, Moskva.

Marghīnān, Qubā and Rishtān.

Marghīnān, modern Margelan in the southern (i.e. south of the Syr-Darya) part of the Fergana valley in the Uzbek Republic, is situated on the banks of a small river, the Margelan-Sai, flowing northward from the Alaïski mountain ridge. Al-Muqaddasī (c. 308/920-21) mentioned it as a small town. But later it grew considerably and Sam'ānī (506-62/1113-67) called it "one of the most famous towns" (Bartold 1965, 481, 534). Medieval Marghīnān is buried under the streets and buildings of modern Margelan and archaeologists do not know the plan of the ancient shahristan (town centre) and rabad (inner suburbs).

Qubā, modern Kuva-Sai, was situated 5 farsakhs (30 km) to the south-east of Marghīnān, on the banks of a small river, the Kuva-Sai, flowing northward from Alaïski mountain ridge. Isṭakhrī (318-21/ 930-33) wrote that it was in size almost like Akhsīket (the then capital of Farghāna) and according to Muqaddasī (c. 308/920) it was even a bit bigger than Akhsīket. Its shahristan was small (9 hectares) but the town had already spread beyond the shahristan's walls in seventh to eighth centuries AD. The shahristan was surrounded by a rabad (80 hectares). The shahristan and rabad were almost quadrangular in shape (Belenitsky, Bentovich, Bol'shakov 1973, 203-204). Ibn Hauqal (c. 977) called Qubā a salubrious town, abundant in orchards and streams (Betger 1957, 26). In the twelfth century AD Qubā lost its significance and declined.

Rishtān (now a settlement between Margelan and Khoqand) was situated 6 farsakhs (36 km) to the west of Marghīnān on the Vakhym stream, one of the eastern arms of the Sokh river, flowing down from the mountains, and disappearing into the arid steppe. In the tenth century AD Rishtān was bigger than Marghīnān but in the twelfth century it was already only a settlement in the region of Marghīnān (Bartold 1965, 534).

Marghīnān

The earliest Qarākhānid coin (fals) of Marghīnān was minted in 397/1006-07 (Kochnev 1995, 215/ 176). It has the double mint-name "Farghāna-Marghīnān". The mint with name "Farghāna" operated in Uzgend, the capital of Farghāna under the Qarākhānids. In the beginning of the tenth century it minted copious copper falūs for the whole province of Farghāna. But sometimes falūs with the mint-name "Farghāna" were minted in other towns of the province. In such cases a double mintname was put on coins: "Farghāna-Osh", "Farghāna-Akhsīket", "Farghāna-Marghīnān" or "Farghāna-Qubā" (Kochnev 1995, 206/ 47, 208/77, 215/176). The mintname "Farghāna-Uzgend"

was not used as it was well-known that the mint with the mint-name "Farghāna" operated in Uzgend.

Falūs of AH 397 Farghāna-Marghīnān were minted by Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī, ruler of Farghāna, which was conquered around the year AH 381 from the Sāmānids. He was that same Īlek Naṣr, who, in 389/999, captured Bukhārā, put an end to the Samanid state and created a new Qarākhānid state in Mawarānnahr.

Kochnev (1995, 217/194) mentioned a fals of AH 398 Marghīnān but gave no description of the legends. Bearing in mind that Farghāna was the dominion of Īlek Naṣr one may be sure that this coin was minted in the name of Naṣr or in the name of Naṣr and his vassal.

Then there was a gap of 20 years in the mintage of Marghīnān. In 418/1027-28 (Kochnev 1995, 250/ 689) coins were minted in Marghīnān in the name of Qadīr Khān and his vassal, Kuch-tegīn. In 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids headed by Qadīr Khān (I) Yūsuf (ruler of Kāshghar) invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. At the same time, Maḥmūd Ghaznavī invaded Mawarānnahr from the south. The owner of Samarqand and Bukhārā, Īlek 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan (mentioned in the chronicles as "'Alī-tegīn"), a brother of the then supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate Ṭoḡhān (Ṭoḡhān) Khān Muḥammad, retreated with his troops to the desert. But later, Maḥmūd turned his army back to Ghazna having realised that it would be safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other. Maḥmūd's invasion, however, allowed Qadīr Khān in 416 to conquer Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna together with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsīket till 418 but then lost all Farghāna and Khojende (Fedorov 1983, 111-113). So the coin of AH 418 reflects those events and shows that Qadīr Khān possessed Marghīnān, which he granted as an appanage to his vassal, Kuch-tegīn.

In 423/1031-32 (Kochnev 1995, 252/715) there was the same appanage-holder in Marghīnān. 'Aḍud al-Daula Kuch-tegīn minted there citing "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadīr Khān" as suzerain. Then Marghīnān changed hands. In 425? (B. D. Kochnev [1995, 258/800] was not quite sure that the digit is 5) Mu'ayyid al-'Adl 'Ain al-Daula minted in Marghīnān. This 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr (son of Īlek Naṣr, conqueror of Bukhārā in 999) appeared in 412/1021-22 as appanage-holder and subvassal on the coins of Akhsīket, which cited "Arslān Khān" (Manṣūr b. 'Alī, as suzerain), "Īlek" (Muḥammad b. 'Alī, as vassal) and "'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr" (as subvassal). In 425? 'Ain al-Daula minted coins in Marghīnān as an independent ruler, no suzerain being cited. According to Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1963, 43) Qadīr Khān (I) Yūsuf died in Muḥarram 424, so it appears that 'Ain al-Daula used this circumstance to mint coins as an independent ruler. On a coin of 430, Marghīnān, Kochnev (1995, 261/848) read the word after the *laqab* al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl as "Atimtegīn?" but to me it looks more like "al-Malikān". So I consider that there is no vassal mentioned on these coins.

In the "Chronicle of the year 429" Baihaqī wrote that sultan Mas'ūd Ghaznavī received a letter from Uzgend sent to him by the Qarākhānid, Būrī-tegīn Ibrahim, son of Īlek Naṣr. Būrī-tegīn wrote that he had escaped from imprisonment by "the sons of 'Alī-tegīn", who ruled Samarqand and Bukhārā, and offered Mas'ūd his service. In the "Chronicle of the year 430", Baihaqī wrote, that Būrī-tegīn "since there happened to be for him no place with his brother 'Ain al-Daula ... came to our lands" (Baihaqī 1962, 484, 495). These two facts were construed by V. V. Bartold in the sense that in 429 'Ain ad-Daula possessed Uzgend. New numismatic data though do not corroborate this. As we see, in AH 429-430 'Ain al-Daula possessed Marghīnān. It is not out of the question that Būrī-tegīn indeed first came to 'Ain al-Daula in Marghīnān but then was forced to go from him to

Uzgend, whence he wrote his letter to Mas'ūd. As to Uzgend, it was in 425-430/1033-39, according to numismatic data (Kochnev 1995, 257/ 795), the dominion of a certain Qarākhānid with the title "Qadir Khān" (i.e. Qadir Khān II).

The following coin of Marghīnān is very interesting: Tobias Mayer (1998, 70-71/595) read the date as "444", but the date is rather worn and one cannot be sure of this reading. Proceeding from the fact that this coin is billon (silver-plated) and that, in 444, in Marghīnān there were minted fiduciary base alloy (copper 59.67-78.7%, lead 36.95-15.43%) dirhems, I established that the date is AH 434 (Fedorov 2000, 7-8). The coin in question was minted by appanage-holder, Arslān-tegīn Hārūn b. 'Alī.

From Farghāna Būrī-tegīn went to the Kumījī and Kenjīne nomads. He persuaded them to join him and raised an army of 3000 horsemen. With that army he captured Ṣaghāniyān in AH 430, because its ruler died, having left no heir. Using Ṣaghāniyān as a military base, Būrī-tegīn Ibrahīm started the war against "the sons of 'Alī-tegīn". Coins show that he conquered Kesh and Samarqand in 431/1039-40 and Bukhārā no later than 433/1041-42 (Fedorov 1980, 40-42).

According to Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60), in 435 "Sharaf al-Daula" (Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf) granted his brother, Bughrā Khān, Ṭarāz and Ispījāb, and his uncle, Toḡhā (Tonghā) Khān, "the whole of Farghāna". In fact he did not grant anybody anything. He had to sanction the dismemberment of his father's state into 3 khanates: Bughrā Khān's (Ispījāb-Ṭarāz), Toḡhā (Tonghā) Khān's (Farghāna) and his own (Kāshghar-Yarkend). At this *quriltai* Arslān Khān also "granted" Bukhārā and Samarqand, which in AH 435 were safely in the hands of Būrī-tegīn, to "Ibn 'Alī-tegīn" (i.e. to one of the sons of 'Alī-tegīn). Of course it was purely symbolic. All Arslān Khān could do was to confirm the hereditary rights of "Ibn 'Alī-tegīn" to Bukhārā and Samarqand.

The dirhem of AH 434 Marghīnān was minted by Hārūn b. 'Alī. Neither coins nor written sources mention any Eastern Qarākhānid ruler named 'Alī for this time. But in 435 at the *quriltai* of the Eastern Qarākhānids there was present a refugee "Ibn 'Alī-tegīn" to whom Bukhārā and Samarqand were "granted". So the coin of AH 434 Marghīnān shows that "Ibn 'Alī-tegīn" Hārūn b. 'Alī possessed Marghīnān as appanage in 434/1042-43. The fate of Hārūn b. 'Alī after 434 is not clear, Marghīnān may have been left to him or taken from him by Toḡhā (Tonghā) Khān to whom "all Farghāna" was granted in AH 435.

Anyway in 439-440/1047-49 (Kochnev 1997, 278/1194) dirhems in Marghīnān were minted in the name of "al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Toḡhā Khān" as sole possessor of the town, no vassal being mentioned.

Arslān Khān Sulaimān, though, did not reconcile himself to the disintegration of his father's state. Circa 440/1048-49 he attacked Toḡhā Khān and conquered from him almost the whole of Farghāna. The title "Toḡhā Khān" disappeared from the coins. Only in Akhsīket in 440-449/1048-58 did a certain Toḡhā-tegīn mint coins, mentioning Bughrā Khān as suzerain (Kochnev 1997, 278/1196). It seems that, having retained only Akhsīket, Toḡhā Khān changed the khanian title to the humbler title of "tegīn" and made himself a vassal of Bughrā Khān, who could protect him against Arslān Khān.

In every town of Farghāna except Akhsīket, coins were minted after 440 citing Arslān Khān as suzerain or immediate possessor. In 441/1049-50 in Marghīnān (Kochnev 1997, 278/1200) dirhems were minted mentioning "al-Malik al-Mashriq Abū Shuja' Arslān-qarākhāqān" as sole owner of the town.

In 442 (Kochnev 1997, 278/1204) dirhems were minted in Marghīnān by 'Adud al-Daula Būrī-tegīn citing Arslān-

qarākhāqān as his suzerain. Having conquered Samarqand and Bukhārā, Būrī-tegīn Ibrahīm (son of İlek Naṣr, the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999) accepted the high khanian title of Ṭafghāch Khān, and the title of Būrī-tegīn went to some other Qarākhānid.

In 443 there appeared in Marghīnān (Kochnev 1997, 278/1207) our old acquaintance Arslān-tegīn Hārūn b. 'Alī who minted coins there as appanage owner of the town.

A dirhem of AH 444 Marghīnān (Kochnev 1997, 278/1212) cites Arslān-tegīn and Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām. Quite certainly, it was minted using mismatched dies, the die mentioning Arslān-tegīn being obsolete, because in AH 444-445 coins were already being minted in Marghīnān by new appanage-holder, Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām citing Arslān-qarākhāqān as his suzerain (Kochnev 1997, 278/1202).

In 44(?) or 5?) – Kochnev (1997, 280/1225) was not sure of the date – coins in Marghīnān were minted by al-Malik al-Mashriq Abū Shuja' Arslān-qarākhāqān as sole owner of the town.

The town changed hands again for in 446-447 (Kochnev 1997, 280/1229, 281/1245) Muḥammad b. Naṣr (i.e. 'Ain al-daula, son of İlek Naṣr) minted coins in Marghīnān citing Arslān Khān as suzerain.

Circa 447 Arslān Khān attacked Bughrā Khān but this time his luck was out. Bughrā Khān defeated Arslān Khān, took him prisoner and became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. In 447-449/1055-58 coins were minted in Marghīnān (Kochnev 1997, 281/1242, 282/1257-1258) by Bughrā-khāqān as immediate owner of the town.

Bughrā Khān enjoyed the fruits of his victory for only 15 months. In 449/1057-58 he was poisoned by one of his wives (she also had the imprisoned Arslān Khān to be strangled). The enterprising woman put her juvenile son Ibrahīm on the throne. Internecine war broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Ibrahīm was defeated and killed by a ruler of Barskhān, Ināl-tegīn (Bartold 1963, 44). Having made use of the internecine war among the Eastern Qarākhānids, the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm, attacked them and reconquered all the lands lost by the Western Qarākhānids to Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf in AH 416-419, including Balāsāghūn (Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

Coins reflect those events. In 453, 455 and 456 dirhems of Marghīnān (Kochnev 1997, 250/ 896, 251/903; Davidovich 1960, 105) were minted by Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr. Shortly before his death, the invalid Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān abdicated in favour of his son Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. Another of his sons, Shu'aith, rebelled against Shams al-Mulk. Internecine war broke out in 460. The Eastern Qarākhānids profited from this to conquer from the Western Qarākhānids all the lands previously lost. Only Khojende, which became a frontier town, stayed with the Western Qarākhānids (Fedorov, 1983, 122).

Coins reflect those events as in 461/1068-69 dirhems were minted in Marghīnān by 'Imād al-Daula Toḡhrul-qarākhāqān (Kochnev 1997, 287/1328), who was an Eastern Qarākhānid.

Circa AH 467 an internecine war broke out among the Eastern Qarākhānids. The Western Qarākhānids took advantage of this and conquered Farghāna from them with its easternmost town Uzgend (Bartold 1968, 419-420; Fedorov 1978, 175-176). There is a coin of AH 465 Marghīnān citing "'Imād(?) al-Daula(?)" and "Nāṣir al-Haqq wa'l-Dīn Shams al-Mulk Naṣr". Kochnev (1997, 256/964) put 2 question marks against the *laqab* "'Imād al-Daula", because this *laqab* belonged to the Eastern Qarākhānid ruler, Toḡhrul-qarākhāqān. And it is in the form of "'Imād al-Daula Toḡhrul-qarākhāqān" that he is named on a coin of AH 461 Marghīnān and on his silver bowl found in Kirgizia in 1991 (Fedorov, Mokeev 1996, 487). But Kochnev missed the fact that coin Nr. 962 was minted from mismatched dies, and that

the obverse die with the *laqab* “‘Imād al-Daula” and date “465” was obsolete. On another coin of Marghīnān (Kochnev 1997, 256/962), the *laqab* “Shams al-Mulk” can be found on the obverse..

There is then a long gap in the mintage of Marghīnān. The next coins of Marghīnān were minted by the Head of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate, Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān (495-524/1102-1130) already in the twelfth century AD. The date on the known specimen has not survived. It mentions “Khāqān Muhammad b. Sulaimān” as an immediate possessor of the town, no vassal being mentioned.

The latest Qarākhānid coins of Marghīnān were minted at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The second half of the twelfth century saw the start of the disintegration of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate into several principalities independent from one another. The rulers of Samarqand, which was the capital of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate were never mentioned again as suzerains on the coins minted in those principalities. The Khytais, whose vassals the Qarakhānids were since the battle of Qaṭwān in 1141, encouraged this process. They would rather deal with several small, weak Qarākhānid principalities than with one strong, centralised Western Qarākhānid Khaqanate. The principality of Farghāna with its capital in Uzgend was the first to become independent from Samarqand. It then further split into three smaller principalities with capitals in Uzgend, Marghīnān and Kāsān.

So far two rulers of the principality of Marghīnān are known. The first one is Al-Khāqān al-‘Adil Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Sevinch Qutlugh Arslān Khān. The first coin of this ruler was published in 1896 but Markov (291/602) could not read the mintname. Pritsak (1953, 59) attributed this coin to Arslān Khān, who was the ruler of the Jetysu Qarluqs (with their capital in Qaiyalgh) and who died in 1209 AD. In 1974 a collector from Fergana, S. Danilenko, asked me to identify a coin for him. It happened to be the second coin of such type and this one had a legible mint-name – Marghīnān (Fedorov 1984, 123). So these coins had nothing to do with Arslān Khān of Qaiyalgh, they were minted in Marghīnān. The date did not survive on these coins, but they can be dated approximately.

Davidovich (1961, 194-195) established that, in the second half of the twelfth century AD, there were several monetary reforms in Uzgend. When the amount of fiduciary copper, silverwashed dirhems exceeded the circulation requirements for local trade, inflation started. The government tried to remedy it by issuing new fiduciary dirhems, every time increasing their weight and size. Thus having started in 569/1173-74 with a weight of 3.2 g, the copper, silverwashed dirhems of Uzgend ended up in 609/1012-13 weighing 12.9 g (Davidovich 1961, 194; 1979, 197). Davidovich (1961, 195) identified 5 metrological groups. The coins of Qutlugh Arslān Khān belong to the fourth group, which was minted after AH 596.

The second ruler is Al-Khāqān al-‘Adil Hisām al-Dunya wa’l-Dīn Qutlugh Toghān Khān. He minted fiduciary copper, silverwashed dirhems in Marghīnān in 602/1205-06 (Kochnev 1997, 272/1379).

I paid attention to the fact that rulers of Marghīnān had the word “Qutlugh” in their titulage, just as rulers of Kāsān had the word “Toghrl” in their titulage. It is possible that this word was characteristic of the titulage of the rulers of Marghīnān. That is why I want to mention some other coins which seem to be relevant. In the Collection of Tübingen University (ED2 B2, 90810) there are 2 fiduciary dirhems minted by “al-Khāqān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Rukn al-Dunya wa’l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qutlugh Tafghāch Khān” or “al-Khāqān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Rukn al-Dunya wa’l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qutlukh (sic) ... Khān”. One of the coins cites the caliph al-Mustadī (AH 566-575), the other cites

caliph al-Nāṣir (AH 575-622). So this Qarākhānid ruled at least in the late sixties and seventies of the sixth century AH. B. D. Kochnev (1997, 1063) mentioned a coin minted in AH 57x by “Khāqān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Rukn al-Dunya wa’l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qlych Tafghāch Khān”. It looks as though Kochnev mistook Qutlukh for Qlych. The ruler of Marghīnān, Qutlugh Arslān Khān (whose known coins were minted after 596/1199-1200) was named Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. Could that Muḥammad b. Qutlugh Tafghāch Khān be the appanage ruler of Marghīnān and the father of this Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Muḥammad?

Qubā

The earliest coins (falūs) of Qubā were minted in AH 389-391. Those coins had the double mint-name “Farghāna-Qubā”. I explained this phenomenon above, when I mentioned the coins of “Farghāna-Marghīnān”. The coins of AH 389-391 Farghāna-Qubā and of AH 390, 397, 399 Qubā (Kochnev 1995, 208/77, 209/100, 216/184, 218/209) were minted in the name of İlek Naṣr b. ‘Alī, conqueror of Farghāna and Mawarānnahr. No suzerain or vassal of his is mentioned on these coins.

In AH 401-402 İlek Naṣr waged war against his brother and nominal suzerain, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī. He needed money to pay his army. Like some of his other mints, the one in Qubā worked intensively. Falūs of both “Farghāna-Qubā” and “Qubā” were minted (Kochnev 1995, 215/176, 222/268, 223/289). They mention “Naṣr b. ‘Alī” or “Mu‘ayyid al-‘Adl İlek Naṣr b. ‘Alī”. No suzerain of his is mentioned. A fals of AH 402 (Kochnev 1995, 223/289) mentions a certain Muḥammad(?), a vassal of Naṣr.

Then there is a gap in the mintage of Quba. As I wrote above, in AH 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids, headed by Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf (ruler of Kāshghar), conquered Eastern Farghāna from the Western Qarākhānids. Coins of Quba reflect those events. In AH 41(6?) – B. D. Kochnev (1995, 249/670) was not quite sure of the date – falūs of “Farghāna-Qubā” were minted by the appanage holder ‘Aḍud al-Daula Kuch-tegīn, citing “Nāṣir al-Daula al-Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān Yūsuf” as his suzerain.

In 420/1029(Kochnev 1995, 252/712) falūs were minted in Qubā by Sulaimān b. Hārūn (brother of Qadir Khān Yūsuf b. Hārūn). He mentions “Khān Malik al-Mashriq” i.e. Qadir Khān (I) as his suzerain.

Then there is another gap in the mintage of Qubā until 442/1050-51, when the appanage holder, ‘Aḍud al-Daula Būrī-tegīn minted coins in Qubā (Kochnev 1997, 278/1204). He was the vassal of Arslān-qarākhāqān (Sulaimān, the ruler of Kāshghar, son of Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf). He was followed in 443/1051-52 (Kochnev 1997, 279/1207) by the appanage holder, Arslān-tegīn Hārūn b. ‘Alī, who also issued coins in that town.

Qubā then changed hands for the third time. In AH 444-445 (Kochnev 1997, 278/1202) there was an issue of coins by the appanage holder, Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām, vassal of Arslān-qarākhāqān.

In the same year, 445, (and in 447?) dirhems of Qubā (Kochnev 1997, 280/1228) mention “Arslān-qarākhāqān” (as suzerain) and “‘Imād al-Daula / ‘Aḍud al-Daula” (as vassal, or vassal and subvassal). Later in the same year, 445/1053-54, Qubā changed hands yet again. In AH 445-447 dirhems were minted in Qubā (Kochnev 1997, 280/1227, 1229) by Muḥammad b. Naṣr (i.e. ‘Ain al-Daula, son of İlek Naṣr b. ‘Alī). He cites Arslān-qarākhāqān (or Arslān Khān) as his suzerain.

As mentioned above, around 447/1055-56 Arslān-qarākhāqān attacked his brother, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad (ruler of Ṭarāz and Ispījāb), but was defeated and taken prisoner. The coins of Qubā reflect those events. In 448 (Kochnev 1997,

282/1254, 1255) they mention Boghrā-qarākhāqān (or Boghrā-khāqān) and his vassal, Jalāl al-Daula. During the period AH 440-449 Jalāl al-Daula (or Toṅghā-teḡīn Jalāl al-Daula) was in possession of Akhsiket as a vassal of Boghrā-qarākhāqān (Kochnev 1997, 278/1196). The dirhems of 448/1056-57 are the latest Qarākhānid coins of Qubā known so far.

Rishtān

The only Qarākhānid coin of Rishtān (Kochnev 1995, 254/747) so far known is a dirhem minted in 423/1031-32 in the name of “Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān” (i.e. Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf, suzerain) and “Rukn al-Daula” (vassal) who are cited on the reverse; on the obverse is cited “‘Aḍud al-Daula” (subvassal? Or was it the second *laqab* of Rukn al-Daula?).

References

1. Bartold, V. V. 1963. “Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia”, *Sochineniia*, tom 2, chast' 1, Moskva.
2. Bartold, V. V. 1965. “Fergana”, *Sochineniia*, tom 3, Moskva.
3. Bartold, V. V. 1965a. “Margelan”, *Sochineniia*, tom 3, Moskva.
4. Bartold, V. V. 1968. “Bogra-khan, upomianutyi v *Kutadgu Bilik*”, *Sochineniia*, tom 5, Moskva.
5. Beihaqi, Abu-l-Fazl. 1962. *Istoriia Mas'uda 1030-1041*, vstupitel'naiia stat'ia, perevod I primechaniia A. K. Arends, Tashkent.
6. Belenitskii, A. M., Bentovich I. B., Bol'shakov, O.G. 1973. *Srednevekovyi gorod Srednei Azii*, Leningrad.
7. Betger, E. K. 1957. “Iz vlechenie iz knigi ‘Puti i strany’ Abu-l-Kasyma Ibn Hauqalīa”, *Trudy Sredneaziatskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta, Arkheologiya Srednei Azii*, IV, Tashkent.
8. Davidovich, E. A. 1961. “Kanibadamskii klad Karakhanidskikh monet (K kharakteristike obrashcheniia mednykh poserebrennykh dirkhemov v kontse XII – nachale XIII v.)”, *Sovetskaia arkheologiya*, 1, Moskva.
9. Fedorov, M. N. 1978. “Novye dannye k istorii Karakhanidskogo gosudarstva poslednei chetverti XI v.”, *Istoriia i arkheologiya Srednei Azii*, Ashkhabad.
10. Fedorov, M. N. 1980. “Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v.”, *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XIII, Moskva.
11. Fedorov, M. N. 1983. “Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X – nachala XIII vv.”, *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
12. Fedorov, M. N. 1984. “Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v XII – nachale XIII v.”, *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XIV, Moskva.
13. Fedorov, M. N. und Mokeev A. M. 1996. “Eine silberne Schale des 11 Jahrhunderts aus Kyrgyzstan”, *Eurasia Antiqua. Zeitschrift für Archäologie Eurasiens*, Bd. 2, Berlin.
14. Fedorov, M. N. 2000. “A rare dirhem struck by the Qarakhanid appanage ruler Hārūn bin ‘Alī at Marghīnān”, *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter*, 163, Spring.
15. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. “Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropimiy i titulatura (chast' 1)”, *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
16. Kochnev, B. D. 1997. “Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropimiy i titulatura (chast' 2)”, *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
17. Markov, A. K. 1896. *Inventarnyi katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg.

18. *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, 1973, vypusk 1, Moskva.
19. Mayer, Tobias. 1998. *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Nord- und Ostzentralasien XV b Mittelasien II*, Tübingen-Berlin.
20. Pritsak, O. 1953. “Die Karachaniden”, *Der Islam*, Bd. 31, Heft 1.

Samarqand and Bukhārā in the 12th to the beginning of the 13th century AD

The importance of numismatic data for the medieval history of Central Asia is difficult to overestimate. One of the leading numismatists of the 19th century and member of the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences, Bernhard Dorn, wrote in 1880: “Es ist schon oft von verschiedener Gelehrten darauf hingewiesen worden, von welcher Bedeutung die Münzen für die Geschichte sein können... Ich will für die Richtigkeit dieser Annahme hier einen Beleg in Bezug auf die Geschichte der Ilke mittheilen, welche... in Bukhara, Samarqand, Ferghana u.s.w. regiert haben” (Dorn 1880, 703).

In this article I would like to give an outline of the history of Samarqand and Bukhārā in the 12th and beginning of the 13th century AD based on the information provided by the coinage of the period.

In 492/1099 the Eastern Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn and Tarāz, Jabra'il b. 'Umar b. Toḡhrul Khān, invaded Mawarānnahr, captured Samarqand and Bukhārā, and usurped the throne of the Western Qarākhānid Khaqanate. In 495/1101-02 he invaded the dominions of the Seljuqs and captured Tirmidh, but soon after that, on 2 Sha'bān 495/22 May 1102, he was ambushed, taken prisoner and executed by Malik Sanjar, the then ruler of Khurasan (Pritsak 1953, 49).

Having dealt with Jabra'il, Sanjar put on the throne of Mawarānnahr a Western Qarākhānid prince named Muḥammad, who fled from Jabra'il to Merv (Sanjar's capital). Muḥammad was the grandson of Dā'ūd Kuch-teḡīn, who was a grandson of İlek Naṣr (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999). His father, Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd, was put on the throne of Mawarānnahr by the Seljuq sultan Barkiārūq in 490/1097 but died in the same year. Muḥammad b. Sulaimān was a nephew of Barkiārūq and Sanjar and was born in the vicinity of Merv (Pritsak 1953, 48-50). There was a mutiny against Muḥammad b. Sulaimān by another Qarākhānid, 'Umar Khān, but Sanjar killed him. In 496/1103 the Qarākhānid, Saghun-bek, rebelled against Muḥammad. Sanjar intervened and made peace between them, whereupon he returned to Merv in Rabī' I (third month) 497/December 1103. In 503/1109 Saghun mutinied again. Sanjar came and helped Muḥammad to defeat him near Nakhshab (Bartold 1963, 382; Pritsak 1953, 48-51).

Strange though it may seem, the earliest coin of Muḥammad was minted in AH 494 (Kochnev 1997, 258/985). Kochnev (1993, 413) deemed that either there was a mistake in the chronicles and Muḥammad came to power in 494, or the coin in question was minted using mismatched dies, one of them (with the date) being obsolete. But it appears that Jabra'il at first conquered Samarqand (circa 492) and then (in 494) Bukhārā whereupon Muḥammad fled to Merv and was returned to Bukhārā by Sanjar, who killed Jabra'il. By the way Ibn al-Athīr wrote: “he (Arslān Khān – M. F.) mutinied against Qadir Khān (i.e. Jabra'il – M. F.) in 494 and the latter deprived him of his kingdom, but Sanjar killed Qadir Khān and returned the kingdom to Arslān Khān” (Materialy 1973, 64).

On his early coins, Muḥammad has the title Tafghāch Khān (Kochnev 1997, 258/987) but later he accepted the title Arslān

Khān, and it is with this title that he is mostly mentioned in the chronicles. Unfortunately on most of his coins either the date or the mint-name (or both) has not survived.

His earliest coin of Samarqand was minted according to Dorn (1880, 733/112) in AH 49x. On this coin is mentioned al-Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. Then follow coins of Samarqand citing "al-Khāqān al-'Adil 'Alā al-Daula Muḥammad b. Sulaimān". Kochnev (1997, 258/ 993) dated them "AH 51x" or "AH 52x". It is not clear whether he paid attention to the citing of the caliph on the coin (or coins?). The coin which I know (Samarqand Republican Museum of History, Culture and Arts of Uzbekistan, Nr. 5644) mentions the caliph al-Mustazhir (AH 487-512), so it could not have been minted in 52x. Maybe Kochnev found a coin of such type mentioning the caliph al-Mustarshīd (AH 512-529). If not, the date "AH 52x" given by him is mistaken. As for the coin in the Samarqand Museum, it was minted between 510-512/1116-19.

Then follow coins of Samarqand (Kochnev 1997, 258/990-991) minted in AH 520 and 5(20?). They cite "al-Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān". Then follows a coin of Samarqand minted under the caliph al-Mustarshīd in 52x (Samarqand Republican Museum of History, Culture and Arts of Uzbekistan, Nr. 10355). It was minted between AH 520- and 524 and cites "al-Khāqān al-'A... Muḥammad b. S..." and his suzerain "al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam" (i.e. Sultān Sanjar).

Coins minted in 523-524 in Samarqand (Kochnev 1997, 259/1000) cite "al-Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān" (reverse) and his son and co-ruler "al-Khāqān al-Muzaffar Aḥmad b." Kochnev (1997, 297-298) thought that on these coins only one person: "al-Khāqān al-Muzaffar Aḥmad b. al-Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān" is mentioned. But I cannot agree with him because Muḥammad (although ill) was still alive and because he is mentioned on the reverse, i.e. in the place where the suzerain is usually mentioned.

At the end of his life, Arslān Khān Muḥammad suffered from palsy. He made his son, Naṣr, his co-ruler. But soon after that, Naṣr was killed by conspirators headed by the high clergy: faqīh and mudarris Ashraf b. Muḥammad al-Samarqandī and ra'īs (mayor) of Samarqand. Arslān Khān Muḥammad asked Sultān Sanjar for help, he also sent a message to his son Aḥmad, whose appanage most probably was in Farghāna. Aḥmad, with an army, was the first to arrive. The conspirators met him at the city gate of Samarqand and gave themselves up. Aḥmad immediately executed the faqīh. He stayed in Samarqand as co-ruler of his father. Despite this, Sultān Sanjar invaded Mawarānnahr with 70,000 warriors and occupied Bukhārā. Then Sanjar claimed that he had captured 12 assassins sent by Arslān Khān Muḥammad to kill him. He advanced on Samarqand and besieged it. In Rabī' I 524/12.2-13.3 1130 Samarqand fell after a siege of 6 (according to other chronicles 4) months. The invalid Arslān Khān was sent to Balkh to his daughter, who was one of Sanjar's wives. According to Jamāl Qarshī, Arslān Khān died in Rajab 526/18.5-16.6 1132 (Bartold 1963, 383-384).

Coins of Bukhārā add some new information. The earliest coin of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān was minted there in AH xx8. Fraehn (1826, 139/70) did not read the mint-name and date. In 1966, while studying Qarākhānid coins in the Hermitage Museum, I discerned the mint-name "Bukhārā" and the digit "eight". The coin mentions "Tabghāch Khān Muḥammad" and his suzerain "Malik Sanjar". Sanjar became sultan in AH 511. So this coin was minted in 498/1104-05 or 508/1114-15. I believe it was AH 498. In AH 497 and 503 Sanjar twice quelled the mutiny of Saghun-bek against Muḥammad b. Sulaimān and it was in the interest of Muḥammad to stress that he was the lawful ruler, put on the throne of Mawarānnahr by his suzerain, Sultān Sanjar, whom he cited on his coins.

Then follow coins minted in Bukhārā in AH 513 and 516 (Kochnev 1997, 258/988) citing "al-Khāqān al-A'zam Muḥammad b. Sulaimān" and his suzerain "al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam" i.e. Sanjar. After that come coins minted in Bukhārā by Sultān Sanjar, when he occupied it. The coins of AH 422 Bukhārā cite "al-Sultān al-A'zam Sanjar", there is no mention of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān on them (Khodzhanizayov 1979, 114/415). This means that the assassination of Naṣr by conspirators, which made Muḥammad ask Sanjar for help and triggered Sanjar's invasion of Mawarānnahr, took place in 522 and not in 524 as Ibn al-Athīr wrote (Materialy 1973, 65). Twelve such coins are known and it is difficult to believe that all 12 of them were minted using mismatched dies, one of the dies (the one with the date) being obsolete. A. K. Markov (1896, 371/56) published a coin of Bukhārā of the same type on which he read the date as "AH 515". But Khodzhanizayov (1979, 105/379 and footnote), who studied this coin in the Hermitage Museum, wrote that he could make out only the mint-name and that there was no date "515". In his letter to me (22.8 1977) he wrote that the date "515" looked to him "more than doubtful" and I think he is right especially bearing in mind that in 513 and 516 the coins in Bukhārā were minted in the name of Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. There are also coins minted by Sanjar in AH 424 in Bukhārā (Khodzhanizayov 1977, 115). So it looks as if Sanjar minted in his name in the annexed Bukhārā, while, in Samarqand in AH 523-524, Aḥmad minted as co-ruler of his father, Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. And Aḥmad's coins of AH 424 were already being minted in Samarqand while it was being besieged during the first months of AH 524, because Samarqand fell in Rabī' I (third month) 524 after the siege of 6 (or, according to other chronicles, 4) months.

V. V. Bartold (1963, 384) wrote that Arslān Khān was succeeded by his brother, Taḡhāch Boghrā Khān Abū-l-Muzaffar Ibrahīm, who was for some time living in Merv at the court of Sanjar. Then another Qarākhānid, Qilych Taḡhāch Khān Abū-l-Ma'ali Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abd al-Mu'mīn, known also as Ḥasan-teḡīn, was enthroned. The opinion of Bartold was shared later by Masson (1960, 105), Karaev (1983, 160), and Fedorov (1984, 103). Pritsak (1953, 52) deemed that Ḥasan-teḡīn reigned before Ibrahīm b. Sulaimān and that the latter succeeded Ḥasan b. 'Alī. Kochnev (1975, 69-70) shared the opinion of Pritsak. He attributed the coin of AH 5x1 Bukhārā minted by Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Abū-l-Muzaffar Ibrahīm, mentioning Sultān Sanjar as suzerain, to Ibrahīm b. Sulaimān and dated the coin to AH 531 on the grounds that, in 541, the Qarākhānids were already vassals of the Khytais and not of Sanjar. But this argument of Kochnev is lame, because, in 1971 (Khodzhanizayov, 174) coins were published that were minted between 536-551 by Ibrahīm (son of Arslān Khān Muḥammad), who mentions Sanjar as his suzerain. It seems that Kochnev was not aware of this article by Khodzhanizayov despite that fact that it was published four years before his own article was published. Later, though, Kochnev (1985, 105) correctly attributed the coin of AH 5x1 Bukhārā to Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad and dated it to AH 541.

But in 1993 Kochnev already considered the existence of Ibrahīm b. Sulaimān "problematic", i.e. he doubted whether this Ibrahīm really existed (Kochnev 1993, 421). He referred to the words of Juwainī (1985, 24) who wrote, that, after Samarqand was captured and Arslān Khān was deported to Balkh, Sanjar granted Mawarānnahr and Turkestan to Ḥasan-teḡīn, and that he, Juwainī, was ordered to write an official letter about it to Baghdād. But did Juwainī tell implicitly that Ḥasan-teḡīn was the first and that there was nobody before him? Bartold (1963, 384) wrote that, apart from one diplomatic document, Ibrahīm b.

Sulaimān is not mentioned in any other historical written source. This could only mean that the reign of Ibrahīm was very short.

In the Gurmiron hoard (found in North Ferghana) were coins minted in Kāsān by Jabra'il (Kochnev 1993, 413-415; 1997, 288/1347). So before he conquered Samarqand in 492, Jabra'il conquered Northern Farghāna. In the same hoard there were also coins minted under caliph al-Mustazhir (AH 487-512) by Ṭafghāch Khan Ibrahīm. "In the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate, -wrote Kochnev,- there certainly was no such ruler (certainly there was! - M. F.), while among the Eastern Qarākhānids we know Ibrahim, son of Aḥmad b. Ḥasan, who ascended the throne in AH 496. But Ibrahim succeeded him (i.e. Aḥmad - M. F.) not earlier than AH 522". So Kochnev attributed those coins to Ibrahīm b. Aḥmad (1993, 414; 1997, 288/1349). It is strange, however, that Kochnev, who kept the coins of this ruler in his hands, failed to recognize him as Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Sulaimān, brother of Arslān Khān Muḥammad, and attributed the coins to the Eastern Qarākhānid. Both Aḥmad b. Ḥasan and Ibrahīm b. Aḥmad were rulers of remote Kāshghar and between their khanate and Farghāna there was the khanate of Jabra'il. The coins from the Gurmiron hoard show that Ibrahīm b. Suleimān was an appanage ruler of some town in Northern Farghāna. After Jabra'il had conquered Northern Farghāna, Ibrahīm either fled to Merw to Sulṭān Sanjar, or stayed in Farghāna as a vassal of Jabra'il.

No coins are known minted by Ṭafghāch-khān Ibrahīm b. Sulaimān in Bukhārā or Samarqand. Nor is the date of Ḥasan-tegīn's death known. But he died before Ramaḍān 531/May 1137. In Ramaḍān 531 in the battle near Khojende, the nomad Khytais defeated not him but his successor, Maḥmūd, son of Arslān Khān Muḥammad (Bartold 1963, 386). Kochnev (1997, 260/1010) attributed a coin of AH 530 Samarqand to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, but there is no name of Maḥmūd on this coin. It cites Nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq and his suzerain al-Sulṭān al-A'zam Sanjar. Khodzaniyazov (1979, 144/512), instead of "Pahlavān al-Sharq", read this *laqab* as "Bahlūl al-Sharq" and attributed it to Sulṭān Sanjar. Kochnev (1997, 298) consulted "three arabists of high class" (O. G. Bol'shakov, V. N. Nastich, S. B. Pevzner) who "independently from each other rejected such a reading" and read it as "Pahlavān al-Sharq". Kochnev considered it impossible to attribute the title "Pahlavān" to Sanjar, because "some vassals of Sanjar" (amir Qumāch, the Saffarid, Naṣr b. Khalaf, and the Ildegizids) had such a title. It is strange that Kochnev (1997, 261/1033) placed another coin of Samarqand with the same titulage "Nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq" among the coins of Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad but he claimed that this coin was minted from mismatched dies, one of them with obsolete titulage. I am convinced that the coins with the title Nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq were minted by Ḥasan b. 'Alī (Ḥasan-tegīn). On the coins of Samarqand, which cite Maḥmūd, he has other titles: Khāqān al-'Adil Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, Khāqān al-'Adil al-Mu'azzam Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, Khāqān al-'Adil al-Muzaffar Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad etc., but the title Nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq is never connected on the coins with the name of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. So the coin of AH 530 Samarqand shows that Ḥasan b. 'Alī died not earlier than AH 530 and not later than AH 531. The Bukhāran coins of Ḥasan b. 'Alī are not known so far.

The earliest coin so far known of his successor, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad was minted in Samarqand in 532/1137-38 (Kochnev 1997, 260/1014). It cites Sulṭān Sanjar as Maḥmūd's suzerain. There are 10 types of coins of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. Three of them have the mint-name Samarqand. One has the date 532. Four of them cite Sanjar as suzerain. Six were minted by Maḥmūd without any mention of a suzerain. No coins of Maḥmūd are

known minted in Bukhara. His reign came to an end on 5 Ṣafar (second month) 536/ 9.9 1141 when, in the disastrous battle of Qaṭwān, the allied armies of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad and Sanjar were defeated by the Khytais. Maḥmūd fled with Sanjar to Merv, never to return to Mawarānnahr.

Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad was succeeded by his brother Ibrahīm. The victorious Khytais sanctioned his ascension to the throne. From this time, the Western Qarākhānids were vassals of the Gūr Khān, which was the title of the ruler of the Khytais. The Qarākhānids collected a poll-tax in their dominions (1 gold dinar a year) for the Gūr Khān, helped him with military contingents and themselves received military help from him when needed. Sometimes they carried out his orders. But being an infidel, the Gūr Khān did not care whether he was mentioned in mosques, in the *khutba* or on the coins after the honorific mention of the caliph. Khodzaniyazov (1971, 174; 1979, 144) published coins on which he read the title "Sarvar Khān". Kochnev (1997, 260-261) read the same title as "Gūr Khān". I consider Kochnev's reading unacceptable. The Qarākhānids were vassals of the Khytais for about 70 years and Gūr-khān was never mentioned as suzerain on the coins of other Qarākhānid rulers. And the title, which Khodzaniyazov read as "Sarvar Khān", is mentioned only on the coins of Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad. So it most probably belonged to him. Khodzaniyazov (1971, 178-179; 1979, 144), however, thought that the title "Sarvar Khān" belonged to Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, who fled to Merv with Sanjar, and that, for some short period, Ibrahīm mentioned him on his coins as suzerain, but that, later, Ibrahīm started to mention Sulṭān Sanjar as his suzerain. And now to the coins.

It is logical to assume that, at least during the first years after the battle of Qaṭwān in AH 536, Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad would cite the Gūr Khān as suzerain. But on the contrary, during just those very years Ibrahīm minted coins as an independent ruler, mentioning neither the Gūr Khān nor Sanjar. In Samarqand in AH 537-538 coins cite "al-Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Ibrahīm" and in AH 540-543 "al-Khāqān al-A'zam Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad" (Kochnev 1997, 261/1024-1025). Strange though this may seem, in AH 541 coins of Bukhārā cite "al-Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Sanjar b. Malikshāh" as suzerain of "al-Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Ibrahīm" (Kochnev 1997, 261/1026). But in 543 in Bukhārā coins again cite only "al-Khāqān al-A'zam Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad", no suzerain being cited. Coins minted in AH 545 in Bukhara and in 5xx Samarqand also cite no suzerain but only "al-Khāqān al-'Adil al-A'zam Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn" (Kochnev 1997, 261/1030).

The mysterious title "Sarvar Khān" (or, as Kochnev read it, "Gūr Khān") appears on coins only in 547-548 (Kochnev 1997, 261/1031). These coins cite "al-Khāqān al-A'zam Ibrahīm b. Arslān Khān" (reverse) and "al-Khāqān al-'Adil Sarvar Khān" (obverse). I believe this was the continuation of the titulage of Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad, which was started on the reverse. As a matter of interest, there are strange coins citing "al-Khāqān al-'Adil Sarvar Khān" on both sides (Kochnev 1997, 261/1034). No doubt, they were minted from two mismatched obverse dies. Another example of mismatching are coins citing "al-Khāqān al-'Adil Sarvar Khān" (obverse) and "Nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq" (reverse), or "al-Khāqān al-'Adil Sarvar Khān" (obverse) and "al-Khāqān al-A'zam Sarvar Khān" (reverse), or coins citing "al-Khāqān al-A'zam Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad" on both sides (Kochnev 1997, 261/1033; 262/1035, 1040). Some coins cite "Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān" (Kochnev 1997, 262/1044).

Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad was killed by the Qarluq nomads, who constituted the greater part of the Qarākhānid armies, just as the Ghuzz constituted the greater part of the Saljuq armies. The

unruly Qarluqs killed their Khān near Bukhārā and left his body to lie in the Kellābād steppe. According to Ibn al-Athīr, this happened in Dhū-l-Hijja 550. According to Jamāl Qarshī it happened in AH 551 (Bartold 1963, 396-397).

Bartold wrote that Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad was succeeded by Jaghry Khān 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, son of the former ruler of Mawarānnahr, Ḥasan b. 'Alī. Jaghry Khān took vengeance on the Qarluqs for the death of Ibrahīm and killed their leader, Beighū Khān. The Qarluqs fled to the Khwārizmshāh, Īl-Arslān, who took their side and invaded Mawarānnahr in Sha'bān 553/July 1153. Jaghry Khān applied to the Gūr Khān for help and the latter sent him 10,000 horsemen. There was no battle, however, and peace was made. On the insistence of Īl-Arslān, Jaghry Khān pardoned the Qarluqs (Bartold 1963, 397). The date of the beginning and the end of Jaghry Khān's reign is not known. On the only extant coin of Jaghry Khān 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, minted in Samarqand, the date has not survived (Kochnev 1997, 262/1046).

Kochnev (1982, 166) published a coin of Qadir Toghān Khān Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain, minted in Samarqand without surviving date. Davidovich (1957, 109) knew another coin of this ruler. Since the mint-name and date had not survived on that coin she considered that the appanage of Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain was situated in Farghāna and identified him as a son of the ruler of Farghāna, Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan (brother of Jaghry Khān 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan). But as Kochnev established, Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain was ruler of Samarqand. Kochnev (1982, 166) thought that Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain ruled between AH 553 (the year when Jaghry Khān 'Alī was mentioned) and AH 556, when Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥasan (the third of the brothers) came to power in Samarqand.

Subsequently, Kochnev (1997, 262/1047, 300/footnote 1047) came across "an almost identical coin" of Samarqand on which the digit "two" of the date had survived. Since the caliph al-Muqtafi (AH 530-555) was mentioned on this coin, and since Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad reigned until AH 551, the date on this coin could be only "552". Kochnev cautiously wrote that in this case an obsolete die (with obsolete date) may have been used. But I believe that the date "552" is authentic and that Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain succeeded Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad in Samarqand in 551/1156.

In the Tübingen University Collection there are dinars minted in AH 553 in Bukhārā (N 9186) and Samarqand (N 94311) by "Shāhanshāh al-Khāqān al-A'zam Jalāl al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain". So he ruled up to and including AH 553 and was succeeded by Jaghry Khān 'Alī.

In 556/1161 there was already a new supreme ruler in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate: Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥasan, (brother of Jaghry Khān 'Alī and of Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan). Mas'ūd came to power after a victorious battle in the steppe near the caravanserai, Rabāt-i Malik, situated 20 km to the west of Kermine on the road connecting Samarqand and Bukhārā (Davidovich 1985, 97). He carried out two other victorious campaigns: one against the unruly Qarluqs, the other against the Ghuzz nomads, who were ravaging Khurasan. The war against the Qarluqs took place in Kesh, Nahsheb, Saghāniyān, and Tirmidh, where, after Mas'ūd's victory, tranquility and peace settled at last (Bartold 1963, 399-400). The second campaign started during the height of winter. Mas'ūd, with 100,000 warriors, crossed the Amu Darya by ice and invaded Khurasan. Yūsuf Andkhūdī mentioned that the Khytais plundered Balkh and Andkhūd in 560/1165 (Bartold 1963, 399). Being, like other Qarākhānids, a vassal of the Gūr Khān of the Khytais, Mas'ūd was getting military help from him when needed. So the words of Andkhūdī show that in 560/1165, while carrying out his campaign against the the Ghuzz nomads,

Mas'ūd conquered Balkh and Andkhūd with the help of the Khytai troops.

Having conquered vast territories, Mas'ūd will have been preoccupied with strengthening his position there. Indirect evidence show that he had transferred his residence to the newly acquired dominions and stayed there with his main army. So, according to the written sources, one of Mas'ūd's generals, 'Aiyār-bek, was for one year a Commander-in-Chief (and vicegerent) in Mawarānnahr but then rebelled. Being Qarluq by birth, 'Aiyār-bek probably could not forgive Mas'ūd for defeating the Qarluqs. Choosing the right moment, he mutinied, backed by the military force of the Qarluqs. Mas'ūd had to leave his newly acquired dominions and hurry back to Mawarānnahr. The battle between the rebels and the Khān took place in the Barren Steppe, to the east of Samarqand. 'Aiyār-bek personally headed the charge, almost hacked his way to the hill, where Mas'ūd stood, but was captured, brought to the Khān and murdered before his eyes (Bartold 1963, 399-400). Husaini wrote that 'Aiyār-bek Ḥusain seized Samarqand but was later killed in the battle with the Khytai (Husaini 1990, 131). So Mas'ūd again won the battle with the help of Khytai troops. The Gūr Khān again helped his loyal vassal.

Coins reflect those events. Kochnev came across coins of Samarqand (without surviving date) minted under the caliph al-Mustanjid (AH 556-566) by Ḥusain b. 'Abd al-Rahmān (Moscow State History Museum Nr. 499608, 4996099) and quite rightly attributed these coins to the mintage of 'Aiyār-bek Ḥusain, who, having mutinied minted coins in his own name in Samarqand. Proceeding from the fact that after the death of 'Aiyār-bek his son fled to the Khwārizmshāh, who made him commander of his army in 'Irāq in AH 563, Kochnev considered that the rebellion of 'Aiyār-bek took place before 563/1167-68. And because in AH 562 Mas'ūd started to mint a new type of dirhems in Samarqand, Kochnev wrote that the new type was introduced after Mas'ūd regained Samarqand, which meant that coins of 'Aiyār-bek were minted in AH 461 or 462 (Kochnev 1993, 430-431).

The date of Mas'ūd's death is not known. Kochnev (1983, 80) claimed that he managed to prove the opinion of Davidovich, that Mas'ūd died in AH 566 and was succeeded to the throne of Samarqand in the same year by his son, Muḥammad. But this does not correspond to the real facts. In AH 568 and 56(9 or ??) in Tirmidh (Tübingen University Collection Nr. ED1E6, ED1F1) dirhems were minted by "Rukn al-Dunya wa'l-Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān". Strange though it may seem, the caliph al-Mustanjid (AH 555-566) is mentioned on these coins. The title "Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān" is found on all Samarqandian coins of Mas'ūd starting at least with AH 558. So it seems that Mas'ūd lived several years after Davidovich and Kochnev buried him.

There is confirmation that Mas'ūd was alive after AH 566 in the coinage of Samarqand itself. One dirhem in the Tübingen University Collection (ED1A5) was identified as "Samarqand AH 558". But, by its appearance, weight and size (3.38 g, 30 mm) it belongs to the type of dirhems which Mas'ūd started to mint in Samarqand in 562, after he regained his capital. I paid attention to this. On close examination, the date on this coin is distinctly "568", though the name of the caliph (somewhat effaced) looks like Mustanjid (AH 555-566). The coin was minted in the name of "Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Din Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān". To be unbiased I should not omit the possibility that this dirhem of AH 568 may have been minted using an old die bearing the title of Mas'ūd. But coins of Tirmidh have the title of Mas'ūd and dates 568 and 56(9 or ??) on the same side. I also should mention here a coin of Balkh (Tübingen University Collection, ED2B4), where the name "Mustanjid" and the date "567" are quite distinct on the obverse. So it seems that there was a certain policy of Mas'ūd

and his family towards the new caliph. They did not recognise him and continued to mention on their coins the name of al-Mustanjid posthumously. It is very unlikely that the same mistake would occur on coins of Balkh, Samarqand and Tirmidh, with Samarqand and Balkh being quite far away from one another.

The main argument of Kochnev (1983, 80,) while trying to prove that Mas'ud died in AH 566 and was succeeded in that same year to the throne of Samarqand by his son, Muhammad, is that there are several coins bearing the name of Muhammad together with the name of the caliph al-Mustanjid. But as one may see, this argument does not prove anything for we have coins minted in Samarqand, Balkh and Tirmidh after 566 on which al-Mustanjid is mentioned posthumously.

Kochnev (1997, 26371058) read dates "566-569" on dirhems with the title "al-Khaqan al-'Adil Ghiyath (not Rukn - M. F.) al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Tafghāch Khān", which belonged to Muhammad b. Mas'ud. As for the date 566 it may have been misread. Moreover, on the dirhems of such type known to me, the date is on the same side of the coin where the caliph (and not the ruler) is mentioned. Thus the date "566" is connected with al-Mustanjid and not necessarily with Muhammad. And finally, an old die with the old date could have been used. As for the date 567, سبع - 7 and تسع - 9 on the coins usually have no diacriticals and are easy to mistake for one another.

So it appears that, having crushed the rebellion, Mas'ud regained first Samarqand and later Tirmidh. He minted coins in Samarqand until at least 568 and in Tirmidh until 568 or even 569. But then he granted Samarqand to his son Muhammad. In favour of this may speak a dirhem published as long ago as 1896 (Markov, 274/499). Davidovich (1985/100) noticed mistakes made by Markov who read the name of the caliph as al-Mustazhir (AH 487-512), written incorrectly. But in fact it was the name of al-Mustadī (AH 566-574). Both the mint-name and date are effaced. But there is the word "Muḥarram" which survived from the date. Since Muḥarram is the first month of the Muslim year and the caliph al-Mustanjid died in the fourth (Rabī' II) month of AH 566, this coin could not have been minted earlier than Muḥarram 567, or rather 568 for we have coins minted in Samarqand in 568 in the name of Mas'ud only. The legend in the field of the reverse on this coin reads as follows: "Tafghāch - / al-Khāqān al-'Adil / al-A'zam Rukn / al-Dunya wa'l Dīn / Muḥammad b. Qilych / Khān

Notwithstanding the objections of Davidovich (1985, 100) this legend may (I believe should) be interpreted this way: "al-Khāqān al-'Adil al-A'zam Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn" (Mas'ud, suzerain) and "Muḥammad b. Qilych Tafghāch Khān" (son and vassal of Mas'ud). So this coin may give us the date (Muḥarram 568) when Muhammad started to reign in Samarqand, firstly as a vassal of his father and then (since we have coins minted in AH 568 in Samarqand in Muhammad's name only) as an independent ruler. That is provided the old die, having the old date "568", was not used together with the new die on which Muhammad posed as an independent ruler.

Is it possible that, at least around the year 568, Mas'ud transferred his capital to Tirmidh? Being situated between Samarqand and Balkh, Tirmidh was an ideal place from which Mas'ud could exercise control over the both the dominions (Samarqand and Balkh) ruled by his sons.

And now to the coins of Mas'ud. He minted gold dinars, dirhems (at first subaerati, then, from AH 562, copper silver-washed ones) and falūs. The main mint was in his capital, Samarqand (dinars AH 55x, 560, 561; subaerati dirhems AH 558-561 and copper silver-washed ones AH 562-566, 568; falūs AH 559-560, 562), Benāket (subaerati dirhems AH 558-559), Tirmidh

(copper silver-washed dirhems AH 568, 569 or 567?). His coins were minted in Samarqand both in AH 561 and 562, which means that the rebellion and independent minting of 'Aiyār-bek took up part of 561 or 562 (or part of 561 and part of 562). Oddly enough, the mint of Bukhārā did not operate under Mas'ud. So far no coin of Mas'ud, minted in Bukhārā, is known. I believe the explanation for this is as follows. In the first half of 12th century AD there came into existence a dynasty of hereditary ru'asa' (mayors) of Bukhārā, who had title Ṣadr-i-Jahān (Bartold 1963, 389-390). First the Seljuqs then the Khytais encouraged them as a counterweight to the power of the Qarākhānids. Thus Bukhārā gradually became a kind of a "state within a state" though the Ṣadrs never dared to mint coins in their own name. In those unfrequent cases when coins were minted in Bukhārā they were minted in the name of the then Qarākhānid Khān.

So in AH 568 there was a new ruler in Samarqand. Kochnev (1997, 263-264/1058-1059) dated dirhems mentioning "al-Khāqān al-'Adil Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l Dīn" to AH 566-569, and a dinar mentioning "al-Khāqān al-'Adil Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas'ud" to AH 567. But as I have written above, the dates 566 and 567 were due either to the use of dies with an obsolete date, or to a misreading. According to Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1898, 132) Muḥammad b. Mas'ud died in AH 569. Kochnev (1987, 166-167) published a dirhem of AH 571 Samarqand mentioning "al-Khāqān al-A'zam Qilych Tafghāch Khān Abū'l Muzaffar Muammad Ghiyath al-Dunya wa'l Dīn" and wrote that the date of Muhammad's death, given by Qarshī was mistaken.

Dinars of AH 571 Samarqand and 574 Bukhārā (Kochnev 1997, 264/1060) cite "Khāqān al-A'zam Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān Muḥammad". Dirhems of AH 573 and 57x Samarqand (Tübingen University Collection 9222171; Kochnev 1997, 264/1062) cite "Khāqān al-A'zam Qilych Tafghāch Khān Abū'l Muzaffar Muḥammad Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn". Dirhems of 57x (mintname worn) mention "al-Khāqān al-A'zam Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Muḥammad b. Qilych Tafghāch Khān" (Kochnev 1997, 264/1063). Davidovich (1977, 182-183), referring to the coin of "al-Khāqān al-'Adil al-A'zam Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Muḥammad b. Qilych Tafghāch Khān", thought that this Muhammad was either the fourth son of Qilych Tafghāch Khān Ḥasan (or Ḥasan-tegīn, put on the throne of Mawarānnahr by the Seljuq ruler, Sanjar in AH 524) or the son of Muhammad b. Mas'ud. She also did not exclude the possibility that this Muhammad could be Muhammad b. Naṣr b. Ḥusain (b. Ḥasan-tegīn - M. F.) "who owned Uzjend in AH 574-578" (as a matter of fact he owned Kāsān, cf. Kochnev 1997, 271/1127-1128). Davidovich thought that Muhammad b. Naṣr might have captured Samarqand, and that his uncle, Ibrahim b. Ḥusain (who possessed Uzjend in 559-574 and, from 574, Samarqand) might have forced his nephew, Muhammad, to swap Samarqand for Uzjend.

Proceeding from the fact that "Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Qilych Tafghāch Khān", i.e. Mas'ud, and "Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān" had the same *kunya* and *laqab*, I supposed that "Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān" was a new title of Mas'ud and that he returned to Samarqand after the death of Muhammad b. Mas'ud (Fedorov 1978, 61). I considered that the name "Muḥammad", written in small letters above the main legend of the field, belonged to the vicegerent of Mas'ud.

Davidovich (1985, 99) strongly criticised these views, writing that "Fedorov entered the realm of fantasy where he felt himself a genuine creator". In so doing, Davidovich ignored her own former assertion that "the *laqab* is a more important argument" when attributing titles to a ruler whose name is absent on a coin. In 1984 I noted (Fedorov 1984, 109) that Davidovich

missed the fact that not only *laqabs* but *kunyas* were also identical and that, when she (1957, 107) tried to prove that Qadir Khān, on an AH 607 coin of Uzjend, and Kuch Arslān Khān, on an AH 608 coin of Uzjend, was the same person, she used the identity of their *laqabs* as her main argument, though the difference between “Qadir Khān” and “Kuch Arslān Khān” is far more than between “Abū’l Muzaffār Rukn ad-Dunya wa’l Dīn Qilych Tafghāch Khān” and “Abu’l Muzaffār Rukn ad-Dunya wa’l Dīn Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān”. In response to this, Davidovich wrote (1985, 100): “4) Mas’ūd and Akdash(?) Tamghach Khan had the same *laqab* and *kunya* ‘Rukn al-Dunya wa’l Din Abu’l Muzaffār’. M. N. Fedorov has forgotten, that such similarity (I would rather call it ‘identity’ – M. F.) does not have the power of independent argument (underlined by me – M. F.), for similar *laqabs* and *kunyas* were possessed by many rulers, especially by members of the same family”. She gave an example (1985, 100, footnote 16) that 5 members of the Farghāna Qarākhānid family had the *laqab* “Jalāl al-Dunya wa’l Din” (but not the same *kunya* to boot – M. F.). So according to her “M. N. Fedorov has forgotten”. As a matter of fact it is Davidovich who had “forgotten”. “If the title reflected the relative political status of its bearer and could be changed, - she wrote (1957, 105-106), - the *laqab* was an individual (underlined by me – M. F.) honorary sobriquet and usually did not depend on a change of the political status of its bearer. As an immediate example (now it is quite another example!-M. F.) one may refer to the same Ibrahim b. Husain, who was first a ruler of Uzjend then of Samarqand, changed titulage but always remained ‘Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa’l Din’. That is why, when one identifies coins, the *laqab* is a more valid argument” (underlined by me – M. F.). I have quoted the contradictory assertions of Davidovich and leave it to the reader to decide, which one is right.

Thus I believed the assertion of Davidovich, that “a *laqab* is a more valid argument”, used it to prove my interpretation (according to her, an absurd one) of written and numismatic sources, and was then severely criticised for it by her! But anyway it looks as if she was right when she wrote that Muḥammad b. Mas’ūd and Rukn al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Abū’l Muzaffār Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān Muḥammad were different rulers.

Kochnev (1983, 79-82; 1987, 166) at first shared the opinion of Davidovich and wrote that Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān Muḥammad succeeded Muḥammad b. Mas’ūd in Samarqand and that this took place in AH 571. But later (Kochnev 1993, 432) he changed his mind and wrote that “Ekdish” (this is how he now read the mysterious word which Davidovich read as “Akdash(?)” Tafghāch Khān Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Mas’ūd were one and the same person. And what is more, in 1996 he wrote that the word “Egdish” (which is the name of a Turkic tribe) shows that the Qarākhānids came from that tribe (Kochnev 1996, 356). In his *Corpus of Inscriptions on the Qarakhanid Coins* Kochnev (1995, 271-278; 1997, 245-315) published 1354 varieties of Qarākhānid titulage. Of them only 3 (or 0.22%) included the word which he read as “Egdish”. And those 0.22% were enough for him to write that the Qarākhānids stemmed from the Egdish tribe. It is strange that Dr. Jürgen Paul (Halle), the translator of this article into English, did not pay attention to (or did not know) such statistics and that *Der Islam* published such an article.

Maybe Kochnev changed his mind and decided that Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān Muḥammad and Muḥammad b. Mas’ūd were one person because, in Samarqand in 571-572, coins cite both al-Khāqān al-A’zam Rukn al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Abū’l Muzaffār Muḥammad Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān and al-Khāqān al-A’zam Qilych Tafghāch Khān Abū’l Muzaffār

Muḥammad Ghīyāth al-Dunya wa’l Dīn (Kochnev 1997, 264/1060-1061). But as he himself wrote, (Kochnev 1987, 166) a change of power took place in 571. As for the coins of Ghīyāth al-Dunya wa’l Dīn (i.e. Muḥammad b. Mas’ūd) with the date 572, they could have been minted using an obsolete die with obsolete titulage. Hopefully this unsolved problem will be settled when new coins are found with the full name of Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān.

In 1983 Kochnev (80-81) mentioned a coin, minted by ‘Imād al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Arslān Khān under the caliph al-Mustanjid (AH 555-566) “absolutely analogous to Samarqandian dirhems of Mas’ūd of AH 562-565, and Samarqandian dirhems of Muḥammad of 566-568”. He considered that it was minted in Samarqand in AH 566 within a short interval between the reigns of Mas’ūd and Muḥammad. As a matter of fact, Arslān Khān, son of Qilych Tafghāch Khān (i.e. of Mas’ūd) minted coins “absolutely analogous to Samarqandian dirhems” in Balkh (Tübingen University Collection 9222/164-166).

In AH 574 in Samarqand coins were already being minted in the name of Ibrahim b. Husain (b. Hasan-tegīn) the former ruler of Uzjend (in 559-574). Kochnev (1984, 374; 1993, 432-433) mentioned a dirhem minted in Samarqand by Ghīyāth al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Qutlugh Bilga Khān ‘Abd al-Khāliq under the caliph al-Mustadī (AH 566-575). In 1984 he considered that ‘Abd al-Khāliq ruled Samarqand for a short time in 566. But in 1993 he wrote that ‘Abd al-Khāliq b. Husain (brother of Ibrahim b. Husain) “probably possessed Pārāb” and after the death of the ruler of Samarqand in AH 574 both brothers had pretensions to rule Samarqand but Ibrahim won it. I can only agree with this. The coin in question shows that ‘Abd al-Khāliq captured Samarqand but that in the same year, AH 574, he was driven out of it by Ibrahim.

So in 574/1178-79 the long reign of Ibrahim b. Husain started in Samarqand, which was then the seat of the nominal Head of the Western Qarākhānids. Ibrahim’s Samarqand coinage is known almost for every year of his reign there: 574-580, 582, 584-587, 589-592, 594-598 (Kochnev 1997, 264-267). So far only coins of AH 581, 583, 588, 593, 599 and 600 are absent. Bukhāran coins of Ibrahim are scarce. They consist mainly of gold dinars: 574, 582, 590, 597, 599, 600. Once (in 590) copper falūs were struck in Bukhārā and once (the date has not survived, but judging by the titles on them, they are not earlier than AH 590) copper, silver-washed fiduciary dirhems were minted in Bukhārā (Kochnev 1997, 264/1066, 266/1079-1081, 267/1090). At first (in 574-580) Ibrahim’s titles were: “al-Khāqān al-‘Adil (or al-‘Alīm al-‘Adil) al-A’zam Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Ibrahim Arslān Khān (khāqān)” or simply “Ibrahim Arslān Khān”. Then, in AH 582, they became “al-Khāqān al-‘Adil al-A’zam Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Ibrahim Kūch Arslān Khān”. In 584 he assumed the high title of sultan: “al-Sultān al-Mu’azzam Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Ibrahim Ulugh Sultān al-Salāṭīn”. I believe this was connected with the death of his uncle, the ruler of Balkh, Sanjar b. al-Hasan (Tübingen University Collection ED2 C6), who, being the eldest in the dynasty, assumed the title of sultan. After his death, Ibrahim, who now became the eldest, assumed the title of sultan.

The date of Ibrahim’s death is not known. His latest coin was minted in 600/1203-04 (Markov 1896, 925/595a). Kochnev (1983, 83-84) doubted Markov’s reading and did not even include this coin in his *Corpus of Inscriptions on the Qarakhanid Coins* (Kochnev 1997, 267). But I believe that Markov was right: the date AH 600 accords well with the fact that, in AH 601 the ruler of Uzjend, Qadir Khān, was cited on his coins for the first time with the title of sultan (Markov 1896, 975/606b). And Qadir Khān could not have become the sultan in

Ibrahīm's lifetime. So it appears that Ibrahīm died no earlier than AH 600 and not later than AH 601.

There is a coin with a worn reverse on which Kochnev read "al-Sultān al-A'zam Nuṣrat [al-Dunya wa'l Dīn] 'Uthmān [Ulugh] Sultān al-Salātīn". On the obverse he read part of the date "which one ought to read as 'seventy', but such a date is impossible on the coins of 'Uthmān because he was born no earlier than 582" (Kochnev 1983, 83). So without a second's hesitation. Kochnev read the date as "59x" and, since "according to 'Aufī, Ibrahīm was alive in Rajab 597", he read the date as 598, 599, "or even" 597 (Kochnev 1983, 84). Later when a coin was found, minted by Ibrahīm in Bukhārā in [59]9, Kochnev (1997, 267/1090, 1095) read the date on the coin in question as "[5]9[9]". But this coin cannot not be used as proper evidence because the ruler's titles and date are placed on different sides and mismatching of dies (one of them with an obsolete date) is certain.

The mintage of Ibrahīm's son, 'Uthmān, concludes the Qarākhānid coinage of Samarqand. For a long time his earliest coins were dirhems minted in Samarqand in 605/1208-09 (Kochnev 1997, 267/1096, 1097) in the name of "al-Sultān al-'Adīl al-A'zam Ulugh Sultān al-Salātīn 'Uthmān" or "al-Sultān 'Uthmān b. Ibrahīm". Recently I was informed that Bishkek antique dealer, V. Koshevar, had a dinar of AH 604 Samarqand minted in the name of 'Uthmān. Unfortunately I have not seen this coin but it is most probably of the same type as the dinar of Samarqand "minted before AH 606" (Kochnev 1997, 267/ 1098), which cites "al-Sultān al-A'zam Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa'l Dīn 'Uthmān b. Ibrahīm".

After 1141 AD, the Qarākhānids were vassals of the Gūr Khāns. 'Uthmān also was a vassal of the Gūr Khān. In 601 'Uthmān, with his troops, joined the army of his suzerain and participated in the war of the Khytais against the Ghūrīds. Ibn al-Athīr, relating these events, called 'Uthmān "ruler of Samarqand" and "Sultan of Sultans" (Materialy 1973, 86), which is one more piece of evidence that his father, Sultān Ibrahīm, died no later than AH 601. 'Uthmān remained a vassal of the Gūr Khān until 606/1209-10. He wooed the Gūr Khān's daughter and asked for her in marriage but was rejected. Offended, 'Uthmān changed his allegiance and became a vassal of Khwārizmshāh Muḥammad. Coins of AH 606 Samarqand cite Sultān al-A'zam 'Uthmān and his suzerain, Sultān al-Mu'azzam Muḥammad b. Sultān (Kochnev 1997, 267/ 1099). The Gūr Khān sent 30,000 horsemen and captured Samarqand, but treated 'Uthmān and the inhabitants of the city leniently. He only made 'Uthmān pay an indemnity. After that, the Gūr Khān's vicegerent was left in Samarqand and the Khytai army went back. Then Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh, with his army, advanced on Samarqand. 'Uthmān, with his troops, went out to meet him and joined the army of Khwārizm.

Coins of AH 607 Samarqand (Kochnev 1997, 267/ 1100-1101) mention al-Sultān al-Mu'azzam 'Uthmān b. Sultān Ibrahīm and his suzerain, al-Sultān al-A'zam Muḥammad b. Sultān. In Rabī' I 607 (august-september 1210) the armies of Khwārizm and Samarqand fought the Khytais in the province of Tarāz. Afterwards, 'Uthmān went to Khwārizm and married Muḥammad's daughter. But he was not permitted to return to Samarqand under the pretext that, according to Turkic custom, a son-in-law, after the wedding, should live one year in the house of his father-in-law. Only in 1211 was 'Uthmān permitted to return to Samarqand. But a vicegerent of the Khwārizmshāh and a detachment of the Khwārizmian army was sent with him. In 1212 the people of Samarqand, headed by 'Uthmān, rebelled. The Khwārizmians were massacred. The Khwārizmshāh, with a huge army advanced on Samarqand. 'Uthmān met him at the town gate and gave himself up. The Khwārizmshāh wanted to

pardon him, but, on the insistence of his daughter ('Uthmān's wife) executed him (Bartold 1963, 427-430). Thus came to an end the dynasty of the Qarākhānid rulers of Mawarānnahr. As for Bukhārā, it appears that it was not under 'Uthmān's sway. No coin of Bukhārā minted in his name is known so far. The town was governed by a dynasty of hereditary *ru'asa'* (mayors) of Bukhārā, whith the title "Ṣadr-i-Jahān". Around the year 604/1207 the people of Bukhārā, led by Sanjar, son of a shield-maker, rebelled against Ṣadr Burhān al-Dīn and drove him out of the town. The Khwārizmshāh took Bukhārā in the autumn of 1207 and quelled the uprising (Bartold 1963, 389, 419, 424). From that time coins in Bukhārā were minted in the name of the Khwārizmshāh.

References

1. Bartold, V. V. 1898. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*, Ch. I, Texty, St. Petersburg.
2. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*, *Sochineniia*, t. 1, Moskva.
3. Dorn, Bernhard. 1880. "Über die münzen der Ilike oder ehemaligen Chane von Turkistan", *Mélanges Asiatiques*, tirés du Bulletin historique-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg, tome VIII.
4. Fedorov, M. N. 1984. "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v XII nachale XIII v." *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XIV, Moskva.
5. Fraehn, Ch. M. 1826. *Recensio numorum Muhammedanorum Academiae Imperialis Scientiarum Petropolitanae*, Petropoli.
6. Al-Husainī, Ṣadr al-Dīn 'Alī. 1980. *Akhbār al-Daulat al-Saljuqiia*, Izdanie texta, perevod, vvedenie, primechaniia i prilozheniia Z. M. Buniiatova.
7. Al-Juwainī, Muntajab al-Dīn Atābek. *Stupeni sovershenstvovaniia katibov (Atabat al-Kataba)*, Perevod s persidskogo, vvedenie i komentarii G. M. Kurpalidisa, Moskva.
8. Karaev, O. 1983. *Istoriia Karakhanidskogo Kaganata*, Frunze.
9. Khodzhaniazov, T. 1971. "Novye numizmaticheskie dannye k istorii karakhanidskogo chekana vremeni pravleniia Sultana Sandzhara", *Material'naia kul'tura Turkmenistana*, vyp. 1.
10. Khodzhaniazov, T. 1977. *Denezhnoe obrashchenie v gosudarstve Velikikh Seldzhukov (po dannym numizmatiki)*, Ashkhabad.
11. Khodzhaniazov, T. 1979. *Katalog monet gosudarstva Velikikh Seldzhukov*, Ashkhabad.
12. Kochnev, B. D. 1975. "Monety s imenem sultana Sandzhara iz Bukhary", *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Turkmenskoi SSR, Seriia Obshchestvennye Nauki*, 2.
13. Kochnev, B. D. 1983. "Novye numizmaticheskie dannye po istorii Karakhanidov vtoroi poloviny XII nachala XIII v.", *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
14. Kochnev, B. D. 1985. "Numizmaticheskie materialy dlia kharakteristiki vzaimootnosheniia Karakhanidov i bukharskikh sadrov", *Dukhovenstvo i politicheskaiia zhizn' na Blizhnem i Srednem Vostoke*, Moskva.
15. Kochnev, B. D. 1987. "Zametki po srednevekovoi numizmatike Srednei Azii, ch. 8 (Karakhanidy)", *Istoriia matreial'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana*, vyp. 21.
16. Kochnev, B. D. 1993. *Karakhanidskie monety: istochnikovedcheskoe i istoricheskoe issledovanie. Dissertatsiia na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni doctora istoricheskikh nauk*, Samarqand.
17. Kochnev, B. D. 1997. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 2)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
18. Markov, A. K. 1896. *Inventarnyi Katalog Musul'manskikh Monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg.
19. Masson, M. E. 1960. "Kladik karakhanidskikh mednykh dirkhemov pervoi poloviny XII v. iz Termeza", *Kratkie soobshcheniia o*

20. *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, 1. 1973, Moskva.
21. Pritsak, O. 1953. "Die Karachaniden", *Der Islam*, Bd. 31.

Soghd

The name of a province was often used on coins as a substitute for its capital. So the main mint of Shāsh province was almost always named "Shāsh". The name of its capital, Binket, is rare on Qarākhānid coins. The name "Farghāna" was often put on coins minted at Uzgend, the capital of Farghāna province. Ilāq coins had the mint-name "Ilāq" or "Tūnket", which was the capital of Ilāq province. It is no surprise that coins with the mint-name "Soghd" were also minted. The problem is where to localise this mint? There were two main towns in Soghd and both of them were capitals at different times. I think that the mint with the mint-name "Soghd" was in the Samarqandian part of the province. I shall return to that later.

The earliest coins of Soghd were minted in 400-401/1009-11 (Kochnev 1995, 220/245-247; 222/ 274-276) during the period of internecine war, when İlek Naşr needed money to pay his army. In AH 400-401 the mint of Soghd minted 6 types of coins (which, together with Samarqand made 19 types).

Falūs of AH 400-401 Soghd cite "Naşr", "Naşr b. 'Alī", "al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Naşr b. 'Alī İlek" or "Naşr b. 'Alī İlek" and his vassals "Nūsh 'Alī", "'Alī b. Nūsh" or "Mas'ūd". As for Samarqand, it was an appanage of Ṭonghā-tegīn. Coins of AH 401 Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 222/ 269-271) cite "Nāşir al-Haqq Khān" (suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī), "al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek" (vassal, Naşr b. 'Alī) and "Ṭonghā-tegīn Muḥammad b. al-Ha[san]" (subvassal). At the same time falūs of AH 401 Soghd cite Naşr and his vassal, Mas'ūd, but never cite Ṭonghā-tegīn (Kochnev 1995, 222/274-275). I believe this is proof that Samarqand and Soghd were different mints.

Then coins of Soghd were minted in 404-405/1013-15 (Kochnev 1995, 228-229/357-366, 230/391) i.e. also during the period of the internecine war of AH 404-407. Eleven types of coins were minted (together with Samarqand, 22 types). Falūs of AH 404-405 Soghd cite either Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his vassals: Bā(?) Qāsim (7 types of coins) and Bā Sāliḥ (1 type) or Aḥmad b. 'Alī without any vassals (3 types). On the other hand, AH 404 coins of Samarqand cite "Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān", "Khāqān" or "Khān" (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and his vassal Ṭonghā-tegīn. The fact that contemporary coins of Soghd never cite Ṭonghā-tegīn, shows that Samarqand and Soghd were different mints. And, what is more, one type of AH 404 Samarqand falūs does not mention Aḥmad b. 'Alī as suzerain, while all the falūs of Soghd cite Aḥmad b. 'Alī as suzerain. There are two different policies being applied.

The next coins of Soghd were minted in 411-412/1020-22 (Kochnev 1995, 243/558) in the name of the then Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Arslān Khān Mañşūr b. 'Alī, no vassal being cited. In AH 411 the Qarākhānid prince, 'Alī-tegīn, captured Bukhārā. İlek Muḥammad, brother of Arslān Khān Mañşūr and lawful owner of Bukhārā, led his army to punish the usurper but 'Alī-tegīn defeated him. And again it was in time of war (at least AH 411) that the mint of Soghd resumed its work.

Could it be that Arslān Khān with his army came to Soghd to settle the dispute, and could "Soghd" be the name of the military camp built for the army, as well as the name of the mint, which worked there recurrently (mainly in the time of war) to produce coins to pay the army? For instance, in Shāsh province there was such a military camp. Qudāma (c. 316/928) mentioned "a military camp situated within the walls" (i.e.

fortified with fortress walls) at two farsakhs (12 km) from the capital of Shāsh and "Khudūd al-'Ālam" (372/982-983) mentioned the town of Jaghbūket, situated at the place where, in the days of yore, there had been the military camp of Shāsh (Ibn Khordādbeh 1986, 179).

In 416/1025-26 in Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 249/658-659) coins were minted by the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭonghān Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, who cited "Khān Malik al-Mashriq" (i.e. the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Qadir Khān Yūsuf, ruler of Kāshghar) as his suzerain.

In AH 416 Qadir Khān and Maḥmūd Ghaznavi invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. The ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā, 'Alī-tegīn, brother of Ṭonghān (Ṭoghān) Khān Muḥammad fled into the desert. But soon enough Maḥmūd realised that it was better to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other and returned with his army to Ghazna. The intervention of Maḥmūd, however, helped Qadir Khān in AH 416 to conquer Balāsāghūn (capital of Ṭonghān Khān) and Eastern Farghāna with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsīket in AH 417-418 but subsequently lost the whole of Farghāna and Khojende (Fedorov 1983, 111-113). Baihaqī wrote that Ṭoghān Khān *بر افتاد* in the war with Qadir Khān. A. K. Arends (Baihaqī 1962, 467) translated it as: "fell in the war".

So it appears, that having lost Balāsāghūn in 416, Ṭonghān Khān with his army (or what was left of it) retreated to Soghd and minted coins there (and again, AH 416 was a time of war). Moreover, in 416 he was forced to recognise Qadir Khān as suzerain. The latest coins of Ṭoghān Khān were minted in AH 417-418 in Akhsīket (Kochnev 1995, 250/673, 686). As a matter of interest, there are coins of AH 417-Akhsīket minted in the name of Qadir Khān (Kochnev 1995, 249-250/ 671-672). So it seems that, in that very year, Ṭoghān Khān managed to reconquer Western Farghāna. After AH 418 Ṭoghān Khān disappears from the coins. So it was my view that he fell in battle in 418/1027-28 (Fedorov 1974, 174).

In 418 in Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 251/691) coins were minted by Arslān(?)-tegīn, vassal of Qadir Khan. A fals of AH 421 Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 252/719) cites Shams al-Daula Arslān-tegīn, vassal of İlek (i.e. of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan). A fals of AH 431 Bukhārā cited Shams al-Daula Yūsuf (Kochnev 1995, 261/853). So we have: Shams al-Daula=Yūsuf and Shams al-Daula=Arslān-tegīn. Which gives the equation: Arslān-tegīn=Yūsuf. Falūs of AH 419 Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 250/688) cite Yūsuf b. 'Alī (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan). Which proves that "Shams ad-Daula Arslān-tegīn" was a son of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. It appears that the Samarqandian part of Soghdiana stayed with the Ḥasanids, but that Yūsuf, son of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, was forced to recognise the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids as suzerain. To be objective I must not omit the possibility that Arslān-tegīn, vassal of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, and Arslān-tegīn, vassal of Qadir Khān, were different men. There could be one Arslān-tegīn in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate and one Arslān-tegīn in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. If Arslān-tegīn citing Qadir Khān on the coins of Soghd was an Eastern Qarākhānid, it would mean that Qadir Khān captured Soghd and granted it as an appanage to his vassal, the Eastern Qarākhānid Arslān-tegīn.

It is noteworthy that in Bukhārā and the Bukhāran part of Soghd, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan minted coins as an independent ruler and never mentioned Qadir Khan as suzerain, but on the coins minted in AH 419 in Samarqand by Arslān-tegīn (Kochnev 1995, 251/702) "Khān Malik al-Mashriq wa'l-Şīn" (i.e. Qadir Khan) was mentioned as his suzerain. This is what made me consider that the mint of "Soghd" was situated in the Samarqandian part of the province of Soghd.

But already in AH 419 "al-Malik al-Muzaffar İlek Pādishāh" (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Hasan) was minting coins in Soghd as an independent ruler (Kochnev 1995, 251/704). After that Qadir Khān was never mentioned on the coins of Soghd as suzerain.

In 421/1030 in Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 252/724-725) coins were minted in the name of "Qilych Ūkā Pādishāh İlek" or "Abū-l-Husain 'Alī b. al-Hasan Tarkān Pādishāh İlek". In 422/1030-31 in Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 251/704) coins were minted in the name of "al-Malik al-Muzaffar İlek Pādishāh" and in 423/1031-32 in Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 254/750) in the name of "Arslān İlek. In AH 42(6?) in Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 258/810) coins were minted in the name of the anonymous "Khān". This was 'Alī b. al-Hasan, who had assumed the high title of Khān. 'Alī b. al-Hasan died in that same year of 426/1034-35.

The latest coin of Soghd so far known (Kochnev 1997, 248/868-869) was minted in 432/1040-41 (again in time of war) by "Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahim b. Naṣr", who, having conquered Samarqand from Yūsuf, son of 'Alī b. al-Hasan in AH 431, waged war to conquer Bukhārā from him.

Such is the history of the mint of Soghd in the eleventh century AD according to the information furnished by Qarākhānid coins.

References

1. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*, Sochineniia, t. 1, Moskva.
2. Baihaqi, Abu-l-Fazl. 1962. *Istoriia Mas'uda 1030-1041*, perevod... A. K. Arends, Tashkent.
3. Fedorov, M. N. 1983. "Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X - nachala XIII v. po numizmaticheskim dannym", *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
4. Ibn Khordadbeh, 1986. *Kniga putei i stran*, Perevod s arabskogo... Naili Velikhanovoi, Baku.
5. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimiy i titulatura (ch.1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.

The towns of Soghd in the first half of the 11th century AD.

The largest and most famous of the province of Soghd were Samarqand and Bukhārā. Under the Qarākhānids, the mints of these cities were among the biggest of the Qarākhānid realms. In addition to them, however, there were other, lesser mints in the province in the first half of the 11th century. And the coins struck there provide important information on the history of those places.

Kesh

Kesh, a relatively large town, second only to Samarqand and Bukhārā, was situated about 70 km (2 days' journey) south of Samarqand behind the Zarafshan mountain ridge. The Qarākhānid mint of Kesh worked intermittently during the period 396-431/1005-40. All the coins minted at Kesh were silver dirhems.

In Dhu-l-Qa'da 389/October 999, the Qarākhānid ruler, İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī, captured Bukhārā, arrested the last Sāmānid amir, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nuḥ, and put an end to the Sāmānid state. (Baihaqi 1962, 566). Soghd became the dominion of İlek Naṣr. The earliest coin of Kesh (Kochnev 1995, 212/131) was minted by him in 396/1005-6. Three people are mentioned on it: "al-

'Adl İlek Naṣr Padishāh", his suzerain "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān (on the reverse) and his vassal, "Abū 'Alī (on the obverse). The coin of AH 394 of Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 212/133) mentioning "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Quṭb al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī" shows that the *laqabs* "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq" and "Quṭb al-Daula" belonged to Aḥmad b. 'Alī, the brother and nominal suzerain of İlek Naṣr. So in 396, Kesh was an appanage granted by İlek Naṣr to his vassal Abū 'Alī.

But already in the following year, Kesh had become the personal dominion of Naṣr. His suzerain, "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān" is mentioned but no vassal. In 399/1008-9, the status of Kesh changed once again. Naṣr granted Kesh as an appanage to another vassal (Kochnev 1995, 218/208). On the coin we find mentioned: İlek Naṣr, his suzerain, Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān, and his vassal, Bektūzun. This is rather interesting as, in 999 AD, Naṣr had captured Bukhārā, put the Sāmānid general, Bektūzun, in chains and sent him, together with the Sāmānid amir, into imprisonment to Uzgend (Baihaqi 1962, 566). The coins show that Bektūzun later came to serve the Qarākhānids and so distinguished himself that Naṣr granted him Kesh as an appanage. In 400-2, Kesh remained as Bektūzun's appanage (Kochnev 1995, 219/234, 223/288; collection of A Kamyshev, Bishkek). A coins of AH 402 mentions a certain Ṭabarī, probably a vicegerent of Bektūzun. Ṭabarī ruled Kesh in his absence. In AH 401-2 there was an internecine war between İlek Naṣr and Khāqān Aḥmad (Bartold 1963, 335) in which the former Sāmānid general and vassal of Naṣr very probably took part.

In AH 403, İlek Naṣr died and his dominions were split between his three brothers. A redistribution of appanages also took place. Khāqān Aḥmad deprived Bektūzun of Kesh and, during part of 403, minted coins in his own name there (Kamyshev collection). Then he granted Kesh (and Bukhārā) as an appanage to his brother, Manṣūr b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 225/312, 224/304).

In 404, coins of Kesh (Kochnev 1995, 227/334) cite "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Qarākhāqān" (Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and "Khāqān" (Manṣūr b. 'Alī). In that year, an internecine war broke out between Aḥmad and Manṣūr. Mention of Manṣūr disappears from the coins of Kesh. Also in that year, coins of Kesh (Kochnev 1995, 228/350) cite Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his vicegerent, Ṣalih.

The war between Aḥmad and Manṣūr, who assumed the high title of Arslān Khān, ended in 407/1016-17 with Manṣūr and his allies (the fourth of the brothers, Muḥammad b. 'Alī among them) victorious. Soon afterwards, Khāqān Aḥmad died (Fedorov 1990, 9).

The next known dirhem of Kesh was struck in 410/1019-20 (Kochnev 1995, 241/531) by "İlek al-Manṣūr Padishāh" (i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Alī - "al-Manṣūr" in this case is not a name but an epithet meaning "victorious"), who mentions "Arslān Khān" as suzerain. A subvassal "Bek" is also mentioned on the obverse, where vassals or subvassals are usually mentioned. After Manṣūr assumed the title "Arslān Khān", Muḥammad received the title "İlek", which formerly belonged to Manṣūr. This is demonstrated by a fals of AH 407, Shāsh, which has, in its circular legend "al-Malik al-'Adil Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek" (Kochnev 1995, 237/473).

There was then a long gap until AH 429, when a dirhem (Kochnev 1995, 259/827) was struck by the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī, without mention of any vassal. In 429/1037-8, a prisoner of Yūsuf b. 'Alī, the Qarākhānid prince, Būrī-tegīn Ibrahim, son of İlek Naṣr (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999) escaped from imprisonment and went to the nomad tribes of the Kumījī and the Kenjīne. With their help, he raised an army of 3000 horsemen. This enabled him an AH 430 to capture the principality of Chaghāniyān (to the

north of Tirmidh and to the south of Kesh). The ruler of Chaghāniyān had died leaving no heir and Būri-tegīn promptly took advantage of this opportunity. In Chaghāniyān, he raised a larger army and started a war against Yūsuf b. 'Alī. Coins show that already in 431/1039-40 he had conquered Kesh and Samarqand and later Bukhārā (Fedorov 1980, 40-42).

The next and hitherto latest dirhems of Kesh (Kochnev 1995, 261/854-5; 1997, 248/861-2) were minted in 431/1039-40, at first in the name of "Fakhr al-Daula Būri-tegīn" but in the same year he assumed the high title of "al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān". On some coins of Kesh (Kochnev 1997, 248/862) the name of his vassal, *Nasr* (written in Uighur) can be found. I believe that this *Nasr* was his son and future Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr b. Ibrahīm. It appears that, having left Naṣr as his vassal in Kesh, Ibrahīm went further north to conquer Samarqand, which he succeeded in doing.

Ishtīkhan (modern Ishtikhan in Uzbekistan)

Ishtīkhan was situated 7 farsakhs (about 42 km) north-west of Samarqand on the ancient trade route connecting Samarqand and Bukhārā. All coins minted in Ishtīkhan were copper falūs.

The earliest coin of this mint was struck during the period of the internecine war of AH 404-7. In 404/1013-14, Khāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī captured Bukhārā and Kesh from Maṣūr b. 'Alī. The third town taken by Aḥmad was Ishtīkhan. Falūs of AH 404-5 of this mint (Kochnev 1995, 228/346-7, 230/386-7) were struck in the name of "Quṭb al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī Khān" and his vicegerent, Ya'la(?).

The next coin of Ishtīkhan (Kochnev 1995, 243/553), was minted in 411/1020-21, and reflects a different situation. It was struck by Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The reverse legend is illegible but there is enough on the obverse to tell us that in AH 411 Ishtīkhan was an appanage of Muḥammad, the brother and vassal of the then Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Arslān Khān Maṣūr.

In 415 both Arslān Khān and Muḥammad b. 'Alī died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was seized by another branch of the Qarākhānids, the so-called "Hasanids". Toghān Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan became supreme ruler, with his capital in Balāsāghūn (Fedorov 1980, 38, 39 footnotes 1-4). On the coins of AH 415, Shash, we can find "İlek al-'Adil 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan" or "İlek al-'Adil Bahā al-Daula"; on the coins of Bukhārā of the same year (Kochnev 1995, 247/619, 248 Nr. 640, 642), "Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek". Hence Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek was a brother of Toghān Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. This 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan is more often mentioned in the mediaeval chronicles as 'Alī-tegīn.

Coins of AH 419-20, Ishtīkhan, (Kochnev 1995, 251/700) reflect yet another situation. On the obverse is "Arslān İlek" and on the reverse (i.e. where the name of the suzerain is usually placed) "Qilych Ūkā". Ūkā is "younger brother" in Turki. Theoretically, "Qilych Ūkā" could be 'Alī, the younger brother of Toghān Khān, or it could be the younger brother of 'Alī, himself. But since "Qilych Ūkā" is found where the suzerain usually is, I believe that it refers to 'Alī. Anyway, the coins show that in 419-20/1028-9, Ishtīkhan was among the private territories of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan.

B.D. Kochnev (1995, 251/699) attributed to the coinage of Ishtīkhan the fals of AH 419 with the titles of Qadir Khān (Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, with their capital at Kāshghar) "Maliq al-Mashriq wa'l Šīn Nāšir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn". But, to me, the mint-name looks more like Ispījāb.

In 421/1030, falūs were struck in Ishtīkhan (Kochnev 1995, 252/720) mentioning "Malik Arslān İlek" on the obverse, and "Qilych Ūkā İlek" on the reverse. This proves that "Qilych Ūkā İlek" = "Arslān İlek". There was only one İlek at that time in

Soghd and that was 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. So in AH 419-21, Ishtīkhan was the domain of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan himself and not an appanage of one or other of his vassals.

The latest coin so far known of this mint is dated 425/1033-4 (Kochnev 1995, 257/782). It mentions a new and more elevated title of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, one which he assumed in AH 423 (Kochnev 1995, 254/755), namely "Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān" on the reverse, and "Sevinch ('Joy', the name) Ūkā. It is difficult to say who this "Sevinch Ūkā" was.

Kushānī (or *Kushāniya*)

Next on the road connecting Samarqand to Bukhārā was Kushānī, some 5 farsakhs (about 30 km) to the west of Ishtīkhan. The ruins of this town are located at Kushan Ata. According to mediaeval geographers, the town was covered in verdure and, in this respect, was second only to Samarqand. All but one of the known coins of this town are copper falūs.

The earliest coin of Kushānī (Kochnev 1995, 215/169) is a dirhem of 396/1005-6. Three people are mentioned on it: "al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Naṣr", his nominal suzerain and brother "Nāšir al-Ḥaqq Khān" (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) and a subvassal (or vicegerent) "Mu'in". Then there is a long interval before the next coins, which were minted there in 413-4/1012-14 (Kochnev 1995, 245/593). These mention an appanage holder, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan (the brother of Arslān İlek 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and Toghān Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan), and his suzerain Arslān Khān Maṣūr b. 'Alī. In 415/1024-5, the situation changed (Kochnev 1995, 247/624, the vassal of Arslān Khān in Kushānī now being amir Bahā al-Daula (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan).

In 416 (Kochnev 1995, 249/654) "İlek" (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan) minted coins there but did not mention any suzerain, a situation not unusual with the smaller copper coins.

Dabūsiya

Dabūsiya was situated on the old trade road connecting Samarqand and Bukhārā, 5 farsakhs (about 30 km) west of Kushānī. Its ruins are known as Qalai Dabus. All coins except one are copper.

In AH 414(?) possibly at this mint (Kochnev 1995, 246/606, was not quite sure of his reading either of the date or the mint-name) a dirhem was struck by Bahā al-Daula Yanghā-tegīn, citing Arslān Khān (i.e. Maṣūr b. 'Alī) as his suzerain. Before the death of Arslān Khān, Bahā al-Daula (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan) had the princely title of Yanghā-tegīn. When his brother, Muḥammad, became the head of the Western Qarākhānids, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan assumed the higher title of "İlek", second only to that of a "Khān". A vassal of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, al-'Irāqī by name, is also mentioned on the coin.

In 420/1029 (Kochnev 1995, 252/710) falūs were struck in Dabūsiya by "İlek Padishāh", i.e. by 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan as sole owner of the town, with no vassal being mentioned. Four years later, in AH 424 (Kochnev 1995, 225/767), coins were minted there with 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan's new title of "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān". The latest known coins from this mint are of year 425 (Kochnev 1995, 256/778-81), with the same title on them.

Karmīniya

This town was also on the trade road between Samarqand and Bukhārā, about 5 farsakhs to the west of Dabūsiya. The distance from Karmīniya to Bukhārā was 18 farsakhs (about 110 km). All the known coins struck there are copper.

The coinage of Karmīniya is very interesting because it sheds light on the relations between the Qarākhānids and the Seljuqs before the latter conquered Khurasan.

In the second half of the 10th century AD, some Turkmen nomad tribes, headed by sons of Seljūq, went in search of new pasturelands to the south and settled in the state of the Sāmānids, in the steppe near the town of Nūr (about 130 km north-east of Bukhārā). When the Qarākhānids started their conquest of the Sāmānid state, the Seljuq Turkmen sided with the Sāmānids. But when the last Sāmānid amir was killed in 1005 AD, the Turkmen recognised the Qarākhānids as their overlords. They paid them a so-called "tribute by blood", sending auxiliary troops of armed tribesmen to the Qarākhānid army. In return for their service, the Qarākhānids gave them good pastureland. But the attitude of the Qarākhānids towards the Turkmen was ambivalent. On the one hand, the auxiliary troops of armed nomads strengthened the Qarākhānids considerably; on the other hand, the Qarākhānids were wary of the Turkmen chieftains (and not without reason) as potential rivals and threat to their own reign over Mawarānnahr.

'Alī b. al-Ḥasan resorted to the old tried and tested policy of divide and rule. He made the Turkmen chieftain, Yūsuf b. Mūsā b. Seljūq, the commander of all Turkmen tribes, awarded him the honorary *laqab* "Īnānch Beighū" ("Faithful Falcon") and gave him precious gifts and appanages. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan hoped that the other Turkmen chieftains would be envious and jealous of Mūsā and his tribe, and that there would be discord between them. But it did not work. So, in 420/1029, 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan ordered his general, Alp Qara, to kill Yūsuf b. Mūsā, which he did (Bartold 1963, 360).

The coins show that the appanage granted by 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan to Yūsuf b. Mūsā was Karmīniya. In 415/1024-5, coins were struck in Karmīniya citing "Mu'izz al-Daula Beighū (Kochnev 1995, 247/621). No suzerain is mentioned as is often the case with the lesser copper conage.

In AH 417 (Kochnev 1995, 250/677) the coins of Karmīniya mention "Īnānch Kūkbūz" and his suzerain "Padishāh" (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan). "Kūk" in Turkī means "blue, grey"; "būz" means "grey, greyish". "Kūkbūz" must have been the Turkī nickname of Yūsuf b. Mūsā. In 419/1028, the coins of this town mention "Saif al-Daula Beighū", again without a suzerain. So in AH 415-19, Karmīniya was an appanage granted by 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan to the Turkmen chieftain, Yūsuf b. Mūsā, grandson of Seljūq.

In AH 420, Yūsuf was killed, as mentioned above. The coins of AH 420, Karmīniya, minted by "Īlek Padishāh" show that the town became the private domain of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. But in that same year, coins were also struck in the name of "Bahā al-Daula" (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan) and his vassal Jabrā'il b. Muḥammad (Kochnev 1995, 252/710-11).

Ḥarluḥ (Ḥarluḥ, Qarluḥ) Ordū

There remains one more mint, Ḥarluḥ (Ḥarluḥ, Qarluḥ) Ordū. Both 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and his son, Yūsuf, minted coins there. Since, after 416/1025-6, the dominions of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and his son were limited to Soghd, this mint must have been in that province. "Ordū" in Turkī means a "nomad camp and headquarters of a Khān". Sometimes the "Ordū" was fortified. Thus in 1981-1990 I excavated high in the Tien Shan mountains the hillfort of Koshoi Korgon (mediaeval Ātbāsh) which was originally an Ordū fortified by a moat, adobe wall and towers. The only ubilding inside the walls was the squat palace of the Khān made of adobe, with one storey, and covered with a flat, earthen roof. All the other space within the Ordū will have been occupied by the felt yurts of his warriors.

Most scholars who have studied the Qarākhānids, e.g. Grigor'ev (1878), Grenard (1900), Chavannes (1903), Pritsak

(1953), Kliashtornyi (1972) have been of the opinion that the Qarākhānids stemmed from the tribal aristocracy of the Ḥarluḥ (Qarluḥ) nomads (Karaev 1983, 56-7). The Ḥarluḥs (Qarluḥs) constituted a considerable part of the Qarākhānid armies. That is why I assumed that Ḥarluḥ Ordū was the "Ordū" of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and his son, Yūsuf, that the mint of Ḥarluḥ Ordū operated there, primarily to strike silver coins to pay the army (Fedorov 1972, 357-60). Even some half a century later, the Qarākhānid, Shams al-Mulk (460-72/1068-80) led the life of a nomad, which meant that he lived most of the time in his Ordū, spending only the winter in Bukhārā (Bartold 1963, 378). It is noteworthy that, after AH 416, almost all the silver coins of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan and his son, Yūsuf, were minted at Ḥarluḥ (Ḥarluḥ, Qarluḥ) Ordū, while even the biggest mints, i.e. Bukhārā and Samarqand, minted copper coins. Because of the so-called "silver crisis", silver coins of the Ḥasanids were scarce and they tried to compensate for the shortage of silver dirhems by striking copious copper falūs. From 416 to 426, the mints of Bukhārā and Samarqand struck only copper coins.

In 1990, Kochnev (207-8) wrote that all the scholars (Markov, 1896, Vasmer, 1930, Zambaur, 1968, Fedorov, 1972) who read the mint-name as Ḥarluḥ or Ḥarluḥ or Qarluḥ Ordū were wrong and that the mint-name should be read as Khutlugh or Khutluḥ or Qutluḥ Ordū, i.e. "Ordū of good fortune". He mentioned a very interesting dirhem with a mint-name "Qutluḥ Ordū al-Dabūsiya" and placed the mint of Qutluḥ Ordū in Dabūsiya. He connected the name "Qutluḥ Ordū" with the events of AH 423, when, in a battle near Dabūsiya, 'Alī-teḡin (i.e. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan) repelled the army of Khwārizmshāh Altūntash and caused it to retreat. The latter had attacked 'Alī-teḡin on the order of his suzerain, Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghazna. Kochnev was not fazed by the fact that for the years 423 (the year of the battle) and 424 (Kochnev 1995, 254-5/755-6) we have coins with the mint-name Ḥarluḥ (or, as he reads it, Khutluḥ) Ordū, and that the mint-name "Qutluḥ Ordū al-Dabūsiya" appeared a year after the battle took place, in AH 424, and then disappeared completely. It seems to me far more likely that, since coins were minted in the same year at Ḥarluḥ (or, in Kochnev's view, Khutluḥ) Ordū and at Qutluḥ Ordū al-Dabūsiya, we are dealing with two different mint-places. Moreover, despite Kochnev's assertions, the mint-name on some coins is quite distinctly Ḥarluḥ or Ḥarluḥ or Qarluḥ Ordū.

And now for the coins. In AH 423-4, at the mint of Ḥarluḥ (or Khochnev, 1995, 254-5/755-6, Khutluḥ ختلغ) Ordū, two types of dirhems were struck mentioning Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan". In 424 (Kochnev 1995, 255/768) dirhems of Qutluḥ ختلغ Ordū al-Dabūsiya were minted citing Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān, a certain Isma'il b. Maḥmūd (on the reverse) and 'Alī (on the obverse). In my view, the fact that, in one and the same year, i.e. 424, the coins of Qutluḥ ختلغ Ordū al-Dabūsiya mention Isma'il b. Maḥmūd and 'Alī, while those of Ḥarluḥ ختلغ Ordū do not, speaks in favour of the two being different mints. It is also of interest to note that in that same year the mint of Dabūsiya operated without any epithet (Kochnev 1995, 255/766-7), striking only copper coins, which suggests that there were two mints there, one in the town and another in the Ordū nearby.

In AH 425 in Ḥarluḥ ختلغ (or, according to Kochnev 1995, 257/783-4) Khutluḥ ختلغ Ordū, dirhems were struck citing Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, or simply 'Alī (on the reverse) and an 'Alī on the obverse. During part of that year and in the next year, 426, (Kochnev 1995, 257/785), the 'Alī on the obverse is replaced by a certain "Sahl" on the dirhems. In 425 this mint struck falūs for the first time. Those falūs cite "Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan" on the reverse and "'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Mutavallī" on the obverse (Kochnev

1995, 257/786-7). The Mutavallī or warden was an official with special functions. So this 'Alī b. Muḥammad mentioned on the obverse was the warden of the mint. On other coins, referred to above, he is called simply "'Alī". Sahl must also have been a warden of the mint as he is mentioned in the same place on the coins.

In AH 427 at the mint of Ḥarlugh (or Khutlugh) Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 259/819) and at the mint of Qarlugh (or Qutlugh قتلغ) Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 259/818) copper coins were already being minted in the name of "Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī", who ascended the throne after his father died in AH 426. The name of Yūsuf also features on the coins of AH 428 from Qarlugh قتلغ (or Qutlugh قتلغ) Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 259/827). These are the latest known coins from this mint.

To judge from the various reading of the mint-name, the engravers were less than conscientious in engraving the name clearly and consistently and thus there is still no concensus about its correct form.

References

1. Baihaqi, Abul-l-Fazl, 1962, *Istoriia Mas'uda 1030-1041*, vstupal'naia stat'ia, perevod i primechaniia A. K. Arends, Tashkent.
2. Bartold, V.V., 1963, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*, Sochineniia, t.I, Moskva.
3. Fedorov, M.N., 1972, "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse X-nachale XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskkii istochnik)", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, 10.
4. Fedorov, M.N., 1980, "Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v.", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, 13.
5. Fedorov, M.N., 1990, *Karakhanidskaia numizmatika kak istochnik po istorii Srednei Azii kontsa X-nachala XIII vv. Avtoferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchenoi stepeni doktora istoricheskikh nauk*, Novosibirsk.
6. Karaev, O., 1983, *Istoriia Karakhanidskogo kaganata*, Frunze.
7. Kochnev, B.D., 1990, "Zametki po srednevekovoi numizmatike Srednei Azii. Chast' 10. (Karakhanidy)", *Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 24.
8. Kochnev, B.D., 1995, "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropionimy i titulatura (chast' 1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.

Ṭarāz

Ṭarāz (the Arab name for Talas) like Ispījāb originated as a Soghdian emporium-settlement on the Great Silk Road. Even in the eleventh century AD the townfolk of Ṭarāz spoke both Turki and Soghdian. Talas was already mentioned in AD 568 by the Byzantian envoi Zemarch. Hiuen Tsiang (circa 630) described "Dalose" (Talas) as a big town, about 8-9 li (4-4.5 km) in circumference, where merchants from many countries were living (Bartold 1965, 495; Batold 1966, 33).

Circa 750 an Arab detachment captured Ṭarāz but was besieged there by Chinese troops. Abū Muslim sent an army to assist it. The main Chinese forces advanced from Suyab to meet the army sent by Abū Muslim. In July 751 near the town of Aṭlakh on the Talas river the Arabs defeated the Chinese army with the help of Qarluq nomads who attacked the Chinese from the rear. The Arabs, however, could not retain Ṭarāz and it remained with the Qarluqs (Istoriia Kirg.SSR 1984, 252; Istoriia Kaz.SSR 1977, 394).

In Muharram 280/April 893 the Sāmānid, Ismā'il b. Aḥmad besieged and captured Ṭarāz. The ruler of Ṭarāz with his wife surrendered at the discretion of the victor and converted to Islam.

The church of Ṭarāz was turned into a mosque. Ṭarā, though, did not become part of the Sāmānid state but, around 310/922-23, the dihqān (ruler) of Ṭarāz was mentioned as a vassal of the Sāmānids. Ṭarāz was an important trade centre on the border between the lands of Islam and the infidel Turks. Al-Mas'ūdī (circa 950) wrote that the rulers of Ṭarāz were from the Qarluqs (Bartold 1963, 241-242; Bartold 1963a, 241-242; Bartold 1965, 495).

It appears that Ṭarāz together with Balāsāghūn, Atbāsh and Kāshghar was the historical stage where the events connected with the birth of the Qarākhānid khaqanate took place. O. Pritsak (1953, 24-25) and, echoing him, S. G. Kliashornyi (1970, 84) consider that the Iaghbū (a title, not a name) of the Qarluqs, Bilgā Kul Qadir Khān was the progenitor of the Qarākhānids. In 840, after the Uighur qaganate was defeated by Qirghīz tribes, he proclaimed himself a "khān". It was he who lost Ispījāb to the Sāmānids in 225/840. Bilgā Kul Qadir Khān had two sons. According to O. Pritsak (1953, 25) his elder son, Bazir Arslān Khān became Khāqān of the Qarluqs with his capital in Balāsāghūn and his second son, Oghulchaq Qadir Khān possessed Ṭarāz. After the events of 280/893, when the Sāmānid, Ismā'il, captured Ṭarāz, Oghulchaq transferred his capital to Kāshghar (Pritsak 1953, 25).

There is, however, one point which makes me to doubt the theory of O. Pritsak. Muslim chronicles tell that the ruler of Ṭarāz, taken prisoner by Ismā'il b. Aḥmad in 280/893, converted to Islam. But Oghulchaq Qadir Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar was an infidel. His nephew, Satuq Boghrā Khān, having clandestinely converted to Islam, fled from Kāshghar to Atbāsh and raised there an army with the help of Muslims ghāzīs. He fought and routed his uncle under the banner of a Sacred War against infidels. Having captured Kāshghar, he created the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the first feudal state of Muslim Turks in Central Asia. Satuq died in 344/955. His son Arslān Khān Mūsā made Islam the state religion of the Qarākhānid khaqanate in 349/960 (Pritsak 1953, 25). So it seems that the ruler of Ṭarāz was quite another representative of the Qarluq Khāns's Dynasty. Having converted to Islam he stayed in Ṭarāz as a vassal of the Sāmānids.

In 380/990, the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, Boghrā Khān Hārūn, a grandson of Satuq, captured Ispījāb (Pritsak 1953, 25-26). Since Ṭarāz was situated between Balāsāghūn and Ispījāb, it must have become a part of Hārūn's state no later than 380/990. But I believe that it happened earlier and that Ṭarāz came to the Muslim Qarākhānid rulers during the wars of Satuq against his infidel rivals.

After the death of Boghrā-khān Hārūn in 382/992 Balāsāghūn and Ṭarāz went to Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī, nephew of Hārūn and grandson of Arslān Khān Mūsā (Fedorov 1972, 139-145).

The earliest Qarākhānid coin of Ṭarāz so far known was minted in 393/1003 by Sanā al-Daula Arslān-tegīn Muḥammad b. 'Alī, younger brother and vassal of al-Khāqān Quṭb al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 211 Nr. 121). Dirhems of 394-95/1003-05 reflect this state of affairs: Muḥammad b. 'Alī, as vassal and "Quṭb al-Daula Qarākhāqān" or "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān" (i.e. Aḥmad b. 'Alī) as suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 212 Nr. 137, 214 Nr. 154).

Then by 396/1005-06 the situation had changed. Coins of Ṭarāz were minted in the name of Aḥmad b. 'Alī, without mentioning Muḥammad b. 'Alī. The only dirhem of AH 396 Ṭarāz mentioning Muḥammad was most certainly minted with an obsolete reverse die of AH 395. In 397 and part of 398 dirhems of Ṭarāz were minted in the name of Aḥmad b. 'Alī without mentioning Muḥammad b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 213 Nr.145, 215 Nr. 172-4, 215 Nr. 175, 217 Nr. 199).

As for Muḥammad b. 'Alī, he most certainly joined another of his brothers, İlek Naşr b. 'Alī, who, in AH 396-8, twice invaded the dominions of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna striving to conquer Khurasan. But Naşr and his allies were twice defeated and Khurasan remained with the Ghaznevīds (Fedorov 1972, 151).

In 398/1007-08 Muḥammad b. 'Alī reappeared in Ṭarāz and minted coins there as a vassal of Aḥmad b. 'Alī, as he did in AH 399 and part of 400 (Kochnev 1995, 217 Nr. 200, 218 Nr. 211-2). But in that same 400/1009-10 the name and titles of Aḥmad b. 'Alī disappear from the coins of Ṭarāz and Muḥammad b. 'Alī minted coins there in his own name as the independent ruler of Ṭarāz. The same happened in 401/1010-11 (Kochnev 1995, 220-222 Nr. 249-251, 253, 277). On some coins of AH 401 Ṭarāz "Fadl", a vassal or rather vicegerent of Muḥammad b. 'Alī is mentioned.

The explanation for this one may find in the historical events of that time. After the defeat in his war against the Ghaznevīds, İlek Naşr b. 'Alī discovered that his brother, Aḥmad, was a secret ally and informer of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī. Outraged, Naşr started a war against Aḥmad. He advanced to Uzgend but was stopped by severe winter conditions and roads that were snow-bound. In the spring he continued the campaign. Simultaneously both brothers sent envoys to Sulṭān Maḥmūd with complaints against each other.

Maḥmūd played go-between and reconciled the warring brothers. The peace treaty was signed in 402/1011-12 (Fedorov 1972, 151).

The coins of 401/1010-11 Ṭarāz show that Muḥammad took sides with İlek Naşr and ceased to be a vassal of Aḥmad. Moreover, he conquered (himself or together with İlek Naşr) Tūnket, the capital of İllāq province, which belonged to Aḥmad b. 'Alī. In AH 401 Muḥammad minted dirhems in Tūnket as a vassal of İlek Naşr (Kochnev 1995, 222 Nr. 278). On these coins "Al-Mu'ayid al-'Adl Pādīshāh" (i.e. Naşr, suzerain) and "Sanā al-Daula Arslān-tegīn" (i.e. Muḥammad, vassal) are mentioned. But Muḥammad b. 'Alī did not get away with it. In AH 402 Aḥmad b. 'Alī captured Ṭarāz and minted coins there in his name as the immediate owner of the town. In the same year, AH 402, peace was made and the situation returned to the "status quo ante bellum". Muḥammad was given Ṭarāz back. In AH 403 he minted coins there as a vassal of Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 224 Nr. 296, 226 Nr. 320-321).

In 403/1012-13 İlek Naşr died (Fedorov 1972, 151). His dominions were split among his brothers Aḥmad, Muḥammad and Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. But soon internecine war broke out between them. Judging by the coins, it started in 404/1013-14. In AH 403 coins of Bukhārā and Kesh (Kochnev 1995, 224 Nr. 304, 225 Nr. 312) were minted in the names of "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān" (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain) and "Shams al-Daula İlek Maṣṣūr" (vassal). In 404/1013-14 coins in Bukhārā (collection of V. Mardash Bishkek) were minted in the name of "Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla Abū Naşr Khāqān" and his vassal or rather vicegerent "Haravī". The *kunya* "Abū Naşr" belonged to Aḥmad b. 'Alī. A dirhem of AH 394 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 213 Nr. 141) leaves no doubt about it since it mentions "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān Abū Naşr Aḥmad b. 'Alī". So İlek Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī lost Bukhārā in AH 404. In the same year he also lost Kesh where coins were minted in the name of "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla Khāqān" and his vassal or rather vicegerent Şālih (Kochnev 1995, 228 Nr. 350).

As for Muḥammad b. 'Alī, he at first stayed loyal to his suzerain. In 403-405/1012-15 coins of Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 226 Nr. 320-21) were minted in the name of "Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān" (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain) and "Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sanā al-Daula İnāl-tegīn" (vassal) and(?) Khalīlī (subvassal?). But

then in the same year, 405, Muḥammad changed allegiance and took sides with Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. On the coins of Bukhārā and Kesh, Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī is cited as "Shams al-Daula İlek Maṣṣūr", "İlek" being the title second only to "Khān" in the Qarākhānīd hierarchy. After internecine war had broken out, Maṣṣūr assumed the title of Khān and proclaimed himself "Arslān Khān". Since he had risen one step in the scale of the hierarchy, his former title "İlek" was free for Muḥammad to assume it. So dirhems of AH 405-406 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 231 Nr. 393) were minted in the names of "Shams al-Daula Khān" (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī, suzerain), "Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek" (vassal) and "Aḥmad al-Khāşş" (subvassal or vicegerent). The latter may have been left in the town in case Muḥammad went to join Maṣṣūr in his war against Aḥmad b. 'Alī. A dirhem of AH 404, Ṭarāz, (Kochnev 1995, 222 Nr. 367) cites the anonymous "Khān" (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain) and "İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī Pādīshāh", vassal. On the obverse, Kochnev read "Aqā Ūkā". In Turki, "Akā" means "senior brother", "Ūkā" is "junior brother" and "Aqā Ūkā" means "brothers". Another reading may be possible, but I have not seen the coin in question.

In 407/1016-17, following mediation by the Khwārizmshāh, the warring brothers made peace. It will have been in the first half of AH 407 because, in the winter of 407, an embassy from the Qarākhānīds arrived in Balkh, where Sulṭān Maḥmūd, with 100000 warriors, was preparing to invade Khwārizm. The Qarākhānīds offered to mediate in the conflict between Khwārizm and Ghazna (Baihaqī 1962, 592-94).

In AH 407 coins were minted in Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 235 Nr. 440) in the names of "Arslān Khān" (Maṣṣūr, suzerain) and "İlek" (Muḥammad, vassal). Then in the same 407 (probably after peace was made) the situation changed. Some Qarākhānīd with the princely title "Atim-tegīn" appeared in Ṭarāz as immediate owner of the town. On some coins of AH 407 Ṭarāz we find mentioned "Arslān Khān" (Maṣṣūr, suzerain), "Abū Maṣṣūr İlek" (Muḥammad, vassal) and "Atim-tegīn" (subvassal) (Kochnev 1995, 236 Nr. 456). "Nāşir al-Daula Atim-tegīn" (Kochnev 1995, 238 Nr. 480-481) is called on a fals of AH 408 İspīdjāb Aḥmad b. İlek (Fedorov 1971, 166. By the way, Kochnev (1995, 239, Nr. 493) misread İspīdjāb as Uşrūshana). İlek in this case was Muḥammad b. 'Alī. So as the coins show, in AH 407 Ṭarāz was an appanage of Atim Tegīn Aḥmad, nephew of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr and son of İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

In 408-11/ 1017-21 Muḥammad b. 'Alī was again immediate owner of Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 238-239 Nr. 487-490, 242 Nr. 535). On the coins we find "Khān" or "Arslān Khān" (Maṣṣūr, suzerain), "İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī" and "İl Ūkā" or "Ūkā". "Ūkā" in Turki is "younger brother". I believe that "İl Ūkā" or "Ūkā" here was Muḥammad b. 'Alī, the younger brother of Maṣṣūr.

In 412-15/1021-25 dirhems in Ṭarāz were minted in the name of "Khān" (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī, suzerain), and "Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek" (vassal). Sometimes "İl Ūkā" and "al-Khāşş" are also mentioned.

Thus the coins show that between AH 393-415 Ṭarāz was an appanage of the Qarākhānīd, Muḥammad b. 'Alī. There were intervals for 396, 397 and part of 398, when Muḥammad most probably took part in Qarākhānīd invasions of Khurasan, and for part of 402, when Muḥammad had lost the town as a result of the internecine war between his brothers İlek Naşr and Tonghā-khān Aḥmad.

In 415/1024-25 Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī died and about the same time Muḥammad b. 'Alī also died. Supreme power in the the Western Qarākhānīd khaqanate went to another family of Qarākhānīds, the so-called "Ḥasanīds". The new supreme ruler was Tonghā (or Toghān) Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (Fedorov

1980, 38-39, footnotes 1-4). A redistribution of appanages took place.

Coins show that Atim-tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī not only managed to retain Ispijāb, his appanage since AH 408, but also acquired Ṭarāz, which had been an appanage of his father for about 20 years. In 417/1026-27 coins in Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 250 Nr. 681) were minted in the names of "al-Malik Tonghā Khān" (Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, suzerain) and "Aḥmad Atim-tegīn" (vassal).

In AH 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids attacked the Western Qarākhānids. In 416 they captured Uzgend and Balāsāghūn (or Quz Ordū), in 418 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 249 NR. 662-63, 250 Nr. 678, 251 Nr. 695). So Ṭarāz, which was between Balāsāghūn and Shāsh, must have been conquered by the Eastern Qarākhānids between AH 416 and 418.

In the first days of 424/1023-24 the death occurred of the supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate, Qadir Khān Yūsuf, son of Hārūn Boghrā Khān. A redistribution of appanages took place. Shāsh, Ispijāb and Ṭarāz made up the khanate of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, second son of Qadir Khān. He minted coins in Ṭarāz in AH 428, 431 (Kochnev 1995, 259 Nr. 829, 261 Nr. 858), 436, 441 (these two dirhems were found at Sadyr-kurgan hillfort by student of Kirghiz University M. Tur and shown to me in Bishkek) and in 445 (Collection of V. S. Kucherov, Tashkent).

Around 447/1056-57 Arslān Khān Sulaimān attacked Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, but the latter defeated his senior brother, captured his capital Kāshghar and became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids. Fifteen months later he was poisoned by one of his many wives, who proclaimed her juvenile son, Ibrahīm, as supreme ruler (Bartold 1963a, 44). The usurper is mentioned on a dirhem of AH 449 Ṭarāz as Arslān Khān Ibrahīm (the find of archaeologist D. F. Vinnik at Burana hillfort). It seems that Ṭarāz was the capital of Ibrahīm. There is also a dirhem of Ṭarāz (?) – Kochnev (1988, 61 Nr. 11) was not sure of his reading – minted in 454/1062 by Arslān(?) Khān Ibrahīm. Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 59) wrote that Ibrahīm was sent by his mother to attack the town of Barskhān. The Qarākhānid ruler of Barskhān, Ināl-tegīn, killed Ibrahīm and the latter's army fled back to his mother.

The Western Qarākhānids making use of this situation, attacked the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all their dominions lost to Qadir Khān Yūsuf. If Kochnev read the date on the coin of "AH 454 Ṭarāz (?)" correctly, it means that Ṭarāz was conquered by the Western Qarākhānids no earlier than 454/1062, though they conquered Farghāna and Shāsh-Ilāq 2-3 years earlier (Fedorov 1980, 43). In the collection of A. Kamyshev (Bishkek) there is a dirhem of Ṭarāz citing Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. Naṣr). Of the digit of the date only the letter *alif* has survived, so it could be "1, 2, or 4". But if Kochnev read it correctly, there is a dirhem minted in Ṭarāz in 454 by Arslān Khān Ibrahīm (b. Muḥammad) so the date on the dirhem of Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. Naṣr) can only be 454. On the obverse of this coin (Malik?) al-Islām is cited. This *laqab* could belong either to Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. Naṣr) or to his vassal. There is also a dirhem of AH 45x, Ṭarāz, (found in 1983 at Sadyr Kurgan hill-fort by student, M. Tur). This coin was also minted by the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. Naṣr) without mentioning any vassal. So after the conquest of Ṭarāz, it was included in the domain of Ibrahīm, whose capital was Samarqand.

In 1068 Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm died. An internecine war broke out between his sons. Now it was the turn of the Eastern Qarākhānids to use the situation. They, in their turn, reconquered all the lost dominions. The dirhem of AH 46x Ṭarāz was minted in the names of the Eastern Qarākhānids 'Imād al-Daula Ṭoghrol

Qarākhāqān and his son and vassal, Ṭoghrol-tegīn (Kochnev 1988, 60 Nr. 4). Since this coin mentions the caliph al-Qa'im, who died in AH 467, it was minted between 460 and 467. So at this time Ṭarāz was an appanage of 'Umar Ṭoghrol-tegīn, son and vassal of Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān.

In 467/1074-75 Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān died. His son, 'Umar Ṭoghrol-tegīn, succeeded him. Two months later another Eastern Qarākhānid, Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān Ḥasan, son of Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Yūsuf attacked 'Umar, took him prisoner and became supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. He ruled with his capital at Kāshghar till 496/1102-03 (Bartold 1963a, 44; Bartold 1968, 419-420).

On the coins minted before AH 467 the title Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān is connected with the *laqab* 'Imād al-Daula (Kochnev 1997, 287/1328, 1334, 1338). He is mentioned in the same way on his silver bowl, viz. "al-Khāqān al-Ajall al-Sayyid al-Malik al-Muzaffar al-Mansūr 'Imād al-Daula va Sadad al-Milla Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān Valī Amīr al-Mu'minīn" (Fedorov, Mokeev 1996, 487). On the other hand, the *laqab* Zain al-Dīn was only on the coins of his son, Ṭoghrol-tegīn 'Umar which he minted either with (as befits a vassal) or without mention of Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān (Kochnev 1997, 287-288/1331, 1335, 1339). But the *laqab* Zain al-Dīn is never found on the coins minted by Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān as the sole (without any vassal) owner of a town. It proves that the *laqab* Zain al-Dīn belonged to Ṭoghrol-tegīn. In 1983 (Fedorov, 118-120) I believed that the *laqab* Zain al-Dīn belonged to Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān, but new numismatic data has made me revise this opinion. That is why I attribute coins of AH 467 and 468 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1997, 288/1340) citing "Zain al-Dīn *Togryl Karakhakan* (written in Uigur) 'Umar Ṣafī Amīr al-Mu'minīn" (i.e. without the *laqab* 'Imād al-Daula) to 'Umar, who, after the death of 'Imād al-Daula Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān, accepted his title of "Khān". Since 'Umar ruled for only two months and was later attacked and taken prisoner by Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān Ḥasan, the coins in question will have been struck in the last month of AH 467 and the first month of AH 468.

Of course the Western Qarākhānids did not fail to profit by the internecine war between the Eastern Qarākhānids succeeding in reconquering Farghāna including its easternmost outpost, Uzgend (Fedorov 1980, 54).

There is some evidence, though, that 'Umar Ṭoghrol-tegīn regained both his freedom and appanage. He is mentioned in 473/1080-81 as "'Umar Ṭoghrol-tegīn, one of the Khāns" (i.e. "Qarākhānids"). In AH 473 Khidr b. Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch khān succeeded his brother Shams al-Mulk Naṣr to the throne of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. The Seljuq, Tekesh, brother of Sulṭān Malikshāh, attacked him. Using this situation, 'Umar Ṭoghrol-tegīn decided to reconquer Farghāna from the Western Qarākhānids and invaded their dominions. Meanwhile, Khidr Khān, having defeated Tekesh advanced against 'Umar Ṭoghrol-tegīn and defeated him, too (Buniyatov 1974, 7). Thus by 473 'Umar Ṭoghrol-tegīn had regained his freedom and appanage, otherwise he could not have launched a war against Khidr Khān.

There is also a dirhem minted in Ṭarāz in 472/ 1079-80, which mentions "Ṭoghrol-Qarākhā(-n or -qān)" on the reverse after the name of the caliph (i.e. in the place usually occupied by the suzerain), "Zain al-Din" over the legend in the reverse field and "'Umar" above the Kalimah on the obverse. B. D. Kochnev (1988, 64) claims that the coin was minted by Ṭoghrol Khān and his son, 'Umar. But Ibn al-Athīr wrote that Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān Ḥasan reigned 29 years (and died in AH 496) after he had used the death of Ṭoghrol Khān to attack and take prisoner his son, 'Umar Ṭoghrol-tegīn (Materialy 1973, 60). So this event must have taken place in AH 467. Thus the coin of AH 472 Ṭarāz

was minted not by Toghrul Khān, father of 'Umar, but by 'Umar himself, who had accepted this title after the death of his father.

There is also a dirhem of Ṭarāz on which Markov (1896, 272, Nr. 494) read the date as "46x" and Kochnev (1988, 62) as "48x". On the reverse, after the name of the caliph al-Muqtadī (467-487) "Ṭafghāch-khāqān Ḥasan" (suzerain) and on the obverse, "Quṭb al-Daula Boghrā(?)-tegīn" (vassal) are mentioned. Later Kochnev (1997, 288 Nr. 1343, 1344) read the date as "48(1)". He also published another dirhem of, as he read, "(Ṭarāz) 481" which mentions "Ṭafghāch-khāqān Ḥasan" on the reverse and "Muḥammad(?) Boghrā-īlek" on the obverse. So it seems that 'Umar had died and that, in 481/1088-89, there was a new ruler in Ṭarāz named Muḥammad(?) who at first had the title "Boghrā(?)-tegīn" but later changed it to the higher title "Boghrā-īlek". This ruler minted coins in Ṭarāz as a vassal of the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Ṭafghāch-khāqān Ḥasan.

It is interesting that in the time of the Seljuq ruler, Malikshāh (465-85/1072-92), Ṭarāz was mentioned apart from Kāshghar as a dominion with a ruler of its own. Al-Ḥusainī wrote that Malikshāh "obtained the submission" of the ruler of Ṭarāz "Surkhāb" (Husaini 1980, 76). Most probably this name or title was distorted as a result of a scribal error. This event could have taken place in 481-83/1088-91, when Malikshāh invaded Mawarānnahr, captured Bukhārā and Samarqand and took prisoner the Qarākhānid ruler of Samarqand, Aḥmad Khān b. Khidr. After this, he marched to Uzgend and demanded that the Khān of Kāshghar acknowledge him as suzerain. The Khān of Kāshghar arrived in Uzgend and acknowledged Malikshāh as his suzerain (Bartold 1963, 379). So the same thing happened also in 481-83 to the Qarākhānid ruler of Ṭarāz, "Surkhāb". And this being the case, he is mentioned on the coins minted in Ṭarāz as "Boghrā(?)-tegīn" or "Muḥammad(?) Boghrā-īlek".

At the close of the eleventh century AD, the ruler of Talas (Ṭarāz) and Balāsāghūn(sic!) was Qadir Khān Jabra'il, son of 'Umar and grandson of 'Imād al-Daula Toghrul Qarākhāqān. Thus was he correctly named by his junior contemporary, Aḥmad b. Qubavī circa 1128 (Narshakhii 1966, 381). Around the year 1099 AD, This Eastern Qarākhānid conquered Samarqand and Bukhārā and became the supreme ruler of the Western Qarākhānid khaganate. In 1102 he invaded the dominions of the Seljuqs, conquered Tirmidh but was killed by Sanjar, the Seljuq ruler of Khurasan, on 22 June 1102 (Bartold 1963, 381).

And so till the end of the eleventh century AD Ṭarāz changed hands many times passing as an appanage from one Qarākhānid to another and from the Western Qarākhānid khaganate to the Eastern Qarākhānid khaganate. But then, around 460/1068 Ṭarāz became the hereditary dominion of one and the same branch of the Eastern Qarākhānids: 'Imād al-Daula Toghrul Qarākhāqān, his son 'Umar and his grandson Jabra'il b. 'Umar. As for Boghrā-tegīn (or īlek) I believe that he belonged to the same family. This branch of the Eastern Qarākhānid dynasty had possessed Ṭarāz since around 1068 till at least 1102 and most probably after that also. There was, however, an interval when 'Umar was taken prisoner, and when Boghrā-tegīn (or -īlek) possessed Ṭarāz as a vassal of Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān Ḥasan, ruler of Kāshghar. But that is only the case if this Boghrā-tegīn (or -īlek) did not belong to the Eastern Qarākhānid branch of 'Imād al-Daula Toghrul Qarākhāqān, his son 'Umar and his grandson Jabra'il b. 'Umar. Besides Ṭarāz, the appanage principality of this family comprised Balāsāghūn (at least in the time of Jabra'il b. 'Umar).

This appanage principality continued to exist in the first third of the twelfth century AD. But around 1130, the Qarākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn (and most probably of Ṭarāz), harried by unruly Qarluqs and Qangly nomad tribes, called another nomad tribe, the Khytai, for help in order to punish the Qarluq and

Qanglys. The Khytai came, dethroned the weak Qarākhānid ruler, made Balāsāghūn their capital and only after that did they punish the unruly Qarluqs and Qanglys. In such a way was the khytai state created. The former ruler of Balāsāghūn became a vassal of the Khytais, who bestowed upon him the title "İlek-i Turkmān" ("İlek of Muslim turks"). He is still mentioned during 553/1158, when the Gūr Khān (the title of the Khytai's ruler) sent him, with 10000 warriors, to help another Qarākhānid vassal of his, the ruler of Samarqand, Chaghry Khān 'Alī, who had also come into conflict with Qarluq nomads (Bartold 1963, 397). I believe that the appanage of the Qarākhānid prince "İlek-i Turkmān" was Ṭarāz.

It is interesting that for 594/1198, 601/1204-05 and 607/1210-11 a commander of the Khytai army Ṭāiangū or Ṭāiangū-Ṭarāz (i.e. "Ṭarāzian") is mentioned (Bartold 1963, 408, 415, 420). Ṭāiangū commanded the Khytai army sent to help Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh in his war against the Ghūrīds in 1198 and 1204-05. Then he commanded the army sent against Khwārizmshāh himself. In the battle of Ilamish, Rabī I 607/23.8- 21.9 1210, the khytai army was defeated, Ṭāiangū taken prisoner and executed. Bartold (1963, 408) correctly considered that "Ṭāiangū" was a title. So it is quite possible that the Khytai army commander, Ṭāiangū-Ṭarāz (i.e. "Ṭarāzian"), was the Qarākhānid appanage ruler of Ṭarāz and vassal of the Gūr Khān. If so, one may conclude that Ṭarāz was a Qarākhānid vassal principality, just as it was with Kāshghar. Having conquered the Eastern Qarākhānid khaganate, the Khytai reduced its capital Kāshghar (and the province of Kāshghar) to the status of a vassal principality and the Eastern Qarākhānid khāqāns to the status of vassal appanage rulers. The same may have been the case with the Qarākhānid rulers of Ṭarāz.

References

1. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia*, Sochineniia, t. 1, Moskva.
2. Bartold, V. V. 1963a. "Ocherk istorii Semirech'ia", *Sochineniia*, t. 2, ch. 1, Moskva.
3. Bartold, V. V. 1965. "Taraz", *Sochineniia*, t. 3, Moskva.
4. Bartold, V. V. 1966. "Otchet o poezdke v Sredniuiu Aziyu s nauchnoi tsel'iu. 1893-1894 gg.", *Sochineniia*, t. 4, Moskva.
5. Bartold, V. V. 1968. "Bogra-klhan upomianutyi v Kutadgu bilik", *Sochineniia*, t. 5, Moskva.
6. Baihaqī, Abū-l-Faḍl. 1962. *Istoriia Mas'uda 1030-1041*. Vstupitel'naia stat'ia, perevod i primechaniia A. K. Arends. Tashkent.
7. Buniatov, Z. M. 1981. "Gars an-Ni'ma as-Sabi i Kamal ad-Din ibn Fuvati ob istorii Karakhanidov", *Pis'mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka*. 1974. Moskva.
8. Fedorov, M. N. 1971. "Khodzhenkskii klad serebrianykh dirhemov vtorogo desiatiletiia XI v.", *Material'naia kul'tura Tadzhikistana*, 2, Dushanbe.
9. Fedorov, M. N. 1972. "Politicheskaia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse X-nachale XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskie istochnik)", *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 10.
10. Fedorov, M. N. 1980. "Politicheskaia istoriia Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v.", *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 13.
11. Fedorov, M. N. 1983. "Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X - nachala XIII v. po numizmaticheskim dannym", *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
12. Fedorov, M. und Mokeev, A. 1996. "Eine silberne Schale des 11. Jahrhunderts aus Kirgizstan", *Eurasia Antiqua*, Bd. 2.
13. Al-Ḥusainī, Ṣadr ad-Dīn 'Alī. 1980. *Akhbar ad-Daulat as-Seldjuqīia*. Izdanie texta, perevod, vvedenie, primechaniia i prilozheniia Z. M. Buniatova. Moskva.
14. *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, 1984, t. 1, Frunze.
15. *Istoriia Kazakhskoi SSR*, 1977, t. 1, Alma-Ata.

16. Kliashornyĭ, S. G. 1970. "Epokha 'Kutadgu Bilik'", *Sovetskaia Turkologiya*.
17. Kochnev, B. D. 1988. "Togryl-khan i Togryl-tegin (Numizmaticheskie dannye k istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI.)", *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 24.
18. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropimiy i titulatura (chast' 1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
19. Kochnev, B. D. 1997. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropimiy i titulatura (chast' 2)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
20. Markov, A. K. 1896. *Inventarnyi katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, Sanct Peterburg.
21. *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, 1973, vyp. 1, Moskva.
22. Narshakhii, Muhammad. 1966. *Bukhoro tarikhi*, Tarzhima A. Rasulevniki, Toshkent.
23. Pritsak, O. 1953. "Die Karachaniden", *Der Islam*, Bd. 31, Heft 1.

Üch (Uch)

A coin with such mint-name was published as long ago as 1896, but A. K. Markov (1896, 196/41) failed to read the mint-name. M. N. Fedorov (1974, 163) and B. D. Kochnev (Kochnev and Fedorov, 1974, 185-186, 194) suggested reading [ط]لخ "[At]lakh(?)". Finally B. D. Kochnev (1978, 125) read it correctly as اچ "Uch", which on some coins is also written as اوچ "Üch". Quite certainly it was اش "Ush" or اوش "Üsh" written another way, using ج instead of ش. I believe that originally it was "Uch" of which Arabs, who did not have the consonant (and letter) "Ch", made اش "Ush" or اوش "Üsh". They did the same with "Chach", which the Arabs made into شاش "Shāsh", and "Chaganian" which Arabs made into صغانيان "Ṣaghāniyān" or جغانيان "Jaghāniyān".

Kochnev (1978, 125) placed this mint in Uch Turfan, in Eastern Turkestan (China). Ten years later he repeated this location (Kochnev 1988, 202). I suggested that "Üch" was another way of writing the name "Üsh" (Fedorov 1990, 17). Kochnev (1995, 276) at first shared my opinion, but two years later (Kochnev 1997, 314) he changed his mind again and placed this mint back to Eastern Turkestan. Nevertheless, some facts speak against such a location.

The dirhems of AH 40(?) or 6?) Üch were minted by "Atim-tegīn" (Kochnev 1995, 237/466) or "Aḥmad Atim-tegīn" (Collection of A. Kamyshv, Bishkek) citing the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Qadir Khān (I) as suzerain. Atim-tegīn appeared for the first time in 404-405 in Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 227/333) where Nāṣir al-Daula Atim-tegīn cited Arslān Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī) as suzerain. In 406 and part of 407 (Kochnev 1995, 232/411) coins of Akhsiket cite the same Atim-tegīn and Arslān Khān.

In AH 407 in "Madinat al-Baidā" (which is the second name of Ispījāb) coins cite Nāṣir al-Daula Tegīn and his suzerain, Arslān Khān. Kochnev (1995, 236 Nr. 450-452) read the name of Nāṣir al-Daula Tegīn as "Muḥammad?". He mistook "Aḥmad" for "Muḥammad". Nāṣir al-Daula Tegīn was called on other coins "Nāṣir al-Daula Atim-tegīn" (Kochnev 1995, 238/480-481). Atim-tegīn was called on a fals of AH 408 Ispījāb "Aḥmad b. İlek" (Fedorov 1971, 166). Kochnev (1995, 239, Nr. 493) actually misread Ispījāb as "Uṣrūshana".

Dirhems of AH 405-406 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 231/393) cite "Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek". İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī was the fourth of the brothers, of whom İlek Naṣr (who died in AH 403) conquered Bukhārā in 389/999, while Tonghā Khān Aḥmad (who

died in AH 408) and Arslān Khān Manṣūr (who died in AH 415) were supreme rulers of the Western Qarākhānids. So the coins show that in 407 Arslān Khān granted Ispījāb as an appanage to his nephew, Atim-tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, who minted coins there every year from AH 408-412 (Kochnev 1995, 238/480-481, 239/499-502). So that is why it is hardly possible for the Western Qarākhānid, Atim-tegīn Aḥmad, appanage-holder and vassal of the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Arslān Khān in Akhsiket and Ispījāb in AH 404-412, to be simultaneously in AH 406 or 407 appanage-holder and vassal of the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids. Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf in far-off (about 800 km south-east of Ispījāb) Uch Turfan in Eastern Turkestan.

Kochnev (1995, 237/463) mentioned the dirhem of AH 407 Uzgend minted by "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn, Maliq al-Mashriq wa'l-Ṣīn Qadir Khān". This variant of his titulage is rather late: on his other coins minted in AH 407, or about that time, Qadir Khān never had such titulage. Another coin with titulage "Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Maliq al-Mashriq wa'l-Ṣīn Qadir Khān" was struck in 419/1028 (Kochnev 251/699). But if it was not "417" and if Kochnev read it correctly as "407", this coin could mean that in AH 407 Qadir Khān used the internecine war among the Western Qarākhānids to capture Uzgend. In the same year, 407, the Western Qarākhānids made peace and nothing prevented them from retrieving Uzgend. In 407-414 (Kochnev 1995, 237/464, 239/492, 240/514, 243/560-562, 245/595-596, 246/610) the Western Qarākhānids minted coins in Uzgend.

If Qadir Khān really did capture and possess Uzgend in 407 it would appear that Atim-tegīn Aḥmad, after being deprived of Akhsiket and before he was granted Ispījāb, possessed Üch/Üsh (which was situated only about 50 km from Uzgend), and was forced to recognize Qadir Khān as suzerain.

There are other coins minted in Üch by Atim-tegīn Aḥmad citing Qadir Khān as suzerain. On these coins, the dates were read as "412" and "413" (Markov 1896, 196/41; Kochnev 1995, 224/580). This, too, is a puzzle. In 416, the Eastern Qarākhānids, headed by Qadir Khān Yūsuf invaded the Western Qarākhānid state.

Simultaneously Maḥmūd Ghaznavī invaded Mawarānnahr from the south. The ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā, 'Alī-tegīn, hid with his army in the desert. But soon Maḥmūd realized that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other and withdrew. The intervention of Maḥmūd, however, allowed Qadir Khān in AH 416 to capture Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsiket until 418 but then lost all Farghāna and Khojende (Fedorov 1983, 111-113). So if the coins in question were dated "422" and "423", they would mean that, having captured Farghāna, Qadir Khān granted Üch as an appanage to Atim-tegīn Aḥmad. But could not the dates have been read wrongly? "10" عشرة and "20" عشرين are easy to mistake for one another especially when the state of preservation of coins is poor.

It is possible that there were two Atim-tegīns: one in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate and another in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. But two Atim-tegīns and both of them Aḥmads to boot is a little bit too much to allow. That, I consider, is the main obstacle to placing the mint of Üch in Uch Turfan, in what is now China.

Fiduciary copper-lead dirhems minted in Üch/Uch in AH 445 cite Mu'izz al-Milla Ghāzī Toghān-tegīn or Malik Ghāzī Togān-tegīn, who minted coins as an independent ruler. Kochnev (1997, 281/1231, 1232) read these titles as يغان "Iaghān" and يگان "Iagān", but it should be تغان "Toghān" and تگان "Togān" since, on a coin of AH 415 Quz Ordū, Kochnev (1995, 247/623) himself read a word written the same way (with ت and ك instead of ط and غ) as تگان "Tongā (not يگان "Iangā"). It

seems strange that, although Markov (1896, 226/330) read it (and on a coin of AH 403 Shāsh it is distinctly so) as طغان “Togān”, Kochnev (1995, 226/ 330) nevertheless read it as طغان “Toghān”, i.e. he misread ط as غ.

The latest coins of Üch/Uch so far known are fiduciary copper-lead alloy dirhems minted in 448/ 1056-57 (Kochnev 1997, 282/1261). They were minted by the Eastern Qarākhānid Maliq al-Mashriq Arslān Īlek as independent ruler.

Kochnev (1988, 201) merged two different rulers into one and even “corrected” Ibn al-Athīr. Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) wrote that, in 435, the ruler of Kāshghar (Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān Yūsuf) granted to his brother, Arslān-tegīn, “much of the the Land of the Turks” (i.e. part of Eastern Turkestan). In AH 444 dirhems of Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 279/1217) were minted by Sanā al-Daula Arslān-tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, vassal of Boghrā Khān. Kochnev wrote that this Arslān-tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was the son of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān Yūsuf, which is correct. Then he wrote that Arslān-tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was the same Arslān-tegīn mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr under AH 435, which is wrong. Kochnev (1988, 201) even “corrected” the “mistake” of Ibn al-Athīr, writing that Ibn al-Athīr “mentioned Arslān-tegīn as brother of Arslān Khān... while it is clear (? – M. F) that he was the nephew and not the brother of Arslān Khān”.

As a matter of fact there was another Arslān-tegīn: “Shams al-Daula Arslān-tegīn Naṣr” (Kochnev 1997, 279/1208), who never had the *laqab* “Sanā al-Daula” and never minted in Tūnket. Dirhems minted in the khanate of Boghrā Khān (Tūnket included) were billon. Shams al-Daula Arslān-tegīn minted fiduciary copper-and-lead alloy dirhems, which circulated in Farghāna and the Chu valley in AH 442-449. Shams al-Daula Arslān-tegīn minted in 444 in Barskhān and in 443, 445 in a town the mint-name of which has not survived on the coins (Kochnev 1997, 279/ 1208, 1211, 281/1236). When Boghrā Khān Muḥammad defeated Arslān Khān Sulaimān circa 447/1055-56 and became supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Shams al-Daula Arslān-tegīn received the new, higher title of Īlek (second only to the title of Khān) and became “Shams al-Daula Arslān Īlek”. It is with this title that he is cited on coins of AH 448-449 Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 282/1248, 1252). And it was Shams al-Daula Arslān-tegīn Naṣr, to whom his brother, Arslān Khān Sulaimān, granted “much of the Land of Turks”. And it was Shams al-Daula Arslān-tegīn who became Īlek and the second man in the hierarchy of the Eastern Qarākhānids, when his brother Boghrā Khān Muḥammad became the top man and the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids. And it was Arslān Īlek Naṣr b. Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf, who minted coins in Üch/Uch in 448/1056-57.

The fact, that Arslān-tegīn/Arslān Īlek possessed part of Eastern Turkestan and minted coins in Üch and Barskhān, is the only tenable argument in favour of placing the mint of Üch in Uch Turfan. But as matter of fact there were two Barskhāns: “Upper Barskhān” on the southern shore of Lake Issyk-Kul in modern Kirgizia, and “Lower Barskhān” on the eastern bank of the Talas river, close to and opposite Tārāz in modern Kazakhstan. Moreover, in AH 445 in Üch (Kochnev 1997, 281/1231, 1232) coins were struck by Malik Ghāzī Togān-tegīn (or Mu‘izz al-Milla Ghāzī Toghān-tegīn) about whom Ibn al-Athīr did not write that he possessed much of the “Land of the Turks” (i.e. of East Turkestan). And Arslān Īlek may have been granted Üch (by which, I mean Üsh in Farghāna) as an appanage by Boghrā Khān after the latter became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids.

The riddle of the Üch mint will only be solved when (and if) a coin of Üch is found which cites some Western Qarākhānid vassal and Western Qarākhānid suzerain. For, while the Eastern

Qarākhānids captured and possessed Farghāna several times, the Western Qarākhānids never conquered and possessed Kāshghar, not to mention Uch Turfan situated to the east of Kāshghar.

References

1. Fedorov, M. N. 1971. “Khodzhenetskii klad serebrianykh dirhemov vtorogo desiatiletiia XI v.”, *Material'naia kul'tura Tadzhikistana*, 2, Dushanbe.
2. Fedorov, M. N. 1974. “Politicheskaiia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse pervoi i vo vtoroi chetverti XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskii istocnik)”, *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XI, Moskva.
3. Fedorov, M. N. 1983. “Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X – nachala XIII v.”, *Kirgizia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
4. Fedorov, M. N. 1990. *Karakhanidskaia numizmatika kak istochnik po istorii Srednei Azii kontsa X – nachala XIII vv. Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchenoj stepeni doctora istoricheskikh nauk*, Novosibirsk.
5. Kochnev, B. D., Fedorov, M. N. 1974. “Dva klada Karakhanidskikh dirhemov srediny XI v. iz Kirgizii”, *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, XI, Moskva.
6. Kochnev, B. D. 1978. “Zametki po srednevekovi numizmatike Srednei Azii. Chast' 1 (Samanidy, Karakhanidy, Dzhaniidy)”, *Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 14, Tashkent.
7. Kochnev, B. D. 1988. “Zametki po srednevekovi numizmatike Srednei Azii. Chast' 9 (Samanidy, Karakhanidy, Anushteginidy)”, *Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 22, Tashkent.
8. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. “Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 1)”, *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
9. Kochnev, B. D. 1997. “Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 2)”, *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
10. Markov, A. K. 1896. *Inventarnyi katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*, St. Petersburg.
11. *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*. 1973, Vyp. 1, Moskva.

Usrūshana

B. D. Kochnev (1994, 64-73) wrote an article about the Muslim coinage of “Usrūshana” based on the coins of Usrūshana and Zāmīn. But since some of his theses and inferences are questionable, I would like to offer some revisions.

The earliest Qarākhānid coin so far known of Usrūshana is a fals of AH 387 “Usrūshana” (sic) with the title “Qārā Khān al-Muzaffar Tegīn”. Kochnev (1994, 67) wrote that the suzerain's title was “Qārā Khān al-Muzaffar” and attributed it to “his (i.e. Naṣr's - M. F.) brother, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī”. But he is wrong. The epithet “al-Muzaffar” (Victorious) was certainly connected with the title “Tegīn”, the then title of Naṣr. It was he who was victorious. Kochnev himself wrote that it was Naṣr who, in 386/996, headed the Qarākhānid invasion of the Sāmānid state, which forced the Sāmānids to cede to the Qarākhānids all their lands east of Samarqand. So it was Naṣr who was the “Victorious” one and it was AH 386 when Usrūshana passed to him. As to the title “Qārā Khān” (“Great Khān”), I believe it belonged to the ruler of Kāshghar, Arslān Khān ‘Alī b. Mūsā, father of Aḥmad and Naṣr, who was the “Great Khān” and Head of the Qarākhānids. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī was able to become the Head of the Qarākhānids only after the death of his father, who fell in the war with the infidel Turks in Muḥarram 388/ January 998 (Bartold 1963, 330).

On 1 Dhū-l-Qa‘da 389/14 October 999 Naṣr b. ‘Alī captured Bukhārā, capital of the Sāmānids and put an end to their state. From that time onwards till his death in 403/1012-13 Ustrūshana remained among the Naṣr’s dominions. But among the coins minted after the conquest of Bukhārā there is only one coin of Ustrūshana, minted in AH 398. The mintname is “Surūshana” (Kochnev 1995, 217 Nr. 198). The coin was minted in the name of Naṣr only, there was no mention of his nominal suzerain, Khān Aḥmad. As a matter of interest, the epithet “Muzaffar” was placed on this coin, which means that this epithet did in fact belong to Naṣr.

After the death of İlek Naṣr, Ustrūshana went to his junior brother, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. In AH 403 Muḥammad started to mint falūs in Ustrūshana (Kochnev 1995, 226 Nr. 322). These falūs mention “Muḥammad/Khān Sanā al-Daula/‘Alī” (obverse field), “al-Khān al-‘Adil” (reverse field) and “al-Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkin al-Manṣūr” (reverse circular legend). On the dirhem of AH 393 Ṭarāz, obverse field has “Muḥammad b. ‘Alī /Sanā al-Daula” and in the circular legend “al-Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkin al-Manṣūr Sanā ad-Daula Arslān-tegīn” is written (Kochnev 1995, 211 Nr. 121). This coin leaves no doubt that Sanā al-Daula in the obverse field and Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkin al-Manṣūr in the reverse circular legend of the AH 403 Ustrūshana falūs was Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, cited twice. In AH 404, though, Muḥammad b. ‘Alī was given the new title “Ināl-tegīn”, which was probably higher than the title “Arslān-tegīn” (cf. Ispījāb AH 404 coin, Kochnev 1995, 226, Nr. 325).

At first sight it may appear that, on the obverse of the AH 403 falūs of Ustrūshana, Muḥammad has the high title of Khān. But the fals of AH 403 Zāmīn (one of the towns of Ustrūshana) disproves it. This fals has an obverse exactly of the same type: “Muḥammad/Khān Sanā al-Daula/‘Alī”. Similarly the reverse field cites “al-Khān al-‘Adil”, but the reverse circular legend differs in that it cites not “al-Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkin al-Manṣūr” but “al-Amīr al-Jalīl Ināl-tegīn” (Kochnev 1995, 225 Nr. 308). It is clear that Muḥammad could not have on the same coin both the title of Khān and the princely title “tegīn”. It means that these coins were minted with mismatched dies. The obverse die cite, in big letters, “Khān” (Aḥmad b. ‘Alī) and his vassal “Sanā ad-Daula” whose name, Muḥammad/ (b.) ‘Alī is written in small letters above and below the central legend. The reverse dies cite, in the field, “al-Khān al-‘Adil” (Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, the suzerain). In the circular legend, the vassal is cited: on one die as “al-Amīr al-Jalīl Ināl-tegīn”, on another die as “al-Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkin al-Manṣūr”. It was not uncommon for the dies from a small mint that had been closed to be brought to some bigger or central mint to be used there (Davidovich 1972, pp. 119-120, 123).

In AH 404, falūs of “Ustrūshana” (Kochnev 1995, 229 Nr. 369) mention: “Amīr al-Jalīl al-Sayyid al-Mumakkin al-Manṣūr Sanā al-Daula Ināl-tegīn” (obverse circular legend), “Sanā al-Daula Ināl-tegīn” (reverse field) and “Amīr al-Jalīl al-Sayyid al-Mumakkin al-Manṣūr” (reverse circular legend). Here there is no mention of the suzerain, Aḥmad b. ‘Alī. But sometimes on small copper coins serving local trading communities the mention of the suzerain was omitted. It was not uncommon. Though I believe that in this particular case we have another example of mismatched dies. There was no need to mention the title “Ināl-tegīn” twice on the same coin.

Then a copious issue dirhems of AH 405-407 Ustrūshana follow (Kochnev 1995, 226 Nr. 325, 231 Nr.400-402, 234 Nr. 429). They give a rather complicated picture because some of them were minted by Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, citing as his suzerain either “Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq” (i.e. Aḥmad b. ‘Alī) or (in the same year) “Shams ad-Daula Khān” (i.e. another brother of his, Arslān Khān Manṣūr b. ‘Alī). The picture here (and the reason of it) is the

same as in the case with the coinage of Khojende in AH 405-407. There was an internecine war between Aḥmad and Manṣūr, which started in AH 404. At first Muḥammad stayed loyal to his old suzerain, Aḥmad, then he changed political orientation and took sides with Manṣūr. But it is not clear whether that happened in AH 405 or 406.

The fact that during several years Muḥammad cited, as his suzerain, Aḥmad and then in the same year Manṣūr, may have two explanations: 1 - at least twice a year Muḥammad regularly changed sides: 2 - some of the coins were minted with mismatched dies, one of them obsolete.

In 407/1016-17 a peace was made. Ustrūshana remained with Muḥammad, though it is not clear who was his suzerain there according to the peace treaty. Both Aḥmad and Manṣūr were mentioned on the coins of AH 407 struck in Ustrūshana. Could it mean that according to the peace treaty Ustrūshana was returned to Aḥmad on condition that Muḥammad possess the town as Aḥmad’s vassal? In such a case Aḥmad would have been entitled to receive a proportion of the taxes collected from Ustrūshana.

Then follow dirhems of AH 409 and 410 Ustrūshana (Markov 1896, 235 Nr. 277-280). Muḥammad b. ‘Alī continued to possess the town and the province as a vassal of Arslān Khān Manṣūr b. ‘Alī, who after the death of Aḥmad b. ‘Alī (beginning of AH 408) became the sole and indisputable Head of the Western Qarākhānids. Muḥammad’s title on these coins is “İlek”, which he obtained after Manṣūr b. ‘Alī proclaimed himself “Arslān Khān” in AH 404. On the obverse of these coins “Bars Ūkā” is mentioned. This was a Turkic nickname or honorific epithet either of Muḥammad (“Ūkā” means “younger brother” in Turkic) or of his vassal. This “Bars Ūkā” was also mentioned on AH 407 dirhems of Benāket (Fedorov 1971, 203): these have “Arslān Khān” and “İlek” (reverse), and “Bars Ūkā” (obverse).

There are falūs providing interesting information on Ustrūshana (Kochnev 1995, 254, Nr. 752-754). One with the mint-name Sutrūshana has a date, which Kochnev read as AH 423. Another has neither date nor mint-name, but, as it was found in the territory of medieval Ustrūshana province, Kochnev attributed this coin to Ustrūshana and dated it c. AH 423. The third fals has the mint-name Ustrūshana and no date but Kochnev successfully dated it as c. AH 423. One fals cites “Şamşām al-Daula Yaghān-tegīn” (obverse), “Malik al-‘Adil Abā Şāliḥ(?)” and “...Boghrā(?)...Maulā Amir al-Mu...” (reverse field and circular legend). Another fals cites “Şamşām ad-Daula Iaghān-tegīn” (obverse field) and “Khān” (reverse field). The third fals cited only “Şamşām ad-Daula Yaghān-tegīn” (reverse field).

Kochnev (1994, 70) wrote that Şamşām al-Daula Yaghān-tegīn was the son of Manṣūr Arslān Khān. As for the fals citing “Şamşām al-Daula Yaghān-tegīn” and the anonymous “Khān”, he wrote that this Khān and suzerain of Şamşām al-Daula was the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids Qadir Khān Yūsuf b. Hārūn, “the Khān ‘par excellence’, the Khān ‘with a capital letter’”. But why “the Khān ‘par excellence’”? And why “the Khān ‘with capital letter’”? Is this meant to be a serious comment? Starting from AH 423, the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan also titled himself as the “Khān” (Fedorov 1974, 172). But Kochnev was quite sure that in AH 423 Ustrūshana was part of the Qadir Khān’s state.

I consider that these coins were minted not in 423 but in 413 (عشرة -10 and عشرون -20 are easy to mistake for one another especially when the coin is worn). And that is why. There is a dirhem of AH 413 Sheljī minted by “Yūsuf b. Manṣūr Yaghān-tegīn” citing the anonymous “Khān” as suzerain (Fedorov 1974, 163). There is another dirhem of Sheljī, minted in AH 414 by “Şamşām al-Daula Yaghān-tegīn” citing “Khān” as suzerain (Kochnev 1986, 133-134). And in this case Kochnev was sure

that the anonymous "Khān" was Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr, father and suzerain of Yaghān-teġin.

So it appears that, before being granted Sheljī as an appanage, Yaghān-teġin Yūsuf b. Maṣṣūr possessed Ustrūshana (probably between AH 410-413) as a vassal of his father.

In 415 Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was seized by another Qarākhānid branch, the so-called Hasanids. The new Head of the Western Qarākhānids was Ṭonghā Khān Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan, brother of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. His capital was Balāsāghūn (or Quz Ordū). By AH 415, the appanage of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan comprised Soghd with its main towns of Bukhārā and Samarqand, where he minted coins as a vassal of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr. After the death of Arslān Khān, a redistribution of appanages took place. In 415 coins of Khojende (Kochnev 1995, 247 Nr. 633) were minted by "Ṭonghān (another transcription of the word Ṭonghā) Khān" (suzerain) and "Bahā al-Daula İlek". In 415 coins of Shāsh cite "İlek al-'Adil 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan" or "İlek al-'Adil Bahā al-Daula" (Kochnev 1995, 248 Nr. 640, 642). So "Bahā al-Daula İlek" was 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan who received Khojende as an appanage. It means that Ustrūshana, situated between Samarqand and Khojende, was also included into the domains of 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan.

In AH 416 the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Qadir Khān Yūsuf b. Hārūn (with his capital in Kāshghar) and his ally, Sultān Maḥmūd Ghaznavī invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. 'Alī b. Ḥasan fled into the desert. Soon Maḥmūd realised that it was safer to have 'Alī b. Ḥasan and Qadir Khān fighting each other, and returned to Ghazna. Qadir Khān retreated from Samarqand. The intervention of Maḥmūd helped Qadir Khān and he conquered vast territories from the Western Qarākhānids. In 416 he captured Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsīket until 418 but, in 419, the whole of Farghāna was conquered from them (Fedorov 1983, 111-113). Kochnev (1995, 249 Nr. 662) published a dirhem of Akhsīket on which he read the date AH 417. I believe he mistook 419 for 417. سبع - 7 and تسع - 9 are easy to mistake for one another. Otherwise this coin shows that Akhsīket was captured by Qadir Khān in AH 417 and then recovered by the Western Qarākhānids in 418. Anyway, Ustrūshana, situated to the west, i.e. "behind", of Akhsīket was in their hands as long as they retained that city.

Kochnev (1994, 70) mentioned several coins, which, according to him (provided they were read correctly – M. F.), show that "coins with the titulage of Yūsuf b. Hārūn (i.e. of Qadir Khān – M. F.) were minted in 418/1027-28 in Soghd (Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq), in 419/1028 in "Ishtīkhan" (Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Malik al-Mashriq wa'l-Ṣīn) and Samarqand (Khān Malik al-Mashriq wa'l-Ṣīn)". Kochnev wrote that 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan retained only Buhārā and the Bukhāran oasis. So he was sure that Ustrūshana in AH 418-419 also belonged to Yūsuf, i.e. to Qadir Khān.

I believe that the picture was somewhat different. Falūs of AH 418 Soghd and 419 Samarqand were minted by Arslān-teġin who possessed them and cited Qadir Khān as suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 251 Nr. 691, 702). The fals of the so-called Ishtīkhan was minted by Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l-Dīn Malik al-Mashriq wa'l-Ṣīn (i.e. Qadir Khān) only. It seems that Kochnev mistook Ispījāb for Ishtīkhan. اسبيجاب - Ispījāb and اشتيخن - Ishtīkhan are easy to mistake for one another. The fact that Arslān-teġin was not cited on the coin of the so-called Ishtīkhan implies that this coin was minted in Ispījāb and not in Soghdiana, because this coin reflects a different political situation.

Who was this Arslān-teġin, who, on falūs of Soghd and Samarqand, cited Qadir Khān as his suzerain? A fals of AH 421

Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 252 Nr. 719) cites "Shams al-Daula Arslān-teġin" as vassal of "İlek", (i.e. 'Alī b. Ḥasan). Coins of AH 418-419 Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 250 Nr. 688) cite "Yūsuf b. 'Alī" i.e. the son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan. A fals of AH 431 Bukhārā cite "Shams al-Daula Yūsuf" (Kochnev 1995, 261 Nr. 853). So we have: "Shams al-Daula" = "Yūsuf b. 'Alī" and "Shams al-Daula" = "Arslān-teġin". It proves that "Shams al-Daula Arslān-teġin" was a son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan. So in Bukhārā in 417-418 İlek 'Alī b. Ḥasan minted as an independent ruler, and his son, Arslān-teġin Yūsuf, minted in 418-419 in Samarqand and Soghd as a vassal of Qadir Khān, which was a enforced measure. It seems that Qadir Khān demanded that the rulers of Soghdiana recognized him as suzerain, and that this demand was complied with only half-heartedly. Arslān-teġin cited him on his coins as suzerain but 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan minted as an independent ruler. Of course I must not forget the possibility that this Arslān-teġin may not have been the son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan, but rather an Eastern Qarākhānid and vassal of Qadir Khān in Samarqandian Soghd captured by Qadir Khān. But it seems to me highly improbable because, in AH 418, Akhsīket was in the hands of the Western Qarākhānids and Soghd was behind (and defended by) Akhsīket. But in 419, on coins of Samarqand, Ishtīkhan and Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 251 Nr. 700, 703, 704) 'Alī b. Ḥasan's title "İlek" reappears. He minted coins as an independent ruler of Soghd and Qadir Khān is not mentioned there as suzerain any more.

There is a fals of AH 419 Ustrūshana (Kochnev 1995, 251 Nr. 706) minted by a certain Mu'īn al-Daula as independent ruler. He cites neither Qadir Khān nor the Head of the Western Qarākhānids as suzerain on his coins. It appears that, at least in AH 419, Ustrūshana was an independent buffer principality between the dominions of the Eastern and Western Qarākhānids. On the other hand, instances are not rare when the suzerain is not cited on small copper coins. I know cases where, in the same town, in the same year, silver dirhems cite the suzerain while the copper falūs do not.

Kochnev (1994, 70) wrote that, in 423, Ustrūshana belonged to Ṣamṣām al-Daula Yaghān-teġin Yūsuf b. Maṣṣūr, who cites an anonymous "Khān" as suzerain. For the reasons known only to himself Kochnev called that anonymous Khān "Khān 'par excellence' (!? – M. F.)", and "Khān 'with a capital letter' (!? – M. F.)" and that was enough for him to identify this Khān as Qadir Khān. Proceeding from his questionable reading of the date and from the more than questionable attribution of the anonymous title "Khān" to Qadir Khān, Kochnev (1994, 70) decided that, though 'Alī b. Ḥasan regained the Samarqandian part of Soghd, Ustrūshana remained among the dominions of Qadir Khān (sic!).

As I have shown above, these falūs will have been minted by Ṣamṣām al-Daula Yaghān-teġin Yūsuf, son and vassal of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī, while he possessed Ustrūshana circa 410-413, and before he was granted Sheljī as an appanage in 413/1021-22.

Kochnev (1994, 70) mentioned a fals, minted, as he believed, in 425 in Khojende by 'Alī b. Ḥasan Ṭabghāch Khān, and wrote that "Khojende, and that means Ustrūshana also, were captured by 'Alī b. Ḥasan between 423-426/1031-35". But the Arab numerals عشرة - 10 and عشرين - 20 as well as the titles طنغان - "Ṭonghā" and طيغاج - "Ṭabghāch" are easy to confuse especially if the coin is worn. A dirhem of AH 415 Khojende (Kochnev 1995, 247 Nr. 633) cites "Ṭonghān Khān" as suzerain of "Bahā al-Daula İlek". Coins of AH 415 Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 248 Nr. 640, 642) cite "İlek al-'Adil 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan" or "İlek al-'Adil Bahā al-Daula". It means that the *laqab* "Bahā al-Daula" belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan. I believe that this fals was minted in Khojende in 415 (just like the dirhem of AH 415 Khojende) by 'Alī b. Ḥasan vassal of Ṭonghān Khān. But if Kochnev was not

mistaken, this fals means that, in AH 425, Khojende, as well as Usrūshana, were among the dominions of 'Alī b. Ḥasan.

In AH 434 Khojende was the appanage of 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad (son of Īlek Naṣr). 'Ain al-Daula minted dirhems in Khojende as a vassal of Arslān Khān Sulaimān (son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf) who was the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids with his capital in Kāshghar (Fedorov 1968, 224). Usrūshana in 434 was most probably part of 'Ain al-Daula's appanage. At least in AH 436, according to his own words, his appanage comprised "Khojende, Usrūshana and part of Farghāna" (Buniatov 1981, 8), and he had it as vassal of the Head of the Western Qarākhānids Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr, who was brother of 'Ain al-Daula. Kochnev (1994, 71) doubted this information, provided by the scholar of the thirteenth century, Ibn al-Fuvāṭī: "since on other of his coins in other appanages (in Farghāna and Khojende) Muḥammad (i.e. 'Ain al-Daula – M. F.) recognised himself as vassal of Arslān Khān, Usrūshana being rather also among the dominions of the Eastern khaqanate". But Kochnev certainly did not know (neither in 1994 nor later) any coins of 'Ain al-Daula minted in AH 436 (neither do I). Even in 1997 in his "Corpus of inscriptions on Qarakhanid coins..." (Kochnev 1997, 277-278) he mentioned only dirhems of Khojende minted in 434 and 441 and no coins of Usrūshana of that time. So he has absolutely no grounds to doubt the authenticity of information provided by Ibn al-Fuvāṭī. As for the coins mentioned by Kochnev (on which 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr recognised himself as a vassal of Arslān Khān), they were minted in AH 434 and 441. Inbetween, 'Ain al-Daula could easily have change his allegiance, as he indeed did according to the information provided by Ibn al-Fuvāṭī.

As coins show (Fedorov 1980, 48-49), Khojende in AH 441-449 was among the dominions of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Unfortunately coins of Usrūshana of that period are not known. But since, in AH 436 Khojende and Usrūshana made up one appanage, it could have been the same in AH 441-449.

In 449/1057-58 a palace revolution took place in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate, which was followed by internecine wars. The Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr seized the opportunity and reconquered from the Eastern Qarākhānids Farghāna, Ilāq, Shāsh, and other dominions up to Balāsāghūn (Fedorov 1980, 43-44). So Usrūshana again became (if it was not already, after AH 436) a dominion of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate.

In 1068 Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm died. Internecine war broke out between his sons Naṣr and Shu'aith, who fought for the throne. Now it was the turn of the Eastern Qarākhānids to profit from the troubles of the Western Qarākhānids. They attacked the Western Qarākhānids, and conquered their lost territories with the exception of Khojende, which became the frontier town of the Western Qarākhānids (Fedorov 1983, 122). It means that Usrūshana, situated behind Khojende, also remained with the Western Qarākhānids.

Recently I published (Fedorov 1999, 13-14) coins of the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭafghāch Khān Khiḍr, brother and successor of Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. Khiḍr started to rule in 472/ 1080. There are two dirhems minted in (47)2 and 473. The state of presevation of these coins is bad so one cannot be sure, but the mint-name looks to me like Ūsrūshana with the letter "vav" after the "alif", which is unusual. Anyway if my reading is correct it means that in AH 472-473 Usrūshana was among the domains of Ṭafghāch Khān Khiḍr, and had a mint of its own. Usrūshana stayed with the Western Qarākhānids till the end of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate in the beginning of the thirteenth century AD.

References

1. Bartold, V. V. 1963. *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestiia*, Sochineniia, t. 1, Moskva.
2. Baihaqi, Abu-l-Fazl. 1962. *Istoria Mas'uda 1030-1041*, perevod ... A. K. Arends, Tashkent.
3. Buniatov, Z. M. 1981. "Gars an-Ni'ma as-Sabi i Kamal ad-Din ibn Fuvati ob istorii Karakhanidov", *Pis'mennye Pamiatniki Vostoka 1974*, Moskva.
4. Davidovich, E. A. 1972. "Monety Fergany kak istochnik dlia kharakteristiki instituta feodal'nykh pozhalovaniia za sluzhbu v Srednei Azii X v.", *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka 1969*, Moskva.
5. Fedorov, M. N. 1968. "Ferganskii klad Karakhanidskikh dirhemov 1034-1043gg.", *Sovetskaiia arkhologia*, 3.
6. Fedorov, M. N. 1971. "Khodzhenidskii klad serebrianykh dirhemov vtorogo desiatiletiia XI v.", *Material'naiia kul'tura Tadzhikistana*, 2, Dushanbe.
7. Fedorov, M. N. 1972. "Politicheskaia istoriia Karakhanidov v kontse X-nachale XI v. (Karakhanidskie monety kak istoricheskii istochnik)", *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 10.
8. Fedorov, M. N. 1980. "Politicheskaia istoriia Karakhanidov vo vtoroi polovine XI v.", *Numizmatika i epigrafika*, 13.
9. Fedorov, M. N. 1983. "Ocherk istorii Vostochnykh Karakhanidov kontsa X – nachala XIII v. po numizmaticheskim dannym", *Kirgiziia pri Karakhanidakh*, Frunze.
10. Kochnev, B. D. 1986. "Zametki po srednevekovoii numizmatike Srednei Azii. Chast' 7 (Karakhanidy)", *Material'naiia kul'tura Uzbekistana*, 20.
11. Kochnev, B. D. 1994. "Musul'manskii chekan Ustrushany (po materialam monetnogo chekana Ustrushany i Zaamina)", *Drevnii Zaamin*, Tashkent.
12. Kochnev, B. D. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.
13. Kochnev, B. D. 1997. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antroponimy i titulatura (chast' 2)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva.
14. Markov, A. K. 1896. *Inventarnyi katalog Musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*. St. Peterburg.
15. *Materialy po istorii kirgizov i Kirgizii*, 1973, vyp. 1, Moskva.
16. Pritsak, O. 1953. "Die Karachaniden", *Der Islam*, XXXI, 1.

Akhsiket

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
391-392	F		W. Naşr b. 'Alī İlek	
394-402	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Naşr	
401-402	F		W. Naşr b. 'Alī İlek / Pādshā	
403-404	D	W. Quţb al-Daula al-Khāqān Ahmad b. 'Alī		
403	F	Khān Ahmad b. 'Alī		
404-407	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. Nāşir al-Daula Atimtegīn	
407-410	D	W. Arslān Khān	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	
410	D	W. Arslān Khān	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	W. Ahmad b. Manşūr
412-413	F	W. Arslān Khān	W. Amīr Muhammad b. 'Alī	W. 'Ain al-Daula Muhammad b. Naşr
415	D	W. Arslān Khān	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	W. 'Ain al-Daula Malikān
415	D	W. Qarākhāqān	W. 'Ain al-Daula Malikān	
415	D	W. Ţonghā-khān (II Muhammad b. al-Hasan)	W. 'Ain al-Daula Malikān	
415	D	W. Ţonghā-khān (II)	W. 'Ain al-Daula Malikān	W. Malik b. Malikān
417-418	D	W. Ţonghān(Ţonghā)-khān (II)	W. İlek ('Alī b. Hasan))	W. Mu'izz al-Daula
418	D		W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik b. Saif al-Daula	
4(1?)7	D	E. Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf)	W? 'Adud al-Daula Kuchtegin	
4(1?)7	D	E. Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf)	W? 'Adud al-Daula Tegin	
41(7???)	D	E. Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf)	E. Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula	
419	F	E. Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf)	W? 'Adud al-Daula Badr al-Daula	
419	F	E. Khān Malik al-Mashriq	W? 'Adud al-Daula ('Alī)?	W? E? ('Alī?)
420	D	E. Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq	W. Mu'izz al-Daula	
422	F	E. Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq	E. Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula	
422	D	E. Nāşir al-Haqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf)	W? 'Adud al-Daula Kuchtegin	W? E? Ahmad
423	D	E. Nāşir al-Haqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf)	W? 'Adud al-Daula Kuchtegin	W? E? Ahmad Alptegīn
424	F	W? 'Adud al-Daula	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik	
426	F	E. Qadir Khān (II Sulaimān)	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik b. Saif al-Daula	
427	D	E. Qadir Khān (II Sulaimān)	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik	Hasan?
428	D	E. Qadir Khān (II Sulaimān)	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik	
429-430	D	E. Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ţonghā-khān (III)		
430-433	D		W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik	
43(4?)	D		W. Mu'izz al-Daula 'Abbas	
440-449	D	E. Boghrā Qarākhāqān (i.e. Muhammad b. Qadir Khān Yūsuf)	E. Jalāl al-Daula Ţonghātegīn	
453	D	W. Ţafghāch Khān Ibrahim		
45(9?)	D	W. Ţafghāch Khān Ibrahim		
465, 467	D	W. Shams al-Mulk Naşr		
c. 522-526	D	Sanjar b. Malikshāh (Saljuqid)	W. Hasan Qarākhāqān	
c. 522-526	D		W. Khāqān Hasan b. 'Alī	

Table 1. Akhsiket. D – dirhem, F – fals, W – Western Qarākhānid, E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Khojende

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
383-384	F		W. Tegīn Naşr b. 'Alī	
384	F		W. Tegīn Abu-I-Hasan Naşr b. 'Alī	
390	F	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Abū Naşr Qarākhāqān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl İlek Abu-I-Hasan Naşr b. 'Alī	
390	F		W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl İlek Abu-I-Hasan Naşr b. 'Alī	W. Ahmad b. Naşr
399	F	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Abū Naşr Qarākhāqān	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Naşr b. 'Alī	
401	F		W. Naşr b. 'Alī Pādshāh	
403	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Shams al-Daula İlek (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Arslān-tegīn (Muhammad b. 'Alī)
403	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān	W. İlek (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula
403-407	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān	W. Sanā al-Daula Inaltegīn Muhammad (b. 'Alī)	
404-407	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān	W. Sanā al-Daula İlek Muhammad (b. 'Alī)	
404	F		W. Sanā al-Daula al-Haqq(!)	
405	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān	W. Sanā al-Daula Inaltegīn Muhammad (b. 'Alī)	Nūh
405,407	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	
405	F		W. Sanā al-Daula al-Haqq(!)	
406	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān	W. Sanā al-Daula Inaltegīn Muhammad (b. 'Alī) Pādshāh	
406	D	W. Shams al-Daula Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula İlek Muhammad (b. 'Alī) Pādshāh	
406-407	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek Muhammad Pādshāh	
407-410	F	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	
409-411	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek Pādshāh (Muhammad)	
412-413	D	W. Nūr al-daula Arslān Khān	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	
413	F	W. Nūr al-daula Arslān Khān	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	
414	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	Sinān al-Daula
415	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	<i>Iusuv</i> (and?) Sinān al-Daula
415	F	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	Bektūzun
415	D	W. Toghā Khān (Muhammad b. al-Hasan)	W. Bahā al-Daula İlek ('Alī b. al-Hasan)	
423-424	F	E. Nāşir al-Haqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf)	E. Rukn al-Daula ('Adud al-Daula?)	W? E? 'Adud al-Daula?
428	D		Fakhr al-Daula	
434	D	E. Arslān Khān (Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	W. 'Ain al-Daula Muhammad (b. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī)	
441, 444	D	E. Arslān Khān (Sulaimān)	W. Muhammad b. Naşr	
45x	D	W. Tafghāch Khān İbrahīm		
461, 466?	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq va al-Dīn Naşr Sultān al-Sharq va al-Şīn		
464	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq va al-Dīn Abu-I-Hasan Naşr Shams al-Mulk		

Table 3. Khojende. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Marghīnan

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
397	F		W. al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl İlek Naşr b. 'Alī	
398	F	?	?	?
418	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq Qadir-khān (I Yūsuf)	W? Kuchtegīn	
423	D	E. Nāşir al-Haqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf)	W? 'Adud al-Daula Kuchtegīn	
425?	D		W. al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl 'Ain al-Daula (Muhammad b. İlek Naşr)	
429-430	D		W. al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl 'Ain al-Daula al-Malikān(?)	
434	D		W. Arslāntegīn Hārūn b. 'Alī	
439-440	D	E. al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Tonghā Khān (III)		
441	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān (Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)		
442	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān	E? 'Adud al-Daula Būrītegīn	
443	D		W. Arslāntegīn Hārūn b. 'Alī	
444-445	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān	Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām	
44(4? 5?)	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān		
446	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān	W. Muhammad b. Naşr Shihāb al-Daula(?)	Shihāb al-Daula(?)
447	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān	W. Muhammad b. Naşr	
447-449	D	E. Bughrā Khāqān (Muhammad b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)		
453, 455, 456	D	W. Tafghāch Khān İbrahīm (b. İlek Naşr)		
461	D	E. 'Imād al-Daula Toğhrul Qarākhāqān		
465	D	E. 'Imād al-Daula		
46x	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq va al-Dīn Naşr (b. Tafghāch Khān İbrahīm)		
46x	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq va al-Dīn Shams al-Mulk Naşr		
?	F	W. Khāqān Muhammad b. Sulaimān (AH 495-524)		
c. 596 - till 602	D	W. Sevīnch Qutlugh Arslān Khān Muhammad b. Muhammad		
602	D	W. Qutlugh Toğhān Khāqān		

Table 4. Marghīnan. D – dinar. F – fals. W- Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Kāsān Qubā

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
421	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān I)	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik	
421-422	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān I)	W? 'Adud al-Daula ('Alī?)	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik
422-423	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān I)	W? 'Adud al-Daula	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik
4xx	F		W? 'Adud al-Daula	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik
423	F		W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik b. Malikān	
427	D	E. Qadir Khān (II Sulaimān)	W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik	
429-434	D		W. Mu'izz al-Daula Malik	
433	F		W. Abū-l-Muzaffar Malik	
48x? 49x?	D	W. Tafghāch Khān al-Hasan		
c. 488-495	D	E. Tafghāch Khān Jabra'il		
c. 522-526	D	Sulṭān Sanjar (Saljuqid)	W. Qarākhān Hasan	W. Toḡhrul Khān Husain
c. 522-526	D		W. Qarākhān	W. Toḡhrul Khān Husain
564	D	W. Toḡhrul Khān Naṣr b. al-Husain		
568	D	W. Toḡhrul Khān		
567	D	W. Toḡhrul Khāqān		
5(7? 9?)8	D	W. Toḡhrul Khāqān Muhammad b. Naṣr		
587	D	W. Toḡhrul Khāqān Muhammad		
591,94,98	D	W. Toḡhrul Khān Muhammad		
605,608	D	W. Ulugh Toḡhrul Khān		

Table 2. Kāsān. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
389-391	F		W. Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	
390	F		W. al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	
397	F		W. Naṣr b. 'Alī	
399	F		W. al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	
399	F		W. Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	
401-402	F		W. Naṣr b. 'Alī	
402	F		W. al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	
416?	F	E. Nāṣir al-Daula Maliq al-Mashriq Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf	W? Kuchtegīn	
420	F	E. Khān Maliq al-Mashriq	E. Sulaimān b. Hārūn	
442	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān (Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān I Yūsuf)	E? 'Adud al-Daula Būrīteḡīn	
443	D		W. Arslāntegīn Hārūn b. 'Alī	
444 -445	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān	Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām	
445, 447?	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān	E? 'Imād al-Daula	W? 'Adud al-Daula
445-447	D	E. Arslān Khān	W. Muhammad b. Naṣr (b. 'Alī) Shihāb al-Daula(?)	W? E? Shihāb al-Daula(?)
448	D	E. Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Muhammad b. Qadir Khān I)	E. Jalāl al-Daula	

Table 5. Qubā. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Farghāna

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
381	D	E. Shihāb al-Daula Turk Khāqān (Boḡhrā Khān Hārūn b. Sulaimān)	W? Arslāntegīn (Naşr?) b. Ulughtegīn ('Alī?)	
384-385	F	W. Khāqān al-Muzaffar Ahmad b. 'Alī	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghātegīn Naşr b. 'Alī	
384-385	F	W. Khāqān al-Muzaffar	The same	Khumārtegīn
385, 388	F		W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghātegīn Abu-l-Hasan Naşr	
?	F	W. Khāqān al-Muzaffar Ahmad (b.) 'Alī	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghātegīn Naşr b. 'Alī	Bā(?) Qasīm
386-388	F	W. Ṭonghā Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghātegīn	
386	F	W. Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghātegīn Abu-l-Hasan	
386	F		W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghātegīn	
386, 388	F	W. Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl İlık al-Jalīl	
387	F	The same	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭegīn	
387, 388	F	The same	W. Ṭonghātegīn Abu-l-Hasan	
387	F	The same	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghātegīn Naşr b. 'Alī	
387	F		W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Naşr b. 'Alī	
388	F		W. Ṭonghātegīn Abu-l-Hasan	
388	F	W. Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Ṭegīn Abā Şālih	
388-389	F	The same	W. İlık al-Jalīl Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭonghātegīn	
388-389	F	The same	W. İlık al-Jalīl	
389	F	The same	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Arslān İlek Naşr b. 'Alī	
389	F	The same	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl İlık al-Jalīl	
389	F		W. İlık al-Jalīl	
390, 394? 398-400	F		W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl İlek Naşr b. 'Alī	
390, 393	F		W. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī	
391	F		The same	
393	F	W. Qān al-'Adil	The same	
393	F		The same	Mutavallī Yūsuf
396-397	F		W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl İlek Naşr b. 'Alī	
398	F		The same	
399-400	F		W. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī	
400	F		W. İlek Naşr; Naşr; İlek Pādshāh	
401	F		W. Pādshāh Naşr b. 'Alī; Naşr b. 'Alī	
402	F		W. Naşr b. 'Alī	
416	F	E. Malik al-Mashriq Nāşir al-Haqq Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf b. Hārūn)		
418	F	E. ... Yūsuf ...		
421	F	E. Malik al-Mashriq Nāşir al-Haqq Qadir Khān (I Yūsuf b. Hārūn)		
431	F	E. ... (M)u'ayyad Ṭo(n)ghā Khān		
?	F	W. Muhammad b. Sulaimān (AH 495-524/ AD 1101-1130)		

Table 6. Farghāna. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Ispījab

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
389	D	W. Abū Naşr (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	Abū Manşūr Muhammad Mut	
389	D	W. Ahmad b. Naşr (b. 'Alī)	Mut	
392	D	W. Ahmad b. 'Alī	The same	Ṭāhir Rāzī
395	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Qarākhāqān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)		
396	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	Abū Manşūr Muhammad Mut	
397	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula va Naşr al-Milla	Mut	
398-399	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula va Naşr al-Milla Ahmad b. 'Alī	The same	Şāligh
398, 39(7?9?)	D	The same	Muhammad Mut	Bū 'Alī
39(7?9?)	D	The same	Mut	The same
39(7?9?)	D	The same	The same	Hasan
39(7?9?)	D	The same	The same	
399-400	D	The same	Mu'izz al-Daula Mut	
400	D	W. Ahmad b. 'Alī	The same	'Alī
400	D		Abū Manşūr Mu'izz al-Daula Mut	Mīrek
400	D	W. Naşr b. 'Alī Pādshāh	Mu'izz al-Daula Mut	
401	D	The same	The same	Şarāf
401	D	The same	('Alī?)	Şarāf 'Alī?
401	D	The same		Şarāf
402	D	W. al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Pādshāh	Mu'izz al-Daula Mut	
402	D	W. Naşr b. 'Alī Pādshāh	The same	
402	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	The same	
404	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān Ahmad b. 'Alī	The same	
404	D	The same		
404	D	The same	W. Sanā al-Daula İnāltegīn Muhammad (b. 'Alī)	
404	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	The same	
?	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula Naşr al-Milla Ahmad b. 'Alī	Mut	Halāl
406	D	The same	Mu'izz al-Daula Mut	
407	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula İlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	
408	D	The same	W. Nāşir al-Daula Atimtegīn	Rāzī
408	D		The same	
408	F		W. Atimtegīn Abū-l-'Abbās Ahmad b. İlek	
409, 410, 412	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)	W. Nāşir al-Daula Atimtegīn	Naşr
409, 410	D	The same	The same	Şālih
409	D	The same	The same	Mīrek
411, 412	D	The same	The same	
416	D	W. Ṭonghā Khān (II Muhammad b. al-Hasan)	W. Nāşir al-Daula Atimtegīn Ahmad	
4(3?)5	D	E. Boghrā Khān (Muhammad b. Qadir Khān I)	E. Ṭoghān(?)tegīn	
437	D	E. Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Muhammad)		
(437?)	D	The same	E. Jaghrā Tegīn	
44(4?)	D	The same	E. Jaghrā Tegīn	
45x	D	W. Malik al-Mashriq va al-Şīn Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Ṭafghāh Khān İbrahim (b. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī)		

Table 7. Ispījāb. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Ustrūshana, Ūch, Qarlugh (etc.) Ordū

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
387	F	W. Qarākhān	W. Tegīn al-Muzaffar Abī-l-Hasan Naṣr b. 'Alī	
398	F		W. Naṣr b. 'Alī Muzaffar	
403	F	W. Khān al-'Adil (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Muhammad b. 'Alī	
404	F		W. Sanā al-Daula Ināltegīn	
405-406	D	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Ināltegīn Muhammad b. 'Alī	
406-407	D	The same	W. Sanā al-Daula Ināltegīn	
405	D	W. Khān	W. Īlek Muhammad b. 'Alī Ināltegīn	
405	D	W. Shams al-Daula Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Īlek	
406	D	The same	W. Muhammad b. 'Alī Īlek Pādshāh	
407	D	The same	W. Muhammad b. 'Alī Īlek	
409-410	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek	W. Bārs Ūkā
409-410	D	W. Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān	W. Īlek Pādshāh	The same
419	F	Amīr Mu'in al-daula		
?	F	Khān	W. Ṣamṣam al-Daula Yaghāntegīn	
?	F		The same	
4(1? 2?)3	F	...(Boghrā?)...	The same	Abā Ṣālih?
(47)2	F	W. Ṭabghāch Khān al-Khidr		
(4)73	F	The same		

Table 8. Ustrūshana. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
40(6? 7?)	D	E. Nāṣir al-Daula Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān	W. Atimtegīn
4(1?2?)2-4(1?2?)3	D	E. Khān Malik al-Mashriq	W. Atimtegīn Ahmad
445	D	E. Mu'izz al-Milla Toghāntegīn Ghāzī	
445	D	E. Malik Togāntegīn Ghāzī	
448	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq Arslān Īlek	

Table 9. Ūch. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

year		Suzerain	Vassal or official		
423.4	D	W. Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān 'Alī b. al-Hasan		حرج	ختلخ
424	D	W. Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān	Isma'īl b. Muhammad & 'Alī	قتلخ	ارد و الد بوسيه
425	D	W. Ṭabghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān 'Alī b. al-Hasan	'Alī	حرج	ختلخ
425.6	D	The same	Sahl	حرج	ختلخ
425	F	The same	'Alī b. Muhammad al-Mutavallī	حرج	ختلخ
425	F	W. Ṭabghāch Khān ('Alī b. al-Hasan)		حرج	ختلخ
427	F	W. Arslān Īlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī		قرلخ	قتلخ
427	F	The same		حرج	ختلخ
428	F	The same		قرلخ	قتلخ

Table 19. Qarlugh (etc.) Ordū. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid.

Samarqand

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
49x	F	Khāqān Muhammad b. Sulaimān	
5(1? 2?)x	D	The same	
520	F	The same	
52x	D	Şultān al-Mu'azzam (Saljuqid Sanjar)	Khāqān Muhammad b. Sulaimān
523, 4	F	Khāqān Muhammad b. Sulaimān	Khāqān Ahmad b. (Muhammad)
530	D	Şultān al-A'zam Sanjar (Saljuqid)	Nuşrat al-Haqq va 'l-Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq (Hasan b. 'Alī)
532	D	The same	Khāqān Mahmud b. Muhammad
5xx	D	Khāqān Nāşir al-Dīn	
(53)7, 8	D	Khāqān Ibrahim (b. Muhammad)	
540-543	D	Khāqān Ibrahim b. Muhammad	
547-548	D	Khāqān Sarvar Khān Ibrahim b. Arslān Khān	
(55)2	D	Khāqān Qadir Toġhān Khān Mahmud b. Husian	
5xx	F	'Alī b. Hasan	
558-566, 8	D	Rukn al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Qlych Tafghāch Khān (Mas'ūd b. Hasan)	
55x, 561,2	Dn	The same	
562	F	The same	
559,60	F	Qlych Tafghāch Khān (Mas'ūd b. Hasan)	
5xx	D	Qlych Khāqān	
56(6??), 568, 9	D	Ghiyāth al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Qlych Tafghāch Khān (Muhammad b. Mas'ūd)	
56(7???)	Dn	Ghiyāth al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Muhammad b. Mas'ūd	
571,2	D	Ghiyāth al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Qlych Tafghāch Khān Muhammad	
571,2	Dn	Rukn al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān Muhammad	
57x	D	Rukn al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Qlych Tafghāch Khān Muhammad	
(574)	D	Ghiyāth al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Qutlugh Bilgā Khān 'Abd al-Khāliq	
574,6, 584	Dn	Nuşrat al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Arslān Khāqān Ibrahim (b. Husain)	
576,7	F	The same	
574,5	D	Arslān Khān (Khāqān) Ibrahim	
577-580	D	The same	
582	D	Nuşrat al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Kuch Arslān Khān Ibrahim	
(58)5	D	Nuşrat al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Ulugh Şultān al-Şalāţin Ibrahim b. al-Husain	
586	D	Şultān al-Şalāţin Ibrahim b. al-Husain	
58(7? 9?)	D	The same	
589	F	Nuşrat al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Şultān al-Şalāţin	
590	F	Nuşrat al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Şultān	
591	Dn	Nuşrat al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Ulugh Şultān al-Şalāţin	
591,7	D	The same	
591,4,9	F	The same	
592,5	D	Ulugh Şultān al-Şalāţin	
(5)96, (59)8	F	The same	
(59)4	F	Ulugh Şultān al-Şalāţin Ibrahim	
(59)5	F	Nuşrat al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Ulugh Şultān	
(59)8	F	Ulugh Şultān	
604	Dn	Nuşrat al-Dunya va 'l-Dīn Şultān 'Uthmān b. Ibrahim	
605	D	Ulugh Şultān al-Şalāţin 'Uthmān	
(60)5	D	Şultān 'Uthmān b. Ibrahim	
606	D	Şultān Muhammad b. Şultān (Khwārizmshāh)	Şultān 'Uthmān
607	D	The same	Şultān 'Uthmān b. Şultān Ibrahim
607	D	Şultān Muhammad b. Şultān Tekesh (Khwārizmshāh)	Şultān 'Uthmān b. Ibrahim

Table 10. Samarqand. Dn – dinar. D – dirhem. F – fals.

Bukhārā, Soghd

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
(49)8	F	Malik Sanjar (Saljuqid)	Ṭafghāch Khān Muhammad b. Sulaimān
513.6	D	Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam (Sanjar Saljuqid)	Khāqān Muhammad b. Sulaimān
522.4	D	Sulṭān al-A'zam Sanjar (Saljuqid)	
5(4)1	D	Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dunya va'l-Dīn Sanjar b. Malikshāh	Khāqān Rukn al-Dunya va'l-Dīn Ibrāhīm
543	D	Khāqān Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad (b. Sulaimān)	
545	D	Khāqān Rukn al-Dunya va'l-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. Muhammad	
574	D	Rukn al-Dunya va'l-Dīn Akdash(?) Ṭafghāch Khān Muhammad	
574.82	Dn	Nuṣrat al-Dunya va'l-Dīn Arslān Khān Ibrāhīm (b. Husain)	
590	Dn	Nuṣrat al-Dunya va'l-Dīn Ulugh Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn (Ibrāhīm)	
5xx	D	The same	
590	F	Nuṣrat al-Dunya va'l-Dīn Sulṭān	
597.9	Dn	Nuṣrat al-Dunya va'l-Dīn Ulugh Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm	

Table 11. Bukhārā. Dn – dinar. D – dirhem. F – fals.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
400	F	W. Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	'Alī Nūsh	
400.1	F	The same	'Alī b. Nūsh	
400.1	F	W. Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī	'Alī b. Nūsh
401	F	W. Īlek al-Mu'ayad Naṣr b. 'Alī	Mas'ūd	
401	F	W. Malik al-Mu'ayad Naṣr b. 'Alī	The same	
401	F	The same		
404	F	W. Ahmad b. 'Alī	?	
404	F	W. Quṭb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla Ahmad b. 'Alī	Bā(?) Qāsīm	
404	F	The same		
404	F	W. Quṭb al-Daula Ahmad b. 'Alī	Bā Ṣālih	
405	F	The same		
411.2	F	W. Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān (Manṣūr b. 'Alī)		
416	F	E. Khān Malik al-Mashriq (Qadir Khān Yūsuf)	W. Ṭonghān Khān Muhammad b. Hasan	
(416?)	F	The same	The same	
418	F	E. Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān (Yūsuf)	W? E? Arslān (?) Tegīn	
419.22	F	W. Īlek Pādshāh ('Alī b. Hasan)		
421	F	W. Īlek Pādshāh (Qlych Ūkā?)	(Qlych Ūkā?)	
421	F	W. Īlek Tarkān Pādshāh 'Alī b. Hasan		
42(1?)	F	W. Tarkān 'Alī b. Hasan		
423	F	W. Arslān Īlek ('Alī b. Hasan)		
426?	F	W. Khān ('Alī b. Hasan)		
432	F	W. Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrāhīm b. Naṣr		

Table 12. Soghd. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Ṭarāz

Year		Suzerain	V assal	Subvassal
393	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula Qarākhāqān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Arslāntegīn Muhammad b. 'Alī	
394	D	The same	The same	
395	D	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Muhammad b. 'Alī	
396	D	The same	W. Tegīn Muhammad b. 'Alī	
396	D	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Qarākhāqān Ahmad b. 'Alī		
396.7	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla Ahmad b. 'Alī		
398	D	The same		
398	D	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Arslāntegīn Muhammad b. 'Alī	
399-400	D	The same	W. Sanā al-Daula Arslāntegīn	
400	D	W. Ahmad b. 'Alī	The same	
400	D	The same	W. Tegīn (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	
400	D		W. Tegīn Muhammad b. 'Alī	
400.1	D		W. Sanā al-Daula Arslāntegīn Muhammad b. 'Alī	
402	D	W. Quṭb al-Daula Naṣr al-Milla (Ahmad b. 'Alī)		
403-405	D	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Ināltēgīn Muhammad b. 'Alī	Khalīfī
404	D	W. Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek Pādshāh Muhammad b. 'Alī	
405	D	W. Khān Shams al-Daula (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Sanā al-Daula Ināltēgīn	Ahmad al-Khāṣṣ
405.6	D	The same	W. Īlek Muhammad b. 'Alī	The same
407	D	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	
407	D	The same	W. Īlek Abī Maṣūr (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	Atimtegīn
408	D	The same	The same	
408	D	W. Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek Muhammad b. 'Alī	
408-411	D	The same	W. Īlek Pādshāh Muhammad b. 'Alī	Īl Ūkā
410	D	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	The same	The same
412	D	W. Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	The same	The same
412	D	The same	The same	al-Khāṣṣ & Īl Ūkā
412-415	D	The same	The same	
412	D	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek al-Manṣūr (Victorious) Pādshāh	
417	D	W. Ṭoghān Khān (Muhammad b. al-Hasan)	W. Atimtegīn Ahmad.	
428	D	E. Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Muhammad b. Yūsuf)		
431.2	D	E. Sulṭān al-Daula Boghrā Khān		
436	D	E. Boghrā Khān (Muhammad b. Yūsuf)	E. 'Adud al-D(aula?)	
441	D	E. Sulṭān al-Daula Boghrā Khān		
445	D	E. Boghrā Khān (Muhammad b. Yūsuf)		
449	D	E. Arslān Khān Ibrahīm (b. Muhammad)		
454	D	The same		
454	D	W. Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. Naṣr)	[(Mallik?) al-Islām?]	
45x	D	W. Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān Ibrahīm (b. Naṣr)		
46x	D	E. 'Imād al-Daula Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān	E. Ṭoghrol Tegīn	
467.8	D	E. Zain al-Dīn <i>Toḡrul Qarahakan</i> 'Umar		
472	D	E. Zain al-Dīn Ṭoghrol Qarākhāqān 'Umar		
48(1)	D	E. Ṭafghāch Khān Hasan (b. Sulaimān)	E. Quṭb al-Daula Boghrā(?)Tegīn	
481	D	The same	E. Boghrā Īlek Muhammad(?)	

Table 13. Ṭarāz. D – dirhem. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.

Kesh, Ishtīkhan, Kushānī, Dabūsiya, Karmīniya

Year	Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
396	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr (b. 'Alī) Pādshāh	Abū 'Alī
399	The same	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr (b. 'Alī)	Bektūzūn
400	The same	The same	The same
400	W. Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek (Naṣr b. 'Alī)	The same
402	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr	Bektūzūn & Ṭabarī
403	The same	W. Shams al-Daula Īlek Maṣṣūr (b. 'Alī)	
404	W. Quṭb al-Daula va Naṣr al-Milla Qarākhāqān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Khāqān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	
404	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān Quṭb al-Daula va Naṣr al-Milla Khāqān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	Ṣālih	
410	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Īlek al-Maṣṣūr Pādshāh (Muhammad b. 'Alī)	Bek
429	W. Arslān Īlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī		
431	W. Fakhr al-Daula Būrtegin (Ibrahim b. Naṣr)		
431	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Khān (Ibrahim b. Naṣr)		
431	The same	W. Naṣr (b. Ibrahim b. Naṣr)	

Table 14. Kesh. All coins dirhems. W – Western Qarākhānids.

Year	Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
404	W. Quṭb al-Daula Khān Ahmad b. 'Alī	I'alā (?)	
404	W. Ahmad b. 'Alī	The same	
405	W. Quṭb al-Daula (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	The same	
405	W. Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān Ahmad b. 'Alī	?	
411	W. Īlek Muhammad b. 'Alī	?	
419.20	W. Arslān Īlek ('Alī b. al-Hasan) Qlych Ūkā		
421	W. Arslān Īlek Qlych Ūkā Īlek		
425	W. Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān 'Alī b. al-Hasan	Sevinch Ūkā?	Sevinch Ūkā?

Table 15. Ishtīkhan. All coins falūs. W – Western Qarākhānids.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
396	D	W. Nāṣir al-Haqq Khān (Ahmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Īlek Naṣr (b. 'Alī)	Mu'in
413.14	F	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Ahmad b. al-Hasan	
415	F	W. Bahā al-Daula Arslān Īlek ('Alī b. al-Hasan)		
416	F	W. Īlek ('Alī b. al-Hasan)		

Table 16. Kushānī (or Kushāniya). D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānids.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
414	D	W. Arslān Khān (Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī)	W. Bahā al-daula Yanghātegin ('Alī b. al-Hasan)	al-'Irāqī
420	F	W. Īlek Pādshāh ('Alī b. al-Hasan)		
424	F	W. Quṭb al-Daula va Naṣr al-Milla Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān ('Alī b. al-Hasan)		
425	F	The same		

Table 17. Dabūsiya. D – dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānids.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
415	F		Mu'izz al-Daula Beighū (Saljuqid)
417	F	W. Pādshāh ('Alī b. al-Hasan)	Īnānch Kūkbüz ? (Saljuqid)
419	F		Saif al-Daula Beighū (Saljuqid)
420	F	W. Īlek Pādshāh ('Alī b. al-Hasan)	
420	F	W. Bahā al-daula ('Alī b. al-Hasan)	Jabra'il b. Muhammad

Table 18. Karmīniya. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānids.