



# ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

## NEWSLETTER

### No. 168

Summer 2001

#### ONS News

##### Annual General Meeting on 23rd June 2001.

The annual general meeting took place in London on Saturday 23 June 2001 at the Cumberland coin fair. Twenty members attended. Peter Smith reported on the Society's activities during the year including the appointment of two new regional secretaries – Charlie Karukstis and Farokh Toddywalla and the current membership which stands at approximately 600. David Priestley presented the accounts for the year ended 31 March 2000. These comprise a summary of the treasurer's and regional secretaries' receipts and payments accounts and show cash balances held worldwide of £8,485 at that date.

After the formal meeting Shailendra Bhandare gave the first annual Ken Wiggins memorial lecture on the coinage of the Indian mutiny. Nick Rhodes gave the first annual Michael Broome lecture on the coins of the Mi-nyag, Tangut or Xi Xia rulers of the 10<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century in northern China.

#### 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.

#### Members News

... writes:

"20 years back I started a monograph on the Numismatic History of the First Mughal Emperor – Zahir al-Din Muhammad Babur. I had by then managed to accumulate about 200 specimens, some of which were unreported. Unfortunately somewhere along the line I had a hard disc crash and lost all.

A year back I re-started. Apart from a corpus, it is my intention to present a free-hand drawing of the complete legend of Babur's *shahrukhis*. Towards this end I have been fortunate enough to locate a calligraphist friend who is reproducing the legends 'in the same hand'. His initial output is very faithful and thus remarkable and exciting. While my collection has grown in the intervening period, I still have insufficient specimens to complete the legend on some varieties, a few of which I believe to be important historically. I have visited and photographed coins in most of the principal museums and some private collections. Dr

Becker of Germany was the first to provide his generous help with photographs of his fine collection. This has been of immense help.

I would like to appeal to friends in the ONS to kindly send me scans at my e-mail address or photographs at my mailing address of any and all that they have in their collection. They may well be surprised with what they have once the publication is out:

I would certainly acknowledge the inputs in the monograph [unless requested otherwise] and would gladly be willing to defray any associated costs. I am hoping that with the help of other collectors, I can produce a reference work where all unfortunate collectors of Babur's *shahrukhis*, of poorly stuck or obliterated specimens or such who are unable to read Persian/Arabic, can find help through the 'reconstructed' complete legend of all issues. Incidentally this will not be a 'commercial' publication, though I would expect to cover the cost of actual printing and postage etc."

#### Obituaries

##### Dr P. L. Gupta

It with sadness that I report to members that Dr. Parameshwari Lal Gupta passed away on the night of 30th July. He was 87 and is survived by an extensive family - his wife, sons, daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. He was with his family in Mumbai when the end came.

Many members will be aware of his contributions to the study of Ancient Indian History and Numismatics - his book *Coins*, first published in 1969 by the National Book Trust in the series 'India: Land and People', has been and will remain a source book for many enthusiasts of Indian numismatics. There wasn't an area in Indian numismatic research where Guptaji did not leave his mark - his work on the most primitive of Indian currencies, the punch-marked coins, of both the Archaic and Imperial series, may be considered the most seminal contribution that he made and it has widened our understanding of these coins to a great extent. The work, which earned him his Doctorate in 1961, continues to provide a framework for further research on these coins to date. So does his treatise on the 'Karshapanas', which can be cited as an example of his methodological brilliance. His book on the history of the Gupta dynasty, *The Imperial Guptas*, is also worth noting for his comprehensive treatment of the subjects and associated problems. Apart from his treatises, he remains one of the most prolific and productive Indian numismatists, having written scores

of articles, short notes and rejoinders in journals of repute, like JNSI and ND.

Guptaji was the last of the generation that followed the Nationalist revival in the writing of Indian history. Fiercely nationalistic, his contribution to the Indian National Movement in Uttar Pradesh and his journalistic career as editor in the daily *Aaj* made him a leading Congress worker of the region. He happily ignored the fruits of nationalist politics and returned to academics after India achieved independence, pursuing education in the BHU under the luminary V.S. Agrawala. A museological career followed and his expertise in Numismatics took him to leading museums in the country like the Bharat Kala Bhawan, The Prince of Wales Museum in Mumbai and the Patna Museum. After his retirement, he paved new avenues for numismatic research in India through his visionary contribution to the IIRNS as its founder-director.

I knew him personally for the last ten years and his guidance, when I was finishing my doctorate, was of immense importance to me. I also had the fortune to be associated with him in his last masterpiece, on the paper money of India. Initially he would come to a stranger as a stern academic but, behind all that sternness and apparent rigidity, there was a goldmine of expertise, knowledge and discipline. Meetings with him would prove many a time to have a Midas touch for evolving ideas, knowing references and analysing observations. His last years were spent on the campus of the IIRNS in Nasik, where his presence truly transformed the ambience of the institute into an ancient Indian 'Gurukula'. I will fail to do justice if I do not mention the warmth of Mrs. Gupta ('Maaji' as she is fondly called), her love, supportive spirit and affection she showered on all those who entered their little home in Anjaneri.

Guptaji may have parted this world in its mortal sense - but his contributions will ensure that his name will pass on to history, where it would secure for itself a golden niche. I would venture to make a suggestion that his bust may be installed in IIRNS; it would prove to be a fitting tribute to his contributions and his memory, and serve as a guiding light for students of Indian history and numismatics in particular.

May his soul rest in peace.

Shailendra Bhandare

#### **Professor Thomas Noonan**

We regret to announce the recent death of ONS Member, Thomas Noonan, Professor of History at the University of Minnesota and a prolific scholar of the flow of dirhams from the Islamic world to northern Europe, who brought important new information and insights to the field. He was sixty-three years old. It is understood that Mrs Noonan, who is also a scholar, albeit it in a different field, will insure that Tom's massive corpus of Islamic dirham hoards, which is nearly complete, will be finished and go to press. He could not have a better monument. All those who knew him will miss him and our sympathies go out to his family.

#### **Leiden**

The next ONS meeting is planned for Saturday 20 October 2000 and will be held on the premises of the Museum of Antiquities / Royal Coin Cabinet, Rapenburg 28, Leiden. The programme will start at 9.30 with a welcome and the traditional coffee in the library of the Royal Coin Cabinet. The lectures will be held in the auditorium of the Museum of Antiquities. As usual, various different subjects will be covered. One of the lectures will be a cultural and numismatic impression of Uzbekistan. There will also be an auction of oriental coins in support of ONS funds. As in previous years, the end of the day will be spent in an informal get-together and a dinner in an oriental atmosphere. European members will receive a programme directly from their Regional

Secretary. Others may consult the ONS website (<http://www.onsnumis.org>) on which the programme, as well as the auction list, will be available from about early October 2001. For any further information please contact the Regional Secretary for continental Europe, Jan Lingens.

#### **Cologne**

Soon after the Leiden meeting an ONS meeting will be held in Cologne on Saturday 10 November 2001. The meeting is due to start at 9.30 and will be held in the Römisch-Germanische-Museum, Roncalliplatz 4, 50667 Köln. The meeting will be held in the room above the Dionysosworkshop. The museum is right in the centre of the town near the famous Cathedral of Cologne and within walking distance of the Central Railway Station. For any additional information, please contact Mr. N. Ganske, Europaring 9, Neu Brück, 51109 Köln.

#### **London**

##### *Study Day on Arab-Byzantine Numismatics and Related Subjects*

The next Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table will be held at the British Museum on Saturday 13<sup>th</sup> October 2001. These meetings concentrate on the numismatics of the period of transition from Byzantine to Muslim rule in Syria and the surrounding areas. They aim to bring together numismatists, archaeologists and historians for informal discussion and include a number of presentations.

Presentations at the October round table will include :-

*An Arab-Byzantine Chronology – the Numismatic Evidence*

*The Pre-Reform Coinage of Tabariyya*

*Anomalous Sasanian-style Drachms from the Period of the Arab Conquests*

There will also be the opportunity to examine and discuss coins of the period, particularly unusual and unpublished examples. Anyone interested in attending should contact ... on.

A study morning on Ancient India took place at the British Museum on 18 July. The event was occasioned by the visit of Amiteshwar Jha, Director of IIRNS, Nasik. Three talks were given, relating to both art history and numismatics, viz:

Naman Ahuja, School of Oriental and African Studies, London: *Changing Gods, Enduring Rituals: observations on early Indian religion as seen through terracotta imagery, 200 BC - AD 100.*

Madhuvanti Ghose, School of Oriental and African Studies, London: *The 'Mother Goddess' in early Indian art; re-examining her identity in the light of some new evidence.*

Amiteshwar Jha, Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, Nasik: *Dating potential of post-Mauryan local coins in North and Central India, 3rd century BC - 2nd century AD, evidence of coin-typology, hoards, palaeography and stratigraphy.*

It is proposed to hold a study day on the Mughal and Indian Sultanate series at the British Museum in early October. This is to mark the end of the *Struck on gold* display at the Museum and the publication of your editor's *Coins of the Indian Sultanates*. Details will be posted on the ONS Website and mailed to UK members when known.

## Other News

*The heritage of Sasanian Iran. Dinars, drachms and coppers of the late Sasanian and early Muslim periods. A conference in honour of William B. Warden, numismatist (1947-2000). June 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> 2001, held at the American Numismatic Society.*

A report by Susan Tyler-Smith and Marcus Phillips.

The main purpose of this conference was to examine the ways in which the Sasanian monetary system influenced the early Islamic coinage up to the reforms of 'Abd al Malik. It was open to anyone, beginners and experts, and people with a wide range of interests and knowledge attended. As a result some of the sessions were aimed at those who knew very little about the subject (eg. reading Pahlevi) whilst others were very specialised (eg. disputed Pahlevi readings). Speakers tried to make their papers approachable to everyone and seem to have succeeded as the conference was enthusiastically received. The organisation was excellent with no apparent hitches.

The conference began with a session on reading Pahlevi mint abbreviations and dates. Stuart Sears chose these as being the easiest part of the coin (and the most useful) for the beginner to tackle. Michael Bates then traced the development of the late Sasanian coin type and its imitations in subsequent coinages in Iran and adjacent regions.

Clive Foss departed from Iran and discussed the 20 year Sasanian occupation of Byzantine territory. There is little evidence to go on but he argued that what is available suggests that Sasanian rule was more benign than generally believed. He confirmed that Pottier's long awaited study of Byzantine-style coppers issued in Syria under the Persians, arguing that they bear meaningful dates, would definitely be appearing this autumn. Touraj Daryaee could not unfortunately attend the conference but his paper was read by Marcus Phillips. He suggested a new reading of the legend on a unique gold dinar of Queen Buran which had been first published by Bill Warden (*ANS MN* 28). This reading revealed Queen Buran as the restorer of the imperial ideology of her father, Khusro II, claiming once again descent from the Gods. Susan Tyler-Smith traced the pattern of minting under Yazdgird III and its continuation, mostly in eastern Iran, after his defeat at the battle of al-Qādisiyya but before the new Arab authorities imposed a Muslim coinage. She proposed that a group of generally unrecognised imitations of drachms of Khusrau II may have been produced during this period of turmoil.

Stuart Sears documented the widespread but confusing references to 'the standard weight of seven tenths of a mithqal' for the striking and exchange of coins before 'Abd al-Malik's monetary reforms and even before Islam. Attempts in literary sources to give this standard a specifically Islamic identity may reflect the difficulty it faced in superseding other weight standards for Iranian silver in the eighth century. Aleksandr Naymark, in a lively talk, traced the imitation of Sasanian style coinage at Bukhara from the fifth to the twelfth century. In particular, he gave a new reading for the legends of a group of issues attributing them to a king named Khunak. This attribution is important since it provides a nearly certain chronological context for a portion of an otherwise difficult series lacking reliable names and dates.

Stephen Album outlined the development of Arab-Sasanian copper coins in late seventh century and early eighth century Iran. Using illustrations from Rike Gyselen's recent book *Arab-Sasanian copper coinage* he identified four phases: close copies of

Sasanian copper and Arab-Sasanian silver; pictorial (eg. animal) types; types with the *Shahāda*; mixed Arab-Sasanian and Arab types, which were usually dated.

Habibeh Rahim discussed the variety of symbolic representations of political and religious ideology on late Sasanian and early Islamic coinage. She suggested that the star, sun and crescent moon design on Sasanian coins can be interpreted as representing, respectively, good thoughts, good deeds and good words in Zoroastrianism, while the double circle represented the dualism of Zoroastrianism. Michael Bates, on the other hand, had proposed in his lecture that the circles on Sasanian coins represented the edge of the world, with the king in the centre. Stuart Sears presented the very rare issue of a recently discovered ruler, 'Abd al-'Aziz b. MDWL, which enabled him to demonstrate the problems highlighted in his earlier lesson in reading Pahlevi. The exact identity of this person is uncertain (a Kharijite rebel and Umayyad partisan are both possibilities – MDWL is not an Arabic name) and the issue demonstrates the tenuous character of Umayyad rule in Fārs in the early stages of the second *fitna* (680-92 AD).

Alan S. De Shazo, who was not present but whose paper was read by Stuart Sears, argued convincingly for the attribution of an obscure mint legend ShW to a site in the district of Dārābgird. The legend occurs both singly and in combination with the familiar legend of Dārābgird, DA. Luke Treadwell reinterpreted the iconography of the *mīhrāb* / 'anaza dirhem (Walker pl. XXI no.5), one of a small group of 'experimental' Arab-Sasanian coins which preceded the final adoption of aniconic types. He suggested that both this coin and another (Walker p. 25 fig.2), which depicted the 'standing caliph' on the reverse and is dated 75 AH on the obverse, were struck at Damascus, the *mīhrāb* type being a later and more developed piece of martial rather than religious propaganda. The so-called *mīhrāb* probably represented a protective covering which, on Christian artefacts, covered a cross but on this coin covered a spear or an arrow.

Many of these papers represented work in progress and each morning and afternoon session was followed by a question/discussion period. Whilst conferences are of course intended to inform and educate, an equally important rôle is to bring together people with similar interests for the informal exchange of ideas. This aspect was admirably achieved by the organisers. Each day started with coffee and pastries and excellent lunches were provided as well as an evening reception. The weather co-operated and the ANS terrace was used as an extra meeting room (with better light) for inspecting coins and photographs. In fact the only real criticism we have is that the lecture room was not ideal – the light and acoustics were both poor. Many of the US collectors had brought along their Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian coins and generously allowed participants to examine them. The organisers of the conference, Michael Bates and Stuart Sears, ensured that everyone was well looked after outside the formal meetings and we would like to thank them particularly for this as we have been to conferences in England where such hospitality was given little or no thought.

A similar conference is planned for next year on June 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup>. We would recommend it to anyone interested. Abstracts for proposed talks and inquiries should be sent to Stuart D. Sears (sears@aucegypt.edu) or Michael L. Bates (bates@amnumsoc.org).

### **First World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies**

University of Mainz, Germany, September 8 - 13, 2002

#### *Invitation and Call for Papers*

You are cordially invited to participate in and attend the First World Congress for Middle Eastern Studies (WOCMES), to be held in the city of Mainz (Germany) from September 8 - 13, 2002.

The World Congress aims to address, explore and exchange information on the state-of-the-art in Middle Eastern studies in its broadest sense. The invitation is addressed to scholars, researchers, educators, students, professionals and other groups interested in studies on North Africa, the Middle East and the Muslim states of Central Asia as well as other regions of the world, which are directly or indirectly affected by affairs in these areas.

The World Congress was initiated by the Middle East Studies Association of North America (MESA) and will be held as joint congress of the European Association for Middle Eastern Studies (EURAMES), the Association Française pour l'Étude du Monde Arabe et Musulman (AFEMAM), the British Society for Middle East Studies (BRISMES), the German Middle East Studies Association (DAVO) and the Italian Società per gli Studi sul Medio Oriente (SeSaMO).

#### *Objectives:*

The World Congress will bring together experts from all branches of humanities, social sciences and related disciplines to share and exchange their research, experience and ideas about all aspects of Middle Eastern studies as well as to discuss methodological-theoretical and practical-political challenges and their potential solutions.

More than 80 associations, research centres, universities, international organisations and other institutions from all over the world have already announced meetings, symposia, plenary sessions, panels, roundtables, poster presentations, exhibitions as well as cultural events. The participation of high-ranking decision-makers in politics, economics, cultural affairs and the media will promote the exchange of new ideas far beyond academic research.

The conference's working languages are English and French.

#### *Participating Disciplines:*

The following disciplines will contribute papers, presenting original work and research and addressing current debates of scholarship: anthropology, archaeology, architecture/urban planning, art, cinema studies/film, communications, conflict resolution, development studies, economics, education, Egyptology, environmental studies, folklore, geography, history, international relations, Islamic studies, journalism, law, library science, language, linguistics, literature, media arts, music, numismatics, philology, philosophy, political science, population studies, religious studies, sociology, women's and gender studies.

#### *Programme:*

In addition to the scientific-scholarly program the congress will offer book exhibitions by publishers, booksellers and authors, a film festival, art exhibitions, theatre performances, concerts and other cultural events. This programme will be complemented by a dinner cruise on the River Rhine as well as an interesting program of excursions to some of the most attractive and beautiful parts of Germany (Heidelberg, Black Forest, Romantic Rhine Valley).

#### *Congress Site:*

The World Congress will be held at the University and the Congress Centre of Mainz, Gutenberg's city, which is located on the Rhine, 30 km from Frankfurt International Airport.

#### *Important Dates:*

Individuals and organisations interested in attending the World Congress or in arranging sub-conferences, symposia, panels, roundtables, exhibitions and cultural events should complete the preliminary online registration form, which is available at [www.wocmes.de](http://www.wocmes.de) and contact the WOCMES Secretariat as soon as possible, but no later than 1 June 2001.

In September 2001, a second announcement (including registration forms) will be sent by e-mail or regular mail to those who responded to this first call for papers.

Abstracts for individual papers (300-400 words) must arrive at the WOCMES Secretariat not later than December 15, 2001. Following the review of the abstracts by the programme

committee, authors will be notified of the acceptance or rejection of their proposals after 15 February 2002.

Prof. Guenter Meyer, President of WOCMES  
Dr. des. Joern Thielmann, General Secretary of WOCMES  
WOCMES Secretariat  
Centre for Research on the Arab World (CERAW),  
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55099 Mainz, Germany,  
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<http://www.wocmes.de>

#### ***Struck on Gold***

This is the title of a small exhibition at the British Museum from May to early September this year devoted to the coins of the Mughal emperors of India and devised to coincide with a major exhibition of Mughal jewellery at the Museum. The British Museum has a fine collection of this coinage and some splendid pieces are on display. The exhibition is in eight sections covering the origins of the coinage, the apogee and decline of the empire, calligraphy and couplets, the currency system, presentation, portrait and zodiac coins. One of the highlights of the display is not a coin but a mint scene depicted in a superb volume of Mughal miniature paintings.

#### ***Drachmas, Doubloons and Dollars : The History of Money***

This is the title of a new five-year exhibition due to open in October on the first floor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. A collaborative project between the American Numismatic Society and the bank, the display will present more than 600 examples of the Society's collection in spanning the world's currency over the past three millennia. For more information please contact the ANS at [mazurkie@amnumsoc.org](mailto:mazurkie@amnumsoc.org)

#### ***The Santa Helena hoard of Islamic coins.***

Tawfiq Ibrahim has sent the following news item via the Islamic Coins E-Group.

Last March, on a building site near a street in Valencia called Santa Helena, an exceptionally important hoard of Islamic gold coins was found by two honourable gentlemen who specialise in digging ditches with the time-honoured method of pick and shovel. The dinars and fractions amounted to 1,944 coins with a total weight of 3.47 kg. This is undoubtedly the largest known Islamic gold hoard ever found in Spain and, for once, complete.

On the 6<sup>th</sup> of this month the Generalitat of Valencia invited us (Alberto Canto, Fatima Martinez and myself) to make a first and very general evaluation as to its importance and possible publication. How great and pleasant was our surprise. Nearly all the coins, with very few exceptions can be fitted between the dates 358 AH and 460 AH+. At least half the hoard is Andalusi covering a part of the Caliphate and more importantly, a good part of the Taifas. The rest are nearly evenly divided between Fatimids (mostly North African mints and Siqiliya) and Magrawa dinars of Sijilmasa, without forgetting a few from the Banu Khazrun of Tripoli. Geographically the furthest coin is a Fatimid dinar of Misr. Two very anomalous coins were also found in the hoard, a rare VI century Visigothic coin and a Byzantine gold coin from Carthage!

What was really astounding from my point of view were the 500+ coins of the Taifa period. Rarities of all types and some astounding new coins. Just to mention a few examples: a full dinar from the mint of Toledo 429 AH., five full dinars in the name of 'Abd al-Aziz of Valencia, at least three of them unpublished; more than 30 dinars, many completely new, from the first taifa of Zaragoza, fractional dinars of Alpuente ( al-Bunt) etc.

In this first hectic encounter we had only two and a half hours to see all these coins and make a preliminary verbal report. Proper study and publication of the hoard will be a time-consuming affair but it will be a task well worth undertaking.

#### ***New Assistant Keeper Post at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford***

Shailendra Bhandare has been appointed Assistant Keeper at the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. He will be responsible mainly for the curation of South Asian coins, where the main emphasis will be on the coinage of the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians (following the acquisition by the Museum of the superb RC Senior collection), but will also cover the coinage of South East Asia and the Far East. He will be a member of the Oriental Faculty of Oxford University and will collaborate with others in that faculty to further the study of and research into Indian history. He is due to start work there at the beginning of December this year. In the meantime he is continuing his work at the British Museum to sort out and properly arrange their collection of coins of the Indian princely states.

#### **New and Recent Publications**

Stan Goron and JP Goenka: *Coins of the Indian Sultanates: covering the area of present-day India, Pakistan and Bangladesh*  
ISBN: 81-215-1010-4 Pages: 564, 11 x 8.5 ins., calico bound with front and spine gold-blocked, illustrated throughout. Published by Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., Post Box 5715, 54 Rani Jhansi Road, New Delhi-110055, India.  
Tel: ++91 11 3671668 / 3673650 / 3636097 / 3638992  
Fax: ++91 11 3612745

E-mail: vikramjain.mrml@mantraonline.com

Price: In India Rs 3000 plus Rs 60 postage and packing  
Elsewhere: \$70 plus \$10 surface postage, \$30 airmail.

All cheques/drafts to be drawn in favour of Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., payable at New Delhi. Copies will also in due course probably be available from dealers in other countries.

This book catalogues more Indian sultanate coin types than any previous publication. Over 3000 types are illustrated. There are historical summaries for each sultanate, comments on the coinage, mints and inscriptions. Many typical legends are given in the original languages with transliterations and translations. There is an extensive bibliography, an index of rulers both by *laqab* and main name, an index of mints, and an AH-AD concordance. A new numbering system is used and there is a concordance with Rajgor numbers to assist those who have been using that numbering system. This book should be the standard reference work for this series for many years to come.

Luke Treadwell: *Buyid Coinage: a die corpus (322-445 AH)*

ISBN: 1 85444 155 8 Pages: 287pp + 172 plates

Price: 60 pounds

Order from: Publications Dept, Ashmolean Museum  
(publications@ashmus.ox.ac.uk)

This is a catalogue of medieval Iraqi and Iranian coinage, struck by the Buyid dynasty during the 10-11th centuries AD. The coinage was produced in the regions of Fars, Kirman, Uman, Khuzistan, Iraq, the Jibal and the Caspian region. The series is of interest because it is one of the earliest and most plentiful regional coinages of the pre-modern Islamic world. It displays an exceptional diversity of fabric, morphology and inscriptional content. The catalogue draws on all the major public collections of Islamic coinage in the western world, as well as several private collections, and includes several thousand coin dies. It describes and illustrates every die which has been identified as belonging to the series and thus represents a new departure in the field of Islamic numismatics. The density of coverage in this catalogue will provide the basis for analysis of historical problems of a monetary and political nature which have not yet been examined.

Pavel Petrov in Nizhny Novgorod has just finished reprinting the book on the Golden Horde by C. M. Fraehn published in Leipzig (in German) and St. Petersburg (in pre-reform Russian) in 1832. Petrov reprinted the Russian translation. The title of the book is *Monety Khanov' Ulusa Dzhuchieva ili Zolotoi Ordy/ Coins of the Khans of the Jujid Dynasty or the Golden Horde*. The book is soft cover, 80 pages, with several plates of line drawings of coins.

There are very few books available on coins of the Golden Horde, and this one is recommended to anyone with an interest in the dynasty. Even though it is almost 175 years old, Fraehn and the very rare book by Agat (in Turkish with no illustrations) are really the only two attempts at a comprehensive listing of Golden Horde coins.

The book is available from our Webmaster Vladimir Belyaev for \$30 postpaid from Moscow. Payment methods can be agreed with him. He can be contacted by e-mail at [bel@zenon.net](mailto:bel@zenon.net)

Announcing a major new book from Edinburgh University Press  
*The History of Islamic Political Thought From the Prophet to the Present* by Antony Black, Professor in the History of Political Thought at the University of Dundee

July 2001 400pp Paperback 0 7486 1472 9 £18.95 Hardback 0 74861471 0 £50.00

"Islam is enormously important today in both international and domestic politics. Yet little attention has been paid to the way its political ideas originated and how they developed, changed or remained constant over time. Islamic political movements today refer constantly to ideas and historical precedents - contemporary political Islam cannot be understood without an awareness of its roots.

A complete history of Islamic political thought from early Islam (c.622-661) to the age of Fundamentalism (c.1922-2000), this book offers both a full description and an interpretation, exploring the origins, connections, meanings and significance of thinkers, ideas and political cultures. Antony Black takes the same approach as for the history of Western political thought, examining the mentality, cultural milieu and political background of thinkers and statesmen. 'Political Thought' encompasses religion, law, ethics, philosophy and statecraft, as expressed in systematic treatises, occasional writings, official rhetoric, popular slogans and other evidence of how people thought about authority and order.

Chapters cover a broad range of subjects including Religion and State power, Greco-Arabic philosophy, the politics of Shi'ism and Sufism, and the age of Modernism (c.1830-1920). The author examines the political culture of dynasties such as the Saljuks, Ottomans and Mughals as well as major thinkers such as Ghazali, Ibn Khaldun and Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966). Among a variety of genres and political styles, a specific attitude towards the state is identified, from the patrimonial Caliphate through times of greatness and decay to the extraordinary present day."

#### *How to Order*

In the UK/Europe:

Contact Marston Book Services, PO Box 269, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4YN Tel: 01235 465500 / Fax 01235 465555 / Email: [direct.order@marston.co.uk](mailto:direct.order@marston.co.uk)

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Website: [www.routledge.com/routledge.html](http://www.routledge.com/routledge.html)

See the Edinburgh University Press website for more details  
<http://www.eup.ed.ac.uk>

Andre Husken and John Sylvester: *The Traditional Awards of Annam*.

This new book covers the Khanh, Boi, Bai, gold and silver coin-like Tien of the Nguyen Dynasty of Vietnam that were their equivalent of western orders and medals, and, in the case of the

Bai, honorary identification plaques for royalty, mandarins, and other civil and military officials. The book is hardcover, roughly 8" by 12" in size, 196 pages, extensively illustrated in black and white, with some colour plates. It has a catalogue number for each piece. There are three appendices: one on prices, and the other two reprinting old, fundamental articles on the Annamese awards from the publication *Bulletin des Amis du Vieux Hue* by L. Sogny and Dang Ngoc Oanh. Narrative portions of the book are in the three languages of English, French and German. The book is available at DM 148, with a dealer discount, from Andre Husken, Galerie d'Histoire, Wietreie 15, 22359 Hamburg Germany  
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*Important provincial, government and military banknotes of China*, 2 vols, by Erwin M. Beyer, Grafschaft, Germany, 2001.

Erwin Beyer's latest publication on Chinese paper money covers 817 pages, includes 243 issuing authorities and illustrates over 1200 notes. The entries are presented in (pinyin) alphabetical order of the issuing authorities, giving the name in Chinese characters, its pinyin romanisation, literal English translation, and English translations as printed on the notes. There follows a very brief introduction to each bank and its history, and any relevant points, with Chinese characters helpfully given where appropriate. Finally, the denominations and dates of notes are given, sometimes with short explanatory text. While the present locations of the notes are not indicated (neither are the sources of the information given), this is nonetheless a very useful book.

Beyer is a collector of Chinese paper money, who documents all the notes he acquires or sees in other collections. In addition to his *Banknoten von Xinjiang* (1998), he has an ongoing listing series, *Chinesisches Papiergeld: Versuch einer Beschreibenden Liste* (all vols are A4 size, with b/w photocopies of notes, softbound) of which the following volumes have been published: Vol. I: a - bin (1988); Vol. II: cai - da (1989); Vol. III: dang - dongbei (1989); Vol. IV: dongfan - fulong (1989); Vol. V: fumao - guantai (1990); Vol. VI: guangxi - guo (1990); Vol. VII: ha - hei (1990); Vol. VIII: heng - hunan (1991); Vol. IX: hu-shan - hui (1991); Vol. X: huiquan - jiyuan (n.d.); Vol. XI: jizhong - jiangsu (1995); Vol. XII: jiangxi - junyuan (1996); Vol. XIII: kara - luxian (1998).

Beyer publishes the volumes himself, and seeks no gain other than to promote the subject. For orders or correspondence (in English, German, French or Chinese), contact Erwin Beyer, Am Ziegelfeld 3, 53501 Grafschaft-Vettelhoven, Germany. Fax: ++49 2641-37343. [Email: Pornpattana.Beyer@t-online.de]

(All the above publications are available for consultation by appointment in the Dept of Coins and Medals, British Museum.)

Helen Wang

The latest edition of *Proceedings of the State Historical Museum*, issue 14, is a commemorative edition in memory of Svetlana Alexeyevna Yanina (1924-1997), a leading Russian specialist in oriental numismatics during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. She is noted for her researches into Abbasid and Samanid coinage, that of the Volga Bulgars, the Golden Horde, medieval Khorezm and the Khorezm Soviet People's Republic (1920-1922). She also identified the contents of many coin hoards found in Eastern Europe and curated the richest collections of Kufic and Jujid coins in the numismatic department of the State Historical Museum. In 1947, on graduating from the Historical faculty of the Moscow State University, Yanina joined the numismatic department of the State Historical Museum and started working there. From 1965 to 1985, she was head of this department.

The present volume contains articles on various aspects of numismatics. Items of potential interest to ONS members are as follows.

G. A. Fedorov-Davydov has provided new information about 37 Kufic coin finds in Eastern Europe.

B. D. Kochnev describes a unique copper coin preserved in the Uzbekistan Museum of the History of Culture and Art in Samarqand. The legends on this fals mention the supreme ruler of the Samanid realm, Nasr II b. Ahmad (914-943 AD), and an appanage governor, Ahmad b. Asad. The coin is dated 337 AH, i.e. 948/9 AD and struck at Ferghana. In Kochnev's opinion, the issuer of this fals was a representative of a lateral branch of the Samanid family, which ruled over a certain district somewhere in the Ferghana valley.

A. A. Molchanov has examined the coin issues of Khorezm (Khiva khanate) at the time when real power was in the hands of the Turkmen leader Qurban Mamed Junaid Khan (January 1918 - January 1920). This is the first time that such a serious study of this series has been undertaken. The author has examined around 1,100 silver, copper and brass coins of Junaid Khan, arranged them in due order and carried out a die analysis. The present publication is a broadened and amplified English version of the article issued in the *Journal of the Russian Numismatic Society* (editor R. Zander), N. 59, Winter 1996, p. 21-26.

A topographic list of coin finds in one of the compact regions of the Upper Volga, corresponding to the former Staritsky district of the Tver province, has been compiled by V. V. Khukharev. It embraces the numismatic monuments belonging to different epochs: Arab dirhams of the 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries, Russian appanage coins, metallic and paper currency of the Czar and Imperial periods.  
A. A. Molchanov

#### Auction News

##### Wiggins Collection

The auction of the late Ken Wiggins's collection of coins of the Indian Princely States and East India Companies on 8 May this year attracted collectors and dealers from Europe, North America and Asia as well as many postal bids. Bidding was very keen throughout the auction with many lots selling for well above the upper estimate, and some items realising a hammer price many times the estimate. Some highlights of the auction were the following hammer prices (lot numbers in brackets):

£8200 for the Awadh rupee in the name of Bahadur Shah at the time of the 1857 uprising (53)  
£7500 for the Ahluwalia Sikh rupee of VS 1862 (421)  
£3200 for the double rupee of Maler Kotla of AH 1326 (305)  
£1200 for the double rupee of Tonk of 1881 (461)  
£8500 for the Anglina of 1676 (668)  
£7000 for the Bombay mint trial rupee of 1678 (669)  
£5200 for the presentation rupee of Kalkatta of 1175/3 (618)  
£3200 for the double rupee of Machhlipatan of 1194/21 (523)  
£3200 for the Bombay copperon of year 7 in EF condition (707)  
£2800 for the 2 dubs issued for Circars in 1807 (580)  
£1800 for the half rupee of 'Alinagar Kalkatta (613)  
£740 for the tin bujruk of Bombay, 1675 (706)  
£700 for the Salem copper 5 cash of AH 1213 (584)

#### 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 number 169 (April 2001), 170 (May 2001).
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 53, July 2001, of Islamic, Central Asian and Indian coinage.
3. Galerie Antiker Kunst (N & Dr. S. Simonian GmbH, Oberstrasse 110, D-20149 Hamburg, Germany; tel ++49 40 455060; fax ++49 40 448244; E-mail drsimonian@web.de) June 2001 list

4. Poinsignon Numismatique (4, rue des Francs Bourgeois, F-67000 Strasbourg, France; tel ++33 388 321050; fax ++33 388 750114; E-mail numismatique.poinsignon@wanadoo.fr) fixed price list 46.
5. Jean Elsen s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 63561; fax ++32 2 735 7778; www.elsen.be E-mail: numismatique@elsen.be) list 216, which includes various oriental coins as well as the description of a hoard of 293 Golden Horde copper coins, by Guy Graff.

## Reviews

### *Non-Roman Ancient Foreign Coins from Karur in India*

by R. Krishnamurthy

pp. 145, including 10 colour plates and 6 maps; plus illustrations in the text. 8.5 by 6 ins., case-bound. Price Rs 600, \$30

Obtainable from Garnet Publishers, 34, 2nd Main Road, R.A.Puram, Chennai 600 028, Tamilnadu, India (Madras is now called Chennai. This book was noticed in ONS N/L 166)

Reviewed by Michael Mitchiner

Two of the major sites in the far south of India yielding a wide spectrum of early coins are the bed of the river Amaravati at Karur and the bed of the river Vaigai at Madurai. Karur and Madurai were both major commercial centres during the ancient period and both were also active in the field of Indo-Roman trade. Karur is now a small town in Central Tamilnadu, and it can be found on maps to the west of Trichy (Tiruchirapalli). A significant proportion of the Roman traders who reached Karur came by ship to the port of Muziris in modern Kerala (described by Pliny) and then went through the Palghat Pass and across the Kongu plain to Karur. The overland part of this route has been littered with coin hoards consisting mainly of early Imperial denarii and sometimes of aurei. Western copper coins do not feature in these hoards and are usually recovered from the river bed. From around the middle of the 4th century AD until the second half of the 5th century small, late Roman copper coins were themselves an important trade commodity, just as denarii had been during the earlier phase of Indo-Roman trade. These comments illustrate the background to Krishnamurthy's study. Krishnamurthy has been studying the coins recovered from the river bed at Karur (and also at Madurai) for many years. His numerous papers have culminated in the publication of three books: *Late Roman copper coins from South India: Karur and Madurai* (1994), *Sangam Age Tamil coins* (1997) and the volume being reviewed here.

*Non-Roman ancient foreign coins from Karur in India* complements his two previous books and presents coins in his own collection which originated from outside the Indian subcontinent. The book is arranged into nine chapters, some of which are subdivided. Also included are a glossary, bibliography and index. The chapters are organised around the places where the coins found at Karur had originally been minted. These are spread around the eastern Mediterranean plus the mainland to the east. They are, in order, Thrace, Thessaly, Crete, Rhodes, the Seleucids, Phoenicia, Askalon, the Priest-Kings of Judaea, the Roman governors of Judaea, Parthia, Edessa and Aksum. The kingdom of Aksum in modern Ethiopia lay along the Red Sea maritime trade route to India. Each chapter consists of a brief introduction to the region and its coinage, followed by a description of the coin, or coins, with details of size and weight, and accompanied by both photos and line drawings. A total of forty one coins is catalogued. Most are of small size and in worn condition, as is also the case with late Roman bronzes of similar provenance. In the majority of cases sufficient detail is retained to identify the issuing city or state, but a few attributions can be debated.

This is an important study that opens up a new aspect to the investigation of ancient coin circulation and trade. Only a decade ago few scholars would have given serious consideration to any

proposition that Hellenistic coins made their way to central Tamilnadu. Now this provenance is beyond doubt. I remember my own scepticism when hearing, on a visit to Nasik, that someone claimed to be finding Ancient Greek coins at Karur. So I went to have a look. This proved to be the first of several enjoyable meetings with Mr Krishnamurthy and sessions examining and discussing his coins. A visit to Madurai brought to light an Aksumite copper coin among a motley selection of generally worn, late Roman, Chola and Vijayanagar coppers from the river Vaigai. A visit to the groups of people digging the river bed at Karur yielded a Hellenistic copper coin from Cos (*The coinage and history of Southern India; part 2*). I found ample corroboration for Mr Krishnamurthy's assertion that Ancient Greek coins really did reach the far south of India.

The interpretation of these coin finds provides the subject for the final chapter in the book: *Observations*. This is a subject that will no doubt continue to be debated for some time to come. Krishnamurthy favours the view that these coins reached southern India before the main phase of Indo-Roman trade, but discusses the alternative view that they travelled east during the Roman period (when many of the traders were Eastern Greeks, the *Yavanas* of Indian literature). These coin finds raise questions concerning trade between India and the West. They also raise questions concerning both the time span and the geography of circulation patterns for Hellenistic copper coinage. Krishnamurthy's book will be found relevant by those who are interested in Indian coinage, in Hellenistic coinage and also in ancient trade.

### 1. *Karesi, Saruhan, Aydın ve Menteşe Beylikleri Paraları* (Nüsmatik Yayınları No.2) By Celil Ender

Turkish text, 224 pages, map and bibliography, 19 plates of coin photos. With 6 colour plates of monuments, mosques and inscriptions. The catalogue portion, profusely illustrated by accurate line drawings. Card covers, 6½ x 9 inches. ISBN 975-93806-0-9. Published by the author, Istanbul, 2000 (Posta Abone Kutusu 76,81062 Erenköy, Istanbul, Turkey).

2. *Coins of the Fourteenth Century Aegean Anatolian Begliks: 700-829AH / 1300-1425 AD (Ege Beylikleri Sikkeleri – 14 yüzyıl – Karesi, Saruhan, Aydın, Menteşe Beylikleri)* by Garo Kürkman and Celil Ender. Text in Turkish and English, 254 pages, bibliography, 28 plates of coin photos in enlargement. Catalogue portion illustrated with hundreds of enlarged line drawings. Well bound, 8 x 11½ inches. Published by Kürkman in a limited edition, Istanbul, 1998; released in April 2001 by the author (P.K.121, Teşvikiye, 80212, Istanbul, Turkey).

Reviewed by Kenneth M. MacKenzie

Two acknowledged Turkish experts on Islamic coinage collaborated in the past decade to write an up-to-date history of the four Anatolian Turkish principalities and describe as many of the coins attributed to the Karası, Sarukhan, Aydın and Menteşe beyliks examined in museums in London, Berlin, Rome, Paris, Oxford, New York, Washington DC, Tübingen and Graz, as well as the important collections in Turkey (Bursa, Ephesus, Istanbul, Manisa, Milas, Odemiş and Tire) plus specimens from the collections of Etker, Ölcer, Kabaklarlı, Yardaş, YapıKredi, Erel, Şengün, Webdale, Ereğ and the authors themselves.

In both editions the two pages of abbreviations are included which show the initials of the source collections of the coins catalogued. Ender, however, has omitted 97 of the collectors' own numbers which fortunately are printed in Kürkman's volume. It is of interest to realise that approximately half of the

coins catalogued were once in the collections of two numismatists: Webdale and Ölcer.

The publication of their work was first announced for release by EREN in Istanbul but was cancelled after there was an abrupt termination of the authors' joint venture in 1998. Fortunately, the major part of the work had been completed and one of the authors, Celil Ender, published his copy of the manuscript in Turkish in July 2000 and added a few coins he had discovered later. The fact that he had unfortunately omitted the name of his co-author, Garo Kürkman, resulted in the publication of a limited but superior edition of the work with both of the authors' names mentioned, with an English translation included, with all the line drawings (Mr Kürkman's work) and enlarged coin photos. This edition was released in Istanbul in April this year, but bears the date of 1998 on the title page, although his preface is dated September 2000.

This means that the work is essentially the same in both volumes, the text and catalogue portions being well organised as follows:

*KARASI BEYLİK: 697-761 / 1297-1360*

The two pages of text provided by the authors mention the fact that the history of this beylik is derived from contradictory accounts and from the tombstones in the Tokat Museum. The best account is Elizabeth A. Zachariadou's article in the 1991 Symposium volume ("Halcyon days in Crete I") 1993.

In the catalogue section there are descriptions of six coins minted in the name of the Ilkhanid ruler, Uljaitu, followed by 22 coins struck in silver and copper by Demirhan Beg in Balıkesir and Yahsi Han Beg and Beylerbegi Çelebi, who ruled in Bergama.

*SARUKHAN BEYLİK: 700-814 / 1300-1411*

Three pages are devoted to the history of this beylik. The contribution by Zachariadou in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1995, is a necessary source for further study especially since the authors raise the question of the death of Ishak Beg and which of the two sons succeeded him. Moreover, the evidence of recently discovered copper coins dated 814 shows that Ishak Beg had another son named Sarhan, which Kürkman discussed in an article in the Turkish Numismatic Society Bulletin, 1986.

The genealogical table of the rulers of the beyliks shows a serial number beside the name which relates to the catalogue portion. This makes it very easy to refer to the pages and find the coins for each ruler. No coins have been found belonging to Saruhan Beg and his successor, Ilyas Beg, and it is pointed out that the coin Erel attributed to Ilyas was an error for a coin of Leys Beg, the last Mentеше ruler.

Ishak Beg coins without dates, similar to Ilkhanid types, total nine. There are two with the word *sultan*. Those dated 776 and with the earliest known tughra device total 11, of which four are illustrated. There are 13 with *halledehu / ishak* on the obverse and *hallada allahu / mulkehu* on the reverse and a metrological list. The next ruler, Hizir Shah Beg, is represented by 8 silver coins and a similar number of copper coins. For Orhan Beg 4 silver coins with a tughra device on the obverse and dated 807 are shown. These were well discussed by K. Zhukov in the Rethymon Symposium volume, 1993, and are followed by 13 copper coins dated 806 and 807. Two recently found copper coins dated 814 provide evidence of the existence of the second Saruhan Beg's rule. Six coins of Ishak Beg II are described and two copper coin types illustrated. (An unpublished paper by Zhukov read at a conference in Çeşme, 1997, discussed these interesting coins in detail).

The catalogue portion of the Sarukhan coins concludes with 22 anonymous copper coins of three types. There are many such coins in the museums of the Aegean region. They are difficult to

assign to the beyliks covered in the present study and only a limited selection has been made.

*AYDIN BEYLİK: 707-829 / 1307-1426*

There are 11 pages devoted to the history of this important beylik, which has been well covered by Uzunçarsılı in his *Anadolu Beylikleri* (pages 104-20) and by Melikoff in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*. The present authors have included the full text of the early treaty between Giovanni Sanudo, Duke of Candia, and Hizir Çelebi, the Emir of Aydın, 9 May 1337. They point out that it is curious that such a treaty should have been signed by a lower ranking emir than Umur Beg during his lifetime (one of the great Turkish naval commanders), his brother being a far less capable leader. When Sultan Bayezid led his armies against the principalities, Isa Beg pledged his allegiance but he was forced to live in Tire by the Ottoman sultan, which resulted in the beylik going into abeyance for 15 years. After the battle of Ankara, the beylik was restored by Timur under Isa Beg's sons, Musa and Umur. The authors agree that much more remains to be discovered about the history of this principality. They add that, on the evidence of the coinage, Umur Beg II had a son named Mehmed.

The catalogue section is organised as follows. Two coins are listed for Ibrahim Bahadır Beg, the third son of Mehmed Beg, the founder of the dynasty. One coin is described of Suleyman Sah Beg, one of the five sons of Mehmed Beg, who received the lands around Tire. Fahreddin Isa Beg, the fifth and youngest son of Mehmed Beg, remained with this father in Birgi. More of his coins exist than for any of the other Aydın emirs. The catalogue shows several types: 18 coins with a square cartouche on the obverse, three with a double ring intersected by the "knot of bliss" motif, two with the names of the four caliphs around the Kalima, one with the names around a hexagon. There are also two coins with the mint-name of Ayaslug. One silver coin is attributed to Musa Beg, who may have fought with Timur at Ankara, but nothing is known about his brief reign.

There is an interesting commentary on Mehmed Beg II, who ruled from 807 / 1406 (?) and 10 dated and undated copper coins are attributed to him. These are followed by the coins of Mustafa Beg. There are two silver ones dated 834 expressing allegiance to the Karaman sultan, Mehmed Beg II, and two in his own name. These latter were once attributed to the Ottoman ruler, Mustafa Şehzade (Küçük).

Fifteen pages of this catalogue section cover the copper and small number of silver coins of this Beylik which lack either the ruler's name or mint.

In the Aydın genealogical table, Cüneyd Beg is listed as the son of Ibrahim Bahadır (son of Mehmed Beg). A separate two-page history is devoted to this intriguing person, who was a member of the Aydınoghulları dynasty and not an outsider. This only emerged from examination of the *vakf* records and the evidence of the coins. He had three reigns: 866-9 (1403-6), 813-6 (1410-13), 825-9 (1422-6). During the struggle between the Ottoman princes for the accession (i.e. the interregnum period), Cüneyd Beg backed Isa Beg against Mehmed Çelebi. When Mehmed defeated Isa, Cüneyd asked for a pardon and swore allegiance to Mehmed Çelebi, who granted him the title Aydın Begliği. Two types of coins of Cüneyd are described and illustrated, the first with a confused and semi-literate declaration of faith and the names of the four caliphs around. Three specimens are shown. The reverse is divided into four segments with *mehmed (b...) bayezid* in the upper segment, *ghazi cüneyd* in the lower segment, *hallada* at the right, and *mulkehu* at the left. Turkish written sources report that Mehmed Çelebi forced Cüneyd Beg to recognise his suzerainty and his right to strike coins (Mordtmann in EI). The second type, of which 9 examples are described, has the ruler's tughra on the obverse.



The history of the Menteşe-Oghulları has been studied by many scholars, with P. Wittek's "Das Fürstentum Mentesche", 1934, reprinted in Turkish translation after 1944, and E. Mercil later (1991) article in EI both being standard references. The authors have made good use of them and give the details of the treaty concluded between the Duke of Candia, Morosini, and the Emir Orhan (13 April 1331). After the death of Ibrahim Beg, the beylik was split into three. Musa took Balat and Milas, Ahmed Gazi became ruler of Fethiye, and Mehmet Beg ruler of Muğla and Çine. This period is well covered in the text. Ender's Turkish edition includes a genealogical table, but this was omitted in error from Kürkman's superior publication.

The first coins were struck during the reign of Masud Beg in 702 in Milas, in the name of the Seljuk sultan, Masud II, as recorded by J.C. Hinrichs in his study of the Seljuks (1990). Three specimens are listed in the catalogue. Thereafter, coins of the three sons were struck and examples of these are described. Three types of silver coins of Ahmed Gazi are represented as are undated copper coins. Coins of the next ruler, Ilyas Beg, are discussed – 16 silver coins minted in 805 and 10 without date. Six more silver coins and two half-denomination coins, dated 818, demonstrate that he paid allegiance to the Ottoman sultan, Mehmed Çelebi. Coins of the last ruler, Leys (Üveys), the son of Ilyas Beg, are represented by two undated silver coins and 14 akches and half akches dated 823, 824 and 825. Finally the authors have added four silver coins which they state are probably struck by Ahmed Beg II (823-7), the other son of Ilyas Beg.

#### GIGLIATI-TYPE SILVER COINS

In Kürkman's edition of the work there is a three-part survey of the *gigliati* type coins struck by the Latin colony, the first being those struck during the first half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century AD. These were the founding years of the Sarukhan beylik in which there were no coins either in the name of the Ilkhanids or of the Islamic type. This may have encouraged the striking of *gigliati*-type coins. Schlumberger's explanation of these coins is included, and the only coins catalogued are also taken from his work (reprinted in Graz in 1954) and show the mint of Manglasi. The second part concerns the imitations of the *gigliati* struck in Naples around 1300 AD which were assumed to have been struck by the Sarukhan and Menteşe beyliks. The authors point out that errors occurred in the writings of P. Lambros in which Magnesia de Spil was confused with Magnesie de Meandre, near Ephesus, which was part of the Sarukhan beylik. They also mention the erroneous attribution of such coins to Umur Beg by such eminent numismatists as Karabecik and referred to by Uzunçarşılı in his *Anadolu Beylikleri* (page 119) and Ibrahim Artuk (no. 1486 in his Istanbul catalogue). Sixteen silver and one gold coin (not in Schlumberger) are listed here from the mint of Theologos.

The last part of this section is devoted to the silver *gigliati*-type coins struck by the Latin Colony during the time of Suçuaddin Orhan Beg (720-45 / 1320-45) of the Menteşe beylik. It is the firm view of both authors that none of these *gigliati* type coins were struck by the beyliks. In fact, Mr Ender assumes that they were illegally minted by the Venetian and Genoese merchants in their own mints set up in Miletos and Agios Theologos (Ayasluk).

One of the features of the Ender edition is a six-page coloured supplement, with 14 photos of monuments and inscribed stonework, and mosques relevant to the history as outlined in the text. Some of these appear in the Kürkman volume in black and white on the appropriate pages of Aydın and Menteşe history. In both volumes, the photos of the coins are extremely well printed and excellent for study along with the superb line drawings.

This reviewer has no hesitation in recommending the purchase of one or both volumes by historians and numismatists interested in the subject since the work is unlikely to be superseded for some time, perhaps only when Dr Konstantin Zhukov publishes the revised edition of his *Egeiskii Emirati v. xiv-xv vv* (*The Aegean Emirates in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries*), Moscow 1988, which he is currently working on.

*Punchmarked Coins of Early Historic India*, by Dilip Rajgor. Reesha Books International, California, 2001  
221pp plus 16 black & white plates US\$70.00 hard covers

Reviewed by Terry Hardaker, Oxford

This book covers the silver punchmarked coinages of India from their origin c.600 BC to the time of the rise of Magadha c.400 BC. It fills the gap in the modern cataloguing of ancient Indian coins which was left after the volume of punchmarked coins of the Magadha-Mauryan period published in 1985 by Gupta and Hardaker.

The author claims this volume was the outcome of three years of tours collecting data in the field in 1992-1995, but it is in fact a much more complete and thorough work than this implies, as it also adds in all relevant coins that other authors have published over the years. It is thus set to become a standard work of reference for the series. Scholars, collectors and archaeologists will all welcome the filling of this gap. Our knowledge of the early punchmarked coinages of ancient India has grown from almost nothing in the 1930s, when pioneers like Durga Prasad published non-imperial types of coins for the first time. Since then the quest for objects from the past, whether from controlled excavation, metal detectors, or just chance finds, has vastly increased the number of types known. It is opportune now to harness all these finds and attempt to bring some order to them.

Dr Rajgor has mastered his subject admirably, even though a lifelong study would not be sufficient to resolve all the problems that arise with the punchmarked series. The book comprises 22 pages of introductory text followed by a catalogue of all known types which are listed firstly under modern state headings, then within each modern state are listed the coins of what are assumed to be the ancient states. Symbols are drawn for all types in tabular form, which greatly eases identification. The symbols have been specially drawn by Shailendra Bhandare whose work the reviewer can personally vouch for as of the highest possible standard of accuracy. Each type is given an estimated rarity, although in many cases this is actually a generalised expression of the rarity of the series as a whole. Each series is given an estimated date; in many cases this is a wide bracket as very little precise information on dating is available. Sixteen pages at the end show good quality photographs of selected coins. Some series are left without any photographic illustrations, presumably because no coins were available for photography.

The author's archaeological background enables him to put early coinage in its economic setting, tracing the nature of trading prior to the introduction of coinage, as well as discussing the various terms found in Vedic literature that might pertain to weights and metals. The metrological table shows the theoretical weights of the three main weight systems that are recorded in the ancient literature, although as other workers have noted, the correspondence between these weights and the actual observed coin weights is poor. There is a very useful review of minting techniques, where distinction is made between flans produced by casting droplets and hammering out metal sheets. Coming to symbology, the author tabulates the symbols which seem to remain constant within the issues of individual janapadas and can therefore be claimed as the hallmarks of those states. However his table glosses over the complexity of the subject. For example the

supposed symbol for Vanga actually fails to occur on seven of the eleven listed types, while six of these types actually bear the sun and six-armed symbol which are the hallmarks of Magadha.

Such observations bring out a mild criticism - that all loose ends are rather too neatly tied up. Rajgor attributes all the coin types to janapadas - nothing is left in doubt. The reality may be more muddled, but at least the author provides the names of hoards for each Janapada that enable the attributions to be made. (The details of these hoards are not always available so a certain amount has to be taken on trust). The real problem that the boundaries of the ancient states are not known to us with any precision and they would in any case have varied in time as political power waxed and waned amongst rival factions. The act of making an attribution in print does not, unfortunately, confirm it as fact, but on past experience we can be sure all these attributions will be quoted as fact in dealers' lists, and, perhaps more seriously, used by scholars and archaeologists in support of their studies.

As an example of one of the unsolved problems we can cite the confusion in separating coins of Kashi and Kosala states. Rajgor defines three state symbols for Kashi and three others for Kosala (fig.1). He mentions the similarity of symbols on the later issues of Kashi with those of Kosala Janapada. However he does not point out that the so-called state symbols of Kashi can be seen on coins that also bear the state symbols of Kosala, e.g. on coins 771-789, 886-888, 891-892, and that such coins do not seem to come at the tail end of the series, but somewhere in the middle. To present the two series as clearly separated is surely dodging the issue.



<b>Kashi</b>	
<b>Kosala</b>	

Fig. 1

However in a catalogue of this kind there does have to be a limit to the amount of discussion that can be devoted to the polemics of the subject. The primary aim is to get the coins published and perhaps hope that this in itself will stimulate discussion. Thus on the date of the introduction of coinage to India, Rajgor discusses briefly the different dates that have been proposed and then opts for the middle path as argued by Gupta and Hardaker (1985). Likewise the date of Buddha's nirvana is accepted at 486 BC without comment.

This Catalogue is supposed to terminate at c.400 BC on the rise of the Magadha empire. One rather serious criticism of the work is that the author has included a number of non-Imperial coin series which clearly belong to a later period. After the decline of Mauryan power in India independent states rose again which, for a short period, coined in a style somewhat reminiscent of the pre-Mauryan coinages. Such coins can usually be set apart if they are die-struck and their symbology borrows from the Mauryan repertoire. As opposed to coins struck with a single punchmark (discernible from its size being smaller than the flan), coins struck from dies did not begin in India until the Indo-Greek period, which comes at the end of the Mauryan age, and well after the pre-Mauryan coinages. Thus coins which show large dies whose edges fall beyond the flan, and which show double-sided die striking, will certainly not be pre-Mauryan. Such are the coins attributed by Rajgor to Haryana from the Babyal hoard, which he dates, without any explanation, to c.450-300 BC. Some of these coins also show a variant of the Mauryan six-armed symbol on the reverse thus confirming their late date.

Other series whose early dating the reviewer would question are (a) the Surashtra series (Series 18 in the Catalogue), which are

single die coins including complex, delicate symbols such as two elephants sprinkling Lakshmi, and tree-in-railing with bull symbols borrowed from the Mauryan period, (b) the Kuru coins (Series 68) which are single die with Mauryan-inspired symbols such as elephant with rider, (c) Panchala coins (Series 73) likewise single die using Mauryan symbols, (d) Shurasena coins (Series 76) which are the "fish-lion" coins employing single dies with tiny Mauryan adjunct symbols such as taurines and trisceles not seen in the early period.

Collectors should be wary of the proliferation of small variants classed as separate types in the catalogue. It is often difficult to know when a variation on a symbol is intentional or simply the result of lack of precision in the minds of the engravers. Presence or absence of pellets on symbols is often difficult to interpret, as for example the central pellet on the bent bar coins of Gandhara, or on the Kosala state symbol. Likewise some of the variations in the Narhan coins or the fish-lion series, may just be poorly controlled workmanship.

The book has a few other curiosities. The coins of Series 80 from Ayodhya seem to be identical in weight, fabric and symbology to those of Series 33 (the so-called Narhan coins). The "Identification Guide" in the Introduction, illustrating one coin from each series, is a useful concept except that only 30 of the 82 series are covered and they are in random order.

A separate price guide comes with the book. This is perhaps a good idea, as the prices may become out-of-date and the loose guide might be replaced with a revised one without having to purchase a new book. Prices are estimated in US dollars in fine and very fine, except for very rare coins which are not valued. However, as has been shown from other attempts to place values on coins in standard catalogues, (e.g. in works by Mitchiner) the marketplace sets its own prices almost regardless of the hypothetical values in this kind of catalogue.

Any work as ambitious as this is bound to have its faults. That cannot detract from the thorough research and careful attention to detail which will ensure the usefulness of Dr. Rajgor's efforts for many years to come. The book will certainly be a must for all numismatists interested in early India but it also deserves to reach a wider market for archaeologists and historians.

Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, *Paper Money of India*, published by Kishore Jhunjhunwalla, Currencies and Coins, 53 The Arcade, World Trade Centre, Cuffe Parade, Mumbai, 400005, India, 2000, 112 + 464 pages, ISBN 81-901068-0-5, \$100

Kishore Jhunjhunwalla (Academic Consultant and Editor, Shailendra Bhandare), *The Standard Reference Guide to Indian Paper Money*, Kishore Jhunjhunwalla, Currencies and Coins, 53 The Arcade, World Trade Centre, Cuffe Parade, Mumbai, 400005, India, 2000, 464 pages, ISBN 81-901068-1-3, \$80

Reviewed by Joe Cribb

These two volumes mark a magnificent starting point for the collector and student of Indian paper money. The two volumes represent several decades of research and collecting. The first volume is designed for the academic presentation of the subject, while the second volume is a handbook for collectors and dealers, based on the same research as the first volume. The first volume includes the full listing of Indian paper money presented in the second volume, but it is preceded by a 112 page historical introduction by the late Dr Gupta. This review will focus on the version published in the name of Dr Gupta and therefore covers the contents of the volume published in the name of Mr Jhunjhunwalla.

The coverage of the volume is the full history of paper money issued in India from the first issues made by the Calcutta-based Bank of Hindustan in 1770 down to the Reserve Bank of India notes being issued when the book went to press. The introduction and the catalogue are similarly structured into 14 sections. After a general introduction to the subject matter, the first section covers the notes of the private and semi-official banks of the period before 1861. The next four sections cover the issues of Imperial India: section 2 deals with the Government of India uniface notes, issued from 1861 until 1927, section 3 the portrait notes of George V, introduced from 1917, section 4 the continuation of such notes under George VI until Independence, and section 5 reaches outside of India to look at imperial issues used in Burma and in the Republic of Pakistan. The next section 6 covers the issues of the Republic of India since Independence, both Government and Reserve Bank issues. The next part of the book covers post-1871 non-national issues in five sections: section 7 deals with the notes of Hyderabad State issued 1917-1952, section 8 the rare Jammu and Kashmir notes of 1877, sections 9 and 10 the state notes and small-change coupons of western India, during the First and Second World War periods, and section 11 the currency notes issued for use in prisoner of war camps from 1901 until 1971. The next two sections cover the non-British colonial issues of India: section 12 on Portuguese and section 13 on French issues for their respective Indian territories. Section 14 discusses the evidence relating to non-surviving notes issued for the Indian National Army in 1944, and to later fantasy notes purporting to be the Indian National Army issues. The introduction is followed by two appendices: A on an abortive attempt at note issue by the State of Mysore in 1918 and B on the small change paper tokens issued on the Andaman Islands in 1860. The catalogue is completed by a section 15 listing private notes issued in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In the introduction Gupta has assembled a narrative of the political, administrative and economic context of note issue, together with details of the designs and security measures adopted. He also describes the formation and internal arrangements of the note issuing authorities, and the security printers involved in the production of notes for India. He outlines the circumstances in which Indian notes have circulated outside India – in Burma, Pakistan, the Gulf and in Saudi Arabia. He also provides the same range of information for local paper currency, both in the form of notes and coupons. In so doing he has brought to this new subject the same research and analytical skills he applied to his study of Indian coins.

The catalogue presents a detailed listing of all documented note issues, illustrating in full colour all the types of which examples are known. Each note is described, in terms of its design, its watermark, its colour, its known dates of issue, security number pre-fixes and authorisation signatures. The notes are arranged within the sections outlined above, according to the issuing authority, denomination, phase of issue, issue office, signature, security number prefix and date. The layout of the listing is made clear by the use of colour coding for the different sections, and by graphic representation of the scale of the illustrations. A numbering system specific to each denomination within each section makes the listing of each sub-group of notes very easy to follow. Each section is headed by a one page summary and a map showing the issue offices or local circulation zones. Where information can be easily presented in tables it has been done so, such as the

lists of officers making the authorisation signatures, together with the dates of their office, or the lists of the denominations on which their signatures can be found.

In his introduction, Dr Gupta describes the moment of conception and gestation of this detailed study. While visiting the United States his imagination was fertilised by the probing questions of American collectors who quizzed him about the history of paper money in India. From this he came to realise the importance of paper money in the monetary history of modern India and started to collect information. With the aid of collectors, such as Mr M.M. Navati and Mr K. Jhunjhunwalla of Mumbai (Bombay) and Mr W. Barrett of Montreal and researchers such as Dr S. Bhandare, he was able to push the project through to its completion in 2000. His receptiveness to this initiative has borne fruit. The resulting volumes provide us with the first detailed and accurate account of paper money in India. The seeds have now been sown for paper money studies to stand alongside more traditional numismatics in India. On the basis of this comprehensive account, collectors will be able to fill the gaps, and scholars will be able to explore the minutiae of the subject.

I would only make one criticism. It would be very useful, particularly for the rare nineteenth century material, as well as for the local notes, to know where the specimens illustrated are held, so that future research can progress (a few sources are indicated for copyright purposes). Some of these early notes need first hand examination in order to reveal their secrets. Research into the role of security printers, the production of printing plates, the use of security numbers and signatures and the size of printing batches all have much to add to the study of nineteenth century paper money. The resources from this research are so scarce that it is always useful to know where the surviving specimens can be studied. This, however, is a very small criticism for what is a gigantic achievement, a true credit to the late Dr Gupta, who was without doubt the giant of twentieth century numismatic research in India. How fitting to end his career with a work of this stature to stand alongside his *Coins*, his *Ancient Indian Silver Punchmarked Coins* and his *The Imperial Guptas*. Credit is also due to Mr Jhunjhunwalla and Dr Bhandare for the support they have given him in the achievement.

## Articles

### Anomalous Arab-Byzantine Coins – some further observations

By Tony Goodwin

Clive Foss' interesting article in Newsletter 166 covers a lot of ground and raises a number of issues. The following observations will hopefully usefully supplement his discussion.

**Terminology:** The term Arab-Byzantine seems to have been first used by John Walker in his British Museum catalogue of 1956. He used it in the sense of any early Islamic coin bearing Byzantine-style images or inscriptions. It therefore covered a very wide range of coinage including coins from Iran, Syria-Palestine, Egypt, North Africa and Spain. This wide definition is still useful, and widely accepted today. However, there is an urgent need for a generally agreed terminology for the three main phases of the Arab-Byzantine coinage of Syria-Palestine. Whatever terms are adopted, they need to be simple, descriptive and relatively unambiguous. However, there is no realistic prospect of coming up with completely unambiguous terms unless we resort to unacceptably long ones. It seems to me that the terms Pseudo-Byzantine, Imperial Image (with or without the word Umayyad) and Standing

Caliph are adequate and have the advantage of already having some degree of acceptance. They are reasonably unambiguous, so long as it is clear that the context is Syrian Arab-Byzantine coins. The main requirement is for those writing in this rather specialist field of numismatics to adopt the same terminology as soon as possible, otherwise we will be guilty of causing unnecessary confusion to the non-specialist.

**Coin 1):** Some caution is necessary in identifying the prototype of these 2-figure imitations because the obverse image of the Class 8 Constans II follis (minted 655/6 to 657/8) is almost exactly the same as for the Class 5 Heraclius follis (minted 629/30 to 639/40). The only real difference is that Constans' beard is generally longer. The beard on Coin 1 is certainly long, but this cannot be regarded as a totally reliable indicator, given that these crude copies were probably often "copies of copies" or even engraved from memory. The other three coins cited could probably equally well be copies of Heraclius or Constans [1]. Whatever the correct attribution, the mounting evidence of die studies is that Pseudo-Byzantine "mints" were often happy to use quite a range of obverse prototypes from the reigns of Heraclius and Constans, and to mix the dies rather indiscriminately. Whether production started as early as the 640s is as yet unclear, but the indications are that it continued beyond 670. Foss mentions the importation of official Byzantine coins into Syria as falling off after 648 and virtually ceasing by 660. It is, however, important to remember that the emissions of Constans' folles from Constantinople were irregular with no coins known between 647/8 and 651/2. The Class 5 folles of 651/2 to 655/6 are found quite frequently in Syria, and the gap around 650 may have been filled to some extent by the import of (undated) Sicilian folles. In fact, the pattern of imports can be pinned down quite precisely by comparing the relative frequency of occurrence of the various Classes of Constans II follis for excavation sites within Syria with the frequency for sites outside Syria [2]. These frequencies are very similar up to about 658 following which they deviate markedly, and the extensive emissions from the later years of Constans' reign are not found frequently in Syria. However, the inflow did not stop altogether and a trickle of Byzantine imports continued into the reign of Constantine IV (668-685).

**Coin 6):** These coins seem to have been quite an extensive issue. I know of about 20 examples [3] from at least 6 different obverse dies, all of which consistently display the star and crescent, and usually the large S. This represents an unusual degree of consistency for a Pseudo-Byzantine "mint", suggesting that the symbols may be meaningful. The bust seems to be copied from an early follis or solidus of Constans II rather than from the earlier Egyptian coin, as it lacks the prominent pendillia of the latter. Furthermore, on most dies the globus cruciger of the Constans II coins is clearly visible, although on the example illustrated only the cross can be seen. The reverses are also unusual as they often lack an exergual line and have an odd U shaped officina symbol. I would be very interested to know of any secure provenances for these coins. What little information is available suggests a North Syrian rather than Palestinian origin.

**Coin 10):** Over the past few years I have been undertaking a die study of the Imperial Image coins of Baalbek [4] and this has led me to some rather different conclusions to those expressed in the article. The majority of dies, all with 2-figure obverses, forms a coherent series which has no affinities with Damascus. A second smaller group, almost certainly later than the first group and not die-linked to it, comprises mainly 2-figure obverses, but includes a few single figure obverses. All the coins in this second group show stylistic similarities with Damascus and two of the 2-figure dies occur with both Damascus and Baalbek reverses. Also one or two coins are overstruck on earlier Damascus issues. The best explanation is that, at a late stage, the Baalbek mint was incorporated into the Damascus mint, at the time the latter was producing its 2-figure type. Alternatively, all the coins in the second group could be the product of an irregular mint, but I think that this is less likely. Whatever the correct explanation, I have yet to find any evidence to support Michael Bates' suggestion of

centralised die production [5]. Unlike the single figure Baalbek coins, which are rare, the 2-figure type of Damascus is relatively common and many different obverse dies are known. I certainly think it should be regarded as a "type" and not a mule.

**Coin 13) and Footnote 36:** The suggestion of Tanukh was originally from Lutz Ilisch, and, given that the coins are quite common, it is rather surprising that they have been published so infrequently [6]. However, I was recently intrigued to discover that Castiglioni illustrated a fairly clear example (not identified) as early as 1819 [7].

[1] Hahn may have attributed X34 as a Constans II imitative on the basis of the reverse, which looks like a blundered version of an earlier Class 5 standing emperor follis of Constans.

[2] See Phillips and Goodwin, "A Seventh Century Syrian Hoard of Byzantine and Imitative Copper Coins" NC 157, 1997 pp.61-87, for a more detailed discussion, and particularly Appendices I and II for a summary of excavation and hoard evidence.

[3] The BM, ANS, Fitzwilliam, Ashmolean and Tübingen all have unpublished examples in their collections. The two examples in the BM are particularly good ones.

[4] I hope to publish the results next year. Preliminary results were reported at the Seventh Century Syrian Numismatic Round Table Study Day held at the BM in March last year, and a summary can be found on the as-Sikka web site.

[5] If centralised die production had taken place we would not expect to find die-links between two different mints, but we would expect to find pairs of dies from two different mints which were clearly both from the hand of the same engraver.

[6] I published an example in *Coin Hoards* 173, NC 1996 pp.325-6 and pl.51, no.23.

[7] C. Castiglioni, "Monete Cufiche dell'I.R. Museo di Milano" 1819, Tav. VIII no.1.

#### **An Unrecorded 'Abbāsīd Fals of al-Shāsh, AH 149, in the name of al-Mahdī<sup>1</sup>**

By James A. Farr and Vladimir N. Nastich

We are pleased to report the existence of a rare and previously unpublished 'Abbāsīd fals struck in al-Shāsh in AH 149 / 766 AD. The province of al-Shāsh (pre-Islamic Chach, present-day Tashkent district in Uzbekistan) occupied a prominent place along the trade route known as the Silk Road. The earliest known coinage from Chach consisted of local copper coins from the late 3rd century AD (Frye, 1996, 251). Pre-Islamic coinage reached its zenith in the 4th and 5th centuries, with coins featuring a local tamgha and the mint name written in Sogdian (Riveladze, 1998, passim). Later copper coins from Chach were anepigraphic, and by the early 7th century, coinage had become decentralised, issued by rulers of semi-independent dominions within the region of Chach (Zeimal', 1994, 259-261). Silver coinage consisted of Bukharkhudat drachms, some of which could have been struck in the Chach-Īlāq-Khojend region (Davidovich, 1979, 106, 113-115).

The first raids by Moslem Arabs into Chach occurred in AH 94-95 / 713-714 AD under the leadership of Qutayba b. Muslim (Mayer, 1998, 7). After several campaigns against the Turkish king of Chach, the Umayyad governor of Khurāsān, Naṣr b. Sayyār, in AH 121 / 739 AD sent his representative Nīzak b. Ṣāliḥ to collect tribute (*al-Tabarī*, 1879-1901, II, 1694-95; Hillenbrand, 1989, 31). It was apparently at that time that al-Shāsh came under the control of the Caliphate.

The earliest Islamic coins currently published from al-Shāsh are a silver dirham (perhaps unique) from Madīnat al-Shāsh in AH 184, dirhams from Ma'dan al-Shāsh in AH 189 and 190, and a dirham from al-Shāsh in AH 195 (Mayer, 1998, 7, 30). It is not known whether *al-Shāsh*, *Madīnat al-Shāsh* and *Ma'dan al-Shāsh* are the same mint, but it seems reasonable that at least the latter name is different from the other two for it refers to certain silver mines known to have been somewhere in the mountains southeast of the main town of the region at that time. Of the other two

names, the first may indicate the regional and the second the urban appurtenance of the coinage (*Nastich*, 1998, 14): in this case *Madīnat al-Shāsh* (literally “the town of al-Shāsh”) must be a replacement for its proper name *Binkat*, first recorded on the earliest Samanid copper coins with the name of Amīr Nuḥ, dated AH 214 / 829 AD.

The only earlier dated dirhams said to exist are dated AH 163 and AH 166, but both are either forgeries or misreadings of later dates (*Zambaur*, 1968, 156; *Mayer*, 1998, 7). (1968, 156) listed. Mayer concluded that the earliest Islamic coin struck in al-Shāsh was dated AH 184 / 800 AD. As for the earliest published copper coinage of al-Shāsh, to our knowledge it is a fals struck in AH 204 / 819-20 AD in the name of the ‘Abbāsīd governor of Khurāsān Ghassān b. ‘Abbād (registered by V. *Nastich* in two Moscow private collections). More recent, local ‘Abbāsīd copper coinage from al-Shāsh also has heretofore been unreported<sup>2</sup>. *Album* (1998, 31) does not report the existence of any ‘Abbāsīd fulūs from al-Shāsh at any time. *Tabataba’i* (1994, 232) reported an alleged copper of al-Shāsh dated AH 199, with ذو الرياستين and المشرق, weighing 1.5 grams, but the coin is actually a copper imitation of a dirham from *Madīnat Samarqand*. Although the coin is copper, the obverse margin contains the denomination ‘dirham’, and the coin is die-linked to another copper imitation of *Madīnat Samarqand* on the previous page. *Shamma* (1998) reported no copper from al-Shāsh other than the misidentified AH 199 in *Tabataba’i*. Thus, the fulūs described herein must be considered the first published report of the copper coinage from ‘Abbāsīd al-Shāsh, advancing the earliest date of any unambiguous coinage struck in Islamic al-Shāsh by precisely 35 years.

To determine if similar coins might be preserved in other private collections or museums in Uzbekistan itself, we asked Prof. Elena A. Davidovich (Moscow) and Dr. Boris D. Kochnev (Samarkand), two of today’s leading experts in the medieval Islamic numismatics of Central Asia, and their junior fellow, Anvar Atakhodjaev, from Samarqand, who recently completed his Ph.D. with a thesis specifically on the early copper coinage of Māwarā’al-nahr. They all confirmed that nothing of the sort was known to them; in addition, Dr. Kochnev suggested to us the only possible reading of a difficult portion in the reverse field legend, namely *sittīn bi-dirham* (see below), incorrectly engraved on two coins and badly preserved on the remaining ones, which we had at first been unable to decipher.

Since acquiring his example, J. Farr learned from V. *Nastich* in Moscow that at least four similar coins reside in a private collection in Russia. Quite recently V. *Nastich* registered two more examples of the same type brought to Moscow from Tashkent. Both pieces were in much worse condition than any of the previously available ones. Their marginal legends were hardly legible, and they could be attributed to this specific type only by general appearance and some visible details of central fields and borders on both sides. Finally, two more coins have been reported to have reached the Tashkent numismatic market in autumn, 2000, according to information (not confirmed) from a local collector whom *Nastich* knows personally, but who asked to remain anonymous. Consequently, we can now confirm the existence of seven to nine specimens of this issue.

The coins are 18 to 20 mm in diameter and weigh as follows: J. Farr’s example — 3.14 grams; the pieces from a Moscow collection — 2.64, 2.49, 2.36 (double-struck) and 2.17 grams. Although not directly named in the legends, their denomination undoubtedly is a uniform fals. They are all struck on cast flans and belong to the general type described below, but different specimens show individual die variety in the arrangement and completeness of legends. All obverse dies and at least 4 of the 5

available reverse dies are different, which is clear witness to the mass and market-oriented character of the issue.

The obverse field contains the first part of the Kalima,

لا اله  
الا الله  
وحده

*lā ilāh / illā Allāh / waḥduhu*. The marginal legend on all specimens reads:

بسم الله ولية المهدي سنة تسع وأربعين ومئة

with preposition *fī* omitted before *wilayat*, which was normally present on most of the other coins of the period with the same or similar phrase, and without *alif* for long *ā* after the *lām* of *wilayat*: *bismi’llāh wilayat al-mahdī sana tis’ wa-arba’in wa-mi’a* “in the name of Allāh [during] the rule of al-Mahdī, year hundred forty-nine”.

The central field of the reverse contains the second half of the Kalima,

محمد  
رسول  
الله

*Muhammad / rasūl / Allāh*. The marginal legend reads:

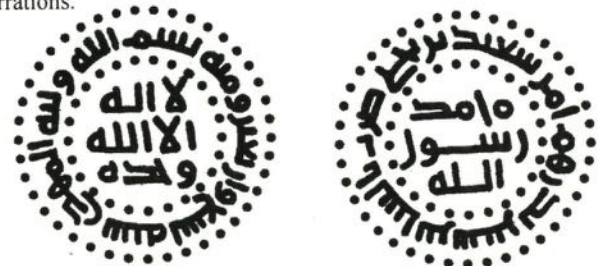
أمر سعيد بن يحيى ضرب بالشاش ستين بدرهم

with the grammatically defective beginning: *amr* (which ought to be either *bi-amr* or *amara bihi*) *sa’id b. yaḥyā duriba bi’l-shāsh. sittīn bi-dirham* “[by the] order of Sa’id b. Yaḥyā (or Sa’id b. Yaḥyā has ordered it [to be]) struck at al-Shāsh. Sixty for a dirham”. A beaded circle separates the central field from the marginal legends on both sides of the coin, and there is another beaded circle outside both marginal legends.

As we have noted above, there is some divergence among separate dies. Without going into every minute detail, we point out the most noticeable ones mainly regarding the appearance of Kufic legends (insofar as their physical condition allows it):

- one or two of the obverse dies seem to have a dot or “pearl” beneath وحده;
- another obverse die (split with double strike) shows ولة or وية instead of ولية and no و before أربعين;
- yet another has أربعين instead of أربعين and no و between it and مئة;
- one reverse die: distorted *lām* of رسول (= رسول without initial ر) in the field; *mīm* in أمر separated from *rā*, سعد instead of سعيد and deformed *mīm* of بدرهم (more resembling the medial ه) in the marginal legend;
- another reverse die (2 examples, one of them double-struck): *sittīn bi-dirham* looks like  
ستم (or سين) ستين, i.e. one prong in ستين and two letters inside بدرهم are missing; this is the very distortion that at first hindered the correct reading of the legend.

Illustrated below are one of the coins and a composite drawing to show the overall design and which omits all of the above aberrations.





Sa'īd b. Yahyā seems not to be mentioned in any historical sources, so his identity and rank are unknown. Until we get more exact information, we may assume that he could be a governor of the al-Shāsh region under amīr Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the son of the ruling 'Abbāsīd Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Manṣūr and eventual successor to the caliphal throne, who at that time (since AH 141 / 758-759 AD) served as governor-general (*walī*) of the vast and prosperous eastern province of Khurāsān. The final words of the reverse margin indicate the quantity of copper coins (sixty) equal to one silver dirham: although not often stated on the coins of the period, this denomination ratio seems to have been in common use throughout Khurāsān from Sijistān to Mā-warā'al-nahr (*Walker*, 1936, 116-121; *Smirnova*, 1981, 67, 75-76; *Shamma*, 1998, 288; & al.). In fact, we can find no copper coins of the 'Abbāsīds dated after AH 149 with *sittīn bi-dirham* in the legend. Apparently a fals of Samarqand, also dated AH 149, is the only other copper coin stating this denomination ratio at this late a date (Michael Bates, personal communication).

Silver Bukharkhudat drachms continued to circulate in Chach and Bukhārā at least until the AH 190s / 780s AD, corresponding approximately to the appearance of AH 189-190 dirhams from Ma'dan al-Shāsh (and dirhams of AH 193 from Bukhārā, the earliest 'Abbāsīd silver from that mint). However, endemic copper coinage of the Chach / al-Shāsh region seems to have ceased in the early part of the 8th century AD. The AH 149 fulūs of al-Shāsh, struck in sufficient quantity (as evidently follows from the number and variety of their dies), represent a response to a local market demand for copper coinage. It would have been approximately half a century since the minting of pre-Islamic copper coinage, so it is not unreasonable to suspect that the earlier endemic coinage was in short supply. The political (resp. proclamative) purpose of the emission, however, is no less evident, since it bears the names of the provincial governor-general, actually ranking second in the Islamic state hierarchy of that period, and a regional ruler.

We thank Steve Album, Michael Bates, Lutz Ilisch and especially Boris D. Kochnev for discussions and suggestions about the al-Shāsh 149 fals.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>A preliminary version of this note by J. Farr partially describing only a single specimen first appeared in the Spring, 2000, issue of *as-Sikka*, the on-line newsletter of the Islamic Coins Group (ICG) which is a website for collectors and scholars to share knowledge and information about Islamic numismatics. Further details about the group and its activities can be obtained by visiting the site (<http://www.islamiccoinsgroup.50g.com>).

<sup>2</sup>There exists a very interesting bronze piece with the name of certain *Yahyā* beneath the reverse field, struck at *Madīnat al-Shāsh* (also in a Moscow private collection), but its year indication is shortened to one distorted and partly effaced word, so it cannot be properly dated; however, some features may point to its connection with the emissions of Ṭāhirid Ṭāhir II b. 'Abdallāh, known dated 233 AH and without year, both with *al-Shāsh* and *Madīnat al-Shāsh*. — *V. N.*

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Zeimal', E. V.: "The Circulation of Coins in Central Asia during the Early Medieval Period (Fifth-Eighth Centuries A.D.)", *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series, vol. 8. Bloomfield Hills, 1994, pp. 245-267.

## Two rare Qarākhānid coins of Tirmidh from the Tübingen University collection

By Prof. Dr Michael Fedorov

At my request, Dr. Lutz Ilisch kindly sent me the description of two coins which interested me, and allowed me to use them for this publication. I am grateful to him for this co-operation.

1. Tirmidh. AH 57... Malik Tughān Khān, vassal of al-Sulṭān al-'Ādil al-A'ẓam Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn (i.e. of Sanjar b. Ḥasan). Copper, silver-washed dirhem (abbreviated from here on CSW). Tübingen University Collection (TUC) Nr. 2000-12-64. Weight: 3.55 g. Coins of this type were not known before.

Obverse. In the field:

قرار؟ / لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / محمد رسول الله / المستضي بالله

Margin:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ارسله بالهدى و دين الحق ليظهره على...  
Qur'an IX, 33.

Reverse. In the field:

ترمز / السلطان العادل / الاعظم ناصر / الدنيا والدين / ملك تغان [خان]

Margin: ضرب ... مذ في شهر سنة ... و سبعين و خمسمائة

The laqab Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn first came to light on coins of Tirmidh together with the title Malik Toghān Khān. Kochnev (1997, 1158-59, who read it as "Yaghān") was quite positive that this laqab belonged to that ruler. But on the coins minted in AH 578, and about that time, (TUC, donated by S. Album May 1998, Nr. 95355) the titulage is "Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam (or al-A'ẓam) Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Sanjar Ṭafghāh". So here the laqab Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn is bracketed between the title "Sulṭān" and the name "Sanjar", which leaves no doubt as to whom this laqab belonged. It is highly improbable that two contemporary rulers in adjacent dominions had one and the same laqab, Nāṣir al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn. Also of all the contemporary Qarākhānids only Sanjar b. Ḥasan had the title "Sulṭān" c. AH 578.

Thus, in my view, this coin was minted by the Qarākhānid appanage ruler of Tirmidh principality Malik Toghān Khān, who was a vassal of the Qarākhānid ruler of Balkh dominion, Nāṣir al-

Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Sulṭān Sanjar b. al-Ḥasan (Fedorov 2000, 20-21). Malik Toghān Khān may have become an appanage ruler of Tirmidh principality after 568/1172-73 or even after 569/1173-74 because there are coins minted in Tirmidh in 568 and 569 (or 567?) by its Qarākhānid conqueror, Rukn al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān Mas'ūd b. al-Ḥasan (TUC Nr. ED1 E6, ED1 F1). Since the coin of AH 57... Tirmidh, published here, was minted under caliph al-Mustaḍī (AH 566-575) it could have been minted only between 570-575/1174-80.

2. Tirmidh. No earlier than 584/1188-89 (because it was in AH 584 that Arslān Khān Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain accepted the title of Sulṭān and Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn). Ṭoghrol Khāqān as vassal of Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn. CSW. TUC Nr. 2000-8-19. Weight: 3.5 g.

Obverse. Within 2 circles with beaded circle inbetween: *ترمد / السلطان السلا / طين*. The marginal legend has not survived.  
Reverse. Within 2 circles with beaded circle inbetween: *عدل / طغرل / خاقان*. The marginal legend has not survived.

There is a coin minted in 586/1190 (TUC. Nr. 9422129. CSW. 5.82 g) citing Khāqān al-'Ādil Ṭoghrol Khāqān as vassal of Sulṭān al-A'ẓam Nuṣrat al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn (i.e. of the ruler of Samarqand and nominal Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain). There is a coin minted in 584/1188-9 in Tirmidh (TUC. Nr. 9222157, CSW. W-5.26 g.) citing Sulṭān al-'Ādil Nuṣrat al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Ibrahīm b. al-Ḥusain without mentioning any vassal. So circa 583 (for already in that year Ibrahīm minted in Balkh, which is further south than Tirmidh) Tirmidh was incorporated into the personal domain of Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain. Unfortunately the mintname on the coin of AH 586 has not survived but, proceeding from the fact that all such coins known to Kochnev (1997, 275/1165. Date 59[1?]) were found in Tirmidh, I assumed that they were minted in Tirmidh. In an as yet unpublished article about the Qarākhānid dominions of Tirmidh and Balkh I wrote: "No later than 586/1190, Tirmidh became an appanage of Ṭoghrol Khāqān, vassal of Ibrahīm. The fact that all the coins of this ruler known to Kochnev were found in Tirmidh, speaks in favour of them having been minted there. Also these coins repeat one type of Malik Yaghān's (later I decided in favour of reading this title as Toghān - M. F.) dirhems minted in Tirmidh previously".

Thus coin TUC Nr. 2000-8-1, minted in Tirmidh no earlier than AH 584 by Ṭoghrol Khāqān as a vassal of Sulṭān al-Salāṭīn proves my supposition.

Several words about the denomination of coin TUC Nr. 2000-8-19. The coin of (Tirmidh) minted in 586 is called a "dirhem" in its marginal legend. It is a fiduciary, copper silver-washed dirhem. Its weight is 5.82 g and its diameter 36 mm. The weight of coin TUC Nr. 2000-8-19 is 3.5 g, its diameter is 20 mm. Unfortunately the marginal legends have not survived on this coin so we do not now what it was called there. But around the same time in Samarqand, Sulṭān Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain minted fiduciary, copper silver-washed dirhems (one of which weighs 5.63 g and has a diameter of 37.5 mm). Simultaneously with these fiduciary, copper silver-washed dirhems, copper coins were struck (one of which weighs 3.21 g and has a diameter 28.2 mm) which were called fals in their marginal legend (Shishkina 1964, 113-116). So coin TUC Nr. 2000-8-19 was probably a fals.

Fedorov, Michael. 2000. "The Genealogy of the Qarākhānids of Tirmidh and Balkh", *ONS Newsletter*, 164, Summer.

Kochnev, B. 1995. "Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh:

antropimiy i titulatura (Chast'1)", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe*

*istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 4, Moskva.

Shishkina, G. V. 1964. "Klad mednykh monet s Afrasiaba", *Istoriya Marerial'noi Kul'tury Uzbekistana*, 5, Tashkent.

### A copper coin of Jahangir struck at Kabul



Frank Timmermann has sent details of this copper coin struck in Kabul in AH 1025. The obverse legend reads '*adl jahāngīr shāh (1)025* and the reverse legend *falūs kābul (māh) farwardīn ilahī...* Jahangir abandoned the Ilahi era introduced by his father, Akbar but retained the use of Ilahi months on many of his coins. The regnal year is off the flan of the coin at the top of the reverse but should be either year 10 or 11. The coins weighs 12.9 g

### Two gold coins of Patiala



The later rulers of Patiala struck series of gold coins primarily for presentation purposes; they are usually in the form of one-sixth, one-third and two-thirds mohurs. Mr Timmermann has sent details of two one-sixth mohurs of Bhupindra Singh (vs 1957-94; 1900-38 AD). The type is published as Y 14 with the date vs (19)90 (Krause Mischler, Standard Catalogue of World Coins). Of the two coins illustrated above, one bears that same date, while the other bears the date vs (19)58. The coins weight 1.87 and 1.86 g.

### The earliest gold coins of Assam

By Nicholas Rhodes

The earliest coins of the Ahom kings of Assam are dated 1570S (1648) and are anonymous, bearing only the title *Svarganarayana*. Although there is some dispute over which king struck these pieces, it is now assumed that they were struck during the reign of Jayadvaja Simha (1648-63)<sup>1</sup>, with the date representing the accession date. Four varieties of the silver rupee with this date are known<sup>2</sup>, so it is very likely that the coins continued to be struck with the accession year throughout the reign. The earliest variety appears to be the one without the word *Deva* after the title, since some specimens of this variety are sometimes struck on slightly broader flans, while others were struck on the normal flan. The second variety is similar, but has the word *Deva* on the obverse. This variety is always struck on the smaller flan, and as it is the most common type, known from a number of different obverse and reverse dies, it was probably struck throughout much of the reign. Finally the third variety is similar to the second type, but has the reverse legend commencing *Hari Harendra*.. and an obverse die-link is known linking the second and third types. The fourth type is exceptional, with a large Chinese character on each side, possibly struck for the Tibetan market<sup>3</sup>.

Up to now, only silver rupees have been known for this ruler, so it was an exciting discovery when four gold specimens recently appeared on the market in Calcutta, having been recently discovered in Assam. Of the four pieces, one was of the same type as the first variety of rupee, while the other three were of the second variety of rupee, all having been struck from the same dies as the silver rupees<sup>4</sup>. The coins are all illustrated (slightly enlarged) and described below:-

1. Obv: *Sri Sri Sva/rga Naraya/nasya Sake/ 1570*  
Rev: *Sri Sri Ha/ri Hara Chara/na Paraya/nasya*  
Colln. J.P.Goenka, Wt.c11.2g
2. Obv: *Sri Sri Sva/rga Narayana/ Devasya Sake/ 1570*  
Rev: As last, struck from same die.  
Colln. N.G.Rhodes, Wt.10.93g
3. Obv: As last, struck from same die.  
Rev: As last, but struck from a different die.  
Colln. J.P.Goenka, Wt. c11.2g
4. Obv: As last, struck from same die.  
Rev: As last, but struck from a different die.  
Colln. I.K.Kejriwal Wt. c11.2g



1



2



3



4



5

I also illustrate as no. 5 above, a silver rupee in the collection of Mr J.P.Goenka struck with the same obv. die as no.1 above. Although no gold coins were known of Jayadvaja Simha, they were described in general terms by the Mughal historian, Shihabuddin, in his contemporary account of Mir Jumla's invasion of Assam in 1661. Shihabuddin's account is worth quoting in full:-

*Gold is washed from the sand of the Brahmaputra. Ten to twelve thousand Assamese are engaged in this employment, and they pay to the Raja's Government one tola of gold per head per year. But this gold is of a low standard of purity; a tola of it fetches only eight or nine rupees. It is said that gold can be procured from the sand at all places on the bank of the Brahmaputra; but the only people who know how to gather it are those Assamese. The currency of this kingdom consists of cowries and rupees and gold coins stamped with the stamp of the Raja. Copper coins are not current<sup>5</sup>.*

The gold coins referred to in this account must be of the same types as the newly discovered pieces, and it must be inferred that they were struck in significant numbers. This is supported by the fact that several dies were used to strike the examples that have now been discovered. It is likely that when Mir Jumla invaded Assam, he would have taken all the gold coins he could find back to Bengal, where they would have been melted down, explaining their rarity today. It is worth noting that all four of the newly discovered pieces are in perfect mint state, consistent with having been buried soon after they were struck, most probably in or before the Moghul invasion.

Finally I should like to thank Mr J.P. Goenka and Mr I.K. Kejriwal for giving permission to publish the specimens from their collections.

1. The matter is discussed in detail by Sunil Kumar Das in *JASB* VolXVI, Nos.1-4, pp.120-31.
2. *Standard Catalog of World Coins, 17<sup>th</sup> century edition*, by Krause & Mishler, 1995, p.802.
3. This type is described in "An Assamese Tibetan Coin", *Spink's Numismatic Circular*, July-Aug. 1975, p.288.
4. Most Assamese gold coins were struck with the same dies as the silver coins. Exceptions were the mohur of Rudra Simha, and early mohurs of Shiva Simha, which were struck with dies specially prepared for the gold coins.
5. E.A. Gait, *A History of Assam*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Calcutta, 1963, pp.146-7, quoting the translation made by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar, *JBORS*, Vol.I, p.179.

#### A Hoard of Sikh Coins from Kashmir

By Nicholas Rhodes

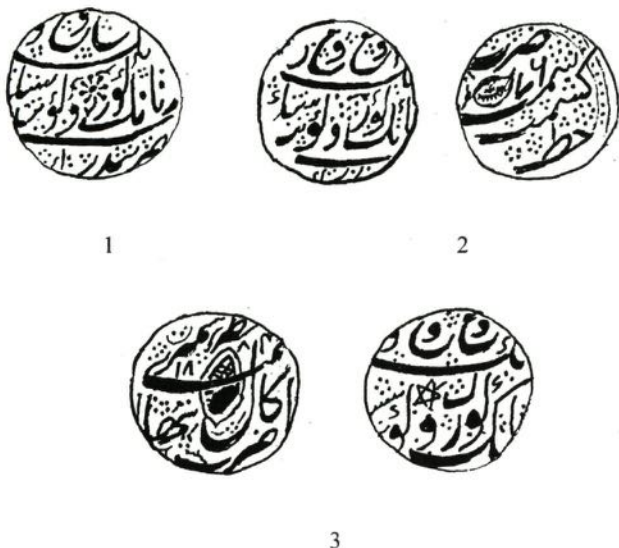
I was recently given details of a hoards of Sikh coins found within the last year or so near Mirpur, in the Pakistan part of Kashmir. Since no hoards of this period from Kashmir have ever been published, it seems worthwhile to record the contents.

Apart from Sikh coins, the hoard contained 23 Durrani coins, exclusively from the mint of Kashmir. Ten pieces can be described in detail, as follows, and the others were apparently common coins of Shah Shuja':

Shah Shuja' 1221/4  
Qaisar Shah 1223/2 (x3)  
Nur al-Din 1224/2  
                  ?/4  
                  1228/5  
Ayyub Shah 1233/1  
                  1234/2 (x2)



About 59 of the Sikh coins were of the Kashmir mint, 30 of which were recorded in detail, as follows, with reverences to Herlli's book. Three examples are varieties not recorded by Herlli, so I illustrate them below:-



- 1876 H.06.02.04 (x8)  
 1876 As last, but round flower in obv. centre, in place of sprigs (Fig.1)  
 1876 As last, but flower of pellets (Fig.2)  
 1884 H.06.21.04 Word at lower left of leaf on rev. reads clearly *shahabi* (star) (Fig.3).  
 1887 H.06.29.04  
 1892 H.06.46.04  
 1893 (x2)  
 1894 (x4) All with star at left on obv.  
 1895 (x4)  
 1897  
 1898 (x2) Variety not in Herlli, as the 1897 variety, with 3 dots centre.  
 1898 (x2)  
 1898 H.06.50.04 (x2)

The other 29 pieces were apparently mainly dated 1876, in inferior condition. The other Sikh coins in the hoards were Lahore mint (35 pieces, mainly 1879 and 1884/5 frozen years), Multan (6), Peshawar (1) and Amritsar (around 1800 pieces). Apart from that, there were 19 examples of the Farrukhabad rupee of Shah 'Alam II.

The later Sikh Kashmir coins were in beautiful condition, so the date of deposit may have been around 1841 AD. One interesting aspect is the large number of examples of the Sikh rupee dated 1876, and the lack of examples of many of the other recorded dates. In my experience, the date 1876 has never appeared in such quantity before. The vast number of coins of the Amritsar is not unexpected, and it is interesting to see that even in Kashmir, coins of this mint dominate a hoard like this. The presence of some Durrani coins may imply that the hoard consists of the savings of some Kashmiri, and it may be significant that only the mint of Kashmir is represented from this period.

Finally I should like to thank Mr Riaz Babar for recording the contents of this hoard and for encouraging me to publish it.

Reference: H.Herlli, *The Coins of the Sikhs*, Indian Coin Society, Nagpur, 1993.

## ZHONGGUO QIANBI / CHINA NUMISMATICS SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

Helen Wang

Issue 72 (2001/1)

### ARTICLES

DUAN Yinling, **On the new 100 yuan plastic commemorative note**, (p.3). (in colour on back cover) China's first plastic note was issued on 28 November 2000, to welcome the new millenium. Colour: orange. Obverse features a dragon (from the famous Nine Dragon Wall, Beihai Park, Beijing); and, in the transparent window, the Temple of Heaven; and background pattern of repeated Chinese lanterns. Reverse features China's Millenium Monument, with a flying apsara from Dunhuang above it, and background based on a panel from the Dunhuang caves. Aims of these themes: celebrate millenium, political stability, national unity and progress. History, advantages and disadvantages of plastic notes.

CHEN Baoshan, **The movement of  $M_0$ : tracking, risk assessment and management**, (pp.4-12). A discussion on money ( $M_0$ ), with special reference to China.

LIU Xuchuan, **The security features of the 20 yuan note of the 5th series of renminbi**, (pp.13-14). The new 20 yuan note parallels the paper currencies of other countries. The eight security measures are: (1) watermark: traditional Chinese flower painting; (2) red and blue fibres; (3) security strip appears as intermittent line; (4) sculpted relief of Mao Zedong; (5) '20' hidden in decorative element below denomination; (6) micro-printed 'RMB 20'; (7) relief printing of issuer, national symbol, portrait, denomination, and braille; (8) dual colour serial number.

HU Fuqing and HAN Weiye, **Precious metal coins: design, production and circulation**, (p.14). [reprinted from *Zhongguo jinbi* (China's gold coins), no.1]

WANG Shenglong, **China's millenium gold coin: the largest, heaviest gold coin in the world**, (pp.15-16). [in colour on front cover] Commissioned by the China Gold Coin Co., under the direction of the China Banknote Printing and Coin Minting Co., made by the Shenyang Mint. Only 20 pieces issued: each one is 10 kg, 99.99% gold, diameter 180 mm, 24.3 mm thick, 380 teeth on rim, face value 30,000 yuan. Obverse shows China's Millenium Monument, against background of nine dragons, symbolises the rise of the Chinese people. Reverse has eye design, meaning 'looking to the future', and the 12 symbols around the edge indicate environmental awareness and the wish for scientific advancement [design on 50 yuan coin, back cover of ZGQB 2000/4].

WANG Zhe, **Adjustment to China's gold coins**, (p.16). With effect from 2001, the China Gold Coin Co (under the People's Bank of China) has made the following adjustment: 1 ounce gold = 400 RMB yuan (on basis that US\$50 = 1 ounce of gold, and US\$1 = 8.3 RMB yuan), as opposed to previous rate, set in 1980s, when 1 ounce of gold = 100 RMB yuan (when US\$50 = 1 ounce of gold, but US\$1 = 2 RMB yuan). [reprinted from *Jinrong shibao* (Financial Times) 2000.10.29]

ZHAO Yujun, **China's modern gold and silver commemorative coins**, (pp.17-18). Considers commemoratives since 1949, including the first commemorative: '30th anniversary of the founding of the PRC' (gold, 1979). Usual themes: historical events, outstanding people. Also important: ethnic minorities, Chinese history, people, antiquities, landscapes, customs, endangered species, sport. Many have won international prizes. Total of 1400 commemoratives since 1979.

WU Zhenqiang, **People's Bank of China travellers' cheques**, (p.19). [in colour on inside back cover] In March 1999 some

People's Bank of China travellers' cheques turned up in Harbin. No records, so author investigated. (1) 4 denominations: 10, 20, 50, 100 yuan; (2) similar in size and colour to RMB 2nd series; (3) same design on all 4 notes: bilingual: 10, 20, 50 in Chinese/Russian; 100 in Chinese/English; (4) dated between 1958-61; (5) very rare, never published before.

ZHOU Kunming, **A study of Huichang Kaiyuan coins**, (pp.20-24). Name refers to Kaiyuan tongbao with a mint name on the reverse, issued from AD 845. Over 20 mints known. Main differences from previous Kaiyuan are (1) Huichang Kaiyuan are smaller, (2) calligraphy no longer resembles that of calligrapher Ouyang Xun, (3) mint name on reverse. Much of the bronze came from melted down Buddhist statues and bells, etc. Author considers (1) the attack on Buddhism ordered by Emperor Wuzong and the requirement that the bronze from destroyed statues etc be put to good use, (2) production of Huichang Kaiyuan coins, (3) (with table) 15 types were cast at new mints, 8 types were cast at old mints, the mints were located close to Buddhist temples and monasteries, (4) arguments over mints, (5) 'new' types and fakes.

HUO Hongwei and DONG Liugen, **An investigation into the gold and silver Kaiyuan tongbao coins unearthed in Luoyang**, (pp.25-29). Gold and silver Kaiyuan coins mostly found in Luoyang and Xi'an, the Eastern and Western capitals, respectively. Author considers examples found since 1949. (1) details of 12 important finds 1955-1997, mostly from Tang tombs, over 30 specimens recovered; (2) typology; (3) matters relevant to gold and silver Kaiyuan coins from Luoyang.

FAN Wenhai, JIANG Jiuru, FANG Chaochao, **On the date of large iron Kaiyuan tongbao coins with a large dot on the reverse**, (pp.30-34, 38). Authors challenge the view that these coins were made during the Five Dynasties, considering (1) accidental finds and scientific excavations; (2) examination of the coins; and (3) establishing the date of the coins. Authors conclude that large iron Kaiyuan tongbao coins with large dot on reverse were cast in Fujian during the Southern Tang.

WANG Jian, **The birth of the Kaiyuan tongbao and the formation of the tongbao system of placing the reign period in the coin inscription**, (pp.35-38). Author considers (1) the historical background; (2) the start of the Kaiyuan tongbao coinage and the meaning of the inscription; (3) the change from weight inscription to commemorative inscription; (4) the tongbao system in Chinese monetary history.

YUN Xuewen, **The currency system of the Five Dynasties**, (pp.39-41). The Five Dynasties Ten Kingdoms Period is generally regarded as a chaotic period of coinage. Author examined the historical and numismatic evidence, and concluded that coinage during the period of the Ten Kingdoms was chaotic (inferior metals used for coins; disparity of value as seen in large face values and debasement), but was under control during the Five Dynasties (quality metals used for coins; no large denominations; generally one coin-type per administration).

WANG Jianping and LIU Bo, **The coin collection at the Tianjin Museum of History**, (p.41). Formerly known as the Tianjin Museum, created in 1918, and one of China's first museums. In 1952, the Tianjin 1st and 2nd Museum merged with the the Tianjin Art Gallery to form the Tianjin Museum of History. The coin collection totals over 20,000 pieces, and houses unique and rare pieces: Ju Bang knife money, Liao gold coin worth-10,000, trial pieces from the Tianjin Mint (eg 1907 kuping 1 tael gold coin). [Reprinted from *Wenwu Tiandi*, 2000/3]

DU Jin'e, **Rare coins of the Tang dynasty, Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms in the Tianjin Museum of History**, (pp.42-45). Rubbings of 14 coins from this important collection.

LIU Jianping, **A small Kaiyuan type cast at the same time as the small Tangguo coins**, (p.46). Author considers the small Kaiyuan tongbao to be a Southern Tang issue for the following reasons: (1) similarity of calligraphy; (2) rims on reverse indistinguishable from those of Tangguo tongbao; (3) Yuan similar to that on Baoda yuanbao coin; (4) these small Kaiyuan are found with Southern Tang coins.

TU Yanzhi, **Coin-casting remains of the Wu state (Three Kingdoms period) found by the Western Lake, Hangzhou** (pp.47-49). During dredging of the Western Lake in 2000, the following coin-casting remains were found: 34 pieces of clay moulds for Daquan wubai coins, 7 pieces of cast bronze gullies, 1 coin-tree, and 13 Daquan wubai coins. Author considers similar archaeological and historical evidence.

YU Lianggen, **Report on the hoard of Kaiyuan tongbao coins found at the Xiyuan site, Luoyang** (pp.50-51). Hoard of Tang coins found 800 metres east of Sui and Tang eastern capital, Huangcheng. Total of 8,019 coins (33.3 kg), on hemp-strings, most likely deposited c.755 (An Lushan rebellion). Author examines the different varieties.

WANG Changqi and GAO Man, **Tang dynasty silver ingots found in the western suburbs of Xi'an** (p.56). Three bar ingots with inscriptions (now in Xi'an Institute of Archaeology) found in 1989 at site of the Jinsheng Temple.

Hunan sheng Qianbi xuehui mishu chu [Secretariat of the Hunan Numismatic Society], **Iron Qianfeng quanbao coins discovered in Changsha** (p.57). In May 2000, over 3000 iron coins found by the Xiang river, Changsha. All have obverse inscription Qianfeng quanbao. Reverse inscriptions include: tianfu, tian, tiance, tian, ce, and some have dots, crescents, dragon-&-phoenix. This is the largest known hoard of coins of the Chu king, MA Yin.

Anon, **American notes are made of rubbish!** (p.57). US notes made of recycled materials. [reprinted from *Anhui Qianbi* 2000/3]

HAN Liwei, **The sudden rise of plastic notes** (pp.58-62). Author considers (1) development of plastic notes; (2) Australian plastic notes; (3) special features of plastic notes; (4) effectiveness of plastic notes; (5) the many countries using or considering plastic notes; (6) plastic notes not appropriate for China at the moment.

JIN Cheng, **The fake 2 jiao and 5 jiao metal subsidiary coins of the Sichuan-Shaanxi Soviet**, (pp.63-64). Author considers that such jiao-denominations are fantasy pieces, for the following reasons: (1) not known to people collecting in the 30s and 40s; (2) not listed in publications up to the 1980s; (3) the designs are adapted from the 1 yuan piece; (4) the copper coin denomination on the SSS notes is not *jiao*, but *chuan*, and in documents *wen* or *diao*; (5) all known specimens have come straight from dealers, never from established collections.

ZHANG Yigang, **Printing plate for the Southeastern Guangdong Workers, Farmers and Soldiers Bank, 1931**, (p.65). Discovered in Wuhan in 1994. Denomination: '1 string of coins'.

CHEN Danong, **Fragment of Lin'an plaque money discovered in Huzhou** (p.65). [reprinted from *Hangzhou qianbi*, no.40]

LI Tiesheng, **Collecting world coins (2)** (pp.66-68). Key features (name of country/region, denomination, metal/material, date, size and weight, design, inscription, rim/edge, special marks, obverse and reverse, type/variety, grading, quantity issued, value) and legends. With special reference to US \$1 coin.

LI Tiesheng, **Krause Publications, USA** (p.68). [reprinted from *World Coin News*, Mar-Apr 2000].

FU Weiqun, **Shanghai coin shops and the notes they issued (part 2)** (pp.69-72). The second, and concluding part, considers (1) ranks of coin shops; and (2) the notes they issued.

YU Zhanyong, **The coins of French Indo-China** (pp.73-74). Outline history of the subject with rubbings.

YE Changqing (Hong Kong), **The new, more secure, Hong Kong 1000 dollar note** (p.76). Author considers: (1) the background (serious problems with forgeries, probably made in Taiwan); (2) emergency measures (communication with police, new higher security notes issued); (3) the new 1000 dollar notes (issued by HSBC, 40 million note issue, cost of research into security 180,000 dollars, each note cost 7 jiao to produce [10% more than previously]); (4) special features (the complex security strip, watermark, and coloured fibres visible under ultra-violet light).

DAI Jianbing and YAO Shuomin, **Letters to the Editor about the Japanese 'puppet banks' in China** (pp.77-78). Discussion arising from KATO's (Japan) suggestion that the term 'wei' (puppet/illegal) applied to Japanese banks in China should also be applied to other foreign banks in China. YAO Shuomin and DAI Jianbing counter that the foreign banks were legal, the Japanese were not.

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS

(p.12) **Shijie yinbi de shoucang he jianshang / World coins collection and appreciation**, by WANG Chuanjin, Shanghai keji jiaoyu chubanshe, Shanghai 2000. 10 chapters: (1-7) collecting coins and general knowledge; (8) ancient coins; (9) modern coins; (10) coin names. 340 pp. [ISBN: 7-5428-1938-0].

(p.29) **Renminbi zhishi tonglan** [All about renminbi], by Kaifeng qianbi xuehui [Kaifeng Numismatic Society], Zhongguo xian zhen nianjian chubanshe, Kaifeng, 2000?. Covers general knowledge, the name renminbi, RMB paper money (series 1-5), RMB coins, RMB commemoratives, gold and silver RMB commemoratives, security measures, RMB and the law, RMB in circulation, foreign exchange certificates, government bonds. In 10 chapters, 320 items, 350+ pp.

(p.46) **Changzhou diqu linshi liutongbi** [Tokens of the Changzhou region], by YUAN Tao, Xianggang dongfang wenhua zhongxin [Hong Kong Centre of Oriental Culture], 2000?. Comprises text and 991 rubbings of metal, bone and bamboo tokens, 370pp.

(p.72) **Tushuo Zhongguo qianbi** [Illustrated catalogue of Chinese coins], ed. by FU Weiqun, Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2000?. In the Shanghai Numismatic Society series. A popular book on the origins, development and evolution of Chinese coins. 261 pages, 200+ illustrations.

#### NEWS

(p.18) **DAI Zhiqiang chairs the 7th ICOMON meeting**. DAI Zhiqiang, ZHOU Weirong and GONG Baiqing chaired the 7th ICOMON meeting Buenos Aires, 10-13 Oct 2000. Representatives from 23 countries, and from 67 specialist money museums. Topics included: (1) the status and function of a money museum in central banks and merchant banks, (2) internal management and publicity in money museums, (3) the challenges facing money (bank) museums in the credit age. Next ICOMON meetings: 2001 in Madrid, 2002 in Beijing.

(p.45) **The China Numismatic Association meeting of the Board of Directors, 17 Jan 2001**. LI Baohua (Honorary Director), TONG Cengyin (Consultant), TANG Shuangning and XIA Liping (Deputy Directors) presided. The CNA Secretariat reported on their work and schedule for 2001. Schedule: link work of numismatic societies and People's Bank of China, and make the

most of the good work done by the CNA and local numismatic societies.

(p.62) **Guangzhou to host the 2001 International Festival of Stamps and Coins, opening 30 October 2001**. With approval from the People's Bank of China and the Chinese Post Office, and organised by China Gold Coin Co, Chinese Philately Co, China Note-printing and Coin-minting Co, and China Numismatic Museum. Four themed days: coin-collecting; stamp-collecting; Beijing-Shanghai-Guangdong day; welcoming the 21st century. Special feature on China Gold Coin Co website. People's Bank of China issuing a commemorative silver panda medal as a souvenir.

(p.62) **China Numismatics website** [<http://www.cnm.com.cn>] is managed by the China Numismatic Museum and the China Numismatic Association, and features information about the Museum and Association, virtual exhibitions, rare pieces, news, *China Numismatics*.

(p.72) **Second Members' Congress of the Guangdong Numismatic Society held in Guangzhou, 10-12 January 2001**. 150 representatives attended. Elected LI Dongrong (Head of Society), KE Kasheng (Deputy Head of Council), ZHOU Yifan (Deputy Head of Society), LIANG Gongchun (Secretary), FENG Jinhan (Deputy Secretary).

(p.75) **The People's Bank of China issues commemorative note and coin welcoming the new century**. [in colour on back cover] Issued 28 November 2000, both are for general circulation. RMB 100 yuan note: obverse features a dragon (from the famous Nine Dragon Wall, Beihai Park, Beijing) with fireball (auspicious symbol) to left; Temple of Heaven in the transparent window. Reverse features China's Millenium Monument, with a flying apsara from Dunhuang above it, also People's Bank of China written in pinyin, Mongolian, Tibetan, Uighur and Zhuang. Dimensions: 165 x 80 mm, plastic, total of 10 million issued.

10 yuan coin design features on the obverse: the wheel of history moving forward, and rocket and skyscrapers in the background. Reverse: rays of sun in the background, then globe, ribbon and eye (symbolising year 2000). Diameter 25.5 mm. Bimetallic coin. Total of 100 million issued.

#### Issue 73 (2001/2)

#### CHINA NUMISMATICS (73) 2001/2 - SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

##### ARTICLES

DAI Zhiqiang, **Chinese numismatics at the turn of the century: looking back and looking forward**, (pp.3-7). Looking back over the last century of (1) Chinese money, (2) Chinese numismatics, and (3) the bright future ahead - including in 2002 the ICOMON meeting in Beijing, the 10th anniversary of the China Numismatic Museum, and the 20th anniversary of the China Numismatic Society.

HUANG Xiquan and ZHAO Renjiu, **Recent discoveries of early period ming knives and sharp-pointed knives**, (pp.8-17). In recent years, many early ming knives and sharp-pointed knives have been unearthed, often small finds, and often in pots. The authors bring together the evidence from 9 hoards (1998-2000), identifying 14 obverse inscriptions, and establishing the characteristics and distribution of the various types.

WANG Xuenong, **How the writing and carving techniques on banliang coins can help to date these coins**, (pp.18-24, 60). The author concludes that on early period banliang the writing is executed in the same way as the hand-written seal-script style of calligraphy, with little attention paid to the appearance of the coin.

On later period banliang coins it is possible to identify particular patterns of writing.

DU Weizhan (= Roger Wai-san Doo, Canada), **A first study on Southern Qi wuzhu**, (pp.25-26). Author acquired two specimens, but saw none in archaeological reports, so went to Sichuan to investigate, and found that most specimens of Southern Qi wuzhu were unearthed at three places between Mainyang and Santai (ie Jingjiashi in Licheng, Muyushan in Zunsheng, and Huanglianzui in Xinde). They are mostly found with small unscripted coins, corroded and illegible.

HUANG Xiquan, **The 'jianyi': the weight unit of the Chu state**, (p.27). Woodslips from the Chu state unearthed at Baoshan indicate that there were three weight terms for Chu gold: the yi, the liang, and a previously unknown term, the jianyi (= banyi, half-yi). In 1945 a set of 10 weights was found in Changsha, nine of which had inscriptions. These can now be read correctly; the jianyi weight weighed 124.4g. Chu weights were as follows: 1 shi = 4 jun, 1 jun = 30 yi, 1 jianyi = 8 liang, 1 liang = 24 zhu, where 1 zhu = 0.65g. [Reprinted from *Jiang-Han kaogu*, 2000/1].

ANA, **Copper printing plates for the journal *Quanbi* found in Shanghai Museum**, (p.27). Found during clearing of the stores, mostly in good condition and useable. Part of LUO Bozhao's collection donated to the Museum in the early 1960s. The journal ran from July 1940 to September 1945 (total of 32 issues). [Reprinted from *Qianbi bolan*, 2000/4].

KONG Fangang, **A summary of the currency of issued by various states in the Warring States period, in southeastern Shandong**, (pp.28-29, 7). The states of Qi, Lu and Chu all met in southeastern Shandong. Author considers (1) the types of currency found there: (a) cowries, imitation cowries in bone, stone, bronze and clay, also ant-nose money; (b) knife money; (c) spade money and round coins; (d) other forms: Chu gold plate money, also bridge money, jade, stone, pottery and bronze. Details of major finds and references given. (2) the historical records, which indicate that this region had many important centres (known as guan and shi) for collection and distribution of goods. Most Qi finds were made in the northern part; most Chu finds in the southern part.

MA Juncai and XIN Yingjun, **An investigation of the clipped coins in the wuzhu hoard found in Suiping, Henan province**, (pp.30-37). (in colour at front of journal) In January 1996, villagers digging 10 km southeast of Suiping found 0.6m below surface level a grey clay pot containing 2127 coins (none are standard issues). A selection of the finds are discussed as (1) 7 wuzhu coins; (2) 2 clipped rim wuzhu; (3) 46 clipped centre wuzhu, (4) 1 clipped centre buquan, (5) privately cast wuzhu; (6) coin-casting remains; (7) the date and nature of the hoard. Pot is late Eastern Han to Wei-Jin. Coins are late Eastern Han or later. Authors discuss clipped coins, privately cast coins, and private casting techniques.

ZHANG Peilin, **A new hoard of clipped coins**, (p.38). Author discusses 456 clipped coins acquired at Nanhu market, Shenyang, comprising: 2 sizhu banliang, 435 clipped Han wuzhu, 14 clipped huoquan, 1 clipped daquan wushi, 3 zhibai wuzhu, 1 daquan dang qian. All specimens are the outer part of the clipped coin (ie the square hole has been cut away).

CHEN Xu, **Moulds for ming knives found in Linzi, Shandong province**, (pp.39-43). (in colour at front of journal). In July 2000, author acquired moulds for several dozen Yan state ming knives (he was unable to get the last five of them). Found 0.5 km north of the ancient Qi city, near modern-day Linzi, along with scorched earth, charcoal, and other objects made of clay, ie an ancient mint site. Nine moulds intact, rectangular, 240 mm long. Five knife impressions per mould. Marks at the pouring neck of each mould

(see tables). Author concludes the knives were made 284-279 BC when Le Yi of Yan attacked Qi, making this the first discovery of Yan ming knife moulds in Qi territory.

HU Lingui and YIN Xiaqing, **A great hoard of Western Han gold cake-ingots found in the north-eastern suburbs of Xi'an**, (pp.44-45). (in colour at front of journal) In November 1999, 219 Western Han gold cake-ingots (many with stamped symbols) were found northeast of Xi'an. (The only similar find was of 216 ingots in 1985.) Found 4 m below ground, in two wells 3 m apart. Most ingots measured 56-65 mm in diameter, and weighed approx. 247 g; 30 weighed over 250 g; 1 weighed less than 240g. This accords with *Cambridge History of China: Qin-Han periods*, which gives the Han jin as 246g. The ingots were probably presented to the imperial court, ended up in Wang Mang's treasury, and were dispersed when he was assassinated.

XU Guofu, **Letter to the editor** - clarifying metallurgical terms in YUN Xuewen's article, *The currency system of the Five Dynasties*, (*Zhongguo Qianbi*, 2001/1, pp.39-41). (p.45).

TANG Shunmin, **Two wuzhu moulds found in Xi'an**, (p.46). Author has two 'master-moulds': (1) for Sanguan wuzhu: fragmentary, measuring 360 x 200 mm, 30 mm thick, with 60 coin-impressions, each with diameter 26 mm, central hole 10 mm. Came from the Western Han mint at Huilipu, Xi'an. It is the largest known Western Han coin mould. (2) for small wuzhu, fragmentary, measuring 110 x 100 mm, 30 mm thick, with 6 coin-impressions, each with diameter 12 mm, hole 4 mm. Came from Western Han mint at Xiangjiexiang, Xi'an. Has character 'gong' at top of mould. Rare.

WANG Guizhi, **On the small bronze daggers discovered in the Yugu cemetery**, (pp.47-49). The cemetery is near Baoji, an important communications centre. Between 1974 - 1981 archaeological excavations of 27 tombs, 2 horse and chariot pits, and 4 horse pits yielded 2675 objects. The author wrote previously of money-finds (*Zhongguo Qianbi* 1993/2) but did not mention the small bronze daggers, as he believed they were burial goods. But further discoveries of similar pieces have forced him to reconsider (cf *Zhongguo Qianbi* 1996/4) that they may be Western Zhou money. Tomb 2 at Rujiazhuang is particularly interesting - it yielded a string of 121 cowries, on which were 13 small jade daggers, with one at every 4th and 7th cowrie.

ZHENG Gang (Hong Kong), **DING Fubao's seal**, (p.48). Carved by Ding Fubao himself.

WU Chouzhong, **Commemorating the 90th anniversary of the Xinhai Revolution: a selection of contemporary notes**, (pp.51-54). Featuring eight rare notes: (1) Chinese Revolutionary Government, 100 yuan, 1908; (2) Zhonghua minguo jinbi (gold note), 1000 yuan; (3) Zhonghua minguo lujun bujun shiyong piao [military note], 5 yuan; (4) Zhonghua minguo Nanjing junyong chaopiao (military note, Nanjing), 5 yuan; (5) Gansheng minguo yinhang jiuwu chaopiao (Jiangxi); (6) Gansheng yinhang silver note and (7) copper note; (8) Zhongyang geming zhaiwu diaocha weiyuanhui (China Central Revolutionary debt adjustment committee) certificate.

XU Yizong (Taiwan), **The preparation and design of notes issued by the Hua-E Daosheng Yinhang**, (pp.55-57). Author considers (1) the history and development of the bank (Russo-Chinese Bank 1895-1920; merged in 1910 with Banque du Nord to form Russo-Asiatic Bank 1910-26); (2) the notes: (a) location not specified; (b) Harbin; (c) Ningyuan, Kashgar and Tacheng; (d) Shanghai; (e) Tianjin; (f) Hankou; (g) Beijing; (h) Niuzhuang (=Yingkou); (3) comparable notes in other publications; (5) author's note and acknowledgements.

HU Fuqing and MA Tao, **A few words on the coloured gold and silver commemorative coins**, (pp.58-60). (in colour on back cover of journal). China's first examples were issued in 1977, designed in China and produced by a Swiss company. In 2001, the first examples produced in China were issued from the Shenzhen guobao jinbi zhizaochang [Shenzhen national treasure gold coin plant]. The authors discuss how these coins are made.

XIONG Handong, **The earliest small resistance notes of the Yanfu region: notes of the Fudong county People's Co-operative**, (p.61). (in colour at front of journal) Two notes (1 jiao and 2 jiao) were brought to author for identification - details given. Fudong was a new county created during the War of Resistance against Japan.

WU Zhenqiang, **Collecting Renminbi (1)**, (pp.62-67). Full of details on the first series of renminbi, issued from 1 December 1948: (1) in the name of the people, to help the economy recover, printed at over 20 different plants (list given), the system of serial numbers, the system of specimen notes, total amount in circulation. (2) is a long table with details of the notes and their rarity. (3) looks at the different plates used to make the notes.

LI Tiesheng, **Collecting world coins (3)**, (pp.68-71). Considering (2) denominations; and (3) metals/materials used to make coins.

WANG Chuanjin, **Ancient and modern Jewish coins**, (pp.72-74). Author considers (1) history of the Jewish people; (2) Judaism; (3) coins of Judaea (Israel).

JIN Deping, **How to write articles on numismatics**, (pp.75-76). How to write numismatic articles, and the important points to consider.

Shaanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo beijiao kaogudui [Shaanxi provincial archaeological research institute: northern outskirts team], **The round coin found in a burial at the Xi'an base of the Changqing oilfield**, (p.76). In March 1996, in the northern suburbs of Xi'an, archaeologists cleared over 20 Qin tombs (Warring States period), and over 400 Han tombs. Tomb M1282 yielded a Qin (Warring States period) round coin with round hole, inscription 'zhu zhong yi liang 14'. Diameter 37-39 mm, hole 9-10 mm, weight 13.3 g. Tomb occupant was 30-40 yr old man; burial goods included pottery, bronze, iron and jade objects, ie typical Warring States period Qin burial. [Reprinted from *Shaanxi Qinabi lunwenji* 2000/11]

Anon, **The final days of the world's oldest coinage**, (p.77). On the demise of the drachma as the Bank of Greece and the Athens stock exchange prepared to use the euro from 3 Jan 2001, at the fixed rate of 1 euro to 340.75 drachma. [Reprinted from *Cankao xiaoxi* 31 Dec 2000]

Anon, **Commemorative coins of 2001 and issuing details**, (p.78). Table giving details to September 2001, supplied by the Zhongguo jinbi zong gongsi.

#### NEW PUBLICATIONS

(p.38) **Shijie yinbi** [World coins], ed. by SHEN Tong, Jilin Renmin chubanshe, 2001. Eighty short chapters, 200 pages, 4 pages of colour illustrations. Contact details given.

(p.50) CAI Yunzhang's review of **Luoyang quan zhi**, (publishing details not given). By Fan Zhen'an, one of China's top collectors (allegedly spends his salary on coins) and Huo Hongwei, specialist in archaeology and cultural relics. Excellent book about Luoyang (capital city 13 times), and its coins, mints and moulds.

(p.77) **Luoyang quan zhi** [Coins of Luoyang], by FAN Zhen'an and HUO Hongwei (of Luoyang Numismatic Society), publishing details not given. 12 chapters: (1) cowries, (2) spade money, (3) round coins and weighed-out-money, (4) the banliang system, (5)

the wuzhu system, (6) the Kaiyuan tongbao system, (7) gold and silver coins, paper money, (8) Silk Road coins, (9) coin production, (10) coin culture, (11) key numismatists, (12) management and research, and academic activities. 320 pages, over 1100 illustrations. Contact details given.

(p.77) **Yanfu yinhang shi** [History of the Yanfu Bank], ed. by YAN Faming and XIONG Handong, published by Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 2001?. Joint project between the People's Bank of China, Yanfu, and Yanfu Numismatic Society.

#### NEWS

(p.54) **China Numismatic Society national meeting: Shenzhen, 9 April 2001**. Chaired by XIA Liping (Deputy Director, CNS), congratulatory address by YU Xuejun (Deputy Manager, Peoples Bank of China, Shenzhen Central Branch), report on CNS work by YAO Shuomin (Deputy Secretary, CNS), concluding address by DAI Zhiqiang (Secretary, CNS). The year 2002 will mark the 20th anniversary of the CNS, the 10th anniversary of the China Numismatic Museum, and the international Banking and Museums Conference (ICOMON) in Beijing.

#### Membership Tokens of the Boxer Rebellion, China, 1900-01

By Helen Wang

There are four pieces in the British Museum which may be membership tokens of the Chinese Yihetuan, better known in the West as the "Boxers", of the Boxer Rebellion, 1900-01. They are made in brass, modelled on the traditional Chinese "cash" coin. The inscription on the obverse is in seal-script and is arranged right-left-top-bottom of the square hole. It reads *shui lu ping an* - "safe and sound in water and on land!". On the reverse, to the right and left of the square hole stand weapons, of types seen in turn-of-the-century photographs. Above the hole is the Plough constellation, symbol of the balance of power, as seen in Boxer documents from 1899 onwards. Below the hole is the trigram "kan" symbolising water and the north, indicating that the piece was made by the "kan" division of the Boxers, which was active between Beijing and Tianjin.

The BM has one large example: 35mm, 46 g (BM 1985-10-35-35) (fig.1) and three small examples:

a) 27mm, 11.23 g (BM 1883-8-2-3524 Gardner Collection) (fig.2)

b) 26 mm, 10.12 g (BM 1990-9-11-47)

c) 26 mm, 9.02 g (BM 1983-3-13-257)

These pieces were first identified as Boxer membership tokens by MA Chuande and MA Dingxiang, "Yihetuan tuanqian / The money of the boxers" in *Qianbi / China Numismatics* 1987.3, pp.39-40, and 3 tokens are illustrated opp. p.40.

#### A Chinese Republican Trial Strike

By James Silver



This piece was found in the personal effects of a deceased relative. It is not known how it was come by. It is made of copper, 30 mm in diameter and around 2 mm thick at the rim.

Obverse legend, from top to bottom:

BUILDERS WATERBURY FARREL FOUNDRY & MACH.  
CO. U.S.A. AMERICAN TRADING CO. AGENTS

Reverse legend, from top to bottom:

CHINESE GOVERNMENT MINT SHANGHAI CHINA 1922

The piece has been pierced at the top with a hole about 1½ mm in diameter. While it is somewhat worn in the centre, the rest of the piece retains its original lustre and colour. It is clearly dollar-size in terms of diameter and thickness.

Does anyone know of any other such pieces?

### Forgeries of Chinese Coins in the Schjōth Collection

By Gilbert Tan

The Schjōth Collection of Far Eastern coins and amulets is preserved in Norway, in the Coin Cabinet of the University of Oslo. For much of this century the collection has been one of the basic references for Chinese cash coins, in particular amongst English-speaking students and collectors of such material. This has arisen because Frederick Schjōth published a catalogue of his collection (F. Schjōth, *Chinese Currency*, Oslo, 1929), which has since been reprinted twice, once in America (with added features by Virgil Hancock) in 1965 and once in England in 1976 (a copy of the original 1929 edition). In the Preface, Schjōth gives some account of how he formed the collection. As an officer in the Customs Service between 1876 and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century he was stationed in many different parts of China and was able to acquire the coins as gifts or through purchases.

What has been unfortunate, however, is that the illustrations of the specimens in the collection were made as simple drawings by Schjōth's daughter, very often resulting in poor representations of the coins and making it impossible to authenticate or attribute them from the publication alone. Ideally, Chinese coins should be illustrated by good rubbings, as is done in the Far East, or colour photos, and also always at actual size, without which readers are unable to determine the true nature of specimens. This is particularly important for Chinese cash-coins which have been frequently forged over the last two centuries and one of the principle means of authentication is by studying the precise calligraphic styles pertaining to each period represented.

In order to determine the reliability of the specimens in the Schjōth Collection, the author visited the Oslo Coin Cabinet at the end of 1999 to take notes and rubbings of the coins. It was discovered that among the 1,613 different types of Chinese coins in the collection 116 (represented by 121 specimens) are not authentic. The majority of these were either ancient coins that had been tooled or altered to make them appear to be rarer types or were modern casts made from genuine coins. For the former, authentication can be very difficult as the coin is fundamentally real — very often, coins of the same period have even been used making it still harder — and the only way to judge these is to study the characters for signs of manipulation. For the latter, it is also difficult as the calligraphy will be correct and of the period since a real coin was used as the basis for recasting the forgery. To authenticate these, one must study the fabric of the coin and investigate other attributes such as patina and natural wear (both of which can be very realistically fabricated by forgers).

In some cases the casts were based not on original coins but modern replicas of known types or even fanciful concoctions. These are very commonly seen amongst collections dating from before the 1930s when certain rare coins were seldom seen and forgers had simply to guess what they would look like or were tempted to invent new types. However, as the calligraphy will differ greatly from the original specimens where they existed,

detecting these is not difficult if one knows the calligraphic styles of the periods concerned.

The presence of fakes is not, of course, unusual among collections of this size and breadth, and inevitably it is the rarer pieces that were usually copied. It is, however, important where the collection has become a standard work of reference for the series, that the fakes should have been identified, so that they are not used as the basis for authenticating other specimens. For the sake of completeness one should mention that some of the coins had been either mislaid or wrongly described in the original catalogue, leaving a remnant that could not be authenticated.

I would like to thank the staff at the Oslo Coin Cabinet, Anette Kristoffersen, Håkon Ingvaldsen and Svein Skorbeck, for assisting me during my visit and the keeper, Professor Kolbjørn Skaare, for permitting it. Dr Elina Screen kindly mounted the plates for me. Last but by no means least, I would also like to express my gratitude to Dr Mark Blackburn, Keeper of Coins & Medals at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge University for inviting me to Europe as a Robinson Visiting Student at the Fitzwilliam Museum, October-December 1999.

### LIST OF FORGERIES IN THE SCHJÖTH COLLECTION

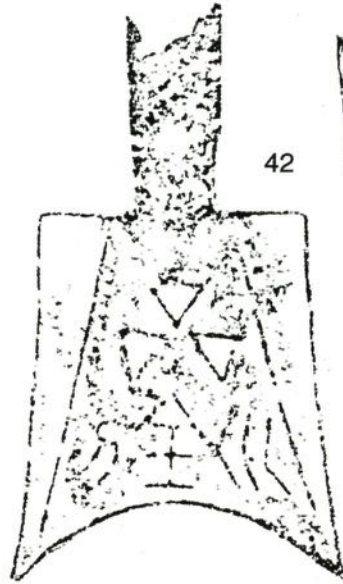
#### Key

- A: altered from a common coin  
B: cast from a real coin  
C: fantasy, as no such coin was even made for circulation  
D: replica cast imitating a real coin

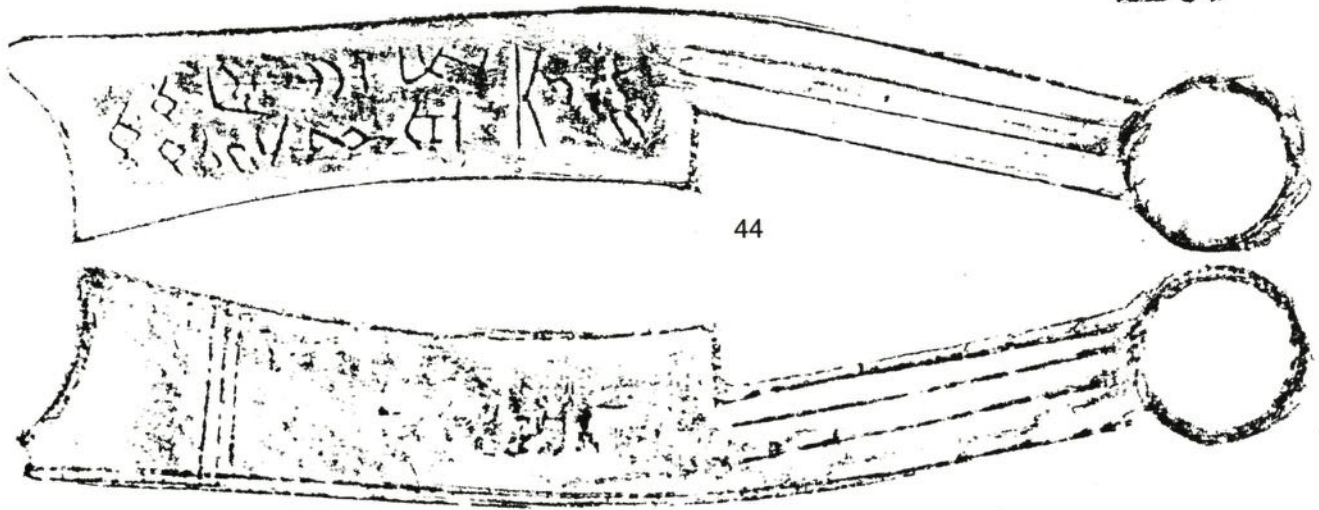
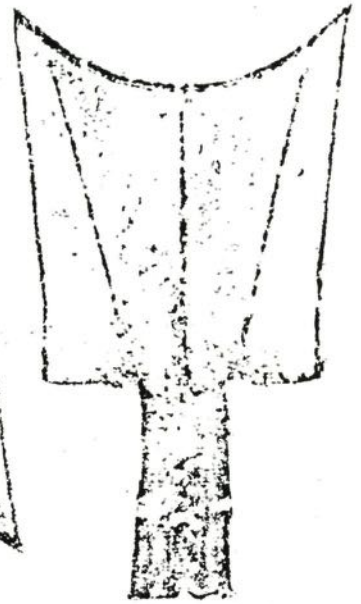
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67 R	2 coins	626 R	1153 A
84a F	238 R	647 R	1164 F
99 A	241 R	668 R	1168 A
100 A	252 C	705 R	1169 F
102 A	256 F	726 A then C	1171 F
110 A	285 A	956 C	1172 F
118 R	299 A then C	957 R	1173 F
141a R	300 A	958 C	1175 F
142a C	301 A	984 R	1182 A
142 R 2 coins	302 A 303 A	1000 R 1064 R	1184 C 1194 A
142b A	359 A	1064a R	1195 A
156 A	364 A	1064b R	1196 A
157 A	365 C	1976 R	1197 A
170 A	381 A	1079 C	1201 F
171 F	397 A	1082 C	1276 A
175 R	404 A	1095 A then C	1277 R
187 R	405 A	1097 A then C	1278 A
189 A	407 C	1100 R	1279 R
190 A	408 C	1101 R	1280 A
211 A	409 C	1102 C	1313 A
212 R	437 R	1113 C	1361 R
213 R 2 coins	439 R 443 A	1114 C 1116 R	1387 A
214 R	447 F	1118 R	



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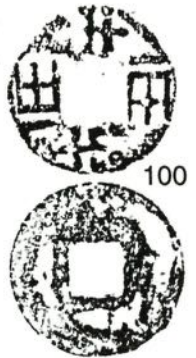
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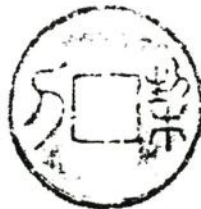
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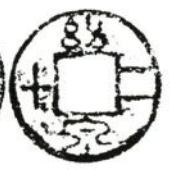
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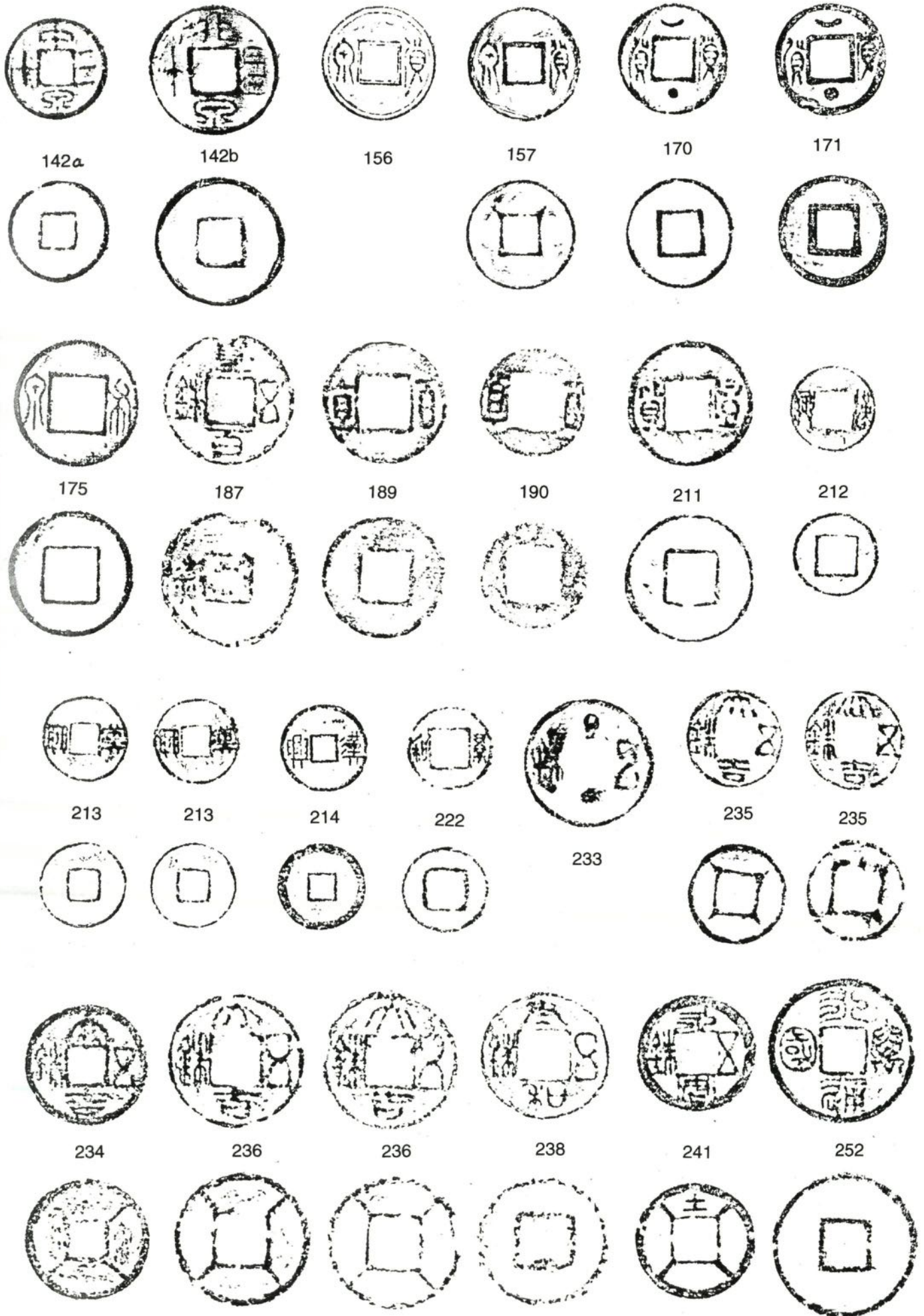


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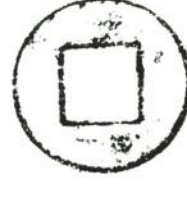
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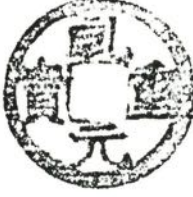
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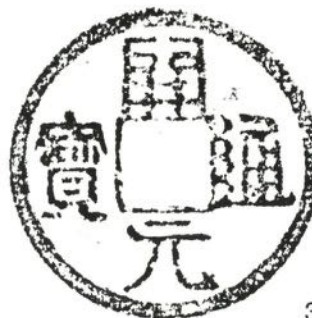
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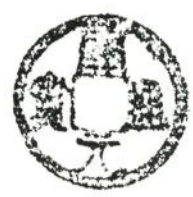
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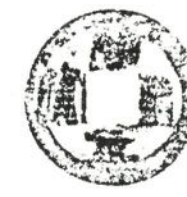
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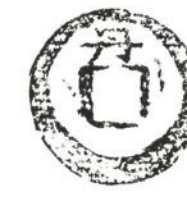
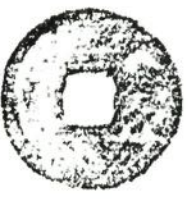
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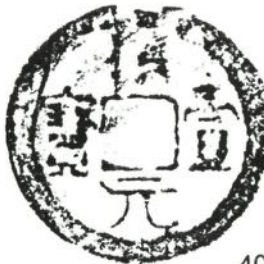
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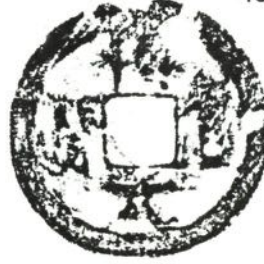
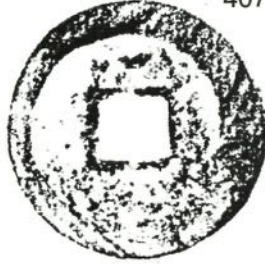
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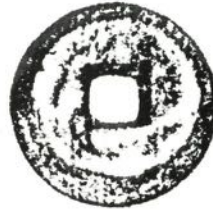
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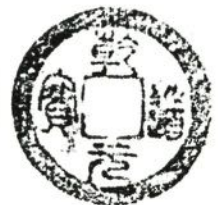
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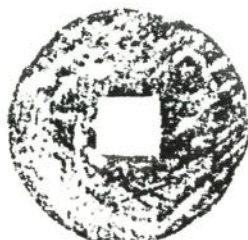
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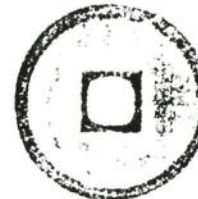
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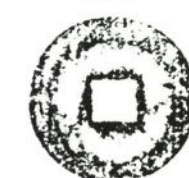
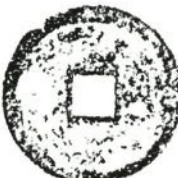
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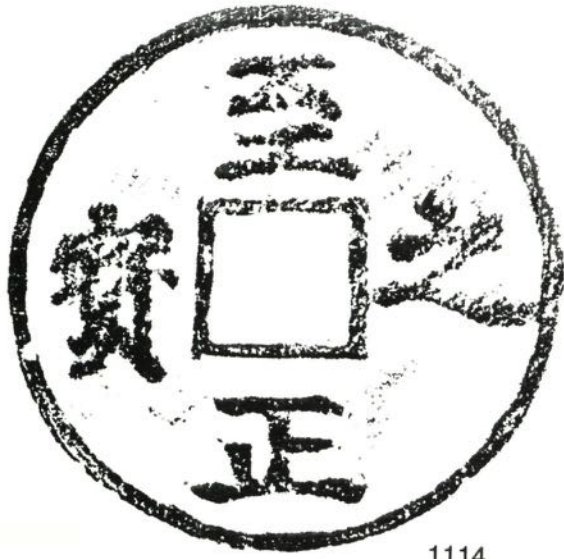


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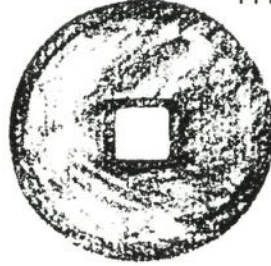
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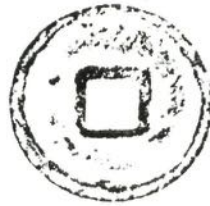
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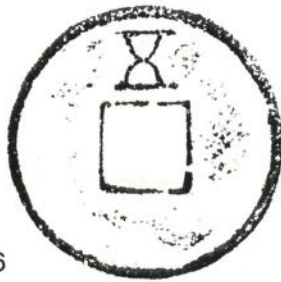
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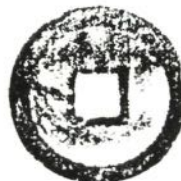
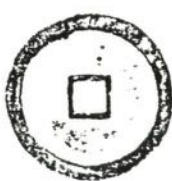
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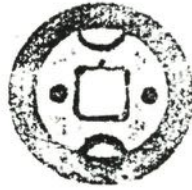
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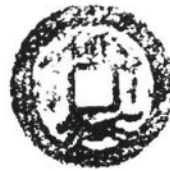
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*Various ONS members descended upon London for the recent auction of the Ken Wiggins collection (see page 6 above). Back row: Hillel Kaslove, Bill Spengler, Stan Goron, Nick Rhodes. Front row: Jan Lingen, Satya Bhupatiraju, Shailendra Bhandare*



*Satya Bhupatiraju, Stan Goron, Jan Lingen, Riaz Babar, Shailendra Bhandare, Hakim Hamidi*

## NOTES ON THE QARĀKHĀNIDS AND THEIR COINAGE – II

Prof. Dr. M. Fedorov



*Prof. Fedorov at work in the Tübingen numismatic research institute*

This year Prof. Dr Fedorov celebrates 40 years of numismatic research and writing. To mark this event we are publishing this second supplement on the Qarākhānids and their coinage. Professor Mikhail (Michael) Nikolaevich Fedorov, Doctor of Archaeology, was born on 28 June 1937 in Tashkent (Uzbekistan) into a family of “Old Turkestanians”. His great-grandfather, an officer in the Russian army, after his retirement, settled in Vernyi (nowadays Alma-Ata) at the end of the 1860s but later the family moved to Tashkent. His grandfather and parents were born in the general-governorship of Turkestan. Michael Fedorov lost his father at the beginning of 1942 when he fell in battle during the last days of the Moscow Counter-offensive.

In 1959 he graduated from the Tashkent State University, specialising in archaeology. From 1959 to 1970 he was a research scientist at the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History and Archaeology (Tashkent), and from 1970 to 1971 he held a similar position at the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Archaeology (Samarqand). He obtained his Candidate of Sciences degree (equivalent to a Ph.D.) in 1968. From 1971 to 1996 he lectured in numismatics, archaeology and the medieval history of Central Asia at the Kirghiz State University. In 1990 he gained a degree as Doctor of Archaeology, became a Professor in 1992 and in 1993 became Head of the Department of Archaeology and Ethnography.

He participated in more than 40 archaeological expeditions in Turkmenia (1956-8), Uzbekistan (1959-71) and Kirghizia (1972-90), excavating such outstanding archaeological sites as ancient Marv (Turkmenia) and Afrasiab (pre-Mongol Samarqand, Uzbekistan), where he discovered and took part in the excavation of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD palace of the Samarqand Ikhshids (kings) with the world-famous Afrasiab wall-paintings. In 1980-90 he headed excavations of the medieval fortress of Atbash (8<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century AD) in the Tien-Shan mountains in Kirghizia, near the border with China. Since 1961, he has published more than 130 scientific works on the numismatics, medieval history and archaeology of Central Asia. A listing of these works can be found at the end of this supplement on pages 45-7.

Steeped as he is in the world of medieval Central Asia, Prof. Fedorov used this knowledge and experience to write four historical novels during the latter 1960s and early 1970s. *Abu Raihan* is about the famous 11<sup>th</sup> century Central Asian scholar Abu Raihan al-Biruni; and the trilogy *Gulamy* (“ghulams” – slaves trained as professional warriors and used as palace guards and military detachments). These were published in Russian in Tashkent, and since then, two of them have also been published in Polish, in Warsaw.

In January 1997, Prof. Fedorov emigrated from Kirghizstan to Germany.

This supplement consists of the following papers:

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## The political, socio-economic and cultural interaction of the Iranian and Turkic peoples under the Qarākhānid khaganate

### 1. The spread of Islam

During the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries AD, two interconnected processes were taking place in the lands of what is now Kirghizstan and Eastern Turkestan: the feudalisation of the Turkic tribes living there and the spread of Islam among them. These two processes eventually resulted in the creation of the Qarākhānid khaganate, the first Turkic feudal state to adopt Islam as its official religion.

The creation of the Qarākhānid khaganate was an important landmark in the history of Central Asia, South-East Kazakhstan and Eastern Turkestan. Important changes in the socio-economic, political, and cultural spheres as well as in the ethnic make-up enable us to single out the time of the Qarākhānids as a period of special historical interest after which the face of the region changed in many ways.

The existence of the Qarākhānid khaganate, which spread, in its heyday, from Khotan, Yarkand, Kāshghar to Samarqand and Bukhārā, created favourable conditions for the multilateral interaction and mutual influence between the Iranian and Turkic peoples that were unified within the one state. The processes which led to the creation of the Qarākhānid state were, themselves, in many aspects a result of contacts between the Turkic people of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan, and the Iranian people of Western Central Asia (or the Iranian world, if we take it in its broader terms). These contacts were, by that time, well established and traditional.

The feudalisation of the sedentary and nomadic populations of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan did not progress in the same way or at the same speed. The process in the oases was more intensive and the influence of the more advanced western regions of Central Asia was stronger there than it was in the mountains and on the steppe-land inhabited by nomad tribes, where traditions of military democracy and strong patriarchal links prevailed.

The feudalised, nomad, Turkic aristocracy was beginning to understand the necessity to create its own state and one important means for doing this was a religion which could help to unite their tribes. One of the best religions for this would be Islam, which, several centuries earlier, had successfully united separate nomadic Arab tribes, with their eternal feuds, and small, independent oasis statelets into one great, powerful and centralised state. The situation in Semirechie and East Turkestan in the ninth and the beginning of the tenth centuries AD was in many ways the same as in Arabia in the seventh century: separate, feuding, nomadic tribes and small oasis statelets.

It is worth mentioning at this point the well-known observation made by V. V. Bartold that "The Turks accepted Islam without any victory of Islamic arms. Notwithstanding the view that Islam was spread only by military conquests, here it was accepted after a peaceful sermon."<sup>1</sup> In fact, the first Islamic sermons, brought by an emissary of caliph Hishām (742-3 AD) to the lands of the Turks had not been successful<sup>2</sup>. The time was not yet ripe.

The spread of Islam among the Turks is, itself, an important example of the interaction between the Iranian and Turkic

populations. Bartold's statement that Islam was spread among the Turks by means of a peaceful sermon not so much by Arabs but by Persians<sup>3</sup> needs to be explained. By "Persians" he did not mean, for the most part, inhabitants of Persia proper but the Iranian peoples of Central Asia, especially its western region.

The climax to the Arab conquests in Central Asia was a campaign which took place in 751 AD when Ziyād b. Šalih defeated a Chinese army near Talas. Soon after that, however, the Arabs were forced to leave not only Talas but also Ispījāb. In the Keles steppe a rampart was built to protect the populations against the raids of the Turkic nomads. The last Arab success was the conquest of Ustrūshana in 822-3 AD.<sup>4</sup>

By the time the Sāmānid state had been created in the western regions of Central Asia, the situation had changed somewhat. In 840 AD, the Sāmānid, Nūh b. Asad conquered Ispījāb and built a rampart "around the fields and vineyards of the people". But a native dynasty survived in Ispījāb, representatives of which reigned there as vassals of the Sāmānids until the end of the tenth century AD.

In 893 AD, Ismā'il b. Aḥmad conquered ʿArāz and converted a Christian church in that town into a mosque. Finally, in the beginning of the tenth century, Haftdeh, near Uzgend in East Farghāna, was conquered.<sup>5</sup> With that, the spread of Islam by force of arms in Central Asia came to an end. The later spread of Islam was by peaceful means by Muslim missionaries and merchants, and especially as the result of the peaceful Muslim colonisation of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan. This Muslim colonisation was the continuation and further development of the process, which, for the sixth and seventh centuries AD, is known as the "Soghdian colonisation". Of course, prior to the time of the Qarākhānids, the Muslim colonisation never acquired the dimensions of the Soghdian one (especially at the time of the Arab conquest of Central Asia and the numerous anti-Arab revolts, when sometimes the population of whole villages or even small towns, such as Paikend, migrated eastwards to escape the vengeance of Arab troops after the uprisings were quelled). Nevertheless, the shortage of land and water in densely populated areas, which was one of the main reasons for the Soghdian migration to the east in the fifth to seventh centuries, continued to induce some groups of Soghdians, who had become Muslims, to go east in quest of land and water, and markets for their goods and crafts.

It is worth mentioning that the migration of nomadic Turks to the western regions of Central Asia were, as a rule, enterprises of a military, political nature. Some groups of nomadic aristocrats used the military force of their armed tribesmen, who were excellent fighters and hunters, to invade lands occupied by sedentary populations. They brought with them part of the tribe, or, in some cases, the whole tribe, which were for them a source of their military might, and seized power in those places. Some of the newcomers would settle down to life in the oases, but most of them would continue their nomadic life, obtaining from the new rulers of the country the best pastures available as a reward for the military help they had rendered and would render in the future, if necessary.



At the same time, another, smaller migration took place in the opposite direction. This was the peaceful movement of Iranian, mainly Soghdian, people from the western parts of Central Asia. This took place for economic, not military reasons: the creation of settlements, which, at first, traded in commodities brought from the west, and then started to produce their own; land development and so on. Initially, those settlements sprang up along the Silk Road, then at some distance from it.

The first Muslim migrants settled in the Soghdo-Turkic towns and settlements of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan. Thereafter, pure Muslim emporia and settlements started to appear. In my view, the peaceful spread of Islam among the Turks of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan owed its success not so much to the efforts of solitary missionaries and saints as to the peaceful colonisation of this territory by Islamicised Iranian people from Central Asia, and sometimes from Iran itself, as was the case with 10,000 miners from Isfahan, who populated the area of Shelji in the tenth century AD. This was a region rich in silver ore and they started numerous mines there.<sup>6</sup> These people were very probably Muslims.

Another way in which Turkic nomads became Islamicised is exemplified by the case where the Sāmānids granted some land on the eastern boundaries of their state to some Ghuzz and Qarluq nomads who had embraced Islam and who pledged to defend the Sāmānid frontiers against the raids of their infidel brethren.<sup>7</sup>

The spread of Islam, and, with it, the Muslim colonisation of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan continued through the ninth and tenth centuries, though, in the ninth century these processes never reached the dimensions they achieved in the tenth century, especially the second half. For example, in 897 AD, a group of Muslim missionaries led by the Šūfī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Ḥusain al-Khallaj, went to Eastern Turkestan to convert infidel Turks to Islam.<sup>8</sup> Interesting information about the Muslims in Eastern Turkestan and Semirechie is provided by an account about a Khān of the Toghuzghuzz, who told the Sāmānids not to harass the Manichaeans who were living in the Samarqand region. If the Sāmānids refused to leave them in peace, he (i.e. the Khān) threatened to persecute the Muslims "who were far more numerous in his lands than the Manichaeans were in the lands of the Sāmānids"<sup>9</sup> (my underlining – MF).

Important information about the spread of Islam in Semirechie in the ninth-tenth centuries AD is provided by works of Arab and Persian geographers of the period. Ibn Khordābeh (second half of the ninth century) made no mention of Muslims or mosques in the towns of this region. Ibn Hauqal (circa 976 AD) wrote that Muslims would travel no further than Talas, for beyond it the land was occupied by infidel, nomadic Qarluqs.<sup>10</sup> Muqaddasī (circa 985 AD), while describing ten towns in the Talas valley, mentioned that seven of them already had mosques and wrote that, in Tekabket, only half the townfolk were infidel.<sup>11</sup> He mentioned mosques and *mimbars* (the rostrum in the mosque for the preacher, situated to the right of the *mihrab*) in many towns of the Chu valley, and wrote that the ruler of Nevaket was Muslim, though most of the inhabitants of the town were still infidel.<sup>12</sup>

Information about the spread of Islam and Arabic in the towns of Semirechie in the ninth-tenth centuries is also provided by numismatic finds. At archaeological sites in south-eastern

Kazakhstan and Kirghizstan (Krasnaya Rechka, Burana, Talgar) bronze coins were found with a square hole in the middle, like those of the Tiurghesh and the Qarluqs, but with Arab (not Soghdian) inscriptions.<sup>13</sup> This shows that, on the eve of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the Muslim population of the towns of Semirechie was large enough to warrant the striking of coins with Arabic inscriptions. As for Eastern Turkestan, there were also Muslims and mosques there, as we shall see.

## 2. The creation of the Qarākhānid khaqanate. Interaction between the Iranian and Turkic populations in the second half of the tenth century AD.

The sole, surviving account about the creation of the Qarākhānid khaqanate was written by Jamāl Qarshī. The ruler of Kāshghar, Oghulchak Qadir Khān, granted asylum to a fugitive, Sāmānid prince, Naṣr b. Maṣṣūr, who had fled to Kāshghar after an abortive rebellion against his brother, Ismā'īl b. Maṣṣūr.<sup>14</sup> Oghulchak made the Sāmānid the ruler of Artūch (Artysh), situated about 20 km north of Kāshghar. Soon, merchant caravans started to arrive in Artūch from Samarqand and Bukhārā, bringing goods which Oghulchak grew to like very much, for example sugar and atlases, which he had not previously known about. Some time later, Naṣr asked Oghulchak to grant him a piece of land, large enough for a cow-hide to cover. Having been given it, Naṣr had a cow slaughtered, took its hide, cut it into ribbons, and used them to delineate a patch of land on which he built a mosque.

This account has a touch of legend about it, but it also contains real information, viz. that, not far from Kāshghar, a Muslim colony did exist with its own mosque, and that an exiled Sāmānid prince was its leader. The Muslim colony in Artūch proved to be an important centre for the spread of Islam and Muslim influence in Eastern Turkestan. It was under the direct influence of this Sāmānid prince that the future founder of the Qarākhānid state, Oghulchak's nephew, Satuq, converted to Islam.

Bartold wrote that the names of the Sāmānids mentioned by Qarshī did not correspond to those known for the time of Satuq's lifetime, and that, if the exiled Sāmānid prince was called Naṣr, he could have been the son of Nūḥ b. Naṣr.<sup>15</sup> I, myself, believe that the Sāmānid in question was more likely to have been Ilyās b. 'Ishāq, who rebelled in Farghāna in 922 AD against the central government and then fled to Kāshghar.<sup>16</sup>

Anyway, the name of the Sāmānid prince is not important. What is important is the information that the conversion of Satuq to Islam, his coming to power and the creation of the Qarākhānid khaqanate were the result of the machinations of certain parties both inside and outside Kāshghar who stood to gain greatly if Kāshghar became a Muslim country. These were Muslim merchants and clergy outside the country (mainly in Farghāna, whence Satuq later obtained military help) and Muslim colonists in Eastern Turkestan. In regions where other religions dominated, Muslims were deprived of the advantages they enjoyed in Muslim countries. For instance, in predominantly Christian places, Muslim merchants had to pay high taxes.<sup>17</sup>

The founder of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, Satuq Boghrā Khān, was the son of Bazir Arslān Khān and the grandson of Qarluq Yaghyby Bilgā, who, around the year 840 AD, had assumed the title of "Khān".<sup>18</sup> Pritsak considered that Bazir succeeded Bilgā Khān and reigned over Balāsāghūn, while his brother, Oghulchak Qadir Khān, possessed Ṭarāz. In 893 AD,

Ismā'il Sāmānī had conquered Tārāz and Oghulchak had fled to Kāshghar. From there, he invaded the Sāmānid lands, but was forced to retreat.<sup>19</sup>

Satuq was orphaned as a child and taken to Kāshghar by his uncle, Oghulchak. There Satuq became acquainted with the Sāmānid prince, who was the leader of the Muslim colony of Artūch, and later, under his influence, Satuq adopted Islam. It is clear, however, that it was not only the missionary zeal and eloquence of the prince that influenced him: Satuq was offered military and other help in the struggle for power which was to await him.

Satuq, with his 50 followers, secretly accepted Islam and left the capital under the pretext of going hunting. He "went north", where 1000 warriors gathered round him. Among them was a strong detachment of Muslim *ghāzī* from Farghāna, as had been promised. With that small army he went further north to the Central Tien Shan and seized the fortress of Atbāsh in the valley of the River Atbashi (the present-day Koshi-korgon hillfort, 10 km from modern Atbashi in the Naryn oblast of the Kirghiz Republic). In Atbāsh Satuq managed to raise an army 5000 strong and started the war against his uncle. Satuq was eventually victorious and captured Kāshghar.<sup>20</sup> In this way the process to create the Qarākhānid khaqanate began, a state which was to play a prominent role in the history of Central Asia, South-Eastern Kazakhstan and Eastern Turkestan.

In 942 AD, Balāsāghūn was captured by infidel Turks and, in Bukhārā, *ghāzī* were preparing to fight them.<sup>21</sup> I am of the opinion that this was one of the episodes in the wars connected with the creation of the Qarākhānid khaqanate. The capture of Kāshghar was not the end but only the beginning of a power struggle for control of the incipient Qarākhānid state. It was necessary to gain control of the whole of Eastern Turkestan and Semirechie. Satuq and the Turk aristocrats who followed him on the way shown to them by the exiled Sāmānid prince had to overcome the resistance of the infidel Turk aristocracy who supported Oghulchak or other claimants to supreme power. In so doing, they needed to wrest from them towns and provinces which formed the infidels' bases.

According to Jamāl Qarshī, Satuq Boghrā Khān died in 344/955-6 and was buried in Artūch,<sup>22</sup> the centre from which Islam and Muslim influence had been spreading in Kāshghar. He left two sons: Bāitāsh Mūsā and Sulaimān. Mūsā accepted the title of Arslān Khān and ascended the throne of the supreme ruler in Kāshghar. In 960 AD, he fulfilled his father's aspirations in proclaiming Islam the state religion. This event had far-reaching consequences for the history of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan. The Qarākhānid khaqanate had become an integral part of the World of Islam, stretching from Spain and North Africa to India. It joined the commonwealth of Muslim states, with their advanced socio-economic system, culture and ideology. It was able to partake of the high levels of Arab and Iranian culture. All that not only accelerated the socio-economic and cultural development of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan but also helped the Qarākhānids in their western conquests.

An eyewitness account has survived about the conquest of Bukhārā by the Qarākhānids in 992 AD.<sup>24</sup> When the Qarākhānid army was at the walls of the city, the Sāmānids called the townspeople to arms. The Bukhārāns consulted the clergy as to whether they should fight for the Sāmānids. They were told that,

if the war was to be fought for their faith, then they should do so, but that, since both the Qarākhānids and the Sāmānids were fighting "for the riches of this world", then they should not. Further they were told that "the way of life of the Qarākhānids and their faith (my underlining – MF) were beyond reproach" and that it was better not to interfere in the strife between the two factions. After that, Bukhārā was captured without any resistance. But many other events had taken place before that.

The proclamation of Islam as the state religion of the Qarākhānid khaqanate had opened new prospects and possibilities for the Muslim colonisation of Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan. Migrants could now go to the country of co-religionists, where Muslims were no longer victims of discrimination, but, on the contrary, held the dominant position and could enjoy all the privileges. And it was not only peasants, craftsmen and merchants who migrated to those parts but also representatives of the intelligentsia. The conversion of the Turk population to Islam necessitated the migration of large groups of Muslim clergy, lawyers, theologians, teachers, architects and so on. For instance, we know about the theologian and lawyer, Abū'l Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Sufiān Kelimātī, who, in the middle of the 50s of the tenth century AD, left Bukhārā and arrived at the court of the Qarākhānid Khān to serve him. Another theologian, Abū'l Ḥasan ibn Ḥātim al-Uṣbānīketī, "went to the country of the Turks" before 990 AD.<sup>25</sup> They came to the Qarākhānid khaqanate round about the time that Islam was proclaimed the state religion.

For the first 30-40 years of the existence of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the prevailing direction of migration was eastwards. It was a peaceful cultural, economic expansion to the East. Peasants, craftsmen, lawyers, clergy, merchants, theologians etc migrated from the densely populated oases of Mawarānnahr, Farghāna and other western regions. The creation of the new Muslim state in Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan opened up to them exciting prospects and possibilities. During that period the rulers of the Qarākhānid khaqanate expanded their territory to the north, east and south under the pretext of a "holy war against infidels". Accounts have survived about the battles between the Qarākhānids and the tribes of the infidel Oghrak, Basmil, Yemak, Chomul, Yabaku, Uighur and so.<sup>26</sup> In one of those wars the son and successor of Arslān Khān Mūsā, Arslān Khān 'Alī, was killed, in the month of Muḥarram, AH 388 (January 988 AD). Jamāl Qarshī called him "*shahid*" and wrote that 'Alī b. Mūsā was buried in his capital, Kāshghar.

### *3. The conquest of the Sāmānid state, formation of an appanage system, spread of iqtā': the role played by the interaction of the Iranian and Turk populations in these processes.*

We have seen that until the beginning of the 990s AD, the expansion of the Qarākhānid khaqanate was in a prevailing easterly direction. The process then changed radically. On the western frontiers of the young and aggressive khaqanate, the Sāmānid state was falling apart, and promised to be an easy prey.

The westerly expansion of the Qarākhānids started off in two directions: from the north-east towards Ispījāb and from the east towards Farghāna. Leading this expansion was the ruler of Balāsāghūn, Boghrā Khān Hārūn. His father, Tonghā İlek Sulaimān, was a son of Satuq Boghrā Khān. In 380/990-1, Hārūn

took advantage of the separatist tendencies of the local aristocracy and the weakness of the central Sāmānid government to capture Ispījāb. At the same time, the Qarākhānids, advancing from Kāshghar, annexed the eastern part of Farghāna with its main town of Uzgend. Then, in May 992 AD, after two victorious battles, Boghrā Khān came to Bukhārā and took it without any resistance. Boghrā Khān was not well at the time and the climate and diet at Bukhārā aggravated his illness. He was obliged to move onto Samarqand, but there his illness grew worse still and he died on his way home. Then on 17 August 992 AD, the Sāmānid amīr, Nūh b. Maṣṣūr returned to Bukhārā. So the first Qarākhānid attempt to conquer the Sāmānid state failed, despite the fact that many members of the local aristocracy (especially those on the frontiers of the Sāmānid state had greeted Boghrā Khān as a liberator from the Sāmānid yoke (to further their own ends of course). So the Dihqān (the representative of the old landowning aristocracy which governed the country before the Arab invasion) of Īlāq, Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad, tried to create a state of his own and issued coins on which he cited Boghrā Khān Hārūn as his suzerain.<sup>27</sup>

After the death of Boghrā Khān Hārūn, it was Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī who led the Qarākhānid expansion to the east. He had not long before captured Uzgend and Eastern Farghāna. He was a son of the ruler of Kāshghar, Arslān Khān 'Alī, who had fallen in battle against the infidel Turks in January 988. Formally, Naṣr recognised his brother, Ṭoghān Khān Aḥmad, successor to Arslān Khān 'Alī, as suzerain though he was in fact quite independent. In 384/994-5, Naṣr extended his reign over the whole of Farghāna and Khojende, adjacent to it. Then in 385/995 he subjugated Īlāq.<sup>28</sup>

The Sāmānids were not able to resist the Qarākhānid thrust. The central government no longer had any authority. Real military power was in the hands of warlords who vied with each other so as to be appointed by the Amīr to the governorship of the richest provinces of the state. South of the Amudarya, one such warlord had already managed to create his own state on former Sāmānid territory, with his capital at Ghazna. It was in such circumstances that the Qarākhānids launched a new invasion in the autumn of 996 AD. Amīr Nūh b. Maṣṣūr appealed to Ghazna for help. The Ghaznavid army advanced to meet the Qarākhānids. A peace treaty was, however, signed according to which the Qatwān Steppe became a border between the Sāmānid and Qarākhānid states. Thus all the Sāmānid lands to the north and east of Samarqand came into the possession of the Qarākhānids. In 998 AD, coins were already being struck in Samarqand itself in the name of Naṣr b. 'Alī.

Then the Qarākhānids dealt the final blow. On the first day of Dhū'l Qa'da 389 (14 October 999), Īlek Naṣr came and took Bukhārā. The last Sāmānid Amīr, 'Abd al-Malik, together with all his brothers and other relations were taken prisoner and exiled to Uzgend.<sup>30</sup>

Some time after the capture of Bukhārā, Naṣr had to wage war against Muntaṣir, a brother of the last Sāmānid amīr. Muntaṣir had managed to escape from imprisonment in Uzgend and had raised an army. The war continued from 1001 to 1005 AD, but finally Muntaṣir was killed. After that, Mawarānnahr remained under the sway of the Qarākhānids for more than two centuries.<sup>31</sup>

The creation of a state, stretching from Kāshghar to Bukhārā provided very favourable conditions for the development of economic and cultural contacts between the Iranian and Turk populations of Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. Up to the 990s AD the migratory process was primarily in an easterly direction, as already mentioned. Thereafter the situation changed drastically. Where previously hundreds of Iranian-speaking peasants, craftsmen and intelligentsia made their way east to develop the land, produce goods, teach and heal, now thousands of nomadic Turks began an exodus towards the west.

In annexing the lands of the Sāmānids, the Qarākhānids brought with them the only military force they could muster: armed Turk nomads, mostly their co-tribesmen. To retain their newly-conquered territories they needed the constant presence and assistance of this military force. So these nomadic Turks were given the best pastures in the country, the warriors were given a money allowance or, more often, they were granted *iqṭā'*. *Iqṭā'* was a kind of fiefdom where the holder, the *iqṭā' dār*, did not get the land but the taxes raised from it. This was a very convenient arrangement for a nomadic warrior. When not participating in the military campaigns of his Khān or guarding frontiers, a warrior spent his time with his tribe, continuing his nomadic way of life and receiving from his *iqṭā'* his share of the harvest or taxes collected. A few of the newcomers even managed to settle down on the fertile lands of the oases that had been conquered.

During this initial period of westward migration, which lasted at least for the first two decades of the eleventh century AD, thousands of nomadic Turks, sometimes whole tribes, left their native mountains and steppes. This was particularly the case with the Qarluqs, Chigil and Yaghma, the tribes from which the Qarākhānids and the feudal Turk aristocracy they led originated. These nomadic Turks, superb hunters and warriors, welded by tribal solidarity with their Khān, Īlek, Tegīn, or Bek, and enticed by the promise of rich booty, were the might that crushed the resistance of the Sāmānids.

Having conquered new lands, the Qarākhānids realised that, without the presence of the military force that brought them their victories, they would not be able to stay in power there. They therefore tried to bring with them as many fellow tribesmen as they could and encourage them to stay. This need for a military force of nomadic Turks, particularly great during the conquest of the Sāmānid state, was also evident later, even in the twelfth century AD. Ibn al-Athīr wrote<sup>32</sup> that Arslān Khān Muḥammad (1102-30) forced more than 16,000 tents of nomadic Turks to leave their native land and move to the frontiers of his state. These Turks guarded his borders and, in return, received from the Khān presents and *iqṭā'* (underlined by me – MF). Sixteen thousand tents or families, each of which usually comprised 4-6 people, would make about 80,000 nomads. Even if the number of tents was exaggerated, which was often the case with mediaeval chroniclers, this account of Ibn al-Athīr gives a good indication of the extent of Turk migration to the west during the Qarākhānid period.

The result of so many of these nomads migrating westwards was a kind of vacuum in their native mountains and steppes. This was gradually filled by other tribes who profited from the free

pastures while some land could also be developed by Iranian-speaking immigrants.

Once the Sāmānid dominions had been conquered, several large appanages were created within the Qarākhānid khaqanate. These large appanages consisted of a number of smaller ones. The rulers of the large appanages, comprising more than 20 towns and provinces, had the title, Khān, and occupied the highest place in the hierarchy. Next came the Īleks and then the Tegīns. Īleks were vassals of Khāns (sometimes only nominally so), possessed big appanages and minted coins in their own name, citing their Khāns as suzerain. Īleks (and sometimes Tegīns) had vassals of their own, who could possess a town or share it with some other subvassal. Sometimes even subvassals had vassals of their own. On Qarākhānid coins there are instances of 4 or even 5 names being cited: suzerain, vassal, subvassal and so on. It reflected the complicated, multi-tiered feudal hierarchy of the state. There were also lower ranks which were not reflected on the coins: middle-ranking officers, warrior-*iqṭā'*dārs.

Already at the start of the last century, Bartold noted that the creation of the Qarākhānid khaqanate brought with it important changes: the predominance of the appanage system, the spread of *iqṭā'*, the extinction of the *dihqān* system (the system of land ownership that prevailed in the area before the Arab conquest). *Dihqāns* possessed land as *mulk*, not as *iqṭā'*, given to them by their suzerain for service rendered. Bartold explained the victory of the appanage system thus: "the concept of the monarch as sole ruler of the state was alien to the nomadic Turks" and "the empire was property that belonged to the whole khānian clan".<sup>33</sup>

The Soviet, Marxist historian, Yakubovsky, disagreed with him. In his view the appanage system won through not because the Qarākhānids brought with them a new concept of state government but because the feudal forces that had developed within Sāmānid society had undermined the centralised authority.<sup>34</sup>

In my opinion, these two views actually complement each other. Both processes played a role in the process. Look at the Ghaznavid state, for example. There, there was no appanage system. The prevailing concept was one of the monarch as sole ruler of the state. There is no indication of an appanage system either on the Ghaznavid coins, nor, as far as I know, in the chronicles. The ways in which the Qarākhānid and Ghaznavid states were created were quite different. The latter was created not by hordes of nomads invading from the east but as a result of successful rebellion by a Sāmānid general against the central government.

There was a form of appanage system in the Seljūq state, a state that had also been created by nomadic Turk tribes, led by tribal chiefs from the Seljūq clan. But it never reached the same dimensions as in the Qarākhānid khaqanate. This was because the Seljūq state was created in the south-western region of Central Asia and the northern part of Iran among an Iranian population where the concept of a monarch as sole ruler of the state had existed for more than 15 centuries. The sort of military-tribal democracy which existed among the nomadic Turk tribes, where the Khān shared his power with the tribal aristocracy, was alien to the lands of the Seljūq state. The "developing feudal forces" mentioned by Yakubovsky did exist but the second factor mentioned by Bartold had far less influence.

Pritsak was right in stating that the history of the Qarākhānid khaqanate is especially important as the most typical example of a state created by nomadic Turks. It provides rich

data on their idea of the state, on relations (Pritsak uses the word "contest") between the steppe and the town etc. Dynasties such as the Ghaznavids and even the Seljūqs were less typical and interesting in this respect.<sup>35</sup>

Bol'shakov wrote that one should not exaggerate the appanage division of the Qarākhānid state nor contrast it to such an extent with the centralisation of the Sāmānid state, where appanages also existed and "the picture was only slightly different from what we know of the Qarākhānid state".<sup>36</sup> I disagree with this. While in the eleventh century there was some appearance of a centralised system with the head of the state being cited on the coins of the appanage rulers, in the middle of the twelfth century the Qarākhānid khaqanate disintegrated into several, quite independent appanage principalities. The rulers of these did not cite on their coins the nominal head of the khaqanate, who, in fact, had become one of those very appanage princes.

Nor can I agree with Bol'shakov's contention that there is no reason to exaggerate the spread of the *iqṭā'* system in the Qarākhānid state and that the existence of the *iqṭā'* system in the Seljūq state was not enough to prove it.<sup>37</sup> To substantiate his opinion, Bol'shakov wrote that Ibn al-Athīr made only one reliable mention of an *iqṭā'* being granted under the Qarākhānids and that the *iqṭā'* system was not mentioned in connection with the Qarākhānids in the written sources of the time (and just how many such sources from the Qarākhānid khaqanate does he know about?). In fact the same Ibn al-Athīr does mention another instance of *iqṭā'* being granted under the Qarākhānids and not to a single feudal lord but to 16,000 nomadic Turk warriors, by Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān.<sup>38</sup> Strange that Bol'shakov missed this. In any case, he, himself, mentioned elsewhere that, at the end of the eleventh century AD, the Ghaznavid state was the only one in the Muslim east where the *iqṭā'* system did not exist. He referred to the words of Nizām al-Mulk that, in the old days *iqṭā'* were not granted and that warriors were paid four times a year. "Nowadays", wrote Nizām al-Mulk, "that state of affairs remains only with the house of the Ghaznavids".<sup>39</sup> So, clearly, Nizām al-Mulk did not include the Qarākhānids in with the Ghaznavids and there is no reason to doubt the account of this great Seljūq vizir.

As for appanages in the Sāmānid state, Davidovich could find only 18 instances in the Sāmānids' 200 year history when a town or province was granted as an appanage to someone, usually a member of the ruling dynasty. In contrast to this, in the first quarter of the eleventh century alone in the western part of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, there are 45 numismatic examples of towns and provinces having been granted as an appanage (or *iqṭā'*) to members of the Qarākhānid dynasty, and to representatives of the Turk and local Iranian-speaking aristocracy.

So it seems to me that the extent to which the appanage system was used combined with the spread of *iqṭā'* was a result of the political and socio-economic interaction between the Iranian and Turk populations within the Qarākhānid khaqanate.

4. Further development of the appanage system. Feudal hierarchy as a reflection of the interaction between the Iranian and Turk aristocracies.

Qarākhānid coins provide interesting data on the appanage holders and the interaction between the aristocrats of the Iranian and Turk populations. After the conquest of Bukhārā in 999 AD, two large appanages were created in the western part of Central Asia. One was ruled by Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī, who, despite being independent in practice, nevertheless recognised his brother, Ṭonghā (Ṭoghān) Khān Aḥmad as suzerain. Naṣr's appanage comprised Farghāna and lands to the west, including Bukhārā. His name, *laqab* or title were cited on the coins of 22 towns or provinces. Part of these he granted as *iqṭā'* to his vassals.

Among his vassals were the Qarākhānids: Ināl Tegīn, Arslān Tegīn, Yaghān Tegīn, Ṭonghā Tegīn. Tegīns were in third place in the hierarchy after Khāns and Īleks. It is difficult to say who his vassals, Abū 'Alī and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, were and to determine whether they came from the Turk or Iranian population. The appanage holder of Kesh Bek-Tūzūn was from the local aristocracy, though Turk by name. This Sāmānid general came to serve the Qarākhānids. Naṣr's vassal in Ṣaghāniyān, Muzaffār Kia, however, must have been Iranian judging by his Iranian name (or nickname) "Kia".

The domains of Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad comprised the Chu valley with Balāsāghūn, the Talas valley with Ṭaraz, and Ispījāb, Shāsh, Īlāq. After the death of Naṣr in 1012 AD, Aḥmad annexed Naṣr's appanage. He was cited as immediate owner or suzerain on coins of 26 towns or provinces. His own domain was the Chu valley with his capital in Balāsāghūn. Other towns and provinces he granted to his real vassals (Naṣr, who had conquered Mawarānnahr, was only nominally Aḥmad's vassal). Most of these vassals were Qarākhānids with the title of Īlek or Tegīn (his brothers and other relations). The remaining vassals had Muslim names so it is difficult to say whether they were of Turk or Iranian stock.

There are some interesting coins that tell us about the alliance of the old Iranian aristocracy, land-owners (or Dihqāns) with the Qarākhānids. Coins of 382-9/992-1009 from Īlāq were struck (at intervals) by members of a local Iranian dynasty: Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr and Salār b. Muḥammad. They had come to serve the Qarākhānids and governed Īlāq as their vassals. On all the coins of these dihqāns, their Qarākhānid suzerain was mentioned. In some cases two Qarākhānid overlords are mentioned, supreme and immediate. The Dihqāns, themselves, occupied the lowest rank in the feudal hierarchy that is reflected on the coins. They were descendants of the old dynasty which ruled Īlāq before the Arab conquest. Although they had lost power first to the Arabs and then to the Sāmānids, they had managed to retain ownership of vast landed property. They were in opposition to the central government and had acclaimed the Qarākhānids as liberator.

The Qarākhānids, in their turn, when conquering the Sāmānid state, needed the support of the local Iranian aristocracy. The Dihqāns were not the only representatives of that aristocracy who came to serve the Qarākhānids. Another example of an alliance between the Qarākhānids and local dynasts is provided by the coins of Ṣaghāniyān,<sup>40</sup> minted by Fakhr al-Daula Aḥmad b. Muḥammad as vassal of the Qarākhānids. Rtveldze identified the *laqab*, given name and patronymic of the ruler cited on these coins with those of the Ṣaghāniyān Amīr, Abū'l Muzaffār Fakhr al-Daula Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, at whose court the famous Tajik-Iranian poet of the

eleventh century, Farrukhī, started his career.<sup>41</sup> This amīr belonged to the dynasty of the Mukhtajids, who had been rulers of Ṣaghāniyān and vassals of the Sāmānids since the second half of the ninth century AD. As with the Dihqāns in Īlāq, this amīr occupied the lowest rank in the hierarchy reflected on the coins.

Under the Sāmānids, Ispījāb was governed by the Mutids, a semi-independent dynasty. Kochnev established the fact that they, too, came to serve the Qarākhānids. On the coins of Ispījāb struck in AH 389, 392, 394-402, they also occupied the lowest place in the feudal hierarchy.<sup>42</sup>

The most typical example of the appanage system and the spread of *iqṭā'* is provided by the coin issues from the time of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī (1015-25 AD). His name, *laqab* or title were cited on the coins of 25 towns or provinces, where he was either the suzerain or the immediate owner. Most of those towns were given in appanage (or *iqṭā'*) to his vassals, of whom there were at least 18. His policy was to prevent the appanages from being turned into independent hereditary dominions. So he usually did not allow a vassal to possess one and the same appanage for any length of time. A town might belong to Arslān Khān, himself, then to a vassal, then to another vassal. If a vassal possessed several towns, they were situated in different parts of Arslān Khān's realms and, inbetween, were the appanages of other vassals. The most powerful of Arslān Khān's vassals was his brother, Īlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī. He possessed 15 towns (but not all at the same time). Some towns he possessed for only one or two years, others for longer. Some of those towns he shared with his vassals, so that three or even more people might be cited on a single coin, e.g. suzerain, vassal and subvassal. Among the vassals of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr were three of his sons and three nephews (two sons of the late Īlek Naṣr and a son of Muḥammad). Such vassals usually had the title, Tegīn.

Two other Qarākhānids need to be mentioned though it is not really known how they were related to Arslān Khān. One of them had the title of Tegīn and ruled Bukhārā and Samarqand, the other possessed Kūshāniya. Two more vassals, Īl Ūkā and Bārs Ūkā, were from the Turk aristocracy, judging from their names.

There were also vassals whose Muslim names do not allow us to say whether they were of Turk or Iranian origin. And then there was our old acquaintance, the former Sāmānid general, Bek Tūzūn, who was in possession of Khojende in 1024-5 AD.<sup>43</sup> He was a vassal of Īlek Muḥammad, who, in turn, was a vassal of Arslān Khān. Some vassals of Arslān Khān, with the title, Tegīn, also had vassals of their own. The private domain of Arslān Khān was the Chu valley, with Balāsāghūn as his capital.

Thus the Qarākhānid coinage of the first quarter of the eleventh century AD gives an interesting picture of the feudal, hierarchical relations between the Qarākhānid newcomers of Turk origin and the local Iranian aristocracy.

One can discern a tendency gradually to set aside the local, semi-independent dynasties and to force the Iranian aristocracy into inferior positions. It was not a question of eliminating them physically – they still retained their land holdings – but real power was concentrated more and more in the hands of the newcomers.

This then was the situation in the first quarter of the eleventh century in the western part of the Qarākhānid khaqanate: the appanage holders were of both Turk and Iranian

origins. They were mostly members of the Qarākhānid dynasty but there were also representatives of the new Turk and old, local Iranian aristocracy. But the main role was played by members of the Qarākhānid clan; only they could have appanages comprising several towns.

Throughout the first quarter of the eleventh century, there were four large appanages in the western part of the Qarākhānid khaqanate and they belonged to the four sons of Arslān Khān 'Alī (the ruler of Kāshghar, killed in 998 AD by infidel Turks). They had the title of Khān or Īlek: Tonghā Khān Aḥmad and Īlek Naṣr, then Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr and Īlek Muḥammad. There was the younger generation comprising their six sons, who had the Tegīn title. There were also four brothers, sons of Hasan, who, according to Shebānkāra'ī, was the brother of the father of Qadir Khān<sup>44</sup> and hence the brother of Boghrā Khān Hārūn. The sons of Hasan are known as the Ḥasanids. Under the Qarākhānids there were appanage rulers who were representatives of the Iranian and Turk aristocracy. The fifth large appanage, with its capital at Kāshghar, comprised the eastern part of the Qarākhānid khaqanate. It belonged to Qadir Khān Yūsuf, son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn. Qadir Khān also had vassals (his brothers and sons).

It was already at the time of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr that those large Qarākhānid appanages started to consolidate into two states: the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate and the Eastern one. Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr died in 1025 AD. The supreme power was usurped by the Ḥasanids. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan became the head of the Western Qarākhānids with the title of Tonghā Khān and with his capital at Balāsāghūn in the Chu valley. Arslān Khān's relatives were forced out into inferior positions and became vassals of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. They were the son of Īlek Muḥammad, and two sons and a grandson of Īlek Naṣr. Some of Arslān Khān's relatives disappeared from the coins totally.

The most important among the vassals of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan was his brother, 'Alī with the title Īlek (on his coins). The chronicles, however, mention him as 'Alī Tegīn. It is noticeable that the names of the Iranian aristocracy disappeared from the coins: they were relegated into lower positions which were not mentioned on the coins. The same applied to the Turk non-Qarākhānid aristocracy.

In 416/1025-6, Qadir Khān Yūsuf, the head of the Eastern Qarākhānids and ruler of Kāshghar, conquered Balāsāghūn and the Chu valley from Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. The war ended in c.420/1029 and resulted in the conquest by the Eastern Qarākhānids of all the lands of the Western Qarākhānids except for Soghd. Thus the domains of Qadir Khān extended from Khotan-Yarkend-Kāshghar to Khojende-Shāsh-Īlāq. The Qarākhānid khaqanate had split into two khaqanates: the Western and the Eastern.

Thereafter, the political history of the region was a function of the relations between these two khaqanates, which fought each other over possession of Semirechie, Farghāna and some adjacent lands. In 1026-9 AD, these regions were captured by the Eastern Qarākhānids. Around the years 1060-2 AD, the Western Qarākhānids took advantage of the internecine wars within the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate to recover the lands formerly lost, including Balāsāghūn. Then a few years later, in 1068, the Eastern Qarākhānids made use of a similar state of affairs within

the Western khaqanate to reconquer all the lost territories except Kojende. In 1075, the reverse again happened and the Western Qarākhānids took Farghāna with Uzgend. In 1080, the Eastern Qarākhānids attempted to regain their lost lands but were defeated.<sup>45</sup>

The situation stabilised during the period from the end of the eleventh century to the first third of the twelfth century AD, when the Western Qarākhānids were vassals of the Seljūqs. The strength of the Seljūq army, which stood behind the Western Qarākhānids deterred the Eastern Qarākhānids from attempting to invade the western lands. On the other hand, the Seljūqs would not have wanted the Western Qarākhānids to become too strong themselves by conquering the Eastern Qarākhānid lands.

An analysis of Qarākhānid coins struck in the second and third quarters of the 12 century AD shows that the appanage holder who enjoyed the right to strike coins were already all (with rare exceptions) Qarākhānids, descendants of Arslān Khān 'Alī or Boghrā Khān Hārūn or of Hasan. The Iranian and other Turk aristocracy had been forced into lower positions in the hierarchy and did not appear on the coins. The only known representative of the nomadic Turk aristocracy granted a town (Kermine, 1025-8) and with the right to strike coins was the Turkmen chieftain, Yūsuf b. Mūsā, grandson of Seljūq.<sup>46</sup> In the middle of the eleventh century AD there was also an appanage ruler of Uzgend with the name Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām, a vassal of the head of the Eastern Qarākhānids.<sup>47</sup> The name "Bahrām" is neither Turkic nor Arabic, but Iranian and very ancient at that. So this Bahrām must have been a representative of the Iranian aristocracy serving the Qarākhānids.

In the first half of the twelfth century, the development of the appanage system took a new turn: the number of appanages reduced but the extent of each appanage increased. The tendency to turn them into hereditary, independent principalities grew stronger. While the power of Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān (1102-30 AD) still extended over the whole territory of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate, in the middle of that century the first appanages appeared that were independent from Bukhārā and Samarqand. Their capitals were Uzjend and Benāket. By the beginning of the thirteenth century there were seven independent Qarākhānid dominions with their capitals in Samarqand, Uzjend, Benāket, Kāsān, Bārāb, Margīnān, Tirmidh and Balkh.<sup>48</sup> The disintegration of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate into small dominions had sealed its fate: at the beginning of the second decade of the thirteenth century, the western khaqanate was conquered by Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh. The dynasty of the Western Qarākhānids had come to an end.

As for the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate, around the year 1030 AD most of its territory had been conquered by the nomad Khitais, who created their own state there with its capital at Balāsāghūn. Kāshghar, where Qarākhānids descended from Qadir Khān Yūsuf still survived, was turned into a vassal state of the Khitais.

Several years later, the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate also became a vassal state of the Khitais, although it retained all its territories intact. I believe the disintegration of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate into several small mutually independent principalities was encouraged by the Khitais, who would rather

have several, small, separate states than a strong, centralised state as their neighbour.

So, the creation and development of the appanage state system within the Qarākhānid khaqanate was mainly a result of the political and socio-economic interaction of the Turk and Iranian populations within that overall state. The appanage state system in its complete form appeared in the Qarākhānid khaqanate in the beginning of the eleventh century AD, much earlier than in other, contemporary states. The states of the Ghaznavids and of Khwārizm (annexed by the Ghaznavids in the second decade of that century) did not have an appanage system of that form. In the middle of the eleventh century, nomadic Turks, led by descendants of Seljūq, founded a new state on the conquered lands of the Ghaznavids. An appanage system was also created there, about 50 years later than in the Qarākhānid khaqanate, but it was less developed.

The Ghaznavid state did not disappear beneath the onrush of the nomadic Turks, as was the case with the Sāmānid state, but it lost most of its territories, retaining only its south-eastern lands in Afghanistan and North West India. In the Ghaznavid state, the appanage system, inexistant during the early period, was never widespread

The spread of the *iqṭā'* system and the creation of the state appanage system were interdependent and internconnected. It was not by chance that the *iqṭā'* system spread widely first of all in the states created by nomadic Turk conquerors. The *iqṭā'* as a form of feudal grant and as a way of exploiting the native, sedentary population was the most convenient for a feudal nomad. The granting of *iqṭā'* entitled him to taxes that previously would have gone to the state treasury and did not require his constant presence there.

The coins of the Qarākhānids show that sometimes a feudal lord, usually a Qarākhānid one, could be granted several towns situated in different parts of the state. Naturally, he could not be present in all of them at the same time. In such cases, the lord will have been able to grant the town to his subvassal, who received, for his services, a part of the taxes collected from the town and governed it. Or he could leave a detachment of his warriors in the town to defend and police it and charge the local administration with the collection of the taxes.

##### *5. Iranian peasants and Turk nomads. Alignment of forces. Qarākhānid policy.*

Having been granted land in *iqṭā'*, a nomadic Turk feudal lord continued to live with his tribe, guarding the state borders or participating in the campaigns of his Khān together with a detachment of armed, fellow tribesmen. The nomadic way of life did not prevent him from buying estates both in towns and in the country, for this constituted a profitable and reliable investment for the money which he accumulated from his *iqṭā'* and from war booty (even though he had to share such booty with the warriors from his tribe).

Such a way of life was led not only by the Turk feudal lords but also by some of the Qarākhānids. Thus, Shams al-Mulk, a grandson of İlek Naşr b. 'Alī, lived as a nomad and spent only the winters with his army in the vicinity of Bukhārā. There he built a splendid palace, Shamsabad, surrounded by gardens,

pasturelands and hunting preserves. The palace was situated not far from the "Gate of İbrahim" in the city wall of Bukhārā.<sup>50</sup>

But the nomadic way of life which some of the Qarākhānids led did not prevent them changing from nomadic Khāns into autocratic monarchs ("Persian despots", in the words of Bartold<sup>51</sup>), who more and more came to favour the sedentary population and, in the "contest between steppe and town" more often than not took sides with the latter. So the same Shams al-Mulk, while spending the winters in the vicinity of Bukhārā, ordered his warriors not to oppress or harass the sedentary population. They were also told to live in their yurts and not billet themselves in the houses of peasants or citizens. Moreover, they were not to be in the town after sunset.<sup>52</sup>

This policy of the Qarākhānids, who had so recently been the chiefs of nomadic Turks, was greatly admired by the sedentary Iranian population. It was not for nothing that the Turk monarchs were contrasted with the rank and file Turks by mediaeval Iranian or Arab writers. Thus, İdrīsī wrote about Turks "their amīrs are warlike, circumspect, firm, just and have many other superb qualities; the people are cruel, rude, ignorant." It is interesting to note that the Turk aristocracy, under the influence of Iranian culture, way of life and mentality, were, themselves, of the same opinion. Yūsuf Balāsāghūnī, a native of Balāsāghūn and high official at the court of the Qarākhānid, Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ḥasan, while admitting that the nomadic Turks had some merits, was not slow to mention their shortcomings: "they do not obey the law, they are not wise, they are far from virtue". He advised his Khān to be wary of them and not to make them his friends.<sup>53</sup>

Splendid warriors, freedom-loving, volatile and not easy to control, the nomadic Turks were a threat not only to the sedentary Iranian population of the Qarākhānid state, but to the Khāns themselves. Yet the Khān could not and would not manage without their military support.

When the nomadic Turks, led by the Qarākhānids, came to Mawarānnahr and other, western regions of Central Asia, a situation was created there similar to that which obtained in Central Asia after the Arab invasion. In the words of Bol'shakov: "Again, above the former aristocracy appeared a new one, alien to local culture and local interests. But now conquerors and conquered were of the same religion, and authority in this religion was with the conquered."<sup>54</sup>

After the fall of the Sāmānids and the creation of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, there were two political forces in the western regions of Central Asia. The first was formed by the Turk feudal chiefs with the military power of their armed, fellow tribesmen; the second was the landed Iranian aristocracy, who enjoyed a higher culture and knowhow, and operated an advanced administrative apparatus, which the Qarākhānids could scarcely do without. The interrelation of these two forces within the ruling class were neither openly hostile nor especially friendly. They tolerated each other for neither of them could do without the other.

To rule the alien Iranian population in a new country the Turk leaders needed the authority and connections of the local aristocracy as well as their advanced administrative machinery. On the other hand, the local aristocracy needed the authority and military might of the Turk aristocracy as protection against invasions from outside and, just as important, from the nomadic

Turks who came with the Qarākhānids. Such a symbiosis inevitably led to a partial, mutual infiltration of the two ruling ethnic groups. The complete merging, however, was not possible while the two groups represented the different and sometimes mutually incompatible interests of the sedentary Iranian population and the nomadic Turks. It was only when the newcomers had given up their nomadic way of life that they could hope to merge with the Iranian aristocracy. And that is what happened to some degree. Part of the Turk aristocracy went down that road. The conquerors were greatly influenced by the higher culture of the conquered. The process was in fact mutual: both groups of leaders adopted aspects of each other's cultures and methods. The best example of this were the Qarākhānids themselves; they became the largest land owners, buying it in towns and in the country. They bought and built caravanserais, bazars, baths houses, shops, mills, bridges, canals and so on. And they built mosques, madrasas and hospitals; fortified towns, repairing and building city walls, towers and citadels.

Some documents have survived telling us about such activities. There are two *waqfnamas* of Ibrāhīm Ṭafghāch Khān dating from 1066 AD. The Khān endowed part of his property as a *waqf* for the Ḥanafī madrasa and the hospital he had built.<sup>55</sup> Most of the Khān's endowed property was in Samarqand: many houses, 5 inns, 2 shops, 2 baths, a parcel of land. Another part was in the country: "all the houses of the peasants and a dam, vineyards and kitchen gardens, threshing floors, which are in the village of Charma'ad".<sup>56</sup> The documents show that property in Samarqand belonged not only to the Qarākhānids but also to Turk chiefs. Mentioned are: "square and houses of Khātūn-Malki, daughter of Tarkhān Bek" and "the house of Nūsh Tegīn".<sup>57</sup>

Such activity was usual for other Qarākhānids, too. In 1078-9 AD Shams al-Mulk Naṣr, the son of Ibrāhīm Ṭafghāch Khān, built two *rabats* (fortified caravanserais) on the way from Samarqand to Bukhārā and on the way from Samarqand to Khojend.<sup>58</sup> Arslān Khān Muḥammad (1102-30 AD), the great-grandson of Ibrāhīm Ṭafghāch Khān, built a *rabat* in the village of Iskiiket, east of Bukhārā, near the road to Samarqand. He built a bridge of baked bricks and mosque in the village of Sharq. In Bukhārā, he built a palace and a bath, but soon turned this palace into a madrasa and built himself a new palace. He also repaired the city wall and citadel of Bukhārā. In 1119 AD, he built a mosque near Bukhārā, at the place where Shamsābād, the palace of Shams al-Mulk, had previously been. In 1121 he built a great mosque in Bukhārā and, in 1127, a splendid minaret, 52 m high, for this mosque. He also undertook irrigations works near Paiqend.<sup>59</sup>

Thus it can be seen that the Qarākhānids attended to the needs of the settled Iranian population and, in that respect, responded (as Bartold put it) to "The Iranian ideal of a monarch", who ought to be a good master of the state, care about the welfare of his subjects, carry out irrigations works, develop the land, build new towns, roads and so on.<sup>60</sup>

As for the nomadic Turks, from their point of view the Qarākhānids were far from ideal, and various conflicts between the Khāns and their nomadic subjects attest to that. One such conflict resulted in the death of Khān Ibrāhīm, the son of Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. In 1156 AD, the Qarluqs "killed him... and left him in the desert, accusing him of evil deeds".<sup>61</sup>

Under the Qarākhānids the number of nomadic Turks who settled down and the number of peasants who were "Turkicised" was insignificant. The "land hunger", which led to the Sogdians and, later, their Muslim descendants colonising Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan, was one of the reasons. But it was essentially not in the interest of the Qarākhānids for that to happen because it would have resulted in the reduction in the number of skillful warriors. Not a single case is known under the Qarākhānids where a settled Iranian population was forced from its land by Turks settling down nor a case of arable lands being turned into pasture,<sup>62</sup> as it was under the Mongols.

Any settling down of the nomads only occurred as a result of impoverishment, where the people concerned could no longer subsist from the nomadic way of life. It was forced upon them by circumstances. Hardly any nomads would voluntarily give up their accustomed, free way of life. That is why attempts to force nomads to settle down would cause nothing but indignations and bitter resistance. There is an interesting account by Ibn al-Athīr<sup>63</sup> about events in the Qarākhānid khaqanate in the middle of the twelfth century AD which corroborates this.

The Gūr Khān of the Khitai told his Qarākhānid vassal, Jaghrī Khān, who ruled in Samarqand, to "expel the Qarluqs from the regions of Samarqand and Bukhārā to Kāshghar so that they should stop bearing arms and start tilling the land and practice other, peaceful occupations". Jaghrī Khān ordered them to do it, but they refused. He insisted that they comply and make their way to Kāshghar. At this the Qarluqs gathered in full force and advanced on Bukhārā. The governor of that town sent a message to Jaghrī Khān asking him to get there before the Qarluqs pillaged the country. At the same time he conducted negotiations with the nomads. He admonished them saying "even when infidels were passing through this country, they refrained from pillage and murder. But you are Muslim warriors and it is shameful to stretch your arm out against property and blood (of other people - MF)". He promised to give them a lot of money and many rich presents if they refrained from pillage and murder. In this way he played for time while Jaghrī Khān advanced stealthily to Bukhārā. On arrival the Khān caught the Qarluqs unawares "and turned his sword against them". The Qarluqs were routed and suffered great loss. Some of them managed to escape but many were killed. "So that land was rid of them", concluded Ibn al-Athīr, gratified.

It is worth commenting on this interesting account:

1. The Khitai realised that the military might of the Qarākhānids depended largely on the detachments of armed nomads. They wanted to weaken the Qarākhānids to stop them gaining their independence. They also realised what trouble makes the Qarluq tribes were.

2. While constituting the military might of the Qarākhānids, the nomadic Turks and especially the Qarluqs were the most unruly and volatile people within the Qarākhānid khaqanate. It will be recalled that it was the Qarluqs who killed Jaghrī Khān's, predecessor, Ibrāhīm Khān, and left him in the desert. So Jaghrī Khān will also have been keen to be rid of them, at least the most troublesome of them.

3. The Qarluqs were ordered to stop bearing arms and to start tilling the land or choose other, peaceful occupations. Here we see the contrast between the "bearing of arms" by the nomads and the "non-bearing of arms", i.e. the "peaceful" way of life of



the settled Iranian population, who did not take part in the Khān's military campaigns but spend their time tilling the land, and with crafts, trading etc.

4. The Qarluqs were told to settle down in Kāshghar (which probably meant Eastern Turkestan and Semirechie). This indicates that there was no free arable land in Mawarānnahr for the Qarluqs to settle down on, while in Eastern Turkestan and Semirechie there was, even in the middle of the twelfth century AD.

5. The "infidels" who passed through the land of Bukhārā and refrained from pillage and murder were Khitai, sent there to help Jaghrī Khān seize power and ascend the throne. Ibn al-Athīr wrote that the Gūr Khān appointed Jaghrī Khān b. Ḥasan Tegīn to govern Bukhārā and Samarqand and to collect taxes there for him. This situation resembled the one in Russia under the Mongols.

6. Ibn al-Athīr's statement that "the land got rid of them" (the Qarluq nomads) is typical of the opinion of a settled population towards nomads.

The interrelation and interaction between the nomadic Turks, both those who had come to the west and those who had stayed in the east, and the Qarākhānids is of great interest.

From the very beginning of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the nomadic Turks were the Khāns' main source of military power. Soon enough, however, they also became a source of trouble, all the more so as the Khāns started to withdraw from the nomadic Turk milieu and allied themselves increasingly with the interests of the sedentary population. While a sort of consensus between the Khāns and the nomads still existed in the eleventh century, conflicts between them in the twelfth century grew more and more frequent and bitter. What was the reason for this?

In the eleventh century, both the Khāns and the nomads were still conscious of their common origin and there was still a strong tribal solidarity that linked them. Both the Khāns and the Qarluq-Chigil-Yaghma Turks were newcomers in alien country and kept close to each other. Another important fact is that there was already another large contingent of nomadic Turks in the form of the Seljūqid Turkmens, who had come there in the time of the Sāmānids. So the Khāns and the Qarluq-Chigil-Yaghma contingents needed each other to stay in the new country. The Khāns could also use the Turkmens as a counterbalance to the Qarluqs and the other tribes they brought with them. By playing them off against the Turkmens, taking advantage of their mutual rivalry, the Khāns were able to manoeuvre both parties into submission. The Khān's tax collectors did not yet harass the nomads as much as they did in the twelfth century. The state was still relatively centralised and the Qarākhānids' own army was not yet dispersed in small, mutually independent principalities as it was in the twelfth century.

The nomads' concept of the ideal ruler was quite different from that of the settled Iranian population. The nomads could not care less whether their Khān built canals, bridges, caravanserais or not. His job was to lead them into victorious battles and pillaging raids, split the booty with them, be generous and give them rich feasts and presents. The Qarākhānids had to take that into account. Grandiose feasts, awards and presents were common factors in the relationship between the Khāns and the nomads in the Qarākhānid khaqanate.

In this respect, the events which took place in Samarqand in 1089-90 AD are very characteristic. The Seljūq ruler, Malikshāh captured Samarqand, took Aḥmad b. Khidr prisoner and exiled him to Iṣfahān. The nomads were indifferent to the fate of their Khān. But the fact the sultan, while in Mawarānnahr, did not give them a single feast disgusted them so much that, after Malikshāh had returned to Khorāsān with his army, the Chigil tribe rebelled, expelled the Seljūq governor from Samarqand and invited the Eastern Qarākhānid ruler of Atbāsh, Yaqūb Tegīn, to ascend the vacant throne.<sup>64</sup>

Here is another instance, this time involving 'Alī Tegīn, the ruler of Bukhārā and Samarqand. He had been taken prisoner by Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr but had managed to escape. Turkmen nomads, led by Isrā'īl b. Seljūq, helped him capture Bukhārā. The army was sent to punish the usurpers but it was defeated. Part of the army was made up by Qarluqs, Chigil and Yaghma Turks, so, when 'Alī Tegīn came to power, they were forced out into inferior positions. 'Alī Tegīn curried favour with the Turkmens "by words and silver" and married the daughter of Isrā'īl b. Seljūq. He was, however, in two minds about them: while he considered the Turkmens a buttress for his throne, he was also afraid lest they might like to secure the throne for themselves.

To sow discord among them, he made Yūsuf b. Mūsā the head of all the Seljūqs, gave him many precious gifts and town of Kermine as *iqṭā'*. His aim was to make the other Seljūqs jealous of Yūsuf and hostile to him. This plan did not work so 'Alī Tegīn sent his general, Alp Qarā, with a thousand soldiers, who killed Yūsuf. Yūsuf's cousins, Toḡhrul and Dā'ūd, ambushed and killed Alp Qarā, whereupon 'Alī tegīn raised an army and defeated the ambushers.<sup>65</sup> The Qarluq, Chigil and Yaghma were only too glad to help him, which encouraged him to get closer to them. But he did not expel the Turkmen nomad tribes from his state because he wanted to use them as a counterbalance to the Qarluq-Chigil-Yaghma nomads. 'Alī Tegīn's sons, however, were less astute. Prompted by their commander-in-chief, a sworn enemy of the Turkmens, they expelled the latter tribes from the country.

After several years of wanderings, disasters and victories the Turkmens defeated the Ghaznavid ruler; Mas'ūd, conquered most of his territories and created their own state. This exodus of the Turkmens weakened the military capability of the "Hasanids". Ibrahīm, the son of İlek Naṣr, took advantage of this, and with the help of those self same Turkmens, conquered all the lands held by the sons of 'Alī Tegīn.<sup>66</sup> As the Qarluq-Chigil-Yaghma nomad tribes no longer had any rivals, their position became much stronger. So they, and particularly their feudal chiefs, started to claim special priveleges. The state officials, however, who were mainly of Iranian origin, tended to consider them as normal subjects of the Khān, who should pay taxes and render him service. The Khāns themselves increasingly began to subscribe to this view, which inevitably led to conflicts between the Khāns and the nomads. These conflicts became especially bitter in the twelfth century AD.

Unfortunately, data on this subject from the Qarākhānids is lacking but the Turkmen revolt of 1027 AD in the Ghaznavid state was caused by the greediness of officials and tax collectors, who seized the Turkmens' children and sold them into slavery, when there was no money to pay taxes with.<sup>67</sup> The most serious

revolt in the history of the Seljūq state, that of the nomadic Ghuzz tribes in 1153 AD, was also caused by "efforts to subject the nomads to the authority of Persian officials and tax collectors".<sup>68</sup> There is no doubt in my mind that such tendencies existed in the Qarākhānid khaqanate as well.

The first rebellion by Turk nomads in the Qarākhānid khaqanate was in fact not against the Qarākhānids but the Seljūqs, who conquered Samarqand in 1089 AD. The revolt was triggered by the miserliness of Malikshāh and his disregard of the local nomadic Turks. While he was in Samarqand he did not give them a single traditional feast and this was regarded by the nomads as a snub. Although that was the *casus belli*, the real reason ran deeper. Had Samarqand remained within the Seljūq state, the Qarluq-Chigil-Yaghma tribes would have lost their privileges. In the Seljūq state, those privileges were the perquisite of other nomadic tribes who had brought the descendants of Seljūq to power.

It is interesting to note that, having expelled the Seljūq governor from Samarqand, the Chigils invited an Eastern Qarākhānid to ascend the vacant throne. The nomads of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate had become disappointed with their own Qarākhānid rulers.

Having invited Ya'qūb Tegīn from Atbāsh, the Chigil chiefs hoped to make him their puppet. In that they were unsuccessful for Ya'qūb had the Chigil warlord, 'Ayyar Bek, put to death. When Malikshāh invaded Mawarānnahr to quell the rebellion, part of Ya'qūb's army (no doubt they were mostly Chigil) betrayed him and took sides with Malikshāh. Ya'qūb Tegīn fled to Atbāsh, where the rest of his army (most probably consisting of the remaining nomadic Turks from the Western khaqanate) rebelled and resorted to pillaging. Ya'qūb fled to his brother in Kāshghar.<sup>69</sup>

The next revolt took place in 1095 AD. Malikshāh had had enough of Mawarānnahr and its problems and put in charge of the region the Qarākhānid, Aḥmad b. Khidr, whom he had exiled to Iṣfahān after capturing Samarqand. Aḥmad had to accept the position of vassal to Malikshāh. Once installed at Samarqand, Aḥmad, as part of his attempts to centralise the government, tried to curb the wayward Qarluq-Chigil-Yaghma warlords, a policy that made him very unpopular with them. The Khān also conflicted with the clergy, who wished to subject him to their wishes. Eventually the warlords and the clergy united to destroy him. He was captured and handed over to the clergy. The clerical court accused him of heresy and sentenced him to death. Aḥmad was strangled with a bowstring on 26 June 1095.<sup>70</sup>

In 1129 AD there was another conflict, this time between the Qarākhānid, Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān and his Qarluq warriors. Arslān Khān was forced to seek help from the Seljūq ruler, Sanjar. Sanjar duly obliged and when he arrived at Samarqand the "Qarluqs feld before him".<sup>71</sup>

Around the year 1130 AD, there was a conflict in the Eastern khaqanate between the Khān and the Qarluqs. The local ruler of Balāsāghūn sought help from the nomadic Khitai. They came, dethroned the weak Khān and created their own state there. Only then did they severely punish the unruly Qarluqs.

In 1141 AD, there was a conflict between the Khān and the Qarluqs in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. The ruler of Samarqand, Maḥmūd, son of Arslān Khān Muḥammad, asked Sanjar for help. Sanjar attacked the Qarluqs and they asked the

Khitai for help. The Gūr Khān interceded with Sanjar on behalf of the Qarluqs. Sanjar's abusive response resulted in the invasion of Mawarānnahr by the Khitai. On 9 September 1141, the combined armies of Sanjar and Maḥmūd were defeated by the Khitai and the revengeful Qarluqs on the Qatwām Steppe east of Samarqand.<sup>72</sup>

Thus it can be seen that the Qarluqs unwittingly caused momentous changes in the history of Central Asia in the twelfth century AD. Firstly, their activities led indirectly to the creation of the Khitai state, then to the crushing defeat of the Seljūq military power, and finally to the Western Qarākhānids becoming vassals of the Khitai state.

In 1156 AD, mutinous Qarluqs killed Khān Ibrāhīm, vassal of the Khitai and brother of Maḥmūd Khān, who, after the battle of Qatwām, had fled from Mawarānnahr with Sanjar. Another vassal of the Khitai, Jaghrī Khān 'Alī, with the help of Khitai troops, took vengeance on the Qarluqs and killed their warlord, Peighū. The Qarluqs then asked the Khwārizmshāh, Ī Arslān for assistance. In July 1158 he invaded Mawarānnahr with his whole army. Jaghrī Khān joined forces with the Turkmens inhabiting the steppe between Qaraqul and Jend, and also asked the Khitai for help. The Gūr Khān sent 10,000 warriors in response. Since the opposing forces were equal in number, negotiations began and a peace treaty finally emerged. The Qarluqs were pardoned and their warlords regained their high positions.<sup>73</sup>

It was at this time that it dawned upon the Khitai that the Qarluqs were a threat to their dominance in Mawarānnahr. And that is when they told Jaghrī Khān to order the Qarluqs to stop bearing arms and to settle down in Kāshghar, as mentioned earlier in this paper.

The last Qarluq rebellion that I know of took place during the reign of Jaghrī Khān's brother and successor, Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān Mas'ūd. The decisive battle raged on the steppe between Zāmīn and Sābāt. The Qarluq warlord, 'Ayyar Bek, who headed the charge, almost managed to hack his way to the hill where Mas'ūd and his retinue stood but, at the last moment, he was captured and executed in front of the Khān. In this battle the Khitai auxiliary army again helped the Qarākhānids.<sup>75</sup> After Mas'ūd's reign I am not aware of any revolts by the Qarluqs against their Khān.

*6. The ways in which the Iranian and Turk populations interacted in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Cultural exchange among the two populations under the Qarākhānids and its impact on Central Asian culture.*

In the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate the interaction between the Iranian and Turk populations had some specific features. Here, contrary to the situation in the western regions of Central Asia, the Iranian population was in the minority. In the western areas, the Iranian way of life hardly affected the nomadic Turk newcomers, who retained their own language, way of life and mentality. In the eastern khaqanate, however, the Iranian population underwent a considerable amount of "Turkisation". They learnt the Turki language, acquired various Turk customs, including the way they dressed. Turko-Iranian bilingualism was characteristic of this ethnical group. In return, they taught the native Turks about irrigation, agriculture and crafts. The Turks were aware of this interdependence. Maḥmūd Kāshgharī cited an

interesting Turk adage: "There is not Turk without Tat, there is no head without hat".<sup>76</sup> According to Bartold, "Tat" was the term used by the Turks for the settled (mainly Soghdian-Iranian) population.<sup>77</sup>

Of course, not all the city residents and peasants in the eastern khaqanate were of Iranian origin. There were also settled Turks among them, both recent nomads and inhabitants of the old oases there. After Islam was proclaimed the state religion of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, not only peasants, craftsmen and merchants made their way to Semirechie and Eastern Turkestan, but also members of the Muslim intelligentsia. Interesting information on this is furnished by tombstones from the Qarākhānid period found in Kirghiziya. In addition to the names of the occupants, the tombstones often mention their *nisba* and occupation. Among the clergy, lawyers, *kātibs*, theologians etc were many migrants from western Central Asia and Iran with *nisba* like Baihaqī, Nīshāpūrī, Samarqandī, Shāshī.<sup>78</sup>

More interesting information is provided by a document, written in Arabic in Dhū'l Hijja 474 or 494 AH (2-31 May 1082 or 27 September-25 October 1101 AD) in Yarkend, which was verified by the sheikh, *qaḍī*, and imām, Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Bukhārī. This means that the *qaḍī* of Yarkend was a theologian and lawyer from Bukhārā. As for the plaintiff, defendant and witnesses, they were Muslim Turks, judging by their names: Ḥajī Īnāl (who had made the *hāj* to Mecca), Hārūn, son of Toghchakh, Yūsuf Īnāl, Sukmān Bek, Jūbārz Īnāl, 'Abd al-Jalāl Chaghārā Sūbāshī, Abū Bakr, son of Burāq, Jabrā'il, son of Mūsā, son of Baqchār and so on. Among them were officers, farmers and others. It was a case-document relating to a parcel of land, which could be bought and sold (i.e. *mulk*) and yielded a harvest of 30 *viqr* (*kharvār*) of wheat. The weight of a *kharvār* was 82.3 kg. One *jarīb* (about 960 sq. m.) usually yielded four *kharvār* of wheat.<sup>80</sup> so the parcel was about 7.5 *jarīb* (0.72 hectare) and yielded 2500 kg of wheat, which would have cost 12-18 *dīnārs* (the normal cost of wheat was 2-3 g of gold for 100 kg).<sup>81</sup>

This document, along with 14 others, dated to AH 474-529 (1081-1135 AD) was found in Yarkend in 1911. Seven of them were in Arabic, five in Turki written in Arabic script and three in Turki written in Uighur script. These documents therefore show that jurisdiction in Yarkend was performed by a Muslim judge, according to Muslim law; legal documents were written in Arabic, or in Turki using Arabic script (or sometimes Uighur script). Some documents have also been found written in Iranian. For instance, a bill of sale written in Iranian and dated to 1107 AD, was found in Khotan<sup>83</sup>, which is further east than Yarkend.

While Arabic had an important role as the language of religion and the law, it was not the everyday language in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. That role was played by Iranian or, rather, the Central Asian form of it. Turko-Iranian bilingualism was common in every Semirechian town. The old Soghdian script was also known and sometimes used in the lands of the Eastern Qarākhānids, not only by descendants of Soghdian colonists but also by Turks. In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Soghdian inscriptions were discovered in the Terek Sai gorge in Kirghiziya dated to the time of the Qarākhānids. One of them read "Arrived (here) fortunate (?) king Kul Tegin Alp Tarkhān".<sup>84</sup>

It was during the period of the Qarākhānids that the cultural exchanges and interaction between the Iranian and Turk

populations of Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan were at their most intensive. The incipient Turk Muslim intelligentsia not only adopted the achievements of the Muslim Arab-Iranian culture, but enriched it too. Works on the Turki language, customs and history were written in Arabic. In Turki a didactic poem was written which dealt with state government, household management and the code of ethics that had been formulated by the feudal Iranian aristocracy. The Qarākhānid khaqanate thus saw the birth of mediaeval Turki literature and the further development of Tajik-Iranian literature, both of which were interconnected.

Qarākhānid Turks were patrons of Iranian poets, writers and scientists. 'Umar Khayyam, the great poet and scientist, worked in Bukhārā and Samarqand, at the court of Shams al-Mulk<sup>85</sup> Shams al-Mulk's brother, Khidr Khān, was a connoisseur and patron of Iranian poetry. Poets such as Ustād Rashīdī, 'Alī Sipahrī, Amīr 'Am'ak, Najībī Farghānī, Najār Sagirjī, Pīsar-i Dargūsh, Pīsar-i Isfarānī, 'Alī Bānīdī received awards and honours at his court.<sup>86</sup> It can thus be seen that Khidr Khān gathered at his court a constellation of Iranian poets from all parts of his state. Rashīdī was from Samarqand, 'Am'ak from Bukhārā, Najībī from Farghāna, Najār from Sagirj (about 30 km north-east of Samarqand), Pīsar from Isfarā (in the Farghāna valley). There were keen poetic contests at Khidr Khān's court. On one occasion, the poet, Rashīdī, was awarded 1000 *dīnārs* by Khidr Khān for his brilliant improvisation.<sup>87</sup>

For Ṭafghāch Khān Mas'ūd (1160-74 AD), the Tajik-Iranian writer, Muḥammad Kātib al-Samarqandī wrote "Sindbād Nāma". The Khān rewarded him with the post of Head of the State Chancellery.<sup>88</sup> Patronage of Tajik-Iranian literature was also given by high officials of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, a good example of this being the "Bakhtiyār Nāma", written at the beginning of the thirteenth century AD for the vazir of the ruler of Samarqand.<sup>89</sup>

In the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate there was a greater interaction and mutual enrichment between the Turk and Arab-Iranian culture. This khaqanate became the cradle of mediaeval Turki literature and science. The masterpiece of mediaeval Turki poetry, "Qūtādghū Bīlīk", was written in 462/1069-70. Its author, Yūsuf Balāsāghūnī, was born in Balāsāghūn between 1015 and 1018 AD. He took eighteen months to write the poem and completed it in Kāshghar, where he presented it to Ṭafghāch Bolghrā Khān Ḥasan. The Khān rewarded him with the high rank of *Hājib*. "Qūtādghū Bīlīk" is a didactic poem dealing with ethics and morals. It gives advice on the righteous way of life, state government, household management, how to treat various people according to their merits, demerits and customs, it teaches etiquette and so on. That is why the author named his poem "Knowledge to make you happy". It was written in the form of questions and answers, maxims and parables in "Boghrahānīan language", i.e. the Turki language of the Qarākhānids and their milieu.<sup>90</sup> Yūsuf Balāsāghūnī realised the importance of his work. He wrote that Arabs and Tajiks had many books while his book was "only the beginning" and had no equal in the lands of the Turks.<sup>91</sup>

Radlov was of the opinion that the poem was originally written in Arabic script and that Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān ordered it to be rewritten in Uighur script to facilitate its dissemination among the people.<sup>92</sup> Yūsuf Balāsāghūnī wrote that, when read

aloud, his book would be understood by every Turk, but that not all literate people would be able to read it. By that he meant those that could read the Uighur script but not the Arabic script.<sup>93</sup> "Qūtādghū Bīlīk" has survived in three manuscripts, one in Arabic script and two in Uighur script.

The outstanding Turk scholar of the Qarākhānid period was Maḥmūd b. Ḥusain b. Muḥammad Kāshgharī (of Qarākhānid origin). His father, born in Barskhān on the shores of Lake Issyk Kul, moved to Kāshghar, where Maḥmūd was born. Maḥmūd was educated in Kāshghar as well as in other cultural centres, including Baghdād, where, between 1072-5 AD, he wrote his famous "Divan al-lughat al-Turk" (Dictionary of Turk dialects). This work he intended to present to the caliph Al-Muqtadī (467-87/1075-94).

This dictionary, written in Arabic, is the unique source on the mediaeval dialects of the Turkmen, Ghuzz, Chigil, Qarluq, Yaghma, Qirghiz; on Turk folk poetry, adages and so on. It contains information on the history, geography and ethnography of the Turks. It has survived in a manuscript which was completed on 1 August 1226 by a copyist who noted that he had used the autograph version.<sup>96</sup>

The historian, 'Abd al-Ghaffār Almaī (died before 1093 AD) lived in Kāshghar and wrote a history of the town in Arabic. He also wrote a "Dictionary of Sheikhs".<sup>97</sup> A treatise on medicine was written for the Qarākhānid, Māmūn, son of Taḥghāch Boghrā Khān Ḥasan. It would seem that the time of this latter ruler was a sort of golden age of culture and science in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate.

## 7. Summary

The Qarākhānid khaqanate united within one state Iranian and Turk populations, thereby creating unprecedented, favourable conditions for the socio-economic, political and cultural interaction between them. As a result, a new state system, that of the appanage state was formed; a new type of socio-economic relationship, based on *iqṭā'* became widespread; a new type of culture appeared. Having been enriched by the achievements of Muslim Arab-Iranian culture, the Turk population had, in its turn, enriched the culture of Central Asia with masterpieces like "Qūtādghū Bīlīk" and "Divan al-lughat al-Turk". The advent of the Qarākhānids, the participation of the nomadic Turk aristocracy in the government of agricultural oases intensified the interaction between the nomadic Turks and the settled Iranian population of Central Asia, speeded up historical processes in the eastern regions of Central Asia and allowed them to catch up with the more advanced western regions of Central Asia. All these processes were subsequently interrupted by the devastating Mongol invasion.

Under the Qarākhānids, Central Asia entered into a new period of its history which was characterised by an upsurge of industry, commerce, agriculture and urban development. In the eastern khaqanate, new lands were developed, new mines started. Archaeologists in Kirghizstan have discovered many settlements, villages and small towns dating from the Qarākhānid period: 60 in the Chu valley, more than 50 in the Talas valley, about 70 around Lake Issyk Kul. Some settlements were found high in the mountain valleys of the Tien Shan: in Kochkor, Jumgal, Susamyr. In Jumgal there were ten such settlements.<sup>98</sup> Most of

those settlements were founded by the Iranian-speaking populations that had come both from the western part of Central Asia and from the former Soghdian colonies in Semirechie. There were, of course also some Turks involved, but the nomads always preferred their free nomadic life-style to one of tilling the land, and usually only settled down under duress.

Trade and money circulation in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate reached an unprecedented level. There were six mints operating in the territory of present-day Kirghizstan: Uzgend, Ush, Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn), Sheljī, Barskhān and Il Ordū, a state of affairs that existed neither before nor after the Qarākhānids. In the Chu and Talas valleys, hoards have been found comprising up to several thousand coins dated to the eleventh century AD.

It is noteworthy that not only the Western but also the Eastern Qarākhānids and their retinue (former nomads) were interested in and fostered the development of agriculture, trade and industry. Yūsuf Balāsūghūnī, who, in his work, expressed the ideology of the ruling class of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate, advised the Khān to "befriend" the husbandmen, to care about craftsmen "for his own good", to be on good terms and generous with merchants etc.<sup>99</sup>

In the Qarākhānid period, the interaction between the Iranian and Turk populations of Central Asia passed through an important and fruitful stage. It was interrupted by the devastating plague of the Mongol invasion which triggered off the last and most stupendous migration of nomads to the west. Originating on the steppes of Mongolia, pushing aside all obstacles, involving on its way more and more nomad tribes, this wave of humanity reached as far as the Volga. After the Mongol invasion, the dynamics, tendencies and results of the Iranian and Turk interactions in Central Asia were different from what had gone before.

The Chagatayid state was the last resulting from the invasions of nomadic tribes from the east. The Timūrid state was created in another way. The Shaibānid state did arise as a result of an invasion by nomads, but not from the east. Uzbek nomads came from the west, from the steppes south of the Aral Sea.

After the Mongol invasion, the colonisation of the eastern regions by the Iranian population of Central Asia, which had taken place during the Soghdian and Sāmānid-Qarākhānid periods, ceased. That was one of the reasons that the towns and villages in Semirechie also eventually ceased to exist.

The Mongol invasion of Central Asia was accompanied by the senseless, mass slaughter of the settled population. As a result, the "land hunger" in the western regions, one of the main reasons for the colonisation of the eastern regions, ceased to exist for a long time. Even half a century after Chīngiz Khān's invasion, there were abandoned arable lands and villages in Mawarānnahr.<sup>100</sup>

Some scholars consider that husbandry and city life in Semirechie ended because of the internecine wars of nomadic Mongol warlords.<sup>101</sup> That was certainly one of the reasons, but another was that the migration of sedentary people from the western regions of Central Asia dried up. That steady inflow which had contributed so much to the initiation and development of rural and city life in Semirechie came to a stop. At first it was because there was no longer any "land hunger" after the Mongol invasions. Then it became too dangerous to migrate east and

develop land there. In fact, the surviving settled population in the east started to migrate westwards where life for them would be less dangerous. The nomads did not need to put the settled population to the sword, it was enough to lead their sheep, cattle and horses across the peasants' fields to starve them to death.

Timūr's attempt to revive husbandry and city life in Semirechie (for instance in Ashpara in 1398 AD) was compulsory in nature and related to the Timūrid military presence. Some revival did take place as a result but once, the Timūrids were forced to withdraw from there, the peasants and town dwellers were again exposed to the arbitrariness, oppression and harassment of the nomads. It was not long before husbandry and town life ceased there for ages. Under the Khāns of Khūqand (1825-76) there was only a military presence there with taxes collected from nomads. There was no settled population, no rural or city life.

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98. *Istoriia Kirghizskoi SSR*, T. 1, Frunze, 1968, pp. 139-140.
99. Yusuf Balasagunsky, *Blagodatnoe znanie ...*, pp. 336-340.
100. *Bukharskii vakf XIII v.*, *Izdanie teksta, perevod A. Arends, A. Khalidova, O. Chekhovich*, Moskva, 1979, p. 11.
101. V. V. Bartold, *Istoriia Turkestana*, *Sochineniia*, t. 2, kn. 1, Moskva, 1963, pp. 150-151.
102. *Materialy po istorii kirghizov ...*, p. 144.

### The genealogy of the Qarākhānids

In AD 603 the Turk qaganate split into the Western and Eastern qaganates. The rulers of the Western Turk qaganate (603-704 AD) set up their Ordu (camp, headquarters) in front of the walls of Suyab (now the hillfort of Aq Beshim about 60 km east of Bishkek). It is to this camp that Suyab owes its second name of Ordükend or Town of Ordu. In 704 Uch Elig, the ruler of the nomadic Tiurgesh tribe, killed the last qagan of the Western Turk qaganate and captured Suyab. The Tiurgesh qaganate (704-766 AD) was then created (Istoriia 1984, 226, 239).

In 744 the Basmil, Uighūr and Qarluq tribes put an end to the Eastern Turk qaganate. The chief of Basmils proclaimed himself qagan but the Uighūrs, helped by the Qarluqs, defeated him. Then the chief of the Uighūrs became qagan and the chief of the Qarluqs received the title of yaghbū. In this way the Uighūr qaganate was created. But soon discord was sown between the allies and the Qarluqs were forced to migrate to the west. In 746 AD they appeared in Semirechie. In 748 Suyab was devastated by a Chinese army. But in July 751 the Chinese were defeated by Arabs in the battle at the bank of the Talas river not far from Atlakh. The battle was won thanks to the help of the Qarluqs, who attacked the Chinese at the crucial moment from the rear. Notwithstanding their victory over the Chinese, the Arabs did not hold on to Semirechie but retreated. The position of the Qarluqs in Semirechie strengthened but it took them about 15 years of struggle before they became indisputable masters of the land. In 766 AD the Qarluq federation of tribes defeated the Tiurgesh and captured Suyab. They then set up the Qarluq state (Istoriia 1984, 251-254). Scholars named this state "the Qarluq qaganate". But initially, the Qarluqs were vassals of the Uighūr qagan and the Qarluq rulers had the title of yaghbū. So their state was really the "Qarluq yaghbuate" rather than the "Qarluq qaganate". In 840 AD the Yenisei Qirghiz (who since 758 AD had also been vassals of the Uighūrs) defeated the Uighūr qaganate but did not use the fruit of their victory and returned to Yenisei (Istoriia 1984, 257). So it was the third party who profited most of all from those events. The Qarluqs ceased to be vassals of the Uighūrs and their state became the most powerful in the region. According to Gardīzī, in 840 AD, the Yaghbū of the Qarluqs accepted the title of Khān. According to Qarshī, the progenitor of the Qarākhānids was Bilgā Kul Qadir Khān who fought against the Sāmānid ruler, Nūh b. Asad who conquered from him Ispījāb in 840 (Pritsak 1953, 24). "The circle has closed", wrote Kliashorny, "the only qagan in 840 was the former yaghbū of the Qarluqs and the progenitor of the Qarākhānid dynasty, Bilgā Kul Qadir Qagan" (Kliashorny 1970, 84).

Bilgā Kul had two sons. According to Pritsak (1953, 25) his elder son, Bazir Arslān Khān, was 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 ruler, Ismā'īl, captured Ṭarāz, Oghulchaq transferred his capital to Kāshghar (Pritsak 1953, 25). There is one weak point in the theory of Pritsak. Muslim chronicles state that the ruler of Ṭarāz, taken prisoner by Ismā'īl in 280/893, converted to Islam. But Oghulchaq Qadir Khān, the ruler of Kāshghar was an infidel. His nephew, 'Abd al-Karīm Satuq Boghrā Khān, son of Bazir Arslān Khān, clandestinely converted to Islam, fled from Kāshghar to Atbāsh and raised an army there with the help of Muslim ghāzīs. He defeated his uncle under the banner of a holy war against the infidels. Having captured Kāshghar, he created the Qarākhānid khaganate, the first feudal state of Muslim Turks in Central Asia. Satuq died in 344/955. In 349/960 his son, Arslān Khān Mūsā proclaimed Islam the state religion of the Qarākhānid khaganate (Pritsak 1953, 25). Arslān Khān Mūsā was the founder of the Western Qarākhānid branch. Another son of Satuq Boghr Khān, Ṭonghā İlek Sulaimān, was the founder of the Eastern Qarākhānid branch (Fedorov 1972, 149).

At first, the Qarākhānids expanded their state fighting infidel Turks under the banner of a holy war. In Muḥarram 388, January 998, in one such wars Arslān Khān ‘Alī, son of Arslān Khān Mūsā, perished (Bartold 1963, 330). But then the Qarākhānids turned their attention to the west where the weakened state of the Sāmānids promised to be an easy prey. In 380/990 the ruler of Balāsghūn, Boghrā Khān Hārūn, son of Ṭonghā Īlek Sulaimān, captured the Sāmānid province of Ispījāb, having met no resistance. Circa 381 AH, the Qarākhānids captured Eastern Farghāna, where dirhams 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, the 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 led by Naṣr, the son of Arslān Khān ‘Alī. In 383 AH Naṣr minted coins in Khojende (Kochnev 1995, 203/6), which means that the whole of Farghāna (being to the East of Khojende) already belonged to him. In Dhū-l-Qa‘da (XI month) 389/ October 999, Īlek Naṣr b. ‘Alī captured Bukhārā and imprisoned the last Sāmānid amir ‘Abd al-Malik b. Nūḥ in his capital in Uzgend (Beihaqī 1962, 566; Bartold 1963, 329). The Qarākhānid state spread 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. In its Eastern part (at least from 395/1004-5) ruled Qadir Khān Yūsuf, the son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn, with his capital in Kāshghar. The first war between the Western and Eastern Qarākhānids (Qadir Khān attacked the Western Qarākhānids and in 1026-1028 conquered part of their dominions from them) led to the division of the state into the Western and Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanates, which existed till the beginning of the second decade of the thirteenth century AD.

And now to the chrono-genealogy of the Qarākhānids. The tables (especially Nr. 2-4) still cannot be considered complete. I did not include in my tables some of the names and genealogical links given in tables compiled by Pritsak (1953, 69-70) and Kochnev (1993, 530-532), and which, to my mind, remain questionable. I also included in my tables some new names and genealogical links, which are not to be found in theirs.

The abbreviations used are as follows: **M**: mentioned in written sources; **C**: cited on coins; **R**: ruled; **D**: died; **Aḥmad Ṭonghā Khān**: supreme ruler. (Suzerain...) - suzerain of this ruler is... (Suzerain... vassal...) - suzerain of this ruler is... vassal of this ruler is... (Vassal...) - this ruler is independent, has a vassal... (No vassal) - this ruler is independent, but has no vassal.

TABLE 1. THE EARLIEST QARĀKHĀNIDS

**Bilgā Kul Qadir Khān**

**Ogulchaq Qadir Khān**

**Bazir Arslān Khān**

**‘Abd al-Karīm Satuq Boghrā Khān**

Sulaimān Ṭonghā Īlek.

Mūsā-Bāitash Arslān Khān

**Hārūn Boghrā Khān?**

**‘Alī Arslān Khān**

EASTERN QARĀKHĀNIDS

WESTERN QARĀKHĀNIDS

*Comments on TABLE 1.*

**Bilgā Kul Qadir Khān - M: 840 AD.** His capital most probably was Balāsāghūn, the capital of the Qarluq Qaganate. But after the Sāmānids had conquered Ispījāb, Bilgā Kul Qadir Khān was able to transfer his capital to “a safer place”, i.e. to Kāshghar.

**Bazir Arslān Khān - M: first half of 10<sup>th</sup> century AD** Most probably inherited the throne together with Kāshghar.

**Ogulchaq Qadir Khān - M: first half of 10<sup>th</sup> century AD** It is not clear who possessed Kāshghar after the death of Bilgā Kul Qadir Khān. I believe that Bazir Arslān Khān inherited his father’s throne with Kāshghar and that, after his death, Ogulchaq Qadir Khān became the ruler of Kāshghar, because Satuq was too young to rule there. The fact that Satuq later fought his uncle for Kāshghar may attest to this.

**Satuq Boghrā Khān - M: second quarter(?) of 10<sup>th</sup> century AD D: 955.** According to Qarshī, the Sāmānid who converted Satuq to Islam was Naṣr b. Maṣṣūr, who fled from his brother, Ismā‘īl. Bartold (1966, 375) wrote that the “names of the Sāmānids do not correspond to those known from Satuq’s life-time”. I believe that the Sāmānid prince in

question was Ilyās b. Ishhāq, who mutinied in Farghāna in 922 and then fled to Kāshghar (Bartold 1963, 301). If so, the events which resulted in the creation of the Qarākhānid khaqanate took place after 922 and before 955, i.e. in the second quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD

Mūsā-Bāitāsh Arslān Khān - M: 960. Judging by his title, Arslān Khān, he was supreme ruler and possessed Kāshghar.

Sulaimān Tonghā Īlek - M: second half of 10<sup>th</sup> century AD Since his title was Īlek, he was inferior to Mūsā-Bāitāsh Arslān Khān. The appanage of Sulaimān Tonghā Īlek is not known, but judging by the fact that his son, Hārūn Boghrā Khān was ruler of Balāsāghūn, it was probably Balāsāghūn.

Hārūn Boghrā Khān - M: 380, 382 / 990, 992. C: Farghāna 381 (vassal Arslān Tegīn). Bukhārā 382 (no vassal). Īlāq 382 (vassal Manšūr b. Aḥmad). D: 382/992. His capital was Balāsāghūn. Judging by the title Khān, he may have been supreme ruler. Titulage: *Malik al-Mashriq Shihāb al-Daula wa Zahir al-Da'va Turk Khāqān, or Būghrā Khān*. Kunya: *Abū Mūsā*

‘Alī Arslān Khān - D: 388/998. Judging by fact that he was buried in Kāshghar, it was probably his capital. If Hārūn Boghrā Khān was supreme ruler, he could not have become the supreme ruler earlier than 382/992.

*Comments on TABLE 2 (for table, see page 31)*

Yūsuf Qadir Khān I - M: 398/1007-8, 416-24/1025-32. D: 01. 424/12. 1032. C: Kāshghar 395-414, 422 (no vassal), 403 (vassal Bazār), 404, 414-16, 417? (vassal Jaghrī Tegīn Sulaimān b. Yūsuf), 41x (vassal Rukn al-Daula, i.e. Naṣr b. Yūsuf), 423 (co-ruler Arslān Khān, i.e. Sulaimān b. Yūsuf). Yarkend 404-6 (vassal Khutlugh Ūkā [b. Hārūn]), 406-17 (vassal Jaghrī Tegīn Sulaimān [b. Yūsuf]), 418 (no vassal). Farghāna 416, 418, 421 (no vassal). Uzgend 416 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn & Subvassal Saif al-Daula), 416 (vassal Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula), 418 (vassal Kuch Tegīn), 419, 420 (no vassal), 419-21, 422? (vassal Sulaimān b. Hārūn), 420, 422, 423 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn). Akhsiket 417, 419 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn), 41(7? or 9?) (vassal Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula), 420 (vassal Mu‘izz al-Daula), 422 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn), 422 (vassal Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula), 423 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn, subvassal Alp Tegīn). Barskhān 41x (vassal Yaghan Īlek). Tūnket 418 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrā Tegīn), 421, 422, 424 (vassal Oavvām al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān). Quz Ordū 416-7 (no vassal). Ūch 407? or 417?, 412? or 422?, 413? or 423? (vassal Atim Tegīn). Marghīnān 418, 423 (vassal Kuch Tegīn). Shāsh 418 (no vassal), 421, 422 (vassal Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān). Khogend? 419 (vassal Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn [Naṣr b. Yūsuf]). Khojende & Rishtān 423 (vassal Rukn al-Daula & subvassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula). Bukhārā 411 (vassal Toghāntegīn). Qubā 420 (vassal Sulaimān b. Hārūn). Kāsān 421-3 (vassal Mu‘izz al-Daula). Dakhket 416, 423 (no vassal). Ishtikhan (Ispījāb?) 419 (no vassal). Titulage: *Nāṣir al-Daula (or Nāṣir al-Dīn, or Nāṣir al-Haqq wa'l Dīn) Malik al-Mashriq (or Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Šīn) Qadir Khān*.

Sulaimān Qadir Khān II - D: 430?/1038-9? C: 416-430/1025-39. Uzgend 416, 419-21, 42(2? or 3?) (suzerain Qadir Khān), 425-30 (no vassal), 427-9 (vassal Hāshim). Qubā 420 (suzerain Qadir Khān). Akhsiket 41(7? or 9?), 422 (suzerain Qadir Khān), 426-8 (vassal Mu‘izz al-Daula). Titulage: *Malik al-‘Adil (Malik al-Muzaffar) Nāṣir al-Haqq Qadir Khān*.

Tonghā Khān (Eastern I) - M: 435/1043-4. C: 428-40 (or 449?)/1036-49 (or 1058?). Uzgend 428, 430-3 (no vassal). Akhsiket 429-30 (no vassal). Marghīnān 439-40 (no vassal). [In case Tonghā Khān accepted lower title Jalāl al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn, then Akhsiket 440-9 (suzerain Boghrā Khān Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)]. Titulage: *Malik al-Mu‘ayyad Tonghā Khān*.

Khutlugh Ūkā - C: Yarkend 404-6/1013-6 (suzerain Qadir Khān I Yūsuf). “Khutlugh Ūkā” i.e. “Blessed, Happy Junior brother” means that he was the junior brother of Yūsuf. He may have been the fourth of the brothers. But it is not out of the question that Sulaimān b. Hārūn or Tonghā Khān b. Hārūn could have been cited on earlier coins as “Khutlugh Ūkā”. In the event that Khutlugh was his proper name, it could have belonged to Tonghā Khān or to the fourth brother. The kunya of Hārūn Boghrā Khān was Abū Mūsā (“Father of Mūsā”). So could the name of Tonghā Khān b. Hārūn or of Khutlugh Ūkā have been Mūsā?

Jabra‘il - C: 425-6/1033-5. Shāsh 425 (supreme suzerain Arslān Khān, suzerain Ṣultān al-Daula i.e. Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān), 426 (suzerain Boghrā Qarākhān i.e. Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān).

Sulaimān Arslān Khān - M: 422, 425, 428, 431, 435, 449/1030-58. R: 423-447/1031-56. Capital Kāshghar. D: 449/1057-8. C: 406-47/1015-56. Yarkend 406-17 (suzerain Qadir Khān), 429 (no vassal). Kāshghar 404, 414-6, 7? (suzerain Qadir Khān), 423 (co-ruler of Qadir Khān), 425-30 (no vassal). Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn) 424, 425, 440, 442, 443? (no vassal). ... Ordū 43x or 44x (vassal Muḥammad b. Naṣr). Khojende 434, 441, 444 (vassal Muḥammad b. Naṣr). Uzgend 440 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula), 441, 442, 444, 445 (vassal Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām). Qubā 442 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula & Būrī Tegīn, or ‘Aḍud al-Daula Būrī Tegīn?), 444, 445 (vassal Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām), 445 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula), 445-7 (vassal Muḥammad b. Naṣr). Marghīnān 441 (no vassal), 442 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula & Būrī Tegīn, or ‘Aḍud al-Daula Būrī Tegīn?), 444-5 (vassal Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām), 446-7 (vassal Muḥammad b. Naṣr). Shāsh 424-5 (vassal Ṣultān al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān), 425 (vassal Ṣultān al-Daula, subvassal Jabra‘il b. Qadir Khān). Barskhān (44)1 (no vassal). Titulage. 406-417: *‘Imād al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn*. 423-447: *‘Izz al-Dīn Sharaf al-Daula Fakhr al-Milla Amīr al-Umarā Malik al-Mashriq al-‘Adil Arslān Khān (Qarākhān, etc.)*. Kunya: *Abū Shujā‘*.



Muhammad Boghrā Khān - M: 422, 423, 428, 435, 449/1030-1058. D: 449/1057-8. C: 421-449/ 1030-58. Tūnket 421, 422, 444 & Nauket 424 & Shāsh 421, 422, 444 (suzerain Qadir Khān). Tūnket 43(3? or 6?), 444 (vassal Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad). Shāsh 424, 425 (suzerain Arslān Khān), 425 (suzerain Arslān Khān, vassal Jabra'il b. Qadir Khān), 426 (vassal Jabra'il b. Qadir Khān), 427, 430, 433, (443?), 445 (no vassal). Ṭarāz 428, 431, 432, 436, 441, 445 (no vassal). Akhsīket 440-9 (vassal Jalāl al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn). Benāket 430 (vassal Shāhmalik b. Maṣūr?). Sheljī 432 (no vassal). Dakhket 432 (no vassal). (Da)khket? 44x (vassal Nāṣir al-Daula). Barskhān 448, 449 (vassal Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek). Marghīnān 447-9 (no vassal). Qubā 447? (no vassal), 448 (vassal Jalāl al-Daula). Ispījāb 4(3? or 4?)5 (vassal Ṭoghān [? or Jaghrā?] Tegīn). Ispījāb 437 (no vassal), (437?), 44(4?) (vassal Jaghrā Tegīn). Titulage. 421-425: *Qavvām (or Ṣultān) al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khān*. 426-449: *Qavvām al-Daula Ṣultān al-Daula Zain al-Daula Mushayyad al-Daula wa Mu'ayyad al-Milla Ṣafī (or Walī) Khalīfa Allah Malik al-Islām (or Malik al-Muzaffar, or Malik al-Mashriq) Boghrā Khān (Qarākhān, etc.)*.

Ibrāhīm Arslān Khān - M: 449/1057-8. C: Ṭarāz 449, 454/1062 (no vassal). Titulage: *Malik al-'Adil (or Malik al-Islām) 'Izz al-Dīn Arslān Khāqān*. Kunya: *Abū-l-Muzaffar*.

Husain Jaghrī Tegīn - M: 449/1057-8. C: Ispījāb (437?), 44(4?) (suzerain Boghrā Qarākhāqān Muḥammad). Titulage: *Jaghrā Tegīn*.

Mahmūd b. Husain Kāshgarī (son of Husain Jaghrī Tegīn) - M: ca 465-7/1072-5 as the author of the famous "Dīvān Lughāt al-Turk".

Nasr b. Yūsuf Ṭonghā Khān (Eastern II)- M: AH 435 as Arslān Tegīn son of Qadir Khān. C: 41x, 419, 423, 443, 445, 448, 449, 450, 45(1? or 2? or 4?). Kāshghar 41x (as Rukn al-Daula. Suzerain Qadir Khān). Khogend? 419 (as Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn. Suzerain Qadir Khān). Khojende & Rīstān 423 (Rukn al-Daula. Suzerain Qadir Khān). ? 443 (as *Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Nasr*. No vassal). Barskhān 444 (? It cannot be 444: it is 447 or 449, i.e. when Boghrā Khān became supreme ruler) (as *Shams al-Daula*. Suzerain Boghrā Khān), 448, 449 (as *Shams al-Daula* Arslān İlek. No vassal), 448, 449? (as *Shams al-Daula* Arslān İlek. Suzerain Boghrā Khān). ? 445 (as *Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn*. No vassal). Üch 448 (as Arslān İlek. Suzerain Boghrā Khān). Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn) 450, (45)1? (as Zain al-Daula Ṭonghā Khān *Nasr* (no vassal), 45(1? or 2? or 4?) (as Jamāl al-Dīn Zain al-Daula wa Mu'in al-Milla Ṭonghā Qarākhāqān. No vassal). Ispījāb not earlier 451 (as Zain al-(Dau)la Ṭoghān Khāqān. Vassal Tāj al-Daula ... Tegīn). As they rose in the hierarchy Qarākhānids changed their titles and had as a rule several laqabs, placing different laqabs (or different combinations of those laqabs) on different coins. This was quite usual. So the titulage of *Nasr* b. Yūsuf changed like this: Rukn al-Daula=Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn = *Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Nasr* = *Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek*=Zain al-Daula Ṭonghā Khān *Nasr*.

(Yūsuf?) Toghrul Khān - R: 451-467/1059-75. C: 461-2/1068-70. Marghīnān 461 (no vassal). Benāket 462 (vassal Toghrul Tegīn). Ṭarāz 462 (vassal 'Umar Ṭoghrul Tegīn). Titulage: *Khāqān al-Ajall al-Sayyid al-Malik al-Muzaffar al-Maṣūr 'Imād al-Daula wa Sadad al-Milla Toghrul Qarākhāqān Walī Amīr al-Mu'minīn*. On a silver bowl (Fedorov and Mokeev 1996, 487).

Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) called him "Toghrul Khān son of Yūsuf Qadir Khān" and added that he reigned in Balāsāghūn and that his reign was 16 years long. Then he died and his son 'Umar Ṭoghrul Tegīn reigned for 2 months. "Then came Hārūn Boghrā Khān the brother of Yūsuf Toghrul Khān (underlined by me-M. F.) captured Hārūn ... and reigned 29 years". Bartold in 1898 (Bartold 1963a, 44-5), using information provided by Ibn al-Athīr, wrote: "...in Kāshghar and Balāsāghūn reigned 16 years (451-467/1059-74) another son of Qadir Khān, Ṭoghrul Qarākhān Yūsuf together with his brother, Boghrā Khān Hārūn. They waged a war against Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. After Ṭoghrul Khān, his son, Ṭoghrul Tegīn reigned for two months, then for 29 years (467-96/1074-1103), Boghrā Khān Hārūn possessed Kāshghar, Balāsāghūn and Khotan. It was for this Boghrā Khān that didactic poem "*Kutadgu bilik*" was written in 462/1069, i.e. when he was only the co-ruler of his brother in Kāshghar. But in 1923, after a legal document of the 11th century AD was found in Yarkend in 1911, Bartold (1968, 419-20) corrected Ibn al-Athīr, who wrote that Hārūn Boghrā Khān, the brother of Yūsuf Ṭoghrul Khān, captured Hārūn. Bartold noticed this slip of the pen and wrote that Boghrā Khān captured Toghrul Tegīn. He also established that the real name of this Boghrā Khān was Ḥasan (not Hārūn) and that he was the son of Arslān Khān Sulaimān but not of Qadir Khān Yūsuf. So if Yūsuf Ṭoghrul Khān was the brother of Boghrā Khān Ḥasan he should have been the son of Arslān Khān Sulaimān. But several lines above, Ibn al-Athīr called him "Toghrul Khān son of Yūsuf Qadir Khān". So here is a mistake made by Ibn al-Athīr or by some slipshod scribes whom one outraged mediaeval scholar called "the scourge and plague of science". Pritsak (1953, 41) considered that the name of Ṭoghrul Khān was Mahmūd, that he was son of Qadir Khān and that Boghrā Khān was his co-ruler residing in Kāshghar. M. N. Fedorov (1983, 118-26) shared the Pritsak's opinion and deemed that, at first, Mahmūd was Ṭoghrul Tegīn and later became Ṭoghrul Khān. Kochnev (1988, 63-4) wrote that the name of Ṭoghrul Khān was Yūsuf and that he was a son of Arslān Khān Sulaimān. As for Nizām al-Daula Mahmūd, cited on coins in 461?-462, Kochnev wrote that he was a "petty appanage ruler of several towns in Shāsh". Well, a "petty ruler" could not possess several towns. But it looks as though Kochnev was right and the name Mahmūd did not belong to Ṭoghrul Khān. Let us hope that coins will eventually be found, which disclose the real name (and the place in the genealogy) of Ṭoghrul Khān.

'Umar b. (Yūsuf?) Toghrul Tegīn/Khān - M: ca 467/1074-5, 473/1080-1. C: Benāket 462/1069-70 (as Sharaf al-Daula T(!)oghrul Tegīn. One coin cited suzerain T(!)oghrul Khān. Another coin cited no suzerain), 46(2?) (Zain al-Dīn Ṭoghrul

Tegīn). **Ghannāj? 462** (Zain al-Dīn. Vassal Nizām al-Daula Maḥmūd). **Tūnket 461?** (Zain al-Dīn Sharaf al-Daula Ṭoḡhrul Tegīn. Vassal Muḥammad Tūzūn Tegīn). **Chinānchiket 462** (Zain al-Dīn Ṭoḡhrul Tegīn. Vassal Nizām al-Daula Maḥmūd). **Shāsh 462** (Zain al-Dīn ‘Umar Jaghrī (? or Ṭoḡhrul?) Tegīn. Suzerain ‘Imād al-Daula Ṭoḡhrul Qarākhāqān). **Parak? 462** (Sharaf al-Daula Zain al-Dīn Ṭoḡhrul Tegīn. Vassal Nizām al-Daula Maḥmūd). **Ṭarāz 462** (‘Umar Ṭoḡhrul Tegīn. Suzerain ‘Imād al-Daula Ṭoḡhrul Qarākhān), **467, 468** (Zain al-Dīn *Togrīl Kara Hakan* (written in Uighur) ‘Umar Ṣafī Amīr al-Mu‘minīn), **472** (Zain? al-Dīn? Ṭoḡhrul Qarākhāqān Ṣafī Amīr al-Mu‘minīn ‘Umar). Titulage. Till **467**: *Zain al-Dīn Sharaf al-Daula Ṭoḡhrul Tegīn*. From **467** till (at least **472**) *Zain al-Dīn Ṣafī Amīr al-Mu‘minīn Ṭoḡhrul Khān*.

**Jabrā’il b. ‘Umar** - **M: ca 488/1095** as Ṭoḡhrul Īnāl Bek who mutinied in Kāsān (or conquered it?); **ca 494/1100-1** as Qadir Khān (elsewhere Ibn al-Athīr called him Ṭoḡhān Khān). **D: 2 Sha‘bān 495 / 22 May 1102**. **C: Kāsān 4xx, Bukhārā (49)4** as Ṭabghāch Khān Jabra’il (no vassal). Titulage: *Ṭoḡhrul (Īnāl) Bek, Kul Er Tegīn, Qadir (Ṭoḡhān, Ṭabghāch) Khān*.

**Ya‘qūb b. Sulaimān** - **M: ca 481-2/1088-90**. Ruler of Atbāsh in Tien Shan. Titulage: *Ya‘qūb Tegīn*.

**Hasan b. Sulaimān Boghrā Khān** - **R: 467-496/1074-1103** as supreme ruler. Capital Kāshghar. **M: 462/1069-70** as a ruler of Kāshghar, presented with “Qūtādghū Bīlik” poem (could it be that having conquered the Chu valley, Farghāna, Ṭarāz, Ispījāb, Shāsh and Īlāq in 461 from the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭoḡhrul Khān left Kāshghar to Boghrā Khān Hasan?); **ca 467/1074-5** captured Ṭoḡhrul Tegīn; **474/ 1081-2 (or 494/1100-1)** suzerain of the ruler of Yarkend; **482/1089** recognised (nominally) the Saljūqid sultan, Malikshāh as suzerain. **C: Ṭarāz 48(1)** (vassal Qūṭb al-Daula Boghrā? Tegīn?), (**Ṭarāz**) **481** (vassal Muḥammad? Boghrā Īlek). Titulage: *Malik al-Mu‘ayīd ‘Izz al-Dīn Mushayyad al-Daula Burhān al-Milla Ghiyāth al-Muslimīn Kahf al-Umma Malik al-Mashriq wa’l Sīn Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Hasan b. Sulaimān Arslān Qarākhāqān*. Kunya: *Abū ‘Alī*.

**Māmūn b. Hasan** - **M: second half of 11th century AD**. Some treaty on medicine was dedicated to Abū’l-Muzaffar Māmūn, son of Boghrā Khān Hasan (Pritsak 1953, 41-42).

**‘Alī b. Hasan** - **M: second half of 11th century AD** Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ḥasan had the kunya Abū ‘Alī, which means that one of his sons was named ‘Alī.

**Hārūn b. Hasan Jaghrī Tegīn** - **M: 474/1081-2 (or 494/1100-1)** in legal document as appanage ruler of Yarkend and vassal of his father. Titulage: *‘Imād al-Daula Sadād al-Milla Jaghrī Tegīn Hārūn b. Malik al-Mashriq Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān*. Kunya: *Abū Mūsā*.

**Mūsā b. Hārūn** - **M: second half of 11th century AD** Jaghrī Tegīn Hārūn b. Ṭafghāch Boghrā Khān Ḥasan had the kunya Abū Mūsā, which means that he had a son named Mūsā.

**Aḥmad b. Hasan Arslān Khān** - **M: 498/1105** caliph Mustazhir accepted his embassy in Baghdād and granted him the laqab Nūr al-Daula; **522/1128** he defeated the Khytais. **R: 496-535?/1102-41?** Capital Kāshghar. **D: Pritsak** wrote (1953, 42) that Aḥmad b. Ḥasan died between 522-35 / 1128-40, but did not refer to any chronicle or coin. Titulage: *Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān*.

**Ibrahīm b. Aḥmad Arslān Khān** - **M: 12th century AD** Capital Kāshghar. Titulage: *Arslān Khān*.

**Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm Arslān Khān** - **M: second half of 12th century AD C: (Kāshghar) minted under caliphs Mustanjid (555-66/ 1160-70) and Mustadīr (566-575/1170-80)**. Titulage: *Arslān Khān*.

**Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Arslān Khān** - **M: second half of 12th century AD C: Kāshghar minted under caliph Naṣīr (575-622/1180-1225)**. **D: Rajab 601/ 22.2-23.3 1205**. Titulage: *Abū’l Muzaffar Arslān Khān*.

**Muḥammad b. Yūsuf** - **M: end of 12th-beginning of 13th century AD D: 607/1211**.

*Comments on TABLE 3 (for table, see page 32)*

**Aḥmad b. ‘Alī Tonghā Khān (Western I)** - **M: between 382-408/992-1018**. **R: 382-408/992-1018**, according to written sources succeeded (in Balāsāghūn) Boghrā Khān Hārūn who died in AH 382. **D: 408/1017-18**. **C: 384-408 on coins of 28 mints**. **Farghāna 384-9, 393** (vassal Naṣr b. ‘Alī). **Īlāq 386-406** (vassals: Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (386-7, 403-6), 3 members of local petty dynasty of Dihqāns of Īlāq (386-401) and others). **Ushrūshana: 387, 403-7** (vassals: Naṣr b. ‘Alī (387) and Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (403-7)). **Samarqand 388, 390, 4-8, 401** (vassal Naṣr b. ‘Alī); **401** (vassal Naṣr b. ‘Alī, subvassal Tonghā Tegīn Muḥammad b. Ḥasan), **403-4** (vassal Nizām al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn), **408** (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī). **Shāsh 388-406** (vassals: Naṣr b. ‘Alī (388); Naṣr b. al-Qasīm (391,392, 395, 396, 398); Yūsuf b. ‘Abd Allāh (394-6, 403-5); Tonghā Tegīn Muḥammad (399-401); Naṣr b. ‘Alī & Mu‘iz al-Daula Mut (401); Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (406); no vassal (392-3)). **Bukhārā 389-402** (vassal Naṣr b. ‘Alī), **403-4, 405**(vassal Manṣūr b. ‘Alī), **404-5** (vassal Semnānī). **Ispījāb 389-406** (vassals: member of the local petty dynasty of Mutids, Mu‘iz al-Daula Muḥammad Mut (389, 392, 396-400, 402, 404, 406); Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (404); no vassal (395, 404)). **Uzgend 389-405** (vassal Naṣr b. ‘Alī (389, 393-402); no vassal (402-5)). **Khojende 390, 9, 403-7** (vassal Naṣr b. ‘Alī (390, 9); Manṣūr b. ‘Alī & Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (403); Muḥammad b. ‘Alī (403-7)). **Madīna al-Baiḍa (Ispījāb) 404** (vassal Ṣarāf). **Ṭarāz 393-6, 398-405** (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), **396-8** (no vassal). **Akhsiket 394-402** (vassal Naṣr b. ‘Alī), **403-4** (no vassal). **Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn, capital of Aḥmad b. ‘Alī) 394-406** (vassal or governor: **394** Muḥammad, **396** Mīrek, **399-401** Naṣr (b. al-Qasīm)). **Balāsāghūn 404** (no vassal). **Ordū (Īl Ordū) 394** (vassal or governor Abū ‘Ibād). **Īl Ordū 396, 401** (vassal or governor Naṣr (b. al-Qasīm), **395, 402, 405** (no vassal)). **Nauket 395** (vassal Dihqān of Īlāq Muḥammad b. Manṣūr), **405** (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī). **Saghāniyān 395-8** (vassal Naṣr b. ‘Alī, subvassals members of petty local dynasty), **403-5** (vassals members of local dynasty). **Kesh 396, 399,**

**400, 402** (vassal Naşr b. 'Alī and subvassals), **403-4** (vassal Mañşūr b. 'Alī), **404** (governor Şāliḥ). **Kushānī 396** (vassal Naşr b. 'Alī, subvassal Mu'in). **Soghd 400-1** (vassal Naşr b. 'Alī), **404** (vassals: Bā Qasīm, then Bā Şāliḥ), **404** (no vassals). **Benāket 403** (Muḥammad b. 'Alī). **Zāmīn 403** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī). **Ishtīkhan 404-5** (vassal I'alā). **Tūnket 404-5, 407** (vassal Jaghrī Tegīn). **Kharashket 405** (vassal Ilyās al-Ḥajjāj). **Ushkend 392** (vassal İlek Naşr). **Dabūsiya 404** (vassal Bā Şāliḥ).

Before **403** the dominions of Aḥmad comprised the Chu valley (his domain, with Balāsāghūn/Quz Ordū and İl Ordū/Ordū) and Ṭarāz, Ispījāb, Shāsh, İlāq which were appanages of his vassals. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī was his vassal in name only. After the death of Naşr, Aḥmad annexed his dominions, where he was cited on coins either as immediate owner or suzerain of some appanagist. In **400-2** Naşr waged a war against Aḥmad. The third of the brothers, Muḥammad, took sides with Naşr. During the war Aḥmad lost Ispījāb, Shāsh, and Tūnket, while the allies lost Uzgend and Ṭarāz. In **402** peace was made on the terms "status quo ante bellum". In **404-7** Aḥmad warred with his brother Mañşūr. The third of the brothers Muḥammad, was at first loyal to his suzerain, Aḥmad, but circa **405-406** took sides with Mañşūr. During the war, Aḥmad lost almost all his towns in **405-6**, his capital Balāsāghūn/Quz Ordū included. In **407** peace was made and some towns were returned to Aḥmad but in most of them he was only a suzerain of some appanagist (almost all of them were allies of Mañşūr in the war of **404-7**). Titulage: *Ṭonghā Khān (Qarākhāqān etc.)*, *Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Qarākhāqān etc.)*, *Naşr al-Milla*, *Quṭb al-Daula*, *Saif al-Daula*. Kunya: *Abū Naşr*.

**Naşr b. 'Alī İlek - M: 387-403/997-1013. R: 383 (381?)-403/993-1013. D: 403/1012-3. C: 383 (or 381?)-403 on coins of 22 mints. Farḡhāna (? 381 as Arslān Tegīn? Suzerain Shihāb al-Daula, i.e. Boghrā Khān Hārūn), 384-9, 393** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **385-91, 93, 4(?)**, **6-402** (no vassal, sometimes on fulūs mention of suzerain was omitted). **Khojende 383-4, 401** (no vassal), **390, 399** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **390** (vassal Aḥmad b. Naşr). **İlāq 385-7**, (no suzerain), **389** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **403** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Sakhā al-Daula), **403** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī). **Uşrūshana 387** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **Surūshana 398** (no vassal). **Ush 387, 391, 393, 400** (no vassal). **Ushkend (=Ush) 392** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī). **Shāsh 388** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **401** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Mut), **402** (no vassal), **402** (vassal Mut). **Samarqand 388, 391, 394-8** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **394** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Mīrek), **390, 400-1** (no suzerain. Fulūs), **401** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Ṭonghā Tegīn Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan), **402** (vassal Ṭonghā Tegīn), **402** (vassal Ṭonghā Tegīn, subvassal 'Abd al-Raḥman). **Qubā 389-391, 397, 399, 401-2** (no vassal). **Uzgend 389** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **390, 392, 396, 399, 400, 401** (no vassal. Fulūs), **393-402** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Dirhems). **Bukhārā 389-396, 398-402** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **394** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Abū 'Alī), **390, 394, 399, 400** (no suzerain. Fulūs). **Akhsīket 391, 2, 401, 2** (no suzerain. Fulūs), **394-402** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Dirhams). **Haftdeh 394-5** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Sirāj al-Daula İnāltegīn). **Şaghāniyān 395-8** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Muzaffar Kiā), **398, 401** (vassals Aḥmad b. Muḥammad & Muzaffar. Fulūs), **400, 2** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassals Rukn al-Daula & Muzaffar). **Kushānī 396** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī). **Kesh** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Abū 'Alī), **399, 400, 402** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Bektūzūn). **Marghīnān 397, 398** (no vassal). **Soghd 400, 401** (vassal 'Alī b. Nūsh), **400, 401** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal 'Alī b. Nūsh), **401** (vassal Mas'ūd), **401** (no vassal). **Tūnket 401** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī). **Ispījāb 400-2** (vassal Mut), **401** (vassal Şarāf 'Alī). In **396/1015-16** Naşr, in the absence of sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna who was in India, waging a holy war against infidels, invaded Khurāsān trying to conquer it. Maḥmūd returned with huge army and 500 battle elephants and kicked Naşr out of Khurāsān. But before that, Naşr captured Balkh, Nīshāpūr and Herāt. **Balkh, Nīshāpūr, Herāt 396** (suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī). Titulage: (*Arslān Tegīn? AH 381*), *Ṭongha Tegīn (AH 384-388)*; *Arslan İlek, more often al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl İlek (İlek-Pādshāh)*, sometimes simply *al-Mu'ayīd al-'Adl (AH 389-403)*. Kunya: *Abū al-Hasan*.

**Mañşūr b. 'Alī Arslān Khān - M: 406-15/1015-25. D: 415/1024-5. C: 403-15/1012-25 on coins of 25 mints. Bukhārā 403** (as Tonghān Tegīn, no vassal), **403** (as Shams al-Daula İlek or as Khān, suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **404** (as Khāqān, suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, subvassal (mint official?) Haravī), **405** (as Khān, suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **405** (no vassal), **406-7** (vassal Jaghrī Tegīn Ḥusain b. Mañşūr), **407-10** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī), **411** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal Aḥmad b. İlek Naşr Pādshāh), **411** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal al-Bazār), **411-5** (vassal Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn). **Samarqand 403** (as Shams al-Daula, suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, vassal Nizām al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn), **406-10** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī), **412** (vassal Nizām al-Daula İnāl Tegīn). **Kesh 403** (Shams al-Daula İlek, suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **404** (as Khāqān, suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **410** (vassal İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī). **Madīna al-Maḥfuza (Samarqand) 410** (vassal İlek Muḥammad). **Khojende 403** (Shams al-Daula İlek, suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, subvassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī as Arslān Tegīn Sanā al-Daula), **405-15** (vassal İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī), **414** (vassal İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal Sinān al-Daula), **415** (vassal İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal Sinān al-Daula &? Yūsuf). **Akhsīket 404?, 405-7** (vassal Nāşir al-Daula Atim Tegīn), **407-10** (vassal İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī), **410** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal Aḥmad b. Mañşūr), **412, 413**, (vassal İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naşr), **415** (vassal İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal 'Ain al-Daula Malikān). **Uşrūshana 405-7, 409-10** (vassal İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal? Bārs Ūkā). **Ṭarāz 405-6** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal Aḥmad al-Khaşş), **407-8, 412-5** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī), **407** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal Atim Tegīn), **408-12** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal? İl Ūkā), **412** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī, subvassal? İl Ūkā & al-Khaşş). **İl Ordū 406** (no vassal). **Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn) 406-10, 414** (no vassal), **407-8** (vassal 'Umar), **411-3** (vassal Qārshī). **Shāsh 406-7, 412-3** (vassal Muḥammad b. 'Alī), **407-9** (no vassal), **409** (vassal Jaghrī Tegīn), **410** (vassal Tonghā Ūkā or Ūkā 'Alī), **411** (vassal Ilyās

al-Hajjāj), 412 (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, subvassal Mīrek), 412 (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, subvassal Kūpchūr? Bek). **Ṣaghāniyān** 406 (vassal Īlek Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, subvassals Aḥmad b. Muḥammad & Muẓaffar). **Nauket** 406 (vassal Sanā al-Daula, i.e. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), 410 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn). **Benāket** 407 (vassal Īlek Muḥammad b. ‘Alī &? Bārs Ūkā). **Uzgend** 407 (no vassal), 407-8, 411 (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), 409-10 (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, subvassal Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr), 411, 413 (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, subvassal ‘Ain al-Daula). **Īlāq** 408-11 (vassal Būrī Tegīn, i.e. Ibrahīm b. Naṣr), 408 (vassal Būrī Tegīn, subvassal Ḥusain b. Shihāb al-Daula), 414 (vassal Būrī Tegīn, subvassal Bū Shujā‘, i.e. Dihqān of Īlāq Salār b. Muḥammad). **Tūnket** 407-15 (vassal ‘Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn). **Ispījāb** 407 (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), 408-12 (vassal Atim Tegīn Aḥmad b. Īlek, subvassals Rāzī, Naṣr, Ṣāliḥ, Mīrek). **Madīna al-Baidā (Ispījāb)** 407 (vassal Nāṣir al-Daula Tegīn). **Soghd** 411-2 (no vassal). **Kushānī** 413-4 (vassal Aḥmad b. Ḥasan). **Dabūsiya** 413-4 (vassal Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn). **Budukhket** 409-11 (vassal Atim Tegīn, subvassals ‘Adbalmalik, ‘Alī, Dīnārī). **Shelji** 413-4 (vassal Yūsuf b. Maṣṣūr Yaghan Tegīn). **Farghāna** 410-11 (vassal Muḥammad b. ‘Alī). Titulage: **AH 403** Bukhārā: *Tonghāntegīn* (B. Kochnev (1995, 224/305) reads *Yanghāntegīn*). **AH 403** Bukhārā and some other mints: *Shams al-Daula Īlek*. **AH 403-4**: *Khān or Khāqān*. From **AH 405**: *Nūr al-Daula wa Shams al-Milla Arslān Khān (Khāqān etc.)*. Kunya: *Abū’l Muẓaffar*.

Kochnev (1993) stated that in 394-5 Maṣṣūr was appanage ruler of Haftdeh. Let us see how he substantiated this important statement. First (p. 303-4) he wrote: “Only on dirhems minted in 394-395 in Haftdeh, one of the provinces of Farghāna, do we find cited Ināl Tegīn i.e. probably (underlined by me- M. F.) Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī”. But then (p. 319) he already managed without the word “probably” and wrote: “the mintage of Maṣṣūr before this date (403 - M. F.) is represented only by Haftdeh dirhams, struck in 394-395”. Having “proved” his statement in such a brilliant way, that Maṣṣūr possessed Haftdeh in 394-5 as a vassal of Naṣr, Kochnev painted a vivid picture of Maṣṣūr’s life: “since Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī had appeared in 394-395 on the numismatic arena, one ought to expect the continuation of his mintage, but then there is a great gap. It is hardly fortuitous. And it would not be speculative to suppose, that, after 395 and till the death of Naṣr, Maṣṣūr was his prisoner. It is possible that the death of his brother set Maṣṣūr free. It also enabled him to take Naṣr’s place in the hierarchy (i. e. to assume the title “Īlek”-M. F.) and gain the better part of his domain... Bukhārā, Kesh and Khojend”.

The reader, unacquainted with methods of Kochnev’s argumentation, and having read these quotations, may get the impression that, yes indeed, on the coins of Haftdeh, minted in AH 394-395, the name of Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī is cited and that the attribution of these coins to Mansur is quite certain. It is nothing of the kind! Maṣṣūr’s possession of Haftdeh in 394-395 is but unsubstantiated surmise on Kochnev’s part (whether correctly or not new monetary finds may well show).

**Muhammad b. ‘Alī Īlek - M: AH 406, 411. D: 415/1024-5. C: 386-415/996-1025 on coins of 21 mints. Īlāq** 386 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, vassal Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad), 387 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī &? Abā Ṣāliḥ, vassal Dihqān al-Jalīlī), 403 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī & Naṣr b. ‘Alī), 403 (suzerain Naṣr b. ‘Alī. Fulūs), 404 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 404-5 (vassal Irtāsh. Fulūs), 406 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 406 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 406 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Irtāsh). **Ṭarāz** 393-6, 398-405 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, vassal (in 403-5) Khalīlī), 405-6 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Aḥmad al-Khaṣṣ), 407 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Atīm Tegīn), 407-8, 412-5 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 408-12 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal? Īl Ūkā), 412 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Īl Ūkā, subvassal al-Khaṣṣ). **Tūnket** 401 (suzerain Naṣr b. ‘Alī). **Nauket** 406 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 406 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī). **Īl Ordū? before 416** (no vassal). **Khojende** 403 (supreme suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 403-7 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 405 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī, vassal Nūḥ), 405-13 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 414-5 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Sinān al-Daula Bektūzūn). **Dakhket** 403 (no vassal. Fals). **Benāket** 403 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 407 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal? Bārs Ūkā). **Zāmīn** 403 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī). **Ṣaghāniyān** 406 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassals Aḥmad b. Muḥammad & Muẓaffar). **Akhsiket** 407-10 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 410 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr), 412-3 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal ‘Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr), 415 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal ‘Ain al-Daula Malikān). **Ispījāb** 404 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 407 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī). **Shāsh** 406 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 406-7 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 412-3 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 412 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Mīrek), 412? (vassal Kūpchūr? Bek). **Uzgend** 407-8, 411 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 409-10 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr), 411, 3 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal ‘Ain al-Daula), 414 (vassal ‘Ain al-Daula). **Samarqand** 406-7 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 407-8 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī? or Aḥmad b. ‘Alī? Vassal Sinān al-Daula), 408 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 409-10 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī). **Madīna al-Maḥfuza (Samarqand)** 410 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī). **Bukhārā** 407, 408, 410 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 411 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Bazār), 411 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Aḥmad b. Īlek Naṣr Pādshāh). **Ushrūshana** 403, 405-7 (suzerain Aḥmad b. ‘Alī), 404 (no vassal. Fals), 405-7 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī), 409-10 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal? Bārs Ūkā). **Kesh** 410 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, vassal Bek). **Farghāna** 410-11 (suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī). **Ishtīkhan** 411 (no vassal. Fals). Titulage: *Amīr al-Jajīl* (AH 386-7), *Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn* (from AH 393), *Sanā al-Daula Ināl Tegīn* (from AH 403), *Sanā al-Daula Īlek* (from AH 404). Kunya: *Abū Maṣṣūr*.

**Muhammad b. Naṣr - M: AH 430, 431, 436, ca 447. D: ca 447/1055-6. C: 411-447/1020-56 on coins of 8 mints. Uzgend** 411, 413 (as ‘Ain al-Daula. Supreme suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, suzerain Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), 414 (as ‘Ain al-Daula. Suzerain Muḥammad b. ‘Alī. Fals), 416 (as Saif al-Daula. Supreme suzerain Qadir Khān, suzerain? Kuch Tegīn). ? **daula** 424 (as ‘Ain al-Daula. Supreme suzerain Qadir Khān, suzerain? Kuch Tegīn). **Akhsiket** 412-3 (as ‘Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr. Supreme suzerain Maṣṣūr b. ‘Alī, suzerain Muḥammad b. ‘Alī), 415 (as ‘Ain al-Daula. Supreme

suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī, suzerain Muḥammad b. 'Alī), **415** ('Ain al-Daula Malikān. Suzerain Ṭonghā Khān), **415** ('Ain al-Daula Malikān. Suzerain Ṭonghā Khān, vassal Malik b. Malikān). **Īlāq 415** (as Saif al-Daula Malikān. Suzerain Ṭonghā Khān). **Quz Ordū? 43?** (as Muḥammad b. Naşr. Suzerain Arslān Khān [Sulaimān b. Yūsuf]). **Marghīnān 425?** (Mu'ayyad al-'Adl 'Ain al-Daula, no vassal), **429-30** (Mu'ayyad al-'Adl 'Ain al-Daula Malikān(?), no vassal), **446-7** (Muḥammad b. Naşr [Shihāb al-Daula?]. Suzerain Arslān Khān). **Khojende 434** ('Ain al-Daula. Suzerain Arslān Khān), **441, 444** (as Muḥammad b. Naşr. Suzerain Arslān Khān). **Qubā 446-7** (Muḥammad b. Naşr [Shihāb al-Daula?]. Suzerain Arslān Khān). Titulage: *'Ain al-Daula Saif al-Daula Malikān*.

Litvinskii (1956, 117) identified Kuch Tegīn 'Aḍud al-Daula as Muḥammad b. Naşr. Davidovich (1968, 70) and I (Fedorov 1980, 49) shared his opinion. But now I am prone to believe that 'Aḍud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn was another Qarākhānid.

**Ibrahīm b. Naşr Tafghāch Khān - M: AH 429, 430, 431, 436, ca 441, 458, 460(61?). D: 460(61?) /1067-8(69?). C: 408-461/1017-69 on coins of 21 mints. Īlāq 408-11** (as Būrī Tegīn. Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī), **408** (as Būrī Tegīn. Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī, vassal Ḥusain b. Shihāb al-Daula), **414** (Būrī Tegīn. Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī, vassal Bū Shujā'), **Şaghāniyān 430, 431** (as Fakhr al-Daula Būrī Tegīn. Vassal 'Alī), **431** (Malik al-Mu'ayyad Būrī Tegīn. Vassal 'Alī), **431** (Tafghāch Boghrā Khān. No vassal), **432** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm. No vassal), **432-434** (as Khāqān al-Ajall. No vassal), **433** (Khāqān al-Ajall. Vassal 'Alī), **433** (Tafghāch Boghrā Khān Ibrahīm b. Naşr. Vassal 'Alī), **433** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān. No vassal). **Kesh 431** (Fakhr al-Daula Būrī Tegīn. No vassal), **431** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān. Vassal Naşr). **Samarqand 431** (Fakhr al-Daula Būrī Tegīn. No vassal), **431-2** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān. Vassal Naşr), **433** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Tafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ibrahīm b. Naşr, no vassal), **435-41, 443, 445** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān Ibrahīm), **438** ('Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Saif (or Walī) Khalīfa Allāh Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm, no vassal), **443** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān Ibrahīm. Vassal Sahl), **444, 446, (? or 9?), 448, 450** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfa Allāh Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm, no vassal), **44x, 45x** (The same. Vassal Ja'far), **452?, 458, 459?** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfa Allāh 'Izz al-Umma wa Kahf al-Muslimīn Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm, no vassal), **454, 456** (Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Malik al-Mashriq va al-Şīn Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm), **460** (Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm. Co-ruler Malik al-'Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Naşr), **460,1** (Khān Ibrahīm. Co-ruler Malik al-'Adil Nāşir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Naşr), **(460), 461** (Tafghāch Khān (or Khān) Ibrahīm. Vassal Ṭonghā Khān & ? 'Alī). **Soghd 432, 4x5** (Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naşr. No vassal). **Bukhārā 432, 433, 435, 438, 439, 441, 447, 448, 452-5** (no vassal), **440** (vassal Naşr), **459, 460** (vassal Shams al-Mulk, i.e. Naşr b. Ibrahīm), **460-461** (co-ruler Sultān al-Sharq wa'l Şīn, i.e. Shams al-Mulk Naşr b. Ibrahīm), **461** (vassal Ṭoghān Khān i.e. Shu'aith b. Ibrahīm). **Akhsiket 451?, 453, 459?** (Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm. No vassal). **Uzgend 452, 58-60** (Tafghāch Khān Ibrahīm. Vassal Kuch Tegīn Dā'ūd, i.e. his son). **Marghīnān 453, 455, 456** (no vassal). **Khojende 45x** (no vassal). **Ṭarāz 454, 45x** (no vassal). **Ispījāb 45x** (no vassal). **Shāsh 457? 459** (no vassal), **459** (vassal Ṭoghru (Ṭoghān?) Tegīn), **460** (vassal Ināl Tegīn). **Binket 458** (vassal 'Alī), **459** (no vassal), **461** (co-ruler Sultān al-Sharq wa'l Şīn, i.e. Shams al-Mulk Naşr b. Ibrahīm). **Tūnket 458** (no vassal). **Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn) 460** (vassal Yūsuf b. Burhān al-Daula). **Kharrān** (vassal Arslān Tegīn). **(Quz Ordū?) before 461** (vassal Khāqān 'Abd al-Khāliq). **Khuttalān or Vakhsh ca 430-434** (Fakhr al-Daula Būrī Tegīn). Titulage. **AH 408-11: Būrī Tegīn. AH 430-1: Fakhr al-Daula (or Malik al-Mu'ayyad) Būrī Tegīn. From AH 431: Tafghāch Boghrā Khān (with variations of different laqabs)**. The full titulage: *Mu'ayyid al-'Adl 'Imād al-Dīn va al-Daula Tāj al-Milla Saif (or Walī) Khalīfa Allāh 'Izz al-Umma wa Kahf al-Muslimīn Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Şīn (or Malik al-Sharq wa'l Gharb) Tafghāch Boghrā Khān (Khāqān etc.) Ibrahīm*. Kunya: *Abū Ishhāq*.

**Ahmad b. Naşr - C: Ispījāb 389/998-9** (vassal Mut), **392** (vassal Mut, subvassal Ṭāhir Rāzī). **Khojende 390** (suzerain Naşr b. 'Alī), **Bukhārā 411/1020-21** (Supreme suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī, suzerain Muḥammad b. 'Alī). Titulage: *Ahmad b. Īlek Naşr Pādshāh*.

**'Īsā b. Naşr - M: 466/1073-4** Shams al-Mulk gave the daughter of his uncle 'Īsā in marriage to the Saljūqid sultan Malikshāh (Pritsak 1953, 46).

**Husain b. Manşūr Jaghrī Tegīn - C: 404-418/1013-28. 4 mints. Tūnket 404, 405** (as 'Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn. Suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **405** ('Aḍud al-Daula al-Ḥusain Jaghrī Tegīn. Suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **405** (Jaghrī Tegīn *Hus(ain?)*). Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī), **407** ('Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn. Suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **407-15** ('Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn. Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī), **407** ('Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn. No vassal. Fals), **409** ('Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn. Vassal Bekṭughmish. Fals), **415** ('Aḍud al-Daula Ināl Tegīn. Suzerain Ṭonghā Khān), **416?** ('Aḍud al-Daula ... . Suzerain Ṭonghā Khān), **418** ('Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn. Suzerain Qadir Khān [I Yūsuf]). **Nauket 410** ('Aḍud al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn. Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī). **Bukhārā 406-7** (Saif al-Daula Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusain Jaghrī Tegīn. Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī), **406** (Saif al-Daula Abī 'Alī al-Ḥusain Jaghrī Tegīn. Vassal Nūsh. Fals). **Shāsh 410** (as Jaghrī Tegīn. Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī).

Titulage: *'Aḍud (or Saif) al-Daula al-Ḥusain Jaghrī (in 415 Ināl) Tegīn*. Kunya: *Abū 'Alī*.

**Ahmad b. Manşūr - C: 409-10 on coins of 2 mints. Uzgend 409-10, Akhsiket 410** (Supreme suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī, suzerain Muḥammad b. 'Alī).

**Yūsuf b. Manşūr - C: 413-14, 413? or 423? on coins of 2 mints. Sheljī 413-4** (Şamşām al-Daula Yanghā (or Tonghā) Tegīn. Suzerain Manşūr b. 'Alī). **Sutrūshana/Uşrūshana 4(1?)3 or 4(2?)3** (Şamşām al-Daula Yanghā (or Tonghā) Tegīn. Suzerain, if the date is **413**, Manşūr b. 'Alī). Titulage: *Şamşām al-Daula Yanghā (or Tonghā) Tegīn Yūsuf b. Manşūr*.

Ahmad b. Muhammad - C: 404? (I believe, the die with the date **404** was obsolete), **405-417 (or 423?)/1014-27 (or 1032?) on coins of 7 mints. Akhsiket (404?), 405-7** (Nāṣir al-Daula Atim Tegīn. Suzerain Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī), **Uzgend 405** (Atim Tegīn. Suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **Madina al-Baiḍa 407** (Nāṣir al-Daula Tegīn. Suzerain Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī), **Ispījāb 408-12** (as Nāṣir al-Daula Atim Tegīn. Suzerain Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. Subvassals: Rāzī, Mīrek, Ṣāliḥ, Naṣr), **408** (Atim Tegīn Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Īlek. No vassal. Fals), **416** (Nāṣir al-Daula Atim Tegīn Aḥmad. Suzerain Ṭonghā Khān [II Muḥammad b. Ḥasan]), **Budukket 409** (as Nāṣir al-Daula Atim Tegīn. Suzerain Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī), **410-1** (Nāṣir al-Daula Atim Tegīn. Suzerain Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. Subvassals: Naṣr, 'Alī, Dīnārī, 'Abd al-Malīk), **Ṭarāz 417** (Atim Tegīn Aḥmad. Suzerain Ṭonghā Khān). **Ūch 407? or 417?** (Atim Tegīn. Suzerain Qadir Khān [I Yūsuf]), **412-3? or 422-3?** (Atim Tegīn Aḥmad. Suzerain Malik al-Mashriq). Titulage: *Nāṣir al-Daula Atim Tegīn Aḥmad b. Īlek*. Kunya: *Abū al-'Abbās*.

'Abbās b. Muhammad b. Naṣr - M: 433/1041, ca 447/1055-6. C: 415-434/1014-43. Akhsiket 415 (Malik b. Malikān. Supreme suzerain Ṭonghā Khān, suzerain 'Ain al-Daula Malikān), **417-8** (Mu'izz al-Daula. Supreme suzerain Ṭonghā Khān, suzerain Īlek ['Alī b. Ḥasan]), **418** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik b. Saif al-Daula. No vassal), **420** (Mu'izz al-Daula. Suzerain Qadir Khān [I Yūsuf]), **424** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik. Suzerain 'Aḍud al-Daula), **426** (as Mu'izz al-Daula Malik b. Saif al-Daula. Suzerain Qadir Khān [II Sulaimān]), **427** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik. Suzerain Qadir Khān [II Sulaimān]. Vassal? Ḥ.s.n), **428** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik b. Saif al-Daula. Suzerain Qadir Khān [II Sulaimān]), **430-3** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik. No vassal), **43(4?)** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik 'Abbās). **Kasān 421** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik. Suzerain Qadir Khān [I Yūsuf]), **421-3** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik. Supreme suzerain Qadir Khān [I Yūsuf]. Suzerain 'Aḍud al-Daula), **427** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik. Suzerain Qadir Khān [II Sulaimān]), **429-34** (Mu'izz al-Daula Malik. No vassal). Titulage (Varukh Gorge North Inscription dated to Jumādā 433/December 1041): *Mu'izz al-Daula Arslān Tegīn 'Abbas*. On coins: *Malik b. Malikān* or *Malik b. Saif al-Daula*. Kunya: *Abū'l Faḍl*.

Shu'aith b. Ibrahīm - M: 460/1067-8. C: 450?-61/1058?-69. 4 mints. Tūnket 450? 454 (Yamīn al-Daula Toghān Tegīn Shu'aith-i Ibrahīm. No vassal), **452?** (Yamīn al-Daula Shu'aith-i Ibrahīm. No vassal). **Shāsh 458?** (Yamīn [al-Daula Toghān] Tegīn Shu'aith-i Ibrahīm. No vassal). ? **45x** (Toghān Tegīn. Suzerain Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm). **Samarqand 460? 461** (Ṭonghā Khān. Suzerain Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm. Subvassal? 'Alī). **Bukhārā 461** (Ṭoghān Khān. Suzerain Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm).

Titulage: *Yamīn al-Daula Toghān Tegīn/Khān Shu'aith-i Ibrahīm*. Kunya: *Abū'l Muẓaffar*.

Naṣr b. Ibrahīm - M: AH 460-1, 465, 7. R: 460-72/1067-80. D: Dhu-l-Qa'da 472/May 1080. C: 431-472/1041-80 on coins of 11 mints. Kesh 431 & Samarqand 431-2 (as *Naṣr* (written in Uigur). Suzerain Ibrahīm b. Naṣr). **Samarqand 460-1** (as Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Naṣr, co-ruler of Ibrahīm b. Naṣr), **462, 463, 464, 470** (no vassal). **Bukhārā 440** (Naṣr. Suzerain Ibrahīm b. Naṣr), **459-60** (as Shams al-Mulk. Suzerain Ibrahīm b. Naṣr), **460-1** (Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Ṣīn, co-ruler of Ibrahīm b. Naṣr), **461, 462, 464, 465** (no vassal). **Nauket 46x; Khojende 461, 462, 464, 466; Benāket 461; Dakhket 461; Uzgend 467; Binket 461** (no vassal). **Binket 461** (Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Ṣīn Shams al-Mulk, co-ruler of Ibrahīm b. Naṣr). **Akhsiket 465** (old obverse die), **467, 471-2** (no vassal). **Marghīnān 465** (old obverse die citing Eastern Qarākhānid 'Imād al-Daula), **46x** (no vassal). Titulage: *Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Sulṭān al-Sharq wa'l Ṣīn (or Sulṭān Arḍ al-Sharq) Shams al-Mulk Naṣr*. Kunya: *Abū al-Ḥasan*.

Khidr b. Ibrahīm - M: 465/1072-3, 472/1080. C: 472, 473, 476(?). 4 mints. Uzgend, Nauket (?) 473 (no vassal), **Ū(!)srūshana(?) 472, 473** (no vassal), **Samarqand 47(6?)** (no vassal). Titulage: *Burhān (Ghiyāth?) al-Daula Malik (al-Mashriq? al-Muslim?) Tafghāch Khān al-Khidr*. Kunya: *Abū Shujā'*.

Dā'ūd b. Ibrahīm - C: Uzgend 452?, 458-60 (Kuch Tegīn or Kuch Tegīn Dā'ūd. Suzerain Ibrahīm b. Naṣr). There is a coin of **AH 454? Uzgend**, citing Malik... and his suzerain Ibrahīm b. Naṣr, most probably this Malik... is Dā'ūd. Titulage: *Kuch Tegīn Dā'ūd*.

Ishāq b. Ibrahīm - kunya of Ibrahīm is Abū Ishāq, which means that he had a son named Ishāq.

Ahmad b. Khidr - M: 482/1089-90, 488/1095. R: 479?-482 and 484?-488. D: 18 Jumādā II 488/26 June 1095. C: 479, 4... **Samarqand 479** (Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Sulṭān. No vassal), ? **4...** (as Mu'ayyad al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula Saif Khalīfa Allāh Aḥmad. No vassal), ? **4...** (Sulṭān al-... Aḥmad). Titulage: *Mu'ayyad al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula Saif Khalīfa Allāh Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Sulṭān*.

Muhammad b. Ibrahīm - C: 482-3/1089-91. Samarqand 482 (Mu'ayyad al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Arslān Khān. Suzerain Saljūqid Malikshāh), **4...** (Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Mu'ayyad al-'Adl Qilych Arslān Khān Muḥammad), **483** (as ['Imād] al-Daula wa Tāj al-Milla Muḥammad Khān).

Mas'ūd b. Muhammad -M: 488/1095 as a cousin of Aḥmad b. Khidr. R: 488-489 (490?). C: (Samarqand?) (48)9 (no vassal). Titulage: *Mu'ayyad al-'Adl Arslān Qarākhāqān Mas'ūd*.

Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd - M: 490/1096-97. D: 490?

Muhammad b. Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd - M: AH 494, 496, 509, 513, 515, 521, ca 522, 524, 526/1100-32. R: 495(494?)-Rabī' I 524/ 1102-March 1130. D: Rajab 526/May-June 1132. C: (494-old die with old date?) 495-524/1101-30. ? 494 (Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Muḥammad. No vassal). **Bukhārā 498** (Tafghāch Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. Suzerain Malik Sanjar, Saljūqid), **513, 516** (as Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. Suzerain Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam i.e. Sanjar, Saljūqid). **Samarqand 49x, 51x or 52x, 520** (Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. No vassal), **52x** (as Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. Suzerain Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam i.e. Sanjar, Saljūqid), **523, 4** (Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān and his son and co-ruler Khāqān Aḥmad). **Farghāna and Marghīnān, no date** (as Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. No vassal). **No mintname**

**and date** (Arslān Khān Muḥammad and his son and co-ruler Khāqān Aḥmad). **No mintname and date** (Muḥammad b. Sulaimān Arslān Khān). Titulage: at first *Tafghāch*, later *Arslān Khān*. Also: *al-Khāqān al-'Adil al-A'zam 'Alā al-Daula*.

**Ibrahīm b. Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd - M: 524/1130. C: on coins minted in North Farghāna (Kāsān or Akhsiket?) under caliph al-Mustazhir, 487-512/1094-1118**, (Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm. No vassal). **No date and mint** (*Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ibrahīm Tafghāch Khān*). Kochnev (1997, 262/1044) mistakenly attributed this coin to Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad. Titulage: *Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Burhān al-Islām wa'l Muslimīn Tafghāch Boghrā Khān Ibrahīm b. Sulaimān*. He is mentioned with these titles in a diplomatic document of that time (Bartold 1898, 24). Kunya: *Abū'l Muẓaffar*.

**Nasr b. Muḥammad - M: ca 522/1128 as co-ruler with his father. D: ca 522.**

**Aḥmad b. Muḥammad - M: ca 522, 524, 526/1128-1032. C: Samarqand 523, 4** (as Khāqān al-Muẓaffar Aḥmad, co-ruler with his father Khāqān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān). **On coins minted in South Farghāna (Uzgend) ca 524-6** (as Khāqān al-A'zam Qadir Khān or Khāqān al-'Adil. No vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Adil al-A'zam Qadir Khān Aḥmad b. Muḥammad*.

**Mahmūd b. Muḥammad - M: Ramaḍān 531/May-June 1137** (defeated by the Khytais near Khojende), **Ṣafar 536/September 1141** (allied armies of Maḥmūd and his uncle, Sanjar, defeated by the Khytais on the Qatwān steppe. Together with Sanjar, Maḥmūd fled to Khurāsān, never to return to Mawarānnahr), **548/1153** (after Sanjar was captured by the mutinous Ghuzz tribes, part of Sanjar's army elected Maḥmūd as ruler of Khurāsān), **552/1157** (after the death of Sanjar, Maḥmūd succeeded him in Khurāsān), **Ramaḍān 557/August-September 1162** (Ghuzz warlord Mu'ayyad al-Daula Āi Āba captured and blinded Maḥmūd and his son Muḥammad). **R: (in Mawarānnahr) 531-536. D: after 557/1162. C: Samarqand 532** (Khāqān al-'Adil al-Mu'azzam Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad. Suzerain Sulṭān al-A'zam Sanjar), **No date and mintname** (Khāqān al-Ajall al-Sayyid al-Muẓaffar 'Alā al-Daula (or Nāṣir al-Dīn). No vassal), **Tirmidh 553/1158** (as Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Abū'l Qasim Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad Yamīn Amīr al-Mu'minīn). Titulage. Till **AH 536: Khāqān al-Ajall al-'Adil al-A'zam (al-Mu'azzam) 'Alā al-Daula Nāṣir al-Dīn**. After **AH 552: Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Yamīn Amīr al-Mu'minīn**. In written sources: *Rukn (or Jalāl) al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Boghrā Khān*. Kunya: *Abū'l Qasim*.

**Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad - M: 557** as Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd. Taken prisoner and blinded together with his father.

**Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad - M & D: Dhū-l-Ḥijja (XII month) 550/February 1156** (Ibn al-Athīr) or **551/1156** (Qarshī). **C: Samarqand (53)7, 538, 540-3** (Khāqān Ibrahīm or Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad. No vassal), **547-8** (Sarvar Khān Ibrahīm Khāqān b. Arslān Khān). **Bukhārā 5(4)1** (Khāqān Ibrahīm. Suzerain Sulṭān Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Sanjar b. Malikshāh), **543, 545** (Khāqān Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad. No vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-Ajall al-'Adil al-A'zam (or al-Mu'azzam) Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad (or b. Arslān Khān)*. Kunya: *Abū'l Muẓaffar*.

*"HASANID LINE" OF QARĀKHĀNIDS (see table 3, page 32)*

**Hasan b. Sulaimān - Shebānkāra'ī (XIV c.)** called 'Alī Tegīn "the son of the brother of the father of Qadir Khān" (Nazim 1971, 53). So Ḥasan, the father of 'Alī Tegīn, was the son of Ṭonghā Īlek Sulaimān b. Satuq Boghrā Khān and the brother of Hārūn Boghrā Khān, who was the father of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf.

**Muḥammad b. Hasan Tonghā Khān (II Western) - D: 418?/1027? C: 399-418/1008-28. 12 mints. Shāsh 399-400** (Nizām al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn. Suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **415-6** (Ṭoghān Khān or Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq. Vassal Bahā al-Daula Īlek 'Alī b. Ḥasan. Subvassals: Rāzī, Yazdādī). **Samarqand 401** (Ṭonghā Tegīn Muḥammad b. Ḥ[asan]). Supreme suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain Naṣr b. 'Alī), **402** (Nizām al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn. Suzerain Naṣr b. 'Alī), **402** (Nizām al-Daula Muḥammad. Suzerain Naṣr b. 'Alī. Subvassal 'Abd al-Raḥman), **403** (Ṭonghā Tegīn. Supreme suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Suzerain Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī), **403-4** (Nizām al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn. Suzerain Aḥmad b. 'Alī), **404** (Nizām al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn. No vassal. Fals), **412** (Nizām al-Daula Ināl Tegīn. Suzerain Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī), **415** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal Abū al-Ḥasan Īlek). **Ispījāb 416** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal Atim Tegīn Aḥmad). **Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn) 415-6** (Ṭonghā Khān or Tongā Khāqān Muḥammad. No vassal). **Ṭarāz 417** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal Atim Tegīn Aḥmad). **Tūnkēt 415** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal 'Aḍud al-Daula Ināl Tegīn. Could it be that, after Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan received the title Ṭonghā Khān, his title Ināl Tegīn was given to 'Aḍud al-Daula?), **416?** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal 'Aḍud al-Daula ...). **Īlāq 415** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal Saif al-Daula Malikān). **Khojende 415** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal Bahā al-Daula Īlek), **416** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal Īlek. Subvassal Ṭonghān Tegīn). **Bukhārā 415** (Tongā Khān. Vassal Bahā al-Daula Arslān Īlek), **416** (Tongā Khān. Vassal Abū'l Muẓaffar Īlek). **Akhsiket 415** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal 'Ain al-Daula Malikān), **Akhsiket 415** (Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal 'Ain al-Daula Malikān. Subvassal Malik b. Malikān), **417-8** (Ṭonghān or Ṭonghā Khān. Vassal Īlek. Subvassal Mu'izz al-Daula). **Soghd 416** (Ṭonghā Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. Suzerain Khān Malik al-Mashriq, i.e. Qadir Khān). **Ṣaghāniyān 414** (old obverse die with date **414**), **415-8** (as Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān suzerain of anonymous Ṣaghāniyān ruler, whose name was not placed on the coins).

Titulage. **AH 399-404: Nizām al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn. 412: Nizām al-Daula Ināl Tegīn. 415-8: Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Ṭonghā/Ṭoghān/Tonghān/Tongā Khān (Khāqān etc.)**. Kunya: *Abū'l Muẓaffar*.

In 429-30 coins of Samarqand, Kesh, Bukhārā cited Ṭonghā or Ṭoghān Khān. His identity is uncertain. Kochnev deemed that it was Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. But Baihaqī, wrote that Ṭoghān Khān بر فتاد in war with Qadir Khān. Arends (Baihaqī 1962, 467) translated it as "fell in war". Kochnev (1984, 370), who consulted the Iranist, Akimushkin, insisted that these

words of Baihaqī should mean that Ṭoghān Khān “only lost his power” and did not “fall in war”. As it happens, in another article, Kochnev (1979, 129) wrote that the struggle between Qadir Khān and Ṭoghān Khān “ended in the death of Ṭoghān Khān, as related by Baihaqī”. It is difficult to know which of these assertions to believe. If Kochnev’s supposition is correct it would mean that, having disappeared from coins after AH 418, Ṭoghā Khān II Muḥammad b. Ḥasan turned up again after 12 years of obscurity as a ruler of Samarqand, Kesh and Bukhārā in 429-30/1037-9.

**‘Alī b. Ḥasan - M: 411, 416, 421-3, 426** (in 416-426 as ‘Alī Tegīn). **D: between Rabī’ I - Jumādā II 426 / 1035 January - April. C: 411-426/1010-35. 13 mints. Bukhārā 411** (Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn. Suzerain Qadir Khān I), **411-5** (Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn. Suzerain Maṣūr b. ‘Alī), **411-5** (Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn. No suzerain. Fulūs), **415** (Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek. Suzerain Ṭoghā Khān [Muḥammad b. Ḥasan]), **416** (İlek. Suzerain Ṭoghā Khān), **416, 417, 419, 420, 422** (İlek. No vassal), **417, 418** (İlek. Vassal Tegīn [Yūsuf b. ‘Alī]), **421** (Tarkhān İlek. No vassal), **421-4** (İlek. Vassal Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn), **424-6** (Ṭafghāch Khān or Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān. Vassal Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn). **Dabūsiya 414** (Bahā al-Daula Tonghātegīn. Suzerain Maṣūr b. ‘Alī. Vassal ‘Irāqī), **420** (İlek Pādshāh. No vassal), **424-5** (Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān. No vassal). **Qutlugh Ordū al-Dabūsiya 424** (Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān. Vassal Isma‘īl b. Muḥammad. Subvassal ‘Alī). **Samarqand 415** (İlek Pādshāh. Suzerain Ṭoghā Khān), **419-21** (Arslān İlek. No vassal), **420** (İlek Pādshāh, no vassal), **423** (Tarkhān İlek, no vassal), **424-6** (Ṭafghāch Khān or Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān. No vassal). **Shāsh 415-6** (İlek ‘Alī b. Ḥasan or Bahā al-Daula İlek. Suzerain Nāşir al-Ḥaqq or Ṭoghān Khān. Subvassals: Rāzī, Yazdādī). **Tūnket 415** (İlek ‘Alī b. Ḥasan. Suzerain Nāşir al-Ḥaqq). **Khojende 415** (Bahā al-Daula İlek. Suzerain Ṭoghān Khān), **416** (İlek. Suzerain Ṭoghān Khān, vassal Ṭoghān Tegīn). **İshṭikhan 419-21** (Arslān İlek. Vassal Qilych Ūkā), **425** (Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān ‘Alī b. Ḥasan. Vassal Sevinch Ūkā). **Kushānī 415** (Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek or İlek. No vassal). **Karmīniya 417** (Pādshāh. Vassal İnānch Kūkbüz), **420** (İlek Pādshāh. No vassal), **420** (Bahā al-Daula. Vassal Jabra‘il b. Muḥammad), **424-5** (Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhān. No vassal). **Soghd 419, 22** (İlek Pādshāh. No vassal), **421** (İlek Pādshāh. Vassal Qilych Ūkā cf. **İshṭikhan**), **421** (İlek Tarkhān Pādshāh ‘Alī b. Ḥasan. No vassal), **423** (Arslān İlek. No vassal), **426?** (Khān. No vassal). **Akhsiket 417-8** (as İlek. Suzerain Ṭoghā Khān. Vassal Mu‘izz al-Daula). **Ḥarlugh/Ḥarluḥ/Qarlugh Ordū 423-4** (Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān ‘Alī b. Ḥasan. No vassal), **425-6** (Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhān ‘Alī b. Ḥasan. Vassals or mint officials: ‘Alī, Sahl, Muḥammad al-Mutavallī).

Titulage. Till **415** inclusive: *Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn*. **415-423** inclusive: *Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek, or İlek, or İlek Pādshāh, or İlek Tarkhān*. From **423**: *Qutb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla wa ‘Aḍud al-Dīn Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān (Khān, etc.)*. Kunya: *Abū al-Ḥasan*.

**Ahmad b. al-Ḥasan - C: Kushānī 413-4** (as Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan. Suzerain Maṣūr b. ‘Alī).

**Yūsuf b. ‘Alī - M: AH 426, 430. C: 419-433/1028-42. 5 mints. Samarqand 419** (Arslān Tegīn. Suzerain Khān Malik al-Mashriq [Qadir Khān I]), **427** (Arslān İlek. No vassal), **428** (Arslān İlek (or Pādshāh) Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. No vassal), **430?** (Qutb al-Daula İlek Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. No vassal). **Kesh 429** (Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. No vassal). **Madīna al-Mahfuza (Samarqand) 428** (Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. No vassal). **Bukhārā 417-8** (Tegīn. Suzerain İlek [‘Alī b. Ḥasan]), **418, 419, 22** (Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. No vassal. Fulūs), **421-4** (Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn. Suzerain İlek [‘Alī b. Ḥasan]), **423, 426** (Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn. No vassal. Fulūs), **242-6** (Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn. Suzerain Ṭafghāch Khān [‘Alī b. Ḥasan]), **426** (Mu‘ayyad al-‘Adl Arslān İlek Yūsuf. No vassal), **427** (as Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek. No vassal), **427, 428, 430** (Arslān İlek Yūsuf. No vassal), **431** (Arslān İlek, Shams al-Daula İlek, Shams al-Daula İlek Yūsuf. No vassal), **432** (Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. No vassal), **433** (İlek Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. No vassal). **Qarlugh/Ḥarlugh Ordū 427-8** (Arslān İlek Yūsuf b. ‘Alī. No vassal).

Titulage. Till **426/1034-5** inclusive: *Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn*. From **426**: *Shams al-Daula Qutb al-Daula Mu‘ayyad al-‘Adl Arslān İlek*.

**Hārūn b. ‘Alī - M: 435/1043-4. C: 434/1042-3, 443/1051-2. At least 2 mints. Marghīnān 434, 443 and Qubā 443** (as Arslān Tegīn Hārūn b. ‘Alī. No vassal), ? **44x** (as Hārūn b. ‘Alī. Suzerain Arslān Khān, i.e. Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān). Titulage: *Arslān Tegīn*. Kunya: *Abū’l Muẓaffar*.

**Jabra‘il b. Muḥammad - C: Karmīniya 420** (Suzerain Bahā al-Daula, i.e. ‘Alī b. Ḥasan). I believe this Jabra‘il was the son of Muḥammad Ṭoghā Khān.

**Isma‘īl b. Muḥammad - C: Qutlugh Ordū al-Dabūsiya 424** (Suzerain Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān. Vassal (or mint official?) ‘Alī). I believe Isma‘īl was the son of Muḥammad Ṭoghā Khān.

#### PERSONS WHOSE GENEALOGY IS NOT CLEAR (see table 3, page 32)

**Sulaimān b. al-Ḥusain Ināl Khān C: no mintname, not later than 526/1131-2** (no vassal). Kochnev (1997, 275/1168) read “Sulaimān b. al-Ḥasan Yaghān Khān”. Coins of this ruler were found in Osh Hoard (Fergana valley, Kirghizstan). The hoard comprised coins minted c. AH 522-526.

**Mahmūd b. X. b. Maṣūr b. ‘Alī - M: 490/1096-7. Succeeded Sulaimān b. Dā‘ūd. C: 490 on coins of 2 mints. Bukhārā 490** (Ṭafghāch Khān. No vassal). **Bukhārā and Samarqand 490** (as Khāqān. No vassal). Pritsak (1953, 49) using the words of Ibn al-Athīr that Mahmūd’s grandfather “was one of their kings and he was deaf” and the words of ‘Utbī that Arslān Khān (i.e. Maṣūr b. ‘Alī) was deaf, established that Mahmūd was the grandson of Maṣūr b. ‘Alī. Titulage: *Khāqān al-Ajall al-Sayyid al-Malik al-Muẓaffar (?) ‘Imād al-Daula Abū’l Qasim Mahmūd Ṭafghāch Khān*.



Hārūn - M: not later than 492/1098-99. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Hārūn killed Maḥmūd and captured his state. He was the third of the Qarākhānids invested by the Saljūqid ruler, Barkīārūq as rulers of Mawarānnahr. Since in 492/1098-9 Barkīārūq was defeated in an internecine war fought among the Sajūqs and could not invest anybody as a ruler in Mawarānnahr, it must have taken place before 492.

*Comments on TABLE 4 (for table, see page 33)*

'Abd al-Mu'min - Juvainī (1985, 24) wrote c.524 that Khāqān Ḥasan Tegīn was "the son of the uncle of Khāqān Muḥammad" i.e. of Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān. But it does not fit because in that case 'Alī, the father of Ḥasan Tegīn, should be 'Ali b. Dā'ūd and not 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Mu'min. Maybe it was not "uncle" but cousin once removed and in that case the genealogy would be like this:

Ibrahīm b. Naṣr. b. 'Alī	
Dā'ūd	'Abd al-Mu'min
Sulaimān	'Alī
Muḥammad	Ḥasan

'Alī b. 'Abd al-Mu'min See above.

Hasan b. 'Alī - M: 524/1032-3 was put on the throne in Samarqand by the Saljūqid sultan, Sanjar. **D: not earlier than 530/1135-6, not later than Ramaḍān 531/May-June 1137. C: c.AH 522-6** on coins of: [Akh]sīket (Qarākhān Ḥasan. Suzerain Sanjar b. Malikshāh), [Akh]sīket (Khāqān Ḥasan. Suzerain Sulṭān Sanjar), [Akh]sīket (Khāqān Ḥasan. No vassal), [Kāsān] (Qarākhān Ḥasan. Suzerain Sulṭān Sanjar, vassal Ṭoghrol Khān Ḥusain, i.e. son of Ḥasan), [Kāsān] (Qarākhān. Vassal Ṭoghrol Khān). **Samarqand 530** (as Nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq. Suzerain Sulṭān Sanjar, or Sulṭān Sanjar b. Malikshāh, or Sanjar), **5xx** (Nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq. No vassal). Titulage: *Nuṣrat al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Pahlavān al-Sharq Qarākhān/Khāqān*. Kunya: *Abū-l Ma'ālī*.

Husain b. Hasan - M: Rabī' II 547/July 1152. D: Rajab 551/20 August-18 September 1156. C: [Kāsān] c.522-6/1128-32 (on some coins: Ṭoghrol Khān Ḥusain. Supreme suzerain Sulṭān Sanjar, suzerain Qarākhān Ḥasan; on other coins: Ṭoghrol Khān. Suzerain Qarākhān). **Uzgend at least from 547- not later than Rajab 551** (Jalāl al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ṭoghrol Khān al-Ḥasan, no vassal). Titulage (Uzgend Northern mausoleum inscription): *Khāqān al-'Adil al-'Azam Jalāl al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Alp Qutlugh Tungā Bilgā Turk Ṭoghrol Khāqān al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.

'Alī b. Hasan - M: 553/1158. C: Samarqand, no date (as 'Alī b. Ḥasan, no vassal). Titulage: *Jalāl al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Jaghrā Khān*.

Mas'ūd b. Hasan - M: AH 556, 560. R: 556-568(?) D: 568 (9?). C: 558-568 (9?). Benāket 558-9 (Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān. No vassal). **Samarqand 558-568** (Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān. No vassal). **Bukhārā 562-4** (Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān. No vassal). **Tirmidh 568, 56(9? or 7?)** (as Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān. No vassal). Titulage: *Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān*. In "Sindbād Nāma", dedicated to him as *Alp Qutlugh Tonghā Bilghā Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān*. Kunya: *Abū'l Muẓaffar*.

The date of Mas'ūd's death is not known. Kochnev(1983, 80) claimed that he proved Davidovich's theory, that Mas'ūd died in 566 and was succeeded in 566 in Samarqand by his son, Muḥammad. But there are coins minted in 568 and 56(9? 7?) in Tirmidh (Tübingen University Collection ED1E6, ED1F1) by Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān. Strangely enough, the caliph al-Mustanjid (AH 555-566) is cited on these coins. The titles Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān can be found on all Mas'ūd's coins of Samarqand starting at least with those of AH 558. So it seems that Mas'ūd lived several years after Davidovich and Kochnev buried him. There is also a Samarqand dirhem (Tübingen University Collection ED1A5) with the date "568", though the name of the caliph (rather worn) looks like al-Mustanjid. It also cites Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān. There is the possibility that the AH 568 coin of Samarqand was minted with an old die bearing the title of Mas'ūd. But coins of Tirmidh have the title of Mas'ūd and the dates 568 and 56(9 or 7?) on the same side. There is also a coin of Balkh (Tübingen University Collection, ED2B4), where the name Mustanjid and the date 567 are quite distinct on the obverse. It seems to have been a certain policy of Mas'ūd and his family towards the new caliph. They did not recognise him and continued to cite Mustanjid posthumously on their coins. Otherwise it would be too much of a coincidence to find the same mistake on coins of Balkh, Samarqand and Tirmidh, with Samarqand and Balkh being quite far away from each other.

Sanjar b. al-Ḥasan - R: 574 (or 572?)-583(?). D: 583(?). C: Balkh and Tirmidh under caliphs al-Mustaḍī (566-75/1170-80) and al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225). Balkh 574 (as Sanjar Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Bū Naṣr b. al-Ḥasan. No vassal), [Balkh] 578 (Sulṭān al-'Azam Nāṣir al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Sanjar Ṭafghāch Khān), (58)3 (as Sulṭān al-'Azam Sanjar

(Qadir? or Bin?) Tafghāch Khān). **Tirmidh (574? or 575?)** (as Khāqān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Nāṣir al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn. Vassal Malik Toghān Khān), [**Tirmidh**] **574** (as Khāqān al-A‘zam Nāṣir al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn. Vassal Malik Toghān Khān). [**Tirmidh**] (**57? or 58?**)<sup>3</sup> (Nāṣir al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn. Vassal Malik Toghān Khān). [**Balkh**] **no date** (Sultān al-A‘zam Rukn al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Sanjar). Titulage: *Khāqān, Tafghāch Khān, Sultān, Nāṣir al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn, Mu‘izz al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn, Rukn al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn*. Kunya: *Bū Naṣr*.

**Ibrāhīm b. Husain - M: Rajab 597/April-May 1201. R: Uzjend 559(?)–574/1163(61?)–1179, Samarqand 574–601/1179–1205. D:601. C: 559(?)–600 on coins of 5 mints. Uzjend 559 (?)–574** (Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ibrāhīm Arslān Khāqān. No vassal). **Samarqand 574–80, 4** (Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ibrāhīm Arslān Khān/Khāqān. No vassal), **582** (Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ibrāhīm Kuch Arslān Khān. No vassal), **584–92, 594–8** (Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ibrāhīm Ulugh Sultān or Ulugh Sultān al-Salāṭīn. No vassal). **Bukhārā 574, 82** (Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ibrāhīm Arslān Khāqān. No vassal), **590, 597, 599, 600** (Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ibrāhīm Ulugh Sultān al-Salāṭīn. No vassal). **Tirmidh (after 583)** (Sultān al-Salāṭīn. Vassal Toḡhrul Khān), **584** (Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Sultān al-Salāṭīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥusain. No vassal), [**Tirmidh**] **586, 59(1?)** (Sultān al-A‘zam Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn. Vassal Toḡhrul Khāqān). **Balkh 583** (Arslān Khāqān Ibrāhīm. No vassal). Titulage: **till 584** Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ibrāhīm Arslān Khāqān; **582** Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ibrāhīm Kuch Arslān Khān; **from 584** Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ulugh Sultān or Ulugh Sultān al-Salāṭīn.

**Mahmūd b. Husain - C: Samarqand (55)2** (Qadir Toghān Khān Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain. No vassal). **Samarqand 553 and Bukhārā 5xx** (Shāhānshāh Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Khāqān Abū-l Muzaffar Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain). Titulage: *Shāhānshāh Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qadir Toghān Khān/Khāqān Maḥmūd b. al-Ḥusain*. Kunya: *Abū‘l Muzaffar*.

**Nasr b. Husain - C: Kāsān 564–76/1168–81** (Toḡhrul Khāqān/Khān. No vassal). Titulage: *Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Toḡhrul Khāqān or Khān*.

**‘Abd al-Khāliq b. Husain - C: between 555–75/1160–80 under caliphs al-Mustanjid (555–66) and al-Mustaḍī (566–75). Bārāb not later than 568–9** (Nuṣrat(?) Qutluq(sic) Bilgā Khāqān. No vassal). **Bārāb under caliphs al-Mustanjid and al-Mustaḍī** (Khāqān al-‘Adil Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qutluq Bilgā Khān. No vassal). **No mintname under caliph al-Mustaḍī** (al-Khāqān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qutluq Bilgā Khān. No vassal). **Samarqand (574)** (Khāqān al-A‘zam Qutluq Bilgā Khān Abū‘l Muzaffar ‘Abd al-Khāliq Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn). Titulage: *Khāqān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qutluq Bilgā Khān*. Kunya: *Abū-l Muzaffar*.

**Muhammad b. Mas‘ūd - C: (566–7 old dies with old dates see above paragraph about Mas‘ūd b. Ḥasan), 568–72. Samarqand (566–7 old dies), 568–9** (Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qilych Tafgāch Khān. No vassal), **569** (Kochnev (1997, 264/1059) read the date as **567**) (Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas‘ūd. No vassal), **571–2** (Qilych Tafghāch Khān Abū‘l Muzaffar Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn). Titulage: *Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qilych Tafgāch Khān*. Kunya: *Abū-l Muzaffar*.

**Arslān Khān bin Qilych Tafghāch Khān (i.e. Mas‘ūd) - C: Balkh 567 (caliph Mustanjid (555–566) cited posthumously).** (Khāqān al-‘Adil ‘Alā’ al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Arslān Khān. No vassal). **Balkh under caliph Mustaḍī (566–75) but not later than 571.** (Khāqān al-‘Adil ‘Alā’ al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Arslān Khā(!) bin Qilych Tafgāch(!) Khān. No vassal). Titulage: *al-Khāqān al-‘Adil ‘Alā’ al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Arslān Khān bin Qilych Tafghāch Khān*.

**Khusraushāh b. Sanjar b. Ḥasan - C: [Balkh? Tirmidh?] under caliph Nāṣir (575–622). No date** (Khusraushāh [the name?] or Khusrau [the name and title] Shāh?. Suzerain Khāqān al-A‘zam Rukn al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn, i.e. Sanjar b. Ḥasan). **No date** (Sultān al-A‘zam Abū‘l Harith Khusraushāh bin Sultān (i.e. Sanjar). No vassal). Titulage. Early type, before the death of his father (i.e. between 575–583?): *Khusrau Shāh* (or was it the name Khusraushāh?). Later type, after the death of his father (i.e. after 583?): *Sultān al-A‘zam Abū‘l Harith Khusraushāh (or Khusrau Shāh?) bin Sultān*.

**Qadir Khān Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm - C: 574–607/1178–1211. D: 607/1210–11. C: Uzjend (57)4, 576?, 579, 582, 584, 587, 594, 596, 597, 599?** (Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qadir Khāqān. No vassal), **594** (Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qadir Khāqān **bin Sultān**. No vassal), **601, 603, 606, 607** (Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ulugh Sultān Qadir Khāqān. No vassal), [**Uzjend**] **607** (Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qadir Khāqān. Suzerain Sultān Muḥammad b. Sultān Tekesh, i.e. Khwārizmshāh). Titulage. **Till 601 and part of 607** *Khāqān al-‘Alim al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qadir Khāqān*. **In 594** *Khāqān al-‘Alim al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Qadir Khāqān bin Sultān*. **From 601** (death of Sultān Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusain) *Sultān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Jalāl al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ulugh Sultān Qadir Khāqān*.

The name of this ruler is not mentioned in the chronicles nor on coins. But coins of AH 594 cite him as “Bin Sultān” (son of Sultān). The only Sultān who could have been his father was Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusain. Sultān ‘Uthmān, son of Ibrāhīm, was too young: in 597, being only 14–15 years old (Bartold 1963, 418). So he was born after Qadir Khān became the ruler of Uzjend. The successor of Qadir Khān in Uzjend is cited as Maḥmūd b. Ahmad. So it seems that the name of Qadir Khān was Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm. Certainly, Kochnev (1997, 268) was quite sure of it: he calls Qadir Khān “Ahmad b. Ibrāhīm”.

**‘Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm - M: Rajab 597/April-May 1201; Šafar 601/Sept.–Oct. 1204; 604 Rabī‘ I 607/Aug.–Sept. 1210; 609/1212. D: 609/1212. R: 601–609/1204–1212. C: Samarqand 604** (Sultān al-A‘zam Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn. No vassal), **605** (Sultān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Ulugh Sultān al-Salāṭīn. No vassal), **606** (Sultān al-A‘zam. Suzerain Sultān al-Mu‘azzam Muḥammad bin Sultān i.e. Khwārizmshāh), **607** (Sultān al-Mu‘azzam ‘Uthmān b. Sultān Ibrāhīm. Suzerain Sultān al-A‘zam Muḥammad bin Sultān), **607** (Sultān ‘Uthmān b. Ibrāhīm. Suzerain Sultān Muḥammad bin Sultān Tekesh). Titulage: *Sultān al-‘Adil al-A‘zam Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa‘l Dīn Ulugh Sultān al-Salāṭīn*.

Kochnev (1997, 267/1095) mentioned a dīnār of [5]9[9] but his reading is highly questionable.

Mahmūd b. Ibrāhīm - C: **Tirmidh 604/1207-8** (no vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-A'zam Ghiyāth al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Mahmūd bin Sulṭān al-Salātīn*.

Toghrul Khān Muhammad b. Naṣr - C: **578?-598/1182-1202. Kāsān 578?, 58x, 587, 591, 594, 598** (Jalāl al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Toghrul Khāqān. No vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Alim al-'Adil al-A'zam Jalāl al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Toghrul Khāqān Muhammad b. Naṣr*.

Hasan b. 'Abd al-Khāliq - M: **Ṣafar 601/Oct. 1204, 609?/1212?, 617-8/1220-2. D: 618. C: Bārāb 59x, 59(6? 7?), xx8, 603, 604** (Shams al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qutlugh Bilgā Khāqān. No vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Adil Shams al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qutlugh Bilgā Khāqān Maulā Amīr al-Mu'minīn*.

PERSONS WHOSE GENEALOGY IS NOT CLEAR (see table 4, page 33)

Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Akdash? Tafghāch Khān Muhammad- **571(old die?), 572-4. Samarqand 571, Bukhārā 574, no mintname 572** (Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū-l Muzaffar Akdash? Tafghāch Khāqān Muhammad). **Samarqand 57x** (Qilych Tafghāch Khān Abū-l Muzaffar Muhammad Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn). **No mintname and date** (Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū-l Muzaffar Qilych Tafghāch Khāqān). Titulage: *Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Akdash? (or Qilych) Tafghāch Khān/Khāqān*. Kunya: *Abū-l Muzaffar*.

Based on the fact that Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Qilych Tafghāch Khān, i.e. Mas'ūd b. Hasan, and Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān had the same kunia and laqab, I deemed that Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Abū'l Muzaffar Akdash(?) Tafghāch Khān was a new titulage of Mas'ūd and that he returned to Samarqand after the death of Muhammad b. Mas'ūd, an event which, according to Jamāl Qarshī, happened in 569 (Fedorov 1978, 61). I considered that Muhammad, cited in small letters above the main legend of the field, was Mas'ūd's governor. This opinion proved to be mistaken. Qarshī was quite positive that one of the Khāns died in AD 569. There were, however, distortions and gaps in Qarshī's text, so scholars considered that it was Muhammad, the son of Mas'ūd, who died in 569. But when the coin of Muhammad b. Mas'ūd, minted in AH 571, was discovered, this date was considered as mistaken. On the other hand, the latest coins of Mas'ūd were minted in AH 568 and 56(9? or 7?). So the date AH 569 referred originally to Mas'ūd.

Referring to coins of AH 571, 574, 57x which cite Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Muhammad b. Qilych Tafghāch Khān and Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Akdash? Tafghāch Khān, Davidovich (1977, 182-3), wrote that this Muhammad was a son either of Qilych Tafghāch Khān Ḥasan (i.e. Ḥasan Tegīn put on the throne by the Seljūq ruler, Sanjar, in 524) or of Muhammad b. Mas'ūd. Nor did she exclude the possibility that he could have been 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, 271/1127-8). Davidovich thought that Muhammad b. Naṣr could have captured Samarqand, and that his uncle, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥusain (who possessed Uzjend in 559-74 and Samarqand from 574) could have forced his nephew, Muhammad, to swap Samarqand for Uzjend. Referring to Jamāl Qarshī's statement that Muhammad b. Mas'ūd died in 569 (which proved to be a mistake) she considered that Akdash? Tafghāch Khān Muhammad succeeded Muhammad b. Mas'ūd in Samarqand between 569 and 571.

Kochnev(1983, 79-82; 1987, 166) shared Davidovich's opinion that Akdash? Tafghāch Khān Muhammad succeeded Muhammad b. Mas'ūd in Samarqand and wrote that it took place in 571. But later he (Kochnev 1993, 432) changed his mind and wrote that Ekdish (as he now read the word which was previously read as Akdash?) Tafghāch Khān Muhammad and Muhammad b. Mas'ūd were the same person. Moreover, in 1996 he wrote that the word "Egdish" (which is a name of a Turkic tribe) shows that the Qarākhānids came from that tribe (Kochnev 1996, 356). In his "Corpus of Inscriptions on Qarakhanid Coins" Kochnev (1995, 201-278; 1997, 245-315) published 1354 varieties of Qarākhānid titulage. Of these only 3 (or 0.22%) included the word which he read as "Egdish". So that 0.22% was enough for Kochnev 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 was not aware of) this statistic. It is equally strange that "Der Islam" published such an odd article.

Let us hope that new numismatic finds will settle the genealogy of this mysterious Akdash-Ekdish.

Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qilych Khān - C: **Benāket 572?, 573, 574, 578** (no vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Alim al-'Adil al-A'zam Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Shāh Qilych Khān*. Kunya: *Abū'l Muzaffar*.

Jalāl al-Dunya... Tafghāch Khāqān - C: **Benāket 592, 3** (no vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Alim(?) Jalāl al-Dunya... Tafghāch Khāqān*.

'Imād al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ulugh Jaghrā Khāqān - C: **Benāket 594, 597-602** (no vassal). Titulage: **594, 597, 598 Khāqān al-'Adil 'Imād al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ulugh Jaghrā Khāqān. 599-602 Khāqān al-'Adil 'Imād al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ulugh Akdash? Jaghrā Khāqān**.

Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Isma'īl - M: **ca 615/1218. C: Kāsān 605, 8** (no vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-Mu'azzam Mu'izz al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ulugh Toghrul Khān*.

Arslān Khāqān Muhammad b. Muhammad - C: **Marghīnān after 596/1199-1200** (no vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Adil Sevinch Qutlugh Arslān Khāqān*.

Hisām al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qutlugh Toghān Khāqān - C: **Marghīnān 602/1205-6** (no vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Adil Hisām al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qutlugh Toghān Khāqān*.

Abū Bakr b. Yughrūsh - C: **Vakhsh 595? 603** (no vassal), **no date** (Suzerain Sām b. Muhammad). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Adil al-A'zam 'Imād al-Dunya wa'l Dīn*. Kunya: *Abū'l Muzaffar*.

'Imād al-Dunya(?) wa'l Dīn(?) Tabghāch(?) Khān - C: **Vakhsh not earlier than 606/1209-10** (suzerain Muhammad b. Sulṭān i.e. Khwārizmshāh).

Malik Toghān Khān - C: **Tirmidh 574, (57? or 58?)3** (suzerain Nāṣir al-Dunya wa'l Dīn i.e. Sanjar b. Ḥasan). Titulage: *Malik Toghān Khān*.

Toghrl Khāqān - C: **Tirmidh after 583** (suzerain Sultān al-Salāṭīn, i.e. Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain), [**Tirmidh**] **586, 591?** (suzerain Nuṣrat al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Sultān, i.e. Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain). Titulage: *al-Khāqān al-'Adil Toghrl Khāqān*.

(Ḥasan?) b. Khidr - C: (**Khuttalān?**) **576/1180-81** (suzerain Ghūrīd Sām b. Muḥammad). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Alim al-'Adil al-A'zam Bahā al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ulugh Tafghāch Khān*.

'Alī b. Ja'far - C: [**Balkh**] **ca 594/1197** Titulage: *'Uddat al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Ulugh Arslān Khāqān*.

Muhammad b. Qutlugh Tafghāch Khān - C: [**Margh?**] **īnān? or [Ṣaghā?]niān? under caliphs al-Mustaḍī (566-75/1170-1180) and al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) and also 57x** (no vassal). Titulage: *Khāqān al-'Adil al-A'zam Rukn al-Dunya wa'l Dīn*. Kochnev (1997, 264/1063) read this name as Muḥammad b. Qilych (instead of Qutlugh) Khān.

Muhammad Qutlugh Bilgā Khāqān - C: **no mintname and date** (no vassal). Titulage: *Shams al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Qutlugh Bilgā Khāqān*.

Muhammad Boghrā Khān - C: **no mintname and date** (no vassal). Titulage: *Tāj al-Dunya wa'l Dīn Boghrā Khān*.

Arslān (Khān?) Shāh - C: **no mintname and date** (no vassal). Titulage: *Rukn al-Dīn... al-Dunā(!) Arslān (Khān?) Shāh*.

Qilych Toghr(!) Khān - C: **no mintname and date** (no vassal). Titulage: *Qilych Toghrul Khān*.

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TABLE 2. EASTERN QARĀKHĀNIDS (11th-beginning of 13th century AD).

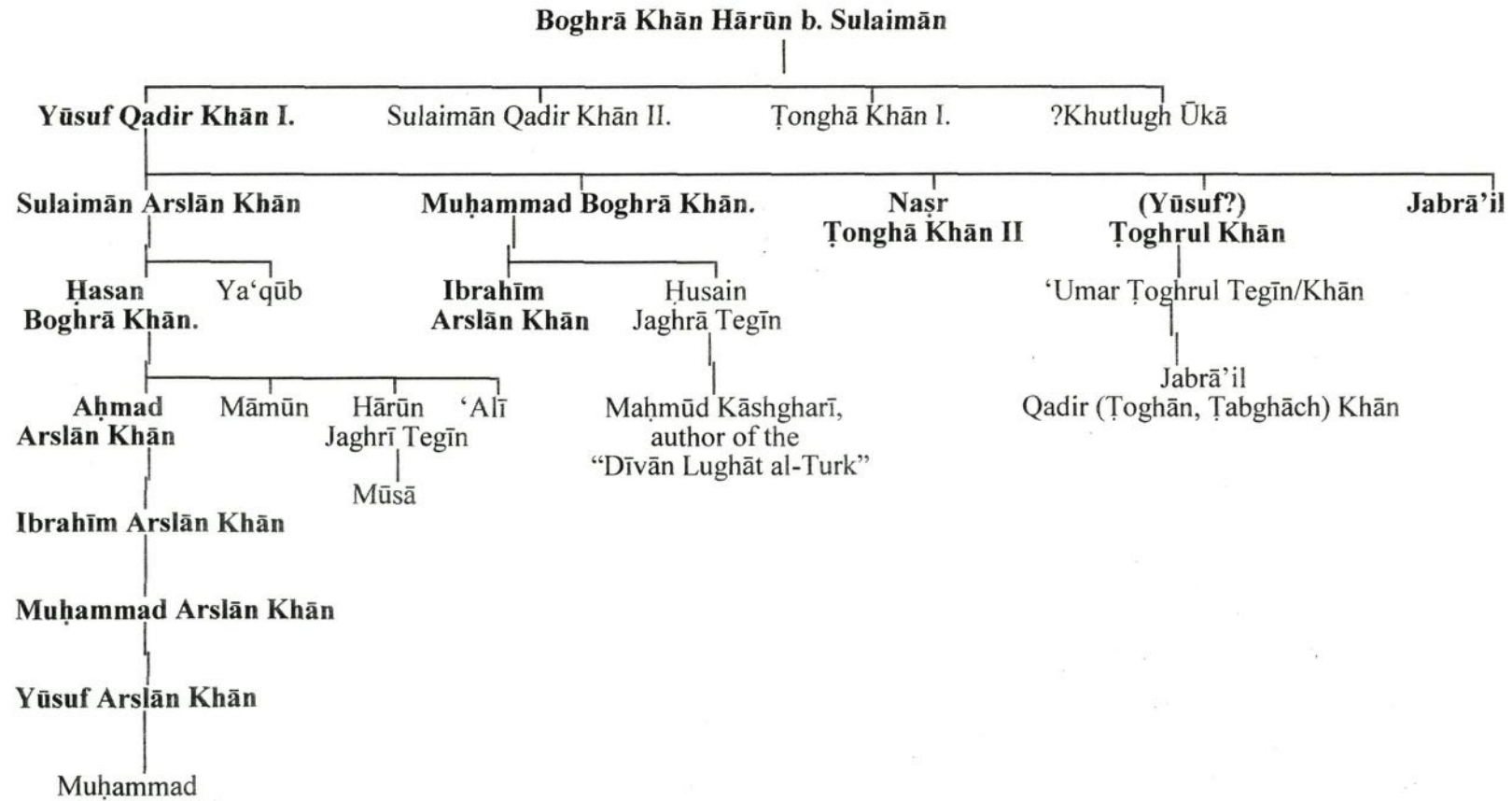


TABLE 3. WESTERN QARĀKHĀNIDS (XI-the middle of XII c).

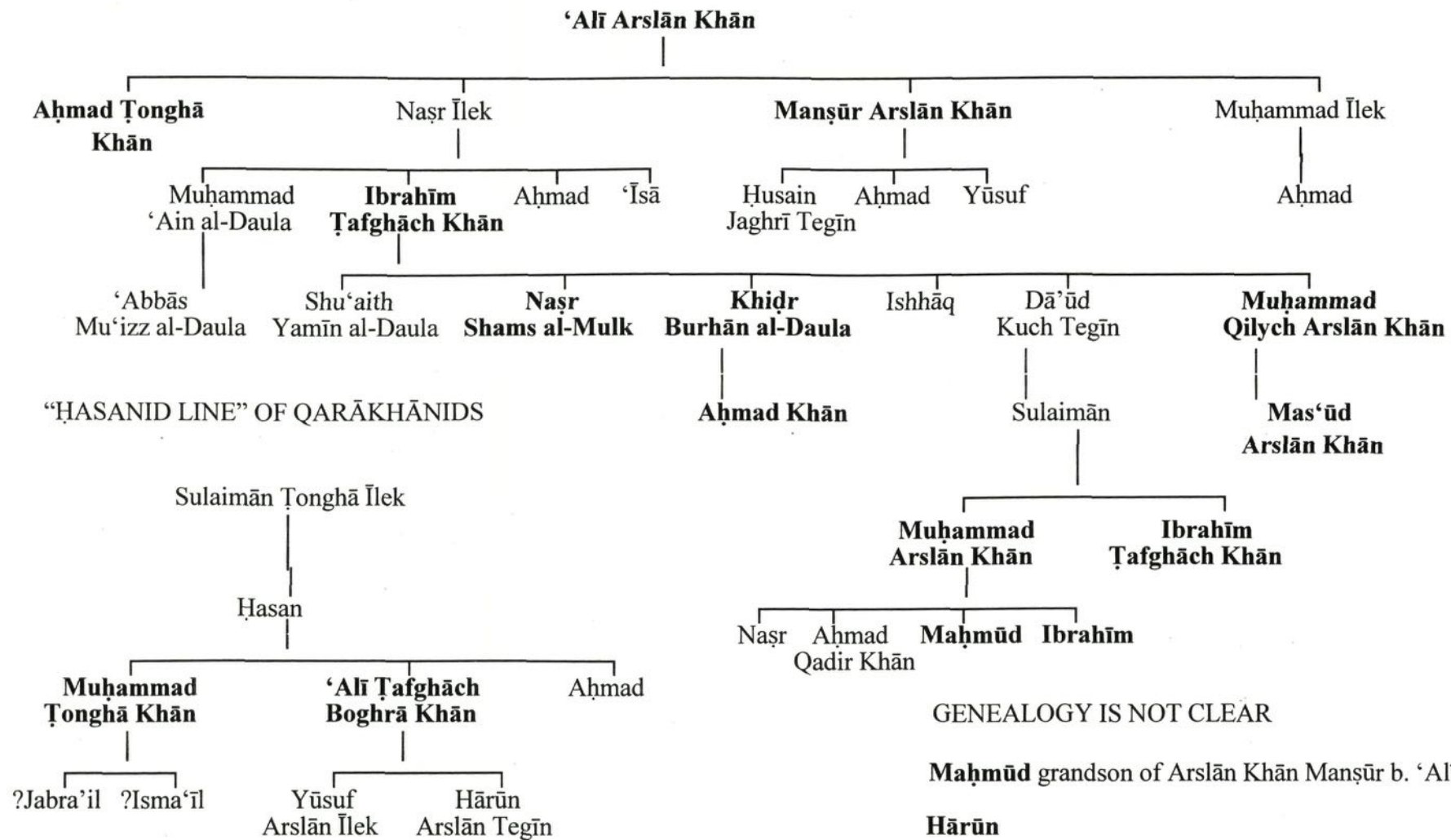
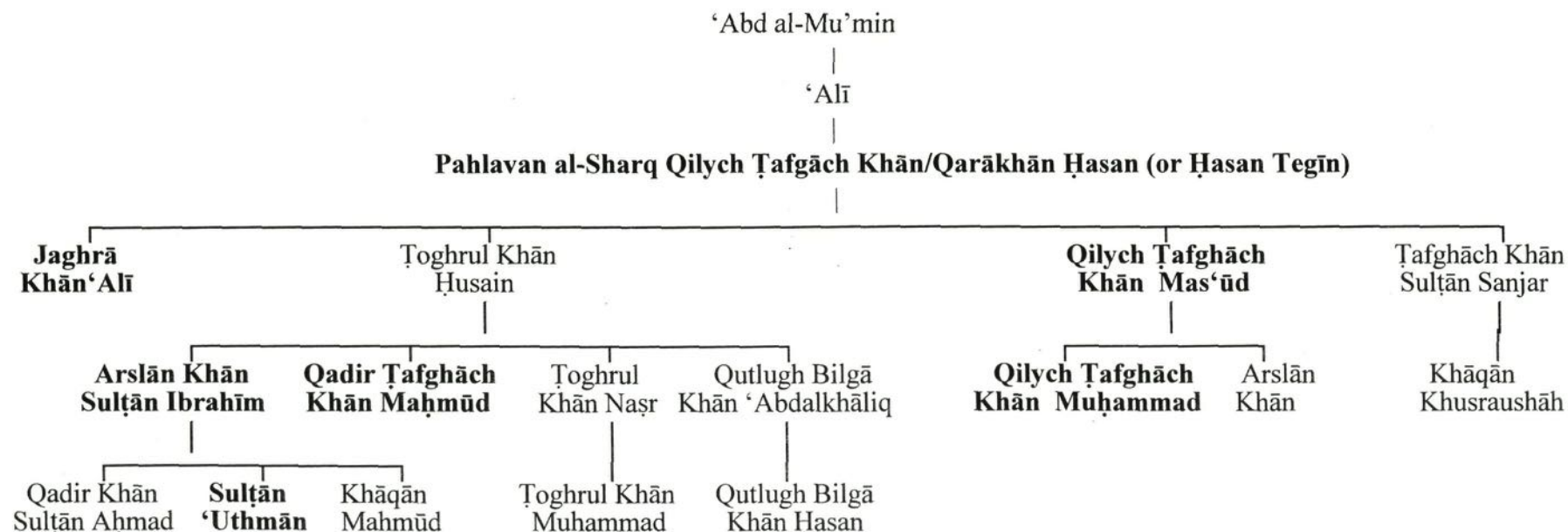


TABLE 4. WESTERN QARĀKHĀNIDS (the middle of XII-beginning of XIII c.).

“ABDALMU’MINID LINE”



GENEALOGY IS NOT CLEAR

1 Samarqand, Bukhārā **Rukn al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Akdash? ʿAṭṭāch Khān Muḥammad.**

2 Benāket 1- Mu‘izz al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Qilych Khān. 2- Jalāl al-Dunya... ʿAṭṭāch Khāqān. 3- ‘Imād al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Ulugh Jaghrā Khāqān.

3 Kāsān Mu‘izz al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Ulugh Ṭoghrul Khān Isma‘īl.

4 Marghīnān 1- Sevinch Qutlugh Arslān Khāqān Muḥammad b. Muḥammad. 2- Ḥisām al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Qutlugh Ṭoghān Khāqān.

5 Wakhsh 1- ‘Imād al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Khāqān Abū Bakr b. Yughrush(?). 2 (or 1?) - ‘Imād al-Dunya(?) wa’l Dīn(?) ʿAṭṭāch(?) Khān.

6 Tirmidh 1- Malik Ṭoghān Khān. 2- Ṭoghrul Khāqān.

7.(Khuttalān?) Bahā al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Ulugh ʿAṭṭāch Khān (Ḥasan?) b. Khidr.

8 (Balkh) ‘Uddat al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Ulugh Arslān Khāqān ‘Alī b. Ja‘far.

9 (Margh?)īnān? or (Saghā?)niān? Rukn al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Muḥammad b. Qutlugh ʿAṭṭāch (or simply b. Qutlugh) Khān. Cf. Nr. 4/1.

10 No mint Shams al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Muḥammad Qutlugh Bilgā Khāqān. Cf. Nr. 4/1.

11 No mint Tāj al-Dunya wa’l Dīn Muḥammad Boghrā Khān. Cf. Nr. 4/1.

12 No mint Rukn al-Dīn ... al-Dunā(sic) Arslān (Khān?) Shāh.

13 No mint Qilych Ṭoghr (sic) Khān.

## Qarākhānid rulers with the titles Arslān Tegīn and Arslān İlek

The chronicles written in the Qarākhānid khaqanate have not survived. Information on the Qarākhānids in the contemporary chronicles of the Ghaznavids, Saljūqids, Khwārizmshāhs, or in chronicles written after the Qarākhānids ceased to exist (Ibn al-Athīr and later) is scarce, obscure and sometimes contradictory. That is why Qarākhānid coins are very important and sometimes the only source on the history of some of the Qarākhānids or of some periods in the history of the Qarākhānid khaqanate.

The Qarākhānid rulers often had several laqabs and changed their titles during their career. Often we find only a laqab or title without their name on the coins. This means that many rulers are hidden behind anonymous laqabs or titles. The most important (and most difficult) task of a scholar of Qarākhānid numismatics and history is to identify an anonymous laqab or title with some Qarākhānid cited on other coins by name or mentioned in the chronicles. Qarākhānid coins are the most interesting and informative among all the other mediaeval coins of Central Asia, 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 give the historical interpretation of information provided by those coins. And then a single coin will be found which will turn everything upside down.

Before the Mongol Invasion of Central Asia only the Qarākhānids used the Turkic titles Khān, Qarākhān, Khāqān, Qarākhāqān. The presence of one of these titles on a coin indicates that it was minted by some Qarākhānid. Next to the title "Khān" came the title "İlek" and then the title "Tegīn". Among the most common titles with the Qarākhānids were Arslān (lion) Tegīn and Arslān İlek.

In AH 380 the Qarākhānids started their advance to the west, where the decaying Sāmānid state promised to be an easy prey. In 380 the ruler of Balāsāghūn, Boghrā Khān Hārūn captured the Sāmānid province of Ispījāb, having met no resistance. No later than 381, the Qarākhānids captured Eastern Farghāna. The very first Qarākhānid coins minted in 381 in Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 203/1) cite Arslān Tegīn b. Ulugh Tegīn and his suzerain, Shihāb al-Daula Turk Khāqān. According to Bīrūnī (1957, 150), the laqab Shihāb al-Daula belonged to Boghrā Khān Hārūn. A year later, in 382, he captured the Sāmānid capital Bukhārā but died in the same year. After his death, the Qarākhānid drive westwards was led by Naşr b. 'Alī, who belonged to another branch of the Qarākhānids. In 383, Tegīn Naşr b. 'Alī minted coins in Khojende (Kochnev 1995, 203/6), which means that the whole of Farghāna (to the East of Khojende) already belonged to him.

Could the Arslān Tegīn on coins of AH 381, Farghāna, be Naşr b. 'Alī? If so his father, Ulugh Tegīn, could have been 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 is known in the chronicles as Arslān Khān. He fell in war against the infidel Turks in January 998 (Bartold 1963, 330).

In Dhū-l-Qa'da 389, October 999, Naşr b. 'Alī captured Bukhārā. The Sāmānid amīr 'Abd al-Malik was imprisoned in Uzgend, the capital of Naşr b. 'Alī (Baihaqī 1962, 566; Bartold 1963, 329).

In 1972 (Fedorov 1972, 132-133) I proved that the title Tonghā (Ṭighā) Tegīn belonged to Naşr, before he received the higher title of İlek. The Qarākhānids changed their titles as they rose in the hierarchy. I believe, Naşr started as Arslān Tegīn, then (c. AH 384) he received the title Tonghā Tegīn (Kochnev 1995, 203/7,10) and finally became İlek. In 389, on fulūs of Farghāna he is cited as Arslān İlek, and on the fulūs of Bukhārā as Naşr b.

'Alī İlek (Kochnev 1995, 208/72,82). The Eastern Qarākhānid, Naşr b. Yūsuf, and the Western Qarākhānid, Yūsuf b. 'Alī, (I return to them later) initially had the title Arslān Tegīn then rose in the hierarchy and were given the title Arslān İlek. So this was probably the case with Naşr b. 'Alī too.

The next Arslān Tegīn was Muḥammad, the brother of Naşr. On a coin of AH 393, Ṭarāz, he is cited (Kochnev 1995, 211/121) as Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sanā al-Daula (field) Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkīn al-Manşūr Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn (marginal legend). So at the beginning of his career Muḥammad had the title Arslān Tegīn, which may have come to him from Naşr, after Naşr was given the title Tonghā Tegīn. Then Muḥammad received a higher title. Coins of AH 403-405, Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 266/320), cite him as Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sanā al-Daula Ināl Tegīn. And finally he became İlek. Coins of AH 405-406, Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 231/393), cite him as İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

The next Arslān İlek was the Qarākhānid 'Alī b. Ḥasan, more often mentioned in the chronicles as 'Alī Tegīn. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the Qarākhānid prince, 'Alī Tegīn, prisoner of Arslān Khān Manşūr b. 'Alī, escaped from him and with the help of Turkmen nomads, captured Bukhārā. "İlek, brother of Arslān Khān", i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Alī, attacked 'Alī Tegīn but was defeated (Bartold 1963, 342). In 411 a certain Bahā al-Daula Tonghā (Kochnev 1995, 243/550 read Yanghā) Tegīn struck coins in Bukhārā as a vassal of Qadir Khān (the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids and ruler of Kāshghar). 'Alī Tegīn recognised Qadir Khān as his suzerain to secure his help. This influential ruler of Kāshghar interceded for him with Arslān Khān, who eventually approved the capture of Bukhārā by 'Alī Tegīn. In Bukhārā in that same year (411) and until 415, Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn cited Arslān Khān as his suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 243-5/549, 591). Coins of AH 415, Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 248/640-2), citing İlek al-'Ādil 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan, or İlek al-'Ādil Bahā al-Daula, prove conclusively that the laqab Bahā al-Daula belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan.

In 415, both Arslān Khān and his brother, İlek Muḥammad died. Supreme power in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate was seized by another branch of the Qarākhānids, known as the Hasanids. Tonghā Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan became the Head of the Western Qarākhānids with his capital at Balāsāghūn. His brother, 'Alī, received the title of İlek. In AH 415, coins of Bukhārā cite Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek and his suzerain, Tonghā Khān (Kochnev 1995, 247/619).

About that time, the title, Arslān Tegīn, appeared again on Qarākhānid coins. In AH 416, The Eastern Qarākhānids, led by Qadir Khān Yūsuf invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. Simultaneously Maḥmūd of Ghazna invaded Mawarānnahr from the south. The ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā, Arslān İlek 'Alī b. Ḥasan hid with his army in the desert. But very soon Maḥmūd realised that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other and returned to Ghazna. Maḥmūd's intervention, however, allowed Qadir Khān to conquer Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsīket until 418 but then lost the whole of Farghāna to Qadir Khān (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

There is a coin of AH 419 with mintname "Khogend" (Bishkek, collection of A. Kamyshev). Kochnev (1995, 255/759) read it as Khokand (?). But the name of this town is Khūqand and it was never written Khokand. I believe it was Khogend (cf. Uzgend and Ujzend, as it was written on coins in XII-XIII c.). If my reading is correct then this coin shows that, in 419, Khojende was captured by Qadir Khān. This coin cites Qadir Khān and his



vassal, Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn. Coins of AH 423 Khojende and Rishtān (Kochnev 1995, 254/747) cite Qadir Khān, Rukn al-Daula (reverse) and 'Aḍud ad-Daula (obverse). Since Rukn al-Daula is cited on the reverse, he would have been higher up the hierarchy.

A coin of AH 41x Kāshghar (Kochnev 1995, 252/708) cite Khān Malik al-Mashriq (i.e. Qadir Khān) and his vassal. Rukn al-Daula. This coin is very important. It was not clear who that Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn was, since not only the Eastern but also some Western Qarākhānids were vassals of Qadir Khān and there were at least two Arslān Tegīns at that time. There is no way that the Western Qarākhānid one could have been a vassal of Qadir Khān in his capital Kāshghar in AH 41x. So the Rukn al-Daula cited on dirhams of Kāshghar in AH 41x was an Eastern Qarākhānid. And the Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn of dirhams minted in AH 419 in Khojende(?) and the Rukn al-Daula of dirhams of AH 423 Khojende and Rishtān was an Eastern Qarākhānid.

Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) mentioned for AH 435 a Qarākhānid ruler, Arslān Tegīn, son of Qadir Khān. The elder son of Qadir Khān (the future Arslān Khān) is cited on coins of AH 408-415 Yarkand (Kochnev 1995, 239/495, 250/693) as 'Imad al-Daula Sulaimān b. Yūsuf or 'Imad al-Daula Jaghry Tegīn. Another son of Qadir Khān, Muḥammad (the future Boghrā Khān), then had the title Boghrā Tegīn (Beihaqī 1962, 195). That means that they and Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn were different persons. It seems that Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn, having started as a vassal of his father in Kāshghar, was later his vassal in Khojende and Rishtān and retained the title Arslān Tegīn until 435.

Kochnev (1988, 201) merged two different rulers into one. Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) wrote that in 435 the ruler of Kāshghar granted his brother Arslān Tegīn "much of the Land of the Turks". In 444 coins of Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 279/1217) cite Boghrā Khān and his vassal, Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Kochnev wrote that Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was a son of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad (correct). Then he wrote that Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad was the same Arslān Tegīn mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in 435 (wrong). Kochnev (1988, 201) even "corrected" a mistake" of Ibn al-Athīr, writing that Ibn al-Athīr "mentioned Arslān Tegīn as the brother of Arslān Khān... while it is clear (?! - M. F.) that he was a nephew and not a 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. Dirhams minted in the khanate of Boghrā Khān (Tūnket included) were billon. Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn minted fiduciary copper-lead alloy dirhams, which circulated in Farghāna and the Chu valley in 442-449. Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn minted in 443-445 in Barskhān and some other town (Kochnev 1997, 279-281/1208, 1211, 1236). When around 447-448 Boghrā Khān Muḥammad defeated Arslān Khān Sulaimān and became supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn received the higher title of İlek and became Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek. That is how he is cited on coins of AH 448-449 of Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 282/1248, 1252). And it was Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Naṣr, to whom his brother Arslān Khān granted "much of the Land of the Turks". And it was Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn who became Arslān İlek and second man in the hierarchy of the Eastern Qarākhānids, when his brother, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, became the top mand and the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids.

In 449, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad was poisoned by one of his wives (who also ordered the imprisoned Arslān Khān to be

strangled). She put her juvenile son, İbrahīm, on the throne. Internecine wars broke out in the Eastern khaqanate. İbrahīm b. Muḥammad was killed by the ruler of Barskhān, İnāl Tegīn. The Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Taḥghāch Khān İbrahīm b. Naṣr, took advantage of this situation to attack the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands lost in 416-418 by the Western Qarākhānids to Qadir Khān (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-44). It seems that Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Boghrā Khān also perished in that coup d'état. Anyway he is not mentioned on the coins after AH 449.

As for Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek Naṣr b. Yūsuf, he did not recognise the usurper İbrahīm as supreme ruler and accepted the high title of Toḥghā Qarākhāqān, thus proclaiming himself the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids. In 1999 (Fedorov 1999, 37-41) I published a billon dirham of Jamāl al-Dīn Zain al-Daula wa Mu'īn al-Milla Toḥghā Qarākhāqān minted in Quz Ordū in 45(1, 2, or 4). Another of his coins mentions "Zain al-Daula Toḥghā Khān (reverse field) Naṣr (obverse)". In 1999 I considered that the name Naṣr may have belonged to Toḥghā Khān or to his vassal. But close study of the coins (both old and recently found ones) convinced me that the name Naṣr belonged to the son of Qadir Khān who first appeared on the coins as Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn.

Naṣr b. Yūsuf was recognised as suzerain and Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids by some other rulers, who did not want to recognise the usurper, İbrahīm, as suzerain. The billon dirham of İspījāb, minted not earlier than AH 451, cites "Zain al-(Dau)la Toḥghān Khāqān", and his vassal "Tāj al-Daula ... Tegīn". On this coin the suzerain is cited as "Toḥghān Khāqān", but the Turkic word *Tonga*, alien to the Persians and Arabs was written in many different ways: طغا، تغان، تگان، تنکا، طنکا، طنغا.

Let us though return to the Western Qarākhānids. Kochnev mentioned coins (1994, 69; 1995 251/ 691, 702), which (provided he read them correctly – M. F.) show that 'Alī b. Ḥasan retained only Bukhārā and the Bukhārān oasis and that coins with the title of Yūsuf b. Hārūn (Qadir Khān- M. F.) were minted in 418 in Soghd and in 419 in Samarqand. But in both cases Qadir Khān was not the immediate owner of the towns: he was cited as suzerain by Arslān Tegīn who minted there. Who was that Arslān Tegīn? I believe he was the son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan. A fals of AH 421, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 252/ 719), cites Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn, vassal of İlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan). A fals of AH 431, Bukhārā, cites 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. Fulūs of AH 419, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 250/688), cite Yūsuf b. 'Alī. Which proves that this Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn was the son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan. It looks as though the Samarqandian part of Soghdiana stayed with the Hasanids, but Yūsuf, son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan, was forced to recognise the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids as his suzerain. To be objective I must not omit the possibility that Arslān Tegīn son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan and Arslān Tegīn vassal of Qadir Khān on the coins of AH 418, Soghd, and 419, Samarqand, were different men. There was, as we have seen, one Arslān Tegīn in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate at that time. If the Arslān Tegīn citing Qadir Khān on coins of Soghd and Samarqand was an Eastern Qarākhānid, it would mean that Qadir Khān captured Samarqand and Soghd and granted them as appanage to his vassal, the Eastern Qarākhānid Arslān Tegīn.

But in that same year of 419/1028 (Kochnev 1995, 251/703), 'Alī b. Ḥasan's title, İlek, reappeared on coins of Samarqand and Qadir Khān was never again cited there as suzerain. In 419 'Alī b. Ḥasan made Samarqand his capital and minted coins there without any vassal. After 419 and until 426,

when 'Alī b. Ḥasan died, title Arslān Tegīn, laqab Shams al-Daula or name Yūsuf were not placed on the coins of Samarqand. Arslān Tegīn Yūsuf b. 'Alī was compensated with Bukhārā, granted to him as appanage, and minted coins there until 426/1034-35 inclusive, mentioning his father as suzerain.

In 423 'Alī b. Ḥasan accepted the high title of Ṭabghāch Boghrā Khān which, for the first time, appeared on the coins of Harlugh Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 254/755). Although the title of Īlek was free for Yūsuf b. 'Alī to accept it, he continued to mint as Arslān Tegīn.

'Alī b. Ḥasan died in 426/1034-35. His son Arslān Tegīn Yūsuf, became the ruler of Mawarānnahr, accepted the higher title of Īlek and became Arslān Īlek. With this new title he minted in Samarqand in 427 (Kochnev 1995, 251/703). I believe that, at that time, his junior brother Hārūn received the title Arslān Tegīn.

In 429, Būrī Tegīn Ibrahīm, the son of Īlek Naṣr (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 999), a prisoner of "the sons of 'Alī Tegīn" slipped from their hands and made his way to the Kumūjī and Kenjīne nomads. Tempted by the promise of booty they joined him and he raised an army of 3000 horsemen. With that army he captured Ṣaghāniyān in 430, because its ruler had died, leaving no heir. Then Ibrahīm started a war against the sons of 'Alī Tegīn (Beihaqī 1962, 485, 494, 504, 526). Coins show that in 431 Būrī Tegīn conquered Kesh and Samarqand and in 433 Bukhārā (Fedorov 1980, 40-42). It appears that Arslān Īlek Yūsuf b. 'Alī perished in that war, because neither coins nor chronicles mention him after that.

According to Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60,) in 435 "Sharaf al-Daula" (Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Qadīr Khān Yūsuf) granted his brother, Boghrā Khān, Ṭarāz and Ispījāb, and his uncle, Ṭoghā (Ṭonghā) 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: Boghrā Khān's (Ispījāb-Ṭarāz), Ṭoghā (Ṭonghā) Khān's (Farghāna) and his own (Kāshghar-Yarkend). At this *quriltai* Arslān Khān also "granted" Bukhārā and Samarqand, which, in 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, this was a purely symbolic gesture. All Arslān Khān could really do was donfirm the hereditary rights of "Ibn 'Alī Tegīn" to Bukhārā and Samarqand.

The dirham 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, a refugee referred to as "Ibn 'Alī Tegīn" was present 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 an appanage in that year (Fedorov 2000, 7-9). The fate of Hārūn b. 'Alī after 434 is not clear; Marghīnān may have been left to him or taken from him by Ṭoghā (Ṭonghā) Khān to whom "the whole of Farghāna" was granted in 435. Anyway, in 439-440 (Kochnev 1997, 278/1194) dirhams in Marghīnān were struck in the name of "Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ṭonghā Khān" as sole owner of the town, with no vassal being mentioned.

Arslān Khān, however, did not reconcile himself to the disruption of his father's state. Around the year 440/1048-9 he attacked Ṭonghā Khān and conquered practically the whole of Farghāna from him. In every town of Farghāna, except Akhsīket, from the year 440, coins were struck citing Arslān Khān as suzerain or as immediate owner. In 443 in Marghīnān (Kochnev 1997, 278/1207) Hārūn b. 'Alī again appeared and he struck coins there as appanage-holder of the town. Both in 434 and 443 we find not only the name of Hārūn on the coins but also the title Arslān Tegīn. Kochnev (1988, 201) considered that the Arslān

Tegīn on the coin of year 443 was Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, son of Boghrā Khān. Since Arslān Tegīn is cited on the reverse and Hārūn b. 'Alī on the obverse, Arslān Tegīn ought to be the suzerain of Hārūn b. 'Alī. I am not able to accept Kochnev's interpretation in this respect.

Neither in 434 nor 443 did Boghrā Khān, who, according to Baihaqī (1962, 467), was a bitter enemy of Arslān Khān Sulaimān, or his son have anything to do with Marghīnān. During the period 430-433, most of Farghāna, together with its capital, Uzgend, comprised the khanate of Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ṭonghā Khān (Kochnev 1995, 259/830), who, in 435, was mentioned as already being the ruler of the whole of Farghāna. In 443, the whole of Farghāna, with the exception of Akhsīket, belonged to Arslān Khān Sulaimān. Neither "Arslān Tegīn" mentioned on the coins of Marghīnān could have been the brother of Arslān Khān, since the latter's appanage was in the "Land of the Turks" and not in Farghāna. I believe that the title, Arslān Tegīn, on the coins of AH 434 and 443 from Marghīnān actually belonged to Hārūn b. 'Alī, who received this title while still in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate when his elder brother, Arslān Tegīn Yūsuf, became Arslān Īlek.

As we noted above, circa 419-426 there were two Arslān Tegīns: one in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate, one in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. And this may also have been the case in 427-433 when Yūsuf b. 'Alī became Arslān Īlek and his former title Arslān Tegīn was free for his junior brother to accept. Moreover: circa 444 there were two Arslān Tegīns in the lands of the Eastern Qarākhānids themselves: Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad in the khanate of Muḥammad Boghrā Khān and Arslān Tegīn Naṣr in the khanate of Arslān Khān Sulaimān, which comprised the appanage of Arslān Tegīn Naṣr (at least nominally).

Apart from Marghīnān, Arslān Tegīn Hārūn minted in 443 in Qubā (Kochnev 1997, 279/1207) but in 444-445 there was a new appanage-holder, Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām, who cited Arslān Khān Sulaimān as his suzerain. Could it be that Arslān Tegīn Hārūn b. 'Alī was deprived of Qubā and Marghīnān because he did not cite Arslān Khān as suzerain? Anyway after that he was never again mentioned on coins. It appears as if, having been deprived of Marghīnān (most probably by Ṭonghā Khān), Hārūn b. 'Alī later took part in the war of Arslān Khān against Ṭonghā Khān, which resulted in the conquest of Farghāna by Arslān Khān. That was probably why he was granted Marghīnān and Qubā as an appanage.

But that is not all: there was one more Arslān Tegīn (Western Qarākhānid), a contemporary of both the Arslān Tegīns mentioned above. The inscription in the Varukh gorge dated to Jumada I 433, December 1041, mentions Mu'izz al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Abu-l-Faḍl 'Abbās b. al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Īlek b. Naṣr b. 'Alī (Bartold 1966, 309). But this is the only case where Mu'izz al-Daula 'Abbās is cited as Arslān Tegīn and his father as Īlek. It would appear that the Varukh inscription reflected their political ambitions rather than the real state of affairs. On his coins, Mu'izz al-Daula is never cited as Arslān Tegīn, just as his father is never cited on his coins as Īlek.

Mu'izz al-Daula 'Abbās was the son of 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad and the grandson of Naṣr, the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389. On some coins he is cited as Malik b. Saif al-Daula or Malik b. Malikān (Nastich, Kochnev 1988, 74). In 417-418 (Kochnev 1995, 250/673, 686) coins of Akhsīket cite Ṭonghā Khān (Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, suzerain), Īlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan, vassal) and Mu'izz al-Daula (subvassal). In 419 he lost Akhsīket but regained it in 420. He possessed it until 424 as a vassal of Qadīr Khān I Yūsuf b. Hārūn, and until 428 as a vassal of Qadīr Khān II Sulaimān b. Hārūn. In 429-433 and 43(4?) he struck

coins in Akhsiket as an independent ruler (Kochnev 1995, 252-261/709,762,802,823,832, 843,851; 1997, 277/1181; Collection of S. Khravov Bishkek). He also minted in Kāsān in 421-423 as the vassal of Qadir Khān I and in 427 (or rather in 424-428) as the vassal of Qadir Khān II. In 429-434 he minted in Kāsān as an independent ruler (Kochnev 1995, 253-259/735, 816, 823; 1997, 277/1183). No coins of Mu'izz al-Daula minted after that are known. Mu'izz (al-Dau)l(a) Malik b. Saif al-Daula is mentioned for the last time in the inscription of the Shāh Faḍil mausoleum, which he built for his father 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣir circa 448/1056-57 (Nastich, Kochnev 1988, 75).

The last Arslān Tegīn (Eastern Qarākhānid), which I know of, issued coins between 450-460. Seven coins (and six types), minted by this ruler were found in the Chu valley at the hillforts of Burana (mediaeval town of Balāsāghūn or Quz Ordū) and Krasnaya Rechka (mediaeval Navikat). Hardly any of them show a date or mint-name. Only one shows part of the mint-name [Quz Ord]ū and date 454/1062. One coin was minted no later than 460/1068 in [Ha]rrān (a mediaeval town south of the Chu river and west of Balāsāghūn and Navikat). Four types cite Burhān al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb and Jamāl al-Daula Ṭoghā[n] Tegīn. The type minted in [Quz Ord]ū in AH 454, cites Burhān al-Daula Ayyūb b. Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn. One more type (minted in [Ha]rrān) cites Arslān Tegīn and his suzerain, the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān (Fedorov 1999, 41-43).

On one of his coins, Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb called himself the son of Nāṣir Amīr al-Mu'minīn. On many copper-lead alloy, fiduciary dirhams minted between 442-447/1050-56 (and especially on those of Quz Ordū) this laqab was connected with the title or other laqabs of Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān Yūsuf (Kochnev 1997, 278-284/1197, 1205, 1210, 1225, 1247, 1281, 1289). Hence Ayyūb was the son of Sulaimān b. Yūsuf and the great-grandson of Boghrā Khān Hārūn (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 382/992). Boghrā Khān Hārūn was the grandson of Boghrā Khān Satuq the founder of the Qarākhānid khaqanate.

The first four types were minted in the names of Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb (suzerain, because he is cited on the reverse), and Jamāl al-Daula Ṭoghā[n] Tegīn (vassal, because he is cited on the obverse). The type minted in 454 cites Ayyūb as the independent ruler of [Quz Ord]ū who had no vassal there.

The coin minted in [Ha]rrān illustrates the subsequent career of Ayyūb b. Sulaimān. After the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān, conquered the Chu valley, Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb became his vassal and possessed [Ha]rrān as an appanage. On the reverse of this coin after the name of the caliph, we find 'Imād al-Daula Tāj al-Milla Saif Khalīfat Allāh Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm. Arslān Tegīn is cited on the obverse as befits a vassal. Incidentally, a dirham of Quz Ordū minted in 460/1067-68 cites Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm as suzerain of Yūsuf b. Burhān al-Daula. When I was shown this coin in 1973 I thought that this vassal was a grandson of Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm, since Khidr Khān, the son of Ibrahīm, had the laqab

Burhān al-Daula (Fedorov 1978, 175 -176) on his coins. Now I am sure that this Yūsuf b. Burhān al-Daula was a son of Burhān al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb b. Sulaimān and was named after his great-grandfather, Yūsuf Qadir Khān. Having conquered the Chu valley, Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm knew better than to deprive the Eastern Qarākhānids of their appanages, which would have led to bitter enmity and the unyielding resistance of this mighty clan. The coins show that he contented himself with their allegiance and, as was customary, with a share of the taxes collected by them from their appanages.

Such, then, is the history of Qarākhānid rulers with the title Arslān Tegīn and Arslān İlek based on the currently available numismatic data.

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## Qarākhānid rulers with “Ṭonghā titles” (11th century AD).

Before the Mongol Invasion of Central Asia, the Qarākhānids were the only rulers who included, in their titulage, the Turkic titles, Khān, Khāqān, Qarākhān, Qarākhāqān. Hence the name of the dynasty, invented by Russian orientalist V. V. Grigor'ev (1874, 6). The presence of one of those titles in the titulage on the coins indicates that it was minted by a Qarākhānid ruler. Next in rank to the title of Khān was the title, Īlek, and next to that, the title, Tegīn, (something like Emperor-King-Prince). The most common titles adopted by the Qarākhānids were those containing the words, Arslān (lion), Boghrā (male camel), Ṭonghā (hero, valiant) and Qadir (mighty): Arslān Khān, Boghrā Khān, Ṭonghā Khān and Qadir Khān.

In this second article on Qarākhānid titles, I would like to deal with those Qarākhānid rulers who used a title containing the word Ṭonghā, i.e. Ṭonghā Khān, Ṭonghā Īlek and Ṭonghā Tegīn. It should be emphasized that the Turkic word *Tonga*, alien to Arabs and Persians, was written by engravers and chroniclers in many different ways. Even for one and the same ruler, sometimes in the same town and in the same year, there were different transliterations of this word (depending, I believe, on the engraver). For instance on the coins minted in Farghāna in 385/995 the title was Ṭonghā طنگا and Ṭoghā طغا Tegīn; in 387/997 Ṭonghā طنگا and Ṭonghān طنگان Tegīn. I must add that on some fulūs of AH 384-385 Farghāna the title was written in Uigur *Tonga Tegin* (Kochnev 1995, 203-206/7, 16, 19, 23, 47, 50). Coins minted in 403/1012-13 in Shāsh provide one more transliteration: Ṭongā طنگا Qarākhāqān. It is strange that Kochnev (1995, 226/330), referring to a coin in the Ermitazh (St. Petersburg) had mistakenly written طنگا because both on the Ermitazh coin (Markov 1896, 223/210) and on one from the Qysmychi hoard (Kirghizstan) it is quite distinctly طنگا. In AH 415 some coins of Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 247/622-623) cite Ṭonghā طنگا Khān while another uses the version Tongā طنگا Khāqān. There is also the hybrid form Ṭonghān طنگان Khān on the coins of Khojende (AH 415), Soghd (AH 416), and Akhsiket (AH 417). As it happens there is another coin struck in Soghd by the same ruler with the title Ṭonghā طنگا Khān (Kochnev 1995, 247-248/633, 673, 658-659). So it seems that the transliteration of this word changed from chronicler to chronicler, and from engraver to engraver. Some modern scholars read this word as Tongha, other as Tigha. But coins of AH 384-385 Farghāna settled the question: the title is written there in Uigur: *Tonga Tegin*.

The first Qarākhānid ruler with the “Ṭonghā” title, that I know of, is Ṭonghā Īlek Sulaimān. Pritsak (1953, 24-25) and Kliashornyi (1970, 84) considered that the Yaghbū of the Qarluq Turks, Bilgā Kul, was the founder of the Qarākhānids. In 840, after Uighūr qaganate was defeated by the Qirghīz tribes, he proclaimed himself Qadir Khān.

Bilgā Kul had two sons. According to Pritsak (1953, 25) his elder son, Bazir Arslān Khān, was the 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 ruler, Ismā'il, captured Ṭarāz, Oghulchaq transferred his capital to Kāshghar (Pritsak 1953, 25). There is one weak point in the Pritsak's theory: the Muslim chronicles relate 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, son of Bazir Arslān Khān, having clandestinely converted to Islam, fled from Kāshghar to Atbāsh and raised an army there with the help of Muslim ghāzis. He defeated his uncle under the banner of a holy 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, proclaimed Islam the state religion of the Qarākhānid khaqanate in 349/960 (Pritsak 1953, 25). Arslān Khān Mūsā was the progenitor of the Western Qarākhānid branch.

Satuq had another son, Sulaimān, who had the title Ṭonghā Īlek (Pritsak, 1953, 25). Mediaeval writers were not unanimous about who was the founder of the Eastern Qarākhānid branch. Jamāl Qarshī (beginning of the 14th century AD) wrote that Hārūn Boghrā Khān (the father of Yūsuf Qadir Khān, the first supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate) was the son of Mūsā b. Satuq. But both Ibn al-Athīr (ca 1231 AD) and 'Aufī (ca 1228 AD) wrote that Mūsā was the founder of another branch of the Qarākhānids to which belonged Naṣr b. 'Alī, the conqueror of Mawarānnahr. One may suppose that the both versions were correct and that Mūsā b. 'Abd al-Karīm Satuq was the founder of both branches. But Jamāl Qarshī wrote that the father of Hārūn Boghrā Khān had the title “Īlek” while another son of Satuq, the grandfather of Naṣr b. 'Alī (i.e. according to Ibn al-Athīr and 'Aufī, Mūsā b. Satuq) had the title of “Khān”. This means that the father of Hārūn Boghrā Khān and the grandfather of Naṣr b. 'Alī were different men. Maybe Jamāl Qarshī erred in writing that the father of Hārūn Boghrā Khān had the title “Īlek”? But that is surely out of the question: 'Utbī (ca 1022 AD), a junior contemporary of Hārūn Boghrā Khān, Gardīzī (ca 1050 AD), and Hilāl al-Sābī (ca 1065 AD) called him “the Son of Īlek” or “Hārūn b. Īlek”. So one has nothing left but to infer that Jamāl Qarshī was mistaken when he wrote that Hārūn Boghrā Khān was the son of Mūsā. All the more so since both Ibn al-Athīr, who wrote in Baghdād, and 'Aufī, who wrote in India (in other words at opposite ends of the Muslim World), quite independently of each other but unanimously wrote that Mūsā was an ancestor of Naṣr b. 'Alī. This means that Mūsā was not the father of Hārūn. Who then was Hārūn's father? Ibn al-Athīr mentioned Hārūn Boghrā Khān as “Hārūn b. Sulaimān” (Bartold 1963, 318).

Coins of Ṭonghā Īlek Sulaimān are not known so far. But judging by the fact that his son Hārūn Boghrā Khān was ruler of Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1964, 507), the appanage of Ṭonghā Īlek Sulaimān was also Balāsāghūn. It was Boghrā Khān Hārūn who headed the drive of the Qarākhānids to the west. According to written sources, in 380/990 he occupied the Sāmānid province of Ispījāb, having met no resistance there (Bartold 1964, 507). Coins, however, show that there were two Qarākhānid invasions of the Sāmānid state: one launched from Balāsāghūn ended with the capture of Ispījāb; the other ended with the capture of Farghāna (at least of its eastern part). A Qarākhānid mint with the mint-name Farghāna started its work in 381/991-2 (Kochnev 1995, 203 /1). It minted dirhams which cite Arslān Tegīn b. Ulugh Tegīn and his suzerain, *Shihāb al-Daula* Abū Mūsā Turk Khāqān. 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*” (he was not granted this laqab by the caliph).

In Rabī' I 382/May 992, Boghrā Khān Hārūn captured Bukhārā. The Sāmānid amīr, Nuḥ II b. Manṣūr fled to Amūl and started to raise an army. The fruit and climate of Bukhārā was not good for Boghrā Khān's health (he was ill at the time). He therefore left Bukhārā and died on his way back to Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963, 320-321).

After the death of Boghrā Khān, the drive of the Qarākhānids to the west was headed by Naṣr b. 'Alī, the

grandson of Mūsā b. Satuq. He captured Farghāna circa 382/392. In 383/ 993-94 he minted coins in Khojende, in 387/997 in Usrūshana, in 388/988 in Samarqand and Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 203/6, 7, 48; Tübingen University Collection EC9D5). In Dhū-l-Qa'da (XI month) 389/ October 999 the final blow was dealt: Naṣr b. 'Alī captured Bukhārā and arrested the Sāmānid amīr, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūh. Having left a governor in Bukhārā, Naṣr b. 'Alī returned to Uzgend where he imprisoned the Sāmānid amīr and his relations (Baihaqī 1962, 566; Bartold 1963, 329).

In 1972 (Fedorov 1972, 132-133) I proved that the title *Ṭonghā* (I read it then as *Ṭighā*) *Tegīn* belonged to Naṣr b. 'Alī before he was given the higher title of *İlek*. He is first cited as *Tonga Tegin* (written in Uigur) on *fulūs* of Farghāna struck in AH 384. Then he is cited as *Ṭonghā* (طنگا) or *Toghā* (طغا) or *Ṭonghān* (طنگان) *Tegin* on *fulūs* of Farghāna in 385-388. But in the same year, 388/998, some *fulūs* of Farghāna cite him already as *İlīk* (Kochnev 1995, 203-207/7,16,19,23,47,50,64). Apart from on the *fulūs* of Farghāna, he is cited as *Ṭonghā Tegin* on *dirhams* of AH 388 Samarqand (Collection of Tübingen University Nr. EC9D5). I believe that Naṣr b. 'Alī had started his career in AH 381 in Farghāna as *Arslān Tegīn*. If so, he was cited on coins of AH 381-403 (when he died). Otherwise, he was cited on coins of AH 383-403. The name Naṣr b. 'Alī was cited for the first time on *fulūs* of Khojende struck in AH 383. The latest coin (*dirham*) citing Mu'ayīd al-'Adl *İlek* Naṣr was minted in AH 403 in *İlāq* (Kochnev 1995, 203/6, 225/309).

Having conquered the Sāmānid capital Bukhārā in 389/999, Naṣr created a Qarākhānid dominion which comprised Farghāna, Usrūshana and part of Mawarānnahr with Samarqand, Bukhārā and Kesh. The semi-independent ruler of Ṣaghāniyān principality (between Kesh and Tirmidh) cited Naṣr b. 'Alī as suzerain on his coins. In 390-395/1000-05 Naṣr had to wage war against al-Muntaṣir Ismā'īl b. Nūh, the brother of the last Sāmānid amīr. Ismā'īl escaped from imprisonment in Uzgend raised an army and fought Naṣr until Rabī' I (or II) 395, when he was killed. Having rid himself of al-Muntaṣir, Naṣr in the following year, 396/1005-6, sent an army to conquer Khurāsān, the richest province of the Ghaznavids. He captured Nīshāpūr, Herāt and Balkh, and even struck coins there (Fedorov and Ilisch 1996, 26-28). But Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna who was in India (waging a holy war against infidels) returned and defeated the Qarākhānids. The following year, Naṣr again invaded Khurāsān but was defeated again in Rabī' II 398/January 1008. In 400-402 Naṣr waged war against his brother Aḥmad b. 'Alī, since he had got wind of the fact that the latter was a clandestine ally and informer of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. The third of the brothers, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, took sides with Naṣr. During the war, the allies captured Ispījāb, Shāsh and Tūnket but lost Ṭarāz and Uzgend. In AH 402 peace was made on the terms of "Status quo ante bellum". According to 'Utbi (ca 1022), Naṣr died in AH 403. In all he was cited as immediate owner or suzerain on the coins of 22 mints: Farghāna, Khojende, *İlāq*, Usrūshana, Ush, Shāsh, Samarqand, Bukhārā, Uzgend, Kesh, Akhsīket, Nīshāpūr, Balkh, Kushānī, Herāt, Tūnket, Ṣaghāniyān, Qubā, Soghd, Haftdeh, Marghīnān, Ispījāb. Ten of them at various times comprised his personal domain (i.e. no vassal was cited on the coins of those mints): Farghāna, Uzgend (excluding AH 396), Akhsīket, Ush, Bukhārā, Samarqand (until AH 400), in AH 396 Nīshāpūr-Balkh-Herāt, Qubā (AH 399), Khojende (AH 383, 384), Usrūshana (AH 387). Some towns at various times were appanages of his vassals, who cited Naṣr as their suzerain: Khojende, Haftdeh, Samarqand, Tūnket, *İlāq*, Shāsh, Ispījāb, Uzgend, Soghd, Kesh. One and the same town could belong to personal domain of Naṣr, then be granted first to one vassal, then to another vassal, then be returned to Naṣr's personal domain and so on. Other towns were

possessed by appanagist-holders of Aḥmad b. 'Alī, but when, in the war of AH 400-402 they took sides with Naṣr, they started to cite him as suzerain. Such leap-frogging was very characteristic of the Early Qarākhānid khaqanate (Bartold 1964, 330-335; Fedorov 1990, 6-9; Fedorov and Ilisch 1996, 26-28, 35-36).

The first Qarākhānid ruler with the title *Ṭonghā* (طنگا) or *Ṭongā* (طنكا) *Khān* (Qarākhāqān) was Aḥmad b. 'Alī, the senior brother and nominal suzerain of Naṣr b. 'Alī. Strange as it may seem, coins with this title of his are extremely rare (so far only three): a *fals* of Farghāna struck in AH 387 with *Ṭonghā* (طنگا) *Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī*, as suzerain of Mu'ayīd al-'Adl *Ṭonghā* (طنگا) *Tegīn*, i.e. Naṣr b. 'Alī; the other two coins being a *fals* and *dirham* of AH 403 struck in Shāsh with *Ṭongā* (طنكا) *Qarākhāqān*, as suzerain of Yūsuf (Kochnev 1995, 206/52, 226/330, Qysmychi hoard). In all other cases he is cited mostly as *Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān* (Qarākhān, Khāqān, Qarākhāqān), or *Qutb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Khān* (Khāqān, Qarākhān, Qarākhāqān). Other variations of these (and other, less common) *laqabs* were also used.

Vasmer (1930, 84, 87) referring to Hilāl al-Sābī (ca 1065) wrote that Aḥmad b. 'Alī succeeded Boghrā Khān (Hārūn), which means that he became ruler of Balāsāghūn in 382/992. The earliest coin of Quz Ordū (another name of Balāsāghūn) though was minted only in AH 394. It cites *Qutb al-Daula Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī Qarākhāqān* (Kochnev 1995, 212/133). Balāsāghūn remained the capital of Aḥmad b. 'Alī until 406/1015-16 (Kochnev 1995, 233/422), when Aḥmad lost it to his brother Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī during the internecine war of AH 404-407.

Strange though it may seem, the earliest coins citing Aḥmad were minted not by him, but by his vassals. *Fulūs* of AH 384-385, Farghāna, cite *Ṭonghā Tegīn Naṣr b. 'Alī* and his suzerain, *Khāqān al-Muzaffar Aḥmad b. 'Alī*. *Fulūs* of AH 387, Farghāna, cite Mu'ayīd al-'Adl *Ṭonghā Tegīn* and his suzerain *Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī*. A *fals* of AH 386, *İlāq*, cites al-Muzaffar *Qarākhāqān* (suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī), amīr Muḥammad b. 'Alī (brother and vassal of Aḥmad) and Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad (subvassal, founder of the semi-independent dynasty of the *Dihqāns* of *İlāq*, vassals of the Qarākhānids). *Fulūs* of AH 387, *İlāq*, cite Aḥmad b. 'Alī *Qarākhāqān*, a certain *Abā Ṣāliḥ* and *Dihqān al-Jalīl*, i.e. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad (Kochnev 1995, 203-205/10, 17, 29, 42, 52).

Next he was cited on coins of AH 388, Samarqand and Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 207/70, Tübingen University collection EC9D5), conquered by Naṣr from the Sāmānids. Shāsh: *Khān al-Ajall* (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain) and Mu'ayīd al-'Adl (Naṣr, vassal). Samarqand: *Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Qarākhāqān* (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain) and *Ṭonghā Tegīn* (Naṣr, vassal). But no later than 391/1000-1, Shāsh became an integral part of the state of Aḥmad b. 'Alī: *dirhams* of AH 391, Shāsh, cite *Saif al-Daula Khān* (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, suzerain) and Naṣr b. al-Qasim (vassal). Aḥmad possessed Shāsh until 406/1015-16 when he lost it to his brother, Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī during the internecine war of AH 404-407 (Kochnev 1995, 234/435). Before 403, the state of *Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad* comprised the Chu and Talas valleys, Ispījāb, *İlāq* and Shāsh. The Chu valley with Balāsāghūn, Aḥmad's capital, was the private domain of *Ṭonghā Khān*. The Talas valley, with its capital Ṭarāz, as well as Ispījāb, *İlāq* and Shāsh were appanages where his vassals struck coins citing him as suzerain. After the death of Naṣr in AH 403 Aḥmad annexed Naṣr's dominions to his state. The former mints of Naṣr minted coins citing Aḥmad as immediate owner of the town or suzerain of some appanagist.

In 404-407 there was an internecine war between Aḥmad and his brother, Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr. The third of the brothers, *İlek Muḥammad*, was at first loyal to his suzerain Aḥmad, but,

no later than 406/1015-16, took sides with Mansūr. During that war, Tonghā Khān Ahmad lost most of his towns. Peace was made in AH 407. According to the peace treaty some of the lost towns were returned to Ahmad (but not his capital Balāsāghūn or Quz Ordū). In all, Ahmad b. 'Alī was cited as suzerain or immediate owner on coins of 28 mints: Quz Ordū, Balāsāghūn, Il Ordū, Ordū, İlāq, Shāsh, Ispijāb, Madīna al-Baiḍa, Ṭarāz, Uzgend, Akhsiket, Ush, Dabūsiya, Ishtikhan, Bukhārā, Samarqand, Nūket, Tūnket, Soghd, Kesh, Şaghāniyān, Kharashket, Zāmīn, Benāket, Farghāna, Ushrūshana, Khojende, Kushānī. Ibn al-Athīr wrote that Toghān (Tonghā) Khān died in AH 408. (Bartold 1963, 336, 591; Fedorov 1990, 7-9). The latest coin with the titulage Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān, which belonged to Tonghā Khān Ahmad b. 'Alī, was minted in AH 408 in Samarqand by İlek Muhammad b. 'Alī, who cited his senior brother as his suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 238/486).

The next Tonghā Tegin appeared in AH 399 as appanagist and vassal of Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla (i.e. of Tonghā Khān Ahmad 'Alī). When Naşr b. 'Alī received the higher title of İlek (second only to title of Khān) his old title Tonghā Tegin became free for another Qarākhānid to accept. This happened to be Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, a member of another branch of the Qarākhānids, the so-called Hasanids. He is cited on coins of AH 399-401 Shāsh as Nizām al-Daula Abū'l-Muzaffar Tonghā Tegin (Kochnev 1995, 218/217-218, 221/259-260). In that same year, AH 401, he lost Shāsh where the new appanage-holder, Mu'izz al-Daula Mut, appeared (Kochnev 1995, 223/279). But he was compensated with Samarqand. Coins of AH 401, Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 222/269), cite Nāşir al-Ḥaqq Khān (Ahmad, supreme suzerain), al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naşr (vassal) and Nizām al-Daula Abū'l-Muzaffar Tonghā Tegin Muḥammad b. al-Ḥa(san). This reshuffling was connected with the internecine war of AH 400-402 between Ahmad and Naşr. Oddly enough, most of Naşr's mints continued to cite on the coins Ahmad b. 'Alī as supreme suzerain, notwithstanding the war. In AH 402 fulūs of Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 224 /295) cite Naşr (b. 'Alī, suzerain), 'Abd al-Rahman (vassal) and Nizām al-Daula Tonghā Tegin (subvassal). The supreme suzerain, Ahmad b. 'Alī, is not cited on these coins. In 403 Naşr b. 'Alī died. Tonghā Tegin Muḥammad b. Ḥasan retained Samarqand in 403 but as vassal of Ahmad b. 'Alī, having risen from the position of subvassal (Kochnev 1995, 225/315-316). But in that same year, 403 (Kochnev 1995, 226/319), fulūs cite Quṭb al-Daula (Ahmad b. 'Alī, suzerain), Shams al-Daula (Mansūr b. 'Alī, vassal) and Nizām al-Daula Abū'l-Muzaffar Tonghā Tegin (subvassal). In 404/1013-14, internecine war broke out between Ahmad and Mansūr. Ahmad captured Bukhārā and Kesh, which Mansūr possessed as immediate owner and vassal of Ahmad. At the same time, Mansūr b. 'Alī disappeared from the coins of Samarqand and Tonghā Tegin rose from the position of subvassal to the position of vassal of Ahmad b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 225/317-318, 228/353-356). Tonghā Tegin probably stayed loyal to Ahmad b. 'Alī and payed for it. In 406-407 Samarqand already belonged to İlek Muhammad b. 'Alī, who, no later than AH 406, changed sides and became the ally of Mansūr b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 233/427). After AH 404 Tonghā Tegin Muḥammad b. Ḥasan disappeared from all coins for several years.

The next Tonghā Tegin was 'Alī b. Ḥasan, brother of Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the Qarākhānid prince, 'Alī Tegin, who was a prisoner of Arslān Khān, managed to escape from him and, with the help of nomad Turkmens, led by Arslān b. Seljūq, captured Bukhārā. "İlek, the brother of Arslān Khān" i.e. the lawful owner of Bukhārā, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, advanced on Bukhārā to punish the usurpers, but was defeated (Bartold 1963, 342). Coins show this sequence of events and furnish additional information. In 411 a certain Bahā al-Daula Tonghā Tegin (Kochnev [1995, 243/550] read it Yanghā Tegin) minted some very strange dirhams in Bukhārā. He cited on them Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān, i.e. the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Yūsuf, the son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 382/ 992). The capital

of Qadir Khān was far-off Kāshghar, and he had no dominions in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. So this coin shows that, having captured Bukhārā, 'Alī Tegin recognized Qadir Khān as suzerain in order to get from him help and protection. It looks as though the influential and powerful ruler of Kāshghar interceded for him with Arslān Khān. The coins show that the negotiations were successful and that Arslān Khān eventually sanctioned the capture of Bukhārā by 'Alī Tegin. In those same years, 411 and 412, Bahā al-Daula minted coins in Bukhārā citing Arslān Khān as suzerain, which he continued to do until 415/1024-25, when Arslān Khān died. By that time, Tonghā Tegin Muḥammad b. Ḥasan must have been given a higher title, otherwise his old title would not have been free for 'Alī b. Ḥasan to accept it. In 412, fulūs of Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 244/572) cite Nizām al-Daula Ināl Tegin. As will be recalled, Tonghā Tegin Muḥammad b. Ḥasan had the laqab Nizām al-Daula.

The title "Ināl Tegin" was higher than other titles containing the word "Tegin". So Muḥammad b. 'Alī (the brother of Naşr and Ahmad) was cited on a dirham of AH 393, Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 211/ 121), as Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sanā al-Daula (field) Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mumakkin al-Mansūr Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegin (marginal legend). Thus, at first, Muḥammad had the title Arslān Tegin. Later, he received the higher title of Ināl Tegin. Coins of AH 403-405, Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 266/320), cite Muḥammad b. 'Alī Sanā al-Daula Ināl Tegin. Finally he was given the even higher title of İlek. Coins of AH 405 Ṭarāz (Kochnev 1995, 231/393) cite him as Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek.

In 415 Arslān Khān and his brother İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī died. Supreme power in the Western khaqanate was seized by another branch of the Qarākhānids called the Ḥasanids. It was Tonghā Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan who became the new Head of the Western Qarākhānids. His brother, 'Alī, received the title İlek (second only to the title Khān). Dirhams of AH 415, Shāsh (Kochnev 1995, 248/ 640-642), citing İlek al-'Adil 'Alī b. Ḥasan, or İlek al-'Adil Bahā al-Daula prove that the laqab Bahā al-Daula belonged to 'Alī b. Ḥasan (the 'Alī Tegin of chronicles and the Tonghā Tegin of AH 411-415 coins of Bukhārā). Thus the former Tonghā Tegin Muḥammad b. Ḥasan became Tonghā Khān, the second Qarākhānid ruler with such a title. His capital was Balāsāghūn (also called Quz Ordū), where, in 415-416, he struck coins in his own name (Kochnev 1995, 247/622-623). His personal domain was the Chu valley just as it was with Tonghā Khān I Ahmad b. 'Alī. Coins of AH 415-416, Quz Ordū, cite him as Tonghā Khān or Tongā Khāqān. If such lack of conformity is not enough, coins of AH 415-416 Shāsh cite him as Toghān Khān and coins of AH 415 Khojende cite him as Tonghān Khān (Kochnev 1995, 246-247/608, 623, 633, 635). He is cited as suzerain on coins of Ispijāb, Ṭarāz, Tūnket, İlāq, Shāsh, Khojende, Akhsiket, Bukhārā and Samarqand (Kochnev 1995, 246-250/617-620, 625, 629, 633, 635, 652, 653, 655, 660, 666-669, 673, 686).

In 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids, led by Qadir Khān of Kāshghar, and Mahmūd, Sulṭān of Ghazna invaded the lands of the Western Qarākhānids. 'Alī b. Ḥasan fled into the desert. But soon Mahmūd decided that it would be safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other and withdrew. Nevertheless, the invasion of Mahmūd allowed Qadir Khān to conquer vast territories from the Western Qarākhānids. In 416 he captured Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna together with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsiket until 418 but then lost the whole of Farghāna and Khojende (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

In 416/1025-26 in Soghd (Kochnev 1995, 249/658-659) coins were minted by Tonghān (on another coin, Tonghā) Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. He cites Khān Malik al-Mashriq (i.e. Qadir-khān Yūsuf) as suzerain. It seems that, having lost Balāsāghūn in 416, Tonghā Khān retreated to Soghd (which was a mint in the Samarqandian part of Soghdiana) and had coins struck there in his name. Moreover, he was obliged to recognise Qadir Khān as his suzerain. The latest coins of Tonghā Khān

were minted in AH 417-418 in Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 250/673, 686).

Kochnev (1995, 249-250/662, 671, 672) published coins of Akhsiket, which cite Qadir Khān, and on which he read the date as 417. But on two of them (250/671, 672) Markov (1896, 253/385-386) read the date as 427. As to the third coin, Kochnev (1995, 249/662) may have misread 419 for 417. If the date on the coins of Akhsiket which Kochnev (1995, 249/662) read as 417 is in fact 419, then it shows that Qadir Khān captured the town in 419. If the date is 417, then this coin shows that Qadir Khān captured Akhsiket in 417 but Tonghā Khān reconquered Akhsiket in that same year, 417.

In 417-418 (Markov 1896, 246/352-354; Kochnev 1995, 250/673, 686) coins of Akhsiket cite Tonghān (in 418, Tonghā) Khān (Muhammad b. Ḥasan, suzerain), İlek ('Alī b. Ḥasan, vassal) and Mu'izz al-Daula (subvassal). 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 Khān disappeared from the coins of Akhsiket. A contemporary of those events, Baihaqī wrote that there was a war and that Toghān Khān, the brother of 'Alī Tegīn, برفقاند Arends (Beihaqī, 1962, 467) translated it as "fell in battle". Then in AD 418 Mu'izz al-Daula issued coins as the sole owner of Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 250/687). That was why I considered that, although Tonghā Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan fell in battle, the Western Qarākhānids retained Akhsiket in 418 (Fedorov 1974, 174).

In 429-430, coins of Samarqand and Bukhārā (Kochnev 1995, 260/833, 835, 846, 847) cite a mysterious Tonghā or Toghān Khān. His identity is uncertain. Kochnev wrote that it was Toghān Khān Muḥammad b. Ḥasan. I know of a coin of Samarqand on which Kochnev read "Samarqand AH 430" and "Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan Tonghā Khān". Its state of preservation is poor, so one cannot be sure of the date nor the titulage. I have not seen another coin, but could the date be 419? As I mentioned, Baihaqī wrote that Toghān Khān برفقاند in battle with Qadir Khān, which Arends (Baihaqī 1962, 467) translated as: "fell in battle". Kochnev (1984, 370), who consulted the Iranist, O. F. Akimushkin, insisted that what Baihaqī wrote should be understood not as Toghān Khān falling in battle but as him only losing his power. Elsewhere, Kochnev (1979, 129) showed some inconsistency in this context writing that Toghān Khān died in the way that Baihaqī mentioned.

Anyway, if Kochnev read the dates and titulage correctly it would mean that, having disappeared from all the coins after AH 418, Tonghā Khān II Muḥammad b. Ḥasan turned up after 12 years of obscurity as a ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā in 429-430. But, in 431 in Bukhārā, we have Shams al-Daula İlek or Shams al-Daula Yūsuf (son of 'Alī b. Ḥasan) striking coins and, in 431 in Samarqand, Fakhr al-Daula Būrī Tegīn (Ibrahīm son of İlek Naṣr, the conqueror Bukhārā in 389/999), who reconquered Samarqand from the Ḥasanids (Kochnev 1995, 261/852, 853, 855). So this mysterious Tonghā Khān disappeared from coins after AH 430. It is not clear whether the Tonghā Khān of the AH 429-430 coins of Bukhārā and Samarqand was Tonghā Khān II or Tonghā Khān III? Let us hope that finds of new coins will allow us to settle the matter.

The next Tonghā Khān was the brother of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf b. Boghrā Khān Hārūn. According to Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60), in 435 Sharaf al-Daula (i.e. Arslān Khān Sulaimān, the son of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf) gave to his brother, Boghrā Khān (Muḥammad), Ṭarāz and Ispījāb, and to his uncle "Toghā (Tonghā) 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), Boghrā Khān's (Shāsh-Ispījāb-Ṭarāz) and his own (Kāshghar-Yarkend).

This Tonghā Khān appeared for the first time (Kochnev 1995, 259/830) in 428 in Uzgend, which in 425-430 was the domain of Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Qadir Khān II Sulaimān b. Boghrā Khān Hārūn (Kochnev 1995, 257/794-795). So the dirham of AH

428, Uzgend, citing Malik al-Mu'ayyad Tonghā Khān, provided it was not struck from mismatched dies (the die with the date 428 being obsolete), shows that, in AH 428, Tonghā Khān captured Uzgend but in the same year was driven out of it by Qadir Khān II, who continued to mint there in AH 428, 429, 430. In AH 429-430 (Kochnev 1995, 260/832, 843) Malik al-Mu'ayyad Tonghā Khān issued coins in Akhsiket. He must have conquered Akhsiket from its former owner, Mu'izz al-Daula, or have obtained it in some other way, for instance as a result of negotiations.

It seems that Qadir Khān II died in AH 430. Anyway, after AH 430 he disappeared from the coins. In 430-433 in Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 259/830) there was already a new master: Malik al-Mu'ayyad Tonghā Khān. Maybe in this connection Akhsiket was returned to Mu'izz al-Daula. He minted there in 430-433 (Fedorov 1968, 233) as an independent ruler. But, by AH 435, Tonghā Khān managed to capture the whole of Farghāna, because in 435/1043-44 Arslān Khān granted him all that area. Tonghā Khān (III or IV?) b. Hārūn Boghrā Khān still possessed Farghāna in 439-440/1047-49, as coins of AH 439-440, Marghīnān, (Kochnev 1997, 278/1194) citing Malik al-Mu'ayyad Tonghā Khān attest.

Arslān Khān could not reconcile himself to the disintegration of his father's state. Around the year 440 he attacked Tonghā Khān and conquered almost the whole of Farghāna from him. In all the towns of Farghāna after 440, coins cite Arslān Khān as suzerain or immediate owner. The title Tonghā Khān disappears from the coins. Only in Akhsiket in 440-449/1048-58 do we find a certain Jalāl al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn citing Boghrā Khān as suzerain (Kochnev 1997, 278/1196). It appears that, having retained Akhsiket, Tonghā Khān changed his khanian title to the humbler title of Tonghā Tegīn and recognised Boghrā Khān Muḥammad as his suzerain, seeking protection from him against Arslān Khān.

Around the year 447 Arslān Khān attacked Boghrā Khān but was defeated and taken prisoner. Boghrā Khān became Head of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. In 448-449 in Uzgend and Qubā (which, in 447, still belonged to Arslān Khān) coins were minted by a certain Jalāl al-Daula, citing Boghrā Khān as suzerain (Kochnev 1997, 282/1254). He seems to have been the same Jalāl al-Daula Tonghā Tegīn mentioned in the previous paragraph.

The next Toghān Khān was the son of Qadir Khān (I) Yūsuf. A coin of AH 41x. Kāshghar (Kochnev 1995, 252/708), cites Khān Malik al-Mashriq (i.e. Qadir Khān) and his vassal Rukn al-Daula. After Qadir Khān had conquered Farghāna from the Western Qarākhānids, a coin of AH 419 with mintname "Khogend" cites Qadir Khān and his vassal Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn (Bishkek, collection of A. Kamyshev). Kochnev (1995, 255/759) read it as "Khokand (?)". But this mint-name was always written "Khūqand" and never "Khokand". I believe it was Khogend (cf. Uzgend, اورزند and Uzdjend اورزند), as it was written on coins in the 12th century AD). Coins of AH 423 Khojende and Rishtān (Kochnev 1995, 254/747) cite Qadir Khān, Rukn al-Daula (reverse) and 'Aḍud al-Daula (obverse). Since Rukn al-Daula is cited on the reverse, he will have had the higher position.

Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) mentioned under AH 435 a Qarākhānid ruler Arslān Tegīn, son of Qadir Khān. The senior son of Qadir Khān (the future Arslān Khān) is cited on coins of AH 408-415 from Yarkend (Kochnev 1995, 239/495, 250/693) as 'Imad al-Daula Sulaimān b. Yūsuf or 'Imād al-Daula Jaghry Tegīn. Another son of Qadir Khān, Muḥammad (the future Boghrā Khān), at that time had the title Boghrā Tegīn (Baihaqī 1962, 195), which means that neither of them could have been cited at that time on coins with the title Arslān Tegīn. It seems that Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn, having started as a vassal of his father in Kāshghar, was later his vassal in Khojende and Rishtān and retained his title Arslān Tegīn until 435.

In 1988 Kochnev (1988, 201) merged two different rulers into one. Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) wrote that in 435 the

ruler of Kāshghar (Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Yūsuf) granted his brother Arslān Tegīn much of the Land of the Turks. In 444 coins of Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 279/1217) cite Boghrā Khān and his vassal Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Kochnev wrote that Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad was the son of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad (which is right) and that Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad was the same Arslān Tegīn mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr (which is wrong). Kochnev (1988, 201) even "corrected" Ibn al-Athīr's "mistake". He wrote that Ibn al-Athīr "mentioned Arslān Tegīn as the brother of Arslān Khān... while it is clear (?! - M. F) that he was a nephew and not a brother of Arslān Khān".

As a matter of fact there was another Arslān Tegīn: Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Naṣr (Kochnev 1997, 279/1208). He never had the laqab "Sanā al-Daula" and never minted in Tūnket. Dirhams minted in the khanate of Boghrā Khān (Tūnket included) were billon. Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn minted copper-lead alloy dirhams, which circulated in Farghāna and the Chu valley in 442-449. In AH 443 he struck coins in some town (the name of which has not survive on the coins) as an independent ruler (Kochnev 1997, 279/1208). There is a coin of AH 44x (Kochnev 1997, 285/1294, again with illegible mint-name) on which Naṣr is a vassal of Sharaf al-Daula wa Fakhr al-Milla (i.e. of Arslān Khān). Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn minted in 443-445 in Barskhān and some other town (Kochnev 1997, 279-281/1208, 1211, 1236). When, around the years 447-448, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad defeated Arslān Khān Sulaimān and became supreme ruler of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn received the higher title of İlek and became Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek. That is how he is cited on coins of AH 448-449 struck in Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 282/1248, 1252). And it was Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Naṣr, to whom his brother, Arslān Khān, granted much of the Land of the Turks in AH 435. And it was Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn who became Arslān İlek and the second man in the hierarchy of the Eastern Qarākhānids, when his brother, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids c. AH 447.

In 449, Boghrā Khān Muḥammad was poisoned by his wife (who also ordered the imprisoned Arslān Khān to be strangled). She put on the throne her juvenile son, İbrahīm. Wars broke out in the Eastern khaqanate. İbrahīm b. Muḥammad was killed by İnāl Tegīn, ruler of Barskhān. The Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Taḡhāch Khān İbrahīm b. Naṣr, took advantage of this situation to attack the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands lost in 416-418 by the Western Qarākhānids to Qadir Khān, including even easternmost Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

As for Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek Naṣr b. Yūsuf, he did not recognize the usurper İbrahīm as supreme ruler and accepted the high title of Toghā Qarākhāqān, thus proclaiming himself the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids. In 1999 (Fedorov 1999, 37-41) I published a billon dirham of Jamāl al-Dīn Zain al-Daula wa Mu'īn al-Milla Toghā Qarākhāqān minted in Quz Ordū (i.e. Balāsāghūn) in 45(1, 2, or 4). Another of his coins cites Zain al-Daula Toghā Khān (reverse field) Naṣr (obverse). In 1999 I considered that the name Naṣr could have belonged to Toghā Khān or to his vassal. But close study of the coins (both old and recently found ones) convinced me that the name Naṣr belonged to the son of Qadir Khān who is cited on coins as Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn, then as Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Naṣr, then as Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek, then as Zain al-Daula Toghā Khān Naṣr.

Toghā Khān Naṣr b. Yūsuf was recognised as suzerain and Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids by some other rulers, who did not want to recognise the usurper, İbrahīm b. Muḥammad, as suzerain. Billon dirham of İspījāb, minted no earlier than AH 451, cite Zain al-(Dau)la Toghān Khāqān, and his vassal "Tāj al-Daula ... Tegīn". On this coin the suzerain is cited as Toghān Khāqān, but, as I have shown at the beginning of this article that the Turkic word Tonga was alien to Persians and Arabs and was written in many different ways. In AH 454, coins of Quz Ordū already cite another ruler: Burhān al-Daula Ayyūb b. Nāṣir Amīr

al-Mu'minīn (Kochnev 1997, 286/1320). Could this mean that Toghā Khān Naṣr died circa 454/1062?

About that time there was also a Toghān (Tongā) Tegīn in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Coins of AH 445 struck at Üch cite Mu'izz al-Milla Ghāzī Toghān Tegīn. Another coin cites Malik Ghāzī Togān Tegīn (Kochnev 1997, 281/1231-1232 read Yaghān and Yagān Tegīn). Coins of AH 44(6?) Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 281/1240) cite Nāṣir al-Daula wa Mu'izz al-Milla Tongā Tegīn Abū'l Muzaffar (name?). There is also an AH 44x coin citing Nāṣir al-Daula Mu'izz al-Milla Toghā Tegīn. Kochnev (1997, 283/1275, 310) attributed it to the mintage of Barskhān because "such a reverse is known only for coins struck in Barskhān in the 440s", which cannot be accepted as a decisive argument. These coins were struck by Toghān (Tongā) Tegīn as an independent ruler.

But there were also coins which he minted as a vassal. Kochnev (1997, 283/1272-1274, 310) read the date [44x] and mintname [Barskhān?]. In fact the mint-name had not survived. He attributed these coins to the mintage of Barskhān because there was a "peculiar" arrangement of the titlage Ar/slān Qarākhāqān "as on a dirham of Barskhān (Nr. 1271)". I cannot accept this as a decisive argument. These coins cite Arslān Qarākhāqān (Sulaimān b. Yūsuf) and Nāṣir al-Daula (which laqab is linked to that of Mu'izz al-Milla by the conjunction "wa" on coin Nr. 1240), or Toghān Tegīn, or Ghāzī ... These coins could not have been minted later than 447/1055-56. Circa 447, Arslān Khān attacked his brother, Boghrā Khān, but Boghrā Khān defeated him and took him prisoner. Boghrā Khān became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate (Bartold 1963a, 44). The latest coins of Arslān Khān were minted in AH 447. In 448 in the same towns (Qubā, Marghīnān, Uzgend) coins were minted in the name of Boghrā Khān and his vassals (Kochnev 1997, 280-282/1229, 1245, 1242, 1257-1258, 1260).

A coin of (Da)khket (Kochnev 1997, 283/1278) cites Boghrā Qarākhāqān and Nāṣir al-Daula (i.e. Tongā Tegīn). Most probably it was minted after 447 (and no later than 449). Perhaps the coins of AH 44x (Kochnev 1997, 285/1298-1301) citing Malik Boghrā Khān (or Zain al-Daula Boghrā Qarākhāqān, etc.) and his vassal Tongān Tegīn, or Toghān Turk Tegīn were struck at the same mint.

There is a coin of AH 44(8?), Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 282/1253), citing Ghāzī Toghān Tegīn (obverse) Mu'izz al-Milla Toghā Tegīn (reverse). This coin was struck from mismatched dies (made by different engravers, because one wrote Togān and the other Togā). One more coin of AH 448 (the mint-name has not survived - Kochnev 1997, 283/1263) cites Nāṣir al-Daula (Tongā Tegīn) and Arslān İlek. If it was not minted from mismatched dies, this coin has Nāṣir al-Daula (Tongā Tegīn) a vassal of Arslān İlek. There is also a coin (Kochnev 1997, 286/1314) citing Boghrā Qarākhāqān, Toghāntegīn (reverse) and Arslān Tegīn (obverse). It appears to have been minted from mismatched dies. If not, then it should be construed this way: Boghrā Qarākhāqān - suzerain, Toghāntegīn - vassal, Arslān Tegīn (since he was cited on the obverse) - subvassal.

In 448 there was a new ruler in Barskhān: coins of AH 448-449, Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 282/1251-1252), cite Shams al-Daula Arslān İlek or Arslān İlek Maulā Amīr al-Mu'minīn. In the same year (AH 449/1057-58) coins of Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 283/1264) cite Arslān İlek as vassal of Zain al-Dīn Mushayyad al-Daula wa Mu'ayyad al-Milla Walī Khalīfat Allāh Boghrā Qarākhāqān. I believe this reshuffling of appanages was due to the victory of Boghrā Khān over Arslān Khān because in AH 448 (Kochnev 1997, 282/1261) Malik al-Mashriq Arslān İlek minted in Üch which previously (at least in 445, and probably later) had belonged to Mu'izz al-Milla Toghān Tegīn.

There is also a strange coin (Kochnev 1997, 286/1311) citing Naṣr (obverse) and Malik Ghāzī Togān Tegīn (reverse, exactly like the reverse of the Üch dirham of AH 445 Nr. 1232). This must have been struck from mismatched dies (i.e. a muling)

There is a coin of AH 44(5?) citing Mu'izz al-Milla Ghāzī Toghān Tegīn, exactly like the coin of AH 445, Üch, Nr.



1231. Kochnev (1997, 281/1237, 310) attributed it to the mintage of "[Quz Ordū]", because "the handwriting" on this coin "is typical of coins of Quz Ordū, minted in the 440s". I cannot accept this argument. I believe that this coin was minted in Üch.

The next ruler with the title, Toḡhā Tegīn, is cited on coins found in the Chu valley at the hillforts of Burana (medieval Balāsāghūn or Quz Ordū) and Krasnaya Rechka (medieval Nauket) in the Kirghiz Republic. The mint-name has not survived on them. On one coin, part of the date has survived: AH 45x. These coins cite the suzerain, Burhān al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb (reverse) and his vassal (since he was cited on the obverse) Jamāl al-Daula Toḡhā Tegīn. Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb was the son of Arslān Khān Sulaimān (Fedorov 1999, 41-42). One more coin (Kochnev 1997, 286/1320) of Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb is known. It was minted in AH 454 (Quz Ordū) and cites Burhān al-Daula Ayyūb. Jamāl al-Daula Toḡhā Tegīn is not cited on this coin. So this Jamāl al-Daula Toḡhā Tegīn was an appanage ruler of some town in the Chu valley and a vassal of Burhān al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Ayyūb b. Sulaimān in the 450s AH.

There was a Toghān Tegīn and Toghān Khān in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate about that time. Before his death, the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Taḡhāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr, abdicated in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. His other son, Shu'aith rebelled. The hostile armies clashed near Samarqand. Shu'aith lost the day and fled to Bukhārā. Shams al-Mulk besieged and defeated him there. During the battle the Great Mosque of Bukhārā caught fire and burnt to the ground. Qubāvī wrote that the mosque was burnt in 460 and rebuilt in 461. Ibn al-Athīr mentioned the mutinous son of Ibrahīm as Tuḡhān Khān. Bartold considered that the title "Tuḡhān Tegīn" was on one of the coins of Shu'aith (Bartold 1963, 377; Narshakhii 1966, 49).

Coins complement chronicles. There is a dirham of AH 45x, Tūnket, citing Yemīn al-Daula Toghān Tegīn Shu'aith (-i) Ibrahīm. Kochnev (250/891, 295) "corrected the mistake" of Markov (1896, 268/463) "who read ... Togan-tegin instead of Yagan-tegin". At it happens, Bartold also read it as Tuḡhān Tegīn. Meanwhile Kochnev (1997, 250/891, 295) himself published a coin of AH 45x (without legible mint-name) citing Taḡhāch Khān Ibrahīm and his vassal Toḡhān Tegīn. This coin is important because it confirms the reading of the title on the coin of Tūnket as Toghān Tegīn. It is strange that Kochnev did not pay attention to that coin.

A coin of AH 452?, Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 250/893), cites Yamīn al-Daula Shu'aith (-i) Ibrahīm. A coin of AH 454, Tūnket (Kochnev 1997, 251/899), cites Yamīn al-Daula Toghān Tegīn Abū'l Muzaffar Shu'aith (-i) Ibrahīm. There is a coin of AH 45(?) or 8?), Shāsh (Kochnev 1997, 252/909), citing Yamīn ... n Tegīn (Sh)u'aith (-i) Ibrahīm. It is interesting that, on page 295, Kochnev read the digit in the date as either 'five' or 'eight', while on page 252 he read it as 458?. There is also an interesting coin of AH 458 Binket (Kochnev 1997, 251/904) citing the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ibrahīm, and his vassal, 'Alī (we shall return to him later).

Since Ibn al-Athīr mentioned Shu'aith as Toḡhān Khān it means that, having rebelled against Shams al-Mulk, Naṣr, Shu'aith changed his princely title Toḡhān/Toḡhān Tegīn to the khanian title Toḡhān Khān. Toḡhān Khān is cited on coins of 460-461 struck at Samarqand (Kochnev 1997, 257/970-972). These coins cite Taḡhāch Khān Ibrahīm or Khān Ibrahīm (obverse), Toḡhā Khān (Nr. 970-971) or Fakhr(?) al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Toḡhān Khān (Nr. 972) and a certain 'Alī. I believe this 'Alī was the same 'Alī who is cited as a vassal of Ibrahīm on the coins of Binket struck in AH 458. He appears to have been an ally of Shu'aith in the latter's war against his brother, Shams al-Mulk, and is cited on coins of Shu'aith because of that. These coins show that Toḡhā/Toḡhān Khān Shu'aith possessed Samarqand for some time. It will be recalled that the first battle between the brothers took place near Samarqand. There are also coins of AH 461, Bukhārā (Kochnev 1997, 255/954), citing Mu'ayad al-'Adl Taḡhāch Khān Ibrahīm

(reverse) and Toḡhān Khān (obverse). These coins show that Toḡhān Khān possessed Bukhārā long enough for coins to be struck in his name there.

Such is the history and identities of Qarākhānid rulers with "Toḡhā titles".

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The table that follows has been compiled to show the coins of Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn / Arslān İlek / Toḡhā Khān Naṣr and the contemporaneous mintage of a ruler with the title, Tongā (Tongān, Toghān, Toghā) Tegīn.

Nr.	Year	Town	Obverse	Reverse
279/1208	443	?	<i>Naṣr</i>	<i>Naṣr</i> /Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn
279/1211	444?	Barskhān	Shams al-Daula	<b>Ṣafī/Boghrā Qarākhāqān/Amīr al-Mu'minīn</b>
281/1236	445	?	?	.../ Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn
281/1231	445	Ūch		Mu'izz al-Milla Ghāzī Toghān تغان Tegīn
281/1232	445	Ūch	Ghāzī ...	Malik/ Ghāzī Togān تگان Tegīn
281/1237	445?	Quz Ordū?		Mu'izz al-Milla Ghāzī Toghān تغان Tegīn
281/1238	446	?	<b>Ṣafī Amīr al-Mu'minīn</b>	Arslān Tegīn
281/1239	446?	Quz Ordū	<i>Naṣr</i>	
281/1240	446?	Barskhān	Nāṣīr al-Daula va Mu'izz al-Milla	Tongā تنگا Tegīn Abū-l-Muzaffar ? الاسم
283/1271	(44x)	Barskhān	?	<b>Arslān Qarākhāqān</b>
283/1272	(44x)	Barskhān?	Nāṣīr al-Daula	<b>Arslān Qarākhāqān</b>
283/1273	(44x)	Barskhān?	Toghān تغان Tegīn	<b>Arslān Qarākhāqān</b>
283/1274	(44x)	Barskhān?	Ghāzī ...	<b>Arslān Qarākhāqān</b>
285/1294	(44x)	?	<i>Naṣr</i>	<b>Sharaf al-Daula va Fakhr al-Milla 'Izz al-Dīn (i.e. Arslān Khān)</b>
283/1275	(44x)	Barskhān?	Nāṣīr al-Daula	Mu'izz al-Milla Toghā تغا Tegīn
283/1278	(44x)	(Da)khket?	Nāṣīr al-Daula	<b>Boghrā Qarākhāqān</b>
282/1248	448,9?	Barskhān	Arslān İlek Shams al-Daula	<b>Ṣafī/Boghrā Qarākhāqān /Amīr al-Mu'minīn</b>
282/1249	(448?)	Barskhān?	<b>Mushayyad al-Daula</b>	<b>Ṣafī/Boghrā Qarākhāqān /Amīr al-Mu'minīn</b>
282/1250	448	Barskhān		Arslān İlek
282/1251	448	Barskhān	Arslān İlek Maulā Amīr al-Mu'minīn	Shams al-Daula
282/1252	448,9	Barskhān	Arslān İlek	Shams al-Daula
282/1253	448?	Barskhān	Ghāzī Toghān تغان Tegīn	Mu'izz al-Milla Toghā تغا Tegīn
282/1261	448	Ūch	Malik al-Mashriq	Arslān İlek
283/1263	448	?	Nāṣīr al-Daula	Arslān İlek
283/1264	449	Barskhān	<b>Ṣafī Amīr al-Mu'minīn</b> Arslān İlek	<b>Zain al-Dīn Mushayyad al-Daula Mu'ayyad al-Milla Valī Khalīfa Allah Boghrā Qarākhāqān</b>
283/1265	(449?)	Barskhān?	Shams (al-Daula)	<b>Zain al-Dīn Mushayyad al-Daula Mu'ayyad al-Milla Valī Khalīfa Allah Boghrā Qarākhāqān</b>
283/1266	(449?)	Barskhān?	Nāṣīr (al-Daula)	<b>Zain al-Dīn Mushayyad al-Daula Mu'ayyad al-Milla Valī Khalīfa Allah Boghrā Qarākhāqān</b>
283/1277	(44x)	Bar(skhān)		Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn
283/1278	(44x)	Bar(skhān)	İlek	Arslān İlek İlek
283/1270	(44x)	Barskhān	Shams al-Dīn Arslān İlek	<b>Ṣafī/Boghrā Qarākhāqān / Amīr al-Mu'minīn</b>
283/1268	44(4?7?9?)	Quz Ordū		Aḥmad
285/1298	(44x)	?	Toghān تغان Turk Tegīn	<b>Boghrā Qarākhāqān</b>
285/1299	(44x)	?	<b>Malik Boghrā Khān</b>	<b>Zain al-Daula</b> Tonga تنگا Tegīn
285/1300	(44x)	?	<b>Malik Boghra Qarakhāqan</b>	<b>Zain al-Daula</b> Tonga تنگا Tegīn
285/1301	(44x)	?	<b>Zain al-Daula</b> Tongān تنگان Tegīn	<b>Malik Boghrā Qarākhāqān</b>
286/1309	(44x)	?	Nūr al-Daula ...	Shams al-Daula
286/1310	(44x)	?	... Boghra Tegīn	Shams al-Daula
286/1311	(44x)	?	<i>Naṣr</i>	Malik Ghāzī Togān تگان Tegīn
286/1312	(44x)	?		Malik Toghān تغان Ghāzī (?) Tegīn
286/1314	(44x)	?	Arslān Tegīn	<b>Boghrā Qarākhāqān</b> Toghantegin تغان تگین
MF 37	45(1?2?4?)	Quz Ordū	<b>Zain al-Daula va Mu'in al-Milla</b>	<b>Jamal al-Dīn Toghā Qarākhāqān</b>
MF 38	450,1?	Quz Ordū	<i>Naṣr</i>	<b>Zain al-Daula Toghā Khān</b>
MF 38	45x	Ispijāb	Tāj al-Daula ...Tegīn	<b>Zain (al-Dau)la Toghān Khāqān</b> Bahā al-Daula

Table 1. Mintage of Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn/Arslān İlek/Toghā Khān Naṣr and contemporary mintage of a ruler with the title Tongā (Tongān, Toghān, Toghā) Tegīn. **Boghrā Qarākhāqān, Arslān Qarākhāqān** - supreme suzerain. 279/1208- page and number in: Kochnev, B. D. 1997. „Svod nadpisei na karakhanidskikh monetakh: antropimiy i titulatura, chast' 2", *Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny*, 5, Moskva. MF 37- page in: Fedorov, M. N. 1999. "Some Unknown Qarakhanid Appanage Rulers of North Kirghizstan in the Time of Internecine wars (1057-1068 AD)", *Yarmouk Numismatics*, 11.



1. Fals of 413/1022-3 Kushānī. Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī) as suzerain of Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan. It is worth noting that the title of suzerain is written twice: in Arabic as *arslān khān* (obverse) and in Uighur as *arslan han* (reverse), a very unusual occurrence on Qarākhānid coins.
2. Dirham of 414/1023-4 Khojende. Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī) as suzerain of İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī, vassal) and Sinān al-Daula (sub-vassal)
3. Dirham of 441/1049-50 Uzgend. Arslān Qarākhāqān (Sulaimān, son of Qadir Khān Yūsuf) as suzerain of Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām.
4. Fals of Farghāna, 386-996. Naṣr b. 'Alī Ṭonqā (طنقا) Tegīn (in margin)
5. Dirham of Shāsh, 401/1010-11. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Ṭonghā (طنغا) Tegīn. (below main legend in field)
6. Fals of Shāsh, 403/1012-13. Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Ṭongā (طنكا) Qarākhāqān. (margin).
7. Dirham of Quz Ordū (Balāsāghūn), 416/1025-6. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Tongā (تنكا) Qarākhān. (last line of field legend).
8. Fals of Bukhārā, 416/1025/6. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Tongā (تنكا) Khān (obverse above and below Kalima) as suzerain of Bahā al-Daula Arslān İlek.
9. Dirham of Uzgend, 430/1038-9. Al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ṭonghā (طنغا) Khān, son of Boghrā Khān Hārūn (bottom of field legend).
10. Dirham of Bukhārā, 411/1020-1. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan. Bahā al-Daula Tonghā (تنغا) Tegīn (reverse, last two lines of field legend) as a vassal of Arslān Khān (Maṣūr b. 'Alī).
11. Dirham of Khojende, 415/1024-5. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Ṭonghān (طنغان) Khān (reverse, second and third lines of field legend) as suzerain of Bahā al-Daula İlek ('Alī b. al-Ḥasan).
12. Dirham of Akhsīket, 418/1027-8. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan. Ṭonghān (طنغان) Khān (reverse, third line of field legend) as suzerain of İlek (vassal) and Mu'izz al-Daula (sub-vassal).



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- 126 Tarāz. *Notes on the Qarākhānids and their coinage, Supplement to ONS Newsletter 165*. 2000, Autumn, p.33-36, 51. 0.65 PS.
- 127 Ūch (Uch). *Notes on the Qarākhānids and their coinage, Supplement to ONS Newsletter 165*. 2000, Autumn, p. 37-38, 48. 0.3 PS.
- 128 Ushrūshana. *Notes on the Qarākhānids and their coinage, Supplement to ONS Newsletter 165*. 2000, Autumn, p. 38-41, 48. 0.5 PS.
- 129 Review of : „Tobias Mayer, Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Nord- und Ostzentrasien, XV b Mittelasien II, Tübingen Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth, 1998“, *ONS Newsletter 165*. 2000, Autumn, p. 8-11. 0.4 PS.
- 130 The Qysmychi Hoard of Qarakhanid Dirhams (1002-1021). *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 160, 2000, p. 171-202, 2.5 PS.
- 131 The phases of coin circulation in the State of the Great Seljūqs. *ONS Newsletter 166*. 2001, Winter, p. 12-15. 0.4 PS.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EV	Epigrafika Vostoka. Leningrad.
IAN KirgSSR	Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Kirgizskoi SSR. Frunze.
IAN KirgSSR ON	Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Kirgizskoi SSR. Obshchestvennye nauki. Frunze.
IAN RKyrgh.	Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Respubliki Kyrghyzstan. Bishkek.
IAN TadjSSR SVIF	Izvestiia Akademii Nauk Tadjikskoi SSR. Seriya: Vostokovedenie, Istoriiia, Filologiiia. Dushanbe.
IMKU	Istoriiia Material'noi Kul'tury Uzbekistana. Tashkent.
INAN KyrghR	Izvestiia Natsional'noi Akademii Nauk Kirghizskoi Respubliki. Bishkek.
MKT	Material'naia kul'tura Tadjikistana. Dushanbe.
NE	Numizmatika i Epigrafika. Moskva.
NRSOON AN UzSSR	Nauchnye Raboty i Soobshcheniia Otdeleniia Obshchestvennykh Nauk AN UzSSR. Tashkent.
ONS NL	Oriental Numizmatik Society News-letter.
ONU	Obshchestvennye Nauki v Uzbekistane. Tashkent.
RA	Rossiiskaia Arkheologiiia. Moskva.
SA	Sovetskaia Arkheologiiia. Moskva.
TluTAKE	Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Arkheologicheskoi Kompleksnoi Ekspeditsii, Ashkhabad/Moskva.
TKirgGU	Trudy Kirgizskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Frunze.
TSamGU NS MIU	Trudy Samarkandskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Novaiia Seriya. Materialy po Istorii Uzbekistana. Samarkand.
VKyrghNU SON	Vestnik Kyrghyzskogo Natsional'nogo Universiteta. Seriya Obshchestvennye Nauki. Bishkek.