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ONS News

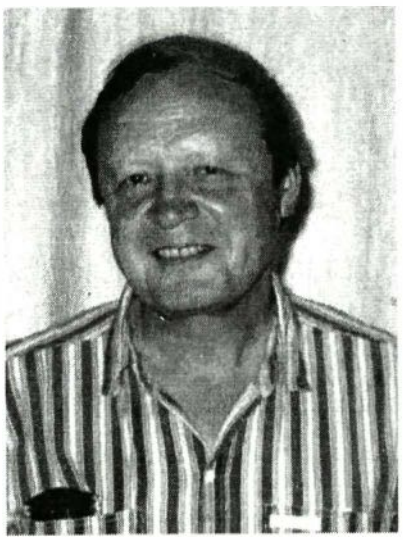
ONS Website

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.

Obituaries

Dr B. D. Kochnev (1940–2002)



With infinite grief and sorrow I have to announce the demise of my dear, good friend, pre-eminent specialist in mediaeval Central Asian numismatics, Dr Boris D. Kochnev.

He passed away on the evening of 3 March 2002 in Rambam Hospital, Haifa, after a year of desperate struggle against an insidious and merciless disease. Right up to his last day, overcoming anguish and fainting, Boris was labouring to finish his sizeable *Numismatic History of the Qarakhanid Kaganate (991-1209)*. It was not before the final full stop had been placed in his main work that he allowed himself to depart.

Boris Dmitrievich Kochnev was born in 1940. At the age of 6, he moved with his family from Moscow to Kirghizia where he had his first archaeological experience and fell in love with the ancient history of Central Asia. So it was quite natural that, after leaving school, he should enter the historical faculty of the Kirghiz State University. Yet his real development as an archaeologist began a while later when he moved to Tashkent, Uzbekistan, to continue his studies in the department headed by the renowned Prof. M. E. Masson.

In 1971 Boris defended a Ph. D. thesis on the Islamic cult buildings ('*musalla*') in mediaeval Central Asia, and in the same year he started work in the Institute of Archaeology, Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences. From then till his last days, his life and scientific activity were connected with that establishment. He took part in many field expeditions to different regions of Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kirghizia, where numerous remnants of ancient settlements were inspected and investigated, often for the first time. Some of them were identified as certain towns and localities mentioned in mediaeval written sources as a result of his direct involvement — in particular, Afarun and Bashtan villages in the vicinity of ancient Nakhsheb. Boris was among the main authors of the voluminous Corpus of Archaeological Monuments of the Qarshi Oasis in South Uzbekistan.

Nonetheless, he realised very soon that his vocation was not 'pure' archaeology. One day, having noticed several enigmatic ancient coins with quite incomprehensible Arabic legends, Boris once and for all 'fell victim' to the rich and multifarious Islamic coinage of Central Asia. And, as fate would have it, he became an ardent devotee, after a while becoming one of the most competent and widely recognised experts in the very complicated field of Qarakhanid numismatics. In the opinion of most orientalists and Central Asian scholars, the history of the Qarakhanid state (late 10^{th} – early 13^{th} centuries AD) could never have been reconstructed to its present state without his profound and omnilateral research of many thousands of fulus, dirhams and dinars issued by numerous rulers and dignitaries related to or acting under that dynasty of Turkic origin.

It is worth mentioning that Boris Kochnev became a world leader in this most complicated field of numismatics without having previously acquired a regular knowledge of the disciplines of oriental studies nor of the Arabic language; yet he mastered all those on his own, as a self-taught person. This is all the more remarkable when one considers his voluminous output on the subject. More than 150 articles and about 200 newspaper essays were brought into the world by his fertile pen. His principal work entitled *Qarakhanid Coins: Research into Sources and History* and defended as a full doctorate in Moscow in 1993 has become a prominent milestone on the way of oriental numismatics, enabling

many t's in the study of the political, economic, social and cultural history of mediaeval Mawara'annahr and Turkestan to be crossed.

One would perhaps believe on reading these words that Dr Kochnev is the only real expert in Qarakhanid history. But this is not the case; his abundant and successful work in this field was a sequel to the efforts of his elder fellows, with Academician Mikhail E. Masson and especially Prof. Elena A. Davidovich being among the most revered to whom Boris would always pay respect as his teachers and preceptors. On the other hand, his scientific progress could hardly have taken place if he had not worked simultaneously, sometimes in parallel, sometimes in rivalry with Prof. Mikhail N. Fedorov, one more of M. E. Masson's gifted disciples whose almost equally abundant publications on the same topic served as an incessant stimulant and challenge in the quest for everlasting scientific growth and self-perfection.

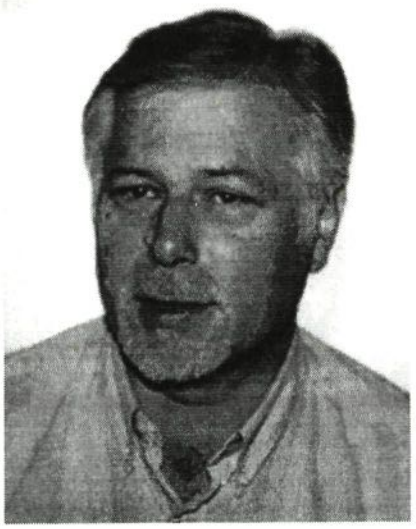
The prolific activity and numerous discoveries made by Boris in this field of knowledge, naturally, could not escape the sight of his colleagues all over the world, so it was only just that, in 1994, the French Academy of Sciences awarded him the Drouin Prize.

Boris was a grand master of Qarakhanid numismatics, but no less great was he as a man — smart, courteous, invariably benevolent and responsive, a genuine friend towards his friends. He was never alien to ordinary, earthly joies de vivre; passionate highland traveller and sparkling raconteur, deftly combining a moderate drink with a surprisingly profound philosophic discourse — such will he remain in the memories of all those who knew him closely, who had the honour of his friendship, and who will miss him so much...

May his memory live for ever!

Vladimir N. Nastich

Uno Barner Jensen 5.3.1948 - 30.3.2002



Indo-Danish Numismatics has lost one of its most significant researchers. Since the publication of his main catalogue in 1978 close to 100 publications and catalogues flew steadily from Uno Barner Jensen's hand, and, on the very day of his all too early death, an other excellent article on the Tranquebar gold pagoda was published by the Danish Numismatic Society in Numismatisk Rapport no. 72.

Uno's dedication to research on Tranquebar coins and history was remarkable, and over the years he grew to be one of the most knowledgeable people in Denmark with regards Indo-Danish numismatics. His publications were always based on very careful research, and most of them contained not only the fruits of his numismatic research, but also historical information relevant to the period of the coins. So the catalogues were practically never simply lists of coin types, but history books of good quality. As good examples of his work one can mention *Dansk Ostindien: handelsmønter og mønterne fra Trankebar,* and *Danish East India: trade coins and the coins of Tranquebar 1620-1845* published in 1997

Uno's professional technical experience enabled him to develop an excellent sketchning technique. Most of his publications were furnished with accurate sketches of the coins described. This was especially important when dealing with overstrikes and double strikes on coins, where a good sketch is far better than a photo.

In his last years, Uno learnt a great deal about using computers and set up his own website (www.tranquebar.dk). This has proved very useful to numismatists and other visitors to it. Much new information was published on the site, and it was constantly updated. A complete bibliography on Uno Barner Jensen has yet to be published but would be an appropriate tribute to him.

Over the years Uno Barner Jensen was also chairman of various numismatic societies, most latterly of the Han-Herred Numismatic Society, located near his residence in Brovst. Uno also had his artistic side, being a fine accordion player, an interest he shared with both his wife and son.

Uno Barner Jensen was a gifted person, and he will be remembered for a long time.

Joergen Clauson-Kaas

Annual General Meeting

The AGM will take place on Saturday 25 May 2002 in conjunction with the London Coin Fair due to be held on that day. The venue will be the Holiday Inn Bloomsbury, Coram Street, London WC1, from 13.00-15.00. In addition to the annual report of activities, members of the Council are due to be elected/re-elected. The Ken Wiggins and Michael Broome memorial lectures will be given after the official business. These will consist of talks by Ruby Malone, Reader at the Department of History, University of Bombay, on the Surat mint in the 17th century and by your Editor on coins of the Safavids.

London

A meeting took place on Saturday 6 April 2002 at the Coin and Medal Department of the British Museum to hear presentations on new research into Sasanian coinage The following papers were given:

Vesta Curtis: "The religious symbolism on early Sasanian coins"

Susan Tyler-Smith: "Copper coins of Ardashir I in the light of some recent research"

Joe Cribb: "Sasanian-style coinage in post-Kushan Sind".

Another meeting is planned for London on Saturday 5 October 2002, 11-16.00, on East Asia.

There will also be an Indian Coin Study Day in December, as well as a meeting in Oxford, at the Ashmolean Museum, on Saturday 27 September 2002. This latter meeting will start at around 11 am. For more information please contact Shailendra Bhandare at the Museum or by e-mail shailen10@hotmail.com

All meetings will take place in the Coin and Medal Department of the British Museum unless otherwise stated. Anyone interested in giving a paper or seeking additional information should contact Peter Smith or Joe Cribb.

Tübingen

This year's "Tübingen" meeting is due to be held on 4 and 5 May at the Heinrich-Fabri-Institut of Tübingen University, in the town of Blaubeuren. At the time of writing no details of papers to be given were available, but it is hoped to publish a report of the meeting in a future newsletter.

New and Recent Publications

Y.T. Nercessian: "Cilician Armenian coins overstruck in Arabic" in *Armenian Numismatic Journal*, Vol.XXVIII No.1, pp. 3-24 + Pl.1. Also the Armenian Numismatic Society is selling some books at half price - contact Mr W. Gewenian, ArmNumSoc@aol.com

S..K. Kofopoulos and S.I. Anagnostou: "More evidence about the local emergency 'coins' of Lesbos", *Nomismatika Khronika* 19, 149 (in Greek), 159 (in English), 2000.

B. Papadopoulos: "More 'coins' from Doxato", *Nomismatika Khronika* 19, 167 (in Greek), 168 (in English), 2000.

J.-Ch. Hinrichs: "Gegenstempel auf muslimisch-anatolischen Münzen des 14. Jahrhunderts", *Bremer Beiträge zur Münz- und Geldgeschichte*, Band 3, 59 (2001). Published by Bremer Numismatische Gesellschaft, Bremen.

Medieval Indian Coinages: a Historical and Economic Perspective, Papers given at the 5th international colloquium, Nasik, India, on 17-19 February 2001, ed. by Amiteshwar Jha. Published by the Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies. ISBN 81-86786-09-0. Price: IRs. 700, US$25. Contents:

- Gopal, S.: "Outlines of Indian overseas trade in the 17th century: impact on coinage system".
- Shastri, A.M.: "Yadava coins: some aspects"
- Deshpande, B.: "Numismatic data in Marathi literature"
- Mitchiner, M.: "Early Vijayanagar mint organisation under Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II"
- Narasimha Murthy, A.V.: "Foreign travellers and Vijayanagara coinage"
- Mukherjee, B.N.: "Art in the coinage of mediaeval Tripura"
- Rath, B.: "Transition from early medieval to medieval: evidence from coin hoards and the Dravyapariksha"
- Raza, J.: "Nomenclature and titulature of the early Turkish Sultans of Delhi found in numismatic legends"
- Zilli, I.A.: "Saiyid Sultans of Delhi and the issue of coins in the name of Timurids: fact or fiction"
- Bhadani, B.L.: "Literary evidence for lesser-known coins of medieval Rajasthan"
- Hussain, E.: "Appraisal of some coins and some historical events of the early sultanate Bengal"
- Rhodes, N.G. & S.L.Goron: "An analysis of the Victory types of Husain Shah of Bengal"
- Sinha, S.: "The coin hoards of the Bengal Sultans: an overview"
- Ahamad, R.: "A hoard of silver and billon coins of Bahamani and Delhi Sultanate from Pen, Maharashtra"
- Quddusi, M.I.: "A hoard of 18 gold coins from Kishorpur, Uttar Pradesh" and "A copper hoard from Kalamb in Yavatmal District of Maharashtra"
- Strnad, J.: "Mughal silver coin hoards of Uttar Pradesh – an important source for the study of monetary history of pre-modern India"
- Maloni, R.: "The Surat mint (16th to 18th centuries)"
- Moin, D.: "Inscriptions on medieval Indian coins – an analysis"
- Bhandare, S.: "An evaluation of the Sabhasad Bakhar as source of historical information: a numismatic perspective"
- Balsekar, D.P.: "Military mints under the Peshwas – a study of selected mints"
- Radhakrishnan, P.V.: "Significance of the marks seen on late medieval coins: an investigation"
- Shirgaonkar, V.S.: "Numismatic gleanings from Lavanis"
- Mears, B.: "The copper coins of Venad/Travancore in context: some interesting comparisons with other known coins of region"
- Chakrabarty, B & S.Bisai: "Chemical composition of copper based mediaeval Indian coins"

Coins of Ahom Kingdom" by Anup Mitra, pp. 132; roughly 132 coins are illustrated in black & white, 1st Edition 2001, Hard Bound.

Fustat Finds: Beads, Coins, Medical Instruments, Textiles, and Other Artifacts from the Awad Collection, edited by Jere L. Bacharach, from the American University in Cairo Press, 2002.

Michael Bates writes that this is a very handsomely designed monograph-size volume for which Jere and the Press are to be congratulated. He is personally pleased because it includes an important article by Lidia Domaszewicz and himself, "Copper Coinage of Egypt in the Seventh Century," based on Lidia's 1989 Graduate Seminar paper done at the ANS, in which she accurately classified the various Roman, "Persian," Arab, and other copper issues that were minted in Egypt or used there in the seventh century. Michael rewrote the whole thing and added some various comments and ideas all of which was skilfully edited by Jere.

Henry Amin Awad, M.D., was a major contributor to the Islamic Art Museum, Cairo, and to the ANS. Lidia was able to classify the coins so well in part because she was the first scholar to have hundreds of 7th century Egyptian coppers to study, mostly donated by Dr. Awad. He has also donated Umayyad, Abbasid, Fatimid, Ayyubid, Mamluk and Ottoman coins, as well as glass weights of various epochs. His most recent glass weight donations are catalogued by Katherina Eldada, a former curatorial assistant at the ANS, in this volume. There is also a table of Egyptian Islamic coins from all periods edited by various specialists, running to about 40 pages. An article by Dr. Awad and Sami Hamarneh surveys the information on glass stamps for Egyptian medicine in the medieval era. The title lists some of the other material covered. Most of the objects came from casual or scientific excavations at Fustat, the site of the early medieval capital of Egypt.

The Balkh volume of the Tübingen Sylloge has now left the press and should be available for purchase shortly at a price of around €100.

The Journal of the Numismatic society of India Vol. 59, 1997. Edited by Prof. A. V. Narsimhamurthy, Dr.P. N. Singh, Dr. M. Krishnamurthy & Dr. Amrendra Nath, 124 pages, 14 b/w plates has just been published.

Contents:

N. Ahmad, J. Kumar & G. Prasad: "A Small Hoard of the universal silver punchmarked coins of the Mathura Museum: An Analytical Study".
N. Ahmad & M. Veeramani: "Early Pandya silver punchmarked coin found at Karur".
D. G. Angal: "A new Maharathi coin".
O. P. L. Srivastava: "A unique coin from Banda".
S. Godbole: "Three interesting lead coins from Prakashe".
R. K. Mohanty, B. Tripathy & A. Kshirsagar: "Fresh light on coins of Sibi Janapada from Nagari District Chittaurgarh, Rajasthan".
G. De: "Bull and Elephant type coins of Apollodotus I".
D. Handa: "Another silver coin of Dharaghosha".
B. N. Mukherjee: "Durvasa, the city-deity of Pushkalavati".
R. Krishnamurthy: "An ancient Jewish coin from Karur, Tamilnadu"
A. K. Narain: "The coins and identity of the anonymous Yuezhi-Tokharian King, the SOTER MEGAS".
B. Chatterjee: "Provenance of Kushana gold, Ethiopia: An Explanation".
A. M. Shastri: "Samudra Gupta's Asvamedhas".
S. J. Mangalam: "Copper coins of the early Kalachuri King Krishnaraja".
S. G. Dhopate: "A coin of Pulakesi I of Vatapi Chalukyas.
N. Ahmed: An interesting Arabic coin".
V. P. Gadkare: "A copper coin of Mahipal of the Pratihar dynasty"
D. Rajgor: "Coins and currency of the Chalukyas of Gujarat".
S. J. Mangalam: "New varieties of Padma-Tankas of the Yadava king Mahadeva".
M. R. Karim: "Sultan Ghiyasuddin Nusrat: a new name in the history of the Sultans of Bengal".
D. G. Angal: "Smallest silver coins of later Mughal emperors".
D. Sankaranarayanan: "Arcot Nawab coins - mirror of their history".
S. Basu: "Fascinating mint marks on the coins of Benaras".

Index Islamicus

Index Islamicus is the international classified bibliography of publications in European languages on all aspects of Islam and the Muslim world. Described as 'an indispensable tool for libraries, graduates and undergraduates alike', it provides the reader with an effective overview of what has been published on a given subject in the field of Islamic Studies in its broadest sense. *Index Islamicus* includes extensive indices of names and subjects. It covers the main Muslim areas of Asia and Africa, as well as Muslims living elsewhere - about 1,025,000,000 people, or just under a fifth of the world's population - and their history, beliefs, societies, cultures, languages and literatures. It includes material published by Western orientalists and social scientists and by Muslims writing in European languages.

The publications recorded are (journal) articles, books and reviews. All essays and papers contained in multi-author volumes are recorded, classified and indexed separately. About 2500 periodicals are surveyed, including general history, social science, history of science and arts titles as well as specialist area- and subject-based ones. Publications and articles on numismatics (e.g. those published in this newsletter) are included. Details of articles, and of reviews of relevant books (and occasionally also films and other material) are taken from the periodicals surveyed. Some relevant articles and reviews published electronically are also recorded.

Editors: G.J.Roper and C.H.Bleaney, Cambridge University Library; E-mail: ibu@ula.cam.ac.uk

Index Islamicus is available in both print and electronic formats. Details of prices and subscriptions can be found on the following website: http://www.brill.nl/forthcoming/ii.html

Lists Received

1. Monica Tye (Loch Eynort, Isle of South Uist, HS8 5SJ, UK; tel ++44 1878 710300; fax ++44 1878 710216; robert_tye@onetel.net.uk) List 15 of oriental coins.
2. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 176 (Feb. 2002), 177 (March 2002) and 178 (April 2002).
3. Galerie Antiker Kunst (Oberstrasse 110, D-20149 Hamburg, Germany; tel ++49 40 455060; fax ++49 40 448244; E-mail drsimonian@web.de) list of Islamic and oriental coins, April 2002.

Auction News

Jean Elsen s.a. auction 68 held on 14-15 December 2001 included around 400 lots of oriental coins. (Jean Elsen s.a., Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussels, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsen.be; www.elsen.be. Auction 69 took place on 16 March 2002 and had a good selection of gold and silver Islamic coins.

The Morton and Eden auction held in association with Sotheby's on 18 April 2002 had 160 lots of Islamic coins (Morton and Eden Ltd, 45 Maddox Street, London W1S 2PE; tel ++44 20 7493 5344; fax ++4420 7495 6325;
e-mail info@mortonandeden.com

The Peus sale held on 24-26 April 2002 had over 300 lots of Islamic coins (Dr Busso Peus Nachf. Münzhandlung, Bornwiesenweg 34, 60322 Frankfurt (Main), Germany; tel: ++49 69 959 6620; fax ++49 69 555995; info@peus-muenzen.de

Baldwin's Auctions and Arabian Coins and Medals held an Islamic coin auction in London on 8 May 2002. In addition to the 480 lots of coins and medals, the auction also included books from the library of the late Michael Broome, former Secretary-General of the ONS. (Baldwin's Auctions, 11 Adelphi Terrace, London WC2N 6BJ; tel ++44 20 7930 9808; fax ++44 20 7930 9450; e-mail auctions@baldwin.sh

Articles

The Mutid Dynasty of Ispījāb and its coins (10th – early 11th century)

By Arkady A. Molchanov (Moscow)

Ispījāb (the historical region in the valley of the Arys' River, South Kazakhstan) stood among the most autonomous lands incorporated into the Sāmānid state. The dynasty which ruled there was of Turkic origin. According to the written sources of the 10th century, it enjoyed great political importance and a vast range of privileges. Thus, the local rulers were exempt from taxes and sent but purely symbolic donations to the Sāmānids. They were appointed by the Sāmānid amirs to important administrative posts.

The considerable political importance and wide privileges of the dynasty are confirmed by the coinage of the hereditary owners of Ispījāb.

A copper fals struck at Ispījab with the name of a local ruler was first published by E. A. Davidovich[1]. Later B. D. Kochnev brought out other unpublished coins of the same dynasty, also minted at Ispījāb[2]. Since then, the dynasty has conventionally been referred to in the numismatic literature as 'the Mutids', after the most distinctive and most often encountered name, مت *Mut*[3].

An examination of all presently known numismatic monuments of the Sāmānid and early Qarākhānid periods, together with information taken from written sources, enables us to point out as many as ten ruling persons from the Mutid family, holding the Ispījāb throne from the early 10th till the first quarter of the 11th century[4]. Below is a list of all the rulers of this dynasty

that are so far known, more than half of whom are mentioned on the coins.

1. Ḥusain I b. Mut is mentioned in *Ta'rikh-i Sistan* ("The History of Sistan") under AH 298 (910-11 AD) as faithful vassal and lucky warlord of the Sāmānid amir Aḥmad II.

2. Aḥmad I b. Mut (No.1's brother) placed his name on copper fulus (919-20 AD) struck at Ispījāb in AH 307 with the expression of his vassal dependence to the Sāmānid amir Naṣr II (see picture).

fals of Aḥmad b. Mut
Ispījab mint, 307 AH
(*private collection, Moscow*)

3. Muḥammad I b. Ḥusain b. Mut (a son of No.1) took part in the dynastic feuds of the Sāmānids in 922 AD and was killed in the process.

4. Qarā-tegīn (probably a son of No.1 or No.2) governed different regions of the Sāmānid state (Jurjān, Khorasān, Tokharistān, Badakhshān) from the early 920s. Between 314/926-27 and 330/941-42 his name was placed on dirhams in some towns (Balkh, Andarabah &al.)[5]. On his death he was buried in Ispījāb, the capital of his hereditary domain of the same name.

5. Manṣūr b. Qarā-tegin (a son of No.4) became a notable figure among the highest nobles of the Sāmānid state as early as the 930s when his father was still alive. In 947-951 he was the governor of Khorasān, died in that post and was buried in his native town, Ispījāb.

6. Aḥmad II b. Manṣūr b. Qarā-tegīn (a son of No. 5) took part in the suppression of an anti-Sāmānid revolt in 962.

7. Ḥusain II b. Mut (probably a grandson or nephew of No.5) ruled until the 990s. His name was placed on fulūs struck at Bukhārā from 385/995-96 to 388/998 in the capacity of a potent dignitary under the Sāmānid amirs Nūḥ II and Manṣūr II[6].

8. Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad II b. Ḥusain b. Mut (a son of No.7) is mentioned on the coins of Ispījāb from 385/995-96 to 400/1009-10. In 997 AD he rose against the Sāmānids, seeking the help of Naṣr b. 'Alī, the Qarākhānid ruler of Mawara'annahr.

9. Mu'izz al-Dawla Abū Naṣr Mut (=Aḥmad III b. Naṣr?) (probably a nephew of No.7) is known only from fulūs and dirhams of Ispījāb minted between 385/995-96 and 404/1013-14.

10. Naṣr b. Mut (a son of No.9) is mentioned on dirhams dated AH 410-414 (1019-24 AD) as a vassal appanage ruler of Ispījāb under the Qarākhānids.

The dynastic appurtenance of 'Alī and 'Abd al-Malik, minting their coins in the capacity of Qarākhānid vassals in Budukhkat (a town subordinated to Ispījāb) in 410/1019-20 and 411/1020-21 respectively[7], remains unexplained.

Notes

1. Davidovich, E. A.: "Numizmaticheskie materialy dlia istorii razvitiia feodal'nykh otnosheniĭ v Sredneĭ Azii pri Samanidakh", *Trudy Akademii nauk Tadzhikskoĭ SSR*, vol. XXVII. Stalinabad 1954, p.94-98.
2. Kochnev, B. D.: "Zametki po srednevekovoĭ numizmatike Sredneĭ Azii. Chast' 8 (Karakhanidy)", *Istoriia material'noĭ kul'tury Uzbekistana, issue 21*. Tashkent 1977, p. 159-161; idem: "Monety Ispidzhaba, Ilaka I Saganiana kak istochnik dlia kharakteristiki vzaimootnosheniĭ Karakhanidov I mestnykh vladeteleĭ", *Ya. G. Guliamov i razvitie istoricheskikh nauk v Uzbekistane*. Tashkent 1988, p.47-50; idem: "Monety s upominaniem Mutidov — vladeteleĭ Ispidzhaba (X-XI vv.)", *Vserossiĭskaia numizmaticheskaia konferenciia*. Vologda 1993, p. 17-20.
3. This was V. V. Barthold's reading of the name written as a combination of two letters only, *mīm* and *tā*. V. G.Tiesenhausen stuck to a different variety of reading, viz. *Mat*. Lately B. D. Kochnev preferred transcribing the anthroponym as *Matt* and accordingly calling the local Ispījāb dynasty '*the Mattids*'; see: Kochnev, B. D.: "O statuse sredneaziatskikh nasledstvennykh vladeniĭ X v. (s tochki zreniia numizmata)", *Shestaia Vserossiĭskaia numizmaticheskaia konferenciia. Sankt-Peterburg, 20-25 aprelia 1998 g.* St. Petersburg 1998, p. 57, 58.
4. Molchanov, A. A.: "Dinastiia Mutidov v Ispidzhabe X – nachala XI v. (po dannym numizmatiki i pis'mennykh istochnikov)", *Tret'ia Vserossiĭskaia numizmaticheskaia konferenciia v g. Vladimire, 17-21 aprelia 1995 g.* Moscow 1995, p. 15.16.
5. Tizengauzen (Tiesenhausen), V. G.: "O samanidskikh monetakh", *Trudy Vostochnogo otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo obschestva*. Part I. St. Petersburg 1855, p. 159, 163, 169, 171, 181, 184.
6. It is accompanied there with the *nisbah* 'al-Ispijabi' (see: Markov, A. K.: *Inventarnyĭ katalog musul'manskikh monet Imperatorskogo Ermitazha*. St. Petersburg 1896, p. 168, No. 1245, 1249).
7. Kochnev, B. D.: "Budukhket — novyĭ karakhanidskiĭ monetnyĭ dvor (XI v.)", *Izvestiia Akademii nauk Kazakhskoĭ SSR. Seriia obschestvennykh nauk*. Alma-Ata 1986, No.1, p. 49-54; idem: "Karakhanidskie monety: istochnikovedcheskoe i istoricheskoe issledovanie". [Abstract of doctoral thesis]. Moscow 1993, p. 26, 37.

Qarākhānid coins as a source for the history of Kāshghar and Yarkend

By Michael Fedorov

Kāshghar

Kāshghar was the cradle of the Qarākhānid khaqanate. According to Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1966, 375) the ruler of Kāshghar, Oghulchaq Qadir Khān, granted asylum to a fugitive Sāmānid prince who had fled to Kāsghar after an abortive rebellion against the central government. Oghulchaq made him ruler of Artūch, situated about 20 km north of Kāshghar. The prince asked Oghulchaq to present him with a piece of land, which a cow's hide could cover. Having been granted it, he slaughtered a cow, took its hide, cut it into strips, surrounded a parcel of land with those strips and built a mosque there.

This story has a touch of legend about it, but it contains real information in that, not far from Kāshghar, a Muslim colony existed with a mosque of its own, and that an exiled Sāmānid prince stood at the head of it. It was under the influence of this Sāmānid that the future founder of the Qarākhānid khaqanate, Oghulchaq's nephew, Satuq, converted to Islam. I believe the Sāmānid prince in question was Ilyās b. Isḥāq, who rebelled in Farghāna in 922 AD and then fled to Kāshghar (Bartold 1963, 301).

Satuq was the son of Bazir Arslān Khān and the grandson of the Qarluq *yaghbū* (chief), Bilgā, who in 840 accepted the title of Khān (Kliashtornyi 1970, 84). Satuq was orphaned and his uncle Oghulchaq took him to Kāshghar. It is clear, though, that it was not only the missionary eloquence of the Sāmānid that caused Satuq's conversion to Islam: he was offered miltary help in the struggle for power which awaited him. So Satuq with his 50 followers clandestinely accepted Islam and left Kāshghar under the pretext that he was going to hunt. He "went to the north", where 1000 warriors gathered around him, and among them a strong detachment of Muslim ghāzīs from Farghāna (i.e. the Muslim help promised). With that army he made his way north to the Atbashi valley in Central Tien Shan and seized the fortress of Atbāsh (nowadays Koshoi-korgon hillfort, in the Kirghiz Republic). In Atbāsh, Satuq Boghrā Khān raised an army 5000 strong, attacked his uncle, defeated him and captured Kāshghar. Thus was created the Qarākhānid khaqanate, the first feudal state of Muslim Turks, the state which played a prominent role in the history of Eastern Turkestan, South-Eastern Kazakhstan and Central Asia (Bartold 1898, 131-132; Pritsak 1953, 24-25).

In 942 infidel Turks captured Balāsāghūn and, in Bukhārā, ghāzīs gathered to fight them (Nizam al-Mulk 1949, 214). I believe this was an episode in the war connected with the creation of the Qarākhānid state. According to Jamāl Qarshī, Satuq Boghrā Khān died in 344/955 and was buried in Artūch (Bartold 1898, 132). He left two sons: Baitāsh Mūsā and Sulaimān. Arslān Khān Mūsā ascended the throne in Kāshghar and brought to completion his father's cause: in 960 he proclaimed Islam the state religion of the Qarākhānid khaqanate (Pritsak 1953, 25).

The Qarākhānids spent the first 30-40 years expanding their territory to the North, East and South. Various reports have survived about the battles between the Qarākhānids and the infidel Turks. In one of those battles the son and successor of Arslān Khān Mūsā, Arslān Khān 'Alī, was killed in Muḥarram 388 (January 988). Jamāl Qarshī called him "shahid" (martyr) and wrote that he was buried in Kāshghar (Bartold 1898, 132). Arslān Khān 'Alī was the founder of the Western branch of the Qarākhānids.

Satuq's second son, Sulaimān, was the founder of the Eastern branch of the Qarākhānids. An analysis of written sources shows that he was the father of Ḥārūn Boghrā Khān (Fedorov 1972, 149). It appears that his appanage was Balāsāghūn. Anyway his son, Ḥārūn was a ruler of Balāsāghūn in 380/990 (Bartold 1964, 507). In Rabī' I 382/May 992 Ḥārūn Boghrā Khān captured Bukhārā. The Sāmānid, Nūḥ II b. Manṣūr, fled to Amūl and started to raise an army. The climate of Bukhārā affected the health of Boghrā Khān. He left that city and died on his way to Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963, 320-321).

After the death of Boghrā Khān, the Qarākhānids' drive westwards was led by Īlek Naṣr, the son of Arslān Khān 'Alī b. Mūsā. In Dhū-l-Qa'da (XI month) 389/ October 999 Īlek Naṣr captured Bukhārā and created a new Qarākhānid state in Mawarānnahr (Beihaqī 1962, 566; Bartold 1963, 329).

Arslān Khān 'Alī was succeeded by his son, Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad. According to the logic of things, he should have been the ruler of Kāshghar, but so far no coin of his, minted in Kāshghār, is known. It seems that, after the death of Ḥārūn Boghrā Khān in AH 382 Aḥmad b. 'Alī became ruler of Balāsāghūn, while his father, Arslān Khān 'Alī, ruled Kāshghar till AH 388. Bartold (1963, 342) wrote that Qadir Khān Yūsuf, the son of Ḥārūn Boghrā Khān, having been left without an appanage, conquered Khotan with the help of ghāzīs and thus created an appanage for himself. It is not out of the question that during the first years after the death of his father, Arslān Khān 'Alī, Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad was able to possess Kāshghar. Probably a memory of this survived in the narration of 'Utbī about the war of AH 400-402 between Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad and his brother, Īlek Naṣr b. 'Alī. So according to 'Utbī, Naṣr advanced on Kāshghar to attack Ṭoghān (Ṭonghā) Khān but a harsh frost and deep snows stopped him (Bartold 1963, 335).

The chronicler called Aḥmad "Ṭoghān Khān", but the Turkic word *Tonga,* alien to Arabs and Persians, was written many ways: طغا طغان طنغان تنكا طنكا طنغا Ṭonghā, Ṭongā, Tongā, Ṭonghān, Ṭoghān, Ṭoghā. Even for the same ruler in the same town and year, it could be written differently. So on coins of Naṣr b. 'Alī in Farghāna in 385 it was Ṭonghā and Ṭoghā Tegīn; in 387 Ṭonghā and Ṭoghān Tegīn (Kochnev 1995, 204-206/19-22, 23-25, 38, 39, 50, 54). On the coins of Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Shāsh 403) it was Ṭongā Khān. It is strange that Kochnev (1995, 226/330) read it as Ṭonghā while on coins in The Hermitage (Markov 1896, 223/210) and in the Qysmychi Hoard it is quite distinctly Ṭongā.

It is not clear how Qadir Khān Yūsuf obtained Kāshghar: whether as a result of a war or as a result of negotiations. Since Ṭonghā Khān Aḥmad made Balāsāghūn his capital (it was the former capital of Ḥārūn Boghrā Khān, the father of Qadir Khān Yūsuf) he was able to cede Kāshghar to Qadir Khān Yūsuf.

The earliest Qarākhānid coins (fulūs) of Kāshghar were minted in AH 395, 396 (Kochnev 1995, 213- 214/150, 165). They cite Amīr al-Malik al-'Ādil Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān or simply Qadir Khān as independent ruler of Kāshghar. No suzerain or vassal of his is cited on those coins.

Dirhems of AH 397, 399-407 and fulūs of AH 397, 401 Kāshghar cite Malik al-Mashriq Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān (Kochnev 1995, 216/182,183; 221-222/265-267). Fulūs of AH 400 cite Malik al-Mashriq Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān or Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān, or simply Qadir Khān (Kochnev 1995, 219/231-233). Type 222/266 also cites *Iusuv* (written in Uigur) on the obverse. A fals of AH 402 Kāshghar cites *Iusuv* Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān (Kochnev 1995, 223/287).

Some coins of AH 403 Kāshghar cite Malik al-Mashriq Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān (reverse) *Iusuv* and his vassal, Bāzār (obverse). Coins of AH 409 Kāshghar cite Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān *Iusuv* b. Boghrā Khān (reverse), Malik al-Mashriq (obverse) (Kochnev 1995, 225/311, 240/504).

Some dirhems of AH 404, 406, 407, 409 Kāshghar give a new variant of the titulage: Nāṣir al-Dīn Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq *Iusuv* (Kochnev 1995, 228/348, 233/420, 240/505). On some dirhems of AH 409 the name *Iusuv* is omitted (Kochnev 1995, 239/503). Some dirhems of AH 407 Kāshghar simply cite Malik al-Mashriq (Kochnev 1995, 235/448).

In 404, on some dirhems of Kāshghar (Kochnev 1995, 228/348), citing on the reverse Malik al-Mashriq Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān, there appears for the first time his vassal, Jaghrā Tegīn (on the obverse), who, as we shall later see, was Sulaimān b. Yūsuf, the son of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf. Some dirhems of AH 408-409 Kāshghar (Kochnev 1995, 238/482,483) cite Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq *Iusuv* or simply Khān Malik al-Mashriq *Iusuv*.

Coins of AH 410-414 Kāshghar (Kochnev 1995, 241/526-530) cite Khān Malik al-Mashriq *Iusuv* or Khān Malik al-Mashriq. Coins of AH 414-416 Kāshghar (Kochnev 1995, 239/495, 249/656) cite Khān Malik al-Mashriq and his vassal, 'Imād al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn or simply Jaghrī Tegīn. Dirhems of AH 41(7?) Kāshghar and AH 417 Yarkend (Kochnev 1995, 250/684) cite Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān and his vassal, 'Imād al-Daula Sulaimān b. Yūsuf. So we have "'Imād al-Daula = Jaghrī Tegīn"and "'Imād al-Daula = Sulaimān b. Yūsuf". Hence "Jaghrī Tegīn = Sulaimān b. Yūsuf".

In 416 Qadir Khān invaded the lands of the Western Qarākhānids from the east while his ally, Maḥmūd, Sulṭān of Ghazna, advanced on Bukhārā from the south. The ruler of Samarqand and Bukhārā, Īlek 'Alī b. Ḥasan (brother of the head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭonghā Khān II Muḥammad) hid with his army in the desert. Maḥmūd soon realised that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other, and returned to Ghazna. Maḥmūd's invasion, however, allowed Qadir Khān to capture in 416 Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna together with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsīket till 418 but then lost the whole of Farghāna and Khojende to Qadir Khān (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

A coin of AH 41x Kāshghar (Kochnev 1995, 252/708) cites Khān Malik al-Mashriq *Iusuv* and his vassal, Rukn al-Daula. This coin is very important. A coin of AH 419 Khogend(?) cites Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn, a vassal of Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān (Coll. of A. Kamyshev, Bishkek). Coins of AH 423 Khojende and Rishtān cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān, his vassal, Rukn al-Daula (reverse) and 'Aḍud al-Daula on the obverse (Kochnev 1995, 254/747). The *laqab* 'Aḍud al-Daula probably belonged to a subvassal. It is not clear who 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. A Western Qarākhānid could in no way be a vassal of Qadir Khān in

his capital Kāshghar in AH 41x (especially if it was before AH 416). So the Rukn al-Daula cited on coins of Kāshghar in AH 41x must have been an Eastern Qarākhānid. And Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn on coins of AH 419 Khogend (?) and Rukn al-Daula of coins of AH 423 Khojende and Rishtān was an Eastern Qarākhānid.

Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) wrote that, in AH 435, the ruler of Kāshghar (Arslān Khān Sulaimān b. Qadir Khān Yūsuf) granted his brother Arslān Tegīn "much of the Land of Turks". According to Beihaqī (1962, 195) another son of Qadir Khān, the future Boghrā Khān Muḥammad, had in AH 422 the title Boghrā Tegīn, which means that he and Rukn al-Daula Arslān Tegīn were different persons. It looks as though 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 till 435/1043-44.

Kochnev (1988, 201) merged two different rulers into one and even "correcred" Ibn al-Athīr. In 444 in Tūnket coins cite Sanā al-Daula Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, a vassal of Boghrā Khān (Kochnev 1997, 279 /1217). Kochnev wrote that this Arslān Tegīn Aḥmad was the son of Boghrā Khān Muḥammad (which is right). Then he wrote that Arslān Tegīn Ahmad was the same Arslān Tegīn mentioned by Ibn al-Athīr in 435 (which is wrong). Kochnev even "corrected the mistake" of Ibn al-Athīr, who "mentioned Arslān Tegīn as being the brother of Arslān Khān ... while it is clear(? - M. F) that he was the nephew and not the brother of Arslān Khān".

But 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. In the khanate of Boghrā Khān (Tūnket included) billon dirhems were minted. Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn minted copper-lead alloy dirhems, which circulated in Farghāna and the Chu valley in 442-450. Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn minted in 444-5 in Barskhān and in a town the name of which has not survived (Kochnev 1997, 279-81/1208, 1211, 1236). When c. 447 Boghrā Khān defeated Arslān Khān and became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, Shams al-Daula Arslān Tegīn received the higher title of Īlek (second only to the title of Khān) and became Shams al-Daula Arslān Īlek. He is cited thus on coins of AH 448-449 Barskhān (Kochnev 1997, 282/1248, 1252). And finally in 450, (451?) in Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1997, 286/1316, 1317) coins cite either Naṣr (obverse) or Zain al-Daula Ṭonghā Khān (reverse) Naṣr (obverse). So on these coins this Naṣr had the title Ṭonghā Khān. The fact that Naṣr b. Yūsuf , had during his long career of about 40 years, several *laqabs* (Rukn al-Daula, Shams al-Daula, Zain al-Daula etc.) was not something extraordinary, so Ṭongā Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī had at least four *laqabs*: Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq, Naṣr al-Milla, Quṭb al-Daula and Saif al-Daula.

In 422 dirhems of Kāshghar (Kochnev 1995, 235/448) cite Khān Malik al-Mashriq as sole owner of the town. No vassal is mentioned, probably because all his sons were then in the new lands conquered from the Western Qarākhānids.

In AH 423 Qadir Khān, by now senile, made his son Sulaimān his co-ruler. Dirhems of AH 423 Kāshghar cite (Mayer 1998, 64/523) Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq and his co-ruler, Abū Shujā' (reverse) Arslān Khān (obverse). Other dirhems of AH 423 Kāshghar cite (Kochnev 1995, 254/746) Abū Shujā' Arslān Qarākhāqān (obverse) and Malik al-Mashriq, i.e. Qadir Khān (reverse).

According to Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1963a, 43), Qadir Khān died in Muḥarram (first month) of AH 424. At first Arslān Khān Sulaimān was recognised by the other Eastern Qarākhānids as supreme ruler. In 424-425 (Kochnev 1995, 256/775) coins of Shāsh cite Sulṭān al-Daula Muḥammad b. Qadir Khāqān as vassal of Arslān Khān. But in 426 (Kochnev 1995, 258/808) coins of Shāsh cite Boghrā Khān (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf) and his vassal and brother, Jabra'il b. Qadir Khāqān. Arslān Khān is not cited as supreme suzerain. The dirhem of AH 426 Shāsh is the first coin where Muḥammad b. Yūsuf is cited with the khanian title of Boghrā Khān, as equal to (and independent from) Arslān Khān.

In 435 Sharaf al-Daula, i.e. Arslān Khān Sulaimān, granted his uncle, Ṭoghā Khān, the whole of Farghāna; his brother, Boghrā Khān, Ṭarāz and Ispījāb and, his brother, Arslān Tegīn, "much of the lands of the Turks" (Materialy 1973, 60). In fact Arslān Khān did not grant anybody anything. He was simply forced to sanction the dismemberment of his father, Qadir Khān Yūsuf 's vast state into three independent khanates: those of Arslān Khān, Ṭoghā Khān, and Boghrā Khān. As for the appanage of Arslān Tegīn, it seemingly was not big enough to make a fourth khanate

In AH 426-430 dirhems of Kāshghar cite (Mayer 1998, 64/524-530) Malik al-Mashriq Abū Shujā' Arslān Khān (or Qarākhāqān). The dirhem of AH 430 is the latest 11th century Qarākhānid silver coin of Kāshghar so far known.

After 442, because of the so-called silver crisis, the mints of Farghāna and the Chu valley minted fiduciary base alloy dirhems, containing 59.7-78.7% copper and 37-15.4% lead (Davidovich 1960, 104). It seems that such coins first appeared in Qarākhānid Eastern Turkestan and spread from there to the region of Issyk Kul: I saw (in the collection of A. Kamyshev of Bishkek) a copper-lead alloy dirhem of AH 441 Barskhān. It looks as if such coins spread from there to the Chu valley and Farghāna. If this was the case, it is easy to understand why coins of Kāshghar and Yarkend ceased being brought to Central Asia. Theoretically some billon dirhems of Kāshghar and Yarkend, minted after AH 430 and up to AH 440 could have been brought to Central Asia, but as far as I know, they have not been found there yet.

Circa AH 451 the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān, took advantage of the internecine wars of the Eastern Qarākhānids and attacked them. First he conquered the Farghāna valley. His earliest coins were minted in Akhsiket in 451 (Fedorov 1980, 43-44). The Chu valley was conquered later. Having annexed Farghāna, Ibrahīm Ṭafghāch Khān carried out a monetary reform there. He prohibited the old copper-lead alloy dirhems and introduced dirhems of Mu'ayīdī type, which he minted in the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. Mu'ayīdī dirhems were billon (silverplated) and contained 17.8-23.1% silver. The decreed silver content was most probably 1/4 (or 25%) but part of the silver covering surface of the dirhems was rubbed away during circulation. Since copper-lead alloy dirhems continued to circulate in the Chu valley, the coins prohibited in Farghāna flooded into that region. The massive influx of fiduciary coins in amounts greatly surpassing the needs of the Chu valley money circulation, triggered inflation and a monetary crisis (Davidovich 1960, 105; 1983, 15-18).

Eventually the Eastern Qarākhānid rulers of the Chu valley were forced to carry out a monetary reform and started to mint there billon (silverplated) dirhems of Mu'ayīdī type. The earliest coin of such type, which I know, was minted in Quz Qrdū (Balāsāghūn) in AH 45(1 or 2 or 4). It is not clear whether dirhems of Mu'ayīdī type were minted after that in Eastern Turkestan as well. Anyway those rare coins minted by the rulers of Kāshghar in the 12th century AD which I know of, look very much like those fiduciary copper-lead alloy dirhems which were minted in Farghāna and the Chu valley in AH 442-450.

In 449/1057-58 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 Ibrahīm on the throne. Internecine wars broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. The ruler of Barskhān, Ināl Tegīn, defeated, and killed Ibrahīm. Having made use of this internecine war, the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm, attacked the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands, the Western

Qarākhānids lost to Qadir Khān I Yūsuf in AH 416-418, including easternmost Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

It is not clear who ruled Kāshghar in 450-461, but in 462 Kāshghar was the capital of Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ḥasan, son of Sulaimān Arslān Khān, whom Yūsuf Balāsāghūnī presented with his poem "Qūtādghū Bīlīk". Ḥasan b. Sulaimān ruled Kāsghar until 496/1102-03 (Bartold 1968, 419-420).

In 496 Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ḥasan was succeeded in Kāshghar by his son, Nūr al-Daula Arslān Khān Aḥmad. In 522/1128 he defeated the Khytai who were advancing from the borders of China. But only two or three years later, the Khytai captured Balāsāghūn, created a state of their own and subjugated Kāshghar. The Eastern Qarākhānids became vassals of the Khytai. Pritsak wrote (1953, 42) that Aḥmad b. Ḥasan died between 522-535/1128-1140, but he did not refer to any chronicle or coin.

Arslān Khān Aḥmad b. Ḥasan was succeeded in Kāshghar by his son, Arslān Khān Ibrahīm. Neither the date of the beginning nor the date of the end of his reign is known.

Arslān Khān Ibrahīm was, in turn, succeeded in Kāshghar by his son Arslān Khān Muḥammad. Fortunately his coins have survived (Kochnev 1997, 289/1350,1351). They are blackish-green, small (diameter 22-25 mm) and thick (1-1.2 mm), their edges are torn in places (the result of a hard blow during striking). They look very much like the copper-lead fiduciary dirhems minted in Farghāna and the Chu valley in AH 442-450. Unfortunately neither date nor mint-name has survived on those coins, but certainly they were minted in Kāshghar, the capital of the Eastern Qarākhānids. The coins cite Arslān Khān Muḥammad and caliphs al-Mustanjid (555-566/1160-70) and al-Mustaḍī (566-575/1170-80). So judging by his coins, Arslān Khān Muḥammad will have reigned in Kāshghar no earlier than AH 555 and no later than AH 575.

Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Ibrahīm was succeeded in Kāshghar by his son, Abū-l Muẓaffar Arslān Khān Yūsuf. His coins with the mint-name "Kāshghar" have survived (Kochnev 1997, 289/1353). They cite Yūsuf Arslān Khān and caliph al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225). So judging by his coins, Arslān Khān Yūsuf b. Muḥammad will have reigned in Kāshghar no earlier than AH 575. He died in Kāshghar in Rajab 601/ 22.2-23.3 1205 (Bartold 1963, 427).

In the reign of Arslān Khān Yūsuf there was a Muslim uprising against the infidel Khytai in Kāshghar. It was quelled and " the son of the Khān of Kāshghar" was taken prisoner and kept as a hostage at the court of the Gūr Khān (ruler of the Khytai). Qushluk Khān, the ruler of Nāimān nomads who had fled westwards to escape from Chīngiz Khān, was granted asylum by the Gūr Khān but later rebelled against him. In 607/1211 Qushluk Khān dethroned the Gūr Khān. He freed Abū'l Fatḥ Muḥammad, the son of Arslān Khān Yūsuf, and sent him to rule Kāshghar. But after the death of Arslān Khān Yūsuf in AH 601 and till AH 607 Kāshghar was ruled by some representative of the local aristocracy. The adherents of that ruler murdered Abū'l Fatḥ Muḥammad at the gates of Kāshghar. Thus came to an end the dynasty of the Qarākhānid rulers of Kāshghar (Bartold 1963, 431).

Yarkend

The mintname Yarkend on some coins is preceded by a short word, most probably an epithet, which nobody so far has been able to read and explain satisfactorily. Kochnev (1995, 277) even considered that there were two different mints: Yarkand and Shayarkand (?), as he read it. But on some coins the mysterious word is quite distinctly not "Sha". And the existence of two different mints of course is out of the question. In both cases it was Yarkend, but in one case it had an epithet, and in the other it did not.

The earliest coins of Yarkend were minted in 404. Coins of AH 404-406 Yarkend (Kochnev 1995, 230/378) cite Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān Malik al-Mashriq (reverse) and his vassal, Khutlugh Ūkā (obverse). Ūkā in Turkic means "junior brother" and Khutlugh means "lucky, blessed". So the vassal of Qadir Khān in Yarkend in AH 404-406 was his junior brother. Khutlugh Ūkā.

The situation then changed and a new vassal appeared in Yarkend. Some dirhems of AH 406 (Kochnev 1995, 235/439) cite Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān Malik al-Mashriq (reverse) and his vassal, Jaghrī Tegīn (obverse). In 407 some coins of Yarkend cite only Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān Malik al-Mashriq or simply Khān Malik al-Mashriq, no vassal being cited. Other coins of AH 407 Yarkend cite Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān and his vassal, 'Imād al-Daula (reverse) Jaghrī Tegīn (obverse), or Khān Malik al-Mashriq (reverse) and his vassal, Jaghrī Tegīn on the obverse (Kochnev 1995, 222/267; 235/448, 237/474,475).

In 408-415 coins of Yarkend cite Khān Malik al-Mashriq and his vassal, 'Imād al-Daula (reverse) Jaghrī Tegīn on the obverse (Kochnev 1995, 239/495). Some dirhems of AH 411-412 Yarkend cite Khān Malik al-Mashriq and his vassal, 'Imād al-Daula on the reverse (Kochnev 1995, 244/568).

Coins of AH 417 Yarkend (Kochnev 1995, 250/682-684) cite Qadir Khān and his vassal, 'Imād al-Daula (reverse) Sulaimān b. Yūsuf (obverse). So we have the equations: "Jaghrī Tegīn='Imād al-Daula" and "'Imād al-Daula=Sulaimān b. Yūsuf". Hence the equation: "Jaghrī Tegīn=Sulaimān b. Yūsuf". Thus in 406-417/1015-27 the owner of Yarkend was Jaghrī Tegīn 'Imād al-Daula Sulaimān b. Yūsuf, the son of Qadir Khān and future ruler of Kāshghar with the title Arslān Khān.

Then changes happened. In 418 (Kochnev 1995, 238/483) dirhems of Yarkend cite only Khān Malik al-Mashriq *Yusuv* (the name written in Uigur). But in 414-416 and 41(7?) 'Imād al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn or 'Imād al-Daula Sulaimān b. Yūsuf was cited on coins of Kāshghar as the vassal of Khān Malik al-Mashriq *Yusuv* or Qadir Khān Malik al-Mashriq (Kochnev 1995, 239/495; 250/684).

The latest 11th century (AD) Qarākhānid coin of Yarkend so far known was minted in 429/1037-38 (Mayer 1998, 72/608). It cites Abū Shujā' Arslān Khān Malik al-Mashriq, i.e. Sulaimān b. Yūsuf.

According to a legal document dated to 474/1081-82 (or 494/1100-01) Yarkend was at that time an appanage of Jaghrī Tegīn Abū Mūsā Ḥārūn, the son and vassal of Ṭafghāch Boghrā Qarākhāqān Ḥasan b. Arslān Khān Sulaimān (Bartold 1968, 422).

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Table 1. Kāshghar 395-601/1004-1205. D - dirhem. F - fals.

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
395	F	Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān (Yūsuf b. Boghrā Khān Ḥārūn)	
396,7	F	Qadir Khān (Yūsuf b. Boghrā Khān Ḥārūn)	
397,9-401	D	Nāṣir al-Daula Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān	
400	F	Nāṣir al-Daula Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān	
400	F	Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān or simply Qadir Khān	
401-407,9	D	Nāṣir al-Daula Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān *Iusuv* b. Boghrā Khān	
401	F	The same	
402	F	Qadir Khān *Iusuv* b. Boghrā Khān	
403	D	Nāṣir al-Daula Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān *Iusuv* b. Boghrā Khān	Bazār
404,7,9	D	Nāṣir al-Dīn Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān *Iusuv*	
404	D	Nāṣir al-Daula Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān	Jaghrī Tegīn
406,9	D	Nāṣir al-Dīn Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān	
407,10,11	D	Malik al-Mashriq Khān	
408-414	D	Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān *Iusuv* or Malik al-Mashriq Khān *Iusuv*	
414-416	D	Malik al-Mashriq Khān	'Imād al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn
416	D	Malik al-Mashriq Khān *Iusuv*	Jaghrī Tegīn
41x	D	The same	Rukn al-Daula
41(7?)	D	Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān	'Imād al-Daula Sulaimān b. Yūsuf
422	D	Malik al-Mashriq Khān	
423	D	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān	Abū Shujā' Arslān Khān
423	D	Malik al-Mashriq	Abū Shujā' Arslān Qarākhāqān
426,9	D	Malik al-Mashriq Arslān Khān	
426	D	Malik al-Mashriq Abū Shujā' Arslān Khān	
427,8,9	D	Malik al-Mashriq Abū Shujā' Arslān Qarākhāqān	
430	D	Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Ṣīn Abū Shujā' Arslān Qarākhāqān	
5xx	D	Arslān Khān Muḥammad (b. Ibrahīm between AH 555-575)	
5xx	D	Arslān Khān Yūsuf (b. Muḥammad c. 575-601)	

Table 2. Yarkend AH 404-429/1013-1038. D - dirhem..

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
404-406	D	Nāṣir al-Daula Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān	Khutugh Ūkā
406	D	The same	Jaghrī Tegīn
407	D	The same	
407	D	Malik al-Mashriq Khān	
407	D	The same	Jaghrī Tegīn
407	D	Nāṣir al-Daula Qadir Khān b. Boghrā Khān	'Imād al-Daula Jaghrī Tegīn
408-415	D	Malik al-Mashriq Khān	The same
417	D	Malik al-Mashriq Khāqān	'Imād al-Daula Sulaimān b. Yūsuf
417	D	Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān	The same
418	D	Malik al-Mashriq Khān *Iusuv*	
429	D	Malik al-Mashriq Abū Shujā' Arslān Khāqān	

The Ashmolean Museum Collection of Aksumite Coins

By Vincent Price

The Ashmolean collection[1] contains 65 Aksumite coins of which 4 are gold, 19 silver and 42 copper. It has grown from many small purchases and donations, the most significant being 16 coins from a 1969 Christie sale[2].

Table 1 lists the coins with type references to the standard catalogue Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995 (henceforth *AC*). Since they do not yet have museum accession numbers, the coins

have been given unique numbers. To avoid possible confusion between provenances and references, the former have the date in brackets. Table 2 lists the provenances in chronological order with their related coin numbers.

Coins of particular interest include the gold of Endubis from dies of fine work (no. 1), the miniature anonymous coppers (nos. 16-19), a scarce reverse variety of the copper of Ouazebas (no. 28), a rare reverse variety of the silver of AGD (no. 45) and an extremely rare small silver of Hataz (no.53).

I am grateful for help from Nick Mayhew and other staff of the Heberden Coin Room.

Table 1: The Collection

An asterisk by the *AC* type number indicates that the specimen is illustrated in *AC*. A plus sign there indicates that the specimen is not listed in the corpus in *AC*. All the coins were reweighed in the Coin Room – a weight in brackets indicates that the coin is chipped (the amount varies)

King and Coin No.	*AC* Type	Metal and Weight (grams)	Die Axis	Provenance (see Table 2)	Notes
Endubis					
1	1*	AU 2.65	12:00	Oxfam (1968)	Munro-Hay et al. 1988 SG 511 ("gold content 93.8%"). Dies of fine work
2	2	AR 2.11	12:00	Munzen und Medaillen (1965)	
Aphilas					
3	8	AU 0.35	12:00	Christie (1969)	Munro-Hay et al. 1988 SG 522 ("gold content 93.3%")
4	10	AR 0.79	12:00	Baldwin (1963)	
Wazeba					
5	17*	AR 0.55	12:00	Christie (1969)	Obv. triangular Ge'ez W
Ousanas					
6	26	AR 1.29	12:00	Christie (1969)	Rev. N's are both of Ge'ez type
7	28	AR 0.98	12:00	Munzen und Medaillen (1965)	Hahn 1983 14. Rev. legend ends BACIAEYC
8	28+	AR 0.64	12:00	Wright (1978)	Rev. extra dot each side of disc and crescent, gilding spreads beyond central area
9	33+	AR 1.54	12:00	Falkiner (1984)	
Ezanas					
10	39	AR 0.57	12:00	Christie (1969)	Obv. extra dot each side of disc and crescent
11	39	AR (0.31)	12:00	Lord and Western (1971)	
12	39+	AR 0.49	12:00	Wright (1978)	Rev. gilding spreads beyond central area
13	41	AE 0.83	12:00	Christie (1969)	
14	41	AE 1.25	12:00	Christie (1969)	
Anonymous					
15	50+	AR 0.75	03:00	Falkiner (1984)	
16	51*[3]	AE 0.59	12:00	EEF (1915)[4]	Hahn 1983 33(2)
17	51*	AE 0.67	06:00	BSAE (1926)	Casting tangs[5]
18	51*	AE 0.56	-	BSAE (1926)	Die axis uncertain
19	51*	AE 0.40	12:00	BSAE (1926)	Casting tangs[6]
20	52	AE 0.87	-	Russell (1957)	Die axis uncertain
21	52	AE 1.43	06:00	Seaby (1959)	[7]
22	52+	AE 1.07	12:00	Wright (1978)	
Ouazebas					
23	54	AE (1.00)	12:00	Russell (1957)	
24	54*	AE 1.75	12:00	Seaby (1959)	
25	54	AE 2.46	12:00	Stone (1963)	
26	54	AE (1.82)	12:00	Lord and Western (1971)	
27	54+	AE (1.57)	12:00	Wright (1978)	
28	58	AE (1.48)	12:00	Stone (1963)	*AC* incorrectly describes as type 54
Anonymous					
29	63	AU 1.53	12:00	Milne (1930)	Munro-Hay et al. 1988 SG 542 ("gold content 74.3%"). Same dies as JJ67 and JJ387 with triangular symbol above bust
30	63	AU 1.55	12:00	Christie (1969)	Munro-Hay et al. 1988 SG 543 ("gold content 69.9%"). Gold plug at 04:00.

					Obv. no symbol above bust
MHDYS					
31	70	AE (1.19)	01:00	Seaby (1959)	Rev. separation marks between the words (two dots and three(?))[8]
Ebana					
32	74	AR 0.78	03:00	Munzen und Medaillen (1965)	
Anonymous					
33	76	AE 1.07	09:00	Seaby (1959)	Obv. cross behind bust
34	76	AE 0.66	03:00	Lord and Western (1971)	Obv. cross above bust
35	76	AE (0.87)	12:00	Lord and Western (1971)	Obv. cross in legend
36	76	AE (0.60)	12:00	Lord and Western (1971)	Obv. cross above bust
37	76+	AE 1.01	06:00	Wright (1978)	Obv. cross above bust. Rev legend garbled
38	76+	AE 0.99	06:00	Falkiner (1984)	Obv. cross above bust. Rev. legend TOTVPCCHTHX(?)WA
Kaleb					
39	111	AR (0.74)	12:00	Christie (1969)	
Wazena					
40	118+	AE (0.91)	02:00	Wright (1978)	Obv. pellet by forehead
41	120*	AE 1.60	09:00	Spink (1960)	
42	120	AE (1.01)	08:00	Stone (1963)	
43	120	AE (0.99)	02:00	Stone (1963)	
44	120 or 121	AE (0.96)	09:00	Lord and Western (1971)	*AC* type uncertain as the coin is broken in the area of the sceptre cruciger which distinguishes type 120 from 121. Obv. crescent behind bust
AGD					
45	126ii*[9]	AR 0.91	12:00	Christie (1969)	Hahn 1983 69(1). Obv. pellet to r. and Ge'ez G vocalised. Rev. Ge'ez W alone under arch
Joel					
46	129	AR 0.66	03:00	Christie (1969)	Obv. cross r. of chin. Rev. triple-pointed arms
47	131	AE (0.75)	03:00	Seaby (1959)	Hahn 1983 59(2). Obv. triangle between Ge'ez N and G
48	132+	AE (0.74)	04:00	Wright (1978)	Obv. pellet r. of chin by Ge'ez W
49	134	AE 0.90	02:00	Seaby (1959)	Obv. pellet r. of chin
50	134	AE 0.79	09:00	Stone (1963)	Obv. pellet r. of chin?
51	134+	AE 0.92	07:00	Wright (1978)	Obv. pellet r. of face[10]
Hataz					
52	137+	AR (0.56)	08:00[11]	Falkiner (1984)	A fragment
53	138*	AR 0.71	11:00	Falkiner (1984)	Hahn 1983 62(1)[12]
54	140	AE 1.26	09:00	Seaby (1964)	Hahn 1983 66
55	141	AE 0.82	02:00[13]	Seaby (1959)	
56	141	AE 0.87	08:00[14]	Stone (1963)	
Gersem					
57	147	AR 0.80	01:00	Christie (1969)	Obv. pellet l. of crown
58	148	AE (1.60)	04:00	Seaby (1959)	

Some Unpublished Ancient Coins Part 2
By Bob Senior

In the Bactrian and Indo-Greek coin series we are a long way from being able to compile a complete corpus of all the issues that may have been struck. A great many of the surviving coins are known from just a single example and generally one can say that most of the varieties are scarce to rare. Slowly, new varieties surface that fill in the missing gaps in the picture and flesh out a particular series, mostly examples of known coins but with a differing monogram or of a different denomination. The Indo-Scythian series, as compiled in my *Indo-Scythian Coins and History* is far more complete by comparison and it is mainly variations in the field letters that turn up rather than new denominations or types.

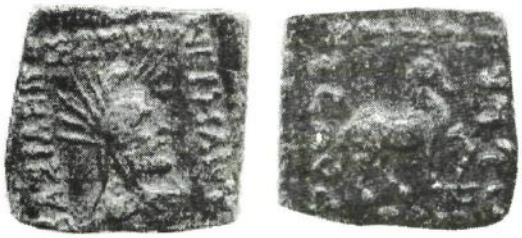
Below are some coins that have recently come to my attention or been acquired by me.

27) Pedigree tetradrachm of **Agathocles** bearing the portrait and name of **Euthydemos Theos**. 17.11 gm. The type was published by Osmund Bopearachchi in his Bibliothèque Nationale (BN) catalogue as series 16, known with two different monograms. The monogram on this coin differs from the published coins and it is only known previously on BN series 13 (Antiochos Nikatoros pedigree) and series 14 (Diodotos Soteros pedigree) of Agathocles. This monogram is unique to these Agathocles pedigree coins and since each known example to bear it is also known bearing BN monogram 109, there is probably a strong link between them. They are possibly the issues of the same mint or

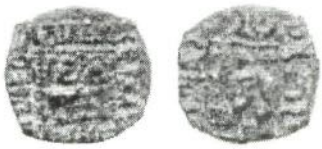
officina. The coins bearing this monogram seem particularly large in flan and splendid artistically. (to be illustrated in issue 172)

28) The square coppers of the Indo-Greek series are pretty formulaic with mostly a three-word legend arranged on three sides reading outwards. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ is usually on the left with the king's epithet top and his name right. The illustrated copper of **Amyntas**, BN series 15B is a variant on which the king's name reads inwards, never before noticed on an Indo-Greek copper. In fact this may be the second known example since the third coin (Shortt) illustrated by Mitchiner in his 9 volume work on the Indo-Greeks as Type 397b appears to have the legend arranged similarly. 7.06 gm.

29) In his BN catalogue Bopearachchi listed under **Hermaios** series 9E a square copper with a previously unpublished monogram. The coin was in the collection of Harry Fowler but not illustrated by Bopearachchi. When he came to catalogue the American Numismatic Society collection (1998) which now included the Fowler collection, the coin was missing from the plates. Hence my comment at the foot of the table for Issue 5 on Plate II of my *The Coinage of Hermaios and its imitations struck by the Scythians*. This coin, 8.44 gm, fills the gap left by the missing Fowler coin.



30) The Indo-Scythian king **Azilises** operated different denominational systems in the various parts of his empire. In the eastern areas which he inherited from Maues he struck only copper units and 1/4 units for lower denominations. In the west, however, he struck in addition half units and, until now, that seemed to be all. Illustrated here is an eighth unit, a completely new denomination and so far unique specimen. The dies are tiny and the coin, in excellent condition, weighs just 0.81 gm. It measures 12 x 11 mm. In 'Indo-Scythian Coins and History' it will have the number 59.1c.

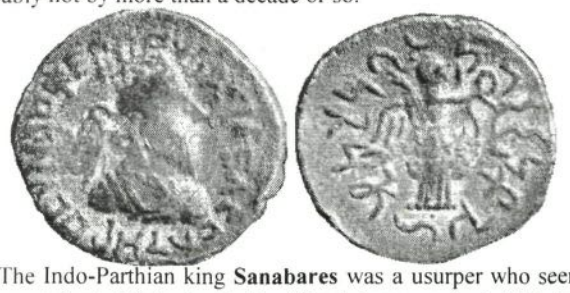


31) **Azes** struck lower-denomination coppers along similar lines in the Pushkalavati region (see issue 92 on page 48 of ISCH) though only one 1/4 unit had been found so far (92.1b). For issue 92.4 I predicted a half denomination would surface someday (92.4a) though it has not so far, but a 1/4 denomination has surfaced instead. The condition is nearly extremely fine and it weighs just 2.25 gm.

32) **Azes** issued a copper denomination with Elephant obverse and Bull reverse to accompany his 'King mounted right with Whip/ Pallas **left** or **facing**' types (Issues 95/6) but for issue 96.40 - 66, the commonest of the series he soon replaced it with a 'Seated Deity/ Hermes' issue (101) and finally a 'Bull/ Lion' issue (102.110 - 102.113). The first issue 100.60/1 with Elephant/ Bull must be pretty rare and was a) the only issue that I did not have in my collection and b) the only issue not known with fractional denominations (see tables on pages 22/23 of Volume III, ISCH). Now a half unit has surfaced in excellent condition, 6.31 gm, and in line with some other issues (100.10, 100.24, 100.32) the fraction has no obverse field control letter. I imagine that a 1/4 unit will eventually surface and complete the series.

R. C. Senior and S. Mirza

33) **Gondophares Ist** issued coinage in several different monetary systems for his different provinces, such as silver for Seistan, copper for Arachosia (Kandahar) and billon in Gandhara. In northern Arachosia he struck the common 'Bust/ Nike' copper tetradrachms in rather crude style with the simple legend 'King Gondophares the Saviour' in both Greek and Kharosthi, issue 213. The king's name in Kharosthi is unusually spelt '*Gudaphani*'. One remarkable coin of the type is a unique double decadrachm weighing 45 gm, issue 213.1DD and I always considered it possible that this piece was a test piece rather than an actual coin since no other example has so far surfaced. Now a second 'heavy' coin has come to light. It weighs 19.2 gm and has a larger flan than the usual coin. It is in the style of 213.1bT with the legend starting at 1 o'clock. If the same weight system applies then this coin would be an octodrachm and would need a special catalogue number 213.1-OC. These copper tetradrachms of Northern Arachosia bordered on the territory where Gondophares issued his billon coinage (issue 216) with its lower denomination square coppers (issue 215). Perhaps these 'heavy' issues were struck to provide larger value coins to match the more valuable billon coinage nearby but proved too cumbersome. An interesting parallel is with the 'heavy' coppers of Azes (issue 91) of similar weight to the new coin, an issue that was also short-lived. The Azes issue almost certainly predates that of Gondophares but probably not by more than a decade or so.

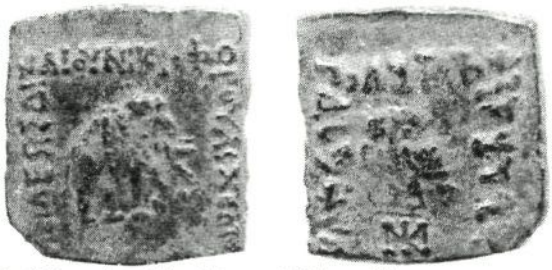


34) The Indo-Parthian king **Sanabares** was a usurper who seems to have migrated into the Seistan/Kandahar area from N.E. Iran and his drachm issue 262 is one of the commoner of the series. By comparison, his issues 261, 263 and 264 have been known from just single specimens. The latter type is the most remarkable for bearing a different reverse to any other Indo-Parthian coin, having a standing Hercules in place of the seated archer, the usual type. A new example of the type shows a rather crude obverse with Greek legend behind the head reading CANABAPHC but with the *alphas* written upside down. The reverse can now be seen to read, in Greek ΒΑΣΙΛΕ...ΒΑΣΙΛΕ(ωΣ) ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡΗΣ 'The King of Kings, the Great Sanabares'. The last two letters of the

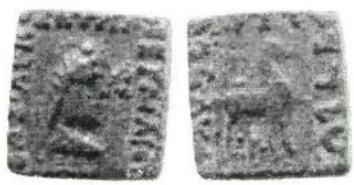
first word are mostly off the coin and elevated above the line of the rest of the word. There was insufficient space for the last two letters of the second word and they have been placed over the *lambda* and *epsilon*. The *sigmas* seem to be straight-sided in the title but cursive or lunate in the king's name. In my catalogue description I thought that there was a monogram before Hercules, whom I then described as Apollo, and the matter is not completely resolved, but it now appears that the 'monogram' is in fact the lion-skin usually carried by Hercules. The deity carries a club over his right shoulder. Even though Hercules appears frequently on Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins there is no prototype known to me that is similar to the depiction on this coin. Also unusual is the fact that the reverse legend and deity are all contained within a dotted square.

The next five coins are all published with the permission of Art Torres who also supplied the scans, weights and other details.

35) Æ of Archebios, 23 x 25 mm. 11.49 gm. This coin is, to all intents and purposes, another example of the scarce Bopearachchi series 12 except that the owl is turned left and not right.



36) Æ of Hermaios, 15 x 16 mm, 3.47 gm. The monogram on the coin is uncertain but is possibly as H5cc or H5dd in *The coinage of Hermaios and its imitations struck by the Scythians*. What is remarkable however is the weight. If this coin is not a contemporary imitation, it will be the first recognised half denomination.



37) Æ of Artemidoros, 14 x 13 mm, 1.74 gm. Two varieties of 1/4 unit are already known, one with bull reverse and the other with lion (ISCH H14, H15, Bopearachchi series 8 and 9) but this new type has the caps and palms of the Dioscuroi last seen on the coins of Archebios and Antialcidas. The monogram is off the coin, but a remarkable new type. Catalogue reference H15-x.

A tetradrachm of Artemidoros is reported with diademed obverse, Artemis to left reverse, and monograms as on the pedigree Æ H13-3 (ISCH page 233). The second monogram may differ slightly but until the coin is illustrated I cannot be sure. It will be catalogue reference H1.3T

38) Æ of Azilises, 23 x 20 mm, 9.79 gm. This coin is the second example known of issue 44.1 and shows the reverse symbol/letter above the horse a little more clearly perhaps. It resembles Kharosthi *So*.

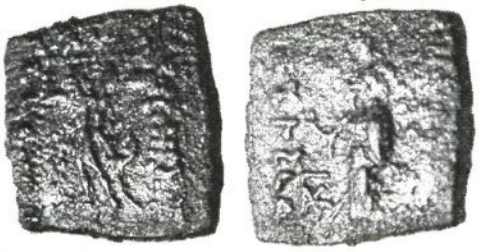
39) Æ of Arsakes' Brother, 16 x 14 mm, 3.55 gm. Coin 192.1D in ISCH has puzzled numismatists for a century since no clear specimen was known that gave the complete legend. This new coin solves most of the problems. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ is just visible on the left and though the top line is absent, we can re-construct that from the other known examples as ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ. The right side of the obverse was uncertain until now but on this specimen seems to read ΦΙΛΕΛΗΝΗ. Below one can see ΑΡΣ which presumably originally read ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ, as on issue 191.1D. Mithradates II of Parthia (c. 123 - 88 BC) introduced the title Philhellene towards the end of his reign in order to garner support from his Greek subjects. He also used the walking horse reverse on his coppers. His successors adopted both the epithet and the horse type but it is impossible to ascertain who might have issued this coin, other than, as it states - the brother of Arsakes (the King).

40) Silver tetradrachm of Maues, 9.30 gm. Apart from the Zeus/Nike issues, all the silver of Maues is particularly rare. Issue two with a radiate deity and driver in a two-horsed chariot is particularly rare in the tetradrachm denomination with just three examples being published so far. Two are of issue 2.1T type, in the British Museum and Ashmolean Museums, while 2.5 is in the Hirayama collection. This new coin, on a very broad flan indeed, bears a monogram so far found only on the round drachm denomination of Maues (2.2D) plus a few of his rarer coppers (17.1, 18.1 and 28.3) as well as the coins of the ephemeral king Telephos. The coin was reportedly found in Charsadda, in a pot, alongside some gold jewellery. The catalogue reference will be 2.2T and I expect that in time tetradrachms of this type will also surface bearing the other monograms found on the drachms of this issue. My thanks to the present owner for allowing me to publish this specimen.

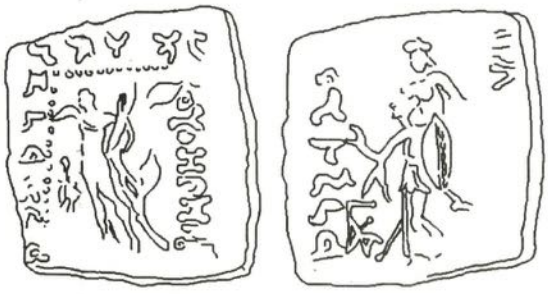
41) Æ of Vonones with Spalahores, overstruck on a Æ of Strato I. 10.93 gm.

Overstrikes provide important evidence in the search for the ruler sequences of coinages and also their areas of circulation. In *The Decline of the Indo-Greeks*, Monograph 2 of the Hellenic Numismatic Society, I listed all the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian overstrikes known at that time which bore some relevance to a study of the re-ordering of the Indo-Greek coinage. There were surprisingly few Indo-Scythian coins known that were struck over

Indo-Greek coins and so this new find is an important addition to the list.



On the obverse of the coin one can see the Hercules of the Vonones with Spalahores Æ, issue 66.1 (ISCH) and to the right the name in Greek 'ONΩNOY'. There is also a dotted square, which does not occur on the coins of Vonones, and traces of a tripod. Very clearly at the top of the coin and to the left one can read in Kharosthi '*Pracachasa tra/tarasa (Stra)tasa'*. In the left field there is also trace of a monogram. This undertype is BN series 31 and the epithet *Pracacha* alone distinguishes the coin as being one of Strato I since neither Apollodotos I, Apollodotos II nor Maues, who used the same types, adopted this title, meaning illustrious.



The reverse of the coin shows Athena left with shield on her shoulder, monogram of issue 66.1 in the left field and the Kharosthi legend, left, '*Spalahorasa*'. Above Athena's head we can see the upper torso of Apollo from the Strato undertype and some Greek letters to the top right. As overstrike go, this could not be clearer. We have no fixed dates for these rulers but Strato reigned circa 125 - 115 BC and Spalahores some 40 years later. In the 'Decline of the Indo-Greeks' I suggested that Strato's home base was in the Charsadda (Pushkalavati) district and the areas to the north of it while the monogram found on this Spalahores coin I associated with Bajaur-Swat in ISCH. This overstrike would seem to confirm a circulation area for both these coins in the Indo-Scythian Empire.

42) Æ unit of Huvishka, 9.28 gm. After the splendid coinage of Kanishka, Huvishka's coins generally deteriorate both artistically and in weight. As with the coins of Kanishka, the reverse shows a deity with the name written in a form of lower case Greek. A very few coins are known with either Kharosthi or Brahmi legends but they are generally either late, local issues or even 'imitations', mostly being also of light weight. This present coin is remarkable since it is of the very finest style, showing Huvishka on an Elephant, in high relief, on the obverse. The reverse has a very clear legend in Brahmi reading '*Chandra*' (confirmed to me by Shailendra Bhandare) and depicting the Moon God left with right arm raised. In his left hand is a spear, and a crescent can be seen springing from his shoulders. Long drapery or a cloak hangs from his shoulders. There is a tamga in the left field. This is a splendid and completely new image on Kushan coins. The well executed and balanced designs on both obverse and reverse suggest an issue date early in Huvishka's reign and this coin may be the first example therefore of the occurrence of Brahmi in this Kushan series. One might have expected a source for the coin to have been towards the south or east of Huvishka's territory but in fact it surfaced in Peshawar.

Coins of Erich and Reattribution of Some Ancient Indian Coins in the Bopearachchi/Pieper Catalogue[1]

by Wilfried Pieper

New evidence has made it possible to properly identify and attribute some coins which had been listed under the heading 'uncertain' in our catalogue *Ancient Indian Coins*. And in the light of new evidence it has also become necessary to revise the attribution of a few other pieces. So some of my coins tentatively attributed to Kausambi and another one attributed to Eran now turn out to be issues of Erich. Only in recent years have the archaeological importance and the coinage of Erich (ancient Erikachcha) been brought to light and hence it might be useful to say a few words about these new finds before reattributing the coins in question.

Erich (Erikachcha)

Erich is situated on the banks of the river Betwa in the Jhansi district of Uttar Pradesh. Archaeological finds now seem to indicate that ancient Erikachcha had an independent coinage from the early post-Mauryan times until circa 200 AD and that it maintained its importance until medieval times. A few reports of stray finds from the site have appeared in the last few years. In 1991 O.P.L. Shrivastava[2] published some ancient objects found at Erich including a few coins inscribed in the names of MUGAMUKHA and ARDITAMITRA. From inscribed bricks found at Erich, Shrivastava postulated the presence of four Erich rulers the existence of whom is however not supported by coin finds: Damamitra, Satanika, Mulamitra and Asadhamitra. In the 1997-98 volume of Numismatic Digest[3] Shrivastava published further coins of Erich inscribed in the name of the city ERIKACHCHA and in the 1999-2000 volume of Numismatic Digest[4] he presented coins inscribed in the names of the Erich kings RAJNO ISVARAMITRA, RAJNO SIVAMITRA and tentatively RAJNO SATA. In 1999 Amiteshwar Jha[5] published 26 city coins of Erikachcha and in 2000 the most extensive contribution to Erich numismatics was made by Mohan Lal Gupta[6]. His monograph, translated into English by Shailendra Bhandare, bears the title 'Erich an ancient city on the River Betwa'. Born and living in Jhansi, Gupta was able to build up an extensive collection of locally found Erich coins. On page 29 of his book Gupta describes how these pieces found their way into his collection: "*I encouraged the Kazi of the Jama Masjid at Erich, Mr Hasim Ali, to search for and procure such objects of antiquarian interest. The sites at Erich yielded coins periodically in the monsoons when the superficial strata of soil were washed exposing the underlying objects. In addition, the agricultural activities in the areas around the sites frequently yielded small figurines, beads and coins. Hasim Ali procured coins from time to time and brought them to me...I bought coins from him giving him due financial reward for his efforts. His contributions in unearthing the past of Erich should therefore be duly acknowledged. His discoveries amount to several types of coins and have contributed a lot towards the contents of this book.*" Altogether Gupta was thus able to bring together as many as 134 such coins of certain provenance. Among them are civic issues inscribed *Erikachcha* or *Erikachcham*, uninscribed coins and coins inscribed with a number of different names, some with royal titles others without: RAJNO ISVARAMITRA, RAJNO SAHASASENA, RAJNO MITRASENA, MAHARAJA MITRA,

MAHARAJA AGNIMITRA, MAHASENAPATI SAHASAMITRA, JYSHTHAMITRA, MUGAMUKHA, AJITA, KASERANA, BAVANA, VIRASENA and RATHINA. Whereas most of these inscribed coins are rare, in the meantime hundreds of uninscribed coins have been unearthed from the site in a great number of different types bearing witness to the importance of ancient Erikachcha. While the great majority of these pieces are of copper, a few are of lead. Among the many devices on these coins the bow-and-arrow design seems to be the most characteristic.

Attribution of some copper coins to Erich which had been catalogued as Kausambi coins

Now let us have a look at the relevant specimens in the Bopearachchi/Pieper catalogue. The coins which are listed under Kausambi as coin 68 and 69 have a Brahmi legend which had been read as *chukadadha*. This is a reading corresponding well to the Brahmi characters but it is done in the wrong way! Shailendra Bhandare was the first to draw my attention to the fact that if the coins are held upside-down the legend says *erikachcha*. And thus it becomes clear that these are civic issues of ancient Erich. In addition to the legend, coin 68 has a tree-in-railing and on the reverse the device of a bull facing left. Coin 69 has the legend flanked by a tree-in-railing on the left and a bow-and-arrow on the right and a somewhat indistinct reverse design that seems to have a bow-and-arrow and a tree-in-railing in circular incuse. Unfortunately the coin photos in Mohan Lal Gupta's book are not good enough to identify exactly the corresponding types in his collection. Looking through the published Erich coins I further noticed that my 'Kausambi' coins 58 and 59 in fact also are inscribed coins from Erich. Coin 58 has a Brahmi legend on the obverse and a Yupa-in-railing on the reverse. I had read the legend as *(ra)jamitasa* and attributed it to a Kausambi king named Rajamitra of whom some cast and die-struck coins are known. But thanks to Gupta's new publication this coin can now be identified as an issue of the Erich king RAJNO MITRASENA comparable to Gupta's coins 82 and 83. At 3.26 g and a diameter of 15 mm my coin is larger and of higher weight than Gupta's two coins and it has a bold Yupa-in-railing on the reverse in contrast to Gupta's coins which are described as being blank on the reverse. It is possible that Gupta's specimens are just worn out on the reverse. Otherwise my coin would be a new variety of king Mitrasena. Due to its poor state of preservation, my 'Kausambi' coin 59 cannot be identified unmistakably but there can be no doubt that it also belongs to the same series of inscribed Erich coins.

Publication of some recently acquired Erich coins

In this context I would like to present four other die-struck copper coins from Erich which until now lay unidentified in my collection. One is an anonymous copper coin of irregular roundish shape, a diameter of 14 mm and a weight of 1.2 g. The obverse has a horizontal line above which are grouped two rows of orbs. The lower row has two orbs alternating with diagonally placed thin strokes; the upper row has four orbs without strokes between them. The reverse of this coin has a six-arched hill. The existence of several such specimens in the Gupta collection proves the Erich provenance of this type.

The other three coins are inscribed, square coppers. Two of them are inscribed *rajno isvaramitasa* in two horizontal rows in Brahmi characters. The two rows of this legend are separated by a thick horizontal line which seems to be absent on one of my specimens. This, however, is an effect caused by weaker striking of the lower part of that coin's obverse. The weight of this coin is 2.9 g, its dimensions 13x14 mm. The specimen with the thick dividing line clearly visible weighs 2.2 g and measures 13x13 mm. The reverses of these two pieces show a Yupa-in-railing device. Coins of this type have been published both by Srivastava in ND, vol.23-24, in 1999-2000 and by M.L.Gupta in 2000. All his specimens 62-74 are described by Gupta in the catalogue part of his book as having a blank reverse. This seems to be doubtful. My coins and those described by Srivastava very clearly have a Yupa-in-railing on reverse which should be expected at least on a few of Gupta's specimens as well. It must however be said that Gupta's statements in this case are not unequivocal because in the text part of his book, on page 43, he describes the coins of King Isvaramitra as having a tree-in-railing on the reverse.

The third of my recently aquired, inscribed Erich coins is a uniface, square copper piece of 11x12 mm and a weight of 2.1 g. Its Brahmi legend is arranged in two horizontal lines divided by a horizontally placed incuse device of a tree on a six-arched hill. This incuse device is placed so carefully between the two legend lines that I have the impression it is part of the die and not a real punch or countermark which had been applied later. The inscription says *rajno sahasenasa* but cannot be read completely due to lack of space. Gupta, who has several specimens of this type, his coins 75-81, gives the complete legend as *rajno sahasasenasa* or *rajno sahasrasenasa*. Some of Gupta's coins of this king Sahasasena have just the legend, others have in addition the same tree-on-arch device as my specimen has. Gupta takes this king to be a successor to King Isvaramitra because he observed a few coins of King Sahasasena as having been counterstruck on coins of King Isvaramitra.

Attribution of the Mugamukha frog lead coins to Erich

It is interesting to learn from what has recently been published about ancient Erich that also the series of *mugamukha* inscribed lead coins with the device of a frog and sometimes with the combined devices of frog and scales chiefly surface from Erich. In 1966 K.D. Bajpai had interpreted these lead coins as coins of Saka invaders occupying Ujjain for a few years around the middle of the first century BC. Since then many more specimens have turned up, among them pieces with definite Erich provenances as described in Shrivastava's *Archaeology of Erich* or in Mohan Lal Gupta's publication. So these coins, some of them published by Bopearachchi/Pieper pl.11/1-3 as coins of the Ujjain region, now should rather be considered as issues of ancient Erich.

Attribution of a square, inscribed copper coin to Erich which had been catalogued as a coin of Eran – new attribution of the whole series of die-struck, inscribed 'Eran' coins to Erich

The new discoveries from Erich also shed fresh light on some coins attributed to Eran since Cunningham's times[7]. He had deciphered the Brahmi legend on them as *erakanya* which he interpreted as a name for the ancient site of Eran, famous for a prolific series of post-Mauryan, punch-marked, copper coins. Because these coins were die-struck on both sides, the inscribed specimens in question have never fitted well into the series of Eran coins. And the illustrations of these pieces in the Mitchiner catalogue[8] are not clear enough to be sure about the reading of the legend. The same applies to the specimen in my collection, pl.16,coin 1, which allows no definite statement about the decisive fourth character of the legend. The writing of the Brahmi character *nya* is in any case so close to *chcha* that, on somewhat worn or incomplete specimens, a differentiation can be difficult. In this case the collection of Erich coins of certain provenance published by Mohan Lal Gupta once more helps to clarify the matter. His coins 35 and 36 are of the same type as my coin, i.e. Mitchiner 1182b. Coin 36 in particular seems to have a quite clear engraving of the legend *erikachcha*. But even if this were not the case, the certain provenance and the existence of many more related coins in Gupta's collection are evidence enough to regard this type as an issue of Erich and not of Eran. And the same can be said about the 'wheel-type', Mitchiner 1182a, corresponding to Gupta's Erich coin 32. Even if the 'horse-type', Mitchiner 1182c, does not have an exact counterpart in Gupta's collection the

placement of its legend between two tree-in-railing devices makes it clear that this type too belongs to Erich. The consequence is that Eran must be removed from the list of city-states which issued coins inscribed in the name of the respective city! It is now obvious that all these specimens were in fact civic issues of ancient Erich. This opinion had already been expressed by Shailendra Bhandare in a footnote to our catalogue[9].

Attribution of some coins to the Naga Kings of Narwar which had been catalogued as 'uncertain' coins

Under the heading 'uncertain' I listed a series of small round copper coins of about 2 g weight: pl.30/coins 2-8. They show two swords around which runs a circular Brahmi legend. As only parts of this legend are legible on each of the seven specimens, the reading was difficult and I tentatively proposed *maharaja tagabhasa*. The reverse was described in the catalogue as being blank. The addition of some similar, new specimens to my collection inspired me to have a fresh look at these coins. After careful cleaning and re-examination, some of them showed parts of reverse designs which turned out to be the depiction of a peacock. And now it was clear that these coins are issues of the Naga Kings of Narwar, who ruled from circa AD 150-330 near ancient Padmavati. Only two kings of this dynasty had on their coins a combination of two swords or daggers on the obverse and a peacock on the reverse: Skandanaga and Vasunaga. And with this knowledge the legend parts of these coins can be restored as *maharaja vasunagasya* to whom these pieces now can be attributed with certainty.

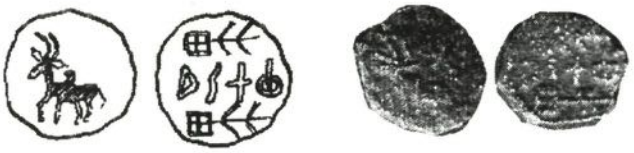
Attribution to Taxila of a copper coin which had been catalogued as an 'uncertain' coin

Another piece which I listed as uncertain (pl.30/ no. 13) can now be identified as an issue of Taxila. A very similar specimen of 2.7 g weight had been published by Allan[10] in BMC, pl.XXXIV, no.16 and attributed to Taxila. Both specimens have a pile of six dots and a tree on the obverse and a three-arched-hill with crescent on top on the reverse. But my coin is of lower weight (1.1 g) and it differs in the arrangement of the obverse devices insofar as the tree is placed on the left side of the pile of dots. Furthermore the tree on the BMC coin is in a railing whereas on my coin the tree emerges directly from the bottom line. So my specimen can now be catalogued as a unique variety of a rare Taxila coin-type.

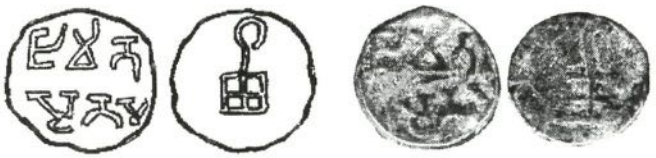
Attribution to Hampi of a square, uniface, copper coin which had been catalogued as a Taxila coin

New evidence makes it necessary to reattribute another coin which I had previously attributed to Taxila (pl.28/ no.7). It is a square, uniface, copper coin of 5.96 g weight with the bold device of a fish in incuse. When our catalogue came out no other specimen of this type had been published and the provenance of my coin was unknown. The incuse technique and the square shape of this uniface and relatively heavy copper coin seemed to indicate a Taxila origin. Meanwhile Mitchiner[11] published a few specimens of this type coming from the villages around Hampi. Mitchiner's specimens show a three-arched-hill on both sides of the fish which cannot be seen on my specimen. As my coin is in an excellent state of preservation I would assume that my coin is a new variety showing the fish with no additional symbols. Hampi was an important ancient site situated in the river valleys of the lower Tungabhadra in Karnataka. According to Mitchiner these coins served as a local currency for the towns of the lower Tungabhadra valley during the post-Mauryan period. It is the same region which also yielded the series of relatively large and heavy uniface cast coins with the device of a three-arched or six-arched hill with crescent on top.

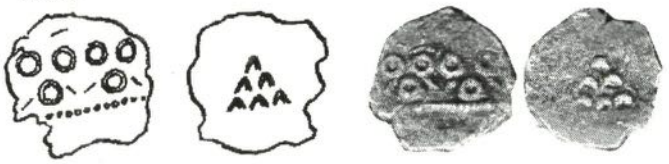
1. ERICH, civic issue, bull to l./ERIKACHCHA between two trees-in-railing,1.7g, 14mm



2. ERICH, King Mitrasena, legend/Yupa-in-railing 3.26g, 15mm

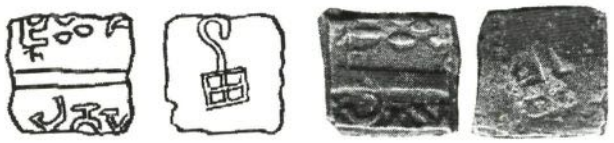


3. ERICH, anonymous, two lines of orbs/ 6-arched-hill, 1.2g, 14mm



4. ERICH, King Isvaramitra, legend/Yupa-in-railing, 2.9g, 13x14mm

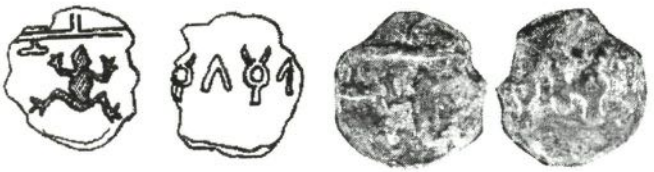
5. ERICH, King Isvaramitra,legend/Yupa-in-railing 2.2g, 13x13mm



6. ERICH, King Sahasasena,tree-on-hill between legend/ blank, 2.1g, 11x12mm

7. ERICH, frog/ inscription *Mugamukhe*, 2.97g, 13mm

8. ERICH, frog & scales/ inscription *Mugamukhe*, 4.8g, 15mm

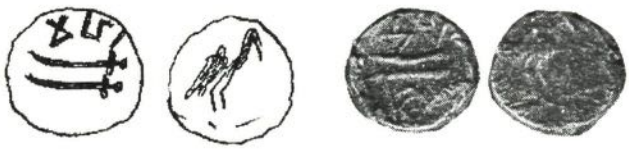


9. ERICH, civic issue, inscription *Erika(chcha)* above bull to r. and tree-in-railing, 1.1g, 10x9mm

10. NAGAS OF NARWAR, Maharaja Vasunaga, inscribed *...nagasya*, 1.7g, 13mm

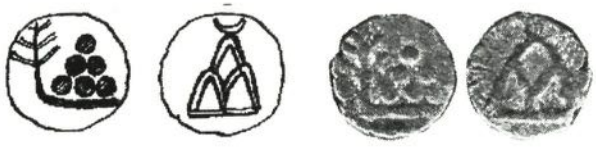
11. NAGAS OF NARWAR, Maharaja Vasunaga, inscribed *...sya* , 2.5g, 13mm

12. NAGAS OF NARWAR, Maharaja Vasunaga, inscribed *...mahara*, 2.7g, 13mm

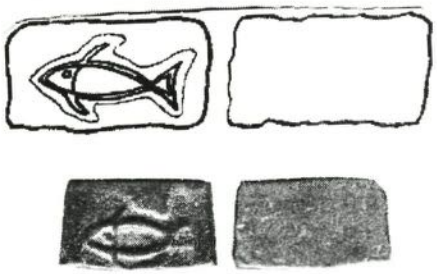


13. NAGAS OF NARWAR, Maharaja Vasunaga, inscribed *...haraja va.....*, 2.1g, 12mm

14. TAXILA, tree & pile of dots/3-arched-hill, 1.1g, 13mm



15. HAMPI REGION, uniface, incuse fish to left, 5.96g, 22x14mm



Notes

1. Bopearachchi, O. and Pieper, W., *Ancient Indian Coins*, 1998
2. Shrivastava, O.P.L., *Archaeology of Erich: Discovery of New Dynasties*, 1991
3. Shrivastava, O.P.L., "Two Types of City Coins of Erikachcha" in *Numismatic Digest*, 1997-98, vol. 21-22, pp. 1-3
4. Shrivastava, O.P.L., "Coins of Three Unknown Rulers of Erich" in ND 1999-2000, vol. 23-24, pp. 17-21
5. Amiteshwar, J., *IIRNS-Newsline*, no.23, 1999
6. Gupta, M.L., *Erich an Ancient City on River Betwa*, 2000
7. Cunningham, A., in the *Annual Reports, Archaeological Survey of India*, report X, 1880 and 1882
8. Mitchiner, M., *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, 1976, vol .9, type 1182 a-c
9. Bopearachchi, O. and Pieper, W., *Ancient Indian Coins, 1998*, p. 29, footnote 2
10. Allan, J., *BMC Coins of Ancient India*, 1967, pl. XXXIV, no.16
11. Mitchiner, M., *The Coinage and History of Southern India*, 1998, part 1, p.70

Two new coins of Jayadaman, son of Chastana, revise the early Western Satrap chronology

By Bob Senior

It is always a pleasure to report an important new type of coin and here are not one but two such discoveries, the credit for which goes not to myself but to the eagle-eyed and erudite Shailandra Bhandare. Until now the only silver coins known of Jayadaman, son of Chastana, were the two coins in the Maheshwari collection in Bombay (Numismatic Digest 15, p. 58 - 61, issue 323.1D in ***Indo-Scythian Coins and History, Vol. II)***. These coins are of crude style and bear the reverse legends, Brahmi: *Rajno Kshatrapasa Jayadamasa,* Kharosthi: *(Rano Chatrapasa Jayada)masa*. They show on the reverse a three-arched hill symbol with a crescent on top and another crescent to its left, a star to its right. These coins exactly parallel a series of his father's coins (issue 314.1D in *ISCH*) with the legend Br: *Rajno Kshatrapasa Chastanasa* Kh: *Rano Chastanasa Chathanasa* and identical reverse types.

The Western Satrap monarchy used a system whereby the king bore the titles Raja and Mahakshatrapa (Mahasatrap) while his subordinate heir, a son or brother, bore the lesser title of Raja and Kshatrapa (Satrap). Jayadaman is known from both coins and inscriptions to have been Satrap, the lower position, during some of the time that his father bore the title Mahasatrap. In fact until now he was considered to have predeceased his father since not only did he seem to issue no coins bearing the higher title but his own grandson Rudrasimha, on the Gunda stone inscription, gives the title Mahasatrap to his father and great-grandfather but only Satrap to his grandfather. The two new coins published here change all that.

1) Drachm. 2.50 g

Obverse: Bust right in good style and high relief. Around is a Kharosthi inscription which begins at 5 o'clock: *Rano Maha....* the rest is uncertain either being too worn or the tops of the letters off the flan. One would expect a reflection of the reverse Brahmi inscription, though the tails of the letters behind the king's head do not match the expected letters of the kings name.

Reverse: Six-arched hill symbol topped with a crescent, sun left, crescent right, wavy line below. Legend around beginning at 1 o'clock; *Rajno Mahakshatrapa.....yadamnah*

The legend on the reverse is not complete but by calculating the spaces left for the possible letters one can see that there were probably only 19 letters. The legend is in Sanskrit and this is the earliest known example of such on Western Satrap coinage. There is again a parallel with the coinage of his father in issue 314.11D

which also has the 6-arched hill symbol, sun left, crescent right and which has the simple legend in Brahmi on the reverse:

Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa Chastanasa

It is possible that the variations in legend and design on Chastana's coins are regional in character and that this new coin of Jayadaman was issued in the same location as issue 314.11D. The legend can be reconstructed as:

Rajno Mahakshatrapasya Chastanasyaputrasya Jayadamnah

The weight of this coin makes it one of the heaviest Western Satrap drachms known, the more usual weight being between 2.4 and 2.0 g at this time.

2) Drachm. 2.32 g

Obverse: Portrait as last but cruder and corrupt Greek (?) legend around.

Reverse: Three arched hill symbol topped with crescent, sun right, crescent left and wavy line below. Brahmi legend beginning 1 o'clock:

Rajno (Ma)hakshatrapasa Chashtanasaputrasa Rajno.....

Though the king's name is absent it can hardly be any other than Jayadaman and, on this variety, his title is given before his own name. It is almost certainly Mahasatrap since the tails of the letters '*Kshatra*' would be visible next to the *Rajno*, even though the coin is off-centre, but they are not. This means that *Maha* must come between them. This legend parallels those of his son:

Rajno Kshatrapasa Jayadamaputrasa Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Rudradamasa.

The letters are much smaller and more compact than on coin (1) and there is certainly space for the reconstructed legend thus:

Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Chastanasaputrasa Mahakshatrapasa Jayadamasa

The coin portrait very much resembles that on issue 325.2D of Rudradaman.

The origin and dating of the dynasty that struck these coins is still somewhat uncertain but with each new discovery a little more light is shed on the shadows that obscure their beginnings. There seems little doubt that the dynasty begins with Ghsamotika who, though bearing no title himself, fathered two sons who claimed Mahasatrap status, and that his dynasty succeeded that of the Kshaharatas, whose last monarch was Nahapana. Inscriptions are known bearing both the names of the Kshaharata Nahapana and one of Ghsamotika's sons, Chastana, together with dates which have been variously ascribed to either regnal years or particular eras. I do not wish to repeat all the arguments I have put forward in ISCH but, whereas at one time *both* Nahapana and Chastana's dates were thought to be in the 'Saka Era' of 78 AD and now the general consensus is that Chastana *founded* it and only *his* dynasty used it, I believe that *neither* used that era. My feeling is that Nahapana used the Vikrama Era of 58 AD and that the Western Satraps used an era dating from the end of the second decade AD. The Saka Era, so-called, is in my opinion the same as the Kanishka Era and was founded by that monarch.

Ghsamotika had two sons, as is shown by their coinage: Damaghsada and Chastana. The former was only identified by me as such in the 1990's and previously it was thought that Chastana founded the dynasty since he also issued the earliest known silver coins. Chastana is called the Raja and Satrap on his earliest coins, Raja and Mahasatrap on the later ones whereas Damaghsada is only known as a Raja and Mahasatrap. As to which of the brothers was the first ruler and founder we need to know whether Damaghsada succeeded Chastana as Mahasatrap or vice versa. We have, I believe, the answer in the coinage they issued. Damaghsada countermarked coins of the Kushan ruler 'Soter Megas' so carefully as not to deface the portrait. The stamp was struck behind the head on the obverse of the coins or in one case, on the shoulder. This was surely done while the Kushan King was living, pushing his empire into India and in the ascendant part of his career. Whatever chronology you might adopt, this could not have happened if Damaghsada had followed Chastana, since Soter Megas predeceased Chastana. It also avoids a terrible confusion of succession that would have to be explained away after Chastana's demise.

We therefore have the simple scenario of Damaghsada being the founder with the title Mahasatrap and his brother Chastana co-ruling as Satrap. Two inscriptions may have shed some light on the situation but on neither of them is the king's name or titles clear. The Daulatpur Yashti stone inscription of year 6 has just the letters '*nasya*' to identify the ruler and must be rejected as not proving anything. The Andhau Yashti inscription of year 11 has '*trapasa Ghsamotikaputrasa/.....sa*' and could equally well refer to Damaghsada as Chastana depending upon just how many aksharas are missing from the left of the stone inscription, which is badly broken.

Damaghsada issued a bi-metallic currency with a unique billon drachm (issue 320.1 ISCH) being struck in place of the silver drachms of his successors. There is no reason, however, why a silver drachm might not also surface someday. All his coins are rare. It is his brother Chastana who seems to have advanced the fortunes of the dynasty and whose fine silver drachms set the pattern for all later rulers. He succeeded Damaghsada to become the Mahasatrap sometime after 'year 52' of their era. When this era began is a matter of speculation, though for over a century most scholars accepted Abbe Boyer's theory that it was the Saka Era. There seems little doubt that the drachms of Nahapana and Chastana closely follow one another and since I place Nahapana much earlier than other students of this series (see ISCH and ONS Newsletter 170), I also place Chastana and the era he used much earlier too. As yet there is no certain evidence as to *when* the era began in present era dates but I suspect that it is c. 20 AD or before. An inscription from Takht-i-Bahi referring to Gondophares in year 103 of the Vikrama Era, 26 of his reign was, I believe, cut in reference to a king Gondophares-Sases. This king brought about a dynastic change and he also is known to have overstruck coins of Nahapana. His initial regnal year would be c.19/20 AD and it is quite possible that *his* regnal year was then perpetuated as an era. Dr. P. Eggermont in the '*Papers on the date of Kanishka - ed A.L. Basham, Leiden, 1968*' proposed an initial year of c. 15 AD based on some complicated calculations. For the purposes of the accompanying table I have adopted a date of 20 AD (the 'Gondophares' Era) since that seems to fit all the facts as I interpret them, but time will tell.

The Andhau inscription of year 52 is interpreted by most scholars as referring to the joint rule of Chastana and his grandson Rudradaman where both are called Raja (but no mention of Satrap) and yet Jayadaman, Chastana's son, is given no title at all. The Khavda inscription has Chastana as Raja, Mahasatrap and both his son and grandson as Raja only. Unfortunately the date is not complete with the decimal missing and the other unit seemingly a 3. This could be either 53 or 63 therefore. If we look at the coins we see that we have several varieties of coin in the name of Chastana as Raja, Mahasatrap and the two Bombay drachms (and several coppers) of Jayadaman as Raja, Satrap, plus a unique drachm (issue 325.1D) of Rudradaman as Raja only. The interesting point about the coins and inscriptions is the remarkable elevation of Rudradaman vis-à-vis Jayadaman. He seems to have been more than just the subordinate of his father and was even his

equal or superior since these last two inscriptions pay him the most honour by being dedicated in his name.

The next inscription is the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman in year 72 where he is now Raja and Mahasatrap and proud to note that he attained this rank by himself. He goes on to list his achievements and conquests. This suggests that sometime before, Chastana must have died and Jayadaman succeeded to the rank of Mahasatrap as shown by our two new coins. Chastana would have been of a great age when he died since he was still ruling sometime after year 53 or even 63 and yet his older brother had been in power as early as year 11 (if that was not Chastana himself) and probably as early as year 1. Jayadaman must have been rather elderly too and it seems likely that his tenure as Mahasatrap was very brief indeed. In fact, since no coins of Rudradaman are known bearing the title Satrap, it is possible that Rudradaman replaced him almost immediately. Perhaps the period that Jayadaman spent as Mahasatrap was so short that it wasn't recognised as such (much as Edward VIII, not being crowned, is not always recognised as having been king) and maybe that is why in the Gunda stone inscription of his grandson Rudrasimha, of year 103 and Andhau Yashti inscription of 114 he is recorded only as Raja Satrap Jayadaman. The only other explanation that occurs to me is that Jayadaman might have *claimed* the rank of Mahasatrap when Rudradaman, who was extremely powerful, also claimed it, and, after usurping it, demoted his father's rank for the dynastic history.

These two coins of Jayadaman have doubled the number of his known silver coins and added significantly to our knowledge of the period and hopefully more coins from this early period in Western Satrap history will surface and fill in even more of the incomplete picture we have before us.

The Inscriptions referred to can be found in: 'The History and Inscriptions of the Satavahanas and the Western Kshatrapas' Dr. V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur 1981.

Coins of the Indian Sultanates

Some more additions to the listings in the book of the above title by your editor and JP Goenka.

Sulṭāns of Dehlī

Quṭb al-Dīn Mubārak (AH 716-20)

New type D279. Billon 3.5 g

Obv: *al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam quṭb al-dunyā wa'l dīn*

Rev: in centre: *mubārak shāh;* around: ruler's name in Nagari and possibly also date in Nagari numerals.

This bilingual type, published by Rajgor as his type 1020 but with an illegible illustration, is a direct successor to the bilingual two gānī type of 'Ala' al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaljī (D233). It must have been a very short-lived issue as this is the only specimen that we have come across. Illustrated courtesy of Steve Album.

Fīrūz Tughluq (AH 752-90)

New type D487. Billon 6.7 g

Obv: in centre: *fīrūz shāh;* around: *al-sulṭān al-a'ẓam?....*

Rev: *al-khalīfat abū 'abd allāh khulidat khilāfatuhu*

This coin is presumably a 64 ratī piece, though a little light in weight.

Sulṭāns of Gujarāt

Quṭb al-Dīn Bahādur(AH 932-43)

Type G365 Billon, quarter tanka

No illustration was available for the book; a coin dated 939 and weighing 2.0 g is illustrated here.

New type G365A. Billon? 2 g

Obv: *sikka-i-iqbāl*

Rev: within peaked square with rounded corners: *shāh-i-hind (dā)rad*

The metal of this coin is uncertain but the coin is clearly part of the *shāh-i-hind* series and is, therefore, probably billon and a quarter tanka of the series. It was published by Rajgor as his type 2299. The legend appears to be a truncated version of the couplet found on types G361-5.

Quṭb al-Dīn Bahādur(AH 932-43)

New type G372. Quarter Falūs 2.6 g

Legends as for types G370-1. Part of a date is visible on the obverse and is probably 94x.

Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd III

Type G412. A coin of year 958 has been noted.

Shams al-Dīn Muẓaffar III

Type G565. A coin of year 975 has been noted.

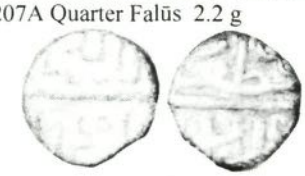
Sulṭāns of Mālwa

Muḥammad Shāh II (AH 917-22)

New type M189. Illustrated here is a quarter falūs, weighing 2.2 g with the cross mint-mark often found on the copper coins of Nāṣir Shāh and Maḥmūd II but not hitherto noted on the coins of Muḥammad II. A similar sign has, however been noted on the silver coins of this ruler.

Coins struck in the name of *Bahādur Shāh* of Gujarāt

New type M207A Quarter Falūs 2.2 g



Same legends as types M205-7 but lighter in weight. Coins dated 938 and 940 noted.

Coins struck in the name of *Muhammad (bin Muzaffar)*
Illustrated here is a variety of type M232 with the date, 963, at the bottom of the reverse rather than at the top. The coin weighs 10.4 g.

Bāz Bahādur, (second reign, AH 969)
New Type M253. Half falūs, 3.5 g

This coin, clearly dated 969, has a similar obverse legend to type M247, but the reverse is different and what is visible seems to be different from the other reverse legends of this ruler.

Jāms of Sind
Jām Fīrūz Shāh bin Jām Nizām al-Dīn (AH 914-29)
A coin, with similar design to types SJ3 and 4 has been noted weighing 15 g and with a more or less octagonal flan. Its condition is unfortunately too poor to reproduce clearly here. It is presumably a 1½ falūs and is given given the type number SJ5.

Maratha Mints at Pune and Chinchwad – The Early Years
By Shailendra Bhandare

Pune (alternatively spelled 'Poona') is an upcoming metropolis located 190 km south-south east of Mumbai and a town of great historical significance. Its history dates back to the 8th century AD, where it finds mention in Rashtrakuta copperplate charters. It changed hands under various Hindu dynasties such as the Chalukyas of Kalyan and the Yadavas of Devagiri after the Rashtrakutas in the early medieval period. It was added to the kingdom of Delhi under the Khaljis and subsequently became part of the Bahmani Sultanate of Gulbarga during the fragmentation of the Delhi Sultanate in the aftermath of the Tughlaqs. Under the rule of the Nizamshahi rulers of Ahmednagar, Pune was granted to the Bhosle family in perpetuity as a *jagir* and became the centre of activities of Shahaji Bhosle, father of the illustrious Shivaji (1630 – 1680). The strife between the Deccani Sultanates of Ahmednagar and Bijapur led to the decay of the township of Pune, but, under Shivaji's rule, the condition of the town improved considerably. He based his seat of government at Pune and tried to encourage increased settlement by granting various subsidies and tax relief.

Shivaji founded the house of the head of what later became the 'Maratha Confederacy', under the title of 'Chhatrapati'. Shivaji's grandson, Shahu, was captured by the Mughals under Aurangzeb during a prolonged conflict that ultimately led to the decay of Mughal rule. After Aurangzeb's death in 1707, his sons, Muazzam and Azam Shah, struggled for supremacy. Azam Shah ended Shahu's captivity in the hope that the Maratha house would be divided between Shahu as its lawful claimant and the widow of his brother, who had managed to carry on the fight against the Mughals. But these aspirations met their end when Shahu found a trusted employee by the name of Balaji Vishwanath who, with his political astuteness, concluded a treaty between the warring factions of the Chhatrapati Bhosle household, thereby creating an agreed lineage at Kolhapur in south Deccan, while retaining Shahu's house at Satara. The other exemplary move the success of which is credited to Balaji's efforts was to secure legitimacy for Maratha rule under a nominal Mughal overloardship. This was facilitated through a *firman* granted by Farrukhsiyar under the appanage of the Sayyid brothers, who were the virtual kingmakers in the Mughal court. The politics in the Mughal court itself also played a vital part with the powerful Chinqilich Khan, the future Nizam and founder of the Nizams of Hyderabad line, posing a threat to the Sayyid brothers. The *firman* granted the Marathas the right to collect taxes in the Deccan on behalf of the Emperor – a favour that brought them in direct conflict of interest with the Nizam. Shahu rewarded Balaji Vishwanath for his meritorious services by appointing him to the high rank of 'Peshwa' (Prime Minister). Balaji died in 1720 and was succeeded in office by his son, Bajirao I, a great warrior and shrewd politician. Although no rules of primogeniture were laid down for the Peshwa's appointment, Shahu trusted the young Bajirao's abilities and gave his assent to the succession.

Balaji Vishwanath operated from Saswad, near Pune, and Bajirao took the decision to move to Pune and make that city the headquarters of the Peshwas. The move was effected soon after his investiture in 1721. The political importance of the town thereafter increased considerably and, for the remainder of the 18th century, it became the nerve centre for the course of India's political history.

Chinchwad is located about 15 km north-northwest of Pune and presently forms part of the same urban landscape, although managed by a different municipal corporation. Till recently, compared to the nearby city of Pune it was an idyllic village. The village came into prominence when in the 17th century a devout Ganesha worshipper by the name of Moroba (Moraya) Gosavi chose to reside there. He went on to form a lineage that demonstrated a curious mix of religious and economic acumen – his descendents claimed to be his hereditary incarnates and the income of the shrine, aided by numerous land grants made through the Peshwa, meant they had strong financial backing. These were the 'Devs' (literally 'Gods') of Chinchwad. From the early 18th century, the family is known to have been influential moneylenders and among its beneficiaries included top-ranking Maratha chieftains and their kin. A letter pertaining to a loan survives written from the office of Yesubai, the mother of Shahu and daughter-in-law of Shivaji to the Devs of Chinchwad before Shahu's release from Mughal captivity. Shahu no doubt must have had the advantage of raising finances through the Devs when he waged the struggle with his dowager sister-in-law for his legitimate right to the Maratha throne. The Peshwas and the Devs had one more familial aspect in common – they both were of the same caste and followers of the Ganesha pantheon. Thus, it is easy to imagine that their religious and social affinities played an important part in the financial realms as well.

It is a well-known fact that Pune had a mint that was very productive in the last decades of the 18th century and the first two decades of the 19th. It produced silver rupees named the 'Ankushi' and the 'Poona Haali Sikka' – the former was characterised by the mark of an 'Ankush' or elephant goad, while the latter had a mark that has been widely regarded as a pair of spectacles but in reality represents the mark on a cobra's hood. Both these are closely associated with attributes of Ganesha and as such their choice is well substantiated, for the Peshwas are known to have been ardent worshippers of Ganesha and followed his cult in the Brahmanic pantheon. The rupees of Pune had wide acceptability as the preferred coins by the Peshwa's treasury for revenue payment. After the fall of the Peshwa's kingdom to the British in 1818, the mint at Pune was kept operational under the Office of the Deccan Commissioner and both the varieties were struck simultaneously,

the only difference in design being the addition of a *Fasli* date on the reverse. It ceased functioning after the introduction of the Uniform Coinage in 1835.[1]

The mint at Chinchwad is also seen to have been productive in the same period as that at Pune. PL Gupta took some notice of the coins of this mint and suggested a Maratha attribution for them.[2] Coins struck at Chinchwad were characterised by the mark of a battle-axe and hence the name 'Farshi'.[3] This incidentally was the also the third type of coin produced at Pune, the employment of the mark being derived from the coins of Chinchwad. It is certain that the mint that struck 'Farshi' rupees at Pune was also owned/farmed by the Devs given the nature of some documentary evidence produced by Khare.[4]

This clear, albeit scantily documented, information about Pune and Chinchwad mints contrasts with what is known about the early minting activities at both these places. The arrival of the Peshwa's family at Pune no doubt acted as a great stimulus for the settlement of the city. The patterns that emerge in its growth can be clearly seen with establishment of locales known as 'Peths' close to the old town centre of Pune that was called the 'Qasba'. 'Peth' literally means a market – although the habitation patterns seen under the Peshwa's encouragement clearly indicate that it was a mixture of an essentially residential locality interspersed with outlets for enterprise – a picture very similar to a 'township' in a modern urban context. A few of these were named after the names of weekdays and probably indicate the fact that a market was held in the township on that particular day of the week. The rights of establishment were individually farmed out, with the highest bidder paying his dues upfront to the government. In return for this he obtained certain privileges and collection rights. The collections were essentially local taxes, which were levied on both the residential and commercial occupations within a certain 'Peth', and the upkeep of the locality was maintained through them.[5] What this meant essentially in numismatic terms is that it facilitated conditions conducive for the monetisation of the local economy of Pune. It would be drastic to say it was not monetised before the advent of the Peshwas, but the encouragement that the Peshwas gave to settlement must certainly have amounted to an increased need for money supply. The steady growth of the city at this time definitely has close and important bearings on the efficient productivity of the mint that is seen about fifty years later. The activity of the mint at Chinchwad should also be viewed against the backdrop of the expansion of Pune in the early years of Peshwa rule.

So far the earliest rupees to be struck at Pune conclusively under Maratha rule are those in the name of Muhammad Shah. They bear the mintname 'Muhiyabad 'urf Poona'. Maheshwari and Wiggins illustrated one such coin and remarked that it is probably unique.[6] A second specimen was reported from the Niphad hoard of Mughal coins[7] and a third is being illustrated here from the collection of Mr Dilip Shah. While the specimen they illustrated has the chronological details truncated, the one in the Niphad hoard showed the regnal year as '2' – and it is indeed reported as such. The coin shown here however is clearly dated RY 19 of Muhammad Shah, so it would be logical to restore the chronological detail on the Niphad hoard coin to '20' rather than 2. None of the coins bear any differentiating mark and their attribution to the Marathas is based solely on the fact that Pune had already been a seat of Maratha power under the tenure of Muhammad Shah as Emperor (1719-1748).

It may be interesting to elucidate a few features of this rather rare issue. First is the mintname 'Muhiyabad 'urf Poona'. The Islamic name 'Muhiyabad' was given to Pune by Aurangzeb when he resided in Pune while pursuing his campaign against the Marathas. It commemorates Prince Muhammad Muhayyi al-Milla, the grandson of Aurangzeb. He was born of Kam Bakhsh, the Emperor's third son and his Hindu wife, Rani Manoharpuri. In the aftermath of the Emperor's siege to the fortress of Simhagarh (in the vicinity of Pune) and subsequent victory, Muhayyi al-Milla died at Pune from an unknown illness. He was the darling of his grandfather and was buried near the Dargah of Sheikh Salahuddin in Pune. Aurangzeb thereafter decided to change the name of Pune to 'Muhiyabad'. Judging by the fact that Aurangzeb's own *laqab* was 'Muhayyi ud-Din', the change of the name may have had a dual significance. The siege of Simhagarh lasted from 27 December 1702 to 8 April 1703. The Emperor's residence at Pune is dated between 1 May 1703 and 10 November 1703. It is conceivable that the name change took place sometime between June and the end of October that year, as Muhayyi al-Milla is known to have died 'a month after the Divine Presence graced the town of Poona'.[8]

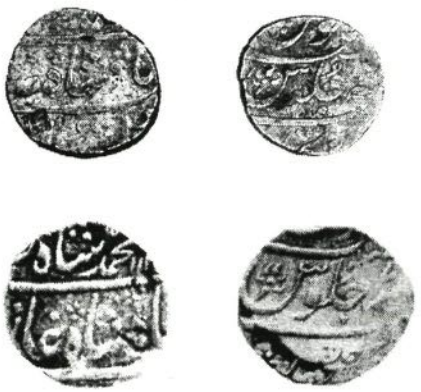
The chronological details on the coins are also worthy of comment. RYs 19 and 20 would man that the rupees were struck between 1738-1739. Just before these years, the Peshwa embarked on an ambitious programme of building his palatial mansions in Pune. This was named 'Shaniwar Wada' and the township that went besides it was called 'Shaniwar Peth'. The fact that he decided to fortify it by raising a rampart around it raised the brows of Shahu, the Chhatrapati, for a while. He forced Bajirao to reduce the height of its walls – a rather amusing detail is available in his correspondence with the Peshwa in which Shahu reproaches Bajirao for his impatience in building a high wall around his mansions "when he had proven by his military exploits that the breadth of his chest was formidable enough as a defensive rampart"! This was the first great enterprise and a significant addition in the cityscape under the Peshwa's rule, and was followed by the establishment of a number of townships or 'Peths' as the city grew around it. Construction began in 1729 and Bajirao occupied it in 1736.[9] The scale and expanse of the mansions was such that the construction and upkeep of its various facets went on almost hand in hand for the next few decades. It would not be unreasonable to expect that an enterprise of such magnitude would have immensely raised the demands for a regular flow of cash. It is therefore conceivable that the mint at Pune will have started operating sometime during these years, if not much earlier.

There is a reference available in Marathi documents that a moneylender family named Datar was responsible for 'providing change for the labourers while the Peshwa's mansions were being built'.[10] This is by far the closest one can come to linking the shaping of Pune's cityscape with the numismatic activity in the mint. It is, however, sufficient to ascertain the importance of these coins and the place they occupy in the urban history of Pune. As far as the reference just mentioned is concerned, more substantiation is to be had for it in the form of a half rupee coin of Muhiyabad 'urf Poona. This remarkable piece is hitherto unpublished and is reproduced here from the collection of Heinz Bons of Germany.

It is conceivable that Chinchwad, located close to the city of Pune and already the seat of a wealthy moneylender family, would also be subject to the same influences of urbanisation that caused

the increased demand for cash after the Peshwa's move to that city. So far the numismatic evidence regarding the operation of Chinchwad mint is deemed very scanty. Maheshwari and Wiggins include the mint in their publication and supplement it with the illustration of a 'Farshi' rupee.[11] MG Ranade published a farming agreement dated 1767 to run the Chinchwad mint.[12] An essentially non-numismatic publication by Laurence Preston entitled 'The Devs of Cincvad – A lineage and the State in Maharashtra' (CUP, 1989), deals with the Chinchwad mint in some details and presents an interesting scenario whereby the reigning Dev resorted to claiming compensation from the East India Company government for the abrogation of his minting privileges after the transition of power in Maharashtra in 1818. Several documents are published (I intend to publish them in a numismatic context in the future) and they clarify many aspects of the working of the mint in the period from 1767 onwards.

Nothing, however, has been known relating to the period we have so far been talking about, i.e. the early decades of the 18th century. I publish two rupees here that conclusively prove that coining activity had begun at Chinchwad much earlier than any other mint in that region. Both these are in the name of Muhammad Shah and bear RYs 4 and 7 respectively. The one with RY 4 was seen in the trade in late 2001, while that with RY 7 is from the collection of Dilip Shah. The mint name on both these coins clearly reads 'Chinchur' or 'Chinchwar'.



The most interesting aspect of the coins is of course the chronological details. It would mean that the first coin was struck sometime in 1724 while the latter was struck in 1726. Both these dates fall within the early period of the Peshwa's residence in Pune – before he embarked upon the construction of his mansions. It seems probable that the advent of commerce in the Pune region was initially served, at least in part, by the Chinchwad mint. The Peshwa seems to have decided to establish a mint at Pune only after his construction activity and, as the reference suggests, sought the assistance of the Datar family to provide the coins. The Chinchwad mint on the other hand seems to precede the Pune mint - but that is hardly surprising given the financial clout the Dev family held in the region.

Another very significant feature of these coins is their design – even a cursory look is sufficient to notice the similarities in execution that the coins bear to the Surat rupees of Muhammad Shah. The imitation of the 'flower'-like mintmark is most noteworthy. Another mint that attempted such an imitation was that of Bombay (Mumbai) under the British and it gives us a clue about what the preferred coin in the Pune region had been before locally manufactured coins began to the growing demand for cash.

Strangely enough, the family seemed to be ignorant about the onset of the coining activity at the mint. According to the information given by Preston (vide supra, pp. 123-135), it seems the family could not produce any evidence before 1767 of the mint's operations. Even that produced before the government to plead for the compensation claims was extremely scanty and the family does not seem to have substantiated it very well. At the same time, it is difficult to believe that it was not involved in any minting activity when the rupees in the name of Muhammad Shah were struck. This is essentially because of the fact that the financial credentials of the Devs had been well established before such a date, as is borne out by the letter of Shahu's mother to the head of the family before their release from Mughal captivity.

The discovery of these coins is important for reasons other than purely numismatic ones – the coins themselves are important indicators of the trend in urbanisation of the region. The historical context of the Peshwa's move to Pune and his relations with the dominant financial elite of the region are well reflected in the fact that he, in all probability, issued licenses to the Devs of Chinchwad to run a locally situated mint in preference to anyone else, thereby indicating the nexus between the political and financial influences emerging in the region.

Notes

1. K. K. Maheshwari and K. W. Wiggins, 'Maratha Mints and Coinage', Nasik 1989. pp. 83-86
2. P. L. Gupta, 'Note of Some New or Rare South-Western Mints of the Later Mughals', ND, Vol. 1 part I, 1977, p.45-46.
3. Maheshwari and Wiggins, op.cit., p. 58.
4. G. H. Khare, 'A Report on the Maratha Mints of the Peshwa Period located at Poona, Chakan and Chinchwad, both near Poona', JNSI, vol. 38 part 1, 1976, pp.102-109.
5. Bhave, V. K., '*Peshwekaaleena Maharashtra*' (Marathi), ICHR reprint, Pune 1976, pp. 12-17.
6. Maheshwari and Wiggins, op.cit,. p. 86, T1.
7. Sajid Naim and Dilip Balsekar, 'Niphad Hoard of Mughal Silver Coins', ND vol.16, 1992, pp. 203-204.
8. C. G. Karve, '*Punyache Aurangzebkaaleena Naav – Muhiyabad*', in '*Pune Nagara Samshodhana Vrttaanta*' (An Account of Urban Researches on Pune, in Marathi), vol.2, Pune 1943, pp.83-85.
9. V. K. Bhave, op.cit., p. 18-20.
10. '*Pune Nagara Samshodhana Vrttaanta*'(Marathi), vol. 4, Pune, 1952, p. 50, article 231, quoting Mr. B. L. Patankar in personal communication with the editorial board of the volume.
11. Maheshwari and Wiggins, op.cit., p. 58.
12. Justice M. G. Ranade, 'Currencies and Mints under Maratha Rule', JBBRAS, vol. XX, 1898, pp. 191-200.

The general historical information in this paper has been taken from G. S. Sardesai, *A New History of the Marathas*, vol. 2, Phoenix Publications, 1946-48.

I express my gratitude to Messrs. Dilip Shah and Heinz Bons, for their co-operation in making coins from their collection available for publication.

Two New Square Silver Coins from Nepal

By Nick Rhodes and Alex Lissanevitch

Among the Nepalese coins in the collection of the second author are two square silver pieces of diameter 0.9 & 0.7cm, and weight around 0.17g and 0.18g respectively. The design on each consists of four Newari letters *Sri*, combined in a very ingenious way into a cruciform shaped design, within a wavy circle, broken at the middle of each side, and a pellet in each corner. The cruciform design is reminiscent of the way that Arabic calligraphy can be used as an art form, but we are not aware of any similar examples of calligraphy in this way in Nepal at any period. The larger piece is uniface, but the smaller has a reverse design that may either be a trident, or a mace under a wreath, depending on which way up the design is viewed, surrounded by a square with pellets. The weights are consistent with the pieces being silver paisas on the mohar standard, or the 1/64th part of a tanka. The calligraphy and metal indicate a date during the Malla period, between around 1600 and 1768 AD, but since the pieces are anonymous, a more accurate dating can only be guessed at. For reasons stated below we believe that a date in the first 3 decades of the seventeenth century is most likely.

1 (Scale x3)

2 Obv.

2 Rev.

2 Rev. (inverted)

Although both coins are of similar weight and design, the flan size and the actual dies used are different. We can assume that the coins, which appeared on the market at around the same time in the mid-1990's, were originally made around the same period, so one might have expected the same obverse die to have been used, but we assume that the smaller flan was used to ensure that the coin had sufficient thickness to support a design on both sides. No other examples of square coins of this denomination are known, although much smaller square uniface pieces do exist, the tiny *jawa*, weighing only around 0.02g, about 1/8th of the weight of these two pieces. These have non-epigraphic designs of a trident, sword or a water deity[1]. As with other uniface pieces of this period, traces of the obverse design show through to the back of the larger piece, so it is possible that no.1 above was struck on a leather or similar slightly resilient surface. The use of both technologies, using a uniface flan and a smaller, thicker, flan struck with two dies, indicates a date before the Malla coinage system stabilised after around 1640.

We believe that this design is of particular importance in the art historical context, and it would be interesting if we could find other examples of Newari calligraphy used as an art form, or whether we can prove whether Arabic calligraphy, used as an art form, was known to the Nepalese die-engravers.

[1]*The Coinage of Nepal* by Rhodes, Gabrisch & Valdettaro, RNS 1989, nos.253-254a. It should be noted that the image on the last piece, described previously as a lion, is actually the mythical animal depicted on so many Newari waterspouts

A New Series of Javanese Imitation Cash Inscribed Tian Ping
By T.D. Yih

Introduction

Several years ago I gave a lecture to Dutch ONS members on Javanese imitation cash based on the Tegal collection preserved in the Ethnographical Museum of Rotterdam (Yih, 1995). In the typology 3 main types of pieces with Chinese legends were distinguished, namely pieces with the legends *xianping yuan bao*, *taiping yuan bao* and *tianxia taiping*.

In my own collection there was one piece on which the top Chinese character was only barely readible, whereas the right character was clearly *ping*. Hence, the top character was tentatively read as *tai*. During the past year, however, with the increasing availability of computer techniques and internet ebay numismatic auctions, more data on Javanese cash have become available.

The present short note describes a new, fourth series of Javanese cash with Chinese legends reading *tian ping yuan bao* and gives a preliminary typology.

General description

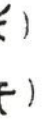
Similar to the Tegal pieces, the series consists of small cash pieces with a relatively large square hole in the center. The obverse bears the characters *tian, ping, yuan and bao* in the sequence top, right, bottom, left and has an outer rim about 2-3 mm wide. Sometimes a small 1 mm wide inner rim is present. The reverse is blank with a weak outer rim.

A number of these pieces have been offered recently on E-bay hidden in some lots of Javanese cash inscribed *xianping yuanbao*. They were reported to have been found in the Berantas river in Eastern Java

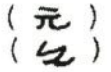
PreliminaryTypology

Two main types can be distinguished based on the shape of the character *tian*.

Main type 1:
the upper horizontal line of *tian* is larger than the lower one and is curved



Main type 2:
the upper line is straight and smaller than the lower line
Possibly,the second main type can in turn be divided into two subtypes:



2-1 the character *yuan* is present in orthodox writing
2-1 the character *yuan* is present in cursive writing.

For main type 1 until now only the cursive *yuan* has been encountered.

In the author's collection there is a single piece with the inscription *tianping tong bao*. For the sake of completeness this piece is also described and included in the table below. It has the type 2 character *tian* on the top. However, this piece is much larger and heavier than the six other *tianping* pieces. Therefore, it might belong to another class of small, but more robust Javanese cash with northern Song reign titles. This class comprises northern Song reign titles like: *xianping yuanbao*, *xiangfu yuanb/tongbao*, *tianxi tongbao*, *yuanfeng tongbao*, *yuanfu tongbao* and possibly also *yuanyou tongbao* and *shaosheng yuanbao* (to be published).

Metrics

No.	Wt. gm	Diam. mm	Diam. hole mm	Thickness	Subtype
1	0.76	19.2	7.6	0.9	1
2	1.40	19.1	8.3	0.9	1
3	0.83	19.0	8.3	0.8	1
4	0.59	17.0	8.3	0.7	1
5	1.07	19.5	6.7	0.8	2-1
6	0.90	18.0	7.8	0.8	2-2
	2.00	22.0	6.7	1.1	TP tong bao

The author welcomes all information on the presence of this new Javanese series and others, if any, in museum or private collections.

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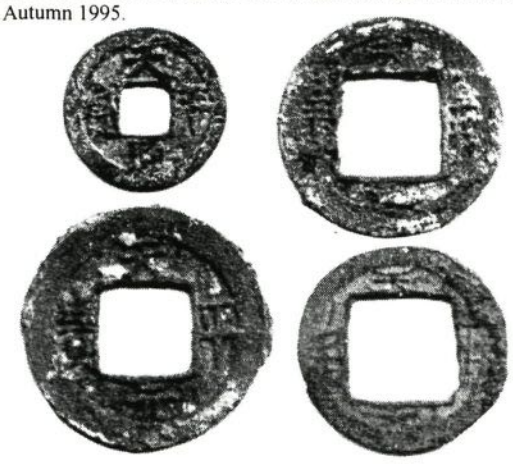
Yih, T.D. and v/d Kreek, J. "Javanese cash from the Ethnographical Museum at Rotterdam (EMR) , The Netherlands", *ONS Newsletter* 146, p. 14, Autumn 1995.



An Islamic Countermark Reconsidered
By Shraga Qedar

Some time ago I published an article in the *Israel Numismatic Journal* entitled, "A Hoard of Monetary Reform Fulus."[1] All the coins were overstruck and, on one of the underlying coins (coin 72), there was a Byzantine imitation type countermark with three Arabic letters "the meaning of which could be either HaLeD or BaLaD or BiLudd."[2] This was the first time that the countermark had been published. At that stage I was unable to make further progress in deciphering the inscriptions and promised to do so at a later stage. The same countermark was then published by Lutz Ilisch,[3] who quoted my article in the *INJ*, but cast doubt on the attribution of the coin to Ludd because, in his opinion, the countermark appears in northern Syria. Tony Goodwin also published an article on this subject.[4]

Since then, I have found some tens of countermarks of this and similar types in private and public collections. The first published example of a countermark of Ludd appeared in a Sotheby's auction catalogue.[5] The countermark comprised two Arabic letters "Lam" and "Dal" = "Ludd" and the coin could be identified as a Byzantine follis of Heraclius dated Year 25=AD 634/5. A similar countermark was later published by Tony Goodwin.[6] In the light of this second type I came to the conclusion that the reading of the countermark I published in the *Israel Numismatic Journal* Vol. 8, was BiLudd.

The countermark with the three Arabic letters has the prefix "Ba" followed by "Lam" and "Dal", i.e. "BiLudd". Here, the connection between the horizontal line and the first vertical stroke is slightly rounded and is lower than the letter to its left. The last letter is undoubtedly "Dal". (Goodwin, B1b).[7] Among this group of countermarks there was a third legend that had not yet been definitively deciphered. In contrast to the BiLudd countermark, the first vertical stroke in the third countermark's legend is at the same height as the letter to its left and it leans a little to the left. The stroke drops below the horizontal line and is identifiable as the letter "Jim". The second letter is almost certainly "Nun" and the undisputed reading of the last letter is "Dal". Thus we have the word "Jund." This countermark appears in Tony Goodwin's article as B3 and B4.[8]

In summary, we have three different countermarks:

LD = Ludd = Lam + Dal
BLD = BiLudd = Ba + Lam + Dal
JND = Jund = Jim + Nun + Dal

i.e. two countermarks with the name of a city and one with the name of a military district. All the countermarks are oval, 6 by 5 mm and struck almost exclusively on the reverse (where the sign of the value, M, appears). Sometimes two countermarks from this group appear on the same coin and under some of the legends there is a dot or two dots, the reason for which has not yet been explained.

We can determine that the time period of circulation for these countermarked coins was between 635 (earliest dated countermarked coin – Sotheby's specimen) and 697 (date of the reform of Abd al-Malik – coins referred to by Qedar in *INJ*). Thus the coins were in circulation for about six decades, though this does not mean that they were being countermarked throughout this time. It seems to me that the purpose of these countermarks was to validate the coins for circulation in a particular area.

The reading of these countermarks is supported by historical sources. The new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II, p. 601, under the entry for "Jund" (military district), writes: "According to the chroniclers, the calif Abu Bakr is said to have set up four *junds* in Syria, of Hims, Damascus, Jordan and Palestine." Since Jund Filastin was the southernmost jund in Syria, it can be assumed that it was the first to be conquered. The Arab conquest began in 634, though the Arabs did not change the existing Byzantine administration. Under the entry "Filastin" the new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II, p. 911, relates that "The Arab conquerors permitted the previous administrative organization to continue, transforming the former *Palaestina prima* into *jund Filastin;* they set up the first capital at Ludd and then at al-Ramla..." Thus Ludd was the capital of Filastin for about half a century after the conquest. Guy le Strange in *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 493 writes under Ludd (Lydda) – "The ancient capital of Palestine. It fell to decay after the founding of al-Ramla" (Ya'kubi 110); "Ludd lies about a mile from al-Ramla" (Murkaddasi 176).

In conclusion, no other Islamic countermarks have been found with the name of a city or a jund except for the three examples in this group. The only thing that I did find were countermarks from about six centuries earlier in the first century AD from the same area. These were Roman legionary countermarks (equivalent to jund) bearing two city names: Caesarea and Nysa Scythopolis.[9] It is unlikely that there is a connection between these two phenomena over such a long time period but it seems worthy of mention.

Notes

1. Shraga Qedar, "A Hoard of Monetary Reform Fulus," *Israel Numismatic Journal* Vol. 8, 1984-5, pp. 65-75.
2. Ibid, p. 66, note 4.
3. *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum, Tuebingen, Palaestina*, 1993, no. 203.
4. Tony Goodwin, "Seventh Century Countermarks from Syria," *Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter* no. 162, Winter 2000, pp. 13-16.
5. Sotheby's auction 23-24 April 1998, Sale LN 8240, lot no. 209.
6. See note 4, coin B1a.
7. See note 4.
8. See note 4.
9. C.J. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, RNS Special Publication no. 17, London, 1985.

The Kharijites and Their Coinage: A Reply
By Clive Foss

In *ONS Newsletter* 166, I published a piece that included discussion of an enigmatic Arab-Byzantine bronze of Tiberias with an inscription generally read as QTRI **[Fig.1]**.[1] I suggested that whatever the term meant it should not be taken to refer to the notorious Kharijite leader Qatari ibn al Fuja'a whose activities took place in the East, far from Palestine. This was contrary to the attribution of Lutz Ilisch who, in *SNA Tübingen* IVa. p.30 identified these as 'Azraqitische Prägungen in Namen des Qatari', a formulation suggesting that a mint in al-Urdunn could be striking in the name of the leader of the extreme Kharijite faction.

Mr. Ilisch in *ONS Newsletter* 167 replied, persevering in his interpretation on the grounds that the conflict between Umayyads and Kharijites was not one between two territorial states, but that Kharijite missionaries had spread their doctrine far and wide from Basra.[2] He went on to maintain that, although no Khariji uprisings were known in al-Urdunn in the 70s AH, that may merely reflect the poverty of our sources, all written much later. He believed that any coin with an inscription like QTRI struck after Qatari's proclamation as Kharijite caliph in 69 would necessarily invite association with the sectarian leader, and that these issues were more probably of the 70's.

Fig.1

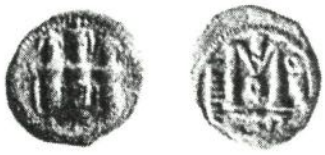


Fig.2

Mr. Ilisch associated this coin with one of similar style and fabric struck in Baysan, bearing the word *al-haqq* in its exergue **[Fig.2]**, supposing that 'these coins had a revolutionary background possibly outside the Khariji movement, but one where the issuers threatened to ally themselves with the Iranian Azraqites against the central government'. He concluded that 'we have to accept the hard fact that, at an uncertain time in the 70s AH, a die-cutter in Tabariya engraved a word in a die for a fals which had a similar appearance to the name of the counter-caliph Qatari..'

It is my purpose here to return to the subject in more detail, examining these arguments in the light of what is known about the Kharijites and about the use of terms such as *al-haqq* on early Islamic coinage.[3]

The Kharijites

The Kharijites are one of the oldest and most violent separatist groups in Islam, tracing their origins back to the generation after Mohammed.[4] When the caliph Othman was assassinated in 35/656, Ali, cousin and son-in-law of the prophet was recognised in Medina as his successor. Although he suppressed an initial rebellion, Ali was soon faced with the powerful opposition of Mu'awiya, governor of Syria, who demanded revenge for the murder of his cousin Othman. Negotiations broke down and war followed. The course of the battle of Siffin (36-7/657), its only armed conflict, was indecisive and apparently going against the Syrians when they raised the Koran on their lances and brought the fighting to a standstill, demanding arbitration in the name of the prophet's word. Ali agreed, with what turned out to be fatal results. One party of his followers, numbering some 12000, refused to accept the idea of arbitration by people on the grounds that only God could decide, proclaimed *la hukma illa li-llah*, 'judgement belongs to God alone', and withdrew to the village of Harura near Kufa (whence they were often called Harurites). Although Ali managed to persuade them to return peacefully to his base Kufa, resentment took a more serious turn when the results of the arbitration – unfavorable to Ali - were announced in 658. At that point a hard core of intransigents, joined by supporters from Basra, left Kufa, elected their own caliph and took a stand at Nahrawan east of al-Mada'in (the ancient Sassanian capital). They now became known as the 'withdrawers' (Ar. *khariji*, pl. *khawarij* from *kharaja* 'withdraw'). On their way, they murdered Muslims who did not support their uncompromising position, considering them worse than infidels. Ali's army attacked them in July, killed their leader and destroyed the vast majority of their forces. Subsequent operations mopped up most of the rest. This, however, marked not the end but the beginning of a vast movement that was to cause turmoil in the Islamic world for centuries.

The first major victim was the caliph Ali himself, assassinated by a Kharijite in 40/661. After his death, the remnants of the Kharijites began to organise, choosing leaders who usually took the title *amir al-mu'minin*, and to rise in revolt. They attracted large followings in Iraq with their doctrine of equality of all believers – they believed that any Muslim was qualified to become caliph - and their tolerance for infidels. Here and later, they served as a focus for a variety of discontented elements. They were especially famous, though, for their uncompromising, puritanical attitude to violations of the teachings of the Koran, and their bitter hostility toward Muslims who deviated from what they considered the path of righteousness. The more extreme Kharijites were prepared to sacrifice their lives for their faith, and to kill any Muslim they considered sinners or heretical. They recognised only the first two caliphs (especially revering Omar), and proclaimed their own leaders as heads of the entire Muslim community. By so doing, they implied that all others who claimed supremacy were illegitimate. Opposition to Ali was easily transferred to his successor, Mu'awiya, against whom they continually revolted in Basra, Kufa and the surrounding regions. They usually formed small bands who adopted guerrilla tactics, striking suddenly and unexpectedly at cities and towns, then retiring to the safety of the marshes around Basra or the hill-country east of the Tigris. Mu'awiya's governors Ziyad ibn Abi Sufyan and Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad reacted with ferocity, killing thousands, driving them from Kufa altogether, and restoring stability. As a result, many Kharijites in Basra went underground, maintaining their beliefs in secret and creating a new stream of Kharijite development.

When Yazid, Mu'awiya's son and chosen successor, died suddenly in 64/November 683, he was succeeded by a young son who only lasted a few weeks. Succession to the caliphate was open. The proclamation of Abd Allah ibn Zubayr as caliph in Arabia in 64/March 684, stirred the opposition of the Umayyads in Syria and introduced a decade of civil war. This left the field open for a massive Kharijite resurgence that expressed itself in a series of devastating revolts. The main centres were in Arabia, Iraq and the East, and Mesopotamia. According to the transmitted, and perhaps somewhat mythical, account (Tabari II.514-18= tr. XX.97-102), the origins were laid in Mecca in 63 or 64/683, when two leading Kharijites, Nafi` ibn al-Azraq and Najda ibn `Amir went there to join Ibn Zubayr, at the time when the Umayyad forces were besieging the city. Discussions soon revealed to them, however, that Ibn Zubayr was far from sharing their point of view, so they departed in hostility, returning to Basra where the two leaders themselves fell out and came to head two separate movements.

In 65/684, a group of Kharijites who had left Mecca settled in Yamama in north central Arabia where they took over lands belonging to Mu'awiya.[5] The next year, Najda ibn Amir arrived and was chosen caliph of the community which he rapidly expanded. By 68/687, Najda had defeated the forces of ibn Zubayr and established his control over a vast region of Arabia including Bahrain, the Yemen and Hadramawt. Everywhere he went, he appointed governors and collected taxes, establishing a regular regime that formed a serious rival to ibn Zubayr's, whose control of Arabia was fatally weakened. Consequently, the pilgrimage of 68/687 featured four leaders and their followers: ibn al-Zubayr, the Umayyad representative, Ibn al-Hanifiyya (the Alid) and Najda ibn Amir (Tabari II.781-3; tr. XXI.151-3). The Kharijites,

in other words, were claiming equal authority with the two rival caliphs. By then, Najda had sent one of his followers `Atiyya ibn al-Aswad to subjugate Oman. Although temporarily successful there, he soon broke with Najda and moved his base to Kirman, where he will be met again. Najda's success, however spectacular, did not last long for reasons that were typical of the Kharijites. Followers stricter than he revolted and chose a new leader, Abu Fudayk. Najda was killed in 72/691, but Abu Fudayk, joined by many Bedouin and apparently in alliance with the Azraqites (on whom see below), defeated the troops of the Umayyad caliph Abd al-Malik. In 73/692, however, the Kharijites of Arabia were crushed by a combined force from Kufa and Basra, this time permanently.

Meanwhile, Nafi` ibn al-Azraq had returned from Mecca to Basra where he started a revolt in the Spring of 64/684 when the town was torn by internal strife following the death of the caliph Yazid ibn Mu`awiya.[6] His followers, henceforth known as Azraqites (Ar. *azariqa*) after his name, assassinated the governor and seized the city. They publicly announced the policies that identified them as the most extremist and violent wing of the Kharijites: that all Muslims - even other Kharijites - who disagreed with their strict interpretation of doctrine and practice were worse than unbelievers and worthy of immediate death. Although expelled by the inhabitants of Basra they recaptured the city and held it until ibn Zubayr sent a powerful force that dislodged them, driving them into Khuzistan, where they were defeated and their leader Nafi` killed in 65/January 685. Khuzistan, with its capital Ahwaz, was to be the scene of many of their future operations.

Reorganised under a new leader, Ubayd Allah ibn Mahuz, the Azraqites drove the government forces back to Basra and proceeded to devastate the whole region between there and Ahwaz, looting the country and slaughtering their sectarian opponents. They made Nahr Tira north of Basra their base, but by then had spread far to the east, for they were reported as having excellent horses, weapons and chain mail that they had stripped from the entire region from Khuzistan to Kirman (Tabari II.586f= tr.XX.170). Despite these advantages, their numbers were still small and they were defeated east of Ahwaz by Muhallab ibn Abi Sufra, the governor of Khorasan (and their later nemesis) in 66/May 686. Ubayd Allah's brother Zubayr ibn Mahuz now succeeded to power and led the Azraqites into the recesses of Fars and Kirman. The next year, they returned yet again, with devastating effect. Emerging into the plain, they struck into the heart of Iraq, attacking and devastating al-Mada'in. Their atrocities here included the slaughter of women and children of the opposing parties. They were even accused of ripping open pregnant women. They withdrew, however, at the approach of the army of Kufa. Penetrating deep into Fars, the Azraqites besieged Isfahan unsuccessfully for several months. When their leader was killed there in 68 or 69/688-9, the Azraqites chose a new caliph, Qatari ibn al-Fuja'a, who was destined to be their most formidable leader.[7]

Qatari continued the withdrawal into Kirman, where he built up his forces, looted the country and appropriated its revenues (apparently by collecting taxes; Tabari II.764=tr.XXI.133), returning in early 71/690 (the chronology of these events is not very clear) to Isfahan then to Ahwaz, where once again the Azraqites posed a serious threat to Basra. Muhallab held them off in a series of engagements that lasted eight months, with neither side gaining definitive advantage. By now, Abd al-Malik was finally in control of Iraq.[8] He appointed new governors for Kufa and Basra, with the governor of Basra naming subordinates to take charge of the cities of Fars. Khalid ibn Abd Allah, governor of Basra, managed to push Qatari back to Kirman yet again, but in 73/692, the Azraqites returned and inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the governor's brother (who reputedly had a force of 30000) at Darabjird, retook Ahwaz and advanced on Basra. In this emergency, the caliph gave special powers to Muhallab, who recruited a force from Kufa and Basra, drove the Azraqites into the mountains and established a base at Ramhormuz east of Ahwaz. At this point, however, Abd al-Malik's brother, Bishr ibn Marwan, who was governing Iraq, suddenly died and the forces from the two garrison cities deserted to their homes.

The turning point of the struggle against Qatari came in the autumn of 75/694, when Abd al-Malik appointed al-Hajjaj governor of Iraq. He in turn energetically supported Muhallab, giving him the revenues of all the territories in the East he would conquer. Muhallab now advanced, steadily driving the Azraqites back and establishing a series of fortified camps which successfully resisted their ripostes. The fighting continued through the next year, especially around Bishapur, which Muhallab made his base. Although Qatari gained some victories in surprise night attacks, he had to abandon Fars to Muhallab, and retreat into Kirman by 77/697. These determined campaigns marked the beginning of the end for the Azraqites. As Muhallab advanced, al-Hajjaj took over the administration of the conquered territories, leaving the revenues of Fasa, Darabjird and Istakhr to Muhallab for continuing the campaign.

Meanwhile, Qatari had established his headquarters in Jiruft, where he successfully held off all attacks for eighteen months. His power finally succumbed not to the army of Muhallab but to the typical Kharijite penchant for disunion. According to Tabari (II.1006; tr. XXII.153), an official who was administering the finances and justice in one of the (unspecified) regions of Kirman, got into a quarrel with Qatari over the murder of a fellow Kharijite. This led to a split in the ranks, with the majority (apparently consisting of *mawali*) giving their allegiance to `Abd Rabbihi al-Kabir, while about a quarter of the force, consisting of Arabs, followed Qatari into Tabaristan. Muhallab, who had watched the disintegration of his enemy with pleasure, attacked and rapidly crushed the forces of Abd Rabbihi, and returned to Basra in triumph in 78/697. Hajjaj sent a Syrian army against Qatari who, according to one account, had stirred the resentment of the local population by his rigid collection of the poll-tax on non-Muslims (EI^2 753). In any case, Qatari was caught in an ambush, and killed. His head was sent to al-Hajjaj in Kufa, then forwarded to the caliph in Damascus, visible witness of the defeat of this ferocious enemy. The sources are unclear about the date of Qatari's death, whether it happened in 78 or 79/697-699. The remnants of his followers, who retreated to the southeast, were soon mopped up and the threat from the Azraqites finally brought to an end.

The last great Kharijite uprising of this period is portrayed in the sources in an almost romantic, even epic vein.[9] It began in 76/695 at Dara in the Jazira, in the north of Mesopotamia, when Salih ibn Musarrih, leader of the Sufriyya, rose in revolt.[10] These were the moderate Kharijites who, unlike the extremist Azraqites regarded other Muslims not as polytheists worthy of killing but as misguided people with whom it might be possible to compromise. They were based in Basra and in Kufa, where Salih had imbibed their doctrine which he spread in Mesopotamia for twenty years before leading an uprising. His revolt was apparently provoked by the persecutions of al-Hajjaj, who had no tolerance for active Kharijites. After some initial successes against the governor of Mosul, Salih was killed and most of his force destroyed by an army sent by al-Hajjaj later in 76/695.

Leadership, with the title *amir al-mu'minin*, was then assumed by Shabib ibn Yazid al-Shaybani, who led a guerrilla warfare in Iraq, driving off and defeating the numerous forces that al-Hajjaj sent against him. His successes came from the swift and unexpected moves of his small forces and the help he received from the local Christian population. Victory followed victory, with much humiliation for al-Hajjaj and his superior forces. The low point for the governor came when Shabib actually entered Kufa in al-Hajjaj's absence, banged an iron bar against the door of his palace, entered the mosque and killed several of the people he found praying there. After a major victory on the banks of the river Dujail in Khuzistan, Shabib led his men into the mountains for the summer of 77/696. Here he was joined by many who

opposed the unrelenting discipline of al-Hajjaj. When he came down again into the plain, Shabib not only defeated the armies sent against him but even seized the city of al-Mada'in. Al-Hajjaj, who was occupied at the same time with the struggle against the Azraqites, finally called on `Abd al-Malik who sent him a force of battle-trained Syrian troops. The tide now began to turn. The Syrians forced Shabib to retreat to Ahwaz, then Kirman. Shabib managed to return to Ahwaz, however, to fight another battle which he lost. In the retreat, he was drowned in the Dujail at the end of 77/697, after terrorising Iraq for more than a year. His followers continued the resistance for a short time, but were soon suppressed.

Al-Hajjaj had worked so thoroughly that the caliphate enjoyed a half-century of respite from serious Kharijite troubles. When Umayyad power began to break up, however, revolts spread through their realm, two of them led by Kharijites who enjoyed spectacular, if momentary, success in Mesopotamia and Arabia. In both cases, the religious element became merged with the revolutionary, and the Kharijites found themselves at the head of forces far larger than those of earlier movements. These revolts were the products of the two 'moderate' Kharijite sects, the Sufriyya and the Ibadiyya. The former have already been met in Mesopotamia; the Ibadis were the real 'quietists', who believed in peaceful accommodation with other Muslims, among whom they were willing to live, concealing their true beliefs.

The greatest Sufri outbreak began in 126/744 in northern Mesopotamia, under the leadership of Sa`id ibn Bahdal, who soon occupied Mosul, the strategic chief city of the Diyar Rabi'ah district. [11] Although he died of the plague before he could attack Iraq, his successor, the religious scholar Dahhak ibn Qays al-Shaybani, a native of this region, gained overwhelming victories.[12] He was called both *imam* and *amir al-mu'minin* (Tabari II.1900, 1906= tr. XXV.11, 17). Like Shabib, Dahhak moved against the Arab bases in Iraq, reinforced by thousands of armed followers from Kurdistan and the North. By this time, Sufri Kharijism had spread to Kurdistan and Azerbaijan, and had a base at Shahrazur in the mountains east of Mosul. Dahhak now commanded the largest force Kharijites had ever put into the field. In 127/April 745, he defeated the combined forces of the two rival governors of Kufa, and took the city; he appointed his own governor there. The next month, Dahhak besieged Wasit, where in August, the governor, Abd Allah son of the former caliph Umar II, pledged allegiance to him, to universal astonishment. In spring of 128/746, Dahhak returned to Mosul, which opened its gates to him, and raised a huge force of willing recruits from the local inhabitants.[13] He was even joined by a son of the former caliph Hisham. By now, though, the Umayyad caliph Marwan II had finished subduing his opponents in Syria and could turn his attention eastward. Although Dahhak won yet another battle at Nisibis, the arrival of the caliph's main force finally defeated and killed him at Kafr Tutha in the northern Jazira (where the revolt had begun) late in 128/746.

This did not mean the end for the Sufri; they still had some 40,000 men, and a new caliph Shayban ibn `Abd al-Aziz who held out in Mosul for some nine months.[14] By then, however, Marwan's commander Ibn Hubayra had recaptured Kufa, and the Kharijites withdrew to Ahwaz and then Fars, where they joined the rebellion of the Alid pretender `Abd Allah ibn Mu`awiya.[15] After ibn Mu`awiya was defeated, Shayban retreated to Jiruft in Kirman, and was eventually killed fighting a local chief in Oman in 134/751. Sufri rebellions long continued in the Jazira; the sources record seventeen of them between 133/750 and 318/931.[16] In the late ninth century, Musawir al-Bajali (252-263/866-877) and Harun al-Bajali (267-283/880-896) even managed to retain control of large regions of northern Iraq, where they collected taxes, reorganised the financial system, appointed administrators and posted garrisons.

The Sufriyya never again had such devastating effect in the central Islamic lands as they had under Shayban and Dahhak, though they did produce one last ruler. One of Harun's followers was a Kurd named Ibrahim ibn Shadhluya whose son Daysam, also identified as a Kharijite, gained sporadic power in the Caucasus between 325/936-7 and 344/955-6. His main conquest was Azerbayjan, a region where Kharijites had long been established; he gained and lost it on several occasions, often dominating neighbouring Armenia also.[17] Although described as a Kharijite, he seems to have been more an adventurer than leader of a sect. He is in any case one of the last Kharijites to exercise extensive temporal power.

The first great Ibadi revolt, which gained spectacular success in Arabia, broke out during the Sufri troubles. Until that time, the Ibadis had lived peacefully in the Muslim community, even enjoying friendly relations with al-Hajjaj.[18] After the death of `Abd al-Malik in 86/705, however, Hajjaj began to persecute the Ibadis, driving many of them into exile in Oman, and arresting others. Among these was the scholar and (as it turned out) great organiser Abu `Ubayda Muslim, who became leader of the Ibadis of Basra when he was freed on the death of al-Hajjaj in 95/714. Abandoning the peaceful policy of his predecessors, yet not willing to risk the adventurous Azraqite policy of withdrawing to establish their own community outside Basra, he followed a far more insidious policy of raising money from rich sympathizers to build a network of organised missionaries who would spread the sect's doctrine and preach revolution at the same time. Teams went especially to Arabia, but also as far away as the Maghrib and Khorasan; they enjoyed great success everywhere. In 127 or 128, one team reached Abd Allah ibn Yahya in the Hadramawt, helped him to organise a regime and proclaimed him imam, thus founding the first Ibadi state. Abd Allah became caliph early in 129/746 and took the title *Talib al-Haqq* ('Seeker of Truth', discussed below).[19] He soon had control of the Hadramawt and in the same year seized Sana`a, which gave him control of all southern Arabia. He set up a regular administration, incorporating many officials of the previous régimes; he proclaimed that Kharijites and other Muslims could live at peace, and many Kharijites from other regions came to join his movement. His forces participated in the pilgrimage of that year, and seized Mecca, completely crushing the larger forces of the ruling Quraysh aristocracy. In October 130/747, Abd Allah's forces entered Medina. His control of most of Arabia was a threat to the heartland of the caliphate and provoked a strong response. Marwan II sent a tough Syrian army which reconquered Medina in January 130/748. By the end of the year, Mecca and San`a had also fallen, and the *Talib al-Haqq* had been killed, though his followers long remained ensconced in the Hadramawt. They also had great success in Oman. Although their first revolt there in 750 was soon crushed, the outbreak of 177/793 led to the establishment of an independent state which became the headquarters of the Ibadi movement. Although conquered by the Abbasids in 280/893, the Ibadis long retained real local control and from there spread their doctrine to east Africa, where it still flourishes.

Another centre of successful missionary activity was the Maghrib.[20] The Ibadiyya took root in Tripolitania during the second/eighth century and spread to the Berbers, where it made great headway among tribes who were hostile to Arab rule. The movement proclaimed its first *imam* in North Africa, Abu'l-Khattab, who assumed the office in Tripolitania in 140/757-8.[21] With a Berber force, he rapidly conquered Tripoli, which became his headquarters, then the next year even took Kayrawan, the capital of Ifriqiyya. He appointed Abd Allah ibn Rustam governor of the city. The Abbasids soon counterattacked from Egypt, however, brought Abu'l-Khattab's reign to an end, and massacred his followers in August 144/761. The survivors moved west, where Abd Allah ibn Rustam established a new headquarters at Tahart in western Algeria, which became a flourishing centre of trade. His successors of the Rustamid dynasty reached the height of their power in the late second and early third/first half of the ninth century, when their domain stretched from Algeria to Tripolitania, with much of southern Tunisia, virtually encircling

the pro-Abbasid Aghlabid realm. They lasted until 296/909 when they finally succumbed to the Fatimids. The last Ibadi attempt to achieve political power began in 358/969 when two tribal chiefs, Abu 'l-Qasim and Abu Khazar managed to seize control of Tripolitania, southern Tunisia and Jerba. Abu Khazar, who raised a large army, appointed governors for the conquered provinces and planned an alliance with the Spanish Umayyads, but was soon crushed by the Fatimids. This ended any hope of establishing an Ibadi imamate in the Maghreb, though sporadic revolts sometimes managed to occupy small territories into the late tenth century.

The Sufriyya likewise did well in North Africa.[22] Their teachings, which took root among the Berbers in the early second/eighth century, led to a major revolt in Tangiers in 122/739. Although their caliph Maysara was soon killed, the Sufris continued to be a major threat for Umayyad and Abbasid governors. The consolidation of Abbasid power, however, combined with the growth of the Ibadis, pushed the Sufris to the west, where they established their own state around Tlemcen. Under a dynamic leader, Abu Qurra, who frequently collaborated with the Ibadis, the Sufris retained power until 155/772 when the combination of Abbasid strength and the rivalry of the new Idrisid dynasty pushed them yet further west to Sijilmasa in Morocco, where around 208/823 they established a new dynasty, the Midrarid.[23] Its rulers were often allied with the Ibadi Rustamids. By the time its leader, Muhammad ibn Wasul, proclaimed himself caliph under the name al-Shakir lillah, in 342/953-4, however, the state was no longer Kharijite. Shakir converted to Sunni orthodoxy, and allied himself with the Umayyads of Spain. This brought down the wrath of the Fatimids, who deposed Shakir in 347/959; the dynasty lingered on another ten years. After that, the Sufriyya lost political power and their sect gradually died out, being absorbed into the Ibadiyya.

In sum, Kharijite activity in the central Islamic lands manifested two major eruptions: during the second civil war when the Umayyad Marwan and Ibn Zubayr were struggling for supremacy; and during the chaos that accompanied the final collapse of the Umayyads. There were, of course, many minor outbreaks before and after. In the first period, the longest and most dangerous revolt was that of the Azraqites which lasted some 15 years from the proclamation of Nafi` in 64 to the death of Qatari in 78 or 79. It overlapped with the two others; the Najadat of Arabia (64-73) and the followers of Salih and Shabib, starting in Mesopotamia and culminating in Iraq (76-77). Although the third and shortest revolt seems to have consisted manly of guerrilla actions, the other two involved the creation of regular states, rival centres of power for the caliphate, with recognised leaders, an army, and an organised administration. In all cases, of course, there was a leader who usually took the title of caliph (amir al-mu'minin) and an army, but the existence of an organised government differentiated the Kharijites of Arabia and the East. The situation is clearest with the Najadat, where Najda ibn Amir appointed governors and collected taxes. Qatari also had officials to administer the finances and justice, and collected taxes. He and `Atiyya ibn al-Aswad also struck coins, a sure symbol of sovereignty and implying an organised economy. It is appropriate to consider both of these as states, which had definable bases (Arabia and Fars/Kirman) and the ambition, if not the ability, to conquer more territory and establish their supremacy. The reaction of the governments of the Umayyads and Ibn Zubayr, who made systematic attempts to regain lost territory and to overcome these fledgling rivals shows that they were considered a great danger. In other words, the Najadat and Azraqites at least, were not merely the followers of missionaries but the leaders of powerful organisations that held off all attempts to crush them for several years.

In the second wave, the revolts of the Sufris of Mesopotamia (126-129) and the Ibadis of Arabia (129-131) also overlapped, while that of the Ibadis of North Africa followed soon after (140-144). In Mesopotamia, Dahhak, who had an enormous army, also appointed governors and struck coins, while the Talib al-Haqq in Arabia ran a regular administration, though without coinage. In Tripolitania, Abu'l-Khattab conquered cities, had subordinate governors and struck coins. Here again, territorial states, however ephemeral they may have turned out to be, were being set up by Kharijite leaders, based on conquered lands and especially cities. More examples could be found in the following century, as noted above.

The two Ibadi states were the product of systematic missionary activity from Basra, which began at the end of the first Islamic century, not with the first wave of Kharijite outbreaks. At that time, initiative seems to have rested first with the original khawarij, who withdrew from the forces of Ali, then with individual leaders who espoused variant forms of a doctrine which at its most extreme inspired fear and loathing among other Muslims. Adopting the Kharijite doctrine was taken seriously; it could prove dangerous as well as unpopular. In 66/686, for example, a follower of the Shiite rebel Mukhtar, was quoted as describing the Kharijites as the 'worst religion among us' (Tabari II.647 = tr. XXI.8), while a Kharijite who proclaimed la hukma illa l-illah during the pilgrimage of 69/689 was killed on the spot by the people (Tabari II.796= tr.XXI.167). The Azraqites in particular, who willingly shed the blood of fellow Muslims and committed (or were accused of) horrendous atrocities, including the slaughter of women and children, were especially detested. No one would express sympathy with them lightly.

Although the Kharijites spread throughout the Islamic world, their revolutionary activities were concentrated in a few areas, while others remained immune. Beginning in the Arab garrison cities of Basra and Kufa, the Kharijites constantly rose in Iraq or attacked it, and were constantly repelled. They enjoyed great success in Arabia in both waves of outbreaks, and for a long time in Oman. During the late Umayyad and Abbasid periods, Ibadis and Sufris alike afflicted the Maghreb, with varying degrees of success. The other great Kharijite centre was the Jazira, source of major revolts and constantly disturbed by outbreaks. Salih ibn Musarrih and his follower Shabib started from there in 76/695, as did Salih ibn Bahdal and Dahhak fifty years later. Both these movements spread to Iraq, where they concentrated their efforts. Shabib moved to Khuzistan and Kirman where the Azraqites of Nafi` and Qatari had their base and played a major role. From Mesopotamia, Kharijite doctrines spread to the Kurds and to Azerbaijan, where they took root. Yet in all this, a few districts seem never to have been affected, notably Egypt, Spain and Syria. Syria in particular (not just al-Urdunn in the 70's) suffered no attested Kharijite outbreak in the Umayyad or Abbasid periods. This does not simply reflect a lack of sources (which are indeed poor for this area), for writers who deal with the period have a great deal to say about Kharijite movements in all parts of the Islamic world. Modern scholarship seems unanimous in attesting to the lack of such activity in greater Syria.[24]

The evidence, then, suggests a high level of organisation for the most serious of these revolts, as might already have been imagined from the simple fact that they struck their own coins. Examination of these coins may lead to some further conclusions.

Kharijite Coinage

Since several of the Kharijite movements established, or tried or claimed to establish, organised states, with tax collecting and government officials as well as an army, it is not surprising that they also struck coins. The coins served obvious economic functions, as well as being a useful means of propaganda to assert the Kharijite claims to supremacy, and to advertise their beliefs. Some of these coins bear legends that make their sectarian identity obvious; others hardly differ from the norms of contemporary issues. They provide in any case a valuable supplement or correction to the historical record, with some real surprises.

Of the first wave of Kharijite revolts, only the Azraqites are known to have struck coins. Silver dirhams of Sassanian type (the typical currency of the East) were issued in the name of Qatari, Commander of the Faithful, in 69/688-9 and from 75 to 77/694-697.

All give him the caliphal title, and some add the otherwise unattested title Abd Allah. They bear in the margin the prime Kharijite slogan *la hukma illa lillah*; they leave no doubt about Qatari's political and sectarian identity. The issue of 69 is extremely rare, known at present in only two examples, one with the mint name of Bishapur (Walker 1941, p.112), the other with an unexplained mintmark ShW (or ShN).[25] That may be a hitherto unknown place in Fars, or possibly an abbreviation for Shush or Susa in Khuzistan. These coins confirm that Qatari had assumed power by 69 (the sources are ambiguous on the date of his proclamation as caliph). The issue of Bishapur, like the sources, shows that he was then active in Fars, but the coin of ShW raises the possibility that his forces also maintained control in Khuzistan. The sources only state that the Azraqites had withdrawn from Iraq into Fars, but do not preclude their still having a base at the edge of the mountains.

The numismatic record is silent for the period of Qatari's greatest successes, when he successfully led his men back into Fars and Khuzistan, and only resumes just as he was being thrown on the defensive by the relentless onslaught of al-Hajjaj and Muhallab. In 75/694-5, Qatari struck coins throughout Fars: at Bishapur, Darabjird with its dependency Jahrum, Istakhr, Ardashir Khurrah with Tawwaj, and Yazd. In 76, though, his only issue was from Darabjird, and in 77 from Kirman.[26] These coins confirm and illustrate the historical record. Those of 75 were issued preparatory to defending the Azraqite territories against the Umayyads. In 76, as Muhallab was advancing, Qatari held on only in Darabjird, and by 77 had withdrawn to Kirman, where he led his last resistance. Concurrently, coinage in the name of Muhallab shows the government's advance against Qatari.[27] In 75, he was already striking in Bishapur (which according to Tabari was his base in Fars) and, surprisingly, in Yazd, far to the northeast. By 76, he was in control of Ardashir Khurrah, Darabjird and some part of Kirman, where he continued to strike coins in 77 and 78. His issues of Istakhr are dated 78. Meanwhile, the powerful arm of the central government was making itself felt. Al-Hajjaj struck coins at Bishapur from 76 to 81, at Ardashir Khurrah in 77-81, and at Istakhr in 80 and 81.[28] This, too, confirms Tabari's statement that al-Hajjaj took over the administration of Fars, leaving the revenues of Darabjird and Istakhr to Muhallab. Al-Hajjaj's later issues are contemporary with an even more powerful manifestation of central control, the standardised, anonymous, aniconic Umayyad dirhams, which appear at numerous mints of Fars and Khuzistan beginning in 79.

The coins raise one mystery: where was Qatari between 69 and 75?, and one surprise: the fate of Kirman. For the historians, Qatari had his main base in Kirman whence he descended into Fars and Khuzistan on more than one occasion. Yet he struck no coins in this period; instead, the mints of Fars issued coins in the name of Ibn Zubayr and his subordinates from 65 to 72, and the Umayyad authorities in 71-74.[29] The mints of Kirman, on the other hand, struck for Ibn Zubayr and his representatives in 65-71, then in the name of `Atiyya ibn al-Aswad from 71 to 77 (Mochiri 2000.34).

The biggest surprise the coins offer involves the role of `Atiyya ibn al-Aswad. In the historical record, he is an ephemeral figure, a follower of Nafi` ibn al-Azraq, who captured Oman for him in or soon after 67/686, then, after losing it and breaking with his leader, fled to Kirman where he settled and actually struck his own coins before succumbing to the attacks of Muhallab.[30] He sounds quite unimportant. The coins, on the other hand, reveal a very different picture.[31] His extensive issues bear the names of numerous mints of Kirman (several of them still to be identified) from 71 through 77. In 71, he struck from 3 mints: Shirajan (called simple Kirman on the coins), Narmashir and one unidentified; but the coinage of the next year comes from no less than ten mints.[32] It remains abundant through 75 (9 mints), then drops to three (Narmashir, Jiruft and uncertain) in 76 and three in 77 (Narmashir, two uncertain). It seems, then, that Kirman was firmly under `Atiyya's control for much of the career of Qatari, who is supposed to have used it as his base, and drawn his revenues from there. He, however, only struck one issue in the province, while `Atiyya never struck outside it. This raises the question of `Atiyya's actual position. His coins give him no title, but bear the unique marginal inscription *bismillah wali al-amr* 'in the name of God, master of power'. This may indicate, as Alan de Shazo (personal communication) believes, that `Atiyya recognised no authority but God. On the other hand, such a sentiment would not be in accordance with Kharijite doctrine where the head of the community was acclaimed as *imam*, caliph or Commander of the Faithful. Alternatively, the lack of a title may indicate that `Atiyya was subordinate to Qatari, who bore the supreme rank. In that case, coins and sources would be in accord: Qatari could make his base in Kirman, and issue from there for his devastating attacks, because the region was firmly in control of a dependable subordinate, who evidently exploited local resources to strike coins and presumably use them to pay the armies that were being raised.

Other issues of Kirman illustrate `Atiyya's rise and fall. Coins of 66-70 bear the name of Abd Allah ibn Zubayr or his brother Mus`ab. The last, in the name of Mus`ab, was struck at Narmashir in 71, the same year as `Atiyya's first issue. This may reflect the establishment of Kharijite control but, once again, raises the question of Qatari's whereabouts or activities in his first two years as commander. Such questions obviously cannot be resolved at present, but discoveries which are constantly being made in this series may soon cast some light. At the other end of the period, the inevitable Muhallab makes his appearance with coins struck at Narmashir and (uncertain) in 76 and again at Narmashir and another uncertain mint in 77, the year of `Atiyya's (and Qatari's) last coins. It would appear that they were fighting for control of the province in those two years. Coins of Kirman of 78 bear the names of Muhallab or his son Yazid only.

The second wave of Kharijite rebellions, at the end of the Umayyad period, produced two series of coins, representing the activities of Dahhak ibn Qays. He struck undated bronzes (*fals*) in his own name at Mosul (Wurtzel 1978.190 no.33 = Rotter 1974.191 no.10). They have the *shahada* and normal legends, though the arrangement of the legends is novel, and they are struck at a heavier weight standard than earlier issues of Mosul. They bear, however, no indication of Kharijite allegiance. If Dahhak were not known to history, these coins would not have been identified as Kharijite, but his name and the mint leave no doubt that this is the issue of an enormously successful revolt. The other coinage associated with the same events is in silver, dirhams struck in Kufa in 128/745-6, of a normal late Umayyad type, but inscribed bearing in the outer margin with the unambiguous Kharijite slogan *la hukma illa lillah*. As was customary of precious metal coinage of the time, they do not name a ruler, but since Dahhak was in control of Kufa during that year, there is no doubt that the coins are to be assigned to him. They form in any case a distinctively Kharijite issue, within an existing tradition. The dirhams follow the normal Umayyad practice of anonymity, while the bronze corresponds to the coinage of Mosul which characteristically names its governor.

Another coin, equally Kharijite, poses problems of identification. This is a rare dirham struck in 133/750-1 at a mint whose name has yet to be determined. Although the writing is clear on the one illustrated specimen, the ambiguities of the unpointed Arabic alphabet have made it impossible to identify.[33] An early solution was Tanbuk, but that reading has been shown to be impossible, and another place, Tanbarak, a fortress in Fars, has been proposed (Album p.24, n.34). That at least suits the inscription on the coin, but raises historical problems. Dahhak's successor, Shayban ibn `Abd al-Aziz, did withdraw to Fars, but

fought there as a supporter of an Alid pretender, not as leader of an independent Kharijite rebellion. By 133, his patron had been defeated and he had retreated further east. It is, of course, possible that some of his followers remained in Fars to issue such a coin, or that surviving pockets of Kharijites were still active enough there – in a region where they had long been numerous – to strike coins. None of this, though, would explain the evident affinity between the coin of 133 and that of 128 which, as Wurtzel (1978.178) notes, is 'too striking for coincidence'. Ideally, a mint in Iraq or the Jazira should be found, with some evidence of continuity between the revolt of Dahhak and whoever issued this coin.

Historical sources, though cryptic, may suggest a solution. There was, in fact, a Kharijite rebellion in the Jazira at exactly this time. According to Tabari (followed by ibn al-Athir), a Kharijite named Buraika, chief of the Rabi'a tribe who lived around Dara and Mardin in upper Mesopotamia, joined the resistance to the Abbasid advance in this region, and was defeated and killed by Abu Ja'far (the future caliph al-Mansur) in a bitterly fought battle in 133/750-1.[34] Buraika seems like a minor and ephemeral figure until a Christian source is consulted. The Syriac chronicle written in 775 and attributed to Dionysius of Tell-Mahre recounts many details of the history of Mesopotamia. Its author reports that in AS 1061 (=132/3=749-50) the Arabs of the region bitterly resisted the Abbasids, and that the whole year was one of chaos, during which Buraika (not identified or previously mentioned) joined the sect of the Harurites (i.e. Kharijites). The chronicler repeats the statement in his account of the next year. In AS 1063 (134/5=751/2), when the Abbasid forces were gaining the upper hand in the Mosul region, the brother of their ruler attacked Buraika near Dara and cut his army to pieces, though Buraika himself escaped.[35] Although these references are extremely sketchy, they suggest that Buraika was actually an important figure whose revolt lasted for at least two years and could only be suppressed by the direct intervention of the caliph's brother. Considering its Kharijite nature and close similarity to the Kufan issue of 128, which was struck by a rebel from upper Mesopotamia, the enigmatic dirham of 133 might have been issued by Buraika. In that case, the mint (however it be read) should perhaps be sought in the Jazira.

Another Jaziran coin of this confused period has been tentatively assigned to a Kharijite. This is an undated *fals* of Mosul struck by an unknown *amir* Zuhair ibn 'Alqama (Rotter 194f., no.11). Although the reverse has the usual legends, the obverse is unparalleled. It reads only: *la hawla wa la quwwa illa bi-llah*, 'there is no power and no strength but in God'. Style and weight suggested attribution to the last decade of the Umayyad period, while the legend seemed reminiscent of the Kharijite slogan. Half of it (*la quwwata...)* is from the Koran, (18:39) and the whole phrase is in current use without any sectarian connotation. This piece therefore may be considered Kharijite until further information is available.

Although the major Kharijite dynasty of north Africa, the Rustamids, struck no coins, their founder Abd Allah ibn Rustam was governor of Qayrawan during its occupation by the Ibadis of Abu'l-Khattab from 141-144/758-761. Bronze *fulus* struck there in these years are anonymous, bearing the mint name and date only, with no indication of the ruler or his religious allegiance (Album 280: issued 142-147; cf. Lavoix I.1552; an example is illustrated in BMC I.194). The same type continued during the first years of Abbasid reoccupation.

During the last decades of the second century AH, the important western Algerian fortress of Tlemcen was under the control of the powerful Berber tribe of Maghrawa, who were Sufris.[36] It fell to the Idrisids in 198-9/813-5. These Kharijites struck anonymous dirhams in 180/796-7 and 191/806-7, and an issue in the name of al-Layth, apparently their emir, in 198/813-4 (Eustache 305f., nos. 79-86). The anonymous issues of 180 bear an enigmatic legend which seems to read *hadahu aminan bi-rasuli Llahi Muhammad rabbi.* This may mean 'Trusting in the prophet of God, Muhammad; my Lord has guided him', but neither reading nor interpretation is certain. Since this legend is unparalleled, it may conceivably have had a Kharijite significance, but if so, its meaning is now lost. The coins of 191 and 198 have more prosaic additions to their legends: *tayyib* and *'adl* respectively. These refer to the quality and weight of the coinage.[37] In addition, the anonymous dirham of 191 bears the names Ali and Muhammad, presumably local rulers or reflecting Maghrawa recognition of the Idrisid prince Muhammad ibn Sulayman.[38]

A line of Sufri emirs of Tudgha in southern Morocco, whose names are known only from their coinage, struck dirhams in that town which lay near an important silver mine: Khalaf ibn al-Muda' in 175, 176 and 187-190/791-3, 803-7 (Eustache 291-6, nos.1-46); Amr ibn Hammad in 176/792-3 (Eustache 296f., nos.47-50); Zufar in 175-9/791-5 (Album A433); and 'Iyad ibn Wahb in 178-180/794-6 (Album A-432). The otherwise unknown Zaynab whose coins of Tudgha of 200/815 (Album B433) also have a moneyer's name in Hebrew, may be another of these amirs. There is in addition a series of anonymous issues of the same period (Eustache 297-300, nos. 51, 53-63A, 72A).

Neither the title of the rulers nor their relation to each other can be determined; sources only specify that Tudgha was in control of Sufri Kharijites.[39] In any case, the coins bear no specifically or openly Kharijite message. They employ a formula *amara bil haqq wa-l wafa*, which will be discussed below, while the anonymous issues add *nabiyyu rahmatihi* 'Prophet by the grace of God', after the *shahada*. Although unusual, this was already used by the orthodox Abbasid governors of Ifriqiya.[40] In addition, the coins of Khalaf and Amr bear cryptic words or letters on obverse and reverse, whose meaning is unknown.[41] If these had a Kharijite significance, it would have been obvious only to the initiated.[42]

The latest issues of a Kharijite ruler are those of the Kurd Daysam, who struck very rare dinars and a series of dirhams, the latter from mints in Azerbayjan and Armenia between 325/937 and 341/952 (Album A1484, B1484; details of dirhams: Bykov 1963). There is nothing specifically Kharijite about these coins, which conform to the Abbasid norms of the time, and name the reigning caliph.[43]

In sum, although several Kharijite rulers struck coins, few of them issued types that reflect or reveal their sectarian origins. Some, like the Najadat and Ibadis of Arabia and the Rustamids and later dynasties in the Maghreb, issued no coins at all. The most

distinctive types belong to the first two waves of revolts, struck by Qatari and 'Atiyya, and by Dahhaq ibn Qays and his mysterious successor of 133. The dirhams of Qatari, Dahhaq and of 133, with their unambiguous *la hukma illa lillah,* leave no doubt regarding their sectarian origins. 'Atiyya's issues, like those of the unknown Zuhair ibn Alqama, have slogans that may have been Kharijite, but whose connotation is now lost. The bronzes of Dahhak, on the other hand, conform to contemporary norms and have no Kharijite message at all. The same is true of all the North African issues (unless the cryptic marks of Tudgha concealed a Kharijite message), as well as those of Daysam the Kurd. In other words, there is no consistent and easily recognised Kharijite coinage. In none of these cases, however, is there an issue which merely bears the name of a Kharijite leader by itself, without an identifying context. The rulers all have patronymics or titles or both; isolated names, as on the dirhams of Tlemcen and Tudgha, appear to be those of rulers or possibly moneyers. An inscription like the bare name Qatari would be highly unusual, if not unparalleled.

The Truth

To support a possibly oppositional or revolutionary significance of the QTRI coin of Tiberias, Mr Ilisch adduces a recently published small bronze of the nearby Baisan, a city included in the *jund* of Urdunn, of which Tabariya was the capital.

It bears the enigmatic phrase *al-haqq*, 'the Truth'. He gives further examples of coins with similar inscriptions - an Abbasid dirham of 203 and a dirham of Antakiya of 354 - which, he believes, 'mostly indicate some sort of political disagreement'. These are worth examining, along with several other examples where the term *al-haqq* appears in the legend. In all cases, one need also seek a heterodox meaning or implication, and look for any possible connection with the Kharijites.

The earliest coin cited is the bronze of Baysan, discovered in the Hebrew University excavations of that city and apparently one of only two known specimens **[Fig.2]**.[44] It anomalously bears the types of Tiberias, not of Baysan which struck its own distinctive coinage. The obverse features the three standing figures holding globus, while the reverse has the usual uncial M, with cross above and A below, all typical of the coinage of Tiberias. The reverse inscription consists of three words: *fals* (r.), *al-haqq* (exergue), *bi-baisan* (r.). The authors of the publication took this as a continuous inscription, to be read 'the true *fals* [minted/issued] in Baysan'. Mr Ilisch, on the other hand, would isolate *al-haqq* and treat it as a slogan suggestive of political disagreement. Since this and the QTRI coin could have been issued by the same authority, he maintains that the enigmatic words on both could indicate a revolutionary background for these issues, possibly to be associated with sympathisers of the Azraqites. The discussion will return to this coin, its legend, and this interpretation

An Abbasid dirham struck in Baghdad in 203/818-9 bears the unexplained *haqqan* 'rightly, truly' in the lower reverse field.[45] Not a rare coin, it was evidently struck by Ibrahim ibn al-Mahdi, uncle of the reigning caliph al-Ma'mun. He controlled the capital from the beginning of 202 until the last days of 203. Ibrahim, famed as a singer, poet and bon-vivant, had been raised to the caliphate by the leaders of Baghdad and the Abbasid aristocracy in opposition to al-Ma'mun who had announced that the Shiite leader, Ali al-Rida would be his heir and successor, and ordered his followers to change their black Abbasid robes for a green appropriate to Shiites.[46] The consequent opposition led to revolt in the capital which was eventually put down, but not before al-Rida had conveniently expired. The regime of Ibrahim was thus certainly oppositionist, though hardly revolutionary, and in fact highly legitimist: his followers wanted to maintain Abbasid authority in the orthodox line of the caliphs and were opposing a movement which was itself revolutionary. In this context, I would suppose that the slogan *haqqan* was an expression of legitimacy, indicating that Right or Truth were on the side of the usurping caliph.[47] In any case, it has no hint of heterodoxy. Far from it: Ibrahim opposed not only the Shiites, but also the Kharijites: his forces rapidly suppressed the revolt of Mahdi ibn 'Alwan al-Haruri, who had temporarily gained control of the region of Nahrawan (Tabari III.1017).

The dirham of Antakiya poses a more complex problem. A crudely executed Abbasid coin of al-Muti' (334-363/946-974), it bears the additional phrase *al-haqq al-mubin*, 'the Manifest Truth' on the obverse. This is a Koranic phrase (24:25 and 27:81) used as synonymous with Allah (one of whose names was *al-Haqq*), and so bearing no obvious heterodox or revolutionary meaning. When the coin was first published (Miles 1950.105 no.360), it was tentatively dated to AH339 (950/1) and taken as possibly referring to 'the Shiite controversy which was especially bitter during al-Muti''s reign'. Actually, such a supposition is not necessary, for in 339 Antakiya was in the hands of the Hamdanids who had conquered northern Syria in 334 and been officially recognised by the Abbasid caliph the next year.[48] Since they had distinct Shiite sympathies, this phrase could possibly be taken as reflecting their spiritual allegiance. Another of their dirhams from the same mint, issued in 337 in the names of Nasir al-Dawlah, Sayf al-Dawlah and al-Muti', bears an Alid formula, calling for the blessing of Allah on Muhammad and his family (usually taken to refer to Ali).[49] Other issues of 337, 340 and 342, however, have the normal formula (*salla Allah alaihi wa sallama*). If the coin is correctly dated to 337, then, its use of *al-haqq al-mubin* may be taken as a rather cryptical reflection of Shiite sympathies. On the other hand, there is nothing officially 'oppositional' about this coin. Mr Ilisch, however, has assigned it to AH 354, when Antakiya was in revolt against the Hamdanid emir Sayf al-Dawlah. If that is correct, the coin would indeed be the product of a force in revolt, and in this case also Shiite. When Sayf al-Dawlah was away in the Jazira, where he suffered a stroke, Antakiya revolted in Dhu'l qa'da 354 (October 965), threw out his governor and offered to turn the city over to the Byzantines whose presence in the area was an overwhelming threat.[50] Their army contained many Daylamites from northern Iran (a group notorious for their Shiite sympathies) and the rebels brought in a descendant of Ali as one of their leaders. After briefly taking over much of northern Syria, they were finally crushed by the emir in the summer of 966. If the coin is correctly assigned to this period, it would certainly be a revolutionary issue, and one associated with the Alid opposition.

In any case, the phrase in question seems indeed to have a Shiite meaning or connotation, for it appears on a dirham of a notorious Shiite, al-Mu'izz, the Fatimid caliph who conquered Egypt. This issue (listed in Miles 1951, no.48; described in Lane-Poole Khed 152f., no. 957) struck in al-Mansuriya in 342, bears the invocation *bismillah al-malik al-haqq al-mubin*, i.e., the phrase is here used, as in the Koran, as an attribute of Allah. The reasons why it should have taken on a Shiite connotation are not at all obvious.

So far, then, the two coins adduced to explain the meaning of the legend on the bronze of Baysan have no unambiguous message. The coin of Ibrahim was issued by a ruler in revolt against a caliph while that of Antioch (if it is correctly attributed) reflects another revolt. In neither case, though, is the message consistent or unambiguous: *haqqan* seems to indicated Sunni legitimacy while *al-haqq al-mubin* is apparently Shiite. There are, however, numerous other examples of coins with some from of *al-haqq* in their legends. Examination of them and related titles of rulers may clarify the issue.

The earliest of these coins is perhaps roughly contemporary with the bronze of Baysan. An anonymous Arab-Sassanian bronze (Gyselen 152f, Type 48) struck in Vah-az-Amid-Kavad (Arrajan) in Fars in 80/699 bears the inscription *nasar Allah al-haqq*, 'may Allah give victory to the Truth' in its margin.[51] The other obverse legends, in Pahlavi, are 'may *khvarrah* increase' and 'benediction, victory'. This triumphalist tone is in keeping with the bronzes of al-Hajjaj, Abd al-Malik's ferocious viceroy (75-95/694-714), who suppressed the Kharijite uprisings in Iraq and the east in 77/697. His issues (without mintmark; Gyselen 171f. types 78 and 79) have the same 'may *khvarrah* increase' on the obverse and celebrate 'victory' on the reverse. In this case, it is safe to presume that the anonymous bronze was issued under the authority of al-Hajjaj, whose domain included Fars at the time. In this case, *al-haqq* was associated with a notoriously orthodox figure, whose main accomplishments included suppressing opposition to the caliph.[52] Nothing oppositional or heterodox here.

Around the year AD800, Alid rebels apparently in Tabaristan issued three types of dirhams (Miles 1965), all quoting Koran 42:22 on the obverse, a verse 'I ask you nothing in return but love of relatives' that can be taken as a reference to Ali (the Prophet's relative). One of them proclaims an unnamed figure who called himself *al-mahdi al-haqq, amir al-mu'minin*, 'the true Mahdi, commander of the faithful'. Association with Shiites seems assured by the use of the same Koranic inscription on coins of Alid revolts of 127-131AH. In this case, *al-haqq* can be associated with a heterodox rebellious movement. The title appears to be unique, but the similar *imam al-haqq*, 'the true Imam' is used on a dirham (Lavoix I.1265) of the pro-Shiite caliph al-Mustakfi (333-334/944-946), in that case not a rebel, but sympathetic to heterodoxy and in any case a puppet of the Shiite Buyyids. Likewise, al-Hasan ibn Zayd (250-270/864-884), a descendant of Ali who founded a Shiite dynasty in Tabaristan called himself *al-da'i ila-l-haqq* ('Caller to the Truth) on his

dirhams (mentioned by Miles 334; described in NC 1921.327f.). It would seem from these examples that *al-haqq,* at least in a ruler's title, was especially associated with the Shiites, if not for the following.

Others rulers or pretenders made use of titles involving the Truth. In 129/746, the Kharijite Abd Allah ibn Yahya raised the standard of revolt and took the name *talib al-haqq* ('Seeker of Truth').[53] He managed to control most of Arabia, including the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, until he was killed at the end of 130. He apparently struck no coins. The short-lived orthodox caliph al-Hadi (785-786) did strike coins, but never employed on them his full title *al-hadi ila-l-haqq* (The Guide to the Truth). On the other hand, this was the name of the founder (284-298/898-911) of the Rassid dynasty of Yemen, a Shiite. In other words, Shiites, Sunnis and Kharijites could all legitimately claim to be seeking the Truth; none of them could monopolize a concept so well rooted in the Koran.

The Yemeni al-Hadi also inscribed his coins (Miles 1965.335 n.8) with a Koranic verse (17:81) *ja'a al-haqq wa zahaqa al-batil,* 'the Truth has come and falsehood has vanished'. This verse had first appeared on a dirham (Lowick 1979) struck in Basra in 145 (762/3) during an Alid revolt, which had been initiated by Muhammad, a descendant of Ali's son Hasan and when he was rapidly defeated, continued by his brother Ibrahim. These strikingly Alid coins employ the Koranic verse to symbolise the imminent victory over the Abbasids. Although these attempts both failed, Idris, brother of the two leaders, fled to Morocco where he eventually founded a dynasty in 172/789; he and his successor Idris II (175-213/791-828) both used this verse, which for them apparently signified their fights against other religions, notably the Kharijites who were a constant menace in the Maghreb.[54] The scripture, then, celebrating the arrival of *al-haqq* had a Shiite connotation and was used by rebels or leaders of breakaway states.

The Maghreb produces the final examples of relevance that I have been able to find. They have quite different connotations from those already considered. Dirhams of the Idrisid Yahya I (234-249/849-863) struck at al-Aliya are inscribed *amara bi-l-haqq*, 'he ordered the Truth' (Eustache 1970.77, 233f.). The meaning of this becomes more apparent when put in the context of an earlier issue, struck by the Kharijite emirs of Tudgha in 175-176AH/791-2 (Eustache 1970.77, 337). This has a longer inscription, *amara bi al-haqq wa al-wafa,* 'he ordered the truth and fidelity'. This refers to the quality and weight of the coinage, and is reminiscent of the common inscription on post-reform Umayyad bronzes issued in Iraq and Fars 100-126, where the same sentiment appears in the form *amara Allah bi al-wafa wa al-adl.*[55] The term *wafa* by itself already was used on the Standing Caliph coinage of Abd al-Malik and post reform issues of Syria and Palestine. In all those cases, though, it is characteristic of bronze not silver coinage. An Arab-Sassanian dirham struck in Kirman in 84 by Ubayd Allah ibn `Abd al-Rahman, however, has *amara Allah bi al-wafa* in the obverse margin, apparently the first use of such a slogan on an Islamic coin (Gaube 1973, no.81). All these inscriptions belong to the same context of assuring the user that the coin is of good quality, while at the same time preserving the connotations of 'truth' and 'fidelity'.

The examples from al-Aliya and Tudgha have explained the simple *haqq* on a dirham of Idris II struck in Wargha in 203 (Eustache 1970.77, 239); it means 'correctness' of the weight, and finds its counterpart in the Hebrew *imit* ('rectitude' i.e., *haqq*) of an undated Kharijite issue of Khalaf ibn al-Muda (175-176/791-792) struck in Tudgha.[56] In this case, there can be no notion of an abstraction derived from the Koran. Taken together, then, these North African examples show that *al-haqq* could have a concrete and unambiguous meaning, referring to the quality of the coinage that the issuing authority was guaranteeing. Although this sense seems equally employed by Shiites and Kharijites, it has nothing to do with their opposition to greater authorities.

This usage of *al-haqq* provides, it seems to me, a valuable clue to explain the coin of Baisan. It is hard to see, considering the examples above, how the phrase by itself could have any clear connotation of opposition, least of all of anything Kharijite. *Haqq* almost invariably appears as part of a phrase, and can be used by Sunni, Shiite or Kharijite; by itself, any political message it was supposed to convey would be ambiguous at best, and most likely totally obscure. Rather than looking for an 'oppositional' significance, a more prosaic and concrete meaning seems to offer the most realistic explanation. In this case, the *haqq* of the Baisan coin should not be read in isolation, but as part of a continuous inscription as originally proposed, that is *fals al-haqq bi-baisan,* 'authentic bronze of Baisan'. Comparison with another bronze of this series, inscribed *muhammad rasul Allah*, (Walker 1950.52) with the words in the same positions forming a continuous phrase, suggest that this is the natural reading. The phrase corresponds to the uses of *haqq* in the Maghreb, where it also refers to the quality of the coinage. In this case, it would have a special significance, for the coin in question bears the types of Tiberias, and is of the normal small format in use there. Baisan traditionally had issued much larger and heavier bronzes, with a distinctive type. Labeling this coin as authentic therefore would have made a great deal of sense, since it was of a very different standard from the normal issues of the mint. *Fals al-haqq* may also have been reminiscent of the *din al-haqq* 'the true religion' that appears so commonly on Umayyad post-reform dirhams, as part of a verse from the Koran. That phrase was also prominently displayed in an Umayyad inscription recently discovered at Baisan itself.[57] In any case, there seems no reason to search for a revolutionary meaning in this phrase.

Conclusion

The discussion may finally return to the enigmatic inscription of Tiberias. Reading it as 'Qatari' poses serious and, in light of the evidence so far presented, insurmountable problems. First, such a name by itself would be extremely unusual. Other Kharijite issues offer no parallel, though there are Arab-Byzantine coins that bear names of individuals. These belong to the series derived from Byzantine prototypes, but diverging from them in significant ways. The names they bear, Sa`id and possibly Nu`man, cannot be identified with known historical figures, nor is their interpretation as names entirely certain..[58] Quite probably, they represent governors, moneyers or others in authority wherever the coins were struck. On the other hand, one coin of Tiberias has what seems to be a name, perhaps to be read as Khaled ibn `Abd Allah, but it always appears in a garbled Greek transcription. Even this, if correctly interpreted, is a name with patronymic, not a simple personal name.[59]

Much more serious would be the presence of the name Qatari on a coin struck in Palestine. The natural interpretation of such a name would be that it represented the issuing authority. Since Qatari never controlled any place west of the Euphrates himself, an occasion might be sought when Tabariya was out of the control of the Umayyads, and could therefore strike in the name of one of their most notorious opponents. There were two occasions when this might have been possible. In 64/683-4, after the death of the ephemeral caliph Mu`awiya II, the people of Damascus gave their allegiance to Dahhak ibn Qays, a partisan of Ibn Zubayr. The governors of Qinnasrin and Homs followed. Palestine at first was in the hands of the Umayyads, but their governor was expelled and it too fell to Ibn Zubayr, whose followers were supreme until crushed by the Umayyad caliph Marwan at the decisive battle of Marj Rahit in 65/684 (Tabari II.467-473 = tr. XIX.47-55). In this case, the Umayyads lost control of Syria and Palestine for several months, during which their rivals could well have issued coins. On the other hand, these rivals were strictly orthodox, the followers of Ibn Zubayr, who had no doctrinal disputes with the Umayyads. No sign of Kharijites here. In any case, although these events coincided with the rise of the Azraqites, Qatari had not yet appeared on the scene.

He was, however, very much in evidence in 69, when Abd al-Malik temporarily lost control of Damascus. While the caliph was campaigning against Ibn Zubayr in Mesopotamia, his relative, Amr ibn Sa'id, revolted and seized the capital. The caliph was forced to return and besiege the city until he finally received Amr's submission. This took place in the summer of 69-70/689 (Tabari II.783-796 = tr. XXI.154-167). Here again is an occasion when 'oppositional' coins might have been struck, but certainly not in the name of Qatari, for this revolt also had nothing to do with doctrinal disputes (rebel and caliph were members of the same family) – nor is it likely that Amr ibn Sa'id ever controlled anything beyond the capital. In other words, history relates no occasion when Kharijites or their sympathizers were in control of any place near Tabariya. In fact, as already noted, greater Syria was one region that was always free of Kharijite outbreaks, and was never occupied by their forces. Of course, one might object that surviving sources are deficient, especially for Umayyad Syria – a position nobody could dispute – but they are far from silent regarding the Kharijites. The struggles between Sunnis, Shiites and Kharijites all reflected basic disputes about leadership and its legitimacy, and were of special interest to Tabari, the major narrative source for this period. A Kharijite revolt or conquest so near the heart of the caliphate, therefore, is unlikely to have escaped the attention of the writers whose works form the basis of the surviving narratives.

What, then, of the notion that the name Qatari merely expressed opposition to the Umayyad regime, or, as Mr Ilisch puts it '...these coins had a revolutionary background possibly outside the Khariji movement, but one where the issuers threatened to ally themselves with the Iranian Azraqites against the central government'? This may have a superficial appeal at first sight, but it is hard to take seriously in view of the historical circumstances. Qatari ibn Fuja'a was not simply the leader of some rival religious faction, but a claimant to supreme power, at war with the Umayyads and also with their opponent Ibn Zubayr. His followers, the Azraqites, were the least tolerant of all Moslems, ready to kill anyone who disagreed with them. They were widely feared and loathed as murderers of women and children. Putting Qatari's name on a coin could hardly be taken as indicating sympathies 'outside the Kharijite movement', for he was recognised by no one else. As for threatening to ally themselves with the Kharijites, the issuers, whoever they were, would have been making a powerful and unpalatable political statement by stamping Qatari's name on their coins, and in fact committing an act of high treason. In modern terms, his name would have attracted the same reaction as that of Osama bin Laden, and for similar reasons. Beside, what good would an alliance with the Azraqites do for a rebel in Palestine? Qatari made his base in Fars and Kirman; his activities were directed toward Khuzistan and Iraq. There is no evidence whatsoever that he had any interest in Palestine, let alone any ability to succour potential allies there. Public, numismatic announcement in Palestine of an alliance with Qatari would have been imprudent, to say the least, and would probably have meant disgrace if not death for the issuers of such a coin.

What, then, does the inscription *qtri* mean? The original suggestion of Shraga Qedar that it be read as *qutri*, 'regional' still seems to make the most sense, especially in view of the coin of Baisan discussed above. If both were products of the same time and authority, they could have been seen as a novel coinage, extending the standard of Tabariya to Baisan (where it might be necessary to identify the new coinage as 'authentic'), and creating a regional standard. Hence, useful to label it as a coinage designed to serve not simply one mint but a whole district. As for the date, Mr Ilisch made a valuable point in noting that any inscription *qtri* appearing after 69 could easily be read as indicating the name of the notorious rebel and heresiarch, an ambiguity clearly to be avoided. In that case, the coinage should be assigned to a period before Qatari's rise, perhaps to the early years of 'Abd al-Malik, who assumed power in 65. Taken together with the issue of Baisan, it could well have formed a preliminary step toward the standardisation of the coinage which became so pronounced during that caliph's reign.

In conclusion, I would actually agree with Mr Ilisch that 'a die-cutter in Tabariya engraved a word in a die for a fals which had a similar appearance to the name of the counter-caliph Qatari..'. Similar, but not the same. Once again, I would suggest that the name of Qatari be removed from discussion of this coin. It may instead be seen as part of an innovative issue that preceded the much more standardised standing caliph coins of 'Abd al-Malik.[60]

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Notes

[1] Foss 2001; the discussion of the QTRI coin is on p. 8f.

[2] L. Ilisch, "A response from Lutz Ilisch, *qtri* in Tabariya", *ONS Newsletter* 167 (Spring 2001) 2f.

[3] I am very grateful to Steve Album and Michael Bates for the care they took in reading and commenting on this paper.

[4] See the useful summary, with bibliography, of G. Levi della Vida in EI^2; M. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim Conquest* (Princeton 1984) 466-478 gives a clear account of the origins and early history of the Khawarij; for more detail, see Wellhausen 1975. The sources are full of contradictions, alternative versions and chronological problems, since they were written down a century or more after the events

[5] For what follows, see Wellhausen 1975, pp. 47-50 and Dixon 1971, pp. 169-176, both with full source references.

[6] The revolt of the Azraqites is clearly surveyed, with special attention to the problems and contradictions of the sources by Wellhausen 1975.46f, 55-68 who attempts to establish the chronology, and Dixon 1971, pp. 176-182. See also the clear summary of R. Rubinacci in EI^2, s.v. Azarika. Tabari, following ibn Mikhnaf, gives a continuous account, but arbitrarily divides it between the years AH 65, 68, 72, 74, 75 and 77: Tabari II.514-520, 580-592, 763-765, 821-829, 855-859, 875-880, 1003-1021 = tr. XX.97-105, 164-175, XXI.122-134, 198-206, XXII.3-7, 25-30, 150-165.

[7] See the short sketch, 'Katari b. al-Fudja'a' by G. Levi della Vida in EI^2, with full source references.

[8] By defeating Mus'ab ibn al-Zubayr at Maskin north of Baghdad in Jumada II 72/November 691, a rare fixed point in this narrative: for the date see Dixon 1971, p. 134.

[9] For this revolt, see Wellhausen 1975.69-76 and Dixon 1971, pp. 182-191, both based on the lengthy and colorful account of Tabari II.881-979 (tr.XXII.32-127), whose main source is Ibn Mikhnaf.

[10] For the social and political contexts of the revolts of Salih and Shabib, with careful criticism of the sources, see Robinson 2000, pp. 109-126.

[11] This revolt was preceded by three smaller outbreaks in the Jazira and Iraq: for them, and what follows see Wellhausen 1975, pp. 79-82 and the articles 'Sufriyya' by W. Madelung and 'al-Dahhak b. Kays al-Shaybani' of L. Veccia Vaglieri in EI^2. For events at Mosul, see also the clear summary of Rotter 1974, pp. 192f.

[12] Tabari has a long account of this revolt: II.1897-1916, 1938-40 = tr. XXV.9-26, 49-51.

[13] For the local sympathy with the Kharijites, see Robinson 2000, pp. 147f.

[14] See Wellhausen 1975, pp. 82f., and Tabari II.1943-49= tr.XXV.54-60. Tabari's use of multiple sources here makes for real chronological problems.

[15] For the following events and the history of the Kharijites in the Abbasid period, see the excellent survey of Veccia Vaglieri 1949.

[16] See the list in Veccia Vaglieri 1949, p. 39 n.5.

[17] For his career, see the convenient summary of C. E. Bosworth in *Encyclopedia iranica* with useful bibliography, and the detailed treatment of Bykov 1955.

[18] The history and doctrine of the Ibadis are surveyed in great detail in the article of T. Lewicki, 'Ibadiyya' in EI^2.

[19] For his revolt, see Wellhausen 1975.85-88.

[20] For what follows, see T. Lewicki's long article 'Ibadiyya' in EI^2.

[21] See A. de Motvlinski and T. Lewicki, 'Abu'l Khattab' in EI^2.

[22] Clear summary in EI^2 s.v. Sufriyya (K. Lewinstein).

[23] See the article 'Midrar' by Ch. Pellat in EI^2.

[24] According to Lammens, Mo'awiya 118 the Kharijite sect was unknown among the Syrian Arabs; cf. G. Levi della Vida in EI^2 s.v. Khawarij, 1072: 'Syria was always free from them' and Veccia Vaglieri 1949, p. 38 who lists Syria among the regions that remained immune to the heresy.

[25] In the collection of Alan de Shazo, to whom my thanks for providing information about this coin.

[26] These issues will be presented in the forthcoming *SICA* I; my thanks to Steve Album for providing copies of the relevant pages.

[27] Listed in Walker 1941, pp. lxi-lxiii.

[28] Information on these issues is from Steve Album, to appear in *SICA* I.

[29] See the tabulations by mint in Walker 1941, pp. cviii-cxxxi.

[30] The sources are summarised in Wellhausen 1975.49 and Dixon 1971.171.

[31] Discussion of the coins is based on M. Mochiri, "Kirman, terre de turbulence", *Iran* 38 (2000) 33-48, with its useful table on p. 34, supplemented by information generously supplied by Steve Album.

[32] Strictly speaking, it bears ten different mintmarks, but since many have not been identified, it is possible that some are actually byforms of others, and that one mint may be represnted by more than one abbreviation.

[33] See the discussion of Jaeckel 1974.189f., with a very clear illustration.

[34] Tabrari III.57 = tr. XXVII.181, followed verbatim by Ibn al-Athir, *al-kamil fi al-tarikh*, ed. Tornberg, 1965 Beirut edition V.435; although the event is reported with those of 132, both texts specify that it took place in 133.

[35] See *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Mahre*, ed. J.-B. Chabot (Paris 1895) 46, 49, 52.

[36] For its confusing history, see Eustache 136f.

[37] Eustache 78.

[38] See Eustache 70; in any case, they would not be the names of the Prophet and his nephew, for the Kharijites were hostile to the memory of Ali, whom they had murdered.

[39] For the site, its probable location and history, see Eustache 131-135. The situation is confused by the fact that the Idrisids struck coins there at the same time (172, 174-9, 183, 187 and later), although they supposedly did not conquer it until 200, and so did their rival Ibrahim ibn al-Aghlab in 186, 192 and 193: see M. A. al-'Ush, *Monnaies aghlabides* (Damascus 1982) 97ff., nos. 175, 188, 190.

[40] The examples are listed by Eustache 328, and discussed 61f.

[41] See the discussion of Eustache 83f.

[42] Eustache 307 no.87 reports an anonymous issue of 179/795-6 struck by these emirs at the nearby silver mining centre of Ziz, but Steve Album informs me that this is probably a misreading, the only coins of this type being from Tudgha.

[43] The Kharijite dynasty of Sijilmasa in Morocco struck coins under its caliph al-Shakir Muhammad 321-347/933-58 (Album 453-4), but he had converted to Sunni orthodoxy; see above, n. 00.

[44] See N. Amitai-Preiss, A. Berman and Sh. Qedar, "The Coinage of Scythopolis-Baysan and Gerasa-Jerash", *INJ* 13 (1999), pp. 133-151, coin A19 p.144, with discussion on p.138.

[45] Lowick/Savage 1431, with reference to several examples. The same inscription appears in Lowick/Savage 1409 of 198H and 1444 of 204H. If these were official coins, they would be issues respectively of al-Amin and al-Ma'mun, but Steve Album informs me that 1409 is likely to be an imitation, and Mr Ilisch has raised similar doubts about 1444.

[46] There is a clear account of Ibrahim by D. Sourdel in *EI*^{2}, a fuller treatment in Hugh Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (London 1981), pp. 159-162 and a full length biography by C. Barbier de Maynard, *Ibrahim, fils de Mehdi*, Paris 1869. Tabari III.1013-1034 is the main source.

[47] If it turned out that Lowick/Savage 1409 or 1444 were genuine, this argument would have to be modified somewhat, but in no case would Kharijite sympathies be in question.

[48] The history of Syria in this period is presented in considerable detail by Canard 1953, pp. 579-663.

[49] For these coins see Welin 1961, pp. 60-65

[50] For this revolt, see Canard 1953, pp. 650-654.

[51] Gyselen tentatively dated the coin to 82; according to Steve Album the correct reading is 80. R. Curiel and R. Gyselen, *Une collection de monnaies de cuivre arabo-sasanides* (Paris 1984) 25f. note that the inscription certainly has a religious or political significance, but whether orthodox or Kharijite cannot be determined since the coin is anonymous. Association with al-Hajjaj, however, can resolve that question.

[52] Similarly, Gyselen 153 Type 49 (Veh-az-Amid-Kavad, year 83) bears a firmly anti-infidel quote from the Koran (48:29). Since the Kharijites were considered to be no better than infidels by their enemies, this sentiment also would be appropriate to al-Hajjaj, victorious over them.

[53] See the article 'Mukhtar b Awf' in EI^2, with further references, and for a description of the revolt, Wellhausen 1975, pp. 85-91.

[54] For this formula and its significance, see Eustache 1970.63

[55] Struck in Kufa, Wasit, Jayy and Rayy. see the index of Walker 1956; the inscription also appears as *amara al-amir Abd al-Hamid bi al-wafa wa al-adl* at Kufa in 100: Walker 1956, p. 278 no.922.

[56] Eustache 303 no. 72; cf. 79 for a discussion of the inscription.

[57] E. Khamis, "Two wall mosaic inscriptions from the Umayyad market place in Bet Shean/Baysan", *BSOAS* 64 (2001), pp. 159-176 at 168.

[58] See the discussion of Foss 2001, p.7f.

[59] Foss 2001, p. 8

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Supplement to ONS Newsletter 171

MONEY CIRCULATION UNDER THE JĀNIDS AND MANGHĪTS OF BUKHĀRĀ, AND THE KHĀNS OF KHOQAND AND KHĪVA

Prof. Dr M. Fedorov

Money Circulation in the Bukhārā Khanate under the Jānīds (Ashtarkhānids)

In 1554, the Russian tzar, Ivan IV (1547-1584), conquered Astrakhān. Yār Muḥammad, of the family of the Astrakhān Khāns, and his son, Jānī Muḥammad (or Jānī Beg), fled to the Bukhārā Khanate. Iskander Khān, the father of 'Abd Allāh II, received them in a friendly manner and married Jānī Beg to his daughter Zuhra, who bore Jānī Beg three m sons: Dīn Muḥammad, Bākī Muḥammad and Walī Muḥammad. Jānī Muḥammad (or Jānī Beg) was a Chīngizid and a descendant of Jūchī, the senior son of Chīngiz Khān.

'Abd Allāh Khān II died on 2 Rajab 1006 (8 February 1598). He was the last of the Shaybānids to succeed in reuniting the state, which he had achieved in 1583, having succeeded in supressing the separatist aspirations of the Shaybānid appanage rulers. His son, 'Abd al-Mu'min, tried to continue his father's policy but conspirators killed him in Dhū-l-Ḥijja 1006 (July 1598) only six months after he had ascended the throne. 'Abd al-Mu'min was succeeded by Pīr Muḥammad II b. Sulaimān, a cousin of 'Abd Allāh Khān II. Pīr Muḥammad granted Samarqand to Bāqī Muḥammad, son of Jānī Beg. Soon, however, Bāqī Muḥammad rebelled. Pīr Muḥammad summoned the Shaybānīd ruler of Balkh, 'Abd al-Amīn. At the end of 1007 (June-July 1599) their armies were defeated by Bāqī Muḥammad near Samarqand. Pīr Muḥammad was killed and 'Abd al-Amīn fled to Balkh.

After the death of Pīr Muḥammad, the Uzbek nobles offered Jānī Beg the throne of Bukhārā. According to Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, Jānī Beg declined the honour. Then the Uzbek nobles elected his son Dīn Muḥammad as Khān of Bukhārā. Dīn Muḥammad was governor of Abīvard and Nisā, where he had been sent by his uncle, 'Abd Allāh II. After the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, at the end of 1006, he captured Herāt. There he had coins struck and the khuṭba read in the name of his grandfather, Yār Muḥammad. Six weeks later, at the beginning of 1007, the Persian Shāh, 'Abbās I (1587-1629), defeated and banished him from Herāt. At that time, Dīn Muḥammad was busy repelling an attack by the Persians on Abīvard. He and his brothers, Bākī Muḥammad (he seems to have lost Samarqand as a result of a Kazakh invasion) and Walī Muḥammad, lost the day but escaped. Alone, Dīn Muḥammad was robbed and killed by Qarāī tribesmen. Bākī Muḥammad and Walī Muḥammad arrived safely in Bukhārā. Bākī Muḥammad was proclaimed Khān and Walī Muḥammad was proclaimed heir apparent to the throne.

Balkh, the traditional appanage of the heir apparent, was captured by the Persians, who gave it to their protégé, the Shaybānid prince, Ibrahīm. In Muḥarram 1010 (July1601) Bākī Muḥammad and Walī Muḥammad advanced on Balkh. Their advance was hindered by the Shaybānid appanage rulers of Chaghāniyān and Hiṣār. Hiṣār surrendered but Chaghāniyān and Tirmidh offered resistance. Bāqī Muḥammad stayed there, having sent Walī Muḥammad on to Balkh. When he arrived there, the townsfolk of Balkh killed Ibrahīm and opened the gate to Walī Muḥammad. The khuṭba in Balkh was read in the name of Jānī Muḥammad. In 1011/1602-3, Bākī Muḥammad stormed Qunduz on the pretext of taking revenge on the Qarāī tribesmen, the murderers of Dīn Muḥammad. When Shāh 'Abbās advanced on Balkh, Walī Muḥammad asked for help. The armies of Bukhārā and Balkh defeated the Persians. Bākī Muḥammad died in 1014/1605. Walī Muḥammad (1014-1017 [or1020]/1605-1609 [or 1611]) became the Khān (Bartold 1964, 389; 1964a, 487-8; 1964b, 547; Gafurov 1972, 560-1; History 1955, 408-9; History 1964, 21; Maḥmūd Walī 1977, 48, 122; Munshī 1956, 73, 252, 256; Davidovich 1992, 138, 148, 152-153, 155, 158).

E. A. Davidovich (1964, 12; 1992, 139, 150, 153) doubted the words of Muḥammad Munshī that Jānī Beg refused to be Khān since there are coins of Bukhārā, Samarqand and Tāshkent (some with dates AH 1009) citing Jānī Beg as Khān. She asserted that "the first khān of the new dynasty was Jānī Muḥammad who reigned several years" and wrote that the ceremonial enthronement of Bāqī Muḥammad took place on 12 Jumādā II 1012 (17 December 1603). Or could it be that Bākī Muḥammad was Khān prior to that date, as mentioned above, but had coins struck in the name of his father?

In 1012/1603-4, Kildī Muḥammad, the ruler of Andigān (ca 1600-1604) and Tāshkent (ca 1602-1604), a descendant of the first Shaybānid ruler of Tāshkent, Siyunchī Khān, formed a coalition with Kazakh and Kirghiz tribes and advanced on Bukhārā to restore the Shaybānid dynasty. Bāqī Muḥammad met him near Shāhrukhiya but lost the day and retreated to Bukhārā. Kildī Muḥammad besieged Samarqand but could not take it. He sacked and devastated the province and withdrew. On the way back he was wounded and died in Tāshkent. After that, the Shaybānid dynasty came to an end.

The aristocracy of the Uzbek tribes, which, under the command of Shaybānī Khān in the very beginning of the 16th century had conquered Mawarānnahr, had became very powerful and influential nobles, owners of vast landed property. They had numerous body-guards and were supported by armed contingents of their tribes. These Uzbek nobles (they were called amīrs), elected Jānīds as Khāns because the Jānīds did not belong to any of the Uzbek tribes, which constituted the main military force, and therefore did not have strong personal support. They, therefore, depended on the support of the Uzbek nobility and high clergy, which was closely connected with and related to the Uzbek nobility. So the main feature of Jānīd/Ashtarkhānid history was the struggle by the Khāns to consolidate and centralise their state against the waywardness and separatism of their mighty vassals.

According to Muḥammad Munshī, Walī Muḥammad proved to be a lecherous tyrant. So the nobles of Bukhārā sent a letter to Balkh, to his nephews, Imām Qulī and Nadir Muḥammad (sons of Dīn Muḥammad) inviting Imām Qulī to ascend the throne of Bukhārā. Troops from Balkh and Badakhshān advanced on Bukhārā. Walī Muḥammad fled to Shāh 'Abbās, who gave him an army to reconquer Bukhārā. In the battle near Bukhārā the Persians were defeated. Walī Muḥammad was taken prisoner and beheaded on the order of Imām Qulī. Muḥammad Munshī dated this event to 1017/1608-9, while Iskender Munshī dated it to 1020/1610-11. S. Lane-Pool, E. Zambaur and A. A. Semenov accepted the first date, AH 1017, while Bartold, Davidovich, Gafurov and others accepted the second date, AH 1020, (cf. Munshī 1956, endnote 164/p. 256 by A. A. Semenov). The precise date could be given by coins, but unfortunately the latest coin of Walī Muḥammad so far known was struck in Samarqand in 1016/1607-8 (Davidovich 1971, 187).

Imām Qulī Khān (1608 or 1611?-1642) proved to be a strong ruler who managed to curb the separatist tendencies of the Uzbek nobility, as well as those of his own kin. In fighting the Persians he was helped by Kazakhs from the Tashkent region. But later he had to defend Bukhārā from their

plundering raids. In 1613 Imām Qulī defeated the Kazakhs and captured Tashkent. He left there his son Iskender as governor and returned to Bukhārā. Outraged by extortion and oppression, the inhabitants of Tashkent rebelled and killed Iskender. Imām Qulī swore that he would enter Tashkent with the blood of the people of Tashkent reaching up to his stirrups. After a siege of 40 days, Tashkent was taken and the massacre started. When the clergy implored him to stop, the Khān said that he could not because the blood of the inhabitants had still not reached his stirrups, as he had sworn it would be. Then one bright *faqīh* found a solution. A hole was dug, inhabitants of Tashkent were brought to its edge and cuts were inflicted on them. When there was enough blood in the hole, Imām Qulī rode there and the massacre stopped. Imām Qulī also defeated Qarāqalpāq and Qalmaq nomads who had been harrying Bukhārā with plundering raids. His victories and cruelty strengthened his authority and he managed to curb the unruly nobles.

Imām Qulī lost his sight and abdicated in favour of his brother, Nadir Muḥammad, governor of Balkh. Avaricious and haughty, Nadir Muḥammad (1642-1645) grew unpopular with the Uzbek nobles. In 1645 Kazakhs invaded his state and reached Khojende. Nadir Muḥammad sent against them an army commanded by his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz. In Khojende 'Abd al-'Azīz (1645-1680) was proclaimed Khān. Nadir Muḥammad fled to Balkh and asked the Mughal emperor, Shāh Jahān (1627-1658) for help. The latter sent to Balkh an Indian army commanded by his two sons. Having realised that Shāh Jahān had decided to capture Balkh, Nadir Muḥammad fled to the Persian Shāh 'Abbās. The Indian princes captured Balkh and plundered it. They behaved in Balkh as in a conquered country. The people of Balkh fled to Mawarānnahr. The Indians possessed Balkh for about two years and coins were struck there in both gold and silver in the name of the Mughal emperor Shāh Jahān and dated AH 1056 and 1057. Then 'Abd al-'Azīz advanced on Balkh, where skirmishes continued for four months, with both sides hesitant to give all-out battle. Finally Shāh Jahān returned Balkh (which was almost ruined by that time) to Nadir Muḥammad and summoned his army back. The sons of Nadir Muḥammad, 'Abd al-'Azīz and Subḥān Qulī, forgot their feud and united against their father. 'Abd al-'Azīz sent Subḥān Qulī to Balkh as governor. The people of Balkh, who had had their fill of wars, opened the gates to Subḥān Qulī. Nadir Muḥammad went on pilgrimage to Mecca and died on the way. Having dealt with their father, the brothers renewed their feud again. 'Abd al-'Azīz sent an army to take Balkh from Subḥān Qulī. During the 40 day siege the vicinity of Balkh was totally devastated. Balkh itself, however, was not taken. 'Abd al-'Azīz made peace with Subḥān Qulī, having recognised him as heir apparent and governor of Balkh. Prompted by Subḥān Qulī, Abū'l Ghāzī, the Khān of Khīva, raided and devastated the Bukhārā Khanate in 1657. These plundering raids continued almost every year until 1662, when Abū'l Ghāzī and 'Abd al-'Azīz made peace. After the death of Abū'l Ghāzī in 1663, his son, Anūsha Khān, resumed the plundering raids on Bukhārā. Those devastating raids exacerbated the economic situation in the country while the incapability of the Khān to protect the Bukhārā Khanate caused a crisis at the centre. So under pressure from Subḥān Qulī, the senile 'Abd al-'Azīz abdicated from the throne, went to Mecca and died there. Subḥān Qulī (1680-1702) then became the Khān of Bukhārā (History 1955, 409-411).

The calamitous situation in the khanate was exacerbated not only by the raids of Anūsha, the Khān of Khīva, but also by the rebellions of the semi-independent Uzbek tribes and unruly nobles. To make matters worse, the sons of Subḥān Qulī fought each other bitterly for the governorship of Balkh. This strife was accompanied by murders and palace revolutions in Balkh, different factions of Balkh feudals supporting different pretenders. During one of his raids, Anūsha managed to capture Samarqand. The people of Samarqand, having had their fill of his raids, proclaimed him their Khān in the hope that he would stop harrying them (there was no way the Khān of Bukhārā could protect them). Only with the help of his vassal Maḥmūd Biy, the ruler of Badakhshān, did Subḥān Qulī manage to defeat Anūsha Khān. He ordered the massacre of the people of Samarqand, but let himself be persuaded to pardon them on payment of a large indemnity.

Meanwhile, reports came that Ṣiddīq Muḥammad, Subḥān Qulī's son, was plotting to overthrow his father. In 1681 Subḥān Qulī advanced on Balkh. Ṣiddīq Muḥammad met his father with arrows and bullets, but, having received a written promise that Subḥān Qulī would pardon him, he opened the gates. He was put in chains and sent to prison where he died (in 1685). Having learned that Subḥān Qulī and his army were at Balkh, Anūsha again invaded the Bukhārā Khanate sacking and devastating as he went. As usual he returned to Khīva with a large booty. Incapable of repelling Anūsha by force of arms, Subḥān Qulī clandestinely created a pro-Bukhāran party of indigenous nobles in Khīva. They captured and blinded Anūsha and put on the throne his son, Ereng (who had participated in the plot). Having decided that his rear was safe at last, Subḥān Qulī moved his army in an attempt to conquer Khurāsān from the Persians. Subḥān's absence from Bukhārā was too great a temptation for Ereng, who invaded the Bukhārā Khanate sacking and devastating as usual. Only with the help of his mighty vassal Maḥmūd Biy, ruler of Badakhshān, was Subḥān Qulī able to repel Ereng, who payed dearly for his escapade. Having returned to Khīva, he was poisoned by conspirators. The conspirators sent an embassy to Subḥān Qulī asking the khān to accept them as his subjects.

To thank Maḥmūd Biy, Subḥān Qulī made him governor of Balkh. Maḥmūd, once he had restored order in Balkh, attacked the Uzbek noble, Yār Beg, who held part of Badakhshān, where famous ruby mines were situated. Subḥān Qulī sent his officials to those mines but Yār Beg did not permit those officials to go there. In 1692 Maḥmūd Biy besieged Yār Beg's capital, Faiḍābād, but could not take it. Yār Beg bought him off by paying taxes from the ruby mines for two years in advance. Maḥmūd Biy returned to Balkh. Yār Beg remained virtually independent, being a vassal of Subḥān Qulī only in name. His decendants ruled Badakhshān until the 1880s. As for Maḥmūd Biy, he also ruled as an independent ruler. In due course one of the Uzbek tribes rebelled against him. To strengthen his position, Maḥmūd Biy asked Subḥān Qulī to send his young grandson, Muḥammad Muqīm, as governor of Balkh. Tired of Maḥmūd Biy's separatism, Subḥān Qulī set Yār Beg against him. Yār Beg attacked Qunduz, the ancestral appanage of Maḥmūd Biy. The latter left Balkh to protect Qunduz. In his absence Subḥān Qulī called Kazakh and Qarāqalpāq nomads to help him and besieged Balkh, devastating its neighbourhood. Maḥmūd Biy returned to Balkh, negotiations started and finally peace was made. The late years of Subḥān Qulī's reign was a time of anarchy and devastation. Rebellions and uprisings by Uzbek and other tribes, internecine wars amongst the nobles and against the khān, an invasion by the Persians, who were invited to help one tribe against another, ruined the country. In 1702 Subḥān Qulī died and was succeeded by his son, 'Ubaid Allāh (1702-1711). 'Ubaid Allāh's nephew Muḥammad Muqīm, ruler of Balkh, rebelled and proclaimed himself khān. He asked Maḥmūd Biy for help. Maḥmūd Biy came, killed Muḥammad Muqīm and proclaimed himself khān but failed to retain Balkh (History 1955, 413-414).

'Ubayd Allāh Khān (1702-1711) was the last Jānid who fought for a strong centralised state, trying to curb the separatism of the powerful Uzbek nobles supported by their tribes. His reign was spent in wars against unruly vassals: the appanage rulers of Balkh, Ḥiṣār, Tirmidh, Shahrisabz and others. Sometimes he was used by some of the Uzbek nobles for their own ends. For instance, he attacked Ḥiṣār at the instigation of Muḥammad Raḥīm Biy, the bitter enemy of the

ruler of Ḥiṣār. The campaign against Ḥiṣār ended in disaster. The campaign against Tirmidh started because, on the advice of that same Muḥammad Raḥīm Biy, 'Ubayd Allāh deposed the old governor of Tirmidh and appointed a new one. The people of Tirmidh rebelled against the new governor, who asked Maḥmūd Biy for help. Maḥmūd Biy came with his nomads, who then started to plunder and devastate the villages around Tirmidh. The army of 'Ubayd Allāh sent against them was defeated by Maḥmūd Biy. At the same time Bukhārā was harried by raids of nomads from Kazakhstan. At first 'Ubayd Allāh in his struggle to consolidate power at the centre tried to use one group of Uzbek nobles against the others. But this policy failed. Firstly, none of the nobles were interested in the state gathering power at the centre and with it the strengthening of the khāns, because it would have been detrimental to their own privileges and freedom. Secondly, while the khān was busy trying to set one noble against the other, they, in turn, tried, not without success, to use the khān against their own enemies. So the khān tried to get the support of the third estate, which was interested in strong central power as a counterweight to the arbitrariness of the nobility. He elevated to high positions in the state "people of low birth", a step which caused the bitter indignation of the nobility. 'Ubayd Allāh's struggle against his unruly nobles cost him his life. On 28 Muḥarram 1123/16 March 1711 conspirators killed him. His brother, Abū'l Faiḍ (1123-1160/1711-1747), was put on the throne and soon became a puppet in the hands of the Uzbek nobility. Real power was usurped by Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy (died in 1743) a noble from the Uzbek tribe of Manghīt. In 1747 Muḥammad Ḥakīm's successor and son, Muḥammad Raḥim (a namesake of Muḥammad Raḥim mentioned above, killed Abū'l Faiḍ and put on the throne his small son, 'Abd al-Mu'min (1160-1164/1747-1751). In 1751 he killed 'Abd al-Mu'min. After 'Abd al-Mu'min, a child, 'Ubayd Allāh, was put on the throne. He was a Chingizid, the son of Timūr Sulṭān and grandson of Mūsā, Khān of Khīva, who had fled from there because of a rebellion by the nobility. Then Muḥammad Raḥīm married a daughter of Abū'l Faiḍ and thereby became related to the Chingizids. In 1753 he was proclaimed Khān of Bukhārā (Bartold 1963, 279; History 1955, 413-420).

Muḥammad Raḥīm died in 1758. Power in Bukhārā fell into the hands of his uncle, Muḥammad Daniyāl Biy. The Uzbek nobles were jealous of him and the power of the Manghīts. So, in order not to exacerbate the situation, he put on the throne a Jānid puppet khān, Abu'l Ghāzī (1171-1200 or 1203/1758-1785 or 1789), and ruled in his name. Daniyāl Biy died in 1185/1771-2. His son, Shāh Mūrād, at first ruled in the name of Abu'l Ghāzī. He managed to consolidate the state and, having strengthened his position, he deposed Abu'l Ghāzī in 1785 or 1789 and ruled in his own name until 1800, when he died. Not being a Chingizid, Shāh Mūrād ruled with the title of amīr. This is why the Manghīt state was called the Bukhārā Amirate. Amazingly he did not kill Abu'l Ghāzī, who ended his days in peace (Torrey 1950, 31; History 1956, 44). For a long time 1785 was considered to be the year when the Ashtarkhānid/Jānid dynasty ended, but Davidovich (1964, 51) doubted this date because there are coins struck in Bukhārā dated 1203/1788-9 which cite Abū'l Ghāzī.

LIST OF JĀNID KHĀNS (1007-1200 OR 1203 /1599-1785 OR 1788-9)

Jānī Muḥammad. 1007 to 1009 (or 1010?) / 1599 to 1600 (or 1601-2?). There is a tanga minted in *AH 1009* in the name of Jānī Muḥammad. Jānī Muḥammad died in 1012 (Davidovich 1964, 150, 243/2-4).

Bāqī Muḥammad. 1011 (or 1010?) to 1013 (or 1014?) / 1602-3 (or 1601-2?) to 1604-5 (or 1605-6?).
So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1011*, the latest is *AH 1013*. Ceremonial enthronement 12 Jumādā II 1012 / 17 December 1603 (Davidovich 1964, 150, 244/26; 1992, 153).

Walī Muḥammad. 1014 to 1017 or 1020 / 1605-6 to 1608-9 or 1610-11. So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1014*, the latest is *AH 1016* (Davidovich 1964, 244/35; 1971, 187).

Imām Qulī Khān. 1017 or 1020 to 1051 / 1608-9 or 1610-11 to 1642. . So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1033*, the latest is *AH 1051* (Davidovich 1964, 262/451-453, 60-69).

Nadir Muḥammad. 1051-1055 / 1642-1645. So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1051*, the latest is *AH 1054* (Davidovich 1964, 263/484, 265/526).

'Abd al-'Azīz. 1055-1091 / 1645-1660. So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1055*, the latest is *AH 1075* (Davidovich 1964, 278/837, 847).

Subḥān Qulī Khān. 1091-1114 / 1680-1702. So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1098*, the latest is *AH 1110?* (Davidovich 1964, 281/904, 915).

'Ubayd Allāh I. 1114-1123 /1702-1711. So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1114* (Kochnev 1978, 130).

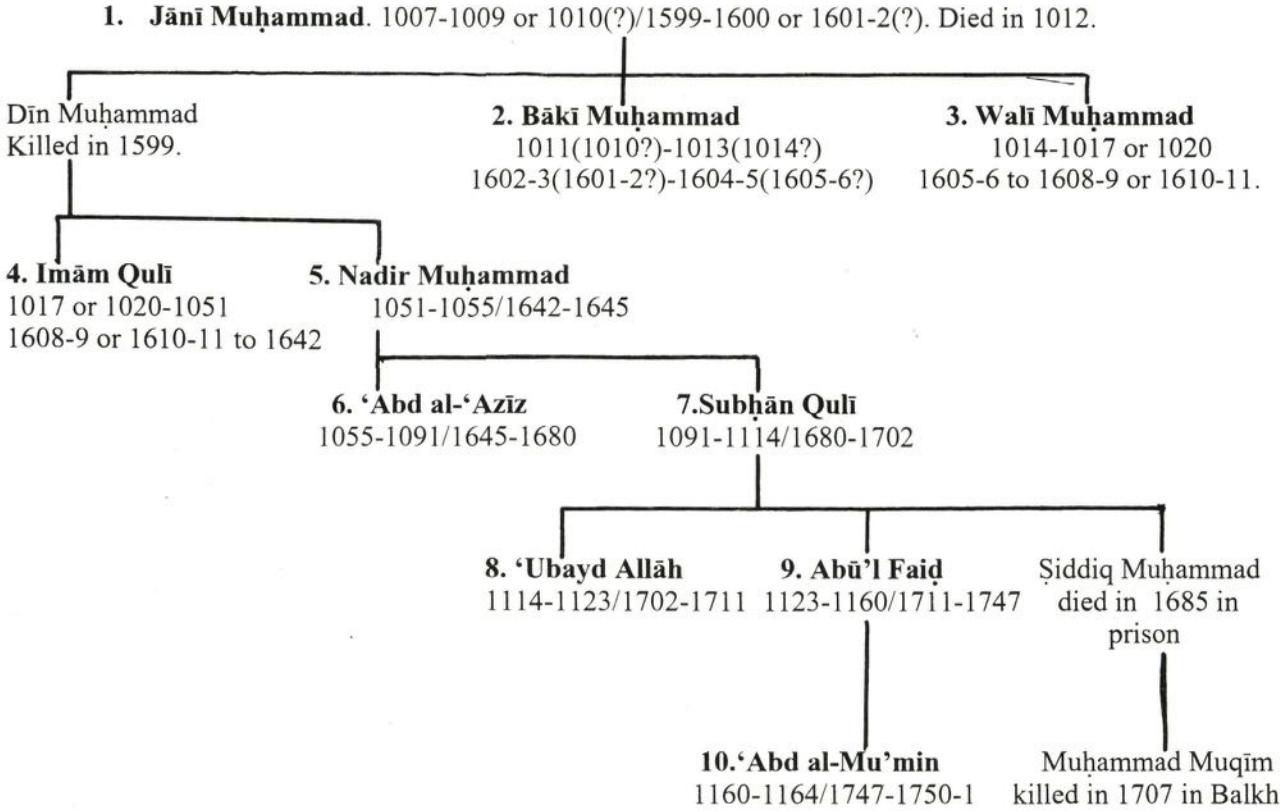
Abu'l Faiḍ Muḥammad. 1123-1160 / 1711-1747. So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1123*, the latest is *AH 1158* (Davidovich 1964, 238/2, 9).

'Abd al-Mu'min. 1160-1164 / 1747-1750-1. So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1160*, the latest is AH 1164 (Davidovich 1964, 175, 239/24, 27).

The interlude. Muḥammad Raḥīm Manghīt killed 'Abd al-Mu'min and put on the throne a child, the Chingizid 'Ubayd Allāh II (1751-1753). Then Muḥammad Raḥīm was elected Khān, reigned and minted coins in his name in 1753-1758.

Abū'l Ghāzī Muḥammad. Puppet Khān. 1171-1200 or 1203 / 1758-1785 or 1788-9. So far the earliest coin date registered is *AH 1181*, the latest is *AH 1203* (Davidovich 1964, 239/37, 286/1001).

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF JĀNID RULERS (1007-1200 OR 1203/1599-1785 OR 1788-9).



11. 'Ubayd Allāh II. 1751-1753. Chīngizid. Grandson of Mūsā, Khān of Khīva, who fled from Khīva when a mutiny broke out there against him.

12. Abū'l Ghāzī Muḥammad. 1171-1200 or 1203/1758-1785 or 1788-9. Bartold (1963, 279) doubted whether Abū'l Ghāzī was a Jānid.

The coinage

Jānid gold and silver coins are uniform (following Masson and Burnasheva I do not attribute coins struck after the reform of 1785 to the Jānid series). The coin legends do not include the name of the coin, but according to written sources, silver coins were called "tanga" or "khānī", while gold coins were named "tilla" or "ashrafī".

Tillas were minted only in the 18th century. So far tillas of 'Ubayd Allāh I (1702-1711), Abū'l Faiḍ (1711-1747), 'Abd al-Mu'mīn (1747-1751) and Abū'l Ghāzī Muḥammad (1758-1785) are known. Davidovich (1964, 180) thought that the striking of gold coins began under 'Ubayd Allāh. Later, Kochnev (1978, 130) published a unique tilla of 'Ubayd Allāh I minted in 1702 in Bukhārā. So far this is the only Jānid tilla which bears a mint-name.

The legends of the gold coins are as follows:

Obverse: Kalima (in cartouche or without cartouche) لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله. Only in one case are there also the names of the first four Caliphs. The date, in ciphers, occurs on some coins.

Reverse. Name and short titulage ("Sayyid Bahādur Khān") of the ruler. Sometimes there is also the name of his father. Date (ciphers).

Although the legends were uniform, the tillas differ in the cartouches found on the obverse and reverse. There are 8 types for Abū'l Faiḍ, 3 types for 'Abd al-Mu'min, and 3 types for Abū'l Ghāzī Muḥammad (Davidovich, 1964, 179).

Silver coins are known dated 1009/1600-1, and were probably first struck in 1007/1599, when the first Jānid ruler was enthroned. No silver coins of 'Abd al-Mu'min (1160-4/1747-51) and 'Ubayd Allāh II (1164-7/1751-3) are known so far. The legends are as follows.

Obverse. Kalima (in cartouche). Names of of the first four caliphs, with honorary epithets or without them. Sometimes, very rarely, date (ciphers).

Reverse. Name, titulage of the ruler, invocation of God's favour upon him. Mint-name. Date (ciphers).

In cartouche: Name and "Bahādur Khān". Circular legend. First variant: "Al-Khāqān b. al-Khāqān b. al-Khāqān Abū'l Ghāzī (here it is not the ruler's name, but an epithet). May Allāh the Most High perpetuate his kingdom". Second variant: "Al-Khāqān al-'Ādil wa'l Malik al-Kāmil Abū'l Ghāzī (again, an epithet). May Allāh the Most High perpetuate his kingdom". On some rare occasions we also find the name and title of the ruler's father mentioned. The mint-name may be placed within the cartouche or outside it. Sometimes it appears that the mint-name was omitted altogether. The same applies to the dates; on some coins no date appears to have been included. Dates, as a rule, are to be found within a cartouche, mostly written in compact form. But in some cases the ciphers are engraved apart from one another, interspersed between words.

While the legends are uniform there are many types of tangas, differing in the cartouches on the obverse and the reverse. There are 9 types for Jānī Muḥammad, 14 types for Bāqī Muḥammad, 15 for Walī Muḥammad, 56 for Imām Qulī, 15 for Nadir Muḥammad, 42 for 'Abd al-'Azīz, 44 for Subḥān Qulī, 1 for 'Ubayd Allāh (Davidovich, 1964, 57-9; 1971, 183-7; 1988, 84; Kochnev 1981, 85-7). 60 new types of Imām Qulī, Nadir Muḥammad and 'Abd al-'Aziz have been found, but they are not yet published.

Five Jānīd mints are known: Bukhārā, Balkh, Samarqand, Tāshkand, Ḥiṣār (Davidovich 1964, 54). The mint of Bukhārā, the biggest, worked regularly. The mint of Balkh worked systematically enough in the 17th century. Coins of the 18th century from Balkh are not known. But the mint of Balkh was mentioned in the 18th century in the time of 'Ubayd Allāh I (1702-1711). The mints of Samarqand, Tāshkand and Ḥiṣār worked sporadically in the first half of the 17th century. Coins of Bukhārā are known for Jānī Muḥammad , Bāqī Muḥammad, Walī Muḥammad, Imām Qulī, Nadir Muḥammad, 'Abd al-'Azīz, Subḥān Qulī, 'Ubayd Allāh (1599-1711); of Balkh for Bāqī Muḥammad, Imām Qulī, Nadir Muḥammad, 'Abd al-'Azīz (1602-1680); of Samarqand for Jānī Muḥammad, Bāqī Muḥammad, Walī Muḥammad, Imām Qulī (1599-1642); of Tāshkand for Jānī Muḥammad (1599-1601); of Ḥiṣār for Imām Qulī (1611-1642). Coins of Abū'l Faiḍ (1711-1747), 'Abd al-Mu'min (1747-1751) and Abū'l Ghāzī (1758-1785), minted before the monetary reform of 1785, have no mintname.

The decreed weight of a tilla is a mithqāl (4.8 g). In reality tillas are lighter. The peak of the weight histogram for tillas of Abū'l Faiḍ is 4.7 g, for 'Abd al-Mu'mīn and Abū'l Ghāzī Muḥammad – 4.6g. In shape, Jānīd tillas were close to oval, so their size was: "small diameters" 16-26 mm, "big diameters" 17-27 mm.

The decreed weight of a tanga is a mithqāl (4.8g). In reality they are lighter. The peak of the weight histogram for coins of Jānī Muḥammad, Bāqī Muḥammad and Walī Muḥammad (1599-1611, 1609?) is 4.6 g. That for coins of Imām Qulī (1611 (or 1609?)-1642) and 'Abd al-'Azīz (1645-1680) is 4.3 g; and for coins of Nadir Muḥammad (1642-1645) – 4.4 g. The peak of the weight histogram for coins of Subḥān Qulī is 3.6 g but, according to deeds of purchase, tangas of Subḥān Qulī were in circulation about 80-100 years after they were minted. I believe their decreed weight is 4.8g, but that they lost about 25% of their weight in circulation. As to the size of the tangas the following observations may be made. Coins are close to oval in shape. Coins of Jānī Muḥammad, Bāqī Muḥammad and Walī Muḥammad are relatively thin with "large diameters" of 30-32 mm. Coins of Imām Qulī, Nadir Muḥammad and 'Abd al-'Aziz as a rule are thicker with "large diameters" of 23-25 mm. Coins of Nadir Muḥammad have "large diameters" of 27-28 mm. Coins of Subḥān Qulī as a rule have "large diameters" of 29 mm. The difference between "large" and "small" diameters is from 1-2 to 4-6 mm.

Unfortunately I am not able to say much about Jānid copper coins. Some are mentioned in deeds of purchase dating from the period 1014-1082/1606-1672 to show the exchange rate of "new" and "old" tangas. A "new" tanga was equal to 30 (copper) dinars, while an "old" tanga was equal to 27 dinars. It is, however, not stated whether these were Shaybānid or Jānid issues. But the exchage rate of 30 dinars for one "new" tanga was determined by the monetary reform of 'Abd Allāh II ca. 1583 (Davidovich 1964, 83-4). As mentioned above, billon tangas of Subḥān Qulī were still in circulation about 80-100 years after they were struck. The same could have applied to Shaybānīd copper coins. Intervals in the striking of copper coins in this area are known. For example, between 861/1456-7 and 894/1488-9 there was a gap in the striking of copper coins in the Shaybānid state, and it was only in 897/1491-2 that a copious minting of copper coins started again (Davidovich 1983, 92, 137). Also between 1288/1871-2 and 1318/1900-1 there was a gap in the striking of copper coins in the Bukhārā Amirate under the Manghits (Burnasheva 1972, 76). And when Jānid tangas grew debased so that only 25 or 22.5 or 17.5 or 9% silver was left in them, they virtually descended into the copper money circulation system leaving gold coins to fill the void left by the lack of a high-grade silver currency. Thus if an "old " tanga containing 90% silver was equal to 27 copper dinars, a debased tanga containing 22.5% silver should be equal to (27:4) 7 copper dinars and a tanga containing 17.5% silver should be equal to (27:5) 5.5 copper dinars. In other words, when newly struck, the tangas had a fiduciary value placed on them, but once they were relegated to the category of "old coins", their value was determined by their silver content. All this meant that there would not have been any great need for the copious minting of copper money.

There were three periods in the money circulation of the Jānid state.

First period (1599-1680).

The Jānid state, though smaller than the Shaybānid one, remained the strongest in Central Asia. The Jānids reconquered Balkh, lost to the Persians. Balkh became the appanage of the heirs apparent to the throne. Bāqī Muḥammad carried out military and administrative reforms. Imām Qulī defeated the Kazakhs who raided his state, and conquered Tāshkent lost by the Shaybānids to the Kazakhs. He also defeated the Qarāqalpāqs and Qalmaqs. Initially, the Jānids managed to curb the separatist aspirations of the Uzbek nobles. Their state was more or less centralised. But under 'Abd al-'Azīz the process of decentralisation quickened. Nevertheless, 'Abd al-'Aziz was strong enough to repel the plundering raids of Kazakhs and Qalmyqs, and to wage more or less successful wars with the Khīva Khanate.

In the first period, the Jānids inherited the money circulation from the Shaybānids, together with the mild form of monetary exploitation and speculation in the exchange rate between "new" and "old" tangas, which appeared after the money reform of 'Abd Allāh II (ca 1583). Having minted his coins, he proclaimed them "new" and determined for them an exchange rate of 30 (copper) dinars for a tanga. All the other tangas, though of the same weight and standard of fineness, were proclaimed "old" with the exchange rate of 27 dinars for a tanga. Later, when a new batch of tangas had been minted even his own tangas minted earlier were proclaimed to be "old" as well. So when "new" tangas became "old" ones they lost 10% of their value. This arrangement brought profit to the khān while his subjects made a loss. But this form of monetary exploitation was mild enough not to outrage the populace and cause a popular uprising as was the case during the second period of money circulation in the Jānid state.

The first Jānid tangas were as good as Shaybānid ones but, later, a mild debasement of the tanga started. Nine deeds written between 1608-1672 mention "new" tangas with an exchange rate of 30 (copper) dinars. Twelve deeds (1608-1688) mention "old" tangas, in which case their standard of fineness is always given. Four deeds (1689-1699) mention neither "new" nor "old" but give the standard of fineness of the tangas used (Davidovich 1964, 82-90). Deeds of 1608-9 mention "nine/tenths" (9/10) tangas i.e. containing 90% silver. Deeds of 1616 and 1622-3 mention "8/10" tanga. Deeds of 1618 and 1677 mention "7/10" tanga. Deed of 1623 mention "6.5/10" tanga. Deeds of 1642 and 1657 mention "6/10" tanga. Deeds of 1680 and 168(8?) mention "2.5/10" tanga. Deeds of 1689, 1692 and 1695 mention "2.25/10" tanga. A deed of 1699 mentions "3/10" tanga. The latest mention of 9/10 tangas is in 1609, of 8/10 – 1623, of 7/10 – 1677, of 6.5/10 – 1623, of 6/10 – 1657. The first mention of 3.5/10 tangas – 1656. The first mention of 2.5/10 tangas – 1680-168(8?). The first mentions of 2.25/10 tangas – 1689-1695. The first mention of 3/10 tangas – 1699.

In deeds of 1642 and 1657 the standard of fineness was expressed two ways: "6/10" and "reduced by 10 nakhūds". A

nakhūd was 1/24 of a mithqāl (4.8 g). Davidovich (1964, 94) made some calculations: 10 nakhūds = 2 g, but in deeds it was said that tangas were "yak mithqālī" (i.e. weighed one mithqāl). So it was not their weight which was reduced by 2 g. Hence she came to the conclusion that it was the amount of silver in these tangas which was reduced by 10 nakhūds (2 g). So she created the following equations: 100%:X = 24 nakhūds:10 nakhūds. Hence X=41.6. 100%-41.6 = 58.4%. So in reality the fineness of these tangas was 58.4/10, but to make it into round numbers it was proclaimed as 6/10.

Davidovich (1964, 105-107) also sent some tangas for destructive wet analysis and others to assayers. The results were as follows:

Jānī Muḥammad (1599-1601?): Chemical analysis: 93.56%, 88.09%. Fineness 950 and 916 (1009/1600-1). Tangas may be described as "9/10".

Walī Muḥammad (1605-1609 or 1611): Chemical analysis: 86.86% (1014/1605-6), 83.35%. Fineness 875. Tangas may be described as "9/10".

Imām Qulī (1609 or 1611-1642): Chemical analysis: 68.75% (1033/1623-4), 72.77% (1034/1624-5). No date: 60.99-52.4%. Fineness 875 and 750. Tangas may be described as "9/10", "8/10", "7/10", "6.5/10" and "6/10". So over a period of 30 years during his reign the fineness fell from 9/10 to 6/10. The latest of his coins were of 6/10 standard. But it was not always an increase in the debasement. Sometimes it was advance and retreat, and advance. Davidovich (1964/111) wrote that it was 6.5/10 – 7/10 – 6.5/10 – 6/10 and thought that the increase in silver content was due to the resistance of the people against the debasement of the tanga.

Nadir Muḥammad (1642-1645): Chemical analysis: 59-64.2%. Since coins did not have less than 59% silver (and 6/10 coins should not have more than 58.4%) Davidovich deemed that all the coins of Nadir Muḥammad were of 6.5/10 standard of fineness and that he retreated from the 6/10, which was the standard of the latest of Imām Qulī's tangas.

'Abd al-'Azīz (1645-1680): Chemical analysis: 54.5-59.3% which is 6/10. The standard of 5.5/10 is never mentioned in documents. But a deed of 1656 (Davidovich 1964, 88) mentions 3.5/10 tangas. In 1882 in Samarqand a hoard of 48 'Abd al-'Azīz tangas was found. It was sent to Saint Petersburg. Two coins were taken to the Hermitage Museum. 46 badly effaced coins were sent to Saint Petersburg mint to be melted. They proved to have only 26% silver. The date had survived only on one coin: 1090/1679-80. Davidovich (1964, 116) was of the view that, in the last years of his reign, 'Abd al-'Azīz started to mint low grade tangas of 3/10 or 2.5/10 standard. As for the 3.5/10 tangas mentioned in the deed of 1656 Davidovich was not quite sure whether those tangas were minted by 'Abd al-'Azīz or by one of his predecessors. But I suspect it was 'Abd al-'Azīz who started to mint 3.5/10 tangas.

Thus, during the first period of money circulation in the Jānīd state (at least till 1679-80) comparatively high-grade silver tangas were minted and circulated, though the standard fell gradually from 9/10 to 6/10. But it seems that, during this period, the first tentative issues of low-grade tangas were minted also.

According to deeds of purchase and *waqf nāmas* 9/10 tangas fell out of circulation circa 1610, 8/10 tangas - circa 1623, 7/10 tangas appeared circa 1618 and fell out of circulation circa 1677. Especially long (about 70 years) was the circulation of 6.5/10 and 6/10 tangas. They were minted by three Jānids: Imām Qulī (1609 or 1611 - 1642), Nadir Muḥammad (1642-1645) and 'Abd al-'Azīz (1645-1680).

Here I would like to examine one of Davidovich's notions (1964, 99-100): "Nowadays 9 different standards have been noted for the minting of tangas in the 17th century. Tangas of the highest grade were considered to have 90% silver, tangas of the lowest grade were considered to have 22.5% silver. The exchange rate of those tangas after the state proclaimed them "old" was determined by their standard of fineness. In other words they circulated as ingots (a bit of a strange idea – M.F.). The value of a "new" tanga was always forced and higher by 10, 20, 30% etc. depending on the decreed standard of fineness of a "new" coin. For this reason it was stressed in documents that new tangas (irrespective of their standard of fineness) were always equal to thirty copper dinars (underlined by me – M. F.). Which means that "new" tangas were equal to a mithqāl of silver". Thus according to Davidovich (1964, 92) a 9/10 tanga having become "old"was equal to 27 dinars (its real value being 10% lower than the forced value of 30 dinars – M. F.). An 8/10 tanga having become "old" was equal to 24 dinars (its real value being 20% lower than the forced value of 30 dinars – M. F.). A 7/10 tanga having become "old" was equal to 21 dinars (its real value being 30% lower than the forced value of 30 dinars – M. F.). A 6/10 tanga having become "old" was equal to 18 dinars (its real value being 40% lower than the forced value of 30 dinars – M.F.). A 3.5/10 tanga having become "old" was equal to 10.5 dinars (its real value being 65% lower than the forced value of 30 dinars – M. F.). And finally a 2.5/10 tanga having become "old" was equal to 7.5 dinars (its real value being 75% lower than the forced value of 30 dinars – M. F.).

I can still agree (with some reservation) that such machination could work with 6/10 tangas. But even in this case the loss to the people would be considerable (40%). But, when Davidovich claims that people accepted a 2.5/10 tanga, when "new", at a forced value four times higher than its intrinsic value when they knew that this coin, once it was proclaimed "old", would loose 75% of its purchasing power, that seems to me an absurd notion. No sane man would sell a house for 1000 tangas, knowing that some time later they would turn into 250 tangas. In 1708, when a khān tried to rob his subjects by introducing tangas with a forced value four times higher their their intrinsic value, a popular uprising broke out in Bukhārā.

As is happens, there is not a single document which refers to a tanga equal to 30 dinars as "new". But it did not prevent Davidovich (1964, 85) from concluding that: "in documents of the XVII c. (which named tangas as neither 'old' nor 'new' but which said that they were 'thirty dinar ones') it was precisely the 'new' coins of later issues that were mentioned". I doubt this very much.

"Thirty dinar" tangas could be old Shaybānid or early Jānid tangas with 90% silver. When new, lower-grade tangas appeared, the exchange rate of a high-grade tanga could have risen to 30 (from 27) dinars. It is worth mentioning that hoards do turn up comprising both Shaybānid and Jānid tangas (Davidovich 1979, 380).

There is also another possibility. The words تنکه نقره مسکوکه یکمثقالی سی د یناری رایجه الوقت "tangas, struck in silver, of one mithqāl, (equal to) thirty dinars, current at this time" could be a formula denoting not a real tanga but a unit of account. In "Majma' al-Arqām" (a text-book for Bukhārā officials) Mīrzā Badī'-Dīvān (1981, 56) wrote about calculations with coins. So when one had 5520 "two and half /tenths" tangas one had to multiply it by 2.5 and divide by 10. Thus 5520 x 2.5 ÷10 would make 1380. But 1380 what? Could it be تنکه نقره مسکوکه یکمثقالی سی د یناری رایجه الوقت, i.e. units of account?

When, under the Shaybānids and probably the early Jānids, the 9/10 tanga was proclaimed "old", people lost 3 dinars or 10% of its purchasing power, i.e. its forced value was 10% higher than its intrinsic value. Could this have been the case with the other tangas, i.e. that the forced value of such coins was never any higher than 10% of their intrinsic value and that the loss to the populace was never higher than 10% at every regrouping of "new" and "old" tangas?

And one more thing. The recurring regrouping of Jānid tangas into categories of "new" and "old" ones and the speculation in their exchange rate, by which the khān obtained additional profit, was characteristic only for the money circulation of the 17th century. And then mainly for the first period, for which more than 200 types of tanga are known, though there are also about 50 types of Subḥān Qulī tangas. Davidovich (1964, 126-9) wrote that the different types of tanga (differing in their cartouche) were a "practical criterion" by which a "new" tanga could be distinguished from the "old" tangas. To give some idea about how frequently tangas were regrouped into groups of "new" and "old" ones in the Jānid state, she made an analogy with the Shaybānid state, where, according to Antony Jenkinson (who visited Bukhārā in 1558-9), the king raised and lowered the value of silver (coins) for his profit every month, sometimes twice a month.

Contrary to Davidovich, Kochnev (1974, 53-6) wrote that all the "old" tangas had the same exchange rate, notwithstanding the difference in the standard of fineness. He also ridiculed the notion of Davidovich, saying that even numismatists sometimes cannot determine the type of Jānid tanga (and the people of Bukhārā were no numismatists) for which Davidovich (1976, 34-7) castigated him spectacularly on the publication of his article on money circulation under the Qarākhānids. Then, after a 14 year silence, Davidovich (1988, 84-93) answered Kochnev's article (1974, 53-56) and castigated him again giving the detailed analysis of his article. She wrote that Kochnev's idea that all the "old" tangas had the same exchange rate, notwithstanding the difference in the standard of fineness, is contradicted by the documents of the Jānid period. She again defended her thesis that the different types of Jānid coins were the practical criterion by which "new" tangas could be distinguished from the "old" ones, and that the exchange rate of "old tangas" was determined by their standard of fineness. Davidovich was supported by R. Burnasheva (1976, 64).

Second period (1680-1711)

This was a time of wars waged by the khāns against unruly vassals, powerful Uzbek nobles, striving for independence, and of wars between the nobles themselves. It was a time of anarchy and disintegration of the Bukhārā Khanate. All semblance of centralisation disappeared. Sometimes the authority of the khān was recognised only in Bukhārā and its vicinity. The weakness of the khān's power and army resulted in frequent plundering raids by nomads and the army of Khīva. During this period the standard fineness of the tanga fell dramatically.

The second period started with the reign of Subḥān Qulī (1680-1702). Although the first tentative issues of low-grade tangas had appeared under 'Abd al-'Azīz (most probably in the last years of his reign) the mass output and overall spread of 3-2.5-2.25/10 tangas took place under Subḥān Qulī. The spread of low-grade tangas and the hoarding of comparatively high-grade coins were concomitant processes. Soon enough, relatively high-grade tangas went out of circulation. It was not fortuitous that in the documents of that time only low-grade tangas are mentioned. The overwhelming majority of Jānid hoards comprise coins minted before the reign of Subḥān Qulī. But the low-grade tangas of Subḥān Qulī continued to circulate even 80-100 years after they were minted.

According to the chemical analysis of Subḥān Qulī Khān's tangas (Davidovich 1964, 118) most of his coins contain 21.3-26% silver (one of them, dated 1098 or 1108/1686-7 or 1696-7, contains 23.71% silver). But there were coins containing still less silver: 16.63% (1110/1698-9) and 12.18% (no date). So during the 17th century, the silver content of Jānid coins fell more than four times.

Davidovich (1964, 214-215) considered that the amount of silver in the country under the Jānids would have been sufficient for minting high-grade tangas. But the mobilisation of that silver would have meant the free mintage of silver, i.e mintage from silver brought to the mint by the inhabitants. This would inevitably have reduced the profits extracted by the state from minting debased tangas and speculating in their exchange rate. At a time of economic crisis, caused by anarchy, internecine wars, nomad raids etc., and the resulting dwindling of tax revenue, this was the most important source for getting money. She deemed that the debasement of tangas was caused not by a shortage of silver but by socio-economic reasons. According to her, the essential precondition for the 1785 monetary reform was the consolidation of the state. This improved the economic situation. Taxes collected allowed the state to refrain from minting debased tangas and speculating in their exchange rate. The free coining of silver was permitted and high-grade tangas were minted. And when the high-grade tangas appeared, the tilla, which had played an important role in trade and money circulation, started to lose its predominant position, being supplanted by the tanga.

'Ubayd Allāh I (1702-1711) was the last Jānid who fought for a strong, centralised state and tried to curb the separatist tendencies of the powerful Uzbek nobles, supported by their tribes. Almost all his reign was spent in wars against unruly vassals. There were campaigns against the appanage rulers of Balkh, Hiṣār, Tirmidh, Shahrisabz and others. Bukhārā was harried by the plundering raids of nomads from the steppe along the Syr Darya. His struggle against the nobles cost him his life. On 16 March 1711 he was murdered by conspirators.

The monetary reform of 1708. To fight the separatist nobles 'Ubayd Allāh needed a strong army. And to create the strong army he desperately needed money. But his treasury was empty. Anarchy and the disintegration of the state, internecine wars, devastating raids by nomads and the Khīva Khāns had ruined the economy of the Bukhārā Khanate. Taxes dwindled. Moreover, state-owned land (the most important source of taxes) decreased: some lands were granted by khāns to the nobility and the clergy, while taxes from other state-owned lands were given to warriors and their officers (the same Uzbek nobles) as payment for service. And there was a strong tendency (especially among powerful nobles) to turn the lands, taxes from which were granted as payment for service, into private lands. Sometimes the khān managed to return such lands to the state-owned category and to grant those lands to other nobles, thereby setting them against each other. But it was fraught with mutinies by the military. To increase the amount of taxes collected, 'Ubayd Allāh deprived the lands of the high clergy of their tax immunity and, in so doing, made the clergy his enemy. So the only way to get the much needed money was to exploit the currency (fiscal monetary reform and the speculation in the exchange rate of new and old tangas). At first he took measures to stabilise the money circulation and to raise the value of the tanga. The chemical analysis of tangas minted by 'Ubayd Allāh showed that they contained 33.6% silver (Davidovich 1964, 139). So the standard of his coins was raised to 3.5/10 compared to 2.5-2.25/10 grade of tangas minted beforehand. He also started to mint gold tillas from the very first year of his reign (Kochnev 1978, 130). In fact, 'Ubayd Allāh kept his monetary reform as a last resort and carried it out during the seventh year of his reign when preparing to do battle with the separatist nobles.

Mihtar (official of the Treasury) Shafi', who was the author of 'Ubayd Allāh's reform, offered to mint tangas containing 9% silver and to equate them to pre-reform tangas containing 35% silver. So the token value of the new tangas would have been 4 times higher than their intrinsic value. The government, however, failed to carry out this reform as it was conceived. People were outraged by the heavy losses this reform would inflict. The first to react were the merchants and petty traders of Bukhārā, who closed their shops.and refused to accept the new tangas. They were ordered to open their shops under penalty of death, but it did not help much. The goods disappeared. The poorest townspeople remained without food. Finally an uprising broke out. The townsfolk of Bukhārā rushed to the khān's palace and attacked the gate while trying

to break in. 'Ubayd Allāh managed to crush the uprising, the ringleaders were hanged. But he was forced to retreat. Instead of four, the old 3.5/10 tanga was deemed the equivalent of two new tangas containing 9% silver (Mīr Muḥammad Bukhārī 1957, 157-159; Davidovich 1964, 136-144). A deed dated to 1121/1709 mentions 6000 *single tangas*... equal to 3000 *double, 3.5/10 tangas* of Bukhārā mintage. After that the *single tangas* of 'Ubayd Allāh became the main coins in circulation. Later, however, under Abū'l Faiḍ (1711-1760) *single tangas* were minted which in fact contained 17.5% silver so that a *double tanga* was in fact equal to two *single tangas* (Davidovich 1964, 140, 160). After the death of 'Ubayd Allāh I the third period of money circulation in the Jānid state began.

Third period

According to Davidovich this period comprised the years 1711-1785. But there is no consensus as to what dynasty to attribute this period in the money circulation of Central Asia. M. E. Masson (Course of lectures on Numismatics of Central Asia, which I attended in 1957) considered that Manghīt coinage started with the issues of Muḥammad Raḥīm Biy (1753-1758), when he accepted the title of khān and started to mint in his own name. Davidovich (1964, 164, 166) attributed the monetary reform of 1785 to Abū'l Ghāzī and hence to the Jānids (or Ashtarkhānids). Burnasheva (1967, 116) attributed the reform of 1785 to Shāh Mūrād (1785-1800) and considered this reform as the "effective date of the beginning of Manghīt coinage". Since the question is still a matter of debate, I shall give here an outline of money circulation in Central Asia in 1711-1785.

Firstly, a recapitulation of the main historical events of this period. Having murdered 'Ubayd Allāh, the Uzbek nobles put on the throne his junior weak-willed brother, Abū'l Faiḍ (1711-1747), who soon became a puppet in the hands of the Uzbek amirs. Real power in the state was usurped by the powerful noble, Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy from the Uzbek tribe of Manghīt, who held the rank of *ātalyq*, one of the highest in the Bukhārā Khanate. Muḥammad Ḥakīm died in 1743 and was succeeded by his son, Muḥammad Raḥīm, who managed to create a strong army. Having strengthened his position, he killed Abū'l Faiḍ in 1747 and put his nine-year-old son 'Abd al-Mu'min on the throne. But in 1751 he killed 'Abd al-Mu'min as well. After him a child, the Chīngizid 'Ubayd Allāh II, was put on the throne. He was not a Jānid but the grandson of Mūsā, the Khān of Khīva, who had fled from there because of the rebellion of the Khīva nobles. But then Muḥammad Raḥīm married a daughter of Abū'l Faiḍ and thereby became related to the Chīngizids. After that he was lifted on a white felt mat and so, according to the old Turkic custom, was proclaimed Khān (1753-1758). Having accepted the title of khān, Muḥammad Raḥīm (1753-1758) had 3/10 tangas and high-grade tillas minted in his name (Bartold 1963, 279; Davidovich 1964, 175, 176, 239; History 1955, 416-420; History 1967, 234).

When Muḥammad Raḥīm died, power in Bukhārā came into the hands of his uncle, Muḥammad Daniyāl Biy. In order not to worsen the situation, the latter put on the throne a Jānid puppet khān, Abu'l Ghāzī (1758-1785 or 1789) and ruled in his name. Daniyāl Biy crushed the rebellions of the nobles, and went on to subjugate Qarshī, Khuzar and Shahrisabz. He died in 1185/1771-2 (Torrey 1950, 31; History 1956, 44). Daniyāl's coins are not known. Even coins minted in the name of Abū'l Ghāzī before 1181/1767-8 are not known. There are tillas of 1181/1767-8, 1194/1780, 1198/1783-4, 1201/1786-7 and 1202/1787-8, citing Abū'l Ghāzī (Davidovich 1964, 176-7, 239 -40). If one follows Davidovich, those coins should be attributed to the Jānids. If one follows Masson, they should be attributed to the Manghīts. A tilla of 1767-8 was minted in the lifetime of Daniyāl Biy. All the rest were minted under Shāh Mūrād. There is tilla minted in 1200/1786-7 by Shāh Mūrād in the name of his deceased father Daniyāl, but it was followed by tillas of 1201, 1202 citing Abū'l Ghāzī (Davidovich 1964, 51, 177). As for silver coins, there is not a single tanga minted before 1199/1784-5, the year of the monetary reform, after which high-grade (95% silver) tangas with the decreed weight of 7/10 mithqāl (3.36g) were minted. (Davidovich 1964, 51, 285-6).

It appears that, after the reform of 1785, Shāh Mūrād started to mint coins in the name of his father i.e. in the name of a member of the Manghīt dynasty, but this was viewed unfavourably by the Uzbek nobles, who were jealous of his power. He, therefore, reverted to striking coins in the name of Abū'l Ghāzī (at least until 1203). But he soon managed to crush the opposition, deposed Abū'l Ghāzī in 1785 or 1789 (the latter is more likely), ascended the throne of Bukhārā, ruled in his own name and had coins struck in the name of the Manghīt dynasty (in the name of his father, Daniyāl Biy) until he died in 1800.

It is quite certain that in the time of the Jānid puppet, Abū'l Ghāzī (or rather in the time of Daniyāl Biy and Shāh Mūrād) before the reform of 1785, i.e in 1758-1785, old debased tangas minted by the Jānids and Muḥammad Raḥīm, served the currency needs in the Bukhārā Khanate for about 30 years. It is well-known that, in Farghāna and Tāshkent, coins minted by the Jānids at the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century circulated many decades after they were minted, even when those provinces became independent from Bukhārā (Davidovich 1964, 169-170). Moreover, such coins will have circulated in the territory of the Bukhārā Khanate itself. They were the so called "single tangas" and "double tangas" with 9% and 35% silver. Later, Abū'l Faiḍ minted tangas, which in fact contained 17.5% silver but he also minted tangas containing 45.62% silver (30 such tangas were equal to 1 tilla). The coins of Muḥammad Raḥīm contained 30% silver. There were also coins of Subḥān Qulī Khān containing 25% or 22.5% silver (Davidovich 1964, 154-155, 158-161).

Now a word about the minting process at Jānid mints. No descriptions of the Bukhārā or other Jānid mints have survived. But Davidovich (1964, 216-30), having studied Jānid coins and descriptions of contemporary mints operated by the Ṣafāvids and the Mughals, made an attempt to reconstruct the process that may well have taken place at the Jānid mints.

At the contemporary Ṣafāvid mints there were nine operations:

1- Refinement of gold and silver by melting. Making special roundish ingots.
2- Hammering the ingots (according to Davidovich, to increase the density of the metal).
3- Turning the ingots into rods. (In my opinion, however, the hammering of the ingots was to turn them into rods).
4- Turning gold and silver ingots into wire of a certain diameter.
5- Cutting the wire into cylinders of a certain size.
6- Flattening the cylinders. The shape of the flan shows that cylinders were flattened upright.
7- Cleaning the blackened flans. (I believe that one operation has been missed out. After flattening, the flans were heated to restore the pliability of the metal. Heated silver flans become blackened).
8- Sorting the flans out. Flans that were too heavy or too light were sent back to be melted again.
9- Minting. The lower die was inserted into a special hollow in the anvil. The flan was put on the lower die and covered by the upper die held by tongs. Then the upper die was hammered. According to an eyewitness, the flans were heated in a forge before minting. Then the silver flans would be cleaned anew. (At Manghīt mints, the flans were cleaned in vinegar and dried with sawdust).

The processes used at the Mughal mints differed somewhat from this. Rods were cast in a clay mould. Grooves in the mould were greased with fat and molten metal was poured in. The rods were cut with great precision so that they did not differ much in weight. The cut pieces were not flattened on an anvil. The flans were weighed and struck.

Davidovich studied the shape of Jānid coins. They are oval, or "roundish-quadrangular", or "roundish-rhomboid", or, sometimes, "pear-shaped". The difference between the "large diameter" and "small diameter" coins of the same type is from 1-2 to 4-6mm. The bigger the size, the thinner the coins. Many coins have a characteristic "step-like" nick, which shows where the metal wire was cut. All this led Davidovich to conclude that the flans were made from wire cylinders, which were flattened not upright but sideways, in a lying position. It is not clear whether that wire was made by drawing as in Persia, or whether wire-like rods were cast in moulds as in India. The edges of some gold coins show evidence that they were cut or filed in places. This operation was done to reduce the weight of a tilla in case it exceeded the decreed weight. The size and shape of the flans did not coincide with the round die, so that either a blank space was left on the coin, or part of the die was outside the flan. It would also appear that coins were often struck at an angle as flat areas often appear on the coins where part of the die-impression should otherwise be. Some tillas and tangas were double- or even triple-struck, which shows that minting was not necessarily done by a single strike. Some coins have traces of overstriking.

Davidovich wrote that, in the 18th century, there was free minting of gold at Jānid mints, the explanation for which was a shortage of gold in the state treasury. She wrote: "the poverty of the state treasury made it impossible to organise the minting of gold coins... from state-owned metal. So the government, although it needed income (Davidovich meant profit obtained from minting low-grade coins – M. F.), was forced to allow the free minting of gold coins". At the same time there was no free minting of silver coins. One way or the other, the high grade of Jānid tillas attests to the free minting of gold coins. So according to Davidovich (1964, 215) there was a dual arrangement for striking coins in the Jānid state: the free minting of high-grade tillas and the minting of low-grade tangas from state-owned silver.

To end with, some information about prices in the Bukhārā Khanate under the Jānids, or as one may put it "the purchasing power of Jānid coins" (Fedorov 1993, 52-56).

One *ṭanāp* of land. A *ṭanāp* was usually equal to 1820.9 square metres, though there were also *ṭanāps* of 1707.1, 2731.35, 2845.16, 3277.62, 4037-4097 square metres (Davidovich 1970, 126-128).

1631, province of Kesh: 44.7 "old tangas of Imām Qulī Khān". Land exempted from taxes.

1657, province of Bukhārā: state land sold at 3.7 "6/10 tangas". Land not exempted from taxes.

1670, province of Gijduvan: 12.5 "tangas of thirty dinars".

1673, Ura Tiube: mulk (private) land not exempted from tax 20.8 "tangas of 'Abd al-'Azīz".

1699, water meadow of Kesh river: 4 "3/10 tangas". Land not exempted from taxes.

1709, province of Samarqand: mulk land not exempted from tax "12 single or 6 double tangas".

1720-1721, province of Bukhārā: 1.33 and 3.66 (gold) ashrafīs. Land not exempted from taxes.

1753, suburb of Bukhārā: 7.7 ashrafīs. Price of town and suburb land was much higher.

1775, province of Kesh: 0.283 ashrafī.

Cotton fabrics: 2-6 tangas. Silk fabric 16-44 tangas. Caftan (man's long outer garment) of cotton fabric 10-13, of silk fabric 22 tangas. Slaves from 250 to 1166 tangas. Horses 133-900 tangas. Cow 3 tillas. In 1691 in Balkh a *kharvār* (170-175kg) of wheat cost 40 tangas of Subḥān Qulī. According to my calculations 40 tangas of Subḥān Qulī were equal to 11 high-grade tangas. So with 1 high grade tanga one could buy 15.5-16 kg of wheat. By comparison: in 1594 according to Davidovich (1983, 289) 20 kg of wheat cost 1.25 high-grade Shaybānid tangas, or 16 kg for a tanga.

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Illustrations

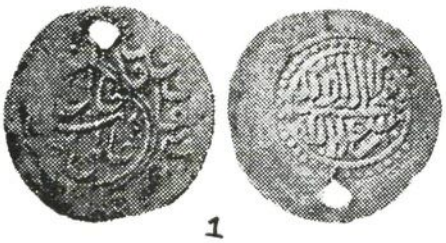
Janid tangas

1. Jānī Muḥammad (1599 -1601?)
2. Walī Muḥammad (1605/6 - 1608/9 or 1610/11
3. Walī Muḥammad (1605/6 - 1608/9 or 1610/11
4. Imām Qulī Khān (1608 or 1611-1642)
5. Imām Qulī Khān (1608 or 1611-1642)
6. Imām Qulī Khān (1608 or 1611-1642) Balkh
7. Nadir Muḥammad (1642-1645)
8. ʻAbd al-ʻAzīz (1645-1680).

Janid tillas and tilla of Muḥammad Raḥīm Manghīt

9. Abū-l-Faiḍ (1711-1747).
10. ʻAbd al-Mu'min (1747-1751).
11. Muḥammad Raḥīm (1753-1758).
12. Abū-l-Ghāzī (1758-1785 or 1789). Date on the coin: 1194 (1780).
13. Abū-l-Ghāzī (1758-1785 or 1789). Date on the coin: 1200/1201 (1785-6/1786-7).

Illustrations 1, 9-13 from Davidovich, 1964. *Istoriia monetnogo dela Srednei Azii XVII-XVIII vv.,* Dushanbe; illustrations 8 from Davidovich, 1979. *Klady drevnikh i srednevekovykh monet Tadjikistana,* Moskva; Illustrations 2-7, SLG.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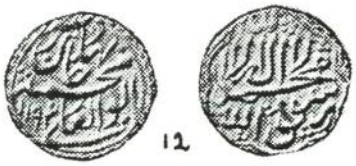
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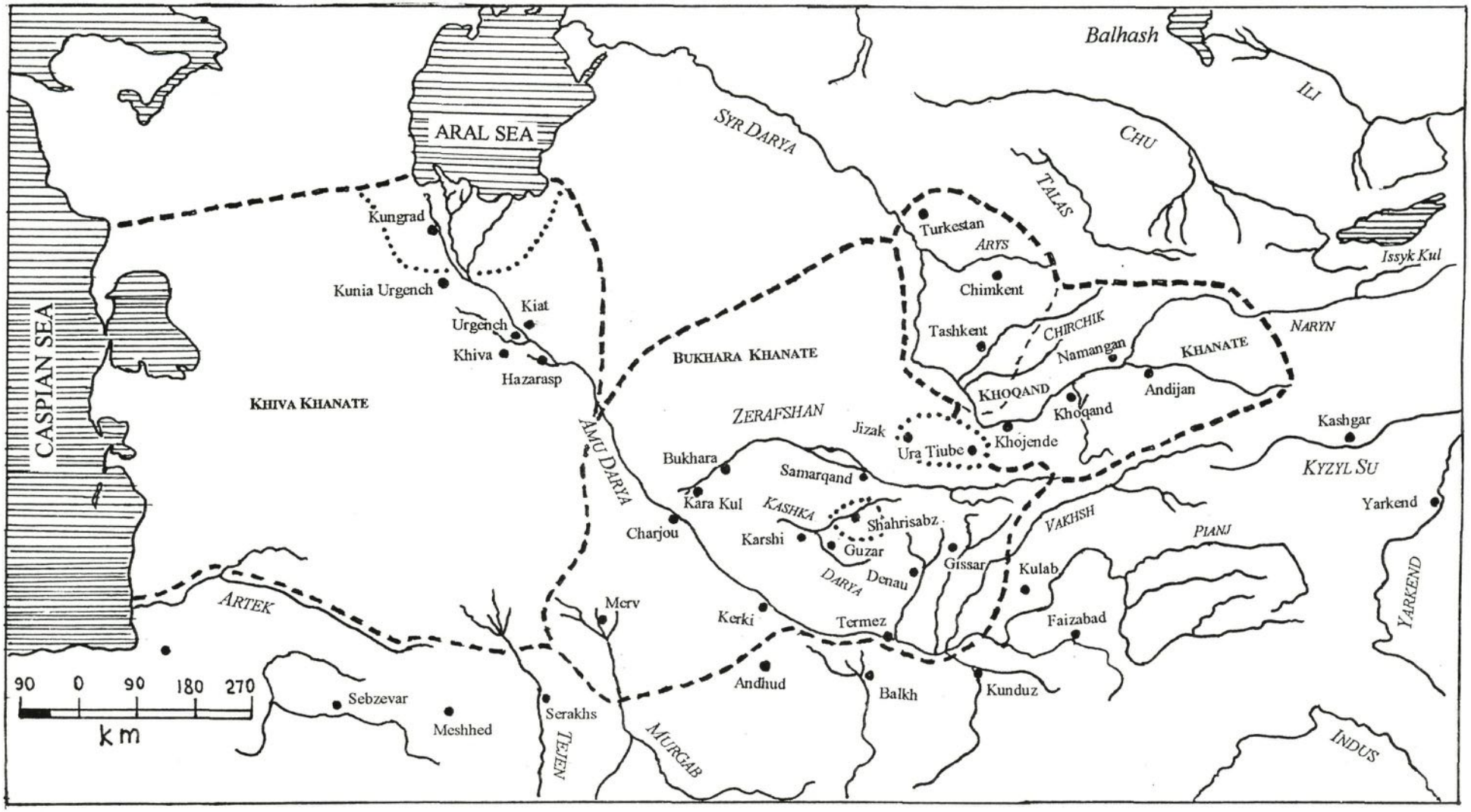
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Ura Tiube
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ZERAFSHAN
BUKHARA KHANATE
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KHIVA KHANATE
CASPIAN SEA
AMU DARYA
Bukhara
Samarqand
Kara Kul
KASHKA
Shahrisabz
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Kulab
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Money Circulation in the Bukhārā Amirate of the Manghīt Dynasty

History

'Ubayd Allāh Khān (1702-1711) was the last of the Ashtrakhānid dynasty to fight for a strong, centralised state as he tried to curb the separatist aspirations of the mighty Uzbek nobles supported by their tribes. Almost all his reign was spent in wars against unruly vassals. There were campaigns against the appanage rulers of Balkh, Ḥiṣār, Tirmidh, Shahrisabz and elsewhere. Bukhārā was harried by the plundering raids of nomads from the steppe along the Syr Darya. His struggle against the unruly nobles cost him his life. On 28 Muḥarram 1123 / 16 March 1711 'Ubayd Allāh Khān was murdered by conspirators. His junior brother, the weak-willed Abū'l Faiḍ (1123-1160/1711-1747), was put on the throne and soon became a puppet in the hands of the Uzbek nobles (amirs). Real power in the state was usurped by the powerful noble, Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy from the Uzbek tribe of Manghīt, who was granted the rank of *ātalyq*, one of the highest in the Bukhārā Khanate. The other nobles, jealous of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy, plotted to kill Abū'l Faiḍ and put on the throne of Bukhārā Shīr Ghāzī, the Khān of Khīva. The plot was discovered and the plotters executed. In 1722 Ibrahīm Biy, the appanage ruler of Shahrisabz, striving to wrest the power from the hands of Muḥammad Ḥakīm, captured Samarqand and there proclaimed his son-in-law, Rajab (a cousin of Shīr Ghāzī), as the new Khān of Bukhārā. Rajab Khān advanced on Bukhārā and defeated Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy, who hid behind the walls of Bukhārā together with Abū'l Faiḍ Khān. Rajab Khān, however, failed in his attempt to take Bukhārā by storm. So he asked Kazakh nomads for help promising them rich booty after the capture of Bukhārā. The Kazakhs came and, not waiting for Bukhārā to fall, started to sack and devastate everything in the area. For seven years the nomads continued to ravage the Bukhārā Khanate. Neither Rajab not Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy could stop them. Eventually the Uzbek nobles in Bukhārā prevailed upon Abū'l Faiḍ to exile Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy to Qarshī. This, however, did not help. Those nobles who seized power proved to be even worse.

The anarchy in the Bukhārā Khanate was eventually used by the Persian Shāh Nādir. In 1737 he sent his son Riḍā Qulī, who advanced on Qarshī with 12,000 warriors. Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy asked Abū'l Faiḍ for help. The combined armies of Abū'l Faiḍ and Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy were defeated by the Persians. But having learned that the army of Ilbārs, the Khān of Khīva, was approaching to help the Bukhārans, Riḍā Qulī withdrew. In 1740 Nādir Shāh himself decided to invade Bukhārā. He came with his army to Balkh and started preparations for war. Muḥammad Raḥīm, the son of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy, arrived there to pledge his obedience to Nādir Shāh and was favourably received. Abū'l Faiḍ summoned Muḥammad Ḥakīm and sent him as his envoy to Nādir Shāh. When he arrived at Nādir Shāh's camp, Muḥammad Ḥakīm firstly denigrated Abū'l Faiḍ as a weak and incapable ruler and expressed his willingness to serve the Shāh. Having left Bukhārā as an envoy of Abū'l Faiḍ, Muḥammad Ḥakīm returned there as a powerful representative of Nādir Shāh. Meanwhile, the army of Nādir Shāh had approached Bukhārā. Muḥammad Ḥakīm and Abū'l Faiḍ went to meet him. The Shāh left Abū'l Faiḍ on the throne but put real power in the hands of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy. His son, Muḥammad Raḥīm, was made commander of 10,000 select troops of Bukhārā who joined the Persian army. Muḥammad Ḥakīm's brother, Daniyāl Biy, was made the appanage ruler of Kermīne.

So Bukhārā became a vassal dominion under the suzerainty of Nādir Shāh and Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy became the real ruler of Bukhārā. After his death in 1743, several Uzbek amirs rebelled and sought to become independent. In 1745 one of them, 'Ibād Allāh, even sacked Bukhārā, while Abū'l Faiḍ watched helplessly on. Nādir Shāh gave Muḥammad Raḥīm, the son of Muḥammad Ḥakīm Biy, a detachment of his select soldiers and sent him to Bukhārā. In Marw, Riḍā Qulī (the son of Nādir Shāh) joined him with his army and artillery. Then auxiliary troops of armed Turkmāns joined them. With this army Muḥammad Raḥīm arrived at Bukhārā where he restored order with the help of the Persian troops. 'Ibād Allāh was defeated, fled to Tāshkent and was murdered there. Then a rebellion in Shahrisabz was quelled. Meanwhile Muḥammad Raḥīm managed to create a strong army of his own. In 1747 Nādir Shāh died. In that same year, Muḥammad Raḥīm took advantage of this to murder the ill-fated Abū'l Faiḍ and put on the throne his nine-year-old son, 'Abd al-Mu'min (1160-1164/1747-1751). But in in 1751 he killed 'Abd al-Mu'min as well. After 'Abd al-Mu'min, a child, the Chīngizid 'Ubayd Allāh, was put on the throne. Accordindgto Bartold (1963, 279) he was a son of Timūr Sulṭān and a grandson of Mūsā, Khān of Khīva, who fled from there because of a rebellion by Khīva nobles. But then Muḥammad Raḥīm became related by marriage to the Chīngizids, having married a daughter of Abū'l Faiḍ. After that the clergy of Bukhārā urged Muḥammad Raḥīm to accept the title of khān. Muḥammad Raḥīm answered that this question should be decided by the people of Bukhārā. So not only the nobles (as used to be the case) but also the clergy and the rich townsfolk decided the question. Muḥammad Raḥīm was lifted on a white felt mat and so, according to the old Turkic custom, was proclaimed Khān (1753-1758) of Bukhārā (Bartold 1963, 279; Davidovich 1964, 175, 234; History 1955, 416-420; History 1967, 234). He was the first crowned ruler of Bukhārā from the Manghīt dynasty.

Muḥammad Raḥīm ruled Bukhārā with an iron hand. His policy of centralisation of the state won him the support of the clergy and the townsfolk, notwithstanding the fact that he imposed heavy taxes to keep a strong army. He crushed the rebellion of Ṭughāy Timūr, ruler of Nūrātā, deprived him of his hereditary dominion but gave him some lands in the Bukhārā oasis. Some nobles of Nūrātā were executed. Uzbek tribes who resided there were driven from Nūrātā and settled in other regions, while some other Uzbek tribes were settled in their stead. All the fortresses in Nūrātā were demolished. By 1753 Muḥammad Raḥīm had subjugated Ūrgūt, Shahrisabz, Ḥiṣār and Kūlāb. He conquered Tashkent, Khojend and Turkistān, an important trade centre (in Kazakhstan, north of the Syr Darya) on the caravan route connecting Central Asia with Russia (History 1956, 43).

When Muḥammad Raḥīm died, power in Bukhārā fell into the hands of his uncle Muḥammad Daniyāl Biy. The Uzbek nobles rebelled against him and the power of the Manghīts. But the townsfolk of Bukhārā supported him. The city mob started to sack and devastate the palaces of the rebellious amirs, murdering those whom they could lay their hands on. Many mutinous amirs were massacred; only a few escaped. Then Daniyāl Biy executed several other amirs, Ṭughāy Timūr and his son among them. This, however, did not stop the struggle of unruly nobles against him. In Samarqand there was the rebellion of Faḍil Biy, amir of the Uzbek tribe of Yūz. About

that time an uprising broke out in Miyānkāl. Daniyāl Biy crushed the rebellions. Then he subjugated Qarshī, Shahrisabz and Khuzar. In order not to exacerbate the situation Daniyāl put on the throne an Ashtarkhānid puppet khān, Abu'l Ghāzī (1171-1200 or 1203/1758-1785 or 1789) and ruled in his name. Daniyāl Biy died in 1185/1771-2 (Torrey 1950, 31; History 1956, 44).

His son, Shāh Mūrād, at first ruled in the name of Abu'l Ghāzī. His reign was a time of consolidation of the state. He was ostentatiously pious and, during the lifetime of his father joined a dervish brotherhood, became a *murīd* of the famous dervish Shaikh Ṣaffār and later even became a *murshid* himself. It won him the respect and admiration of the populace so that his father was forced to proclaim him the heir apparent. When appointed the ruler of Samarqand, Shāh Mūrād took measures to make it prosperous. In 1785 (1789?) Shāh Mūrād deposed Abu'l Ghāzī and ruled in his own name till 1800, when he died. Not being a Chingizid, Shāh Mūrād ruled with the title of amīr. So the Manghīt state was called the Bukhārā Amirate, though the name "khanate" was also used. It is amazing that Abu'l Ghāzī was not killed and was permitted to end his days in prayer and pious speculations. In 1785 Shāh Mūrād crushed an uprising in Bukhārā. 1000 men were killed. The uprising was caused by the extraordinary taxes imposed by his Manghīt predecessors to keep the army. Shāh Mūrād had to abolish those taxes. He strove to enhance the prosperity of his state by restoring and improving the old and creating new irrigation systems, for which he imposed labour conscription. He repopulated lands that had been devastated during the time of internecine wars and anarchy. He never squandered money and all his life wore modest clothes and ate simple food. Shāh Mūrād carried out four categories of reforms: military, legal, currency and administrative. Good deeds won him the sobriquet Amīr Ma'ṣūm (Sinless Amir). But at the same time he was a typical, cruel, Asiatic despot drowning rebellions in blood, murdering unruly nobles and their families. Starting with 1786 he subjugated Kermine, Shahrisabz and Khojend. In 1786 he conquered, sacked and devastated Marw. He killed the ruler of Marw, Bāyrām 'Alī Khān, and appointed Bāyrām 'Alī's son as ruler in his place. When the latter rebelled, Shāh Mūrād sent an army and destroyed the dam on the Murghāb thus leaving Marw without water. Bāyrām 'Alī's sons gave themselves up and were brought to Bukhārā. Shāh Mūrād made his own brother, 'Umar Biy, the ruler of Marw. 'Umar Biy duly rebelled, whereupon Shāh Mūrād again destroyed the dam on the Murghāb. The indignant Marw townsfolk seized 'Umar, threw the town gate open and gave up 'Umar Biy to Shāh Mūrād. Having turned the flourishing Marw oasis into a desert, the triumphant Shāh Mūrād returned to Bukhārā. The dam on the Murghāb was restored only in 1797. Shāh Mūrād also waged war against the ruler of Afghānīstān, Taimūr Shāh, to regain territories lost during the period of anarchy (Bartold 1963, 280-281; History 1956, 44-45).

The accession of his son, Ḥaydar (1800-1826), to the throne was accompanied by uprisings, rebellions and internecine wars among the nobles. These were quite usual for Bukhārā, with one khān succeeding another. Some rulers of provinces proclaimed their independence, others attacked their neighbours. In 1800, the Turkmāns of Marw, driven to extremes by the extortions and oppression of Bukhārā officials, also rebelled. In 1804, Iltuzar, the Khān of Khīva invaded the Bukhārā Amirate, sacking and devastating as he went, but was defeated on the banks of the Amu Darya. Then the wars with Khoqand started for control of Ura Tiube, which was originally a vassalage of Bukhārā, but which had been captured by Muḥammad 'Ālim (1800-1810), the Khān of Khoqand. In 1804 Ḥaydar's brother, Dīn Nāṣir Bek, the ruler of Marw rebelled. Ḥaydar sent an army which destroyed the dam on the Murghāb. All the crops perished in the resulting drought. Dīn Nāṣir fled to Mashhad. Ḥaydar led most of the sedentary population of the Marv oasis to the Bukhārā Amirate and settled them in the Zarafshan valley. In Marw itself he settled 200 Turkmān families. In 1825 Marw was captured by the Khān of Khīva. Two attempts to restore the dam on the Murghāb failed. In 1815 the Khān of Khoqand, 'Umar (1810-1822), captured the town of Turkīstān, which belonged to Bukhārā. This triggered a series of vindictive plundering raids on the Khoqand Khanate, which was reciprocated by raids by the Khoqand army on the Bukhārā Amirate. Ḥaydar's incessant wars demanded lots of money and he imposed heavy, new taxes which led to a deterioration of the economy and the impoverishment of the populace. In 1821-1825 there was an uprising of Uzbek tribes in Miyānkāl. The insurgents massacred the Khān's officials and tax-collectors and captured the fortified towns of Katta Qūrghān, Yangī Qūrghān and some other fortresses. Ḥaydar recaptured Katta Qūrghān but failed to take the other fortresses from the insurgents. Having destroyed all the crops in the region he withdrew to Bukhārā. In 1822 he again tried to take the fortresses of the insurgents but again failed.

While the army of Bukhārā was occupied fighting the rebels, the Khān of Khīva carried out several raids on the north-eastern part of the Bukhārā Amirate. Then the Khān of Khoqand sent his troops to help the rebels take Samarqand. But soon dissension broke out between the Khoqandians and the rebels. The Khoqand troops withdrew and the siege of Samarqand was raised. Then the rebels proclaimed Ḥaydar's cousin, Isḥāq Bek, as the new Khān of Bukhārā and besieged Samarqand anew. Only when the Khīvan troops, who were harrying the northern part of his state, withdrew could Ḥaydar move all his army against the rebels. He took their main fortresses of Katta Qūrghān and Chilek. But it was not until 1825 that the rebels laid down their arms and then only after Ḥaydar gave a written guarantee that they would not be persecuted (History 1956, 47-48).

Ḥaydar died in 1826 and was succeeded by his son, Ḥusain, who ruled 2 months 14 days and then died. The Bukhārā nobles put his licentious brother, 'Umar, on the throne. He ruled for about 4 months. His brother, Naṣr Allāh, arrived with troops from Samarqand, besieged and took Bukhārā. 'Umar fled from the palace clad in women's garments (Donish 1967, 37-39). The main feature of Naṣr Allāh's reign (1826-1860) was his bitter struggle to consolidate his state against the separatist aspirations of the nobles. He spared neither effort nor money to strengthen his army. He won the support of the clergy by granting them gifts and privileges. The recalcitrant Uzbek nobles were exterminated mercilessly. Under his father, Shahrisabz had been a semi-independent bekship. When Naṣr Allāh came to power Shahrisabz proclaimed its independence. Escaping from Naṣr Allāh, recalcitrant nobles fled to Shahrisabz and incited the people there against the Bukhārā amir. Only in 1856 did Naṣr Allāh manage to subjugate Shahrisabz and Kitāb.

In 1840 a war broke out between Naṣr Allāh and Muḥammad 'Alī, the Khān of Khoqand. Muḥammad 'Alī lost the war, recognised Naṣr Allāh as suzerain and ceded Khojend to him. At the beginning of 1842 Naṣr Allāh invaded Farghāna and took Khoqand. Muḥammad 'Ali was killed. Having left his

governor and garrison in Khoqand, Naṣr Allāh proceded to Tashkent, captured it and returned to Bukhārā. Three months later the Khoqandians rebelled and massacred the Bukhārans. In the summer of 1842 Naṣr Allāh invaded Farghāna and besieged Khoqand but after 40 days of siege retreated in haste to save Bukhārā because Allāh Qulī, the Khān of Khīva, had invaded his realm. Soon after that, Naṣr Allāh lost Khojende and Tāshkent to the Khoqandians. In 1843, when the army of Khīva advanced on Marw, Naṣr Allāh invaded the Khīva Khānate but was defeated near Hazārāsp. While retreating he was met by a delegation of Turkmān chiefs who asked him to accept them as his subjects and surrendered Marw to him. Naṣr Allāh sent his governor to Marw. The war between Khīva and Bukhārā continued until 1845, when Allāh Qulī died (History 1955, 49-50).

Naṣr Allāh died in the autumn of 1860 and was succeeded by his son, Muẓaffar (1860-1885), who was previously the appanage ruler of Kermīne. During the first three years of his reign Muẓaffar, using the strong army created by his father (and the money accumulated by him) carried out several campaigns in Ḥiṣār and Farghāna. Both campaigns were accompanied by massacres, and the plundering and capturing of people to sell them into slavery. In 1863 he invaded Farghāna to help his protégé, Khudāyār, regain the throne of Khoqand, which the latter had lost because of a rebellion by the Qipchaq. He took Khoqand, enthroned Khudāyār, crossed the whole of the Farghāna valley, came to Uzgend but failed to supress the Qipchaq and so returned to Bukhārā.

Meanwhile the Russians had started their conquest of Central Asia. In 1862 they took the Khoqandian fortresses of Pishpek and Toqmaq (North Kirghizstan). In 1863 they took the fortress of Suzak in Kazakhstan, north of the Syr Darya. In 1864 the Russians took Aulie Ātā and Chīmkent. In 1865 the conquered lands became the Turkestanskaia oblast' of the Russian Empire. General M. G. Cherniaev was appointed the first governor of this oblast'. He immediately started preparations for the conquest of Tāshkent. On 17 May 1865, Tāshkent was captured after a fierce battle. From Tāshkent General Cherniaev moved his troops towards Jizākh, a strong fortress between Tāshkent and Samarqand.

While Cherniaev was advancing on Tāshkent, Muẓaffar was leaving Bukhārā for his campaign against Farghāna. Some of his generals advised him to go instead to Tashkent to repel the Russians but he did not heed them. Muẓaffar invaded Farghāna took Khoqand and enthroned Khudāyār, who by that time had lost Khoqand for a second time. Having taken all the canons and lots of other weapons from Khoqand, Muẓaffar returned to Bukhārā. The people of Bukhārā were outraged that the Russians had taken Tashkent (and by their amīr who had made no effort to repel the Russians). So Muẓaffar had no choice but to proclaim Ghazavāt (Holy War) against the Russians. Muẓaffar's army and swarms of *ghāzīs* (armed mainly with clubs) started on their way to exterminate the Russians. At the Battle of Irjar (on the bank of the Syr Darya, lower Khojend) Muẓaffar's army and the *ghāzīs* were defeated by the Russians. On 24 May 1866 the Russians took Khojend. In August 1866 Tāshkent, Khojend and other regions adjacent to them were officially joined to the Russian Empire. On 2 October the bekship of Ura Tiube, a vassal state of Bukhārā, was conquered. On 18 October the fortress of Jizākh was taken by storm. Then the fortress of Yangī Qūrghān was conquered. In 1867 all the lands conquered by the Russians between 1847-1867 were united into the Turkestan General-Governorship. General K. R. Kaufman was appointed its general-governor (Donish 1967, 41-51; Bartold 1963, 291; History 1956, 87-89).

In 1868 Kaufman advanced on Samarqand. Muẓaffar again proclaimed a holy war and led his army to Samarqand. On 1 May, the Bukhāran army was defeated. On the following day, the Russians entered Samarqand. On 18 May, the Russians stormed Katta Qūrghān. On 2 June Muẓaffar's army was again defeated at the Zirabūlāq Hills. The way to Bukhārā was now open. Using Muẓaffar's defeats as a pretext, his son, 'Abd al-Malik (Katta Tiuria), with support from Shahrisabz, Kitāb and other bekships, rebelled. He declared holy war and came to Samarqand where the townspeople joined him to attack a small detachment of Russians who were left in the citadel to protect the wounded and sick soldiers (among the defenders of the citadel was a famous Russian painter, V. V. Vereshchagin, who later portrayed those events). The Russians managed to hold the citadel until the main army, commanded by Kaufman, returned from the victorious battle at the Zirabūlāq Hills. 'Abd al-Malik fled and the insurgents were punished. On 23 June 1868 a peace treaty was signed. Muẓaffar ceded to the Russians all the territories they had conquered, acknowledged himself a vassal of the Russian tsar and payed the Russians an indemnity of 500,000 roubles. The newly conquered territories formed the Zerafshansky okrug of the Turkestan General-Governorship (History 1956, 90-91).

In 1868 Shahrisabz and some other bekships rebelled and proclaimed 'Abd al-Malik (Katta Tiuria) Amīr of Bukhārā. Muẓaffar asked General-Governor Kaufman for help. Kaufman sent Russian troops under the command of general A. K. Abramov, who succeeded in crushing the rebellion. On 27 October 1868, Qarshī, the last stronghold of the rebels, was stormed. 'Abd al-Malik fled to Khoqand and thence to Kāshghar. The bekships of Shahrisabz, Kitāb and Qarshī were returned to Muẓaffar. In that same year, Ḥiṣār was subjugated. In 1873, when the Russian army was advancing on Khīva, Muẓaffar provided it with provisions, forage and water. It won him some lands on the banks of the Amy Darya, which had previously belonged to the Khīva Khānate. What Muẓaffar and his successors lost in the north, they gained in the south. Shahrisabz, Ḥiṣār (and some other bekships) which, for about a century, had actually been independent, were subjugated with the help of Russian troops, as were Qarātegīn and Darvāz. In the west, some lands of the Khīva Khanate passed to the Bukhārā Amirate. The Russians established steam navigation along the Amy Darya, and their railway crossed the Bukhārā Amirate. About 15 km from Bukhārā a depot, a railway station and the Russian settlement of Kagan were built. Later a railway line connected Kagan and Bukhārā. Russian troops were used to help the amīrs to crush uprisings by peasants driven to extremes by the extortions and oppresions of the amīr's officials, as happened in Kūlāb in 1888 and in Kelif 1889. Muẓaffar died in 1885 during a cholera epidemic (Bartold 1963, 416; History 1956, 91, 138-139; Donish 1967, 94, 111-112).

Muẓaffar was succeeded by his son. 'Abd al-Aḥad (1885-1910), the appanage ruler of Kermīne. He was a loyal vassal of the Russian tzars. He visited Russia many times (first time in Saint Petersburg in 1883 as a guest of honour at the coronation of Alexander III), visiting the capital, the Caucasus and Crimea, where (in Yalta) he even built himself a palace, and where he would spend two months almost every year. He spoke some Russian. He was granted the rank of Russian general (general of cavalry, inferior only to fieldmarshal-general) and decorated with Russian orders, including the

highest Order of Saint Andrew. When Russia waged war against Japan he donated a million roubles for the Russian Navy. The son and heir of 'Abd al-Aḥad was educated in the Cadet Corps in Saint Petersburg. In the last year of his reign, in January 1910, there was an uprising in Bukhārā. Russian newspapers explained it as stemming from the hatred of the Sunni populace towards the amīr's high officials, many of them being Persians and Shiite, and the hatred of bigots toward the "innovations" of the amīr. Others explained it as being caused by the high taxes and oppression of an archaic administrative machine, which had changed not one iota since the time of the first Manghīts. The Sunnis massacred the Shiites who fled to Kagan under the protection of the Russians. The uprising was quelled by Russian troops. Some of the most hated Persian high officials, however, were dismissed by the amīr to appease the populace (Bartold 1963, 424).

'Abd al-Aḥad died in 1910 and was succeeded by his son, Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad 'Ālim (1910-1920), who also was a loyal vassal of the Russian tzar. He was granted the rank of Russian lieutenant-general. During the First World War he made several donations to the Russian army. In 1915 Tzar Nikolas II awarded Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad 'Ālimkhān the Order of Saint Alexander Nevsky, one of the highest in the Russian empire. In 1920, when the Red Army attacked Bukhārā, Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad 'Ālim fled to Afghānistān (History 1956, 322) and the amirate came to an end.

THE LIST OF **MANGHĪT** RULERS OF BUKHĀRĀ
1753-1758, 1785 (or 1788-9)-1920

1. Muḥammad Raḥim b. Muḥammad Ḥakīm (b. Khudāyār Biy *ātalyq*).[1] Elected Khan of Bukhārā in **1753** died in **1758**.

The interlude. Daniyāl Biy ātalyq, *brother of Muḥammad Ḥakīm, from 1171to1185 / 1758 to 1771-2 and Shāh Murād, son of Muḥammad Raḥīm, from 1185 to 1200 or 1203 / 1758 to 1785 or 1788-9 ruled Bukhārā in the name of a puppet Jānīd Khān Abū'l Ghāzī.*

2. Shāh Murād b. Muḥammad Raḥīm. **1200** or **1203** to **1215** / **1785** or **1788-9** to **1800**. Dethroned Abū'l Ghāzī and started to rule in his own name as amīr of Bukhārā.

3. Amīr Ḥaydar b. Shāh Murād. 14 Rajab **1215** to 4 Rabī' I **1242** / 2 December **1800** to 9 October **1826**.

4. Ḥusain b. Shāh Murād. Reigned 2 months 14 days in **1826** then died.

5. 'Umar b. Shāh Murād. Enthroned 23 Jumādā I 1242 / 23 December **1826**. Reigned about 4 months.

6. Naṣr Allāh. Governor of Samarqand. In **1826** was proclaimed Khān by a rival faction of nobles. Besieged and captured Bukhārā. Enthroned in Ramaḍān 1242 / March **1827**, ruled till Rabī' I **1277** / September-October **1860**.

7. Muẓaffar b. Naṣr Allāh. Enthroned in autumn **1860**, died in the beginning of Ṣafar of **1303** / November **1885**.

8. 'Abd al-Aḥad. Enthroned 9 Ṣafar **1303** / 28 November **1885**, died in **1328/1910**.

Mīr Muḥammad 'Alīm b. Muẓaffar. **1328-1338/1910-1920**. Fled to Afghānīstān in **1920** when the Red Army commanded by Frunze advanced to attack Bukhārā. The dynasty of **Manghīt** rulers of Bukhārā was abolished.

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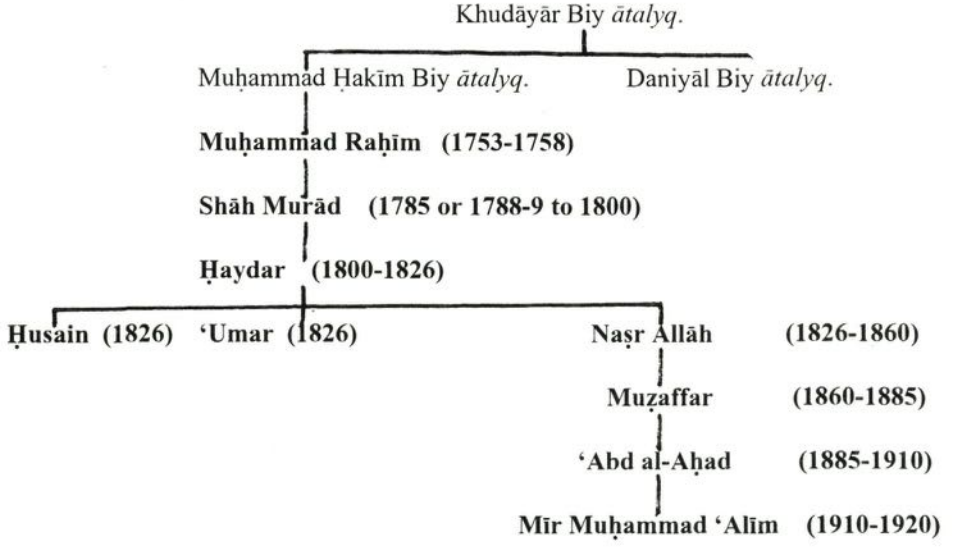
[1] Cf. Abdurrahman-i Tali'. 1959. Translated by A. A. Semenov, Tashkent, pp. 42, 174.

THE GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF **MANGHĪT** RULERS OF BUKHĀRĀ



The Coinage

There is no consensus as to when Manghīt coinage began. Academician M. E. Masson (Course of lectures on Numismatics of Central Asia, which I attended in 1957) considered that Manghīt coinage started with the issues of Muḥammad Raḥīm Biy (1753-1758), when he accepted the title of khān and started to mint in his own name. Davidovich (1964, 164, 166) attributed the monetary reform of 1785 to Abū'l Ghāzī and hence to the Jānids (or, as they are also called, the Ashtarkhānids). Burnasheva (1967, 116) attributed the reform of 1785 to Shāh Mūrād (1875-1800) and considered this reform to be "the effective beginning of Manghit mintage".

M. E. Masson divided the coinage of the Manghīts into two periods and several sub-periods.

The first period: "From the middle of the 18th century until the annexation of Central Asia by the Russian Empire".

First subperiod (1753-1785).

The reign of Muḥammad Raḥīm (1753-1758), Daniyāl Biy (1758-1171) and Shāh Murad before 1785. High-grade tillas, debased tangas and copper fulūs were minted.

Second subperiod (1785-1800).

The reign of Shāh Mūrād as Amīr of Bukhārā. Monetary reform of 1785. High-grade tillas, high-grade (95% silver) tangas and copper fulūs were minted.

Third subperiod (from 1800 until the annexation of Central Asia by the RussianEmpire).

High-grade tillas, high-grade tangas and copper fulūs were minted. High-grade tangas gradually supplant tillas in everyday trade and money circulation.

The second period: "From the annexation of Central Asia by the Russian Empire until the end of the Manghīt dynasty in 1920".

First subperiod (from the annexation of Central Asia by the Russian Empire until 1893).

High-grade tillas, high-grade tangas and copper fulūs were minted. Bukharan tangas were officially sanctioned by the Russian Bank and circulated at the exchange rate of 20 silver kopecks.

Second subperiod (from 1893 till the end of the Manghīt dynasty).

High-grade tillas, high-grade tangas and copper fulūs were minted. Because of the intensive exploitation of silver mines in America, silver became cheaper. A new exchange rate for the tanga was established: 15 silver kopecks for new tangas and 11 kopecks for old ones (i.e. those that had been a long time in circulation and had lost lost some silver from wear).

This scheme on the whole may be accepted but with some corrections and elaboration.

The first period.

First subperiod.

Having accepted the title of khān, Muḥammad Raḥīm (1753-1758) had coins struck in his own name. About sixty of his tangas are known. They are debased silver coins containing 30% silver. Davidovich (1964, 50, 282-284) included them in her monograph on Jānid gold and silver coins, but they cannot be considered as Jānid coins because they cite "Muḥammad Raḥīm Bahādur Khān", who was never a Jānid. None of those coins have a date or a mint-name, which perhaps were not engraved on the dies. But we know for sure that they were minted in Bukhārā between 1753-1758. These coins certainly resembled Jānid tangas with their characteristic oval shape: 24-26 x 28-31 to 27-31 x 30-35mm.

The weight histogram of those coins gives three compact groups. The first: 3.6-4g (45.8%) with a peak of 3.7g (the highest of them all). The second: 3.25-3.5g (25.4%) with two equal peaks: 3.3 and 3.5g. The third: 2.55-2.85g (18.7%) with a peak of 2.7g. Since there are no dates it is not clear whether all three groups were contemporary and were of different denominations, or whether the weight was reduced in the course of time. Four tillas minted in the name of "Muḥammad Raḥīm Bahādur Khān" are also known (Davidovich 1964, 176, 239). Their size: 22x22, 22x23, 23x24mm. Their weight: 4.55, 4.59, 4.66, 4.9g. Tillas of Muḥammad Raḥīm also have neither date nor mintname.

Daniyāl Biy (1758-1771/2) ruled in the name of the puppet khān, Abū'l Ghāzī (1758-1785 or 1789). Daniyāl's coins are not known. Nor are coins minted in the name of Abū'l Ghāzī before 1181/1767-8 known. There are several tillas citing Abū'l Ghāzī with dates: 1181/1767-8, 1194/1780, 1198/1783-4, 1200/1786-7, 1202/187-8. Their size: 16-18x17-20, 20-21x21-23mm. There are also round coins with diameters of 20 and 23mm. They weigh from 4.58 to 4.66g (Davidovich 1964, 176-177, 239-240). If one follows Davidovich, those coins should be attributed to the Jānids. If one follows Masson, as I do in this matter, those coins should be attributed to the Manghīts. The tilla of 1181 was minted during the lifetime of Daniyāl Biy. All the rest were minted under Shāh Mūrād.

By the way, there is a tilla struck in 1200/1786-7 by Shāh Murād in the name of his deceased father, Daniyāl, but it was succeeded by tillas of 1201, 1202 citing Abū'l Ghāzī (Davidovich 1964, 51, 177).

As for the silver coins, there is not a single tanga minted before 1199/1784-5, the year of the monetary reform after which high-grade (95% silver) tangas were struck with a decreed weight of 7/10 mithqāl (3.36g). There are tangas of 1199, 1200, 1202 and even 1203/1788-9 (Davidovich 1964, 51, 285-6). They weigh 2.85-3.15g. And their size is 17-21x21-24mm.

It seems that, after the reform of 1785, Shāh Murād started to mint coins in the name of his father i.e. in the name of the Manghīt dynasty, but that this was looked upon unfavourably by the Uzbek nobles, jealous of his power, and so he reverted to striking coins in the name of Abū'l Ghāzī (at least until 1203). But later he crushed the opposition, deposed Abū'l Ghāzī, ascended the throne of Bukhārā with the title amīr, ruled in his own

name, and had coins struck in the name of the Manghīt dynasty (i.e. in the name of his father, Daniyāl Biy).

It is quite certain that, in the time of Daniyāl Biy (1758-1771/2) and Shāh Murād, before the reform of 1785, i.e in 1758-1785, old debased silver tangas minted by the Ashtarkhānids and by Muḥammad Raḥīm, served the currency needs in the Bukhārā area for about 30 years. It is a well-known fact that in Farghāna, Tāshkent and the regions along the Syr Darya coins minted by the Ashtarkhānids at the end of the 17th to the beginning of the 18th century circulated for many decades after they were struck, even when those provinces became independent from Bukhārā. So deeds of purchase written in Ura Tiube in 1759-60, 1763, 1782, 1784 describe the money paid as "tangas of Sayyid Subḥān Qulī Khān (i.e. minted in 1680-1702 – M. F.) current in this time" (underlined by me). In 1735 "tangas issued under former Khāns" circulated in Tashkent because since the wars with the Qalmyq had started, Tāshkent had not minted its own coins (Davidovich 1964, 169-170). In 1722, Florio Beneveni (Poslannik 1986, 81) wrote that, in the regions along the Syr Darya, which had become independent of Bukhārā, coins were circulating that had been minted under the father of "this Khān", i.e. under the father of Abū'l Faiḍ (1711-1747), when he, i.e. "the father of this Khān", was in command of those lands. All the more reason, therefore, for tangas minted by the previous Khāns of Bukhārā to circulate in the territory of the Buhkārā Khānate itself.

These were the so-called "single tangas", which appeared in 1708 as s result of the reform of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān. They had only 9% silver but, by the decree of 'Ubaid Allāh, two such tangas were equal to one "double tanga" containing 35% silver. Later Abū'l Faiḍ minted tangas which in fact contained 17.5% silver but he also minted some tangas which contained 45.62% silver (30 such tangas were equal to 1 tilla). Tangas of Muḥammad Raḥīm contained 30% silver. There were also coins of Subḥān Qulī Khān which contained 25% or 22.5% silver. There were also some coins minted in 1153/1740-1 by the Persian Shāh Nādir in Bukhārā, when he occupied it (Davidovich 1964, 154-155, 158-161). According to J. Hanway, in the middle of the 18th century in Bukhārā there were different tangas which went 50-80 to a "ducat", i.e to a tilla (Davidovich 1964, 161-162).

There is evidence that all those coins circulated under Shāh Murād. In "Majma' al-Arqām" (a text-book for officials) Mīrzā Badī'-Dīvān wrote (ca 1798) a chapter about "old coins" and calculations with them. So when one had 5520 "two and half tenths" tangas (containing 25% silver), one had to multiply it by 2.5 and divide by 10. 5520x2.5÷10 =1380 high-grade silver tangas (Mīrzā Badī' - Dīvān 1981, 56). Russian non-commissioned officer Filipp Efremov (he was taken prisoner, sold to Bukhārā, made an officer there but fled back to Russia) wrote that in 1774-1782 in Bukhārā there were tangas that were "half silver, half copper" and that a tilla was equal to 30 such tangas. Most certainly, he was referring to the tangas of Abū'l Faiḍ which had 45.62% silver (Davidovich 1964, 167).

This heterogenous coin mass complicated calculations and trade. So when the objective prerequisites for monetary reform appeared it was carried out. Davidovich (1964, 214-215) was of the opinion that the amount of silver in the country under the Jānids was enough for the minting of the high-grade tangas. But mobilisation of that silver would have required a liberal policy for the striking of silver coins, i.e the coins would have been struck from silver brought to the mint by the populace. This would inevitably have reduced the profits extracted by the state from the minting of debased tangas and speculation in their exchange rate. At a time of economic crisis and dwindling tax revenue, caused by anarchy, internecine wars, the plundering raids of nomads etc., this was the most important source of state income. Davidovich deemed that the debasement of tangas was caused not by the shortage of silver but by reasons of a socio-economic character. According to her, the necessary preconditions for the 1785 monetary reform were the consolidation and centralisation of the state. This led to an improved economic situation, the taxes collected allowing the state to refrain from minting debased tangas and from speculating in their exchange rate. The free minting of silver was allowed and high-grade tangas were struck. And when the high-grade silver tangas appeared, the tilla, which had previously played an important role in trade and money circulation, started to lose its position, being supplanted by the tanga.

The reform was carried out in 1199/1784-5. But 1199 takes up only one and a half months of 1784 (14 November-December), so that this reform is usually referred to as the 1785 Reform. Contrary to the assertion of Davidovich, who attributed this reform to the Jānids, this reform should be attributed to the Manghīts as Masson and Burnasheva did. It was Shāh Murād, not Abū'l Ghāzī, who actually ruled the state. As a result of that reform, a totally new type of tanga was minted. It was a high-grade (95%) silver coin with a decreed weight of 7/10 mithqāl (4.8x7/10=3.36g). Shāh Murād returned to the canonical weight of the Muslim dirhem which appeared in the Arab khalifate following the reform of caliph 'Abd al-Malik circa 694-697 AD and which in the 8th-11th centuries spread all over the Muslim world from Spain to India. But the form of the new tanga was different. Dirhems were thin with diameter of 27-28mm. The new tangas were twice as thick with a diameter of 16-22mm. There was no mention of the Kalima, any Koranic verse, the Caliph or any vassal on them. The monetary reform of 1785 in Bukhārā was copied at the beginning of the 19th century by the Khāns of Khoqand and Khīva and spread over all Central Asia. The first tangas (in 1199-1203/1785-9) cited the Ashtarkhānid Abū'l Ghāzī Bahādur Khān but in 1202 some tangas cited also Shāh Murād's father: "Marḥūm Ghāzī Amīr Daniyāl" ("Deceased Warrior for the Faith Amīr Daniyāl"). After Abū'l Ghāzī was deposed, the names of the Manghīt rulers appeared on the tangas and on other coins of the Manghīts. All the tangas (as well as the tillas) had the ruler's title and name on the obverse, while on the reverse were the mint-name and date. In addition to tangas and tillas Shāh Murād minted fulūs. The earliest fals known was minted in 1213/1798-9 (Burnasheva 1967, 121).

The title Amīr (Sovereign, Lord) appeared for the first time on the coins of Shāh Murād minted by him in the name of his deceased father, Daniyāl. According to

Mīrzā Shams Bukhārī, Shāh Murād did not allow his name to be mentioned in the *khuṭba* or cited on the coins saying: "We do not belong to a family of Khāns, our ancestors were mere Uzbeks". Vel'iaminov-Zernov and Bartold considered that the Manghīts used the title Amīr in the sence of "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" ("Leader of the Faithful"). Indeed the title "Amīr al-Mu'minīn" was placed on the coins of Shāh Murād's son, Ḥaydar (1800-1826). All the other descendants of Shāh Murād called themselves Amīrs. It is interesting that almost all coins of the Manghīts, with the exception of some coins of Ḥaydar (whose mother belonged to the Chīngizids) and all coins of his son, Ḥusain (1826, ruled 75 days), were struck in the name of deceased amīrs with the epithet "Marḥūm" (Deceased, Forgiven). It is interesting to note that Timūr, who also was not a Chīngizid, also called himself Amīr. His grandson, Ulugh Beg struck coins in the name of Timūr with the epithet "Marḥūm". Apart from "Amīr" some Manghīts are cited with the title "Sayyid". Ḥaydar also called himself "Pādshāh" and "Sulṭān" (Burnasheva 1967, 118-119).

The tangas of Ḥaydar were minted in his own name. Tillas of Ḥaydar were minted either in his own name or in the name of his deceased father, Shāh Murād, who is termed "Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī" ("Sinless Warrior for the Faith"): "May the Mercy of God be upon Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī". Ḥaydar also minted tillas in the names of his grandfather and father: "Amīr Daniyāl, Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī". Fulūs of Ḥaydar were minted as regularly as tangas and tillas. On their reverse there are the date and mintname. On the obverse there is either a pious expression عاقبت خیر باد (May Future Life be prosperous) or the word فلوس (or فلس) and date. On the obverse of some fulūs, Ḥaydar put his name, or the expression "May Bukhārā be prosperous (خیر باد)". Ḥaydar's son Ḥusain (1826) is cited on tillas as "Sayyid Amīr Ḥusain Sulṭān" and on tangas as "Sayyid Amīr Ḥusain". His fulūs are not known (Burnasheva 1967, 121-128).

Coins of Naṣr Allāh (1826-1860) are very copious and very uniform. He reigned for 35 years. His tillas are known for 21 years and are minted in the name of Shāh Murād: "May the Mercy of God be upon Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī". His tangas are known for 23 years and are minted either in the name of his father: "May Amir Ḥaydar be praised in Future Life" or in the name of Shāh Mūrād: "May the Mercy of God be upon Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī". On the obverse of his fulūs we mostly find the pious expression "May Future Life be prosperous" or the word فلس and date; on the reverse are the date and mint-name. His name is not mentioned on his coins and he is not cited on the coins of his descendants (Burnasheva 1972, 67, 70).

Coins of Muẓaffar (1860-1885) are like the coins of his father: tillas minted in the name of Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī (Shāh Murād), tangas minted in the name of Amīr Ḥaydar. The fulūs are anonymous: on the obverse is the word "Fulūs" and the date; on the reverse "Bukhārā" and the date. His tillas are known for 14, his tangas for 20 years of his reign. His fulūs are known for the first decade of his reign (8 years). From 1288 to 1318/1871 to 1901 there was more than a 30 year break in the striking of copper coins (Burnasheva 1972, 70, 76). In the written sources and literature there is no explanation for that 30 year break. But as we have seen, debased Bukhāran tangas circulated for many decades after they had been minted. Certainly this was also the case with the copper coins of Bukhārā. An old man, whose father worked at the railway depot in Kagan, told me (in 1950s) that he and other kids pilfered copper wire at the depot. Inventive urchins cut the wire into pieces, put them on a rail and, after the train had flattened them, collected the round pieces of copper, then went to Bukhārā to buy sweets, pilav and other delicacies with them. This indicates that some Bukhāran fulūs were in circulation so long that all traces of lettering were erased on them.

Coins of 'Abd al-Aḥad (1885-1910) were like the coins of his father. His tillas are known for 16, his tangas for 11 years of his reign. Between 1312-1318/1894-1901 there was an interval in the mintage of tangas in Bukhārā. Before 1888 the mint of Bukhārā minted 8-10 million tangas yearly. In 1306/1888-9 it was about 10,250,000; in 1307/1889-90 – 22,400,000, in 1310/1892-3 – 16,900,000. Then a crisis broke out in 1311/1893-4. There were many reasons for it, chief of which were: the reduction in the price of silver; the fact that in India, where to a lot of Bukhāran tangas were brought, the free coining of rupees was banned; in 1893 the Russian government banned the circulation of Bukhāran tangas in the Turkestan General-Governorship (only in the Khīva Khanate and Zakaspiiskaia oblast' were they allowed to circulate). A lot of tangas accumulated in Bukhārā. This caused a dramatic fall in the price of silver and the exchange rate of the tanga. The Russian government considered the mintage of Bukhārā tangas to be detrimental to the circulation of Russian currency in Turkestan and was striving to stop it. Using this crisis, the Russian government prevailed on the Amīr of Bukhārā to stop striking tangas. Several years later the Amīr of Bukhārā complained that ceasing the coinage of tangas had damaged his prestige as a monarch. In 1319/1901-2 he was allowed to mint tangas but pledged to pass the tangas coming to his Treasury onto the Russian Exchequer at the rate 15 kopecks per tanga. The tangas that came to the Russian Exchequer were melted so as to achieve the disappeance of tangas from circulation. To make up for this, in 1319/1901-2 the minting of copper coins was started in Bukhārā. Minted after a 30 year interval, the fulūs of AH 1319 are the last of the type which had been minted before the interval. Then in 1322/1904-5 the mintage of silver tangas in Bukhārā was stopped altogether. To compensate for this, the amīr started to mint copper coins of a new type. In 1322/1904-5 fulūs appeared with the ciphers ٣٢ (32), or ٢ (2) on the reverse. This was tantamount to the same thing: instead of 64 to a tanga, the new fulūs went 32 to a tanga, in other words, the new falūs was equal to 2 old ones (Burnasheva 1972, 70, 73-76).

The last Amīr of Bukhārā, Sayyid Mīr Muḥammad 'Ālimkhān (1910-1920) minted only tillas and copper coins. His tillas are known for 1329-31/1911-13. In 1331/1913 the mintage of tillas in Bukhārā was stopped. The striking of tillas by 'Ālimkhān was a matter of prestige, and, as such, it was not copious. During the First World War the economic situation in Russia worsened; gold and silver coins disappeared from circulation already in the first months of the war. Prices rose and paper money began to lose its value. The same

processes affected the Bukhārā Amirate. In 1334/1915-6 copper coins were minted with the legend "Chahār fulūs" (4 fulūs). In 1335/1916-7 copper coins were minted with the legend "Hasht fulūs" (8 fulūs). In 1336-7/1917-19 copper coins were minted with the legends: "Fulūs nīm tanga" (half tanga), "Fulūs yak tanga" (1 tanga), "Fulūs dū tanga" (2 tangas), "Fulūs se tanga" (3 tangas), "Fulūs panch tanga" (5 tangas). Brass coins were minted with the legend: "Yak deh tanga" (10 tangas) and "Bīst tanga" (20 tangas). "Bīst tanga" coins were also minted in 1338/1919-20. These were to be the last coins struck in the Bukhārā Amirate

The weight of Bukhārā Amirate copper coins is as follows.

Ḥaydar (1800-1826): from 4 to 9.7g. There is a compact histogram grouping at 4.2-4.5g with two equal peaks: 4.35 and 4.45g. The next small peak is 4.75g, which is a Bukhāran mithqāl (4.8g). There is also a group of heavy coins: 8.8, 8.9, 9.2, 9.3, 9.7g. So there were two denominations: the first with a decreed weight of 1 mithqāl (4.8g), the second with a decreed weight of 2 mithqāls (9.6g).

Naṣr Allāh (1826-1860): a) 4-4.3g with 2 equal peaks at 4.15 and 4.25g, b) 4.5-4.75g with a peak at 4.75g, i.e. as the first group of Ḥaydar's coins with a decreed weight of a mithqāl. But there also appeared a lighter series of coins: 3.15, 3.45, 3.6, 3.75, 3.9g. There are also coins of 5.3 and 2.6g (2.6x2=5.2g).

Muẓaffar (1860-1885): Weights from 1.9 to 4.36g. It is impossible to make a histogram because the material is too scarce.

'Abd al-Aḥad (1885-1910): Weights from 2.2 to 2.65g. A compact group 2.6-2.65g with a peak at 2.6g.

'Ālīmkhān (1910-1920): Fulūs. 1329/1911 a compact group 2.55-2.65g with two equal peaks at 2.6 and 2.65g; 1332/1913-4 a compact group 2.2-2.3g peaking at 2.25g, but there also is a small group of 2.5-2.7g peaking at 2.6g. It seems that, at the beginning of the year, the coins had the same weight as in 1329, but that later their weight was reduced to about 2.25g. 1334/1915-6 a compact group 2.15-2.3g peaking at 2.25g; 1335/1916-7 a compact group 2.25-2.3g peaking at 2.3g. The decreed weight for coppers peaking at 2.25 and 2.3g was of course the half mithqāl (2.4g).

Mīrzā Salīmbek wrote: "His Majesty, having learnt about the needs of the people, had the copper fulus of 1335 remade into tangas so that 0.5 mithqāl of copper was equal to 1 tanga, a mithqāl to 2 tangas, 1.5 mithqāl to 3 tangas, 2 mithqāls to 4 tangas, 2.5 mithqāls to 5 tangas" (Burnasheva 1972, 78). As a matter of fact the coins of 4 tangas have not been found so far. So 1 copper tanga should weigh 2.4g, 2 tangas 4.8g, 3 tangas 7.2g, 4 tangas 9.6g, 5 tangas 12g. The actual weight of copper tangas is as follows.

1336/1917-8. Half tanga 1.05, 1.08g; tanga 2.1-2.4g peaking at 2.25g; 2 tangas 4.44, 4.6, 4.64, 4.68g; 3 tangas 6.61-7.04g.

1337/1918-9: 1 tanga 1.4-2.25g peaking at 1.9g; 2 tangas 4.08-4.22g; 3 tangas 6.47-7.88g with three equal peaks of 6.8, 7.2 and 7.35g; 5 tangas 8.6g.

Brass tangas: 1337/1918-9 – 10 tangas 3.96, 4.2, 4.22, 4.25, 4.36, 4.52, 4.56, 5.07; 20 tangas 4.32, 5.82, 7.02g; 1338/1919-20: 20 tangas 4.47g.

After the conquest of Central Asia by Russia, there circulated in Bukhārā Russian gold and silver coins and "kreditnye bilety" (paper money). Initially one *kreditnyi* rouble was equal to 93-95 silver kopecks. During the Crimean war a great deal of paper money was printed and the *kreditnyi* rouble fell to 85-80 silver kopecks. During the war of 1877-1878 between Russia and Turkey again a lot of paper money were printed, and again the *kreditnyi* rouble fell. In 1878 one *kreditnyi* rouble in Bukhārā was equal to 2.25 tangas (45 silver kopecks). In 1880 five *kreditnyi* roubles were equal to 17 tangas, i.e one *kreditnyi* rouble cost 3.4 tangas. Then the *kreditnyi* rouble rose in value. The exchange rate of the *kreditnyi* rouble against Russian gold and silver coins also was not stable. Initially an *imperial* (10-roubles gold coin) was equal to 10.3 *kreditnyi* roubles, but in the 1890s an *imperial* was equal to 15 *kreditnyi* roubles (Fedorov 1997, 81). A certain amount of large silver Persian coins and Indian rupees also circulated in Bukhārā.

And now some information about the relationship between the tilla, tanga and falūs, and their exchange rate against Russian money after the reform of 1785 until the beginning of the 20th century. (Davidovich 1964, 184, 198, 204; Fedorov 1978, 146-148, Fedorov 1997, 80-81). The exchange rate between the tilla and the tanga was not stable throughout the period and varied between 19-23 tangas to a tilla. The exchange rate between the tanga and falūs was also not stable and varied depending on the weight of copper between 64, 55, 34, 36, 24 coins.

In 1795 the tilla was at 19.5 tangas. In 1813 it was at 21 tangas; in 1820-1 at 21 tangas (at other times at 21-23); In 1833-4 at 21 tangas; In 1835-6 at 20 tangas; In 1841-2 at 21 tangas, though the official exchange rate sometimes differed from the bazaar exchange rate: a tilla was at 20.5 tangas in the bazaar. In 1851 a tilla was at 19 tangas; in 1855 at 21 tangas. In the second half of the 19th- beginning of the 20th century, a tilla was at 20 tangas.

In 1820-1 tanga was at 55 pūls and 24 qarāpūls. In 1833-4 it was at 34-36 pūls, most frequently at 35 pūls. In 1842 a tanga was at 44 pūls. In the second half of the 19th century it was at 64, then at 32 pūls.

In 1730 a tilla was equal to 2.5 roubles, in 1750 to 2.7 roubles, in 1774-1778 to 3 roubles. According to mining engineer T. Burnashev, in Bukhārā in 1795, a tilla was equal to 4 silver roubles, a tanga to 30 kopecks and a pūl to 1.5 kopecks. Davidovich (1964, 198, 202) wrote that in the case of a tanga it was 30 *assignatsiya* kopecks. An *assignatsiya* (paper) rouble in 1795 was equal to 68.5 silver kopecks, thus a tanga was equal to (68.5x30) 20.5 silver kopecks. In which case a pūl was equal to 1.02 silver kopecks.

In 1820-1 a tilla was equal to 16 *assignatsiya* roubles. By that time the *assignatsiya* rouble had fallen to 25 silver kopecks, so a tilla was equal to 4 silver roubles. A tanga was 76 *assignatsiya* kopecks, i.e. 19 silver kopecks. A pūl was equal to 1.38 *assignatsiya* kopecks, i.e. 0.345 silver kopecks. One should bear in mind that in 1699-1730 a silver rouble weighed 28.44g (24.89g pure silver), in 1731-1761 25.88g (pure silver 22.75g), in 1762-1796 24g (pure silver 18g), in 1798-

1885 20.73g (pure silver 18g). The contemporary gold rouble was in 1718-1754 2.05g (pure gold 1.61g), in 1755-1763 1.66g (pure gold 1.52g), in 1764-1797 1.31 (pure gold 1.2g), 1798-1816 1.22 and in 1817-1885 1.31g, both containing 1.2g pure gold. In 1897-1911 the gold rouble weighed 0.86g and contained 0.77g pure gold (Uzdennikov 1985, 411, 415).

1833-4 a tilla was equal to 15.12 *assignatsiya* roubles or to 4 silver roubles. A tanga was equal to 72 *assignatsiya* kopecks or 19 silver kopecks. A pūl was a "slighty bigger grosch". Between 1816-1841 copper grosches weighing 2.86g were minted for Russian Poland (Uzdennikov 1985, 418). In 1835-6 a tilla was equal to 4 silver roubles, a tanga was equal to 20 silver kopecks, hence a tilla = 20 tangas.

In the 1860s-1870s a tanga was equal to 20 silver kopecks. In the 1880s it started to fall. In 1890 it was 16 silver kopecks and a pūl was 0.25 kopeck (hence a tanga = 64 pūls). In 1901 the Russian Exchequer settled the exchange rate as 15 kopecks for a tanga though a tanga contained somewhat more silver than 15 kopecks. As for the tilla with its decreed weight of 1 mithqāl (4.8g) I would like to note that, before the reform of 1897, a Russian gold 5-rouble coin weighed 6.54g (1817-1895) and 6.45g (1896-1897). After the reform of 1897, a Russian gold 5-rouble coin weighed 4.3g. So after 1897 the exchange rate of a tilla should have risen to at least 5 gold roubles, because it usually weighed 4.4-4.5g.

Apart from tillas, tangas and pūls, old debased tangas called miri circulated in the Bukhārā khanate. In 1859 V. Veliaminov-Zernov wrote that in Bukhārā circulated "ancient Shahrisabzian miris made of red copper with the addition of silver. Four miris were equal to 1 tanga". In 1842 K. Butenev wrote that a miri was equal to 11 pūls (Davidovich 1976, 124). So a tanga=44 pūls. It is strange, though, that miris were called "Shahrisabzian". Shahrisabz, for about century, was a semi-independent (sometimes independent) begship. Could it be that, after the monetary reform of 1785 in Bukhārā, the old, debased tangas were either prohibited or their exchange rate, settled by government, was too low, with the result that old tangas flooded into Shahrisabz, where they continued to circulate at a normal rate of exchange? Having circulated there for more than 100 years, their origin was forgotten and, when they returned to Bukhārā, they were called "Shahrisabzian". Neither under the Jānids nor under the Manghīts was there such a mint as Shahrisabz. Davidovich (1976, 125-126) established that tangas of Muḥammad Raḥīm (decreed weight 4.8g, 30% silver), minted in 1753-1758, circulated until the beginning of the 20th century. She mentioned 2 hoards of such coins. The average weight of coins from the first hoard was 3.7g. Average weight of coins from the second hoard (deposited considerably later) was 2.4g. Coins of both hoards and separate coins from the museums, weigh between 1.09-3.9g (average 2.5g). So according to Davidovich (1976, 125), on average, worn-out tangas of Muḥammad Raḥīm contained (2.5x0.3) 0.75g silver. New high-grade tangas on the average weighed about 3g. So 0.75x4=3g. Thus 4 worn-out tangas of Muḥammad Raḥīm contained as much silver as one new high-grade tanga. That was why they were called miris. Since the time of Timūr, a miri was a coin (and unit of account) equal to one quarter of a tanga. A man, who brought to Davidovich the second hoard (average weight of coins 2.4g) of Muḥammad Raḥīm's tangas, told her that his father remembered such coins. They were called miris and circulated in Bukhārā in the beginning of the 20th century. So in 1887 V. Klemm wrote that a miri was called "tanga siyāh" (black tanga), and, according to D. Logofet, in the beginning of the 20th century (before 1909), 1 miri was equal to 4 kopecks while 1 tanga was equal to 15 kopecks. Davidovich (1976, 125-6) thought that, even if, after the monetary reform of 1785, old debased Jānid tangas were prohibited, debased tangas of Muḥammad Raḥīm, who was the actual founder of the Manghīt dynasty, were allowed to circulate and continued to circulate until the beginning of the 20th century at the exchange rate of a miri.

Now about the minting process in Bukhārā. Russian mining engineers, diplomats and travellers who were in Bukhārā (between 1795-1893) have left descriptions of the Bukhārā mint and its operation (Burnasheva 1966, 256-273).

The mint was situated in the north-western corner of the Ark (citadel) of Bukhārā, not far from the amīr's palace, and near the shop of the amīr's jewellers. It did not operate constantly but in periods. In 1893 there were two spans, unfortunately it is not reported how long those spans were. The mint, dies and other instruments were the property of the amīr. But he leased the mint to *Ṣāḥib Kārs* (tax-farmers). A special official *Dārūgha* was put in charge of the mint. There were several workshops for minting gold, silver and copper coins. Those several shops were taken on lease by several *Ṣāḥib Kārs*, who were usually jewellers. The amīr, himself, chose them from the candidates who applied. In 1893 there were 7 workshops at the mint. The *Ṣāḥib Kārs* hired 10-20 men. When there was "free" minting a customer bringing gold or silver paid 3.5 tillas (3.5%) from 100 tillas or 20 tangas from 576 tangas, which is the same 3.5% (3.47 to be exact). The number 576 was settled upon because from 1 silver yamb 576 tangas were made. Out of that 100 tillas the customer paid 2.5 tillas *zakāt* (special tax 1/40 or 2.5%), and 1 tilla (or 20 tangas) went to the mint. So it was 20 tangas for 100 tillas and 20 tangas for 576 tangas minted. Of the 20 tangas paid for minting 576 tangas, 4 (20%) went to the workers hired by the *Ṣāḥib Kār*, 3 (15%) for metal wastage, 3 (15%) to the *Ṣāḥib Kār*, 9 (45%) to the amīr, 1 (5%) to the *Dārūgha*. From each 9 tangas earned, the *Ṣāḥib Kār* paid 1 tanga (or 11%) rent to the amīr. "Free" mintage brought good profit. The amīrs encouraged it by all means. It is not clear how the mintage of coins from state-owned metal was paid. In mediaeval Russia it was not paid. If we assume that at least half of the coins were minted from private metal we may have an idea about the profit extracted by the *Ṣāḥib Kār*. In AH 1310 (July 1892-July1893) 16,948,832 tangas were minted. 16,948,832÷576x3÷2 = 44,137 tangas. The *Ṣāḥib Kār* paid to the amīr 11%, (4855) as rent. So he received 39,282 tangas pure profit (from minting tangas, not counting the striking of tillas and coppers). If we assume that minting tangas from the amīr's metal was paid in the usual way, then from 1728 (576x3) tangas minted 60 tangas would be retained. Out of the 60 the amīr would

get 28 tangas (9x3 taxes+1 rent payed by the *Ṣāḥib Kār*). 12 tangas would be payed to the workers, 9 tangas would be metal waste, 8 tangas would go to the *Ṣāḥib Kār*. Three tangas would go to the *Dārūgha*. Thus the profit of the *Ṣāḥib Kār* would be (39,282x2) 78,564 tangas. One way or the other, the renting of the mint was very profitable even with all the inevitable bribes paid to get the mint leased.

Now about the technology of minting tangas from a yamb, a chinese standard silver ingot weighing 4.5 (Russian) pounds and 10 zolotniks (1.847kg). There were 4 forges with hand-operated bellows in a workshop. Ten yambs (18.47kg) cut into small pieces were put into a clay crucible with a long wooden handle. The crucible was put into the first forge and the silver was melted. Molten silver was poured into moulds 37cm long, 3.33cm broad. The ingots obtained in this way were heated in the second forge. From there they were placed onto an anvil and were hammered into a cylinder with a pointed end. In the third forge there was a vertical iron frame (35.6x35.6cm) in which a draw-plate was inserted (diameter of the openings varied from 12.7 to 5mm). The heated silver cylinder was put with its pointed end through the opening and grasped by iron tongs attached to a rope. The rope was attached to a windlass operated by two men who turned the ingot into a silver wire. The wire was cut into equal pieces by an instrument roughly resembling a guillotine with the steel blade driven down by a hammer blow. Thus small silver cylinders were produced. They were weighed painstakingly. Since the diameter of the wire and length of pieces cut was the same, those cylinders were mostly of the decreed weight. Pieces that were too heavy or too light were sent back to the crucible. The cylinders were put onto an anvil in a vertical position and flattened by a hammer and a blank punch put between the cylinder and the hammer. The punch distributed the force of the blow evenly and protected the cylinder from damage and disfigurement by the hammer. Two successive hammer blows turned each silver cylinder into a flan. Then the flans were heated to restore their pliability. When heated they became blackened. So the flans were washed in vinegar and dried with sawdust till they shone again. Then the flans were brought to the Throne Hall, where the amīr (or, in his absence, a high official known as the *Qūshbīgī*) checked the flans. At first 576 flans were weighed, then 10, then several single flans. Then several flans were cut to show their interior. If everything was satisfactory, the amīr or the *Qūshbīgī* handed the dies to the *Ṣāḥib Kār*. The flans were struck on an anvil with the lower die inserted in a special hollow. A flan was put on the lower die. The upper die, held by tongs, was placed on the flan. One hefty hammer blow turned the humble flan into a brand new tanga. The upper dies being hammered constantly wore out sooner than the lower dies. So usually it was 1 lower and several upper dies.

There is no consensus about the minting of tillas. The authors did not watch the minting process themselves but relied on second-hand information. So D. Zhuravko-Pokorskii wrote that tilla flans were made the same way as tanga flans (i.e. from wire) but, instead of twice, gold cylinders were hammered 4 times to make them thinner and bigger. T. Burnashev wrote that tilla flans were cut out from a gold sheet by a tube-like punch with a sharpened edge. It seems that Burnashev was right. Then before the flans were cut out, the gold ingots were hammered by workers into sheets. With the exclusion of those 2 operations (making gold sheets and cutting out flans) all the other operations were the same. One more operation was the milling of the tilla's edge (at least from the time of Shāh Murād). This was done by hand with a special small punch. The grooves were placed irregularly: some were closer to one another, others were further apart. On some tillas the grooves are vertical, on others slanted. Before milling, those tillas which were heavier than the decreed weight had their edges cut in places. Gold sheets were hammered by hand, so it was difficult to make their thicknes uniformly the same. For that reason, such flans varied in weight more than the flans made from wire cut to pieces. The diameter of tillas was usually 20-23mm.

There were several types of falūs.

1. Those with flans made the same way as the tangas (i.e. from a piece of wire flattened in a vertical position). Their diameter is similar to that of the tangas: 12-19mm.
2. Those with flans made from a piece of wire flattened in a horizontal position. These were oval in shape.
3. Those with flans cast in a special mould. Such flans were round, square or hexagonal. The cast flans were used only before the time of 'Abd al-Aḥad (1886-1910).
4. Those with flans punched out from a copper sheet. They are characteristic of the issues of 'Ālīmkhān (1910-1920). Ready-made copper sheets, manufactured in Russia, were brought to Bukhārā.
5. Coins cast (together with their legends) in special moulds (Burnasheva 1966, 261-268).

Copper tangas were made from copper sheets. Their diameters are: tanga – 19mm, 2 tangas – 22mm. Brass tangas were made from brass sheets. Their diameters are around 30mm (Burnasheva 1966, 269).

In 1962 near the the village of Koshrabat (Samarqand oblast') an interesting hoard of silver coins was found, which is a snapshot of money circulating in the Bukhārā Amirate. There were 205 tangas of Bukhārā, 296 Russian silver coins (10, 15, 20 kopecks) and 2 large silver Persian coins of 1326/1908. The earliest coin is a tanga of Naṣr Allāh (1826-1860) minted in 1247/1831-2, the latest are Russian coins minted in 1916. So the hoard was deposited circa 1916. The earliest coin of the hoard was in circulation 85 years after it was struck. There were 8 tangas (5%) of Naṣr Allāh struck in 1247-76/1831-60; 81 (50%) of Muẓaffar (1860-85) struck in 1277-1301/1860-84; 72 tangas (44.7%) of 'Abd al-Aḥad (1885-1910) struck in 1303-1319/1885-1902 and several worn-out, unidentified tangas. The Russian coins were struck between 1873-1916. There were 21 (7%) 10 kopecks coins, 216 (73%) 15 kopecks coins and 59 (20%) 20 kopecks coins. In 1901 a tanga was equal to 15 kopecks, so such coins were mainly minted and sent to circulate in Central Asia. Thus 15 kopecks coins made up 73% of all the Russian coins in the hoard. In the first months of the First World War gold and silver coins were already disappearing

from circulation in Russia. But even in 1916 the St. Petersburg mint struck 10, 15 and 20 kopeck coins to buy cotton in Central Asia, as this was indispensable for producing smokeless powder. Such coins were also sent to Russian troops in Persia. The Koshrabat hoard shows that in the Bukhārā Amirate the circulating currency comprised local tangas, Russian coins and a certain number of Persian coins. The average weight of Naṣr Allāh's tangas was 2.98g, of Muẓaffar's 3.06g, and of 'Abd al-Aḥad's 3.15g. This indicates the rate of wear of silver coins during circulation (Burnasheva 1969, 200-206).

To end with, a few words about prices in Bukhārā (Fedorov 1997, 74-78). In 1820/1 one *tanap* (1820.9 square meters) of land in the suburbs of Bukhārā cost anything from 12.5 to 125 tillas. It is interesting to note that, at the beginning of 20th century, a *tanap* of land there still cost 2000-2500 tangas i.e. 100-125 tillas. The land near the capital was more expensive than that in the provinces, where a *tanap* of land cost 3.33 tillas in 1801, 6.2 tillas in 1854, and 1.08 tillas in 1870. In 1833/4 cotton fabrics cost 4-20 tangas for a 14.244m length. In 1868 biaz (rough cotton fabric) was 3 tangas for a 5.7 m length. Astrakhan furs cost from 0.62 to 3.1 tillas. Carpets (length from 2.845 to 10.67 m) cost 4 to 40 tillas. Indigenous sabres cost 1 tilla, while the famous *būlāt* persian sabres were priced at 10 tillas. Slaves in 1807-1836 cost 40-50 tillas, while qualified carpenters, smiths, shoe-makers etc. cost 100 tillas. Young and beautiful girls were priced at 100-150 tillas; horses at 5-150 tillas; camels at 250 to 300 tangas. Cattle cost from 40 to 120 tangas, sheep from 0.5 to 1.5 tillas. One *pūd* (16.38kg) of wheat cost 1.5-1.75 tangas, of barley 1.25, of oats 1.3, of peas 2.5, of sesame 4-5, of jugāra (Sorghum saccharatum) 1.375 tangas. In Bukhārā and its vicinity prices were higher than in the provinces. So in the 1890s, in remote Qarātegīn, a *pūd* of wheat cost 0.53 of a tanga in the autumn and 0.73 of a tanga in the spring, while at the same time in Bukhārā it cost 1.6 and 2.2 tangas respectively. In the second half of the 19th century, mutton cost 1-1.5 tangas a kilogram and beef 1 tanga for 2 kg.

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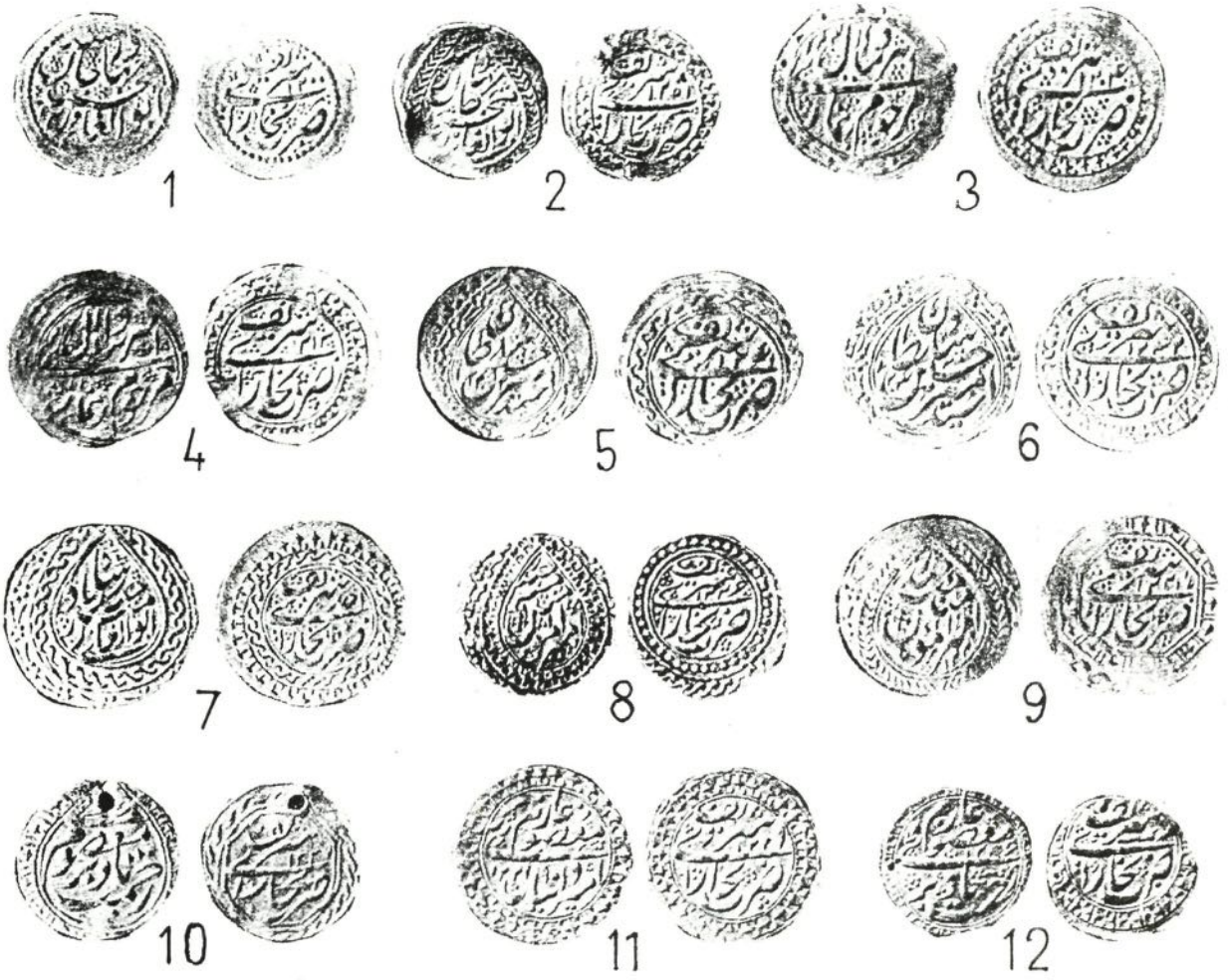
Illustrations.

1-12 **Manghīt tillas, 13-19 tangas, 20-25, copper coins** (according to Burnasheva, R. 1967. "Monety Bukharskogo khanstva pri Mangytakh", *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 18, tables 1, 3, 4; 1966. "Organizatsiia proizvodstva i tekhnika chekanki monet v Bukharskom Khanstve so vtoroi poloviny XVIII do nachala XX v.", *Numizmatika i Epigrafika*, 6, picture 4).

1. 1201/1200 (1786-7/1785-6). Shāh Murād in the name of Jānīd Abū-l-Ghāzī.
2. 1201/1200 (1786-7/1785-6). Shāh Murād in the name of Jānīd Abū-l-Ghāzī.
3. 1207/1204 (1792-3/1789-90). Shāh Murād in the name of Amīr Daniyāl (deceased).
4. 1213 (1798-9). Shāh Murād in the name of Amīr Daniyāl (deceased).
5. 1242/1241 (1826-7/1825-6). Ḥusain with title "sulṭān".
6. 1242 (1826-7). Ḥusain with title "sulṭān".
7. No date. Ḥaydar with title "pādshāh".
8. 1226 (1811). Ḥaydar with title "amir al-mu'minīn".
9. 1227 (1812). Ḥaydar with title "amir al-mu'minīn".
10. 1227 (1812). Ḥaydar in the memory of Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī (i.e. of Shāh Mūrād).
11. 1229 (1813-4). Ḥaydar in the memory of Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī and Daniyāl Biy.
12. 1236 (1820-1). Ḥaydar in the memory of Ma'ṣūm Ghāzī (i.e. of Shāh Murād).
13. 1200 (1785-6). Shāh Murād in the name of Jānīd Abū-l-Ghāzī.
14. 12071206 (1792-3/1791-2). Shāh Murād in the name of Daniyāl Biy (deceased).
15. 1220 (1805-6). Ḥaydar with title "sulṭān".
16. 1235 (1819-20). Ḥaydar with title "sayyid".
17. 1227 (1812). Ḥaydar with title "amir al-mu'minīn".
18. 1228 (1813). Ḥaydar with title "sayyid".
19. 1242/1241 (1826-7/1825-6). Ḥusain with title "sayyid".
20. No date. Copper minted on a round flan cast in a mould (reverse)
21. No date. Copper minted on a rectangular flan cast in a mould (obverse).
22. No date. Copper minted on a polygonal flan cast in a mould (reverse).
23. No date. Copper cast together with legends in a mould (obverse).
24. 1228 (1813). Fals minted on a flan made of a piece of copper wire flattened upright (reverse).
25. Circa 1336-7/1917-19. Copper coin with legend "Fulūs se tanga" ("Fulūs three tangas") minted on a flan punched out of a copper sheet with hollow punch (reverse).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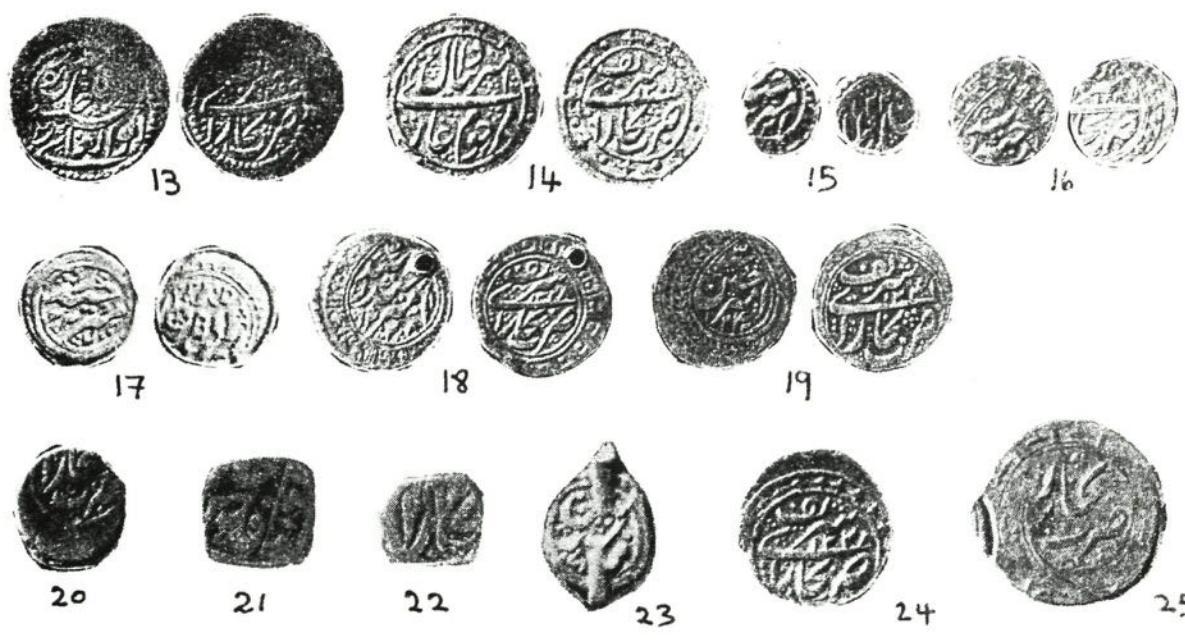
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Money Circulation in the Khīva Khanate

At the very end of the 14th century, the Uzbek tribes united by the Chīngizid Muḥammad Sheibānī Khān started their invasion of Central Asia. Prior to that, the nomad Uzbeks had populated the steppes east of the Aral sea (modern North-Western Kazakhstan). In 1500-1501 they conquered Mawarānnahr, ruled by descendants of Timūr. The Timūrid ruler, Bābur, fought them bravely but was eventually expelled from Samarqand. In 1504-1505 the Uzbeks fought the Timūrids in Khwārizm. In Rabī' I 911/August 1505, after a siege of 10 months, they captured Urgānch, the capital of Khwārizm. Having conquered Mawarānnahr and Khwārizm, Sheibānī moved his army to the south. May 1507 saw the fall of Herāt, the last stronghold and capital of the Timūrids. Sheibānī then decided to conquer Western Khurāsān, but in Ramaḍān 916/November 1510, at the battle of Marw, his army was defeated and nearly exterminated by the Persian ruler, Shāh Ismā'īl I Ṣafavī (1501-1524). Sheibānī and his amirs fell in battle. His head was sent to the Turks to show what Shiites did to Sunnis who dared to attack them. After the battle of Marw, Shāh Ismā'īl proceeded northwards and conquered Khwārizm. Having left his governor there, he returned to Persia (History 1955, 384-385; Bartold 1964, 546-547).

A year later, in 1511, the Persians were driven from Khwārizm by Uzbek tribes united under the Chīngizids Ilbars and Bilbars, the sons of Berke Sulṭān, who had been killed in the 1480s by Sheibānī Khān. Like Sheibānī Khān they were descendants of Shyban (son of Jūchī, grandson of Chīngiz Khān). One of Shyban's descendants begat two sons, Ibrahīm and Arabshāh. Ibrahīm's grandson, Abū'l Khayr Khān, was the grandfather of Sheibānī Khān, while Arabshāh was the progenitor of Ilbārs and Bilbārs. Between the descendants of Ibrahīm and Arabshāh there was a long-standing feud. In this feud some Uzbek tribes supported the descendants of Ibrahīm while other tribes supported the descendants of Arabshāh. After Sheibānī had led his tribes into Central Asia, the tribes supporting the Arabshāhids grew stronger in the Qipchāq steppe. Having expelled the Persians, those Uzbek tribes in 1511 proclaimed Ilbārs Khān of Khwārizm. Thus was created the state of the Arabshāhids which existed until the end of the seventeenth century (History 1955, 421-422; History 1967, 591-592; Bartold 1964, 546-547; Bartold 1965, 549). The "Istoriia Uzbekskoi SSR, t. 1, kn. 1, 1995" (History 1955, 421-422) dated the reign of Ilbars to 1511-1538, but the date 1538 is not substantiated by any chronicle or other written sources.

The genealogy and history of the Arabshāhids are obscure. Even Abū'l Ghāzī (1643-1663), an Arabshāhid himself, knew the history of his ancestors only from legends told to him, because of the lack of chronicles. So according to him, Sufyān Khān ruled for several years and was succeeded by his brother, Bujuga, who also ruled for several years and was a contemporary of the Shaibānīd ruler, 'Ubayd Allāh (1533-1539), and the Persian, Shāh Tahmāsp (1524-1576). The Persian chronicler, Ḥaidar Rāzī, wrote (ca 1611-1619) that it was Sufyān who succeeded Bujuga. According to him, Bujuga's predecessor died in 930/1524, then Bujuga ruled for 5 years and was succeeded by Sufyān, whom his brother, Avanesh, dethroned in 941/1534-5. But Abū'l Ghāzī wrote that Avanesh became the Khān peacefully after Bujuga died (Bartold 1965a, 76).

Mu'nis (Materialy 1969, 437-75), the historian of the Khīva Khāns (died in 1829) is closer to Abū'l Ghāzī. According to him, when the Persian, Shāh Ismā'īl, died (in 1524) Ilbars was alive and captured Northern Khurāsān together with the fortress of Dūrūn. Then he captured Mangyshlāq. He was suceeded by Sulṭān Ḥājī Khān (son of Bilbars) who ruled in Vazir and died a year later. Ḥusain Qulī (a cousin of Ilbars and Bilbars) became Khān in Urgānch. He was killed by rebels several months later. Then Sufyān (a cousin of Ilbars, Bilbars and Ḥusain Qulī) was Khān in Urgānch. He ruled for 6 years and died in 928/1521-2 (?). This date looks mistaken for, according to Mu'nis himself (Materialy 1969, 439), Ilbars was alive in 930/1524. Sufyān was succeeded by his brother, Bujuga (Buchga), who ruled in Urgānch for 4 years and died in 932/1525-6 (?). His brother, Avanesh, ruled in Urgānch (he gave Kāth to Bujuga's descendants). Vazir (36km west of Urgānch, both places on the left bank of the Amu Darya) was ruled by Sulṭān Ghāzī, a son of Ilbars. In 1538 the Khān of Bukhārā, 'Ubayd Allāh (1534-1539), captured Urgānch and killed Avanesh. 'Ubayd Allāh passed Urgānch to his son, 'Abd al-'Azīz, and proceeded to Bukhārā. 'Ubayd Allāh's invasion was facilitated by wars between the Arabshāhids. Dīn Muḥammad, a son of Avanesh, carried out a raid on Khorāsān. On his way back he was captured by Sulṭān Ghāzī's brother, Muḥammad Ghāzī, ruler of Dūrūn (north-west of Ashkhabad). Having been freed by his allies, Dīn Muḥammad came to Urgānch. Later, he treacherously killed Muḥammad Ghāzī and took Dūrūn. Sulṭān Ghāzī avenged this by killing his son-in-law, Sufyān's son, and nephew of Avanesh. Avanesh stormed Vazir and killed Sulṭān Ghāzī and 16 other descendants of Ilbars. After that, Avanesh himself was killed by 'Ubayd Allāh. His relations fled to Dīn Muḥammad who, supported by Turkmāns, took Khīva and Hazārasp after which 'Abd al-'Azīz fled from Urgānch to Bukhārā. An army sent to Khwārizm by 'Ubayd Allāh was defeated by Dīn Muḥammad who then returned to Dūrūn. Kal Khān, the brother of Avanesh, became Khān of Khīva Khanate and ruled for 9 years, residing in Vazir. Then his brother, Āghatay, ruled in Vazir for 8 years and 7 months (he gave Kāth to sons of Kal). Āghatay was killed by Yūnus Khān, a son of Sufyān, while trying to recapture Urgānch (Yūnus had previously seized the town). In 1557 Āghatay's sons, Ḥājim and Timūr Sulṭān, whose appanages were in the region of Dūrūn, attacked Yūnus, who fled to Bukhārā. Yūnus ruled for 5 months. Dost Khān, Bujuga's son, became Khān with his capital in Khīva. Ḥājim received Urgānch. Some time later, Dost Khān's brother, Īsh Sulṭān, took Urgānch from Ḥājim. Ḥājim retreated to Vazir and asked for help from the rulers of Nisā and Marw ('Alī Sulṭān, the brother of Dīn Muḥammad, and Abū'l Muḥammad, the son of Dīn Muḥammad). The allies regained Urgānch, killed Īsh Sulṭān, then took Khīva and killed Dost Khān (Materialy 1969, 440-447; Bartold 1965a, 75-80, 88).

Antony Jenkinson, who was in Khwārizm in 1558-1560 and brought Ḥājim a letter from the Russian tsar, Ivan IV, wrote that, in October 1558, Timūr Sulṭān ruled Mangyshlāq, his brother, Ḥājim, ruled Vazir and 'Alī Sulṭān, the brother of Dīn Muḥammad, ruled Urgānch. According to Jenkinson Urgānch, during a period of seven years changed hands four times. After the death of 'Alī Sulṭān (1565), Ḥājīm Khān made Urgānch his capital. In 1575, while he was raiding Khurāsān, Khwārizm was attacked by the Shaybānid ruler of Bukhārā, 'Abd Allāh Khān II (1557-1598), but when Ḥājīm Khān's army approached Urgānch, 'Abd Allāh withdrew. Ḥājīm had a strong adversary in the person of Nūr Muḥammad Khān (the son of

Dīn Muḥammad), ruler of Nisā and other towns. In 1592 Ḥājīm attacked Nūr Muḥammad and captured Nisā. But in 1593 they both had to flee from 'Abd Allāh II who invaded Khwārizm. 'Abd Allāh took Urgānch. Ḥājim, his son, Arab Muḥammad, and nephew, Bābā Sulṭān, fled southwards. Eighteen other Arabshāhids hid in the fortress of Vazir. 'Abd Allāh beseiged it for 40 days then persuaded the Arabshāhids to give themselves up, having promised to spare their lives. When they gave themselves up, he massacred them all (Bartold 1965b, 257-259). In 1595 Ḥājim and other Arabshāhids tried to regain Khwārizm but were defeated. After 'Abd Allāh died in 1598, wars started in his erstwhile state. Ḥājīm returned to Urghānch and reigned there till March 1603. His son, Arab Muḥammad I (1602-1623), transferred his capital to Khīva in the 1610s. In his time, Khwārizm was invaded by Kazakh and Qalmyq nomads who tried to dethrone him and put a puppet khān on the throne. Russian Cossacks from Yaik (Ural river) also raided the Khīva Khanate twice.

At about the end of Arab Muḥammad's reign a period of bloody internecine wars (1620-1653) started again. Abīsh Khān and Ilbārs Sulṭān rebelled against Arab Muḥammad. They took their senile father prisoner and blinded him. After that, Abīsh (1621-1623) ruled Urgānch. Ilbārs (1621-1623) became Khān and reigned in Khīva. Their brother, Asfandiyār (1623-1642), fled to the Turkmāns, raised an army and defeated his brothers. He avenged his father by killing both Abīsh and Ilbārs. In 1623 he gave Urgānch to his brother, Abū'l Ghāzi, and Vazir to his brother, Sharīf Muḥammad. Later both of them, supported by Uzbek tribes, rebelled against Asfandiyār, a rebellion that was crushed in 1625. Some of the Uzbek tribes went over to the Kazakhs, others went to the Bukhārā Khānate. Several years later, however, the Uzbek tribes returned from the Bukhārā Khānate and settled on the southern shore of the Aral sea on the both sides of the Amy Darya delta. The Aral realm with its capital at Qunghrāt had grown stronger. It could muster an army 5000 strong. Now and again the Aral dominion was independent from Khīva. Asfandiyār captured Abū'l Ghāzī, and sent him to Persia as a hostage (in 1629-1639). Abu'l Ghāzī fled from Iṣfahān and was living in 1639-41 among the Turkmāns and Qalmyqs. In 1052/1642-3 Uzbek nobles came to Mangyshlāq took Abu'l Ghāzī to the Aral realm and proclaimed him Khān of the Uzbek tribes living there (History 1957, 393-4; History 1967, 592, 597; Bartold 1965, a, b, 78, 88-9, 258-9, 550; Materialy 1933, 398; Materialy 1969, 448-452).

When Asfandiyār died, a bloody conflict broke out. From 1642 to March 1643 Sayyid (Yushān) Khān ruled, followed by Qāsim Muḥammad Sulṭān in 1643-1645. At the same time Abū'l Ghāzī was Khān in Aral. In 1643 the Ashtarkhānid ruler of Bukhārā, Nadir Mūḥammad (1642-1645), tried to subjugate Khīva. He sent his governor there with some troops. The governor though was passive and tried not to interfere with the Turkmān aristocracy which formally recognised the authority of Bukhārā. After Nadir's death internal conflict broke out within the Bukārā Khanate. Abū'l Ghāzī conquered Khīva and became Khān of Khwārizm (1645-1663). Asfandiyār sought the support of the Turkmāns while Abū'l Ghāzī relied on the Uzbeks. Having come to power after a fierce struggle with the Turkmāns, Abū'l Ghāzī Khān took his revenge on them. He massacred them, destroyed their settlements, deprived them of the lands and canals granted to them by Asfandiyār, and gave those lands and canals to Uzbek tribes. He interfered in the internal conflict within the Bukhārā Khānate and carried out devastating pillaging raids there, claiming that he was avenging 18 Arabshāhids, killed by the Khān of Bukhārā, 'Abd Allāh. Subḥān Qulī, the brother of 'Abd al-'Azīz (Khān of Bukhārā, 1645-1680), rebelled against his brother and asked Abū'l Ghāzī for help, which the latter used to his own advantage. Abū'l Ghāzī carried out 6 pillaging raids on Bukhārā, the last one in 1662, then he made peace with 'Abd al-'Azīz. He died in 1663 and was succeeded by his son, Anūsha Khān (1663-1687).

In its lower reaches the Amu Darya had two branches. The left-hand one flowed into Lake Sarykamysh (south-west of the Aral Sea). The right-hand one flowed into the Aral sea. In the 1560s the left-hand branch dried up. The ancient town of Gurgānch (Urgānch) gradually became abandoned. In 1645 a new Urgānch was built 33km north-east of Khīva. Anūsha Khān (1663-1687) ordered a new town of Kāth (Kiat) to be built on the left bank of the Amy Darya 30km down river from the new Urgānch because the canal on the right bank of the Amy Darya, which had supplied water to the old town of Kāth, had dried up. In 1687 Anūsha ordered the Shāhābād canal to be dug to irrigate the new lands. He also managed to conquer Mashhad from the Persians at some stage, but later lost it (Bartold 1965, 550). He made successful raids on the Bukhārā Khanate and in 1685 he even took Samarqand. The people of Samarqand proclaimed him Khān, but, at the battle of Gijduvan, the Bukhārans defeated his army and Anūsha had to leave Samarqand and return to Khīva. Anūsha's incessant raids, which Bukhārā was mostly incapable of stemming with military force, made them to seek other means. The ruler of Bukhārā, Subḥān Qulī Khān (1680-1702), managed to create in Khīva a pro-Bukhāran party, which conspired against Anūsha. They persuaded his son, Ereng (Irnak), to join them. On 5 Ṣafar 1098/21 January 1687 Ereng captured his father and blinded him. When the Bukhārā army invaded Khurāsān, Ereng raided the Bukhārā Khānate but was repelled. Having returned to Khīva he was poisoned in 1099/1688. Having eliminated Ereng, the conspirators sent a deputation in 1688 to Bukhārā asking Subḥān Qulī Khān to take them under his sway and telling him that in Khīva coins were being minted and the khutba read in his name. Subḥān Qulī sent his high official ishik-akā-bāshī Niyāz, a noble from the Uzbek tribe of Qattaghān (the location of the Qattaghān tribe was Qunduz) to rule Khīva (so says the contemporary writer, Munshī). Mu'nis, more than 100 years later in Khīva, however, gives a different account (Materialy 1969, 456-7). According to him, Anusha died in peace. His son, Khudāydād, succeeded him, ruled for 2 years and was killed by Ereng. Ereng fell from his horse and died. His mother, Tukhta Khānym, belonging to the Turkmān aristocracy, brought her nephew, who resembled Ereng. With the help of the Turkmāns he took Khīva. The Uzbeks fled to Aral and proclaimed Jūchī, a descendant of Ḥājim, as their Khān. When Jūchī's army approached Khīva, the townsfolk killed the false Ereng in 1106/1694-5. Tukhta Khānym was tied to horses and torn to pieces. Jūchī ruled Khīva for 2 years. Walī Khān, also a descendant of Ḥājim, was made Khān in 1108/1696-7, but after one and a half years the Khīva nobles banished him to the Kazakh. Those who believe Mu'nis date the beginning of Niyāz' reign to 1698-9; those who believe Munshī date it to 1688. Mu'nis thought that Niyāz was the son of Jūchī Khān. When Bukhārā weakened as a result of internal conflict, Niyāz proclaimed himself Khān of Khīva. Seeking protection against Bukhārā, in 1700 he sent a letter to Peter the Great, saying that he was willing to become the subject of the Russian tsar. In his message of 30 June 1700 Peter I expressed his assent. But in 1113/1701-2 Niyāz Shāh died. His son, Shāh Bakht, succeeded him but abdicated a year later. Sayyid

Muḥammad is said to have succeeded him in 1115 or 1116 (1703-5) but was then dethroned by the Khīva nobles. Then Mūsā (according to Mu'nis, a brother of Niyāz Shāh) came to power. He was supported by the Turkmāns of Marw, and had coins minted in his name. A rebellion by the Khīva nobles, however, caused him to flee to Marw where he was killed. Yādgār Khān (a son of Anusha Khān, who was the son of 'Abū'l Ghāzī Khān) waged five wars against the nobles of Aral, who made Ishim (a Qarāqalpāq Chīngizid) their Khān. According to Mu'nis, Yādgār died at the end of 1125/1713. *Istoriia Uzbekskoi SSR, t. 1, Kn. 1* (History 1955, 429) mentions Arab Muḥammad II (1702-1714) as the successor of Shāh Niyāz, but Mu'nis does not mention such a khān. After Yādgār he mentions Shīr Ghāzi (1715-1727), a descendant of the Kazakh Chīngizids (Materialy 1969, 458). In 1716 Peter I sent to Khīva 6000 soldiers commanded by prince Alexander Bekovich-Cherkasskii "to help the Khān against his enemies". But Shīr Ghāzī, afraid that the Russians had come to seize his state dispersed the Russian soldiers in five towns and treacherously massacred them. In 1716 and 1718 he twice captured Meshhed but did not retain it. In 1719 he raided the Bukhārā Khānate. To keep him busy, Abū'l Faid, the Khān of Bukhārā, fomented a mutiny in the Aral lands. The Aral nobles invited Timūr Sulṭān (a son of Mūsā Khān), who resided in Bukhārā, and proclaimed him Khān. Internecine wars between Timūr Sulṭān and Shīr Ghāzī continued until the death of the latter when, in December 1727, his own bodyguards murdered him. Timūr Sulṭān, though, did not capture Khīva. (History 1955, 412, 428-9; History 1957, 393-4, 442, 466; History 1967, 600-2; Bartold 1963, 612-3, 617; Bartold 1964, 547; Materialy 1933, 398; Materialy 1969, 458-463; Valikhanov 1985, 185-6; Munshī 1956, 145-53; Poslannik 1986, 147).

In the first half of the 18th century, the struggle of Turkmān and Uzbek nobles for independence and power lead to the disintegration of the Khanate and to a crisis of central government, especially under Shīr Ghāzī. After his death, the nobles of Khīva invited Sāry Aighyr, a brother of the Kazakh sultan Abū'l Khayr. He was proclaimed Khān and died on the same day. The source says that he fell from his horse and died, but he may have been killed by conspirators. His brother, Bahādur, was brought to Khīva and made Khān. According to Mu'nis (Materialy 1969, 463-4), six months later, in the middle of the night, he climbed down the fortress wall... and rid himself of the dangerous affair of ruling (Khīva - M. F.). The Khīva nobles then invited Sultan Ilbars (1728-1740), a son of Shāh Niyāz, and made him Khān. He took advantage of the absence of Nādir Shāh, who was campaigning in Afghānīstān and India, to carry out several raids on Iran, returning home with rich booty and thousands of slaves. It was this that led to Nādir's invasion of Khwārizm. He beseiged and stormed the fortress of Khanqa. According to Mu'nis (Materialy 1969, 466), Ilbars was killed on 27 November 1739. According to other sources (History 1955, 429-31), Ilbars was killed in 1740 (it looks as if Mu'nis is at least a year behind in dating the events described by him, throughout his chronicle). At that same time when Ilbars was fighting Nādir, the Khīva nobles invited Abū'l Khayr, a Kazakh Chingīzid, and made him Khān. Some time between 1730-32 Abū'l Khayr became a subject of the Russian empress, Anna Ioanovna (1730-1740). A day after his arrival in Khīva he sent Nādir a letter offering him peace. The Russian geodesist, Muravin, brought it to Nādir Shāh and told him that Abū'l Khayr was a subject of the Russian empress. Nādir said that he was ready to sign a peace treaty but asked Abū'l Khayr to come in person to him. Abū'l Khayr knew that one could never be too cautious regarding Nādir Shāh (and the Khīva nobles) and fled to the steppe, having ruled Khīva for all of 6 days. After a siege of 4 days Nādir took Khīva, which was made to pay him an indemnity. Nādir left a governor there and a Persian garrison and withdrew arriving back in Iran in December 1740. The authority of the Persian governor was not recognised in the Aral lands where Abū'l-Khayr's son, Nūr 'Alī had come to power. When, in 1741 the people of Khīva rebelled, Nūr 'Alī came to assist them and the Persians were massacred, whereupon Nūr 'Alī became Khān. As soon as Nādir Shāh sent his son, Naṣr Allāh, to Khīva, however, the Khīva nobles deserted Nūr 'Alī, submitted to Naṣr Allāh and were pardoned. At their request, Abū Muḥammad, a son of Ilbārs, was made Khān of Khīva. Nūr 'Alī duly fled to the Kazakh steppe.

But Nādir Shāh failed to restore order in Khīva. Eventualy, in 1746 he invited Nūr 'Alī to occupy the throne of Khīva. Nūr 'Alī fled yet further. Then the Kazakh Chīngizid, Gha'ib b. Batyr (his family had a feud with the family of Nūr 'Alī) accepted the invitation and became Khān of Khīva (1747-1757). He tried to curb the unruly Khīva nobles and murdered the head of the Uzbek Manghīt tribe together with 70 other chieftains. This left the populace unperturbed. But when he imposed heavy taxes the populace rebelled against him. Gha'ib Khān duly fled to the Kazakh steppe. For four months the Khān of Khīva was 'Abd Allāh, Gha'ib's brother. A section of the nobles appealed to the Khān of Bukhārā, Muḥammad Raḥim (1753-1758), who sent to Khīva the Khazakh Chīngizid, Timūr Ghāzī Khān (1757-1764). Under him real power in Khīva was assumed by the *īnāqs* (military leaders, chiefs) of the Uzbek tribe of Qunghrāt, supported by the clergy and townsfolk. The Khāns of Khīva became puppets in the hands of the *īnāqs*. Īnāq Muḥammad Amīn (1763-1790) at first ruled in the name of the puppet khān, Timūr Ghāzī, but in 1764 killed him. Timūr Ghāzī was succeeded by the Kazakh Chīngizid, Tauke or Khudāydād (he was known by both names). On the day that Timūr Ghāzī was killed, Tauke was imprudently in the Khīva caravanserai. The Khīva chieftains extracted him from there and proclaimed him Khān. He ruled for one and a half years and then abdicated. After him Shāh Ghāzī Khān ruled for two and half years. He was a grandson of that same Bahādur Khān who, in 1728, six months after being proclaimed Khān, is said to have "climbed down the fortress wall in the middle of the night... and rid himself of the dangerous job of ruling" such a jolly place as Khīva. After Shāh Ghāzī, Abū'l Ghāzī III was khān for 6 months. After him in 1768 Nūr 'Alī was made khān. (History 1955, 429-431; History 1967, 602-605; Bartold 1963, 283-285; Bartold 1965, 550; Materialy 1969, 464-473).

An uprising by Turkmāns caused Muḥammad Amīn to flee to Bukhārā, where he was amicably received by Daniyāl Biy. The Turkmāns deposed Nūr 'Alī and put on the throne Jahāngīr, a son of Gha'ib (the Khān of Khīva in 1747-1757). He ruled for a year. Khīva meanwhile was harried by pillaging raids of the Turkmāns, who nearly ruined the country. With the help of Daniyāl Biy, Muḥammad Amīn defeated the Turkmāns in 1770 and saved Khīva. He made Abū'l Ghāzī (1770-1804) the puppet Khān of Khīva. This khān was twice dethroned: in 1204/1789-90 and in 1804 (History 1956, 47, 428). For the year 1793 a puppet khān, Fāḍil, is mentioned who asked the Russians to send a surgeon to him. While Daniyāl Biy was alive, Muḥammad Amīn respected him and lived in peace with him. But in 1782 he had to repel an invasion by the Bukhārā army. In 1791 Muḥammad Amīn was succeeded by his son, Avaz Īnāq (1791-1804). In 1804, a son of Avaz, Iltuzar,

accepted the title of khān. The Uzbek chiefs rebelled but were massacred, the survivors fleeing to Bukhārā. Thus was created the dynasty of Qunghrāt Khāns (1804-1920). In 1804 Iltuzar invaded the Bukhārā Amirate, devastating and pillaging it, but, in a battle near the Amu Darya, he was defeated. In 1806 he fell in battle against the Bukhārans. Initially thereafter, his brother, Muḥammad Raḥim (1806-1825), put the puppet, Abū'l Ghāzī, on the throne again, but, in that same year (1806), he, himself, accepted the title of khān. In 1811 after a long war, he captured the Aral lands and completed the reunification of the Khīva Khānate. During this war Qunghrāt, capital of the Aral lands was almost ruined. About the same time he subjugated the Qarāqalpāqs who had their own lands on the northern border of the Khīva Khanate. In 1818 while preparing a raid on Iran, Muḥammad Raḥim urged the Turkmāns to join him, but they refused. His raid ended in failure. On his way back to Khīva, the vindictive Muḥammad Raḥīm attacked the Turkmāns, devastated their *aūl* (settlements) and captured their arable lands. Left without bread, the Turkmāns were finally forced to submit to the khān. In 1819 he tried to subjugate the Kazakhs along the Syr Darya and sent his tax-collectors there. But those Kazakhs were already subjects of the Russian tsar. They captured the tax-collectors and brought them to Orenburg. This triggered pillaging raid by the Khīva army on the Syr Darya Kazakhs. In 1821 the Kazakhs rebelled against Khīva. The bone of contention between Bukhārā and Khīva was Marw and its oasis. In 1822 the Turkmāns of Marw rebelled against Bukhārā and became subjects of Muḥammad Raḥīm. In 1824 he built the new fortress of Marw. The wars between Bukhārā and Khīva in 1821-1825 and 1842-1845 (by the way in 1842-1845 the Turkmāns, having had their fill of the Khīva khān and his officials, were allies of Bukhārā) had the character of devastating pillaging raids on the territory of each other and, of course, on Marw (Bartold 1963, 283-285; History 1967, 609, 666-669).

The second quarter of the 19th century was a time of frequent wars both outside (against Bukhārā) and inside (against unruly tribes and chieftains) the Khīva Khānate. When there was free time left, the Khīva army carried out raids on Iran (Northern Khurāsān) bringing back rich booty, livestock and thousands of slaves.

Under Muḥammad Raḥim's son, Allāh Qulī (1825-1842), the territory of the Khīva Khānate achieved its largest extent: it spread from the delta of the Syr Darya and the Aral Sea to Qala-i Maur on the Kushka river, on the frontier with Afghānīstān. During his reign the ancient town of Gurgānch was revived. He carried out five extensive campaigns against Northern Khorāsān, plus yearly raids on the Khorāsān frontiers.

The almost incessant wars of the khān demanded lots of money, and the resulting heavy taxes impoverished his subjects. In 1826-1827 the Turkmāns of Marw rebelled and asked Bukhārā for help. In 1827-1828 the tribes of Qarāqalpāqs rebelled. These uprisings were crushed; people were massacred, their *aūl* devastated, thousands of Turkmāns and Qarāqalpāqs were captured and sold into slavery. Russian merchant caravans travelling to Bukhārā were robbed in the Khīva Khānate. The Russians sent several regiments against Khīva (November 1839-January 1840). But, when crossing the desert, the Russians were forced to turn back because of the severe cold and heavy snow storms. About a fifth of the soldiers perished in the desert. In 1842 the Amir of Bukhārā invaded Farghāna and beseiged Khoqand. Allāh Qulī took advantage of this to invade Bukhārā. Naṣr Allāh raised the siege of Khoqand and hurried back. When he came to Bukhārā, Allāh Qulī was already retreating to save Khīva from an invasion by Kazakh nomads. Allāh Qulī died soon after that.

Allāh Qulī was succeeded by his son, Raḥīm Qulī Khān (1842-1845). In 1843 he sent his governor to Marw together with the Khīva army. Naṣr Allāh took advantage of this to invade the Khīva Khānate. He beseiged Hazārasp but was defeated. While he was retreating to Bukhārā, the Turkmāns who had captured the fortress of Marw in 1843, came to Naṣr Allāh and asked him to accept them as his subjects. Thereupon, Naṣr Allāh sent his governor to Marw. Raḥīm Qulī moved his army onto Chārjūi, a border fortress on the western bank of the Amu Darya, but could not take it. Having devastated the province, he withdrew. In 1844 he tried to regain Marw but failed. He died in 1845.

His successor, Muḥammad Amīn (1845-1855), carried out 10 campaigns against Khorāsān and Marw. In 1854 he again advanced on Marw, but in March 1855 fell in battle against the Turkmāns near Sarakhs. On 1 September 1855 the new Khān of Khīva, Sayyid 'Abd Allāh, also fell in battle against the Turkmāns. He was succeeded by Qutlugh Murād. In January 1856 the Turkmāns came to Khīva, as if for negotiations, and treacherously killed Qutlugh Murād. His vezir, Muḥammad Ya'qub, alerted the townsfolk and the Turkmāns were massacred. On 11 February, Sayyid Muḥammad (1856-1865) became the Khān (he thanked Muḥammad Ya'qub by executing him). He annexed Marw to the Khīva Khānate. His wars were accompanied by devastation, plundering and bloodshed. As a result many flourishing lands were turned into desert.

At some point in the middle of the 19th century the Qarāqalpāqs rebelled. They managed to become independent and made a Kazakh chieftain (of probably Chingizid descent) named Zarlyk their khān. By that time Khīva had its hands full without the Qarāqalpāq. But when the situation in Khīva settled, the Qarāqalpāq chieftains, afraid of Sayyid Muḥammad, arrested their K azakh khān and gave him up to the Khān of Khīva. Sayyid Muḥammad executed the ill-fated Zarlyk. But already in 1858-1859 the Qarāqalpāqs were again in rebellion. They allied themselves with Kazakh and Uzbek tribes. The centre of the uprising was the town of Qunghrāt on the southern shore of the Aral Sea. The rebels asked Russia for help. Russia sent a gunboat under the command of Captain Butakov. But it was too late: Turkmāns armed with quick-firing english rifles crushed the uprising. The rebels were massacred, their families sold into slavery, their fields and *auls* destroyed. In 1861 the Shāh of Iran tried to capture Marw but the Turkmāns defeated him and sent one fifth of the booty to Khīva to Sayyid Muḥammad (History 1956, 47, 53, 54, 420; History 1967, 665-671, 703-4; Bartold 1963, 620-1; Bartold 1965, 551).

In 1281/1864-5 Sayyid Muḥammad was succeeded by Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm II (1865-1910). During the 1860s Russia conquered part of Central Asia. To neutralise Khīva, Russia concluded a treaty with it in 1868. In 1869 the Russians built the port of Krasnovodsk on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. The Khīva Khānate was surrounded on three sides. In 1873 the Governor-General of Turkestan, K. P. Kaufman, with 13,000 sodiers and 56 guns marched on Khīva. On 29 May 1873 Khīva was captured (the Russians removed the coin dies from the mint. These dies are now kept in the Hermitage Museum). Several days before the capture of Khīva, Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥim fled. His brother, Ātājān Tiuria, was proclaimed khān. Kaufman restored Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm to his throne and signed a treaty with him. The khān

acknowledged himself as a subject of the Russian tsar and ceded to the Russians lands on the right bank of the Amu Darya. Slavery in the Khīva Khanate was abolished and the slaves were manumitted. Russian merchants and manufacturers in the Khīva Khanate were exempt from taxes; they were outside the jurisdiction of the Khīva courts and they could buy land. The khān undertook to pay an indemnity of 2,200,000 roubles. The Khiva Khānate became a protectorate of Russia. Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm II was succeeded by Isfandiyār Khān (1910-1918). In 1918, a Turkmān chieftain named Junaid Khān (he was a former agent of the Germans, who had obtained money and weapons from them) killed Isfandiyār Khān and put on the throne Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Khān (1918-1920). In 1920 Junaid and Sayyid 'Abd Allāh were expelled from Khīva and the Khorezmskaya Respublika was proclaimed. In 1924 it was split between the Uzbek and Turkmen Republics (Bartold 1965, 551).

LIST OF THE RULERS OF THE KHĪVA KHĀNATE.

'Arabshāhids

Ilbars b. *Bereke b. Yādgār* b. Tīmūr Sheikh b. Ḥajī Tulī b. 'Arabshāh (917/1511-?). In 1511 led uprising against Persians who occupied Khwārizm. Captured Vazir (made it his capital), Urgānch, Khīva, Hazarāsp. Was proclaimed khān. In 930/1524, when Shāh Ismā'īl of Persia died, captured Northern Khorāsān with Dūrūn. Then captured Mangyshlāq.

Sulṭān Ḥajī Khān b. Ilbars. Came from Yangī Shahr to Vazir. Proclaimed khān and reigned about a year then died.

Ḥusain Qulī b. *Abulek b. Yādgār*. Was proclaimed khān and given Urgānch as capital. Some time later was killed by mutinous nobility.

Sufyān b. *Amīnek b. Yādgār*. Proclaimed kkhān in Urgānch. Ruled 6 years and died in 928/1521-2 (?-certain mistake because Mu'nis himself wrote that Ilbars was alive in 930/1524. Maybe the date was 938/1531-2?).

Bujuga (Buchga) b. *Amīnek b. Yādgār*. Proclaimed khān in Urgānch. Contemporary of Persian Shāh Tahmāsp (1524-1539) and Khān of Bukhārā,'Ubayd Allāh (1533-1539). According to Mu'nis reigned 4 years and died in 932/1525-6, which is impossible if he was a contemporary of 'Ubayd Allāh. Bartold (1965, 76-77) thought the reign of Bujuga took place between 1525 and 1535. Could it be that the date 932/1525-6, given by Mu'nis was the date when he came to power? Then 1529/30 (1525/6+4) could be the date of his death.

Avanesh b. *Amīnek b. Yādgār*. Made khān in Urgānch. Gave Kiat (as compensation for Urgānch) to descendants of Bujuga. According to Mu'nis was killed in 946/1539 by 'Ubayd Allāh (Khān of Bukhārā) who captured Urgānch.

Kal Khān b. *Amīnek b. Yādgār*. Succeeded Avanesh and reigned 9 years. Capital Vazir.

Aghatay b. *Amīnek b. Yādgār*. His capital was Vazir. He gave Kiat to descendants of Kal Khān. He reigned 8 years 7 months and was killed in 946/1557.

Yūnus b. Sufyān b. *Amīnek b. Yādgār*. In the dead of night with 40 adventurers climbed city wall of Urgānch, broke into the palace, captured ruler of Urgānch (nephew of Adghatay) and banished him from the town. Aghatay attacked Urgānch to punish the usurper but was killed. Yūnus reigned 5 months. Attacked by vengeful sons of Aghatay, lost the day and fled from Khwārizm. These events took place in 964/1557.

Dost Khān b. Bujuga b. *Amīnek b. Yādgār*. Was proclaimed khān with his capital in Khīva. He gave Urgānch to Ḥajīm, son of Aghatay. But some time later Dost's brother, Ish Sulṭān, took Urgānch from Ḥajīm. An internecine war broke out. Ḥajīm and his allies killed Ish Sulṭān and Dost Khān, and captured Urgānch with Khīva.

Ḥajīm b. Aghatay *b. Amīnek b. Yādgār*. Ruled Vazir while ally of Dost Khān (in war with Ish Sulṭān and Dost Khān),

'Alī Sulṭān b. Avanesh b. *Amīnek b. Yādgār* ruled Urgānch. After the death of 'Alī Sulṭān Ḥajīm in 1565 made Urgānch his capital. In 1002/1593 he fled from the Khān of Bukhārā, 'Abd Allah II, who captured Urgānch. 'Abd Allāh II died in 1598 and Ḥajīm regained Urgānch. He died in 1011/1602-3, according to Turki calendar"in the year of Bars", which means that he died in February or beginning of March of 1603, at the age of 83 (Materialy 1969, 448, 562).

'Arab Muḥammad b. *Ḥajīm* (1603 to 1622-3). Was proclaimed khān with his capital in Khīva. In 1030/1621 his sons Abish and Ilbars rebelled, took their father prisoner and blinded him. A year later they killed him.

Ilbars Khān b. *'Arab Muḥammad* (1621-1623). Became khān with his capital in Khīva. His brother **Abish** ruled Urgānch.

Asfandiyār b. *'Arab Muḥammad* (1623-1642). When his brothers captured and blinded their father, he fled to the Turkmāns. There he raised an army, defeated and killed his patricide brothers. Having been proclaimed khān, he gave his brother, **Abū'l Ghāzī**, Urgānch. To his brother, **Sharīf Muḥammad**, he gave Vazir. The thankful brothers duly rebelled, were defeated and fled.

Sayyid (Yushan) Khān. Was khān part of 1642 and part of 1643 (till March).

Qasīm Muḥammad Sulṭān (1643-1645).

Abū'l Ghāzī b. *'Arab Muḥammad* (1645-1663). Reigned with his capital in Khīva. A famous historian.

Anusha Khān b. Abū'l Ghāzī b. *'Arab Muḥammad* (1663-1687). Reigned with his capital in Khīva.

Ereng (Irnak) b. Anusha Khān. 5 Ṣafar 1098 / 21 January 1687 captured and blinded his father. A year later he was poisoned. Thus according to Munshī, a Bukhāran historian, contemporary with **Ereng**. The Khwārizmian historian, Mu'nis (100 years later), gives a different version, viz: **Anusha** died in peace, was succeeded by his son, **Khudāydād**, who ruled 2 years and was killed by **Ereng**. Then **Ereng** fell from horse and died. His mother, a Turkmān aristocrat, concealed this fact. She summoned her nephew who looked like **Ereng**, and, with the help of Turkmān warriors, put the impostor on the throne. The false **Ereng** was killed by a city mob in 1106/1996 when the army of the Qunghrāt ruler, **Jūchī** (descendant of ***Ḥajīm***) approached Khīva.

Jūchī. Was proclaimed Khān of Khīva and ruled 2 years.

Valī Khān. Descendant of ***Ḥajīm***. Was made khān in 1108/1696-7 but, after 1½ years, the Khīva nobles banished him.

One way or the other, the **'Arabshāhid dynasty** came to an end during the last years of the 17th century.

The period of no dynasty

Niyāz (1688 or 1698 to 1701-2). Accordind to the contemporary historian, Munshī, in 1099/1688, having poisoned their Khān, **Ereng**, the nobles of Khīva asked **Subḥān Qulī**, Khān of Bukhārā, to accept Khīva under his sway. **Subḥān Qulī** sent his high official, **Niyāz**, a noble from the Uzbek tribe of Qattaghan, to govern Khīva. Mu'nīs (more than 100 years after Munshī) wrote that **Shāh Niyāz** was a son of **Jūchī** (descendant of **Ḥajīm**) and became khān in 1110/1698-9. Those who believe Munshī date the beginning of **Niyāz'** reign to 1688. Those who believe Mu'nis date this event to 1698-9. **Niyāz** died in 1113/1701-2.

Shāh Bakht. Son of Niyāz. Succeeded his father, ruled about a year but then abdicated.

Sayyid 'Alī. According to Mu'nis "also from that dynasty" ruled in 1115/1703-4 or 1116/1704-5 but was dethroned.

Mūsā Khān. Junior brother of Niyāz. Ruled Khīva. Then nobles of Khīva mutinied. He fled and was later killed.

Yādgār. Son of Anusha, grandson of Abu'l Ghazī Khān. Ruled Khīva and died in 1125/1713.

?Arab Muḥammad II. 'Istoriia Uzbekskoi SSR' (t. 1, kn. 2, 1955, Tashkent, p. 429) mentions 'Khān of Khiva **Arab Muhammad II** (1702-1714)'. Mu'nis, though, never mentions such a khān.

Shīr Ghāzī (1715-1727). After **Yādgār**, Mu'nis mentions **Shīr Ghāzī**, a Kazakh Chīngizid, as Khān of Khīva.

Sārī Aighyr. Kazakh Chīngizid, brother of Kazakh Khān Abū'l Khayr. After the death of **Shīr Ghāzī** (1727) was invited to Khīva and enthroned. On the same day he mysteriously fell from his horse and died.

Bahādyr, brother of Sārī Aighyr. Was brought to Khīva and enthroned. 6 months later in the dead of night fled from Khīva in order not to reign over such a pleasant place.

Ilbars (1728-1740). Son of Shāh Niyaz. Khān of Khīva. Killed by Persian Shāh Nādir who invaded Khwārizm.

Ṭāhir. Chīngizid. Nādir Shāh's puppet on the throne of Khīva, killed by **Nūr 'Alī** (see below).

Nūr 'Alī (1741). Son of Kazakh Khān Abū'l Khayr. When the people of Khīva rose up against the Persians, he came to help the Khwārizmians. Was elected khān.When the army of Nādir Shāh approached Khīva, the Khwārizmians deserted him and he fled.

Abū Muḥammad Abū'l Ghāzī II b. Ilbars. Was elected khan with accordance of Nādir Shāh. Ruled 5 years.

Gha'ib Khān (1747-1757). Kazakh Chīngizid. Elected khān. Ruled 10 years. Then increased taxes. People of Khīva rebelled and he fled to the Kazakh steppe.

'Abd Allāh Qarā Bai. Brother of **Gha'ib**. Ruled 4 months then was banished.

Tīmūr Ghāzī (1757-1764). Kazakh Chīngizid. Became khān with the help of **Muḥammad Raḥīm**, Manghīt ruler of Bukhārā. In his reign power was usurped by *Īnāq* (chief, warlord) of the Uzbek tribe of Qunghrāt, **Muḥammad Amīn** (1763-1790). All subsequent Khāns of Khīva were puppets in the hand of **Muḥammad Amīn Īnāq** and his descendants. **Tīmūr Ghāzī** was killed by **Muḥammad Amīn Īnāq**.

Tauke Khān (1746-1765). His sobriquet was **Khudāydād**. Puppet khān for 1½ years. Abdicated in 1178/1764-5.

Shāh Ghāzī. Son of **Abū'l Ghāzī II**. Puppet khān for 2.5 years. Was dethroned in 1181/1767-8.

Abū'l Ghāzī III.. Kazakh Chīngizid. Puppet khān for 6 months. Then **Muḥammad Amīn Īnāq** banished him.

Nūr 'Alī b. Barak Sulṭān. Kazakh Chīngizid. Was made puppet khān in 1768. Soon after that Turkmān tribes mutinied against **Īnāq Muḥammad Amīn** and he fled to Bukhārā. Turkmāns dethroned **Nūr 'Alī**.

Jahāngīr. Son of Gha'ib (Khān of Khīva in 1747-1757). Was put on the throne by Turkmāns. Ruled about a year.

Abū'l Ghāzī III (1770-1804). In 1770 **Īnāq Muḥammad Amīn** with the help of Bukhārans routed the Turkmāns and deposed **Jahāngīr**. He put on the throne **Bulāqay**, son of **Nūr 'Alī** (Khān of Khīva in 1778) but banished him a month later. After that he put on the throne **Abū'l Ghāzī III**, who was dethroned at least twice: in 1204/1789-90 and in 1804. **Abū'l Ghāzī III** was puppet khān also in the time of **Īnāq Avaz** (1791-1804), who succeeded his father **Īnāq Muḥammad Amīn**. **Abū'l Ghāzī III** was the brother of **Tīmūr Ghāzī**, who reigned in 1757-1764 (Materialy 1969, 473, 595).

Qunghrāt Khāns of Khīva.

Iltuzar b. *Avaz* (1804-1806). Accepted title of khan in 1804. In 1806 fell in a battle against the Bukhārans.

Muḥammad Raḥīm b. *Avaz* (1806-1825). In 1806 put on the throne puppet, **Abū'l Ghāzī III**, but in the same year accepted the title of khān himself.

Allāh Qulī b. *Muḥammad Raḥīm* (1825-1842). Under him the Khīva Khānate achieved its largest extent: from the delta of the Syr Darya and Aral Sea to the Kushka river, on the frontier with Afghānīstān.

Raḥīm Qulī b. Allāh Qulī (1842-1845). In 1843 lost Merv to the Bukhārans. Died in 1845.

Muḥammad Amīn (1845-1855). Grandson of **Allāh Qulī**. Fell in battle with Turkmāns in March 1885.

Sayyid 'Abd Allāh (1855). This new khān also fell in battle with Turkmāns in September 1855.

Qutlugh Murād (1855-1856). Nephew of Muḥammad Amīn. Killed by Turkmāns in January 1856.

Sayyid Muḥammad b. *Muḥammad Rahīm* (1856-1865). Made khān in April 1856. Annexed Merv.

Muḥammad Rahīm II (1865-1910). In 1873 Russian troops took Khīva. The khān fled but was restored by Russians to the throne, and ruled thence as a vassal of Russian tsar.

Isfandiyār (1910-1918). Killed in 1918 by the Turkmān chieftain Junaid Khān (former agent of Germans who received money and weapons from them).

Sayyid 'Abd Allāh (1918-1920). Put on the throne by Junaid Khān. In 1920 they both fled from the Red Army and Khīva insurgents. Khorezmskaya Respublika was proclaimed and the **Qunghrāt dynasty** was abolished.

Money Circulation

There were three periods in the money circulation of the Khīva Khānate.

1 The Arabshāhid period (1511 until the end of the 17th century).

2 The period when there was no constant dynasty in the Khīva Khānate (end of the 17th century until 1804)

3 The Qunghrāt period (1804-1920).

The first (Arabshāhid) period (1511 until the end of the 17th century).

Unfortunately we know little about this period. There must have been at least sporadic mintage in the Khīva Khānate, but it seems that such coins have not survived. Anyway there was a mint of sorts in Khīva. So Muḥammad Munshi (1956, 153) wrote that, having poisoned their khān in 1688, the nobles in Khīva minted coins in the name of the Khān of Bukhāra. In 1714-1715 Khān Mūsā minted coins in his name. A certain role in the money circulation of the Khīva Khānate at least in 16th century was played by Timūrid (silver) coins minted at the mint with the mintname "Khwārizm", which worked intensively enough under the Timūrids. Coins could circulate many decades after they had been struck. There are various such examples. For example, in the Farghāna valley coins minted by Subḥān Qulī Khān (1680-1702) were still in circulation 80-100 years after being struck and at least 80-90 years after Farghāna had became independent from Bukhārā. Deeds of purchase written in the Farghāna valley in 1760, 1763, 1782 and 1784 described the money paid as: "silver tangas of Sayyid Subḥān Qulī Khān *current in our time*" (Davidovich 1964, 170). In the 16th century, Shaybānid coins (silver and, from 'Abd Allāh Khān II onwards, gold) and, in the 17th century, Ashtarkhānid coins (gold, silver, billon) circulated in the Khīva Khānate. Persian silver and gold coins, brought from Persia as a result of the frequent pillaging raids by the Khīva army on Northern Khorāsān, also played a certain role in the money circulation of the Khīva Khānate. Certainly at least copper coins must have been struck in the Khīva Khānate, but copper coins are wont to survive least (and, until recent times, interested collectors less than gold and silver coins). In the 16th century (with the exception of some coins of Shaybānī Khān, which weighed 5.2g) the Shaybānids struck high-grade silver coins with a decreed weight of one mithqāl (4.8g), though most of them were 0.1-0.25g lighter than that. Any Arabshāhid tangas should be about the same grade and weight as the Shaybānid tangas. During the first three-quarters of the 17th century, the Ashtarkhānids minted coins of good silver weighing 4.5-4.6g. Then the debasement of the coinage started. Plundering raids, wars, the weakening of central power in the states of Central Asia badly affected trade between Central Asia and Russia. The flow of silver from Russia dwindled. The shortage of silver triggered the debasement of tangas in the Ashtarkhānid state. In the last quarter of the 17th century, tangas contained 35%, then 22.5% silver. Any Arabshāhid tangas of this latter period should be about the same grade and weight as Ashtarkhānid tangas.

The second period (the end of the 17th century to 1804).

This time of anarchy, internecine wars and crisis of central power was bound to affect the mintage of coins in the Khīva Khānate. Fortunately we have valuable information on the money circulating in the Khīva Khānate, provided by the envoy of Peter the Great to Persia and Bukhārā, Florio Beneveni, (1718-1725) who visited the Khīva Khānate April-August 1725 . According to him (Poslannik 1986, 86, 104, 115) gold coins of Bukhārā (he called them "tchervonetzs" as Russian gold coins were named then) circulated in the Khīva Khānate. There were also other coins which were at 40, 100, 200, 880 (4400÷5) and 933.3 (14000÷15) to a tilla.

Exchange rate "40 coins for a tilla". In March-April 1695 in the Bukhārā Khānate, 60 tangas containing 22.5% silver were equal to one mithqal of gold, i.e. to a tilla (Documents 1954, 82). And so we have: a tanga equal to 1/60 tilla had 22.5% silver and tanga equal to 1/40 of a tilla had X% silver. So X=(22.5x60÷40) 33.75%. This standard of fineness is very close to the standard of the so-called "double" Bukhāran tanga, which had 35% silver (Davidovich 1964, 139, 140, 142, 158-9). These coins mentioned by Beneveni were either "double tangas" minted in Bukhārā or local coins minted in accordance with that standard. Their lower (33.75, not 35%) standard was probably due to wear.

Exchange rate "100 coins for a tilla". We have: a tanga equal to 1/60 tilla had 22.5% silver and a tanga equal to 1/100 tilla had X% silver. Thus X=(22.5x60÷100) 13.5%. This standard of fineness is close to the standard of the so-called "single" Bukhāran tanga, which had 17.5% silver (Davidovich 1964, 147, 157, 160). Those coins were either "single tangas" minted in Bukhārā or indigenous coins minted in accordance with that standard. Their lower standard (13.5, not 17.5%) was probably due to wear.

Exchange rate "200 coins for a tilla". We have: a tanga equal to 1/60 tilla had 22.5% silver and a tanga equal to 1/200 tilla had X% silver. Thus X=(22.5x60÷200) 6.75%. This standard of fineness may find an analogy in the standard of tangas which appeared in Bukhārā in 1708 following the monetary reform of 'Ubaid Allāh Khān (1702-1711). Those tangas had only 9% silver (Davidovich 1964, 154-155). The coins mentioned by Beneveni were either such tangas minted in Bukhārā, or local coins minted to that standard. Their lower standard (6.75, not 9%) was probably due to wear. It is also not out of the question that those coins may have been silver-washed, copper tangas.

Exchange rate "880 and 933 coins for a tilla". These coins were undoubtedly copper fulūs. According to my calculations, in 1821 in Bukhārā, copper coins went from 504 to 1365, and in 1833-1835 from 714 to 756 to a tilla, depending on their weight and fluctuations of the market.

And so in the Khiva Khānate of the 18th century, there circulated high standard gold tillas, billon tangas of at least 3 types (33.75, 13.5 and 6.75% silver) and fulūs of at least 2 types (at 880 and 930 fulūs for tilla). Also in circulation were Persian silver and gold coins, brought as booty from numerous plundering raids by the Khīva Khāns on Persian Khorāsān, Russian silver roubles and gold tchervonetzs. This situation continued until 1785 when, following the monetary reform in Bukhārā, high standard (95% silver) tangas appeared with a decreed weight of 7/10 mithqāl (3.36g), which began to be brought to the Khīva Khānate and circulated there.

The third (Qunghrāt) period (1804-1920).

In 1804 īnāq Iltuzar, the grandson of Muḥammad Amīn, founded the new Qunghrāt dynasty in Khīva. There is an exceptionally rare anonymous silver coin in the Hermitage (Nr. 32585) with the legend "Khwārizm 1216". Scholars suppose that this coin was minted by īnāq Iltuzar (Severova 1988, 94). If so, Iltuzar must have minted this coin before he accepted the title of khān (1216 AH=14.05.1801-3.05.1802).

His brother and successor, Muḥammad Raḥīm (1806-1825), built a new mint, carried out a monetary reform and started regular mintage. He copied his monetary reform from the reform carried out in Bukhārā in 1785 (it was also copied by the Khāns of Khoqand, so that the monetary system, which appeared first in Bukhārā, spread over the whole of Central Asia). This monetary system comprised high-standard (95.8%) gold tillas, high-standard (95%) silver tangas and copper fulūs. The decreed weight of a tilla was the Khwārizmian mithqāl = 4.55 g (Davidovich 1970, 94). The decreed weight of a tanga was 3/4 Khwārizmian mithqāl (3.4g). But as a rule, their weight rarely exceeded 3g, though some tangas are known weighing even 3.74g . But there were also local distinctions in the Khīva monetary system, unknown for the monetary system of Bukhārā.

For instance, apart from tillas, which were called "big tillas", there were "small tillas" weighing half a mithqāl (2.3g). Apart from normal tangas called in Khīva "aq tanga" ("white tanga", i.e. of high-grade silver) or "se-charik tanga" ("three-fours tanga") there were "qara tangas" ("black tangas"). The name "se-charik" has two possible explanations: a) it weighed 3/4 of a Khwārizmian mithqāl, b) it was equal to 3/4 of a persian silver abbasi. Yu. E. Bregel (1972, 59) considered that an *aq tanga* contained more silver than a *qara tanga* (which became black because it had little silver). In this case *qara tangas* could be old, debased tangas minted before the reform of 1785. A *qara tanga* was equal to two-thirds of an *aq tanga*. It is not out of the question that later *qara tangas* were minted of high-standard silver but weighed two thirds of an *aq tanga*. M. B. Severova (1998, 95) mentions a tanga that weighed 2.15g, which is two-thirds of a normal tanga (2.15÷2=1.075x3=3.225g). In the Khīva Khānate there were also silver coins (called "shāhī" in their legends) equal to 1/4 of a tanga. They were minted only by Sayyid Muḥammad (1856-1865) in 1274/1857-8 and weighed 0.78-0.8g. Copper coins were of 3 denominations: fulūs, fulūs shāhī and half fulūs shāhī. The two latter were minted only by Sayyid Muḥammad (Severova 1998, 95). Since a silver shāhī was equal to 1/4 tanga, one may infer that a fulūs shahi was equal to 1/4 fulūs, and a half fulūs shāhī was equal to one-eighth of a fulūs.

The diameters of Khīva coins are as follows:
Gold coins. The diameter of the gold coins ranges from 17 to 31 mm, with the commonest dimensions being 17, 19, 24 mm for later coins and larger flans for earlier coins (28 mm for coins of Muḥammad Raḥīm, 1234/1818-19, and 31 mm for those of Allāh Qulī, 1256/1840-1).
Silver coins. The tangas range from 17 to 28 mm, the commonest diameters being 20-21 mm. The coins bearing the *shāhī* legend are mostly 15-16 mm.
Copper coins. The diameters of the copper coins range from 13 to 28 mm, with the commonest sizes being 16 and 20 mm. Some 85% are within the range 15-22 mm.

In 1842 a *se-charik* or *aq tanga* was equal to 75 *assignatsiya* (i.e. paper money) kopecks, while a *qara tanga* was equal to 50 *assignatsiya* kopecks. 1 tilla was equal to 15 *assignatsiya* roubles. A copper coin was equal to 2 *assignatsiya* kopecks (Bregel 1972, 59, History1967, 633). This is similar to the the Bukhāran tanga in 1834: "about 72 kopecks" (Zapiski 1983, 63). In 1845 168 *assignatsiya* roubles were equal to 48 silver roubles (Liubimov, 1985, 309-310). Hence an *assignatsiya* rouble was equal to 28.57 silver kopecks, and a tanga was (28.57x0.75) equal to 21.42 silver kopecks. This is close to the Bukhāran tanga in 1835: "about 20 silver kopecks" (Zapiski 1983, 99). A *Qara tanga* was 14.285 silver kopecks. A silver *shahi* was equal to 5.355 silver kopecks. A tilla was equal to 4.28 silver roubles. A half tilla was equal to 2.14 silver roubles. A pūl was equal to 0.57 of a silver kopeck. If this referred to a half fulūs shāhī, then a fulūs shāhī would have been equal to 1.14 silver kopecks and a fulūs to 4.56 silver kopecks.

The names of the gold and silver coins were not included in the coin-legends except in the case of the small silver coins equal to 1/4 *aq tanga*, which had their name *shāhī* placed on the reverse. The date can be found either on the obverse or the reverse, sometimes on both sides. On the obverse is the title and name of the ruler. This is usually *khān* or *bahādur khān*. Allāh Qulī (1825-1842) was the only ruler of the Qunghrāt dynasty who titled himself *khwārizmshāh* or *pādshāh*. The only khān who did not place his name on the coins was Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm (1865-1910). He minted coins in the name of his deceased father, adding to his name the epithet *marḥūmī* (the deceased). On the reverse of the gold and silver coins is the mint-name. This is usually *Khwārizm* with one of the following epithets: *Dār al-Islām* (The Seat of Islām), *Dār al-Salṭāna* (The Seat of the Sulṭānate, i.e. of Power, Reign), *Dār al-Mu'minīn* (The Abode of the Faithful), *Quṭb al-Islām* (The Pole of Islām) or *Ma'den al-Ulamā* (The Mine or Place of learned men). Only on the coins of Muḥammad Raḥīm (1806-1825) do we find the mintname *Khīvaq* (i.e. Khiva) in the form of *Dār al-Salṭāna Khīvaq*. Only in the time of Allāh Qulī (1825-1842) do we find mention of a second mint: Marw, where in 1256/1840-1 silver coins were minted. They are extremely rare.

There is a special group of tillas with rhyming legends. For instance:
سردر سلاطین محمد رحیم / زده سکه بزر ز لطف کریم *sardar-i salaṭīn muḥammad raḥīm / sade sikke be zar (a)z laṭif-i karīm* "Commander of sulṭāns Muḥammad Raḥīm minted gold by the Grace of the Generous One" or:
بزر سکه زد شاه قتلوقموراد / ز لطف خدای کریم جواد *be zar sikke zad shāh qutlūq mūrād / (a)z laṭif-i khudā-i karīm-i javād* "Shāh Qutlugh Murād minted gold by the Grace of the Lord, the Generous and Magnanimous One".

All copper coins had their name placed on reverse: فلوس or فلوس شاهی or نصف فلوس شاهی, i.e. "fulūs" or "fulūs shāhī" or "half fulūs shāhī". The date was also placed on the reverse. The mintname "Khwārizm" was placed on the obverse.

Apart from the coins themselves, valuable information is provided by collection of Khīva mint dies kept in the Hermitage Museum. This collection was brought to Saint Petersburg as a trophy after the summer campaign of 1873 when Russian troops took Khīva. Those obsolete dies were originally kept together with other artefacts in a kind of "cabinet of curiosities" in the palace of the Khīva Khāns. The collection comprises 345 dies made of iron carbide. Those were dies for minting tillas (32), tangas (184), silver shāhīs (7), copper fulūs, fulūs shāhī and half fulūs shāhī (121). One die was made to mint either gold or silver coins. Of these dies, 274 were made during the reign of Sayyid Muḥammad (1856 to 1864-5).

The list of dies is as follows:
Muḥammad Raḥim (1806-1825). Tilla (1234/1818-9) – 1.
Allāh Qulī (1825-1842). Tilla (1256/1840-1) – 1; Tanga – 25.
Allāh Qulī or Raḥim Qulī (1842-1845). Tanga – 2
Muḥammad Amīn (1845-1855). Tilla – 7; Tanga – 17.
Qutlugh Murād (1855-1856). Tilla – 8.
Sayyid Muḥammad (1856 to 1864-5). Tilla – 13; Tanga – 149;
Shāhī – 7; Copper coins – 113.
Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥim (1864-5 to 1910). Tanga – 5.
9 dies are unidentified; of these 6 were for minting copper coins.
There are some dies (for instance tillas of Sayyid Muḥammad 1275/1858-9 and 1279/1862-3), the coins minted from which have not been found so far.

And finally some information about prices in the Khīva Khanate, as far as I have been able to find any. Some time around 1857 there was a famine in Khīva and a *pūd* (16.38kg) of bread (wheat), which usually cost 4 tangas was sold for 20 tangas, i.e. the price rose 5 times (Valikhanov 1985a, 192). It is very interesting that in 1870, in the vicinity of Khoqand one could buy 84 or 82kg wheat for a tilla, or 20 tangas (Ploskikh, Fedorov 1990, 46). Which means that for 4 tangas one could buy 16.8 or

16.4kg of wheat. So we have 16.4kg wheat for 4 tangas in Khoqand in 1870 and the usual price of wheat in Khīva in the 1850s, which is 16.38kg for 4 tangas. The difference (16.4-16.38) is 0.02kg. In 1284/1867-8 nine horses cost 180 tillas, i.e. 20 tillas per horse. Six horses of lower quality cost 60 tillas, i.e.10 tillas each. 14 soldiers wounded in some campaign were paid 35 tillas i.e. 2.5 tillas each. A badly wounded warrior was paid 4 tillas (Bregel 1970, 33). Owners of more than 10 *tanaps* pad 3 tillas; owners of 5-10 *tanaps* paid 2 tillas; owners of 5 and less *tanaps* paid 1 tilla of taxes.

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Illustrations

Coins and dies of Khīva (according to Severova, M. B. 1988. "Kollektsiia monetnykh shtempelei Khivinskogo khanstva iz Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha", *Epigrafika Vostoka,* 24, tables 4-7).

1. Sayyid Muḥammad (1856-1865). 1274 (1857-8). Tilla (reverse) and the upper die from which it had been minted.
2. Sayyid Muḥammad (1856-1865). 1278 (1861-2). Tilla (obverse).
3. Sayyid Muḥammad (1856-1865). 1279 (1862-3). Tilla (reverse) and the lower die from which it was struck. As one can see, the reverse (or obverse) could be both on the upper or lower die.
4. Allāh Qulī (1825-42). 1258 (1842-3). Tanga (obverse).
5. Allāh Qulī or Raḥīm Qulī (1842-1845). No date. Tanga (reverse).
6. Sayyid Muḥammad (1856-1865). 1274 (1857-8). Tanga (reverse).
7. Sayyid Muḥammad (1856-1865). 1281 (1864-5). Tanga (reverse).
8. No date. Copper coin (obverse).
9. No date. Copper coin (obverse).

Money Circulation in the Khoqand Khānate

In the beginning of the 1990s, while preparing the second edition of my textbook "Numizmatika Srednei Azii" (Numismatics of Central Asia) I wrote a new chapter on the money circulation in the Khoqand Khānate. Unfortunately this project was not completed at the time but I have now taken the opportunity to update what I had previously written for publication here.

History

At the end of 17th century Farghāna became truly independent from the rulers of Bukhārā. In the central part of the Farghāna valley an independent dominion sprang up ruled by Khwājas (leaders) of dervishes (members of Muslim religious orders) who were numerous and had strong organisation there. The place of residence of these Khwājas was qīshlāq (village) Chadak (40 km east of modern Chust). Circa 1121/ 1709-10 the authority of the Khwājas was overthrown by Sāhrukh Biy, an influential feudal lord from the Uzbek tribe of Mīng, who claimed to be a descendant of Chīngiz Khān. He seized power and became the first ruler (1121/1709-10 to 1134/1721-2) of the Mīng dynasty which created and ruled the Khoqand khānate. His son, 'Abd al-Raḥim (1134/1721-2 to 1147/1734?), built himself a fortress near the Khūqand Qīshlāq, so that the fortress was also named Khūqand (or Khoqand) somewhat later. 'Abd al-Raḥim became related to the ruler of Khojende, Āq Būtā, who married his sister and took him to Khojende. Āq Būta entrusted 'Abd al-Raḥim with the affairs of government while "indulging himself in the pleasures of life". Later, however, he became suspicious that 'Abd al-Raḥīm, who had grown very popular with the army of Khojende, was plotting to usurp his throne. Āq Būta ordered the arrest of 'Abd al-Raḥīm, but the latter got wind of it and fled. A detachment of Kirghiz warriors sent to capture him was defeated by 'Abd al-Raḥīm and his adherents. 'Abd al-Raḥīm then shut himself up in his fortress. In due course, peace was made and he returned to Khojende. But court intriguers envious of 'Abd al-Raḥīm finally persuaded Āq Būta to arrest him. Someone warned 'Abd al-Raḥīm. In the dead of night he and several warriors sneaked into the citadel and murdered Āq Būta together with his sons. The next morning he ascended the throne of Khojende. After that he subjugated Marghīlān, Andijān and carried out successful plundering raids on Samarqand and Katta Qūrghān. He made Khoqand his capital and gave Khojende (as appanage) to his brother, 'Abd al-Karīm, and Marghīlān to his brother, Shādī Biy. Around the year 1147/1734? 'Abd al-Raḥīm was murdered by conspirators (History 1955, 416; History 1956, 46; History 1984, 491; Materialy 1973, 230-231).

His successor, 'Abd al-Karīm (1147/1734? to 1164/1750-1), did not stay in Khojende but moved to Khoqand, were he married 'Abd al-Raḥīm's wife. Under him the fortifications of Khoqand were strengthened considerably. In 1745 Qalmaq (Qalmyq) feudals, who had created the Jungarian khānate, invaded Farghāna and besieged Khoqand. At the crucial moment the ruler of Ūrā Tīpā (Ura Tiube), Fāḍil Biy, came to assist him. The Qalmaqs retreated and some time later were defeated (Ploskikh 1977, 72; Materialy 1973, 232-233). To repulse further Qalmaq invasions of Farghāna 'Abd al-Karīm concluded an alliance with the Kirghiz tribes. But for a certain period he was forced to recognise their supremacy and to send them a hostage. He sent them his nephew, Bābā Bek/Biy, the senior son of 'Abd al-Raḥim. After the death of 'Abd al-Karīm, according to some sources (Materialy 1973, 225; Ishankhanov 1976, 5) there followed the ephemeral reign of his nephew Irdānā. Then the Qalmaqs put on the throne of Khoqand the puppet ruler Bābā Biy, son of 'Abd al-Raḥīm, who had been given to them as a hostage by 'Abd al-Karīm. He ruled about a year and was murdered by Khoqand nobles hostile to the Qalmaqs. The conspirators restored to the throne Irdānā Biy (1165-1183/1751-2 to 1770), a nephew of 'Abd al-Karīm (Bartold 1965, 462; History 1984, 491).

In 1754, the Amir of Bukhārā, Muḥammad Raḥim, together with Irdānā Biy and Qubat Biy (chief of the powerful Kirghizian tribe of the Qūshchī) invaded Ura Tiube in order to conquer it, but the ruler of Ura Tiube, Fāḍil Biy, and his ally, Muḥammad Amīn, ruler of Ḥiṣār, forged a letter in the names of Irdānā and Qubat, as if they were proposing to Fāḍil and Muḥammad Amīn to unite and attack the ruler of Bukhārā. This letter duly got into the hands of the Amīr of Bukhārā. A scandal broke out. Muḥammad Raḥim Manghīt withdrew to Bukhārā. Qubat Biy and Irdānā quarelled bitterly (History 1984, 491).

In 1756-1757, Imperial China annihilated the khānate of Jungariya and came as far as the borders of Farghāna. Irdānā was forced to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Chinese Emperor. This, however, did not prevent him from joining the coalition of Central Asian rulers who asked Aḥmad Shāh, the ruler of Afghānistān, to come and help them defeat the Chinese. Aḥmad Shāh came, carried out several plundering raids and then returned to Afghānistān (Bartold 1965, 491).

Irdānā fought against the separatism and waywardness of his vassals. Once he had consolidated his position, he started the conquest of Eastern Farghāna (now Southern Kirghizstan), which was controlled by Kirghiz tribes. In 1762 he defeated them and captured Uzgend and Osh. The Kirghiz noble, Ḥājī Biy, fled. In 1764 Irdānā advanced on Khojende to subjugate it. Ḥājī Biy with Kirghiz tribes invaded Farghāna to recover Osh. Irdānā made peace with the ruler of Khojende and punished Ḥājī Biy thoroughly (History 1984, 493-494).

After the death of Irdānā, the Khoqand nobles elected Nārbūta Biy (1183-1213/1770-1799) as ruler of Khoqand. Nārbūta was a son of 'Abd al-Raḥman and grandson of 'Abd al-Karīm. He declined the honour several times saying it was too dangerous to be the ruler of Khoqand. The nobles pledged him eternal allegiance and finally persuaded him to become the ruler of Khoqand. At the beginning of his reign he had to fight the separatist aspirations of his vassals. He again subjugated Chust, Namangān and Khojende. Like Irdānā, he was forced to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Chinese Emperor (at least nominally). His relations with China, though, were friendly, while his relations with the ruler of Bukhārā were hostile. His reign was a time of relative peace and prosperity. New canals were built, new lands irrigated. Towns grew and developed (Bartold 1963, 286-287; 1965, 462-463; History 1956, 46).

After his death, four pretenders fought for the throne, each supported by different Uzbek, Qipchaq and Kirghiz tribes. Nārbūta's senior son, Muḥammad 'Ālim (1213-1225/1799 to 1810), supported by the Uzbek tribe of Mīng, became the Khān. He had to reunify Farghāna yet again. He managed not only that but also conquered Tāshkent and Chīmkent. He was the first to use the title of khān. That was why V. V. Bartold (1963, 286-287) named him the founder of the Khoqand khānate. Thus on a seal dated to 1216/1800-1 he gave the title of khān not only to himself but also to his father, Nārbūta,

which the latter, himself, never did. In his yārlighs (edicts) Nārbūta posed as a representative of a certain Khān. In 1799 'Ālim Khān tried to conquer Tāshkent but was defeated by its ruler, Yūnus Khwāja. The Amīr of Bukhārā took advantage of this to capture Khojende. But 'Ālim Khān recovered Khojende and even captured Ura Tiube. Then he defeated Yūnus Khwāja and conquered Tāshkent, the governor of which he made Ḥamīd Khwāja (son of Yūnus Khwāja) (History 1956, 50).

The bone of contention for Bukhārā and Khoqand was Ura Tiube (mediaeval Usrūshana) situated between the Khoqand khānate and the Bukhārā amīrate. Both sides used to capture and then lose it. Between 1800 and 1866, when the ill-fated province was joined to Russia, there were about 50 invasions of Ura Tiube by the armies of Bukhārā and Khoqand. 'Ālim Khān alone invaded Ura Tiube 15 times (Ploskikh 1977, 94). The invasions were accompanied by plunder and atrocities. People were driven from Ura Tiube to be sold into slavery or to be forcibly settled in the Bukhārā amīrate or the Khoqand khānate. As a result, the population of Ura Tiube was reduced from 100,000 to 36,600. Sometimes Ura Tiube was made a province either of the Khokand khānate, for instance for some years during the reign of 'Umār (1810-1822) and Muḥammad 'Alī (1822-1842), or of the Bukhārā amīrate (Materialy 1963, 4-5, 8-9,11).

'Ālim Khan, in striving to create a centralised state, fought the separatist aspirations of his vassals with the cruelty typical of a Central Asian despot. Not trusting the nobles of the Uzbek and other tribes, he created a strong army from Tajik mountaineers of Qarā Tegīn and Darvaz. The nobles in their struggle against the khān allied with the clergy and dervish orders, because the khān infringed their rights too. Chroniclers called 'Ālim Khān a tyrant. Since the governor of Tāshkent had become actually independent, 'Ālim Khān in 1810 attacked and sacked Tāshkent. Then he sent his army to subjugate the Kazakh nomads. The army suffered from severe cold and privations but 'Ālim, remaining in Tāshkent, ordered the campaign to be continued, which caused deep indignation among his warriors. Using the discontent of the army and the absence of the khān from the capital, conspirators in Khoqand proclaimed 'Ālim Khān's junior brother, 'Umār, as the khān. The army did not support 'Ālim Khān. Deserted by everybody, he started on his way to Khoqand but was overtaken and murdered (Nazarov 1968, 12).

Unlike 'Ālim, 'Umār (1225-Rabī' II 1237/1810-January 1822) was depicted by chroniclers as a pious and just khān. He built mosques and madrasah, he was a patron of poets and composed poems himself. As he had been brought to the throne by Uzbek nobles and clergy he defended their interests and gave them rich presents. In his time Yangī Ārīq (a canal 120 km long) was dug and 77,700 hectares of land irrigated (Bartold 1963, 287; 1965, 464; Nazarov 1968, 12). His military successes were due to the strong army created by the ill-fated 'Ālim. Having come to power, 'Umār concluded a peace treaty with Ḥaidar, the Amir of Bukhārā. But in 1815 he broke that treaty and captured the important town of Turkestān (in Kazakhstan, north of the Syr Darya) which controlled the trade routes between Central Asia and Russia. The conquest of Turkestān resulted in the subjugation of the Kazakh steppe along the Syr Darya up to its lower reaches, where the Khoqandians built the 'fortres of Ak Mechet' to guard the caravan routes and control the nomads. Turkestān had previously belonged to the Bukhārā amīrate and its capture resulted in plundering raids by the Bukhārans on Farghāna. These were duly reciprocated by raids by the Khoqandians on the lands of the Bukhārā amīrate (History 1956, 47). In 1812 'Umār sent an embassy to Russia and received a Russian envoy. He continued the conquest of Northern Kirghizstan. In the conquered lands of Kazakhstan and Northern Kirghizstan the Khoqandians built fortresses to control the nomads and to collect tribute from them. When, in 1818, the Amīr of Bukhārā captured Ura Tiube, 'Umār besieged the fortress of Jizākh, between Samarqand and Tāshkent, but failed to take it. He devastated the province and withdrew (Ploskikh 1977, 95). In 1821 the Kazakh nomads rebelled. They even managed to capture the towns of Chimkent and Sairam, but 'Umār Khān crushed the uprising. In 1821 Khoqand troops invaded the Ketmen Tiube valley in Kirghizstan and stormed the Kirghiz fortress. The conquest of Southern Kirghizstan (1760-1821) was thus completed (History 1956, 50; Ploskikh 1977, 96-97).

The son and successor of 'Umār, Muḥammad 'Alī (Madalī) Khān (1237-1258/1822-1842), ascended the trone when he was 12 (or 14) years old. He was a cruel, depraved and perverted person. Despite this, during the first half of his reign the Khoqand khānate strengthened and grew territorially. In the south-west Qarā Tegīn, Darvāz and Qūlāb were annexed. In the north-east the conquest of Northern Kirghizstan was completed (1810-1836). Khoqandian fortresses were built in the Chu valley, on the upper reaches of the Naryn river, on the shores of lake Issyk-Kul, and in the Tien Shan and Pamir mountains. Madalī tried to spread his influence over Eastern Turkestan. He supported a Muslim uprising (1825-1826) against the Chinese in Kāshghar. In 1829 he moved his army to Kāshghar but, when the large Chinese army approached, he withdrew, bringing to Khoqand 70,000 Muslim refugees. Finally peace was made. To pay him off, the Chinese granted him the right to collect trade-duties in the towns of Eastern Turkestan, where he sent officials to collect it. Some of the refugees returned to Eastern Turkestan, while othes stayed in Farghāna. But then his luck run out. In 1840 he lost a war against the Amīr of Bukhārā, ceded Khojende to him and recognised him as his suzerain.

Madalī's depravity and cruelty incurred the hatred of his subjects, who asked Naṣr Allāh, the Amīr of Bukhārā, to save them from that bloodthirsty and godless tyrant. Naṣr Allāh advanced on Khoqand. Madali's army was defeated. Khoqand was taken and sacked. Madalī and his relations were murdered. Then Naṣr Allāh conquered Tāshkent. Having left his governor in Khoqand, he returned to Bukhārā (History 1956, 50-51; Bartold 1965, 464-465). But three months later, the khoqandians rebelled against the Bukhārans who had maltreated and robbed them. Nārbūta had a brother, Ḥājī Bek, who had fathered a son named Sher 'Alī. This latter had fled to the Kirghiz of the Talas valley to escape from 'Ālim Khān, who, having come to power, started to massacre his relations. Sher 'Alī married a Kirghiz woman, which related him to Kirghiz nobles and secured him their support. When the uprising against the Bukhārans broke out, the Khoqandians invited Sher 'Alī and proclaimed him their khān (1258-1260/1842-1844). Supported by Kirghiz, Qipchaq and Uzbek tribes, Sher 'Alī advanced on Khoqand. The Bukhārans fled. Those who were slow were murdered. First of all, the khān strengthened the fortifications of Khoqand. The Amīr of Bukhārā invaded Farghāna and marched on Khoqand. His vanguard was defeated, but when his main army approached, the Khoqandians retreated and hid in Khoqand. The siege continued for 40 days. Nine attacks were repulsed. But then Naṣr Allāh received a report that Allāh Qūlī, the Khān of Khīva, had attacked Bukhārā and hastily withdrew to come to

its aid. After that, Khojende submitted to Sher 'Alī of its own free will. And when, subsequently, Sher 'Alī reconquered Tāshkent, the Khoqand khanate was restored to its former borders (History 1956, 51-2).

The Qipchaq tribes and their leader, Musulmān Qūl, who had played an important role in those events, claimed from the khān special privileges, which Sher 'Alī was not too willing to grant. Dissatisfied, the Qipchaqs rebelled. They defeated the khān's army and advanced on Khoqand. When they had successfully taken Khoqand, the Qipchaq nobles decided to leave Sher 'Alī on the throne, but deprived him of power. As soon as the Amīr of Bukhārā learnt of the Qipchaq mutiny, he advanced on Khoqand and laid siege to the town, but he failed to capture it. Musulmān Qūl, who played an outstanding role in the defence of Khoqand, became the actual ruler in the khānate. Uzbek nobles ousted by Qipchaqs from high position, hated Musulmān Qūl and plotted against him. In 1845 when Musulmān Qūl went to Osh to quell a rebellion by Kirghiz tribes, the Uzbek nobles, in alliance with the Kirghiz, summoned from Ura Tiube Murād, the son of 'Ālim Khān, and proclaimed him Khān of Khoqand. Sher 'Alī was murdered, his palace was plundered and devastated by the mob. To ensure the support of Bukhārā, Murād acknowledged himself vassal of the Amīr of Bukhārā. This caused the indignation of the Khoqandians who remembered the outrages commited by the Bukhārans in Khoqand.

Musulmān Qūl summoned the Qipchaq tribes and advanced on Khoqand. On the way he took with him the fourteen-year old son of Sher 'Alī, Khudāyār, who was governor of Namangān. Although he was junior to Malla (the other son of Sher 'Alī) the Qipchaqs placed Khudāyār on a white felt mat, by which ceremony he was proclaimed khān. Having captured Khoqand, Musulmān Qūl murdered Murād, whose rule lasted only seven days. After that, Musulmān Qūl married Khudāyār to his daughter and continued to rule the khānate. Khudāyār's first reign continued from 1261 to 1275 (1845-1858).

He granted the Qipchaqs vast privileges. Encouraged by this, many Qipchaqs moved to Khoqand and its suburbs. They banished the Khoqandians from their houses and settled there. Having seized the canals, they made the peasants pay them for water and committed many other outrages. In that way, the Qipchaqs incurred the bitter hatred of the populace. Meanwhile Musulmān Qūl waged wars against the separatist rulers of Kojende, Ura Tiube or other provinces. Leading his army against Tāshkent, he took Khudāyār with him. When they arrived, Khudāyār, who had had his fill of Musulmān Qūl, deserted to Nār Muḥammad, the ruler of Tāshkent. Musulmān Qūl was defeated and fled. The populace of the khānate then started to massacre the Qipchaqs, with even babies and pregnant women not being spared. Musulmān Qūl raised a new army. On 9 October 1852, Khudāyār, helped by troops from Tāshkent, defeated Musulmān Qūl and took him prisoner. For three days the ill-fated Qipchaqs were brought to a square in Khoqand and slaughtered before Musulmān Qūl, who was chained to a post. On the fourth day he was hanged (History 1956, 52-53; Ploskikh 1977, 163-164). Thereafter, the sedentary Uzbek tribes and their nobles again became dominant.

Malla Khān, the brother of Khudāyār, was put in charge of Tāshkent. Some time later he rebelled. In the summer of 1269/1853 Khudāyār attacked Tāshkent. Malla was defeated and fled to Bukhārā. In 1275/1858 Malla rebelled again. This time he was supported by Kirghiz and Qipchaq nobles who had been ousted from high posts by the Uzbeks. An important role among the adherents of Malla was played by 'Ālim Bek, an influential Kirghiz noble from the Alay mountains. Malla defeated Khudāyār and became Khān of Khoqand (1275-1278/1858-1862). Khudāyar fled to Bukhārā with his two younger brothers, Sulṭān Murād and Ṣūfī. Malla Khān made 'Ālim Bek governor of Andijān and first vizir. He also ordered that the lands taken away from the Qipchaqs by the Uzbeks should be returned to them. In 1860, the Tajik, Qanā'at Shāh, governor of Tāshkent, reported to Malla Khān that the Russians had taken the fortresses of Alma Ata, Tūkhmāq (Tokmak) and Ashtek. Malla ordered 'Ālim Bek to join Qanā'at Shāh and repel the Russians. The allied armies (20,000 men) approached the Russian detachment 2000 strong. But here 'Ālim Bek and Qanā'at Shāh quarelled because each of them wanted to be Commander-in-Chief. Fuming, 'Ālim Bek led his army away. On 21 October 1860 the Russians and Khoqandians clashed. Both sides claimed victory but judging by the fact that Qanā'at Shāh failed to recover Alma Ata and the other fortresses taken by the Russians, the latter must have been the victors. Afraid of imminent punishment, 'Ālim Bek fled to Alay and rebelled. The army Malla Khān sent against him was defeated. Supported by other Kirghiz and some Qipchaq nobles, 'Ālim Bek advanced on Khoqand. In the spring of 1278 (March 1862) the mob spurred on by conspirators broke into the Khān's palace. Malla Khān, attacked in his bedroom, fought bravely but was overpowered and cut to pieces (Materialy 1973, 234-237; Ploskikh 1977, 167-168; Torrey 1950, 14).

The conspirators made the fifteen-year old Shāh Murād, nephew of Khudāyār and Malla, the new Khān of Khoqand (1862). 'Ālim Bek became the first vizir. But another conspirator, the Kirgiz-Qipchaq 'Ālim Qūl, being dissatisfied, plotted against him and finally managed to become the first person in the state.

Meanwhile Khudāyār started his struggle for the throne. The Amīr of Bukhārā assigned him to Jizākh where he lived in poverty. His adherents arrived there and invited him to Tāshkent, where he was proclaimed khān. The Khoqand army besieged Tāshkent, but after a siege of 30 days, news came that Muẓaffar, the Amīr of Bukhārā, was advancing on Tāshkent with a big army. The army of Khoqand retreated. Khudāyār helped by the Amīr of Bukhārā then marched to Khoqand, the gates of which were thrown open to him. 'Ālim Qūl made a sortie and escaped with 2000 men. Unnoticed in the uproar, Shāh Murād slipped out of the palace and left the town. But Khudāyar captured and murdered him. Khudāyār's second reign (1279-1280/1862-1863) then started. He was unpopular with the Khoqandians and his brutality, especially the massacre of the Qipchaqs, made him many enemies. 'Ālim Qūl raised an army and twice defeated the khān. Marghīnān, Namangān and Andijān came over to the rebels. The Amīr of Bukhārā, Sayyid Muẓaffar, invaded Farghāna and proceeded to the borders of Kāshgharia but could neither defeat the Qipchaqs and Kirghiz nor restore order. He left Farghāna and returned to Bukhārā taking Khudāyar with him. From there, Khudāyar was sent to Jizākh.

'Ālim Qūl entered Khoqand with Kirghiz and Qipchaq tribesmen. In the summer of 1280 (July 1863) Sayyid Sulṭān, the thirteen-year old son of Malla Khān, was proclaimed khān. 'Ālim Qūl became the actual ruler. He took severe measures to restore order in the khānate and executed four thousand men. A semblance of quiet was achieved but not for long. Plots were hatched, discontent was spreading. Finally the chief towns

started to send invitations to Khudāyār asking him to come back.

Meanwhile the Russians had advanced on Tāshkent. 'Ālim Qūl led an army against them but was defeated and mortally wounded. When he died, Sayyid Sulṭān came to Bukhārā to ask for help. The amīr ordered his throat to be cut. The Qipchaq and Kirgiz made sixteen-year old Khudāi Qulī the Khān. In 1863, Sayyid Muẓaffar moved his army to Farghāna. Khudāi Qulī and his adherents fled to Kāshghar. Sayyid Muẓaffar entered Khoqand, enthroned Khudāyār and returned to Bukhārā having taken all the canons and other weapons from Khoqand. Khudāyār's third reign (1282-1292/1865-1875) then started (Bartold 1963, 291; Ploskikh 1977, 170-172; Torrey, 1950, 17-19).

Khudāyār was disliked by the Khoqandians but they had not much choice. Like other khāns, he robbed them ruthlessly by imposing heavy taxes and duties. And like other khāns, he was bloodthirsty. So having taken Ura Tiube in 1265/1848 he ordered the erection of a *kalla minār* (tower of heads). He was especially brutal towards the Kirghiz and Qipchaq tribes who had brought his adversaries to the throne and made him flee from Khoqand. In 1873-1874 an uprising by southern Kirghiz tribes broke out as a result of heavy taxes. It was drowned in blood by the khān's army. Driven to despair, the Khoqandians petitioned the General-Governor of Turkestan, K. P. Kaufman, to save them from Khudāyār's tyranny and make them subjects of the Russian tsar. Escaping from the khān's army, 2500 kibitkas (nomad tents), or about 10,000 Kirghiz, migrated in 1873 to the Turkestan General-Governorship (History 1956, 93-94).

In 1875, a new uprising broke out in Eastern Farghāna. Khudāyār sent an army commanded by 'Abd al-Raḥman Āftābachī to crush it. 17 July 1875 'Abd al-Raḥman Āftābachī joined the rebels, headed by mulla Isḥaq, an impostor who claimed that he was Pūlāt Khān, grandson of 'Ālim Khān. On 19 July, the governor of Andijān, Nāṣir al-Dīn Bek, son of Khudāyār, joined the rebels. On 20 July the rebels were joined by the governor of Marghīlān; then on 21 July they were joined by another of Khudāyār's sons, Muḥammad Amīn, who was sent to fight the rebels. On 22 July 1875 Khudāyār fled to Tāshkent taking his treasure with him. The Russians accepted the fugitive khān and allowed him to reside in Orenburg (History 1956, 95).

Nāṣir al-Dīn, the son of Khudāyār, became khān. In August 1875 he assured General-Governor Kaufman of his loyalty to Russia. The latter recognised him as Khān of Khoqand. But unruly rebels continued plundering raids into the territory of the Turkestan General-Governorship. The Russians advanced on Kojende and defeated the Khoqandians. On 29 August, the Russians took Khoqand. A month later, Nāṣir al-Dīn signed a treaty whereby he became a vassal of the Russian tsar, ceded to the Russians the lands north of the Syr Darya, including the town of Namangān, and pledged to pay the Russians 600,000 roubles by way of indemnity. This caused the indignation of his former allies. On 9 October rebels, commanded by 'Abd al-Raḥman Āftābachī, defeated the khān's army and took Khoqand. Nāṣir al-Dīn fled to the Russians. The impostor, Pūlāt Khān, became khān. Qipchaq tribes advanced on Namangān, which had become Russian according to the treaty signed by Nāṣir al-Dīn. On 11 November they were defeated and dispersed by general M. D. Skobelev. On 9 January the general took Andijān whereupon Pūlāt Khān fled to Uch Qūrghān fortress in the Alai district. This was stormed by the Russians on 26 January 1876. Pūlāt Khān fled but was later captured and executed in Marghīlān on 1 March 1876. Ishankhanov (1976, 4) wrote about a second reign of Nāṣir al-Dīn. But if this took place, it could not have lasted more than about a month.

On 19 February 1876 the Khoqand khanate was abolished and was annexed to the Russian empire as the Ferganskaia oblast' (History 1968, 357; History 1956, 95-96).

LIST OF THE KHĀNS OF KHOQAND OF THE **MĪNG** DYNASTY.[1]

Shāhrukh b. Muḥammad Khāliq b. Chāmīsh Biy. 1121-1134/1709 to 1721-2. Progenitor of the dynasty. Started "to gather lands".

'Abd al-Raḥīm b. *Shāhrukh*. 1134-1147(?)/1721-2 to 1734-5(?). Built a fortress (future town of Khoqand) on his lands near Khuqand-Qīshlāq village. Continued "to gather lands". Annexed Khojend, Margīhlān, Andijān. Was killed by conspirators.

'Abd al-Karīm b. *Shāhrukh*. 1147(?)-1164/1734-5(?) to 1750-1. Made Khoqand his capital.

Irdānā Biy. 1164/1750-1. Short reign. **Irdānā** was a nephew of **'Abd al-Karīm** (Bartold 1965, 462).

Bābā Biy Niẓām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥīm. 1164-1165/1750-1 to 1751-2. Was put on the throne by Qalmaqs who deposed **Irdānā**. About a year later the Khoqand nobles mutinied, killed **Bābā Biy** and restored **Irdānā** on the throne (cf. *Materialy* 1973, 233).

Irdānā Biy, nephew of 'Abd al-Karīm. 1165-1183/1751-2 to1770. Started the conquest of Eastern Farghāna.

Nārbūta b. 'Abd al-Raḥman b 'Abd al-Karīm. 1183-1213/1770-1798-9. Subjugated Chust and Namanghān. Resubjugated Kojend.

Muḥammad Alīm b. Nārbūtā. 1213-1225/1799-1810. Took Tāshkent and Chimkent. Resubjugated Khojend. Killed by conspirators. Chronicler 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī dated the death of **Muḥammad 'Alīm** to1224/1809-10. But

khoqandian chroniclers, including Muḥammad Ḥakīm, a contemporary of **Muḥammad 'Umar Khān**, unanimously dated the death of **Muḥammad Alīm** to 1225/1810 (cf. Bartold 1963, 286, note 28 by V. A. Romodin). Bartold (1965, 463) doubted the date given by 'Abd al-Karīm Bukhārī (i.e. 1224/1809-10) since he knew a document written in the name of **Muḥammad Alīm** and dated to Jumādā I 1225 / June 1810.

Muḥammad 'Umar b. Nārbūta. 1225-1237/1810-1822. Died 20 Rabī' II 1237 / 14 January 1822 (Bartold 1963, 287, note 27). Conquered from the Bukhārāns the town of Turkestān (north of the Syr Darya in Kazakhstan), an important point on the trade route connecting Central Asia with Russia. Completed in 1821 the conquest of Southern Kirghizstan (Eastern Farghāna and adjacent regions).

Muḥammad 'Alī (Madalī) b. Muḥammad 'Umar. 1237-1258/1822-1842. Annexed south-western Qarā Tegīn, Darvaz, Oulab. Completed by 1836 the conquest of Northern Kirghizstan. Killed in turmoil when Naṣr Allāh, Amīr of Bukhārā, captured Khoqand.

Shīr 'Alī b. Ḥajī Biy. 1258-1260/1842-1844. Nephew of **Nārbūta**. Resubjugated Khojend and Tāshkent. Killed by conspirators.

Murād b. Muḥammad 'Alīm. 1260/1844. Ruled 7 or 11 days after **Shīr 'Alī**. Killed by conspirators.

Khudāyār b. Shīr 'Alī. *First reign*: 1261-first half of 1275/1845-first half of 1858. *Second reign*: 1279-Ramaḍān 1280/1862-July 1863. *Third reign*: 1282-Rajab 1292/1865-August 1875. S. Ishankhanov (1976, 4) dated the beginning of his reign to 1260/1844, but Ch. Torrey (1950, 19) and "*Istoriia Uzbekskoi SSR*" (t. 2, Tashkent, 1956, p. 52) dated the beginning of his reign to 1261/1845. S. Album (*Checklist of islamic coins, 2nd edition,* p. 144*)* also dated the beginning of Khudāyār's reign to 1260/1845, presumably basing this on the information in Ishankhanov's booklet.

Muḥammad Malla Khān. Second half of 1275-Ramaḍān 1278/1858-March 1862. Murdered by mob instigated by conspirators (Ch. Torrey 1950, 14-15). S. Album (*Checklist of islamic coins, 2nd edition,* p. 144) lists a second reign by this ruler based on a dinar of 1289/1872 with the name of Malla Khān. This is incorrect as there is an eyewitness account of Malla Khān's murder eleven years earlier. Malla Khān could not therefore have reigned a second time. The obverse of the few coins known of this date in the name of Malla Khān is different from any of the obverses of the coins struck in his actual reign. This suggests that these coins are not mules but were deliberately struck in the name of the late ruler probably for some political reason.

Shāh Murād b. Sārymsāq (grandson of Shīr 'Alī). Ramaḍān 1278/March 1862-beginning of 1279/1862. Killed by **Khudāyār**.

Sayyid Sulṭān b. Malla Khān. Ramaḍān 1280-very beginning of 1282/July 1863-summer of 1865. When a mutiny broke out, he fled to Bukhārā, where his throat was cut by order of the Amīr of Bukhārā.

Khudāy Qulī (genealogy obscure). About 2 months in 1282/1865.

Naṣr al-Dīn b. Khudāyār. Rajab-first decade of Ramaḍān 1292/August-October 1875.

Pūlād Khān (impostor). Ramaḍān-Dhū'l Ḥijja 1292/October 1875-January 1876.

On 19 February 1876 the **Mīng dynasty of Khoqand Khāns** was abolished. The Khoqand khānate was annexed and became the Ferganskaia Oblast' of the Russian empire.

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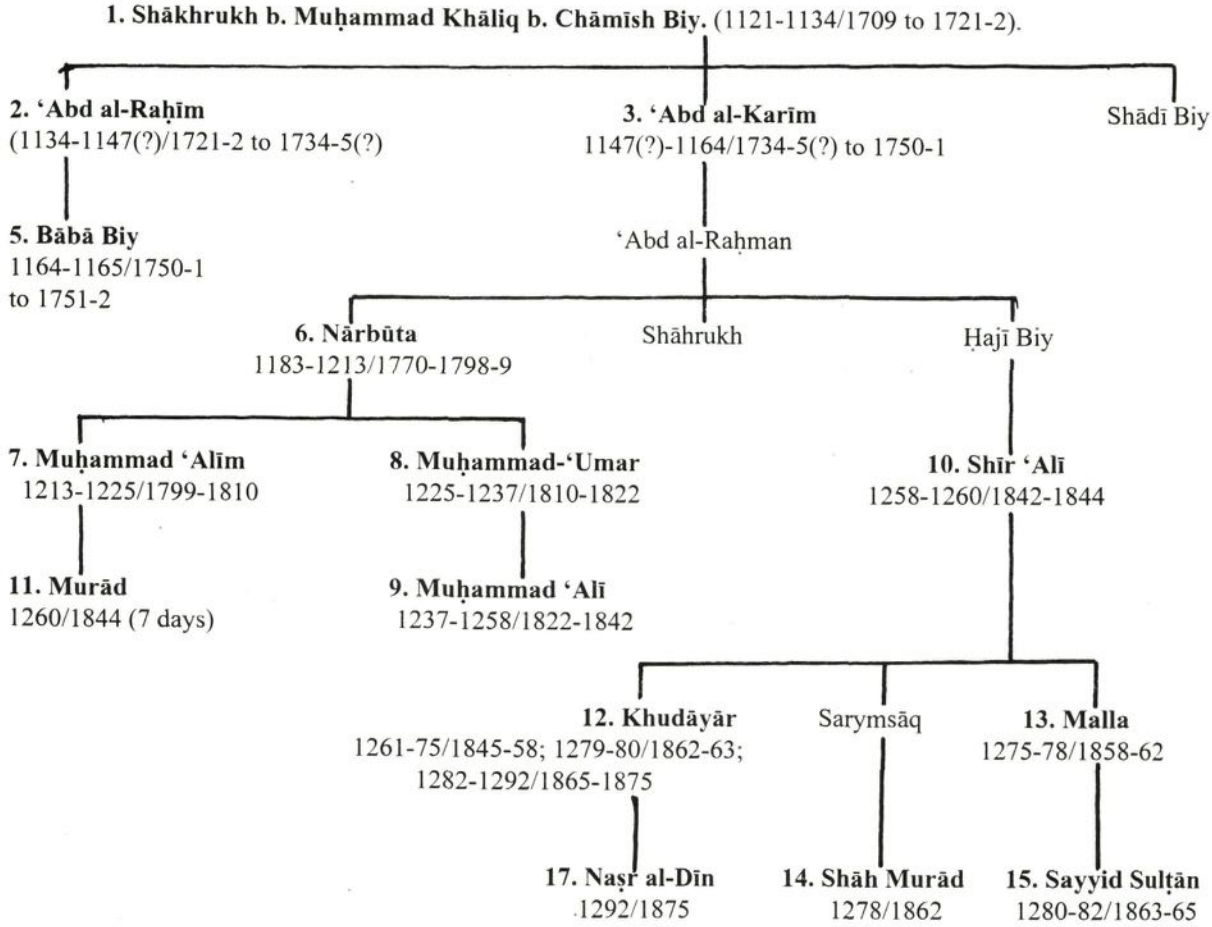
[1] S. Album (*Checklist of islamic coins, 2nd edition,* p. 143) calls the Khāns of Khoqand ABDURRAHMANID, which they never were. This is a mistake. In the scietific literature this dynasty is called **Mīng**, just as the dynasty of the Amīrs of Bukhārā is called **Manghit**. Album also seems to have misinterpreted the genealogical table given by Ishankhanov (1976, 5) which he started with "Abdurrahman" who begot Nārbūtā, Shāhrukh, and Ḥajī Biy (for some reason Ishankhanov also omitted Khān Muḥammad 'Alī from his table). The progenitor of the dynasty was in fact **Shāhrukh b. Muḥammad Khāliq** (not "b. Abdurrakhman") b. Chāmīsh Biy (Materialy 1973, 230). 'Abd al-Raḥman b. 'Abd al-Karīm was a grandson of Shāhrukh b. Muḥammad Khāliq.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE KHOQAND KHĀNS OF THE **MĪNG** DYNASTY



Genealogy not clear

4. Irdānā ("nephew of 'Abd al-Karīm")
1164/1750-1 (ephemeral reign); 1165-83/1751-2 to 1770

16. Khudāy Qulī
1282/1862 (2 months)

18. Pūlād Khān (impostor). Ramaḍān-Dhū'l Ḥijja 1292 / October 1875-January 1876.

Money Circulation

One can distinguish three periods in the money circulation of the Khoqand khānate. The first period from 1710-1770, the second from 1770-1818 and the third from 1818-1875.

The first period (1710 – 1770).

As far as we know, during the first period, when the rulers of the Mīng dynasty were in the process of creating their state and were starting to "gather their lands", they did not mint coins. There could have been both economic and political reasons for this. On the political side, the Mīng rulers were probably too weak to mint coins of their own; this would have been tantamount to a proclamation of full independence. Economically, there may not yet have been any urgent need to mint coins because the money circulation of the Farghāna valley was sated with and served by coins struck at the time when Farghāna was part of the Bukhārā khānate, and, to some extent, by coins imported from contemporary Bukhārā. Or it may have been the other way round: old Bukhāran coins circulated because the early Mīngs did not mint coins of their own. Whatever the reason, we do have direct evidence that in the Farghāna valley some Bukhāran coins circulated more than 80 years after they had been struck. Several deeds of purchase and a marriage contract written in the Farghāna valley in 1760, 1763, 1782 and 1784 describe money, land payments, and *mahr* (money to be paid by a husband to his wife in case he decides to divorce) as: "silver tangas of Sayyid Subḥān Qulī Khān current in our time" (underlined by me - M. F.). Thus coins of this Khān of Bukhārā circulated even 82 years after his death. In a document of 1784 the standard of fineness of

such coins is given as ده دوی (20%). E. A. Davidovich (1964, 170-2) wrote that originally the standard of such coins was 25%, but because they lost part of their silver in circulation they were defined as ده دوی. There was a considerable number of Subḥān Qulī Khān's tangas in the Farghāna valley even some 80 years after his death. So in the marriage contract of Īshān 'Ibād Allāh Khwāja, drawn up in 1782, we find mentioned a sum of 90,000 tangas of Sayyid Subḥān Qulī Khān (Materialy1963, 44).

The second period (1770 – circa 1818).

The mintage of Mīng coins started in this period, during the reign of Nārbūta (1770-1800). He minted only copper fulūs. They were anonymous and had no mint-name. His earliest coin was struck in 1195/1780-1. It appears that coining was rather sporadic. One issue has the legend: نوروزی ۱۲۱۰ "New Year's (coin) 1210". His latest coins were minted in 1215/1800 (when he died) with the legend "Fulūs current". Fulūs were of 3 types:

Type 1 - weight 2.35 g, diameter 13 mm;

Type 2 - weight 3.3-4.2 g, diameter 15-18 mm;

Type 3 - weight 4.1-4.6 g, diameter 15-16 mm.

If Type 3 was a fulūs then Type 1 should be a نصفية, i.e. half fulūs.

There are anonymous silverplated dirhems (Khoqand, no date) with the legend درهم على قدر "dirhem of the highest quality", or abbreviated درهم على, or simply درهم. There are four types of these:

Type 1- weight 3.7-4.8 g, diameter 20-23 mm;

Type 2 - weight 4.8 g, diameter 22 mm;

Type 3 - weight 3.1-4.3 g, diameter 19-24 mm;

Type 4 - weight 4.2 g, diameter 18 mm.

Ploskikh (1977, 99) attributed them to Nārbūta. Ishankhanov correctly attributed them to Muḥammad 'Ālim (1976, 7). As it happens, 4.8g is the weight of 1 mithqāl and, prior to the reform of 1785 in Bukhārā, the decreed weight of a low-grade tanga there was 1 mithqāl.

Muḥammad 'Ālim (1800-1810) was the first to place his name on his coins and the first to mint dirhems (though they were low-grade, silverplated coins). Initially, he struck only fulūs. Five types were about the same weight and size as Nārbūta's fulūs. But the sixth type of his fulūs was heavier and larger: 7.83-8.8 g and 22-26 mm. This must have been a double fulūs. In 1221/1806 appeared silverplared dirhems (3.3 g, 24 mm), citing "Muḥammad 'Ālim-i Nārbūta Khān". That is why I consider that the anonymous, copper, silverplated dirhems were also minted by Muḥammad 'Ālim Khān. His successor, Muḥammad 'Umār Khān (1810-1822,) at first minted fulūs and silverplated dirhems. On some of these silverplated coins their name امیری "amīrī" was placed (Ishankhanov 1976, 8/20). Four "amīrī", more frequently called "mīrī", were equal to one high-grade silver tanga.

But although the Mīng rulers started striking their own coins, during the second period (or at least at the beginning of it) old Bukhāran coins (tangas of Sayyid Subḥān Qulī Khān and others) were still circulating in the Farghāna valley, as is documented by deeds of purchase dated to 1782 and 1784.

The third period (1818-1875)

Around 123(3?)/1817-8 (Ishankhanov [1976, 8/22] was not sure of the digit) Muḥammad 'Umār Khān carried out a monetary reform. He started to mint high-grade silver tangas and gold tillas. In this way he introduced the monetary system that had appeared in Bukhārā as a result of the monetary reform carried out there in 1785, and which spread from there to the whole of Central Asia. The decreed weight of high-grade silver tangas was 7/10 of mithqāl, i.e. 3.36 g, but actually their weight rarely exceeded 3 g. The diameter of the tangas was 16-18 mm. The decreed weight of tillas was a mithqāl, i.e. 4.8 g, but their actual weight very rarely exceeded 4.6 g. The diameter of the tillas was 20-23, sometimes 18 mm. The earliest tilla so far known was minted in 1237 (Ishankhanov, 1976, 8/23). After the reform of 123(3?) 'Umār Khān and his successors also minted copper coins, which were named fulūs in the legend. The fulūs were either minted on copper flans or cast in bronze using special moulds.

Muḥammad 'Umār Khān's son and successor, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān (1822-1842) minted tillas, tangas and fulūs. He certainly considered it to his merit that he minted gold and silver coins. A rhyming legend on one type of his coins runs: غزا کرد سکه بر سیم و زر – *ghazā kard sekke bar sīm va zar* – "Fought for Faith, minted silver and gold (coins)". Sometimes the mint-name on his tillas and fulūs is "Farghāna", i. e. not the name of the capital but the name of the whole province (Ishankhanov 1976, 9-10/29, 32, 40).

Muḥammad 'Alī Khāns's successor, Sher 'Alī Khān (1842-1844), minted tillas, tangas and fulūs. But his silver coins are extremely rare. The only silver coin known so far which cites him was struck, strangely enough, using 1259/1843 tilla dies. Could it be that there was no regular issue of silver coins during his reign but that when some small issue was needed the dies for tillas were used? It was certainly not the product of some counterfeiter who intended to gild this coin, but failed to do it somehow, because the weight of this coin is 3.1 g, i.e. it was the decreed weight of a tanga (Ishankhanov 1976, 11/44).

It looks as though Murād Khān (1844), who ruled for only seven days before being murdered, did not have enough time to mint coins of his own. Anyway no such coins are so far known.

With the exception of 1286, which date is not known so far, Khudāyār Khān (1845-1858; 1862-1863; 1865-1875) minted tillas every year of his three turbulent reigns (AH 1261-1275; 1279-1280; 1282-1292). His tillas are very copious. His tangas were not minted every year (AH 1261, 1264, 1266, 1268-1274, 1279, 1282-1290) nor were his copper coins (AH 1269, 1271, 1274). Some copper coins of his have the mintname "Farghāna" (Ishankhanov, 1976, 12/55).

Muḥammad Malla Khān (second half of 1275/1858-Ramaḍān 1278/March 1862) minted tillas, tangas and fulūs. Coins also exist, as mentioned above, in the name of Malla Khān with the date 1289. These have a different obverse from those struck during his actual reign, which suggests that they were indeed struck posthumously some 11 years after his attested death.

Shāh Murād Khān (1862) minted tillas and tangas. His copper coins are not known.

Sayyid Sulṭān (1863-1865) minted tillas, tangas and copper coins.

Khudāy Qulī Khān (1865), who ruled for only two months, managed to mint some tangas (AH 1282).

Nāṣir al-Dīn (first reign 1292/1875, second reign 1293/1876) minted tillas (AH 1292) and tangas (AH 1292-3). His fulūs are not known.

The imposter, Muḥammad Pūlāt (Fūlād) Khān (1292-1293/1875-1876), minted tangas (AH 1292). Scholars mention dinars of Fūlād Khān minted in 1275, 1276, 1277, 1278, 1290 (Torrey 1950, 19-20). If there is no mistake in the reading of the dates and legends, it means that those dinars were struck

using obsolete dies with obsolete dates. The uprising lead by the Kirghiz imposter, Mulla Isḥāq who petended to be Pūlāt (Fūlād) Khān, grandson of 'Ālim Khān, broke out in 1292. He was proclaimed khān only at the end (10th month) of 1292 (October 1875). At the very beginning of 1293 (1876) he was executed by the Russians in Marghīlān.

The main mint of the khānate was named Khoqand, though on some coins of Muḥammad 'Alī (tillas 1247, fulūs 1252) and Khudāyār (fulūs, no date) we find the mint-name "Farghāna". Most probably those coins were also minted in Khoqand. According to the Russian traveller, E. F. Timkovskii, in 1820-1821 there was a mint in Osh which minted copper *pūls*, i.e. fulūs (Ploskikh 1977, 241) but no coins with this mint-name are yet known. Several khāns minted fulūs without a mint-name. So it is quite possible that some of those fulūs were minted in Osh.

The relationship between the coins was as follows. One tilla was equal to 19-21 tangas. This ratio was not constant and changed over time. Thus, in the early 1830s a tilla was equal to 21 tangas. In the late 1830s it was 20 tangas for a tilla. In the 1850s it was 19 tangas for a tilla. In the 1860s it was 20 tangas for a tilla. In the 1870s it was 19 and 20 tangas for a tilla. One tanga was equal to four mīris (or amīris). Silverplated, copper mīris were struck by 'Ālim (1800-1810) and 'Umār, at least until 1234/1818-19. Then 'Umār started to mint high-grade silver tangas. Mīris minted by his successors are not yet known. But such coins certainely continued to circulate. Valikhānov (1985, 218) describing the money circulation in the Khoqand khānate in 1858-1859, mentions "mirs", i.e. mīris.

He wrote: "A Khoqand chervonets weighs 1 zolotnik 11 dolias (4.753 g - M. F.) of high standard gold, and is equal to 20-21 Khoqand tangas. A tanga is a silver coin weighing 77 apothecary grains (?!- M. F. 1/16g x77 = 4.812 g) and is equal to about 20 silver kopecks (which, by the way means that a tilla should be equal [20 x 20 or 20 x 21] to 4 or 4.2 silver roubles - M. F.). A Bukharan chervonets in Bukhara costs 30 (?! - M. F.) tangas, a Khoqandian chervonets in Bukhara costs 17 tangas. The value of the Bukharan chervonets in Khoqand is equal to that of the native one. The copper coin in Khoqand and Bukhara is called a pūl. It is cast of red copper. Twenty-four pūls are equal to 1 tanga. A tanga is equal to 4 mirs. Six pūls are equal to 1 mir" (i.e. mīrī - M. F.). This passage, however, needs some commentary and correcting. Valikhanov got certain things wrong because he mixed former with contemporary information. A tanga weighing 4.8 g and a Bukhāran tilla equal to 30 tangas never existed in the nineteenth century. This information relates to the eighteenth century, to the time before the monetary reform of 1785 in Bukhārā. Prior to this reform the decreed weight of a tanga was 1 mithqāl (4.8g) and, according to the Russian officer, Philip Efremov (who was in Bukhārā circa 1774-1781), there were tangas "half silver and half copper" which were at 30 to a tilla. After the reform of 1785 the weight of a tanga was decreed as 7/10 mithqāl, i.e. 3.36 g. The new tanga contained 95% pure silver. These tangas were usually 19, 20, or 21 to a tilla.

Valikhanov's statement that a Khoqandian tilla cost 17 tangas in Bukhārā while in Khoqand both Bukhāran and native tillas cost 20-21 tangas is interesting. It reflects the policy of the Bukhārā amīrate authorities, which, in this way, probably tried to prevent the circulation of Khoqandian tillas in Bukhārā. That both types of tilla had the same standard and weight is clearly shown by the fact that both coins had the same exchange rate in the Khoqand khānate.

The ratio of tanga and copper coins (fulūs and pūls) was also not constant and changed depending on the weight of copper coins and the state of the market. Thus in the Khoqand khānate a tanga was equal to 24, 36, 40, 45 or 60 copper coins at various times.

According to N. N. Pantusov (History 1984, 545) there was free minting of gold and silver coins in the Khoqand khānate. The mint of Khoqand produced tillas and tangas from gold and silver brought in by people, provided that duties and expenses were paid. So from 1000 tillas minted one had to pay 30 tillas, i.e. 3%. Having brought 1 yamb (chinese standard silver ingot with an average weight of about 1.85 kg) one had to pay 2 tillas or 40-42 tangas. By comparison with Bukhārā (in 1893), this was twice as much in seigneurage. In Bukhārā 576 tangas were minted from 1 yamb. Twenty tangas were deducted and the customer got 556 tangas (Burnasheva 1966, 271-273). The Khāns of Khoqand robbed their subjects ruthlessly, imposing heavy taxes and duties. That was why the mint in Khoqand charged twice as much for minting tangas from silver brought in by customers as in Bukhārā. When you think about it, however, 20 from 576 tangas deducted by the mint in Bukhārā is 3.5% which is close to the 3% deducted by the mint in Khoqand for striking tillas. So perhaps there is a mistake somewhere and the mint in Khoqand deducted not 40 but 20 tangas for minting coins from one yamb, i.e not 2 but 1 tilla? Then it would be the same as at the mint of Bukhārā.

According to travellers who visited the Khoqand khānate in the 19th century, in addition to the coins of Khoqand, there were used in Farghāna tillas, tangas (sometimes even fulūs) minted in Bukhārā and Khīva, because the tillas and tangas minted there were of the same weight and standard as the coins of Khoqand. A certain amount of Indian rupees, Afghān coins and Persian shāhīs and 'abbāsīs were also used as well as Chinese yambs. So F. Nazarov (1968, 43), who visited Khoqand in 1813-1814, presented 'Umar Khān with 2 guns and 2 pistols and was presented with 1500 rupees. In the third quarter of the 19th century Russian coins were used in the Khoqand khānate. A silver rouble was worth 5 tangas. A gold coin (5 roubles) was worth 25 tangas.

The picture of money circulation in the Khoqand khānate would not be complete without some information on prices there. Nazarov(1968, 44, 46, 57, 58) provides information (rather specific) on prices in 1813-1814. A good thoroughbred stallion cost 40-100 tillas, a *crechet* (a white hunting hawk) - 40 tillas, a slave - 40 tillas. Every week a Khoqandian soldier was given a half-year old sheep, 7 pounds of bread and 7 zolotniks (29.86 g) of tea. Judging by what happened in the Bukhārā amīrate, a soldier was also paid some money (at least a tilla per month) but Nazarov was probably not aware of this.

In the 1850s (Ploskikh 1977, 242; Radlov 1989, 213, 17, 18; Fedorov 1991, 61-2) prices in the Khoqand khānate were as follows. One tilla could buy 218.4 kg of wheat (10.92 kg/tanga) or 393.12 kg djugara (sorghum) (19.66 kg/tanga). But in a year of bad harvest prices rose 3-4 times to 3.27-2.73 kg for a tanga. A pair of boots cost 10 tangas, a fur coat 2 tillas (40 tangas). A sheep cost 8 tangas, a cow 2.5 tillas (50 tangas), a bull (or ox) 4-6 tillas (80-120 tangas). Silk and half-silk fabrics cost (in tillas) per length: *sha(h)i* 16-25, *gulbara* 9-11, *par-parcha* 7-12, *duruya* 5.5-9, *padsha(h)i* 4.5- 5, *behasab* 3.5-8, *saranzha* 2-4. Cotton fabrics cost from 1 to 25 tangas per length (i.e. 0.05-1.25 tilla). By way of comparison: in 1868 in Katta Qūrghān prices for a length (5.69 m) of cotton fabric (in tangas) were: *boz (biaz) and kalami* 3, *alacha* 3.5, *astar* 1.5 tangas.

In the 1870s prices in Khoqand and its suburbs were as follows. In 1870 a tilla could buy: 84 kg of wheat (4.2 kg/tanga), 118 kg of rice (5.9 kg/tanga), 128 kg of djugara (6.4 kg/tanga), 65 kg cotton (3.25 kg/tanga). In 1871 a tilla could buy: 117 kg wheat (5.85 kg/tanga), 194.5 kg of rice (9.75 kg/tanga), 231 kg of djugara (11.55 kg/tanga), 67.5 kg of cotton (3.375 kg/tanga). In 1875 a tilla could buy: 164 kg of wheat (8.2 kg/tanga), 174 kg of rice (8.7 kg/tanga), 246 kg of djugara (12.3 kg/tanga), 82 kg of cotton (4.1 kg/tanga). In 1876(?) a tilla could buy 174 kg of wheat (8.7 kg/tanga). One should bear in mind that prices in the capital and its suburbs were of course higher than in the provinces. Moreover, from 1850s prices could rise. The comparison of prices shows that the year 1875 provided the best harvest and prices were the cheapest. So in 1870 you could get 84 kg of wheat for a tilla and, in 1875, 164 kg, about twice as much. Other prices in the 1870s were: an ox - 6.5 tilla (70 tanga); a millstone - 90, 60, 58 tangas; 1-1.5 kg meat - one tanga; 5.12 kg black raisins - 2.75 tangas; 22 flat loaves of bread one tanga; a flat cake cost 2-3 coppers; mash (small green beans) 7.2-7.45 kg for a tanga. A labourer received 1.75 tangas a day for earthing up cotton plants (Ploskikh, Fedorov 1990, 46-47).

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Illustrations

Gold tillas

1. Khoqand. 1261/1262 (1845/1845-6). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
2. Khoqand. 1265 (1848-9). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
3. Khoqand. 1269/1270 (1852-3/1853-4). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
4. Khoqand. 1273 (1856-7). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
5. Khoqand. 1275 (1858-9). Muḥammad Malla.
6. Khoqand. 1280 (1863-4). Muḥammad Sayyid Sulṭān.

Silver tangas

7. Khoqand. 1241 (1825-6). Muḥammad ʿAlī b. ʿUmār.
8. Khoqand. 1255 (1839-40). Muḥammad ʿAlī.
9. Khoqand. 1261/1262 (1845/1845-6). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
10. Khoqand. 1266 (1849-50). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
11. Khoqand. 1271 (1854-5). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
12. Khoqand. 1276 (1859-60). Muḥammad Malla.
13. Khoqand. 1280 (1863-4). Muḥammad Sayyid Sulṭān.
14. Khoqand. 1282 (1865). Khudāy Qulī.
15. Khoqand. 1284 (1867-8). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
16. Khoqand. 1287 (1870-1). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
17. Khoqand. 1292 (1875). Muḥammad Khudāyār.
18. Khoqand. 1292 (1875). Muḥammad Fūlād.

Copper fulūs and billon dirhem.

19. Khoqand. No date. Anonymous. Fulūs.
20. Khoqand. No date. Anonymous. Fulūs.
21. Khoqand. 1269 (1852-3). Anonymous. Fulūs.
22. Khoqand. 1277 (1860-1). Anonymous. Fulūs.
23. Khoqand. 1280 (1863-4). Anonymous. Fulūs.
24. Khoqand. No date. Anonymous. Dirhem (Mīrī). Silverplated copper.

The coins illustrated are from the collection of the Forschungsstelle für islamische Numismatik Orientalisches Seminar der Universität Tübingen and can be found in Tobias Mayer, *Sylloge Numorum Arabicorum Tübingen. Nord- und Ostzentralasien, XV b Mittelasien II*, Tübingen Berlin, Ernst Wasmuth, 1998, Nr. (Picture 1) 459, 464, 473, 482, 486, 487, 460, (Picture 2) 462, 465, 467, 471, 475, 480, 485, 488, 492, 496, 500, 502, (Picture 3) 466, 468, 474, 476, 478, 484. Photographs kindly provided by Lutz Ilisch.


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