



# ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

## NEWSLETTER

## No. 175

Spring 2003

### 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.

#### Members News

The book *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates* by your Editor and JP Goenka has been awarded this year's Shamma prize by the Royal Numismatic Society of London. This prize, established in 1992 by the late Samir Shanma, is awarded bi-annually for the book or articles(s) published, normally and preferably, in English during the previous three years and which is adjudged to be most useful to students of Islamic numismatics.

#### Obituary

We regret to report the recent, sudden death on 8 April 2003 in the Netherlands of Gerrit Bijl, aged 63. Gerrit was a collector of Islamic coinage and had lived for some time in Canada before returning to his native country. We send our condolences to his family and friends.

#### Annual General Meeting

The Annual General Meeting of the Society will be held on 7 June 2003 at 1 p.m. at the London Coin Fair at the Holiday Inn, Bloomsbury, Coram Street, London WC1, to transact the following business:

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

After the formal business of the meeting there will be two lectures: the Michael Broome and Ken Wiggins memorial lectures. Speakers are Vrasha Shirgaonkar, Head of the Department of History, R. N. Ruia College, University of Mumbai, India, who will give a talk on Tokens in Maharashtra from a socio-religious perspective and Cécile Bresc of the British Museum, who will talk on Islamic-style coinage struck by the Christian rulers of Spain, Sicily and Jerusalem.

### London

#### Oxford

On 24 May 2003 there will be a one-day seminar entitled

"Coinage and Buddhism" organised by the Heberden Coin Room, Ashmolean Museum and the Oriental Numismatic Society. The venue will be the Headley Lecture Theatre in the Ashmolean Museum. The seminar is due to start at 11.00.

The scheduled programme consists of four papers as follows:

1. Madhuvanti Ghose, Department of Eastern Art, Ashmolean Museum: "Reconsidering the Bimaran casket".
2. Joe Cribb, Keeper-in-charge, Dept. of Coins & Medals, British Museum - on coins and Buddhist iconography
3. Michael Willis, Curator, Dept. of Oriental Antiquities - on Stupa deposits, coins and their significance
4. Shailendra Bhandare, Heberden Coin Room - on money use in the Jatakas.

#### Jena

#### Regional Meeting of the Oriental Numismatic Society in Jena, Germany, 3/4 May 2003

The programme for this year's meeting in Jena will be as follows:

##### Saturday, 3 May 2003

- 14.00 Welcome address
- 14.30 Stefan Heidemann, Jena/Leipzig: The Oriental Collection of the University Library Leipzig.
- 15.00 Thomas Higel, Garmisch-Partenkirchen: The Typology of Axumite Copper Coinage
- 15.45 Coffee break
- 16.15 Klaus Weber, Ebersberg: The Composition of the Alloy of Byzantine Electrum Scyphates and its Impact on the Minting Technology
- 17.00 Dietrich Schnädelbach, Bonn: Silver Content and Specific Gravity.
- 19.00 Dinner and Informal Meeting at the "Schwarzen Baer", Lutherplatz 1, Jena

##### Sunday, 4 May 2004

- 9.15 Susan Tyler-Smith, UK: Calendars and Coronations - the Numismatic and Literary Evidence for the Accession of Khusraw II.
- 10.00 Lutz Ilisch, Tuebingen: North African Imitations of Umayyad and Abbasid Dirhams
- 10.45 Coffee break
- 11.15 Sule Pfeifer-Tas, Vienna: Recent Numismatic Research from Austrian Excavations in Anatolia
- 12.00 Discussion of unidentified oriental coins

13.00 Lunch

There will be an attendance fee of 15 €, free for students.

**Organisation:**

PD Dr. Stefan Heidemann

Institut für Sprachen und Kulturen des Vorderen Orients

Lehrstuhl für Semitische Philologie und Islamwissenschaft

– Orientalisches Münzkabinett –

Oberassistent

Löbdergraben 24a, D-07743 Jena

+49 (0341) 9737207 (Leipzig)

+49 (03641) 944864 (Jena)

+49 (03641) 944850 (Skr.)

e-mail: x7hest@uni-jena.de

**New and Recent Publications**

Vega Martín, Miguel and Salvador Peña Martín: "Adiciones al corpus califal omeya andalusi, a partir de los fondos del Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Granada", *Gaceta Numismática* (Barcelona: Asociación Numismática Española) 148 (March, 2003), p. 31-41.

Some forty unpublished varieties of Umayyad Andalusí coins are described.

**Lists Received**

1. Stephen Album (PO Box 7386, Santa Rosa, Calif. 95407, USA; tel ++1 707 539 2120; fax ++1 707 539 3348; album@sonic.net) lists 186 (Feb. 2003), 187 (April 2003).
2. Jean Elsen s.a. (Tervurenlaan 65, B-1040 Brussel, Belgium; tel ++32 2 734 6356; fax ++32 2 735 7778; numismatique@elsen.be; www.elsen.be) list 224 (Jan.-April 2003) includes some 220 items of oriental interest.
3. Randy Weir Numismatics Ltd. (PO Box 64577, Unionville, Ontario, Canada L3R 0M9; tel ++1 905 947 1162; fax ++1 905 947 1104) price list March 2003 includes a number of British Indian and Presidency coins.

**Auction News**

As previously mentioned, Baldwin's Auctions were due to hold their next sales on 6 and 7 May. The general auction on 6 May had some 300 lots of Indian coins of all periods while the Islamic sale on the following day had almost 600 lots of Islamic coins and medals from a wide range of dynasties and issuing authorities.

Another London auction company, Morton & Eden Ltd (45 Maddox Street, London W1S 2PE, tel ++44 20 7493 5344; info@mortonandeden.com) are due to hold a sale on 21 May including some 200 lots of Islamic coins amongst which is a collection of over 200 Arab-Sasanian silver drachms.

**Other News**

*The Iraq Museum*

Members will by now be all too aware of the disastrous looting of the Iraq Museum in Baghdad and other museums in that country. At a conference held in the British Museum on 29 April this year a representative of the Iraq Museum informed those present that the bulk of the coin collection had been removed from the museum and stored in a bank vault. The coins that had been on display in the museum had been removed into what was hoped to be safe storage elsewhere in the museum. So far the curators have not had access to the bank or to the area of the museum to which the coins on display were removed. It is



therefore not known whether the coins are still safe. More information will be supplied in due course. The whole coin collection was apparently catalogued on index cards and it is hoped that these are still extant. Some coins from the collection have been illustrated in the past, notably in an Arabic publication entitled *al-Maskukat*. That magazine has also included details of new acquisitions.

### Gold-fragments of the 11<sup>th</sup> Century Found in the Citadel of Damascus

By Stefan Heidemann, University of Jena

In Syria during the 11<sup>th</sup> century tiny fragments of imported gold coins from Egypt and Byzantium, together with imported Byzantine copper coins in northern Syria, constituted the main means for daily purchases. Such was the belief, reconstructed from historical texts. An excavation in the citadel of Damascus has brought to light important confirmation of this monetary situation.

Complaints about the circulation of gold-coin fragments (sing. *qurada*) are found frequently in chronicles and handbooks of market regulations (*hisba*) as well as the demand for complete coins (sing. *sahih*). Because of a shortage of coins and small change in particular, the few gold coins available were cut into pieces in order to serve the needs of circulation. In Syria these gold coins were imported from Fatimid Egypt and Byzantium. The circulation of fragmented coins violated the *riba* (usury) prohibitions of the Qur'an. The people accepted the real loss in value of a complete coin in fragmenting a dinar in order to have small change for their daily purchases while retaining the remainder. Islamic law, however, forbids the same quantity of gold from being valued differently, which is what the people did. Hitherto, these *riba* rules and the discussion about gold fragments were known only from texts; there was no archaeological confirmation for the circulation of the gold *quradat* in Syria during the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

A Syrian-French excavation in the citadel of Damascus under the direction of Edmond el-Ajji, Direction Générale des Antiquités et des Musées de Syrie, and Sophie Berthier, Institut Français du Proche Orient (IFPO), has now corroborated these mediaeval sources. Two tiny fragments of a Fatimid dinar (0.19 g) and of a Byzantine gold nomisma of Constantine X (1059-1067 AD) (1.14 g) were found.



The present author took part in the team as historian and numismatist in March 2003. The fragments are the "missing link" for the economic history in Syria during the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The reconstruction of the historical monetary economy of this time is important for the analysis of the economic renaissance of the Syrian and northern Mesopotamian cities after a period of decline and Bedouin domination on the eve of the advance of the crusaders (cp. S. Heidemann, *Die Renaissance der Städte*, Leiden 2002, chapter V). Such gold fragments from 11<sup>th</sup> century Syria were previously unknown. The closest comparable examples are a gold-fragment from the 9<sup>th</sup> century from Tall al-Bi'a/al-Raqqa on the Euphrates and another from the excavation of Persepolis in Fars, probably from the Seljuq period (G. C. Miles, *Excavation Coins from the Persepolis Region*, New York 1959, p. 83, no. 861). The reasons for this lack of archaeological evidence were manifold. Gold coins are usually found in hoards. People preferred complete coins for hoarding. Numismatic collections, too, prefer perfect specimens. Moreover, tiny, irregular fragments

rarely catch the eyes of archaeologists and their assistants. A full report of the coin finds from Damascus is in preparation.

### Review

*The Currency of Tibet, A Sourcebook for the Study of Tibetan Coins, Paper Money and other Forms of Currency*, by Wolfgang Bertsch, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, Dharamsala, 2002. Pp.viii, 158 & Pl.XVIII. A limited number of copies are available from the author for Euro 25 within Europe, or US\$ 27 (surface mail) or US\$ 33 (air mail).

After his excellent book on the banknotes of Tibet, Wolfgang Bertsch is to be congratulated on producing this very fine sourcebook for the study of Tibetan numismatics, in the broadest sense. The volume starts with a concise, but useful, introduction to the currency of Tibet, including descriptions of the denominations, the system of weights and the eras used. There follows a remarkably complete bibliography of nearly eight hundred books and articles in a variety of languages, including several unpublished works, which give useful information on the subject. The bibliography is divided into eleven different sections, covering not only information on coins and banknotes, but also on Tibetan medals and militaria, on the coins of neighbouring countries such as Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan, and of the Xi Xia Kingdom. In many cases the information is either summarised, usually in English, making this book essential reading for everyone who has an interest in any aspect of Tibetan currency or economic history. Many articles in Chinese are listed, which, as the author states, complement the information available in European languages, as many of these works make use of the Tibetan Government Mint records, which have never been studied by any western authors. The author generously acknowledges the help of several other workers in the field, including the late Dr Karl Gabrisch, who had many of the Chinese articles translated into German at his own expense. The author apologises that his coverage of Tibetan works is probably incomplete, as he has not been able to find a Tibetan speaker, able to assist him with locating works in the Tibetan language, but otherwise there can be few useful references that have escaped Mr Bertsch's attention.

The quality of printing is high, although it is unfortunate that the illustrations of the coins are not all printed on the same scale. Misprints do exist, but these are few and far between, and the information presented is generally completely reliable. An exception occurs twice on p.32, where two references to coins issued in 1753/4 are made – these references should, of course, refer to 1763/4. In a very few cases extensive excerpts from books are quoted in the original language, namely German, French or Italian, whereas a translation of these excerpts into English would have been more useful to the reader unfamiliar with these European languages. However I really have to look hard to find anything to criticise in this remarkable book, which will make the whole subject of Tibetan numismatics much more accessible to students than it has been to date. It is to be hoped that it will assist future serious research perhaps, as the author suggests, involving co-operation between European and Chinese scholars.

Nicholas Rhodes

### Articles

#### A Correction and a Re-Assertion

by Alan S. DeShazo

#### Correction

I stated in my article "The Two Governors 'Abd al-'Aziz b. 'Abd Allah" that was published in the ONS Newsletter no. 164 that Umayyah b. 'Abd Allah was appointed to the governorship of Khurasan by his brother Khalid b. 'Abd Allah advancing this as an example of nepotism. Although such familial practices were



common then as in any culture then and now, in this case Umayyah, a personal favourite of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, was appointed by him even over protests lodged against this promotion that were justified by citing, perhaps unfairly, a military defeat that Umayyah had suffered while fighting against the Kharijite, Abu Fudayk.

#### Re-Assertion

In my article in ONS Newsletter no. 165 on a partially identified "Ibn Mālik", I asserted that the father's name of the governor or prefect named on a coin of Veh-Az-Amid-Kavad was Mālik and that this man was possibly a son of the prominent Basran, Mālik b. Misma'. It may be that my identification of this kinship is not correct, but I am re-asserting my reading of his father's name. Album has disputed this<sup>1</sup>, writing that the letters that I read as YK "...most closely resembles the standard form of H". However if you will examine his plate 11, numbers 152-155, drachms of 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allāh, it is very clear that the letters YK that come at the end of Malik are formed exactly the same as those that come at the end of Mālik on the "Ibn Mālik" coin. The Y is joined to the following K, and the K is a full semi-circle. Both of these features are on all of these coins.

1 Album, Stephen *Syloges of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean*, Vol. 1, Ashmolean Museum Oxford, 2000, p. 33, f.n. 183.

### Three interpretations of the Islamic 'Silver Famine/Crisis'

By Robert Tye

Stephen Album<sup>1</sup> and Michael Federov<sup>2</sup> have recently given us alternative accounts of the disappearance of silver coin from Islam during the later 10<sup>th</sup> to early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Both are usefully concise and to the point. The purpose of this note is to outline a third, alternative, account in the same concise manner, an account that seems to me to be at present better corroborated. As things stand however all these accounts lack adequate textual corroboration, and I would be delighted to receive any contributions bearing on that matter, (direct to robert\_tye@onetel.net.uk or perhaps via discussion on ICG?)

Album writes of two opposing theories for this disappearance of silver coin. He mentions first a traditional theory, that the lack of silver coin arises from absolute shortage of silver available within Islam. This is broadly what Federov proposes for the 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. That virtually the entire stock of silver in Islamic lands from the Near East to Eastern Persia was exported to Russia and Scandinavia, and that simultaneously silver mines accessible to Islam became unproductive. There are several problems with this theory. Firstly, for all the silver to be drained from any A to any B solely due to price variation, we have to assume either that the demand in A is zero, or the demand in B is infinite<sup>3</sup>. Both are extraordinary states of affairs that themselves demand further explanation, but none is given.

Secondly, throughout the period in question Eastern Afghanistan produces large volumes of silver coins (from Ghazni especially), and also held large reserves of uncoined silver bullion. If the demand from Russian merchants could drain remote Syria of its silver - why not nearby Afghanistan?

Thirdly, evidence presented by Lieber<sup>4</sup> suggests there were large volumes of hoarded silver stocks within Islam even outside Afghanistan during the so called silver famine/crisis.

Album's second theory, attributed to Deyell and others, suggests that Islamic governments of the 'silver crisis' period found it advantageous to produce billon coin to replace those of better silver. Two problems with this theory immediately spring to mind. Firstly, if billon were to replace silver coin, then huge volumes of it would have had to be struck. But Album himself admits these issues are now mostly rare. His explanation, which seems to be shared by Ilisch, is that the billon coins were (a) little hoarded and (b) of unstable alloy. (a) If we look at say contemporary NW India, the source of Deyell's conjecture, we

find huge numbers of Indian billon pieces survive. Likewise, would anyone venture that (say) late 3<sup>rd</sup> century Roman antoniniani are rare? The same is seen to be true of all billon producing zones throughout history. Where billon coin replaced silver it was normally hoarded and thus specimens survive in large quantities. Album gives us no good reason to expect matters to differ in this case. (b) if, alternatively, it is claimed that the coins were buried but failed to survive due to defective alloy, we are entitled to ask - what were these defects? Aside from these considerations, it was my conclusion, (published elsewhere), that Deyell's original conjecture, even in its Indian context, is fatally flawed<sup>5</sup>.

I propose a third theory, that most Islamic governments abandoned silver coin production in the period under discussion. Much of the silver was hoarded<sup>6</sup>, some was exported. The rather trivial quantities of billon subsequently produced in most areas represented a small fraction of the silver bullion stocks and were not a viable alternative medium of exchange. In such circumstances, it seems the majority of the population were inevitably hindered in participating in a market economy, and were necessarily driven towards serfdom. This theory explains why so much silver was exported to Northern lands - it was because within most of Islam demand for silver as a coining metal was (as is implicit in Federov) almost zero. This also explains the hoarding of silver as ornaments - because governments no longer facilitated its use as coin.

Crucially, it also explains the aberration of Eastern Afghanistan, since we know from Shabankara<sup>7</sup> that at the time of the abandonment of silver coin in the rest of Islam, in Afghanistan Sebuktegin specifically took steps to ensure that army pay was figured in coin, and was not feudally organised. To the best of my understanding, this third theory is so far alone in being given any basis in medieval texts. I find it hard to believe there is not more evidence to be had if the contemporary texts are thoroughly searched, and I would be grateful to hear more from our specialist members.

<sup>1</sup> *A Checklist of Islamic Coins*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, page 10

<sup>2</sup> *ONS Newsletter 173*, Autumn 2002, page 3

<sup>3</sup> On any simple model, price is proportional to demand & demand is inversely proportional to supply. As metal leaves Persia, for instance, Persian demand and thus price, should increase until the price is equalised with Russia, and flow stops. If all the silver goes, it must mean either that demand in Persia is zero - or that the simple model does not work...

<sup>4</sup> Alfred E Lieber "Did a 'silver crisis' in Central Asia affect the flow of Islamic coins into Scandinavia and eastern Europe", in: K. Jonsson, B. Malmer (edd.), *Sigtuna Papers*, London 1990, 207-212.

<sup>5</sup> See Robert Tye, review article in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 1991, pp 275-7 NC

<sup>6</sup> See Allouche, 'Mamluq Economics' Utah 1995 especially pages 71 & 81 for a different, but, in some ways, related episode in 14<sup>th</sup> century Egypt. In this case the silver was apparently replaced by an alternative (copper) medium, but the contemporary account details very clearly that this change to the currency was the result of government action, and that its upshot was hoarding of silver, and disappearance of silver coin.

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, p. 125

### An unpublished denaro minted in Sicily.

by Giuseppe Di Martino

Interest in the coins minted in Sicily during the period of the Islamic revolt against Frederick II Hohenstaufen (lasting from the beginning of his reign until 1246), began in 1975 following Franco D'Angelo's article describing an unpublished denaro that was probably minted in Sicily by Muhammad ibn 'Abbad.

At the beginning of 1999 I had the opportunity to examine and to take a picture of an interesting coin with Arabic inscriptions from a private collection in Palermo. From the very first moment it seemed unequivocally to be an issue of Muhammad ibn 'Abbad.

The coin has a diameter of 14 mm and weighs 0.6 g. The surface is covered by a pleasant brown-green patina, but the metal



seems to be a low silver alloy. The diameter, the weight and the Arabic epigraphic style are very similar to the coin published by D'Angelo, but the arrangement and content of the inscriptions are completely different.

On both of sides the inscriptions are written around a dotted circle, and the last word of the inscription is written in the center, a typical feature of the coeval Sicilian Hohenstaufen denari, on which the word in the centre of each side is the conclusion of the phrase in the outer margin.



**Obverse**

On the obverse outer circle, we can read :

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول

Into the inner circle : الله

Trans. : There's no God except Allah Muhammad is the messenger of - Allah

**Reverse**

The reverse outer circle has :

محمد بن عباد امير المسلمين

and in the inner circle : بصقلية

Trans. : Muhammad ibn 'Abbad Commander of the Muslims - in Sicily

In my first publication of this coin in Switzerland (see the bibliography) the unclear word "muslimin" on the coin was read as "mu'minin", "the faithful". The difference is very important, because "Amir al-Mu'minin" is a caliphal title that indicates supreme rule, including religious leadership, over all Muslims everywhere. Muhammad ibn 'Abbad never claimed to be more than the military leader of the Muslims of Sicily.

To banish any uncertainty about the exact reading of the word "bi-Siqilliyah" ( trans. "in, or of Sicily" ) the writing of which is distorted, I took advantage of advice from Stephen Album, Michael Bates and Jeremy Johns, whom I sincerely thank.

This new discovery proves that these coins were minted in Sicily, and shed new light on this interesting period of Sicilian history.

**Bibliography :**

**Franco D'Angelo**, La monetazione di Muhammad Ibn 'Abbad emiro ribelle a Federico II di Sicilia, rivista di "Studi magrebini" a cura dell' Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, 1975.  
**Paul Balog**, La monetazione della Sicilia araba e le sue imitazioni nell'Italia meridionale, Gabrieli - Scerrato, Gli Arabi in Italia, Milano, 1979, p. 628.  
**Maria Amalia De Luca**, Le monete con leggenda araba della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo, Palermo 1998, p. 391.  
**Giuseppe Di Martino**, Un denaro inedito battuto in Sicilia, Schweizer Münzblätter, Berna, june 2002, p. 23.  
**Vincenzo Tarascio**, Siciliae nummi cuphici, Acireale 1990, p. 164.

**Sogdian gold bracteates – documents of the cultural exchange along the ancient silk-road**

by Wilfried Pieper

An interesting aspect of the cultural exchange between East and West along the ancient silk roads can be found in the depictions of a series of rare Central Asian gold bracteates, one-sided, thin and low-weight coin-like gold objects, which came to light mainly in the territories of ancient Sogdiana. Six such bracteates from the 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century AD, found in ancient Penjikent from 1947-1995, have been published by Valentina Raspopova<sup>1</sup>. Ten more are known from other places. The intention of this article is to bring to notice five more gold bracteates from the collection of the author. Their provenance was stated as modern Uzbekistan, i.e. ancient Sogdiana.

*Silk road trade<sup>2</sup>*

For more than 1000 years the silk-road trade connected China with Central Asia, Afghanistan, Persia and the Mediterranean world. Trade flourished until it was interrupted by the increasing Arab occupation of Central Asia in the early 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. The trade routes ran from Loyang and Changan to Yü-men-kuang and Dun-Huang. From there the caravans had two alternatives routes for crossing the Tarim basin. They could take a northern route along Loulan and Kucha until they reached Kashghar or they could take a southern route over Miran, Endere and Khotan to Kashghar. At Kashgahr one had the choice between a southern route through Bactria and a northern route through Sogdiana until both routes finally joined up again at Merv in the Margiane. The southern 'Bactrian' route ran from Kashghar across the river Oxus and then along the southern course of the Oxus to Baktra and from there to Merv. The northern, 'Sogdian' route ran from Kashghar over Penjikent, Samarkand and Bukhara to Merv.

It is obvious that Sogdiana, this ancient Central Asian transit station located north of Bactria beyond the Oxus in the river basins of the Zaravshan and the Kashkadarya in modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, played an important role in the international trade of the time. Like everywhere along the ancient silk roads it was more than just an exchange of material goods that took place between East and West. It was also a mutual exchange of the different ways of life regarding cultural achievements, arts and different ideas about religion and conceptions of the world.

*History of ancient Sogdiana*

Sogdiana enters documented history as an important province, first of the Achaemenid Empire, and then as a part of Alexander's eastern conquests. After Alexander's death, Sogdiana remained under the rule of his successors in the east until, between 208 and 206 BC, it gained its independence during the reign of the Graeco-Bactrian king, Euthydemos I<sup>3</sup>. Already around 130 BC it was again subdued by a foreign power when the Yueh-Chi invaded the country. The leading clan of the Yueh-Chi, the Kushan, built a vast empire and extended their realm southwards far into Indian territories at the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. At this time Sogdiana, now on the northern fringe of the Kushan Empire, was once again able to declare its independence. Sogdiana's role throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD is somewhat uncertain but in any case its political affairs were to a large extent influenced by the Sasanian Empire. At the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD, Sogdiana was conquered by the Hephthalites who made it the northern part of their central Asian realm. When the Hephthalites were driven away by the new masters of the region, Sogdiana became a province of the Western Turkish Khanate under its Yabghou, Istemi in 560 AD. At the end of the reign of Tardou, Istemi's successor, the Western Turkish Khanate began to disintegrate resulting in a new phase of Sogdiana's independence from about 585 AD onwards, though Turkish influence remained strong throughout the 7<sup>th</sup> century. With the Arab occupation of the region Sogdiana became a part of the Islamic Caliphate in the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. The destruction of the city of Penjikent in 760 AD was the final deathblow and the end of Sogdiana's existence as a political entity. Archaeological activities



on the territories of ancient Sogdiana have focused on the ancient site of Penjikent. The splendour of the excavated houses and temples adorned with rich decorations and wall paintings and the large number of shops bear witness to the wealth of its inhabitants, which reached its zenith in the 7<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup> century AD. Not far from Penjikent at Mount Mug, where the Arab invaders are said to have crucified the last ruler of Sogdiana, the archaeologists found a highly informative archive of the Sogdian rulers. This archive served as an important document for language, script and culture of ancient Sogdiana<sup>4</sup>.

#### *Sogdian coinages*

Because of the different foreign powers who ruled ancient Sogdiana, the coinage of this country is quite diverse. The political constitution of the country, which seems to have favoured the existence of independent or semi-independent city-states, makes the numismatic picture even more colourful because a number of cities in different parts of the country favoured and issued different coin types. Prominent among the early coins found on the territory of ancient Sogdiana are those of the Achaemenids, Seleucids and Graeco-Bactrians. And we also find their local imitations and derivations using such well-known reverse designs as the standing king attacking a standing lion, seated Herakles, seated Zeus, a forepart of a horse, a standing archer or a standing spearholder. The obverse of all these pieces characteristically depicts a human head. Initially these portrait depictions are derived from coins portraying rulers like Alexander the Great or Euthydemus I in profile to right; later, especially on the Sogdian copper coins, we find a number of portraits of local rulers. These local rulers are shown in profile either looking right or left, but the most characteristic and favoured depiction was the ruler's portrait facing in a three quarter perspective.

A strong influence on the coinages of Sogdiana, especially on that of Bukhara, was also that of Sasanian coin types. A long-lasting series of silver drachms, mainly derived from Sasanian drachms of Varhan V (421-438), were issued in the Bukhara region from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD in increasing degrees of stylisation. Sasanian influence is likewise reflected in the use of the fire-altar as the reverse design for a number of the local coppers of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. And Chinese influence, which was especially strong in central Asia under the Tang dynasty in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, left its numismatic traces in Sogdiana as well. Chinese influence is reflected in a series of pseudo-Chinese cash coins; among them are specimens which retain Chinese characters and specimens on which Chinese characters are replaced by Sogdian letters, tamghas or other symbols which are arranged around the square hole in the center of the coin. Some of these types just imitate a centre hole by placing a square frame in the centre of the cash-like coin. The tamgha was a characteristic Central Asian device which, shaped in a characteristic local fashion, was used on a great number of Sogdian coppers. Other Sogdian copper coins with a special local flavour depict a horse or a camel and others a cat-like animal which has been described as a snow-leopard, an animal with a special affinity to the Sogdian nation. The story goes that when the city of Samarkand was founded a Paljang, a leopard, came from the mountains of Penjikent, roamed through the city and around it and disappeared. Believe it or not, from this time on, the inhabitants of Samarkand are said to resemble the Paljang<sup>5</sup>.

#### *Sogdian gold bracteates published so far*

*(note: the figures mentioned below refer to those in Raspopova's publication)*

Whereas the earlier Sogdian coins, especially such silver types as the Euthydemus imitative coin series, are well known<sup>6</sup>, the study of the diverse copper series had been somewhat neglected. It is mainly due to the efforts of a number of Russian numismatists that meanwhile also thousands of Sogdian copper coins have been catalogued. Prominent among them are scholars like Smirnova<sup>7</sup> Rtveldzhe<sup>8</sup> and Zeymal<sup>9</sup>.

As far as the gold bracteates from Sogdiana are concerned only a few are known, which have recently been described and illustrated by Valentina Raspopova: "In August 1995 a gold bracteate imitating a solidus of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine was discovered in a private house (sector XXVI-N). This find has incited me to collect eight gold coins and coin-like bracteates, which had been found in Penjikent in 1947-1995."<sup>10</sup> Among these eight pieces two (fig.1-2 and fig.3-4) were real coins imitating 5<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine solidi of types of Leo I (457-474 AD) or Leo II (473-474 AD) and of Theodosius II (408-450 AD).

Six of the eight gold objects were bracteates (fig.5-10). "The one-sided bracteate pressed with the coin imitating a solidus of Anastasius I (491-518) was found in the 7-8cc.dwelling (sector XIII). Weight 0.463g, diameter 18mm (fig 5).

Another gold bracteate (weight 0.141g, diameter 21mm) was discovered in the corridor with mural paintings in the house of a Penjikent patrician (sector III, room 138) (fig 6).

The house is datable from the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century to 760-770s AD...The stamp of this bracteate was prepared by a carver, who knew the iconography of some Phokas' and early Heraclius' solidi (602-613) but his work was not an imitation of any Byzantine coin, because the image of the depicted man combines several features of imperial portraiture with the wreath of a martyr."<sup>11</sup> The bracteate, illustrated by Raspopova as fig.7, had been discovered in a late 7<sup>th</sup> century house. It has a diameter of 23mm and a weight of 0.266g. It is an imitation of an early 7<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine gold coin depicting the frontal busts of Heraclius with Heraclius Constantine as a child.

Bracteate, fig.8, found in a temple and depicting Romulus and Remus being nursed by a she-wolf is interpreted by Raspopova as follows: "The iconography of the bracteate is not late Roman: the twins are not sitting, but standing up. The Shahristan mural demonstrates the same Central Asian variant (...). The master of the die tried to imitate a Latin legend because he was aware of the western origin of the Romulus and Remus story which was familiar in Sogdia."<sup>12</sup>

Regarding the last two bracteates, Raspopova has this to say: "The design of two bracteates is far from any coin iconography. One of them bears a figure of a striding warrior with a spear atilt (fig 9).

It was found in a large naus (no.23). Its diameter is about 10mm. The spearman wears a caftan and boots with heels. Near the spearhead the ribbon is tied. Analogues to this figure can be seen in the Tokharistan silverware: on the bowl from Perm in the Hermitage Museum (...) and on the so-called 'Bactrian bowl' in the Freer Gallery (...). These vessels are not later than the 5<sup>th</sup> century...The other bracteate (weight 2.6g, diameter 21mm) was discovered in a closet in the early 8c. house of a wealthy citizen of Penjikent (...). The composition contains a completely reinterpreted image of the Sasanian fire-altar with two lines of the Arabic (Cufic) text at the sides: 'hasabiyu Allahi'-'the tutelage of Allah' (Michael Piotrovsky's reading) and 'barakat'-'the blessing/ from Allah/' (fig 10)...The altar was transformed by the artist. Its column became a human head. The upper slab was treated by him as a crown...This bracteate was made for an Arab or some newly converted native."<sup>13</sup>

Though Penjikent seems to have been the richest source for gold bracteates, a few more have been reported from other places which are also briefly summarised by Raspopova. One, copying the imitation of a gold coin of Theodosius II (408-450), is known from Samarkand. Four bracteates are known from Ustrushana; one fragment of a bracteate, "a very remote barbaric imitation of the solidi of Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine" was found in Andizhan (Ferghana). Archaeological excavations in the Chu valley of Semirechie, conducted in the 40's of the last century by Bernsham, had brought to light four gold bracteates, two of them with local designs, the other two imitating 7<sup>th</sup> century Byzantine coins. It is interesting to note in this context that, together with some other parts of Semirechie, the Chu valley was colonised by Sogdians during the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century AD.



*Sogdian gold bracteates from the collection of the author*

Now let us have a look at my five gold bracteates from Uzbekistan. Most of them bear designs which are so far unreported for Central Asian bracteates. Three of the five pieces can iconographically be traced back to Byzantine, Kushan and Turco-Hephthalite coin types; while, for the other two, which seem to have been produced under Hunnic and local Sogdian art influence, no direct coin prototypes can be given. The finding of hooks and traces of a mount on some pieces indicates that such bracteates had been used as jewellery in antiquity. They are beautiful objects of local Central Asian art and they are important because of their close connection with the coin types which circulated in Central Asia and which were known to the ancient engravers of the bracteates. Especially in the case of gold coins it is of course possible that a certain coin type had been imitated even long after its production and circulation. Gold coins are valuable objects which tend to be hoarded or kept carefully in the possession of a family for long periods. Also one can assume that gold coins were exchanged by traders according to their metal value regardless of whether it was an old coin type or one still in circulation and regardless of whether it was a gold coin from Byzantium or from Central Asia. In any case it is very fascinating to observe how this small collection of five gold bracteates reflects the colourful life along the ancient silk roads in the heart of Central Asia, absorbing and amalgamating a number of different cultural influences.

1. Gold bracteate, weight 0.9g, diameter 20mm, imitating a Byzantine gold solidus or an imitation of a Byzantine gold solidus of the early 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.



*Obv.:* Helmeted, pearl-diademed and cuirassed bust of the emperor, turned slightly to the left, three-quarters facing, holding spear and shield. Corrupt, meaningless legend around. The bracteate has been clipped at the top.

*Rev.:* Obverse design coming through.

The prototype for this imitative piece cannot be determined with certainty due to its crude and meaningless legend. The design was used as a popular obverse design for solidi during the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. Due to some peculiarities, however, I think a solidus of the early 6<sup>th</sup> century or its imitation had served as a model rather than a solidus of the 5<sup>th</sup> century. The depiction of the cuirass is simplified and reduced to a few curved lines. The shield is no longer identifiable and the right hand which should grasp the shaft of the spear is stunted to a simple curved line. The spearhead appearing behind the left side of the head is thick and prominently depicted. The top of the helmet is adorned with a crescent-like decoration as a misunderstood remainder of the original crest. Such a crescent in front or on top of a ruler's headdress was commonly used on a number of Hephthalite and local coin types and, as such, will have been well known to the Central Asian engraver of this bracteate. There is no type among the Byzantine solidi with the same degree of stylisation as described above but it cannot be denied that some of the 6<sup>th</sup> century types depict this design in a less artistic and skilful manner than the earlier types of the series. In this regard, specimens of Justin I (518-527 AD)<sup>14</sup> might be possible candidates sharing even to a certain degree the special features of stylisation which characterise the bracteate. The reason for the clipping of this bracteate was probably to remove a mount, suggesting the use of the bracteate as a piece of jewellery.

2. Gold bracteate, weight 1.8g, diameter 24mm, imitating a gold coin of Vasudeva I of Göbl type 500. Unique.



*Obv.:* Four-armed, three-headed god Siva standing frontally facing in front of a bull. Three of the four arms of the god are raised holding different objects. The bull is standing to the right with a bell around its neck. A tamgha is placed in the right coin field above the bull's head and a pseudo-legend, imitating the Bactrian legend OESHO (=Siva), is placed in the left field. The whole design is enclosed in a circle which is surrounded by a dotted outer circle.

*Rev.:* Obverse design showing through. A hook is attached at the centre of the reverse.

The Siva and bull motif is a popular reverse design used for several coin series of some Kushan kings and their Kushano-Sasanian successors. The scyphate gold pieces of the later Kushano-Sasanians and their Hunnic imitations with their mostly completely obliterated reverse design can certainly be left out of consideration when looking for the prototype of this bracteate. Even if the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD issues of Vima Kadphises have the bull to right, as shown on the bracteate, their overall appearance with the legend running completely around the design is completely different. The standard position for the bull on all other series is standing to left and only a few rare specimens have the bull to right: two gold types of Vasudeva I, Göbl 500 and 506 and a gold type of Vasudeva II, Göbl 525.<sup>15</sup> These specimens have the bull to right with a bell tied around its neck and Siva as a three-headed and four-armed man. Both his right arms are raised, the upper one holding a wreath, the lower one a lotus flower. The upper left arm is grasping a trident, the other left arm is lowered, resting on the bull's hump and holding a bag or a bottle. These special features can also be seen on this bracteate albeit in a cruder and simplified version. In addition to these features only one of the types mentioned, Göbl 500, has the tamgha placed in the right field above the bull's head and the legend in the left field. Therefore, one can safely conclude that it was a specimen of this type, listed by Göbl as the first issue of Vasudeva I, which served as the model for this bracteate. The engraver produced, to the best of his abilities, this charming piece of art, possibly used as a brooch, as the hook on its reverse indicates.

3. Gold bracteate, weight 0.6g, diameter 25mm, probably inspired by Turco-Hephthalite coin types of the late 6<sup>th</sup>/ early 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. Unique.



*Obv.:* Frontally facing male bust, slightly turned to the left, wearing large earrings, necklace and bracelets. Left arm raised, clasp standard which is forked at its top. Uncertain legend or pseudo-legend in left and right field. The whole design is enclosed in a dotted circle which is surrounded by an outer circle.

*Rev.:* Obverse design showing through.

It is difficult to determine a concrete prototype which could have served as a model for the execution of this bracteate. It could of course be that a direct coin prototype might exist but has not come to light as yet. Though some western influence cannot be denied,



Hephthalite or Turco-Hephthalite influence clearly dominates. In fact it is a Turco-Hephthalite coin type of the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, listed by Mitchiner<sup>16</sup> as type 1557, which comes nearest to this bracteate. The Turco-Hephthalite coin depicts a crowned bust three-quarters facing left, holding a standard in his left hand. Though the headdress differs, the general appearance of both pieces is quite similar. The way the standard is clasped by the left hand, anatomically detailed and artistically pretentious, is exactly the same on both pieces, and the jewellery as well is identical. The portrait is that of a clean-shaven man on the bracteate and on the coin. Though the man on the bracteate is turning his head only slightly to the left, it is clear that, a three-quarters perspective is intended, as on the coin. The right ear with the large earring, decorated with pearls, is completely depicted whereas the left ear is not visible at all but only the left earring. Keeping in mind that Sogdiana was part of the Western Turkish Khanate from about 560 to 585 AD, it is no wonder that a Turco-Hephthalite coin was copied when producing this bracteate. This seems to be the first time that a bracteate of this type has come to light.

4. Gold bracteate, weight 1.1g, diameter 25mm, probably modelled under Hunnic and local Sogdian art influences. Unique.



Obv.: Frontally facing bust with beaded headdress, head slightly turned to the right, wearing earrings, necklace and bracelets. Both arms are raised, holding a flower in the right and a branch in the left hand. Pseudo-legend from 10 to 1 o'clock. The whole design is enclosed in a circle.

Rev.: Obverse design showing through.

No direct coin prototype can be determined for this bracteate, which appears to have been modelled under Hun influence. I am very grateful to Dr. Judith Lerner, art historian specialising in the glyptic art of pre-Islamic Greater Iran, who was kind enough to have a close look at this piece. She found it to be reminiscent of a Bactrian seal in the Peshawar Museum, showing the bust of a moustached man with a floral headdress in three-quarters view, who holds a very similar flower in his right hand, which passes in front across his body<sup>17</sup>. Dr. Lerner also drew my attention to another seal, showing a clean-shaven bust in three-quarters view, most likely a goddess, with a small figure kneeling in the right field, holding a tulip towards the bust<sup>18</sup>. As Dr. Lerner suggested, the hair of the bust could be the reference for the beaded headdress on the bracteate. Thanks also to Prof. Sims-Williams who inspected the legend of this bracteate finding it most probably to be a meaningless pseudo-legend. Though there is some Hun influence on style and depiction of this bracteate, I find it interesting that the depiction of a goddess holding a flower or a branch is quite common in local Sogdian art. Thus we know of a good number of terracotta figurines where this can be observed<sup>19</sup>. And as far as the peculiar headdress is concerned, there are some Sogdian coins depicting a frontally facing female bust in a three-quarters view with a comparable headdress or hair style<sup>20</sup>. Although on those coins, the headdress is somewhat more elaborate, one could nevertheless imagine that it served as a model for the more simplified version on the bracteate. So both Hun and local Sogdian art influences seem to have inspired the production of this bracteate. Though it is little more than guesswork, I am inclined to interpret the female-looking figure on this unique piece as a local goddess holding a flower and a branch.

5. Gold bracteate, weight 0.5 g, diameter 22mm, of local style and depiction. Unique.



Obv.: Standing man, facing, a turban on his head, holding a trident and a dagger in his left and a flowing banner in his right hand. Coat-tails extend from both hips. The whole design is enclosed in a circular, double-dotted border.

Rev.: Obverse design showing through.

Though the facial features of the figure on this bracteate are unclear due to a certain indistinctness in the execution of the whole design, the general appearance is that of a man dressed in local fashion. Either he is holding two objects in his left or the object in his left hand is an unusual combination of a trident in its upper part and a dagger in its lower part. The banner, which he is clasping with his right hand, is as well bipartite with a larger eye-shaped upper and a smaller leaf-like lower part flowing in the wind. The whole image gives the impression of a local warrior dressed in trousers, coat and turban. It looks as if ribbons decorated with pearl-like round ornaments at the end are hanging down from the lowest part of the headdress. It is possible that the special iconography of this very interesting and unique bracteate reflects a certain local meaning which is unknown to us.

#### Notes

1. Raspopova, V., "Gold Coins and Bracteates from Pendjikent", in *Coins, Art and Chronology- Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, by Alram, M. and Klimburg-Salter, D.E. (eds.), Wien, 1999, pp.453-460
2. Uhlig, H., *Die Seidenstraße- Antike Weltkultur zwischen China und Rom*, Bergisch-Gladbach, 1986
3. Bopearachchi, O., "The Euthydemus' Imitations and the Date of Sogdian Independence", in *Silk Road Art and Archaeology 2*, The Institute of Silk Road Studies, Kamakura, 1991/92
4. Uhlig, H., *ibid.*, pp.251/52 and for history and archaeology of ancient central Asia see also: Masson, V.M., *Das Land der tausend Städte- Ausgrabungen in der südlichen Sowjetunion*, translated from Russian by Seitz, M.T.E., Berlin, 1987, title of the original: *Strana tysjaci gorodov, Moscow, 1966 and 1981*
5. Masson, V.M., *ibid.*, p.96
6. Mitchiner, M., *The Early Coinage of Central Asia*, London 1973, Mitchiner, M., *Oriental Coins - The Ancient & Classical World*, London, 1978
7. Smirnova, O., *Catalogue of Sogdian Coins/ Csvodnyi Katalog Sogdijskikh Monet: Bronza*, Moscow, 1981
8. Rtveladze, E., *Ancient Coins of Uzbekistan/ Drevnie monety Uzbekistana*, Tashkent 1981 and also Rtveladze, E., *The Ancient Coins of Central Asia*, Tashkent, 1987
9. Zeymal, E.V., "The Circulation of Coins in Central Asia during the early Medieval Period", in *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, vol.8, Bloomfield Hills, 1994
10. Raspopova, V., *ibid.*, p.453
11. Raspopova, V., *ibid.*, p.455
12. Raspopova, V., *ibid.*, p.456
13. Raspopova, V., *ibid.*, p.456
14. Sear, D., *Byzantine Coins and their Values*, London, 1987, see for example type 77a
15. Göbl, R., *Münzprägung des Kusanreiches*, Wien, 1984
16. Mitchiner, M., *Oriental Coins - The Ancient & Classical World*, London, 1978
17. Callieri, P., "Huns in Afghanistan and the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent: The Glyptic Evidence", in *Coins, Art and Chronology - Essays on the pre-Islamic History of The Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, by Alram, M. and Klimburg-Salter, D.E. (eds.), Wien 1999, p.289, plate specimen cat.7.42
18. Callieri, P., *ibid.*, p.289, plate specimen cat.7.45
19. Masson, V.M., *ibid.*, p.105
20. Smirnova, O., *ibid.*, #1480



**More Unpublished Indo-Greek Coins**

By Robert Senior

66) **Euthydemos I** Tetradrachm 16.55 g. This coin corresponds to the unique coin BN 2A found at Susa with opposite die alignment and monogram top right on the reverse. The portrait confirms the early issue of this piece with a portrait identical to that on the gold coins but the eyes are unusual in looking upwards. The compact reverse style is reminiscent of the early imitation Euthydemos coins from Sogdia and it is most likely that this issue circulated there and was a prototype for those imitations.



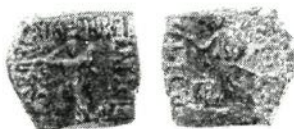
67) **Euthydemos I** Tetradrachm 16.58 g. This coin is an unpublished type without monogram and with parallel die axes. The flan is extremely large and varies between 32 and 33mm. There is slight double striking on the reverse presumably in order to get the full obverse strike. Two things set this coin apart from those already published. Firstly it has a bead and reel border, unknown on Bactrian coins of this ruler or period. In fact such a border first occurs on some rare issues of Demetrios I, Euthydemos' successor. The large flan is also reminiscent of some of the magnificent Demetrios coins. Secondly, the diadem ties are not found on any other silver coin in the name of Euthydemos. They *do* appear however on the unique gold Octodrachm (BN 11). This would imply that this coin was part of some celebratory issue or maybe even a posthumous commemorative issue, though the portrait seems a little young for such.



68) **Hermaios** Drachm 1.74 g. This drachm is of BN issues 6/8 type but bears a monogram not recorded for either type. The obverse shows the horseman diademed without a helmet as on issue 6 but the reverse is as issue 8 with Zeus' right arm outstretched holding a torque. Zeus is also radiate. The throne style differs from either issue 6 or 8. The low weight is due to some edge and surface loss.



69) **Vonones with Spalahores** Square Æ 4.18 g. 17 x 15mm. In 'Indo-Scythian Coins and History' (ISCH) I illustrated two of the very rare 1/2 units of these kings, 66.1a and 66.2a but no example with the monogram as on 66.3 was known at that time. This is the first known example of that variety 66.3a and completes the series for the denomination.



70) **Azilises overstruck on Spalirises** Square Æ 7.63 g. 25 x 25mm. Azilises coppers are found overstruck on the earliest issue of Azes (ISCH 88.10 see notes 1 and 2 on p. 26, volume II) as well as on Vonones with Spalagadames and Spalirises (see note 4 *ibid.*). This coin is one of the latter and clearly shows **both kings'** names on the Azilises obverse. The Spalirises coin is 180° to that of Azilises with the reverse of the former under the obverse of the latter. These overstrikes firmly place Azilises chronologically towards the end of the 'Vonones' group of rulers and overlapping with the earliest of the Azes coinages. His coins do *not* fall between the Azes 'King mounted with Spear' and 'King mounted with Whip' issues.



71) **Azilises** Square Æ unc. wt. Illustrated is a fine example of issue 40.1 showing Lakshmi seated upon an elephant and flanked by two more elephants. The reverse shows the Kharosthi monogram top left but more importantly one can clearly see the deity involved for the first time. She stands left, turreted and holding a brazier in her outstretched right arm. The brazier has sometimes been interpreted as a lotus. Her left arm goes round the stem of a plant that grows from a square, railed enclosure. This plant has several branches sprouting from the point above where her arm rests.. This would no longer seem to be the 'City Deity' as previously identified. The coin lies in a private collection and is illustrated here to show the connection with the next coin.



71

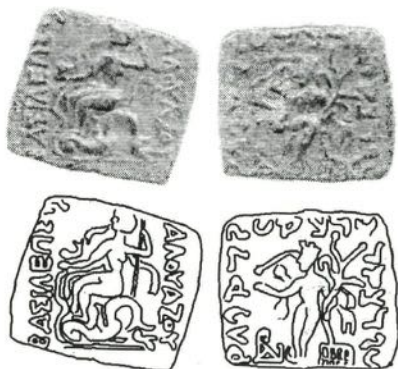
72) **Azes** Square Æ 5.85 g. 22.5 x 20mm. Until the Haripur Hoard surfaced, the Zeus left/Nike right silver of Azes, possibly his earliest issue, was very rare (ISCH issue 76). Almost as scarce are his large splendid coppers of Poseidon/ Lakshmi type (issue 77). Both these issues are imitations of Maues' coins. Bearing the same monogram, two Æ fractions are known, one is a quarter unit (issue 78) which is extremely rare and a half unit (issue 79) which is unique. Now a new coin with this monogram has surfaced, another unique half unit, reputedly found in Taxila. The obverse bears the usual Greek legend on three sides, and on the reverse is the equivalent legend in Kharosthi.

The obverse type is quite new but as yet unidentified. There is a figure seated left holding a vertical sceptre in his left hand and an object in his outstretched right hand. Drapery flows from his head, possibly diadem ties. The object upon which the deity (possibly female?) is seated is also very unusual and resembles a serpent. The identity of the figure depends upon the symbols appearing in the depiction. If the sceptre is trident-topped, if the object in his right hand is a small dolphin (which it resembles), and if the thing on which he is seated is a river deity (there seem to be lines in the field - representing flowing water?) - then we may be dealing with Poseidon.

On the reverse is a female deity left, possibly turreted. Her left arm is round the stem of a large plant which grows from a



square railed enclosure in the right field. Possibly there are branches from the plant before her. This is hard to determine due to a deposit on that side of the coin. Her right hand is outstretched. Drapery flows from her arms. The monogram appearing on issues 76 - 9 is in the lower left field. This reverse is very close to that of the issue of Azilises shown above (71) and I suspect is intended for the same deity. This is a completely new type for Azes and of his rare earliest issue. It is also only the second known example of a half denomination for this series and takes its inspiration from the coins of both Maues (the Poseidon obverse) and Azilises (the Deity reverse). It is another example showing the close proximity of these latter two rulers in this very early period circa 57 BC.



72

73) **Azes** Round  $\text{\AA}$  7.84 g. 21mm diameter. This is a copper issue (not lead) that corresponds to ISCH issue 122.10 (a posthumous series in the name of Azes). Generally the coins of this issue weigh around 5.5 to 6 g at the heaviest but one other very large specimen in the Ashmolean Museum (ex-Shortt collection) is of similar dimension, showing the full die and weighing 7.86 g. It would appear that there was an initial issue on this heavier standard ca. 8.00 g and that this was replaced by a lighter standard weighing ca. 6.00 g. This seems more plausible than there being two distinct denominations of identical design. The later issues gradually declined in weight (issue 123) and the copper becoming debased until replaced with lead.



74) **Kharahostes** Square  $\text{\AA}$  2.32 g. 16 x 13mm. Issue 143 of Kharahostes with 'Mounted King/Lion' types is now known of with nine varieties or combinations of field letters but all are full units based on a standard of ca. 8.00 gm. This illustrated coin is almost certainly intended as a quarter unit and is the first fraction known for the series. The obverse field letter is 'Pra' and on the reverse is 'Sa' and a monogram. Its classification will therefore be 143.7b.



75) **Uncertain, possibly Orthagnes** Round  $\text{\AA}$  1.71 g. Another example of the tiny copper issue 207.1 has surfaced and, like the two illustrated in ISCH is off-centre in the same way. The Greek legend on the left shows the fifth letter a little more clearly and appears to be a *tau* rather than an *upsilon*. Not illustrated.

76) **Parata Rajas** A small hoard of copper Parata Raja coins of the type 283 - 288 (some bearing the names Spajhana or Bhimajhuna) was found together with a few Indo-Greek coins. The hoard will be published by the present owner but here I want to draw attention only to the Indo-Greek coin. There were several coins of the same issue, all of Apollodotos II and all holed in the centre. The condition of the coins is very good and would suggest that before being 'holed' they had seen little circulation. Apollodotos II may be dated ca. 65 - 55 BC and the appearance of these coins in the hoard enables one for the first time to suggest a date for these Parata Raja coins. I had already suggested a date in the last half of the first century BC for this series (page 129 of Volume I, ISCH) but this is the first evidence to survive from another source. The overstriking and imitation of coins of Apollodotos II by the earliest Kshaharata Satraps (issues which may be allocated to Abhiraka) show that this was a disturbed period and that this common issue of Apollodotos II was accepted by several of the contemporary Rajas and Satraps. The weight of this specimen is 15.40 g.



77) **Strato II**  $\text{\AA}$  square 16.36g, 25mm x 22.5mm.

The last 'Greek' kings of India all bore the name Strato and I wrote a paper on them in the *Nomismatika Khronika* No. 16/1997. There I demonstrated that the crude 'young' portrait coins with corrupt legends belonged to the last king, Strato III, and to neither of his two predecessors, Strato II or Strato Philopator. No tetradrachms are known for these Strato kings (who were probably in fact more Scythian than Greek) and their base metal coinage consists until now of just small round coins made of lead.



This new coin, bearing the monogram associated with 'Jammu', is the first  $\text{\AA}$  coin discovered and follows the rare  $\text{\AA}$  coin of the same type and mint of Zoilos II, BN serie 3. The two reverse field letters, *Pi* and *E* are not found together on any other coins. Strato II would seem to have reigned circa 40 - 25 BC.

The right hand leg of the Greek letter *nu* seems to be missing from  $\Sigma\text{TPAT}\Omega\text{N}\Omega\Sigma$  and the Kharosthi *Tra* of *Tratarasa* resembles a 'W'. This latter form occurs on certain coins from the time of Apollodotos II down to Strato Philopator (see ISCH Vol. II, p. 230).

78) **Hermaios**  $\text{\AA}$  square 5.27g. 17 x 18 mm. In this series of new and unusual coins I published a similar coin to this, No. 37 (ONS 171) which I suggested may be a half unit or more probably a contemporary imitation. At that time I only had a poor photograph to work from and when the coin later turned up in a CNG auction I felt that the coin was most likely a fake or imitation. A half denomination simply does not fit the pattern of Hermaios' coins and the coin itself seems rather crude.

This second example, nicely patinated, now seems to prove the point that this coinage of Hermaios was imitated at the time. It, too, is rather crude both in style and lettering, and the monogram is quite unclear, though it resembles mon. 29 on Table 1, p. 6 of CHIS.





**79) Archebios o/s on Epander** Æ square 9.13 g, 23 x 23 mm. In 2002 I gave a short talk in Oxford on a new arrangement of the Indo-Greek kings who succeeded Menander. This was an update on my paper 'Decline of the Indo-Greeks' based on further overstrike and hoard evidence. In fact it is a substantial revision and will be covered in more detail either in this newsletter or a subsequent one. One aspect of the arrangement is that Archebios is the successor to both Strato I and Epander in certain districts. How providential then that this new coin should surface to confirm the sequence.

The overtype of Archebios is quite clear and corresponds to BN serie 13a, itself a rare type. The obverse die has been struck twice, probably to try and obliterate the undertype more.



The original coin is at 180° to the overtype and struck obverse on obverse. One can clearly see the BA of the king's title and the feet of the subsequent letters. The next epithet at the top of the original coin is unclear but very plain is the king's name ..ΠΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Between the legends is clearly an elephant walking right with front foot lifted. Only one coin conforms to this description and it is the extremely rare, though no longer unique, coin BN serie 3 of Epander. This latter coin is overstruck on one of Strato I.

The reverse of the undertype is not so visible but *Maharajasa..* is clear as is the lower part of Nike (and possibly her wreath) and an outline of the usual Epander monogram in the right field.

Archebios is also known to have overstruck coins of Strato I (Æ) and Peucolaios (AR). The latter king imitated the legends on the latest Strato coins and was almost certainly a contemporary of Archebios. The sequence that seems to present itself from my other observations, as will be seen in the paper on this topic to follow, is thus: Strato and Epander are contemporaries and both are succeeded by Archebios as principal monarch but he, in turn, has two ephemeral contemporaries - Polyxenos (linked by hoard evidence to Strato) and Peucolaios. Slowly but surely, these newly discovered overstrikes are showing us a much more correct picture of the Indo-Greek sequence of coinage than was previously possible. More such evidence is eagerly awaited in future!

**80) Strato I** Æ 9.55 g 25mm diameter. This coin, BN series 32B is extremely fine and one can note on the obverse that Apollo is radiate. On the reverse is a bowcase with diadem tied round it but what is particularly noticeable is that the top of the bow sticking out of the case is decorated with the head of a deer or antelope. Apollo is mostly associated with a bow but I have the feeling that the symbolism on this coin suggests something more. At this time

there seem to be marital alliances formed with the Scythian nobility and this rare type may hold such a reference.



**81) Telephos** AR drachm 2.40 g. The deity on the obverse of these coins has not been identified though it may be thought that there is a connection with the supposed ancestor of all the Scythians (according to Herodotos), Echidna, who slept with Hercules. She was a cave-dwelling female monster who had the tail of a serpent. The Æ issue of Hippostratos (BN serie 12) most resembles the type but on those coins one sees a marine monster whose limbs have fish-tail ends and the deity holds a dolphin. Here, the limbs end in curls with lotus flower tops. What is clear on this specimen, however, but which I have not seen remarked upon before now, is that, below the deity, are two fish, also possibly intended to be dolphins?



It seems probable that the same river deity is being referred to on both the Hippostratos and Telephos coins. This could be a general god of rivers or a specific one for a particular river. Hippostratos' coins are linked to Pushkalavati, on the river Swat, but that is a tributary to the close-by Indus and I suspect that this is the deity of the Indus. One other possible interpretation is that she may be an early form of Lakshmi whose birth was 'from the churning of the oceans' (like Venus) who sprang from a lotus bed onto land, with a lotus in each hand.

### Kings, Commanders and a Minister at Erich

By Shailendra Bhandare

#### Prologue:

Erich, or Erach as it is variably called is an ancient site in the Garautha subdivision of Jhansi district, Uttar Pradesh. It is located on the banks of the river Betwa about 70 km northeast of Jhansi and is reachable from the Erich Road station on the Jhansi-Kanpur section of the Central Railway. In the recent past Erich has been known to numismatists of ancient India for the rich variety of coins it has afforded, mainly as a result of pre- and post-monsoon agricultural activities and also due to scavenging of the vast archaeological mound spread between the modern town of Erich and the next village named Dhikauli, located to its west. Apart from coins, the site has also yielded numerous terracotta pieces, seals and beads that roughly date to the early historic period (c. 200 BC – 200 AD). It has also yielded brick inscriptions mentioning at least two dynastic groups. Systematic excavations have not been carried out at Erich. The area in which Erich is located roughly corresponds to Eastern Malwa, which was classically known as 'Daśārṇa', watered by the rivers Betwa (skt. Vetravati) and Dhasān (skt. Daśārṇā).

#### Researches on Erich coins:

Before we get to the subject proper of this paper, it would be worthwhile to present a bibliographical summary of researches on coins of Erich. The earliest detailed survey of the site and its findings was published by O. P. L. Srivastava, who worked as a superintending archaeologist at Jhansi and was aware of the site and its significance. He published an overview of his findings as 'Archaeology of Erich' in 1991, in which he published a few coins that he had procured at the site and also the two brick



inscriptions. The first of these referred to a king named Dāmamitra of the Baimbika family who was accredited with the excavation of a fresh water tank. The second recorded a similar activity, but by members of another family who style themselves 'Senapati' (commanders) and 'Lords of Daśārṇa'. Srivastava was inclined to attribute at least one of his coins to a ruler mentioned in one of the inscriptions.

In the same year, a note by Dilip Rajgor appeared in the 'Indian Coin Society Newsletter' (ICSNL, Nagpur, no.10) in which he published a coin with Brahmi legend *Erakaccha* and attributed it to Eran, the famous ancient site located on the Betwa river but much further up its course, to the south of Erich. In the same note, he commented upon yet another coin with the same legend that had been published by S. K. Bhatt and Narendra Singh in 1988 in the Journal of the Indian Academy of Numismatics and Sigillography (JAINS, Indore, vol. 6, 1988), who also identified it with Eran. In all probability Rajgor's attribution was based on Bhatt & Singh. P. L. Gupta in a rejoinder to Rajgor's note (ICSNL, no.18, 1993) challenged the equivalence of 'Erakachha' to 'Eran' as suggested by Rajgor and Bhatt & Singh. He rightly pointed out that the place should be identified with Erich rather than Eran. Gupta's opinion was ostensibly the result of O. P. L. Srivastava's views and his less-known publication about Erich. It is also worth noting that Bhatt & Singh did refer to Erich as a possible contender for the identity of the city known as 'Erakachha', but rejected it because of their belief that no antiquities had ever been found at Erich!

Amiteshwar Jha published the most noteworthy article on Erich coins in the 23<sup>rd</sup> issue of 'IIRNS Newsline' in July 1999. The coins he published were mainly from the collection of the British Museum and a private collection in Bombay, and belonged to only one category out of the vast range of coins found at Erich – the city-state issues. It is matter of sheer wonder when one reflects on instances wherein these coins were reported in numismatic literature in the past, but misattributed on one ground or another! In the opening paragraphs of his note Amiteshwar Jha subtly hints at them and it becomes quite evident that these coins have been known since the days of Alexander Cunningham and his survey of antiquities in Malwa – just that the legends were misread. Cunningham read it as 'Erakanya' and attributed his coin to Eran (*Archeological Survey of India Report*, vol. 10, 1880, Pl. XXIV, nos. 16,17. A more accessible illustration of the coins is available in Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, vol.9, p. 791, type 1182). Allan followed Cunningham and confirmed the attribution in his introduction to the British Museum catalogue of Ancient Indian coins (p. xci). Rapson published yet another coin of the same legend but misread it once more and attributed it to Eran ('Notes on Indian Coins and Seals', JRAS, 1900, p. 108, pl. 7). Other instances of Erich coins, mainly of the city state series, being misread and consequentially misattributed include:

- H.V. Trivedi in a paper entitled 'Some interesting coins from Ujjain' in JNSI vol. 13, part 2, pp. 209-214, where he failed to note that two of the coins he described (pl. XI, nos.8 and 9) had a legend on them that read 'Erakachha'.
- Ajay Mitra Shastri in 'Coin Review' of the Academy of Indian Numismatics and Sigillography (vol. 1, no.1, October 1975) where he read the legend as 'Kokadeva' and attributed the coin to a 'hitherto unknown ruler of Kaushambi'
- Wilfried Pieper in his *Ancient Indian Coins* (Tournhout, 1998) on page 57, where he reads it as 'Chukadadha' and attributes it to yet another king of Kaushambi.

#### Recent discoveries:

A groundbreaking account of Erich and its numismatic heritage was published by Dr. Mohanlal Gupta in his bilingual monograph 'Erich: an ancient city on the river Betwa' in 2000. Here for the first time we find a complete scheme of Erich coins outlined alongside representative samples of other archaeological objects such as beads and terracotta figurines and also a brief description

of coins from other regiospecific series found at the site. It is worth noting that, apart from indigenous coin types, Erich has also yielded a good number of coins attributed to the Eran-Vidisha series and of various types attributed to Kausambi or the ancient kingdom of Vatsa. These suggest that Erich had thriving commercial links with its adjoining areas. These areas are known to have witnessed a spurt in urbanisation at the advent of the Christian era. The fact that the coins come from different chronological brackets suggests that these links were sustained for at least two to three hundred years. The basis of these trade activities must have been the strategic location of Erich on the river Betwa. Both Eran and Vidisha are located on the Betwa or on one of her minor tributaries. The link between these sites and Erich must have therefore been facilitated through estuarine contact. A similar inference may be drawn about the occurrence of Kausambi coins at Erich and vice-versa, because further along its course from Erich the Betwa merges with the river Yamuna, which flows past Kausambi. It is no wonder therefore that a few Erich coins have been found at Kausambi and reported as such (vide supra). Instances of Kausambi coins being found in Erich have been well documented in Mohanlal Gupta's treatise (p. 25-26).

When an overview of the data published in Mohanlal Gupta's book is taken, it emerges that there are two broad categories of coins encountered at Erich. One group bears the name of a city while the other bears the names of persons. The cities, or 'city states' whose names appear on Erich coins are 'Era (or 'ri') kachha' and 'Mugamukha', the latter being known from a solitary coin type, which depicts a frog and a balance. By comparison, the 'Erakachha' coins are much more varied in types, techniques and metals. They are ostensibly manufactured by employing casting and die-striking techniques, and in the latter case they are seen to be made using both double-die and multiple-die (punch-marking) methods. They are chiefly encountered in base metals such as copper, brass, bronze and lead. The 'Mugamukha' coins are of lead and, collectively, both these series indicate that they served as components of a localised currency system supporting the economy of urban centres at its hub.

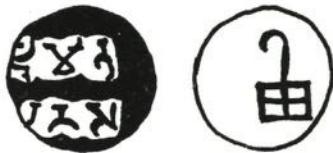
Given our understanding of urbanisation and state formation in the Gangetic plain and its adjoining areas, one would speculate that the emergence of such localised currency systems immediately post-dates the Mauryan Empire and its so-called 'uniform' monetary apparatus, the silver punch-marked coins. As such, one would roughly date it to the latter half of 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. The exact course of fragmentation of the Mauryan Empire however remains to be elucidated and therefore it would prove too conjectural to ascribe these coins to a very specific time bracket. Amiteshwar Jha seems to be aware of this fact and therefore does not discuss the dating of the coins he publishes. But it is quite clear that, in general, the series of Erich coins with 'city' names predates those with personal names. This is borne out by the evidence the individual groups have to offer in terms of their manner of execution and the palaeography of the legends. Mohanlal Gupta has tried to provide a numismatic chronology for coins found at Erich, but there are certain discrepancies in his argument, which are mainly centred on the identity and attribution of the persons named on the coins with those mentioned in the inscription. It may be noted that the chronological views put forth by O. P. L. Srivastava also suffer from the same drawback, because, in adopting the method, he too has ignored the internal evidence offered by the coins themselves.

#### Erich coins with personal names:

Unlike the first group (coins with names of the cities), those with the names of persons have been noticed relatively recently. Nevertheless, they have not escaped the spate of misattributions suffered by the first group. The first instance of a coin of the second category within the correct context of its provenance to be reported in numismatic literature was by O. P. L. Srivastava who reported a coin with a legend that he read as 'Aditamitra', **Fig.1.**



(‘A coin of Senapati Aditamitra from Erich’, JNSI vol. 55, 1993, pp.40-41).



He subsequently republished the coin in Numismatic Digest (‘Coin of an unknown King Aditamitra’, ND vol. 18, 1994, pp.19-23). Srivastava’s reading of the legend is fraught with peculiarities – as he himself admits, he initially thought the legend was inscribed in a circular fashion (*Archaeology of Erich*, p. 10) but in both the articles that appeared in the numismatic organs he changed his observation and concluded that the legend was written not in a circular but a linear fashion. It is baffling how he could envisage a circular legend in the first place because the coin very clearly shows a legend inscribed in two straight lines, written one below the other. The other peculiarity about his reading is the fact that he reads the legend from bottom to top, the lower line from right to left as *A Di Ta* (when read normally it would be *Ta Di A*) and the upper line from left to right as *mi tra*. Needless to say this seems to be a strange way of inscribing a legend. The other aspect that would demand explanation in rendering the legend in this fashion would be the absence of the genitive ending. Notwithstanding these peculiarities, Srivastava identified him with a certain Senapati Aditamitra mentioned in a brick inscription found at Erich published by him. Conceivably therefore, the impetus for reading the legend as ‘Aditamitra’ seems to be the urge to identify him with the person mentioned in a locally found inscription, thereby adding credibility to the reading.

Ajaya Mitra Shastri commented upon Srivastava’s reading and further confounded matters. His views are to be found in his review of Srivastava’s book (published in Numismatic Studies vol. 4, pp.126-127) and in an editorial note that follows Srivastava’s article in the ND. In the first instance he toes Srivastava’s line by admitting the circular nature of the legend but in the second instance he seems to be more cautious and points out that the legend is in fact linear and not circular. It is surprising that he could not identify the most obvious mistakes which Srivastava committed while rendering the legend – he does express his surprise that the legend should be read from bottom to top, initially from right to left and then from left to right. But he virtually agrees to this exercise by commenting that “this style of writing is called ‘plough-way style’ and epigraphists are familiar with it.” Here again the overriding sentiment seems to be not to challenge the identity of the issuer of the coin as ‘Aditamitra’ because that would mean dissociating the coin from the neat evidence offered on his identity through the brick inscription and upsetting the applecart! Even if we accept the legend is written in the ‘plough-way’ (boustrophedon) style, there is no accounting for the fact that it needs to be read from bottom to top and, as such, would present a unique feat in inscribing linear coin legends in ancient India.

Another attempt at identifying a coin as an issue of ‘Aditamitra’ is mentioned by Mohanlal Gupta. Pushpa Thakurail, the Director of the Government Museum, Jhansi published a coin ascribed to ‘Aditamitra’ in *Jhansi Mahotsav Patrika*, 1998, p.195. However, Gupta has rightly commented on the identity of the issuer while describing coins in his small monograph. (p. 18) and this will be elucidated further in the course of this paper.

The faux pas that evidently led to the misattribution and subsequent elaboration at the hands of various scholars is the reading of the last character in the legend on the coin. A careful scrutiny of many coins conclusively indicates that this character is a ‘Sa’ and not ‘A’ as read by Srivastava. The photograph of the coin as provided by him clearly shows the second mistake – identifying the space between two characters as a character itself.

There is no sign of a ‘Da’ on Srivastava’s coin; what he reads as a ‘Da’ is the space between the terminal ‘Sa’ and the character preceding it, outlined by the curves of these two characters. Srivastava reads the character that precedes the terminal ‘Sa’ as ‘Ta’, but from Mohanlal Gupta’s illustrations (nos. 82 and 83 in his book, Figs. 2 & 3 here), it is evident that it is a ‘Na’.



Srivastava failed to take note that there is a third character to the left of this ‘Na’, which is somewhat truncated on the specimen illustrated by him, but much clearer on similar pieces shown in Gupta’s monograph – and that is yet another ‘Sa’. The second line of the inscription therefore reads ‘Sa Na Sa’. Srivastava correctly identified the word ‘Mitra’ in the first line of the legend; what he failed to see was the presence of two more characters which are again truncated to a certain extent on his specimen but clear on those illustrated by Gupta. They quite clearly read ‘Rajño’. The legend in the first line therefore reads ‘Rajño Mitra’ and with the ‘Sa Na Sa’ in the second line, may conveniently be restored to *Rajño Mitrasenasa* thereby identifying a new King – not Aditamitra, but ‘Mitrasena’.

The mistaken identity of Aditamitra takes us to a series of coins with regal titles known from Erich. All of them display certain commonalities and as such form a neat numismatic series. The most striking feature they all share is their method of manufacture. All of them are struck from a combination of processes – they have a railed sacrificial post (*yūpa*) bent to the left at its top end on their reverse, which was struck first using a die that covered the entire blank. Then the individual pieces were turned over and the legend applied on them in two separate punches. Evidently, the *yūpa* motif on the reverse bears the brunt of the striking pressure of the obverse dies and is often blurred. This method of manufacture is probably unique to this series of Erich coins.

Apart from Mitrasena, there are a few other persons who have issued coins in the typical fabric described above. As commented upon above, their names have been misread and/or misattributed in as many instances as they have been reported prior to Gupta’s monograph. The earliest mention comes in JNSI vol. 15, where K. D. Bajpai published ‘New Panchala and Kaushambi coins’ (part 1, pp. 42-45). He illustrated the coin as number 6 on plate 2. He read the legend correctly but misattributed the ruler to Kaushambi, probably because the coin was found at that site. The finding of Erich coins at Kaushambi and vice versa is not an uncommon phenomenon, as said earlier. The name of the ruler on this coin was *Iśwaramitra*. The fact that he was a ruler at Erich rather than Kaushambi can be convincingly proven on the grounds that Gupta has reported a good number of his coins from Erich. Also, the coin published by Bajpai shares the peculiar method of manufacture with coins of Mitrasena of Erich and retains the *yūpa* symbol on the reverse, thereby affording a direct link in type. Bajpai dates the coin to c. 2<sup>nd</sup> cent BC on palaeographic grounds.

Another mention of coins of this type comes from H. V. Trivedi who published ‘Coins of some new kings from Padmavati’ (JNSI, vol. 17, 1955, part 1, pp.53-57). Padmavati is modern Pawāyā, located to the south of Gwalior and lies very much within the same area, so far as the post-Mauryan urbanisation phase is concerned. With the exception of one coin, Trivedi got all the legends wrong. But considering that they are truncated to a great extent and the number of specimens available to Trivedi was limited, one really cannot blame him for his mistakes. Nevertheless, the coins prove helpful to a good extent when it comes to correctly attributing some coins published several years later by Srivastava and Gupta.



**Regal issues of Erich: the quest for attribution**

When the bulk of coins reported by Bajpai, Trivedi, Srivastava and Gupta are examined together, a comparative study enables the correct deciphering of the legends. This is mainly because such a study affords an opportunity to reconstruct the missing bits of the legend on individual specimens. When such a task is undertaken, the following names become evident:

1. Iśwaramitra
2. Sahasrasena
3. Mitrasena
4. Mahasena(?)
5. Amitasena

**Iśwaramitra:** Mohanlal Gupta published as many as 12 coins of this king. They are all square in shape and of a single type: a legend on the obverse in two separate punches and the railed *yupa* on the reverse. (Fig.4)



On many coins, however, the reverse appears blank owing to the fact that the motif is completely destroyed under the pressure of the punches on the obverse. They are of copper and range in weight from 0.5 to 3.00 g – the smaller denominations were struck from dies intended for larger denominations and therefore show less than 25% of the legend intact. Although the obverse bears the legend in two separate punches, the reverse for many small coins is blank. This may have been due to the complexities involved in the method of manufacture and one would imagine that three blows under the hammer would render a small coin vulnerable for breaking. The title Iśwaramitra carries is 'Raja'. The legend *Rājño Iśwaramitrasa* is segmented at the fourth character and appears as 'Rājño Iśwa / ra Mitrasa', thereby having an unequal distribution of characters for every punch, but affording a greater space for the execution of such compound characters as 'jño and 'śwa' in the first line.

**Sahasrasena:** one of the coins published by Trivedi bears the name 'Sahasrasena' but he read it as 'Sabalāsena' (*op.cit.*, p. 54, pl. XV, no. 4). The correct legend can be established through numerous pieces listed by Mohanlal Gupta, who also published a terracotta sealing bearing the name of this ruler. He held the title of 'Raja' and issued coins in three types. Out of these the first two are rectangular in shape and of copper; they feature in Gupta's monograph. The third type of Sahasrasena's coins is round, of lead and hitherto unpublished. He enjoys the unique distinction of being the only member of this group of rulers at Erich to have struck lead coins.

The first type of Sahasrasena's coins is very similar to those of Iśwaramitra. In fact one of the coins published by Gupta (no. 81) is struck upon an Iśwaramitra coin (Fig. 5), thereby giving the clinching clue about the royal succession at Erich.



The coins of this type bear a legend *Rājño Sahasrasenasa* in two separate punches segmented again at the fourth character as 'Rājño Saha / sra Senasa'. The reverse bears the railed *yupa*. (Fig. 6)



The second type of Sahasrasena's coins is a variation on the first one inasmuch as it bears an additional punch on the obverse. Placed sideways between the two punches bearing the legend is a

third punch bearing a neatly executed palm tree emanating out of a five-arched hill. (Fig. 7)



The legend is divided at the fourth character as seen on coins in the first type. Why the palm tree symbol was added remains a matter of speculation, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the area was dominated by a cult that centred on the palm tree, generally associated with Balarama, a pastoral/agricultural deity that was later assimilated into the Vaishnavite pantheon. The palm tree also appears in various forms on many 'Erakachha' coins, in fact most of them show a unique representation of two 'tree in railing' symbols placed alongside each other, out of which one is invariably a palm tree. It is worth noting that remains of a pillar with a palm tree capital have been found at Pawaya (Padmavati), the site where Trivedi's coins came from. This capital is now in the State Archaeological Museum at Gwalior.

The third type of Sahasrasena's coins constitutes small, thin lead pieces that bear the name of the ruler written in circular, clockwise manner. (Fig 8)



It reads *Rājño Sahasras enasya*, beginning at 9 o'clock. The reverse bears a three-arched hill symbol executed with simplicity. These are struck using the usual double-die technique and therefore do not conform to the peculiar manufacturing process that seems to have been followed for the copper issues of Sahasrasena and other kings.

Another thing worthy of note is the Sanskrit ending *sya* instead of the Prakrit *sa*. On certain issues of the second type, the terminal 'Sa' character displays a longer right facet. One wonders whether it, too, represents the addition of a 'Ya' to the 'Sa', thereby rendering it as 'Sya' rather than 'Sa'. On no coin, however, has the curved loop, as seen on coins of the third type to mark the addition, been clearly seen.

**Mitrasena:** Apart from Srivastava's specimen, which he read as 'Aditamitra', a few other coins of this ruler have been known. They are all round and of copper. As we have already seen, the legend on these reads 'Rājño Mitra / Senasa'. The specimens published by Mohanlal Gupta (nos. 82 and 83, Figs. 2 & 3, above) help restore the legend beyond doubt. However, they are not as numerous as the coins of the rulers mentioned above.

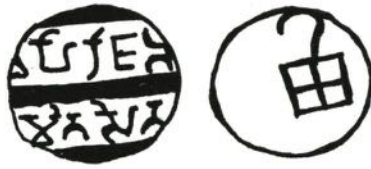
**Mahasena(?):** a rectangular copper coin published by Trivedi (*op.cit.*, p. 54, pl. XV, no. 3) quite clearly shows the last character in the first line of the legend as 'Ha' and the entire legend as 'Rājño Maha' (Fig. 9), but the lower part of the legend is truncated beyond restoration. In all probability the ending of the ruler's name must have been 'Sena', but it is equally likely to have been 'Mitra'. One therefore cannot say with certainty whether he was called 'Mahamitra' or 'Mahasena', or for that matter anything else.



**Amitasena:** he is the only ruler in the group to address himself by the higher title of 'Maharaja'. The legend on his coins



has five characters in the top line, unlike the rest which have only four and it reads 'Maharaja A / mitasenasā'. One of the coins published by Trivedi (*op.cit.*, p. 55, no. 6, pl. XV, no.6) bears it quite clearly and he has read it correctly (Fig. 10). It is a square copper coin.



Coins of Amitasena have been misattributed by Mohanlal Gupta who identifies them as issues of 'Maharaja Agnimitra' (no. 84) and of 'Maharaja Mitra' (no. 85). On the specimen where he read the name as 'Agnimitra', the lower portion of the legend is not clear enough to allow any restoration. It is a round copper coin. In the case of the 'Maharaja Mitra' coin, parts of the legend are off the flan. The extant letters are those read by Gupta. It is a rectangular copper coin.

#### Dating the Erich rulers:

The chronological implications involved in dating the series are complex. Palaeographically, Bajpai placed his specimen of Iswaramitra in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC. But Trivedi opined that the characters "are about the first-second century AD, resembling the Kushana inscriptions at Mathura and Sarnath" and it seems more plausible. As we have seen, the internal evidence suggests that Sahasrasena succeeded Iswaramitra. Sahasrasena seems to be the most prominent member of the group judging by the preponderance of his coin types. Mitrasena, Maha... and Amitasena seem less important as indicated by the number of their coins, which is quite small in comparison to both Iswaramitra and Sahasrasena. Iswaramitra seems to be the earliest of the group, followed by Sahasrasena who in turn seems to be followed by Mitrasena and Amitasena. It is interesting to note that the two earlier rulers have rectangular coins while the later kings have both round and rectangular ones. The ruler whose name begins with Maha... may be placed as a close contemporary of the latter two rulers.

If, as one might expect, the region was ruled over by the Kushanas at some point in the early 2<sup>nd</sup> cent AD, it would be worth discussing whether these coins should be placed before the Kushana ascendancy, after it or during that period. The fact that all the persons in whose names the coins are struck refer to themselves as 'Rajas' would mean that they were not subservient to an overlord. Amitasena who could be placed towards the end of the series uses a higher title of a 'Maharaja', which would again remove the other rulers further away from a supposition that they were vassals of the Kushanas. The question of considering their rule as concurrent with the Kushana supremacy in the region therefore has to be ruled out.

If we consider the following:

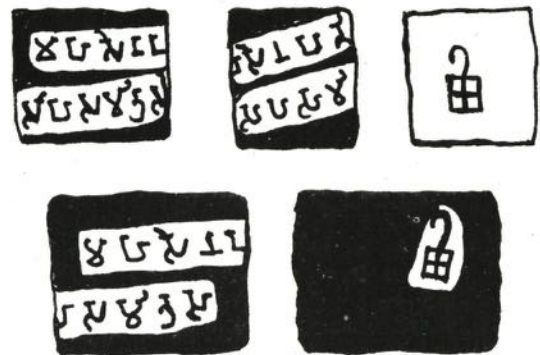
- Kanishka initiated his rule in 127 AD, given the recent understanding of the Kushana era and its implications for chronology;
- Most of the gangetic region had come under Kushana sway at an early date during his reign. Inscriptions indicating the appointment of governors have been found as far down the Ganges as Sarnath, near Varanasi. They mention Mahakshatrapa Kharapallana and Kshatrapa Vanashpara and are dated in the 3<sup>rd</sup> regnal year of Kanishka;
- The region was held that way under the next three Kushana rulers;

it would mean that these coins would have to be placed much later – at best towards the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> cent AD – if we were to place them after the Kushanas. Their peculiar method of manufacture, which retains elements of the multiple-die technique used for an earlier series like the PMCs, would preclude us from dating them to such a late period. In all probability, therefore, the

series would have to be dated before the advent of the Kushanas in the region. In other words, a bracket of c. 50-130 AD seems most suitable for these coins. Iswaramitra, as has been said already, would be the earliest ruler and Amitasena, with his higher royal title, the latest.

#### The 'Commanders' at Erich:

This suggestion is supported by the find of coins of yet another ruler. It shares the technique of manufacture with the series which has just been discussed. The only difference it bears is that the reverse device is struck as a small punch rather than from a die that would cover the entire blank. The ruler in this case is Sāhasamitra and the most important aspect about him is his title – he refers to himself as a 'Mahasenapati' (the great commander). Three coins of this ruler have been published, one by O.P.L. Srivastava, Fig. 11 ('Coin of an unknown Mitra king bearing the title Mahasenapati from Erich', JNSI, vol.58, 1996, pp. 31-32, pl. IV, no.5) and two by Mohanlal Gupta, Figs. 12 & 13 (*op.cit.*, nos. 59, 60).



Srivastava was not successful in reading the name completely, as can be seen from the title of his paper. He reads the top half of the legend correctly as *Mahasenapa...* but considers the legend continued in the lower punch as *(ti)sa...mitasa*. He evidently takes the 'Sa' in the second line as the genitive ending for the title 'Mahasenapati' and another 'Sa' at the end of 'Mitasa' as a genitive ending for the name of the issuer. When the illustration provided by him is examined, it becomes clear that there is no sign of the initial 'Ti' as read by him in the second line; the legend in fact begins with the 'Sa' which he takes as the genitive ending and there is a clearly readable character 'Ha' in the space that he leaves unread between the 'Sa' and 'Mitasa'. Secondly the 'Ta' in 'Mitasa' shows a curved end and therefore it will be logical to render it as 'Tra' instead of 'Ta'. Pieces illustrated by Gupta leave no doubt that the 'Ti' character in fact is placed in the first line and there is only one genitive ending, which appears at the end of the second line. The entire legend can therefore be reconstructed as 'Mahasenapati / Sāhasamitrasa'. On the coin illustrated by Srivastava, the vowel sign for the addition of a long 'a' to the initial 'S' in the second line is quite clear on its right prong. Therefore the name is beyond any doubt 'Sāhasamitra'.

Coins of Sāhasamitra are significant in more than one way. Firstly they use the title 'Mahasenapati', which alludes to the lineage referred to in the second brick inscription found at Erich. This inscription refers to the family of one, Śatānika, who is styled as a 'Senapati' or commander. His son is Aditamitra, another Senapati. His son is Mulamitra who is styled 'Daśārṇadhīpati' ('King of Daśārṇa') in addition to the 'Senapati'. Vasishthiputra Āshādhamitra, the son of Mulamitra who excavated the tank and caused the inscription to be engraved, is styled 'Daśārṇeswara' ('Lord of Daśārṇa') and 'Senapati'. It is evident that there is a steady ascension in titulature observed here, probably denoting the rising importance and political prowess of the ruling family. Sāhasamitra of the coins retains the 'Mitra' name ending and employs a higher title of 'Mahasenapati' as compared to the rulers mentioned in the inscription. Both these facts suggest that he probably belonged to the same family and must have been the



successor of Āshādhamitra. The links his coins bear with the coins of Išwaramitra insofar as the manufacturing technique and employment of motifs are concerned indicate that Išwaramitra may also have been a member of the same lineage. He calls himself by the title of 'Raja' or King and therefore it is very likely that he must have been a successor of Sāhasamitra. The aggrandisement that the family is seen to be undergoing, is complete in Išwaramitra's reign when he assumes the royal title for himself, not being content with the lower feudal titles like Senapati or Mahasenapati. Sāhasamitra has therefore to be placed in the early half of the 1<sup>st</sup> cent AD, preceding Išwaramitra.

#### Ajita and the 'Kasheras' at Erich:

The range of Erich coins with personal names does not end here. We have seen that the 'city' issues of Erich are broadly constituted in two series – 'Erikachha' and 'Mugamukha'. This most certainly indicates the presence of two urban centres around the present day town of Erich in the early historic period. Evidence for this come from a few rare lead issues bearing names without any titles appended to them, but inscribed with the genitive case ending. These coins, given their archaic palaeography, seem to be contemporaries of the city-state issues, in other words so far as chronology goes they are to be placed before all the other coins with personal names we have been talking about so far. One of them is a dumb-bell shaped coin naming a certain 'Ajita' as its issuer, with a unique motif of two juxtaposed half lions springing in opposite directions on its reverse. It has been published by Mohanlal Gupta (p. 18, no. 52)

Fig. 14.



The legend reads *Ajitasha*, exhibiting a Prakrit peculiarity of substituting a 'sha' as a genitive sixth case ending instead of the usual 'sa' (skt. *Sya*). Gupta failed to recognise the reverse motif, which reminds us of the famous Mathura lion-pillar capital. Another series comprises lead coins with a strange whorl-like motif on the obverse and the reverse bearing a legend *Kasherana*. (Mohanlal Gupta, *op.cit.* no. 53) Fig. 15.

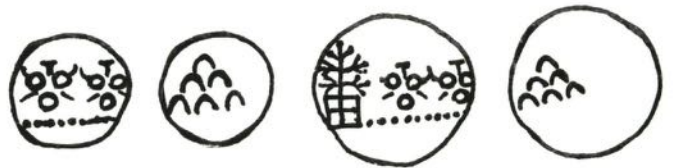


Here 'Kashera' has a plural genitive ending, thereby indicating a collective noun. The issuer is therefore identified as a group of people called the 'Kasheras' – what that means is still open to inquiry.

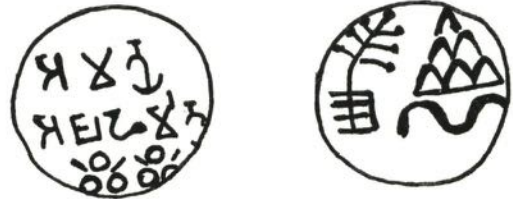
#### Āshādhamitra and his coinage at Erich:

The site has yielded, apart from specimens of the civic coinage, a few series of uninscribed die-struck coins which may predate the regal / feudal issues described above. Their numbers are limited and it seems that they circulated for a much shorter time. But it is equally likely that some of these uninscribed coins may belong to either of the two urban centres and their demise would mean that at some point these two urban centres ceased to exist independently. It can be postulated that this must have taken place during the period when authorities at Erich start using the royal title, i.e. during Išwaramitra's reign.

One of the uninscribed series bears a unique motif of two stylised 'Triratna' symbols placed alongside each other, on a pedestal represented by a dotted line. Mohanlal Gupta listed them as nos. 107-115. The last coin also shows a tree in railing motif to the left of the 'Triratna' pair. These coins bear a six-arched hill on the reverse. (Figs. 16 & 17).



Gupta has listed as his coins no. 86 and 89 a larger variety of these coins, which seem to bear an inscription. On his coin 86, he has read it as 'Mitrajyeshtha' while on coin 89 he is able to make out only the characters 'Mitra'. Recently another specimen of the same series was shown to me by Mohanlal Gupta, which bears a clear legend (Fig. 18). It was an exciting find because it named a known personality, Āshādhamitra.

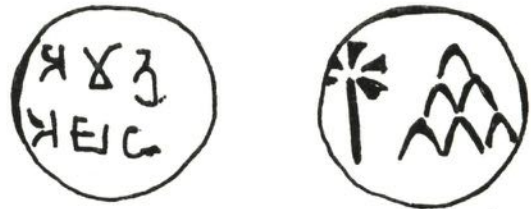


The description of the coin is as follows:

*Obverse:* two stylised Triratnas, with their narrow ends facing upwards at 6 o'clock. Legend in two lines above: 'Amātya / Āshādhamitra'

*Reverse:* six-arched hill above a wavy line. A crooked tree in railing is seen to its left.

The reverse of coins published by Gupta bears a six-arched hill flanked by two trees and on coin no. 86 (Fig. 19), one of these is most certainly a palm tree, thereby reflecting the same repertoire of cultural symbolism as seen on the civic issues.



The coin is interesting for more than one reason. Firstly, it mentions an 'Amātya' (a Minister) as the issuer. This is unprecedented in ancient Indian numismatics, no other instance of a minister striking coins in his name is known. Secondly, it names Āshādhamitra, who is known from the brick inscription found at Erich. But there is an incongruence here - it names him as an 'Amātya' or Minister, whereas the inscription mentions that he was a 'Senapati' or Commander, and a 'Lord of Daśārṇa'. Given the logic of the situation it is difficult to see them as different individuals – in all probability, the minister Āshādhamitra and the commander Āshādhamitra should be the same person. In which case we are faced with a conundrum, because he mentions his ministerial title on his coins and his feudal title in the inscription. From the inscription it is evident that he was a powerful ruler, ostensibly the 'Lord of Daśārṇa'. His title as a Senapati could therefore have been of a feudal nature. It is interesting to note that the Śunga ruler Pushyamitra is also known as a 'Senapati' rather than a King. The explanation given in his case is that he may have been a commander under the last of the Mauryas and that subsequently, on assumption of political authority, he did not relinquish his earlier title. One may assume that Āshādhamitra's situation was somewhat similar. But his choice of the title as far as the coinage goes seems to be unusual, unless one assumes that 'Amātya' was not simply a court title but also held certain civic privileges and feudal rights, like the right to coin money. Whether it had any feudal associations or not cannot be said with certainty. As a matter of comparison one may look at evidence provided by other contemporary inscriptional mentions of Amātya. The



Satavahana ruler Gautamiputra Satakarni and the Kshaharata Kshatrapa Nahapana mention individuals holding the 'Amātya' title in their inscriptions at Nasik, Karle and Junnar. In the case of the Satavahanas, the person seems very much a court official, securing a mention because he was the mere executor of the king's wish in his official capacity. Nahapana's Amātya Ayama is the actual donor of a cistern, but in his case, too, there is no evidence that he executed any civil functions, as holders of other feudal titles like 'Maharathi' or 'Mahasenapati' are seen to have done. Indeed, the coin sheds an interesting light on some aspects of ancient Indian polity and governance; it gives us evidence that, as a minister, Āshādhamitra was entitled to strike coins. As far as dating him is concerned, his 'Mitra'-ending name and his title as a Senapati, which we know from the inscription, would indicate that he might have been a close predecessor of Sāhasmitra. Taking into account the scheme illustrated in the earlier part of this paper one cannot place Āshādhamitra much earlier than c. 10-20 AD.

So much for observations and evidence. The coin throws up some interesting questions, too – while we know Āshādhamitra was a minister, we do not know which political authority he was ministering for. It is quite easy to brush the question aside by commenting it must have been of a Magadhan origin, either the Mauryas or more likely the Śungas. But the dating scheme that we have structured on other numismatic evidence at Erich would mean that this proposition would be anachronistic by at least a hundred or so years given our current understanding of ancient Indian chronology. Therefore the coin gives rise to another puzzle – it jeopardises certain chronological tenets we have been holding on to for quite a long time! It is especially so when the brick inscription tells us that the other and possibly feudal title of 'Commander' had been running in the family for at least four generations – Āshādhamitra's father Mulamitra, his father Aditamitra and his father Satanika all held it. While the earlier holders of the title do not claim any regal claims over the territory they are governing, the latter holders call themselves 'King' and 'Lord' of Daśārṇa, thereby invoking the authority-area nexus as far as asserting their own status is concerned. The mention of Āshādhamitra as a 'minister' on the coin is therefore intriguing as it evidently questions his status as seen in the inscription. It is plausible that Āshādhamitra may have struck the coin before he asserted himself as 'Lord of Daśārṇa' and while he was still subordinate to the 'Imperial' power. But this goes against the inscriptional evidence, wherein Āshādhamitra's father Mulamitra claims for himself the title of 'King of Daśārṇa'. Whichever way one looks at it, the coin compels us to think differently about the mutual roles of titlature, tenure and territorial claims, as they existed in early historic India.

When numismatic and epigraphic evidence regarding the rulers of Erich are compared, they throw open the entire question of so-called 'Imperial fragmentation' after the decline of the Mauryas, and that of dating and identifying the successor political authorities. Generally one would assume that the Śunga and Kanva families followed the Mauryas, and that the Magadhan Empire fragmented gradually under the rule of these two dynasties. Malwa and, in particular Daśārṇa, is said to have been the domain of the Śungas. These assumptions are solely based on textual evidence, mainly quoting ancient Indian dynastic texts, the 'Puranas'. They have led to certain historical tenets which are reflected in deciding the scope and terminology employed for a host of study areas concerning early historic India – for example, art historians often refer to a 'Śunga' period while describing important monuments, cultural objects and the emergence of artistic styles. Apart from a cursory mention there is no inscriptional evidence to be obtained for the Śungas, and certainly none whatsoever to regard them in imperial esteem. For the Kanvas, even that figment is lacking. The entire range of coins known from the Eran-Vidisha and Erich regions mention names of rulers who evidently have no connection with any so-called Magadhan imperial house. More and more material evidence is coming forth to indicate that the existence of these 'Magadhan'

ruling houses and their imperial aspirations may have been, at least in considerable part, a complete myth. The regal issues at Erich are just a small component of the growing body of such evidence, which will eventually lead scholars to rethink the broad range of ancient Indian chronology.

#### Coins of the Indian Sultanates

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

#### Sultāns of Bengal

'Alā' al-Dīn Husain Shāh (AH 899-925)

**B767:** in the book we stated that the mint of this type had not been read but from the scan of another example of this type kindly provided by Noman Nasir the mint can be read as Sharifābād.



Nāsir al-Dīn Nusrat Shāh (AH 925-938)

New type **B855** silver tanka Sharifābād



This is the first coin of Sharifābād noted for this ruler. The legends are the standard for the reign with the mint-name on the bottom line of the reverse, on the right hand side. The engraving is somewhat crude. Illustration by courtesy of Noman Nasir, who suggested the mint reading for both these coins.

#### Sultāns of Dehli

Muhammad bin Tughluq (AH 725-752)

**D333m** gold dīnār Sultānpūr. Add date 726. This coin, to be illustrated in the next newletter by courtesy of A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd has the full mint-name visible in the margin.

#### A Surprising Date of Sultān Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh Of Bengal

By Noman Nasir

A few days ago I came across a Mubārak Shāh coin dated 753 AH. The coin description is as follows





**Metal :** Silver **Diameter :** 25 mm **Weight:** 10.8 gm  
 Obv. *al-sultān al-a'zam fakhr al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū'l muẓaffar mubarākshaāh al-sultān*  
 Rev. *yamīn al-khalīfa nāṣir amīr al-mū'minīn*  
 Marginal Legend: *duriba hathihi al-sikkah bi-hadrat jalāl sunārgānū sanah thalath wa khamsīn wa saba'miya.*



*The date part of the marginal legend*

It is surprising to find a specimen of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak coinage dated 753 as the history says that he died in 750 AH. From the numismatic evidence we find the last date on Mubārak Shāh's coins as 750 AH<sup>1</sup>. We have coins of his successor, Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ghāzī Shāh, dated from 750 to 753 AH<sup>2</sup>. And coins of Shams al-Dīn Ilyās Shāh who minted coins from Sunārgāon mint from 753 AH<sup>3</sup>. But, according to the histories, Mubārak Shāh died in 750, succeeded by his son, Ikhtiyār al-Dīn Ghāzī Shāh, who ruled till 753 AH. Ghāzī Shāh was dethroned by Ilyās Shāh in 753. Now the question arises how would it be possible for coins to be struck in the name of Fakhr al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh in 753. There is more than one possible explanation for this.

Perhaps Mubārak Shāh, having been dethroned in 750 AH by Ghāzī Shāh, managed to escape instead of dying or getting killed, made a surprise come back in 753 AH, dethroned Ghāzī Shāh and regained power before Ilyās gained control over Bengal in 753 AH. This is very unlikely to have happened but not impossible, as we all know that the history of Bengal was very eventful and full of surprises. We need more evidence to prove that.

Another possibility is that this is a mule with an obverse of Mubārak Shah and reverse of Ghāzī Shāh. That is, an obsolete, obverse die of Mubārak Shah's coinage was mistakenly used for Ghāzī Shāh's coin.

There is also another possibility, namely that the date 753 AH was engraved instead of 743 AH. This, however, is extremely unlikely as the coins dated 743 have the additional word "ALLAH" on the reverse, which is not present on this particular coin<sup>4</sup>.

If the coin is not a mule or with an erroneous date, then historians will have to think again about events at this particular period of Bengal history.

1 Stan Goron & J.P.Goenka, *The coins of the Indian Sultanates*, pp. 166, coin no. B136;

2 *ibid*, P-167, coin no. B138;

3 *ibid*, P-169, coin no. B158;

4 *ibid*, P-166, coin no. B135;

**Jahāngīr's Gold Tanka of Cambay**

By Stan Goron and M. Riaz Babar

In *Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics* by the great Indian numismatist, S.H. Hodivala (published in 1923, reprinted 1976), the author included an article entitled "Jahāngīr's Cambay Tankas". Referring to passage in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* in the translation by Rogers and Beveridge he states that some three months before Jahāngīr introduced his zodiac coinage in the first month of his 13<sup>th</sup> regnal year, the emperor had visited Cambay and his camp was pitched "on the shore of the salt sea" on Friday the 8<sup>th</sup> of Dī (in regnal year 12). He had a desire to look at the sea and witness the ebb and flow of the ocean, and after a halt of ten days the royal standards started for Aḥmadābād on Tuesday the 19<sup>th</sup> of Dī. Here the idea seized him of giving proof of his inventive genius

by ordering the issue of a new type of gold and silver coins called Tankas. In Rogers and Beveridge's translation, the passage reads: "At this time an order was given that tankas of gold and silver should be coined twice the weight of ordinary muhrs and rupees. The legend on the gold was on one side the words 'Jahāngīr-shāhī 1027' and on the reverse 'Struck in Cambay in the 12<sup>th</sup> year of his reign.' The legend for silver coins was on one side, 'Sikka Jahāngīr-shāhī 1027'; round it, this hemistich, 'King Jahāngīr of the conquering ray struck this'; and on the reverse, 'Coined at Cambay in the 12<sup>th</sup> year of the reign,' with this second hemistich round it: 'When after the conquest of the Deccan he came to Gujarāt from Māndū'.

When Hodivala wrote his article no such tankas had come to light and no silver tanka has yet come to light. Recently, however, an example of the gold tanka has been discovered, the legends on which correspond precisely to those described in the *Tūzuk* apart from the inclusion of the word *sikka* on the obverse, as is mentioned for the silver coins.



*Obverse:* within beaded border and circle, and reading upwards:

سکه جهانگیر شاہی

with the date, ۱۰۲۷ at the bottom.

*Reverse:* within same type of border and reading upwards:

ضرب کنیايت سنه ۱۲ خلوس

The weight of the coin is 22.4 g, the diameter 23 mm and the thickness 3 mm.

We must now hope that an example of the silver tanka will surface in the not too distant future.

**A Pawn in Politics: The First Reign of Muhammad Akbar**

By Shailendra Bhandare

**Introduction**

Muhammad Akbar, the son of Shah Alam II, ascended the throne of Delhi after the death of his father in 1806. However, this was not his first stint with royalty. As a puppet of the Rohilla chief, Ghulam Qadir, he was briefly installed on the throne of Delhi in 1788, when he was a young prince. His tenure as the Emperor left numismatic and archival vestiges. While the coins have been fairly well known amongst numismatists of post-Mughal coinages for almost 80 years, historians in general seem to be unaware of this event, although it is significant from the viewpoint of contemporary power politics. The best historical discourse on the subject, namely 'Fall of the Mughal Empire' by Jadunath Sarkar fails to take notice of the investiture. The discovery of the investiture of Muhammad Akbar as a Rohilla puppet began with certain coins struck in his name, but bearing the Hijri dates 1202 with regnal year *Ahd* or the first. Whitehead was the first to note these issues of Muhammad Akbar and recognised, after communication with S. H. Hodivala, that he must have been installed as a Rohilla puppet. He described them in detail in NS vol. XXXVI, 1922, pp. 3-10. This paper included an excellent historical commentary by S. H. Hodivala that, for the first time, confirmed the existence of the puppet reign of Muhammad Akbar from sources other than coins. The coins described by Whitehead were a rupee struck at Saharanpur and fulus, minted at Shahjahanabad and Ahmadabad, respectively. In the same paper he identified another rupee, struck at Saharanpur and listed in the



Punjab Museum Catalogue of Charles Rodgers, no. 3277, as belonging to this reign of Muhammad Akbar. Quite sagaciously, he further remarked that "Rupees of Shahjahanabad and Ahmadabad may come to light". Whitehead's sagacity was confirmed when he discovered and described a rupee of Shahjahanabad and a fulus (or paisa) of Saharanpur in Numismatic Chronicle, 5<sup>th</sup> series, vol. VI, 1926, p. 169. The rupee was illustrated on pl. XXV, no. 17. But for reasons unknown, the paisa was not. Several years later, in 1986, Sanjay Garg published an article about issues of two Mughal puppets, namely Bedar Bakht and Muhammad Akbar in Numismatic Digest, vol. 10. Apart from discussing the numismatic contribution of Whitehead and the historical commentary of Hodivala, this article mentioned an important archival reference to the investiture of Muhammad Akbar from the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, dating it conclusively to 15 October 1788. It collated information from contemporary Persian sources, such as the *Ibratnama* of Fakir Khair-ud-din, *Miftah-ut-Tawarikh* by Beale and *Waqiyat-i-Azfarī* by Muhammad Zahiruddin Azfari, in addition to *Mukhtasar-i-siyar-i-Gulistan-i-Hind*, a contemporary documentary source mentioned by Whitehead, quoting Rodgers. Garg quoted from these documents the couplets intended to be put on Muhammad Akbar's coins. The couplet that featured on the coins, according to Garg, reads –

*sikkah zad dar jahān ze fazal alāh  
hāmī dīn-e-nuhammad akbar shāh*

(Struck coin in the world by the grace of the almighty, Defender of the faith of Muhammad, the King Akbar)

In response to Garg's paper, S. K. Punshi published another rupee of Saharanpur in the next volume of Numismatic Digest. In 1987, Stan Goron and Ken Wiggins described in the ONS newsletter no. 106, a rupee and a fulus of Haridwar mint. However, their attribution was rejected in no uncertain terms by P. L. Gupta (jointly with Sanjay Garg) in a subsequent issue of ONS newsletter, no. 113, 1988. Since that date nothing has been written about these issues.

In the wake of certain new discoveries the question needs to be discussed afresh. Also, as nearly 80 years have lapsed since these coins were first reported, it would be worthwhile to compile the known numismatic evidence to enable a comprehensive treatment of the subject. I begin by describing the historical developments leading to the investiture of Muhammad Akbar at Delhi and its immediate aftermath. Although isolated events as they happened have been well described in the previous articles on the subject, a broad historical overview of the course of events and their ultimate culmination has not been outlined. An overview of this kind is imperative for understanding the context of the numismatic evidence at our disposal. The historical description will be followed by a commentary on papers previously published, analysis of conflicting views on the attribution of the coins and consolidation of its outcome to offer inferences in the light of the new evidence.

#### **Historical information as known from literary sources**

Muhammad Shah, the Mughal Emperor of India, died in 1749 AD. The decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century subsequent to that year witnessed political turmoil in Northern India with several resurgent indigenous powers such as the Jats, the Marathas and the Rajputs clamouring to assert themselves and trying to make the best of the political situation as the Mughal authority steadily declined. The successive Emperors, namely Ahmed Shah Bahadur, Alamgir II and Shah Alam II, grew increasingly dependant on factions of courtiers, and particularly in the case of the lattermost, even of the British. A powerful faction at the court was that of the Rohillas, who were Afghan émigrés to the region of Katehr situated to the west of the Doab, or the tract between the Ganges and Yamuna situated eastwards of Delhi. It was won over from its traditional 'Katehria' Rajput feudal lords and settled extensively by hordes of

Afghans, who were collectively referred to as 'Rohillas', lending their name to the tract that soon became known as 'Rohilkhand'.

The first Rohilla chief of repute in the post-Muhammad Shah years was Najib-ud-Dowla, or Najib Khan Rohilla. He founded the town of Najibabad, which became his seat. He was instrumental in the politics of Delhi and north India that brought about the Maratha debacle in the Third Battle of Panipat (January 1761) against Ahmed Shah Durrani, the Afghan king. However it turned out to be a Pyrrhic victory for Ahmed Shah and, in the subsequent decade, although the dominant Maratha presence was wiped out, the Afghans could not really occupy the position of the supreme political authority in North India. This was partly due to the capricious nature of Najib Khan himself, who could not be trusted in his pan-Islamic ideology by other Muslim statesmen such as Shuja-ud-Dowla, the Nawab-Wazir of Awadh. The Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam II himself, vacillated between the British and the Marathas for support, and ultimately after the death of Najib Khan and the sack of his capital Najibabad by the Marathas in 1772, chose to return to Delhi from his refuge at Allahabad under Maratha protection.

Rohilla power was seriously upset after a defeat at the hands of a combination of Shuja-ud-Dowla and the British in 1774. Zabeta Khan, the son and successor of Najib Khan, had to concede much of the Rohilla territory to the Nawab of Awadh. Najibabad itself was handed over. Subsequently, Zabita Khan constructed a fort in the Doab, about 20 miles to the north of Muzaffarnagar and named it Ghausgarh. This became the seat of Rohilla power for the following years. The years 1775-1780 saw the emergence of Mirza Najaf Khan, the last Persian statesman of any eminence at the Delhi Court, and he successfully curtailed any further Rohilla threats to the Mughals. Meanwhile, Zabita Khan had to deal with the Sikhs, who were becoming a dominant power in the Punjab and aspiring to spread their influence eastwards to the Doab. However in the decade of 1780-1790, new political equations were created at Delhi between the Persian, Afghan and Maratha factions. Outwardly, the Persians claimed for themselves closer or familial links with the Emperor and therefore their faction was referred to as 'Mughalia'. The Marathas under Mahadaji Sindhia made most of the opportunities afforded by the feuds between the successors of Najaf Khan, until Mahadaji managed to secure the Regency at Delhi in 1784. In this bid, he eliminated Muhammad Beg Hamadani, a powerful Mughalia noble and thereby estranged the Mughalia faction, as they saw the Emperor closer to Sindhia than themselves. The initial phase of Sindhia supremacy at Delhi, however, did not last long. Plagued by an ever-increasing shortage of money, Mahadaji attacked the Rajputs to exact tributes they had avoided paying for a long time. But his army was defeated at Lalsot in early 1787 by the Rajputs and, as a result, the political situation once again became a power vacuum in Delhi.

The Rohilla domains lay in the hands of Ghulam Qadir at this juncture, which he ruled from Ghausgarh. He was the son and successor of Zabita Khan and, thus, a grandson of Najib Khan. He was ambitious for the office of the Regent (*Mir Bakhshi*), which his father and grandfather had enjoyed, and saw an opportunity in the Maratha defeat at Lalsot to extend his influence beyond the Yamuna. He met an accomplice in Manzur 'Ali, who was the *Nazir* (a ministerial position) and appeared at Delhi with a 2,000-strong force. Manzur 'Ali persuaded the Emperor to invest him with the robes of the post and titles such as '*Amir-ul-umara, Raushan-ud-Dowla Bahadur*', much against the latter's own wishes. The discord within the Mughal court, however, meant that other feudal lords of the court did not equivocally accept the authority of the new Regent. Begum Samru, the wife of the French General, Walter Reinhard, alias Sombre and the Lady of Sirdhana, opposed his command. But Ghulam Qadir soon asserted himself firmly and stormed Delhi in October 1787. His success is attributed more to the rival ambitions of various courtiers than his military might. The imperial army, starved of cash and virtually leaderless after Sindhia's rout at Lalsot, pillaged areas of Delhi



inhabited by the rich and drove away Mahadaji Sindhia's protégés from the city. Ghulam Qadir then set out to win over the tracts that appertained to his title as *Mir Bakhshi*, but which had been 'snatched' by Jats and Marathas.

The year 1788 saw Sindhia's authority seriously challenged in the Doab and around Delhi. The ever-opportunistic feudal barons such as Ismail Beg Hamadani, Himmat Bahadur Gossain and several other minor Rohilla, Jat and Rajput *jagirdars* embroiled themselves in simultaneous attempts to wrest Sindhia lands in those regions. Of these, Ismail Beg, who was a Mughalia noble, made a pact with Ghulam Qadir and the combined armies of Rohilla and Mughalia factions tried to win over Maratha territory. But Mahadaji Sindhia decisively defeated them on the outskirts of Agra. The course of most fateful events at Delhi was set after this defeat. The defeated combine then turned on Delhi and once again threatened the capital. Shah Alam II was of the opinion to invite the Marathas to save Delhi. He had made his mind clear by sending robes of honour to Mahadaji after his victory at Agra. But the courtiers of the Emperor were as ever divided over the issue. Especially those who had sided with Ghulam Qadir in the recent past thought that Sindhia might avenge himself upon them. They tricked the Emperor into granting an audience to Ghulam Qadir and he foolishly agreed. That sealed the fate of the capital. The date of this audience was 15 July 1788. The last Rohilla occupation of the city began on that date and lasted till 12 October.

During these three months, unspeakable agonies befell Shah Alam II and the city of Delhi itself. In the words of Jadunath Sarkar – "tender children and helpless women were done to death by denying them food or drink altogether for several days, princes were flogged, princesses were dishonoured, servants were beaten till they died. The entire palace area as well as the mansions of the rich outside the fort was turned upside down by digging for concealed treasure. The palace was denuded of its property and the Royal family of its youthful beauties to gratify the Rohilla's passions. It was a dance of demons for nine weeks". On 18 July, Ghulam Qadir and Ismail Beg occupied the palace and pressed Shah Alam II for money to wage war against Mahadaji Sindhia. The Emperor had no money, instead he sent his son as a hostage to them. Meanwhile, Malika-i-Zamani, the Dowager Queen and wife of Muhammad Shah, hatched a plot with the Rohilla - Mughalia combine that if her grandson were to be installed as Emperor, she would pay them 1.2 million rupees. On 30 July, Ghulam Qadir occupied the royal enclosure in the Red Fort with Ismail Beg and confined Shah Alam. The next day, he was deposed and Bidar Bakht, the son of Ahmed Shah Bahadur was installed on the throne by the duo, thus satisfying the Dowager Queen's ambitions. He was called by the title 'Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Jahan Shah'. Ghulam Qadir's thirst for money was not quenched fully with what he received from Malika-i-Zamani. He continued to pressurise Shah Alam for more. His initial overtures were conciliatory. Bidar Bakht was useless as a ruler any way and spent most of his time flying kites (*Patangbaazi*), taking pleasure in the sight as they soared over his hapless capital. Ghulam Qadir tried to win Shah Alam into acquiescence by offering to replace Bidar Bakht with his favourite son, Muhammad Akbar. But being penniless himself, Shah Alam simply could not meet Ghulam Qadir's demands. He paid very dearly for this. On 10 August, Ghulam Qadir's torture tactics took a vindictive turn and he blinded Shah Alam. The Mughal household suffered inconceivable torment in the following months. Ghulam Qadir did not even spare his accomplices. Along with other queens of the harem, Malika-i-Zamani also suffered harassment and was made to stand on a bastion of the fort in full public view and subjected to thirst for hours. Several supportive courtiers like *Nazir Mansur Ali* were harassed for money. But at the end of all these atrocities, when the question of dividing the spoils came to the fore, cracks began to appear in the Rohilla - Mughalia alliance. Ghulam Qadir, who was personally involved in this extortion from the Mughal household, did not offer a fair

share to Ismail Beg. On 25 September, when the *Nazir* yielded 5,000 mohurs and 40,000 rupees in cash along with several gold and silver objects and expensive textiles, Ghulam Qadir sent only 40,000 rupees to Ismail Beg. The misfortunes caused by the former on the persona of Shah Alam and the treatment he accorded to his supporters in Delhi also became a bone of contention between the two. The pillage and plunder of past weeks had left Delhi in financial ruin and the possibility of exacting more and more wealth began to wane away, much to the dismay of Mughalia soldiers. As a result, Ismail Beg finally deserted Ghulam Qadir on 28 September and sided with Rane Khan Bhai, the General commanding Sindhia's troops which had arrived on the outskirts of Delhi to rescue the beleaguered city.

This marked the beginning of the downfall of Ghulam Qadir. The Maratha army led by Rane Khan Bhai and Jivba Dada Bakshi, reinforced by detachments from Ismail Beg and Begum Samru, entered Delhi on 2 October 1788. Ghulam Qadir panicked and began transferring his booty to the Rohilla stronghold of Ghausgarh, beyond the Yamuna, Ganga and Gomti rivers. But the Sikhs and local Gujar marauders looted these convoys repeatedly. Ghulam Qadir therefore resorted to securing his estates on the eastern bank of the Yamuna. Till 11 October he maintained a garrison in Delhi. On that day he escaped from Delhi via the Salimgarh crossing on the Yamuna.

Historians do not document what happened next in detail. This is the crucial period when Muhammad Akbar was invested with robes of royalty for the first time. The course of events is important to ascertain where and when this was done. Jadunath Sarkar, while meticulously describing the events leading to Ghulam Qadir's flight, mentions that "after the monotonous tale of warfare in diverse theatres of the preceding sixteen months, it would be wearisome to narrate the story of the hunting down of Ghulam Qadir in detail. The campaign had nothing of interest or importance to show in its course". Perhaps the reason for this abrupt remark is the dearth of information that he and others faced in ascertaining what was the course of Ghulam Qadir once he left Delhi. Hodivala reproduced the contemporary mention of the enthronement of Muhammad Akbar from *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette* by Seton-Karr. It is an extract dated 4 December, 1788, and states as follows: "The latest accounts ... announce the continuance of Golaum Kadir Cawn, accompanied by his newly elected king Mirza Akbar Shaw, his late king Bedar Shaw and several other Princes, at a place called Meerut about four days march from his capital Saharanpur."

P. L. Gupta, in association with Sanjay Garg, maintained that the investiture of Muhammad Akbar took place at Saharanpur on 15 October 1788. On this basis they dismissed Whitehead's claims of attributing the coins of Shahjahanabad mint in the name of Muhammad Akbar to his first reign (discussed further). But when available historical sources are scrutinised, it casts a strong doubt whether Ghulam Qadir ever reached Saharanpur. Jadunath Sarkar, in spite of his brusque remark mentioned earlier, states that he "first crossed the ferries over the Jamuna for twenty miles along the opposite bank to which he had removed his army". From the same source, we have seen earlier that once the Maratha troops began to advance on Delhi, Ghulam Qadir dispatched his wealth out of the city, intending to send it to Ghausgarh. The correspondent of the *Calcutta Gazette* is evidently wrong in identifying Saharanpur as the Rohilla capital. The fact that Ghulam Qadir may well have ridden in the direction of Saharanpur can be accounted for by the fact that Ghausgarh actually lies on the road that leads to Saharanpur from Delhi. Given his association with Ghausgarh it is much more likely for Ghulam Qadir to retire to Ghausgarh than to Saharanpur, which is further north than Ghausgarh. Moreover, it is unlikely that, after lumbering around for twenty miles along the Yamuna, Ghulam Qadir successfully avoided the ever-prying Marathas and reached Saharanpur in just three days.

The entire region of Rohilkhand was held by Ghulam Qadir's cronies and the Maratha - Mughalia force had to evict these



Rohilla representatives systematically. The region stretched from Saharanpur in the north to Aligarh in the south, in the Doab tract. Ghulam Qadir's movements from 12 October to mid-November are not certain. On 20 November, his stronghold of Aligarh fell to the Marathas. Jadunath Sarkar comments that "the Ruhela despair turned southwards and moved from place to place without any plan and fighting the Marathas with no decisive result". His usage 'turned southwards' is worth noting, because that indicates Ghulam Qadir never reached Ghausgarh, let alone Saharanpur. By 4 December, he found refuge in the fort of Meerut, as seen from the report of the correspondent of the Calcutta Gazette. The Marathas invested the fort. By 11 December, their strength had gathered force as contingents of 'Ali Bahadur, the Nawab of Banda, reached them. On 17 December, Ghulam Qadir fled Meerut and "sought to gain the road to Ghausgarh" (*vide* Sarkar). But his detachment of 500 horsemen was led astray by a Maratha patrol. As a result, Ghulam Qadir was separated from his men and finally arrested on 19 December by 'Ali Bahadur's troops. He was later executed after prolonged torture and mutilation.

Coming to the coins, which prompted historians to take note of the important event of the nominal accession of Muhammad Akbar in 1788, we find that they are struck at four mints – Shahjahanabad, Ahmadabad, Saharanpur and Hardwar. As said in the beginning it will be worth describing all known coins and then proceed with a fresh analysis of the numismatic evidence.

#### Numismatic evidence described

At the outset, it must be noted that the couplet seen on all the coins is at variance with what Sanjay Garg reported from archival sources. They use the words 'ze fazal ilāh', whereas on the coins the couplet reads 'be fazal ilāh'. It is interesting to note that the latter is not the grammatically preferred form of construction yet it is used on coins, whereas the correct form, as seen from the archival sources, is discarded.

Coins of the Shahjahanabad mint: Whitehead was first to describe these coins. The coins, which he published, now rest in the cabinets of the Department of Coins and Medals, The British Museum. I describe them as follows –

1. Ar Rupee, 11.19g; BM accession number 1922-4-24-2270, R.B. Whitehead collection. Previously published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, fifth series, vol. VI, 1926, entitled 'Some Notable Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India', illustrated on pl. XXV, no.17.



Obv: Legend in three lines, partially visible as – *sikka zad dar jahān [be] fazal ilāh [hāmī dīn] muhammad akbar shāh [1]2[0]2*. The *Zad* of 'Fazal' and the *Shīn* of 'Shāh' form the dividers. An 'umbrella' is placed in the central line, and the date at 7 o'clock.

Rev: Legend in two halves, partially seen as – *zarb [dār al-] khilā[fa] shāh[jahān]ābād [ju]lūs sanah ahd maimanat manūs*. The *Be* of 'Zarb' forms the divider.

2. Ar Rupee, 11.23g; Spink-Taisei Singapore auction no. 14, Singapore, 18-19 February 1993, part of lot no. 1060. Unpublished, this lot contains two other coins of Muhammad Akbar, issued in his first reign, which are described further.



Obv: Couplet in three lines, partly seen, as – *si[kka] zad dar jahān] be fazal ilāh hāmī dīn muhammad akbar [shāh] [120]3*. The *Sīn* of 'Sikka' and the *Shīn* of 'Shāh' form the dividers. A floral sprig placed in the loop of *Ye* in 'Hāmī', and the date is placed at 9 o'clock.

Rev: Legend in two halves, with the divider formed as in the previous case – *[za]rb [dār al-] khilā[fa] shāh[jahān]ābād] sanah ahd [julūs] maimanat manūs*.

3. Ae Falus, 8.98 g; BM accession number 1922-4-24-2944, R. B. Whitehead collection. Previously published in *Numismatic Supplement to the JASB*, no. XXXVI, p. 6.



Obv: Legend in two lines, partially seen as – *[fulūs] [ak]bar shāhī [1]2[0]3*. An anchor-shaped ornament placed in the loop of the *Sīn* in 'Fulūs' and the date at 8 o'clock.

Rev: Legend in two lines, seen partly, as – *[zar]b shā[h]jahān]ābād] sanah [a]hd*. A mark of a 'fish' placed above 'Ahd' and a four-pointed star after it.

Coins of the Saharanpur mint: The silver coins of Saharanpur are the most numerous amongst the issues of the first reign of Muhammad Akbar. The mint-name on all of them appears with the epithet 'Dār al-Sarūr', meaning 'abode of happiness'.

1. Ar Rupee; BM accession number 1922-4-24-3536, R. B. Whitehead collection. Published in *Numismatic Supplement*, *ibid*. The same has been illustrated as KM no. 760.

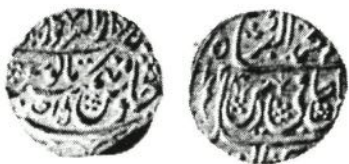


Obv: the couplet in three lines, seen partially as – *si[kka] zad dar jahān] be fazal ilāh hāmī dīn muhammad akbar shāh 1203*. The *Sīn* of 'Sikka' and the *Shīn* of 'Shāh' form the dividers. A short sprig placed in the loop of *Ye* in 'Hāmī', clusters of four dots each in the loops seen in the central line and the date appears above one of them in the loop of the *Nūn* in 'Dīn'.

Rev: legend in two halves, partially visible as – *[za]rb [dār al-] sarūr [sahā]ranpūr] julūs sanah ahd maimanat manūs*. The *Be* of 'Zarb' forms the divider, clusters of four dots in loops of *Sīn* in 'Manūs' and 'Julūs', and a 'fish-hook' like symbol placed next to 'Ahd'.

2. Ar Rupee, 11.16 g; previously published by S. K. Punshi in *Numismatic Digest*, vol. 11, pp. 87 – 88.





Obv: the couplet in three lines partly seen as – *sikka [zad dar jahān ba faza]l [il]āh hāmī dīn muḥammad akbar shāh 1203*. A trifoliate sprig in the loop of *Ye* in ‘Hāmī’, clusters of five or more dots placed in the loops in the central line and the date appears divided by the vertical stroke of the *Kāf* in ‘Sikka’.

Rev: Legend in two halves, seen almost completely as – *zarb dār al-sarūr sahāra[npūr] julūs sanah aḥd maimanat manūs*. Clusters of five or more dots in the loops of the *Sīn* in ‘Manūs’ and ‘Julūs’, and the ‘fish-hook’ placed next to the regnal year. Foliate decorations are seen below the inscription.

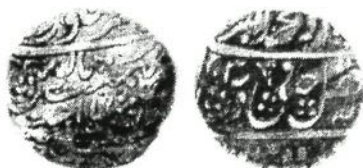
3. Ar Rupee, 11.22 g; Spink-Taisei Singapore auction no. 14, part of lot no. 1060, *ibid*.



Obv: the couplet in three lines as follows – *sikka [zad dar] jahān [ba faza]l [ilāh] hāmī dīn muḥammad [a]kbar shāh 1203*. Dividers formed by the same characters as in the previous case, with clusters of four dots in the loops in central line and a floral sprig as before.

Rev: legend in two lines – *zarb [dār] al-sarūr sahā[ranpūr] julūs sa[nah] aḥ[d] maimanat manūs*. The ‘fish-hook’ appears next to ‘Aḥd’ and a six-rayed star just above the *Nūn* in ‘Maimanat’. *Be* in ‘Zarb’ as the divider, as in the previous case, and clusters of four dots in the loops of *Sīn* and *Shīn* in ‘Manūs’ and ‘Julūs’.

4. Ar Rupee, 11.2 g; Private Collection, India. Unpublished, almost a die-duplicate of the above specimen.



Obv: Couplet in three lines formed by dividers as in the previous case, read partly as – *si[kka] zad dar jahā[n] ba fazal ilāh hāmī dīn muḥammad akbar sh[āh] [1]203*. Placement of floral sprig and the clusters as previous specimen described.

Rev: Legend in two lines, with divider as described in the previous case, seen partially as – *[za]rb [dār] al-sarūr [sa]hā[ranpūr] sanah aḥd [jul]ūs maimanat manūs*. Placement of clusters and differentiating symbols of fish-hook and the star as in the previous case.

5. Ar Rupee, 11.40 g; Punjab Museum, Lahore – no. 3277. Classified as ‘unassigned’ by Whitehead in the catalogue, but attributed to the first reign of Muhammad Akbar in Numismatic supplement and Numismatic Chronicle, *ibid*. This coin is also almost a die-duplicate of the above specimen.



3277

Obv: the couplet, truncated to half of its total content – *sikk[a zad dar jahān be faza]l ilāh hāmī dīn muḥammad akbar shāh 1203*. The date appears in the central line. Placement of the floral sprig and the clusters of dots are as before.

Rev: legend in two halves, with the mint-name almost completely truncated – *[za]rb [dār] al-sarūr [sahāranpūr] sanah aḥd julūs maimanat manūs*. The placement of fishhook and the six-rayed star as previously described.

6. Ar Rupee, 11.2 g; Private Collection, India. Unpublished. (Not illustrated).

Obv: Couplet partially visible as – *si[kka] zad dar jahā[n] ba fazal ilāh hāmī dī[n mu]ḥammad [akbar] sh[āh]*. Dividers formed by characters as in the case above. Trifoliate sprig in the loop of the *Ye* in ‘Hāmī’ as in the specimen from Punshi collection, but dots in clusters vary in numbers.

Rev: Legend in two halves, with divider as in the case described above, visible partly as – *[za]rb [dār] al-sarūr [sa]hā[ranpūr] sanah aḥd julūs maimanat manūs*. The fishhook and six-rayed star occupy the same positions as in the previous case, but the execution of the fish-hook is markedly different from other specimens. This piece also differs from the rest in having a small leaf below the *Sīn* in ‘Dār- al-Sarūr’.

7. Ae Fulūs, 9.07 g; BM accession number 1922-4-24-2942, R. B. Whitehead collection. Previously described in Numismatic Chronicle, *ibid*., but not illustrated.



Obv: legend in two lines – *[fulūs] akbar shāhī 1203*. The *Ye* in *majhūl* form in the word ‘Shāhī’ forms the divider and the date is placed above ‘Shā’. An anchor-shaped mark is placed within the loop of the *Sīn* in the word ‘Fulūs’.

Rev: legend in two parts – *zarb dār al-sarūr sahāranpūr sanah aḥd*. The ‘fishhook’ mark is placed to the right of ‘Aḥd’.

Coins of Ahmadabad mint: Whitehead described a solitary fulūs and the same is reproduced here.

1. Ae Fulūs, 8.96 g; BM accession number 1922-4-24-2943, R. B. Whitehead collection.



Obv: Legend in two lines, visible partially as – *[ful]ūs [ak]bar shāhī 12 [0]3*. The *Ye* in ‘Shāhī’ in its *majhūl* form, forms the divider. The date is placed at 8 o’clock.

Rev: legend in two lines as – *[zarb] [ah]madābād [sanah] aḥd*. Three marks are seen on this side, a fish above ‘Aḥd’, a sword preceding it, and a small star succeeding it.



Coins of Hardwar mint: Goron and Wiggins first described issues of this mint. Subsequently, one more specimen featured in Spink-Taisei auction no. 14.

1. Ar Rupee, weight not given. Published previously in ONS newsletter, no. 106, May-June 1987. The reading of the mint-name shown here was the authors' restoration and was contested by P. L. Gupta and Sanjay Garg. This coin was in the Ken Wiggins collection and has been subsequently acquired by the British Museum.



Obv: the couplet with the same arrangement as before, partly visible as – *si[kka za]d dar ja[h]ā[n] be [fa]zal [i]lāh hāmī dīn [mu]hammad [akbar shāh 120]3*. The coin is ornamented with clusters of dots and floral and geometric designs.

Rev: legend in two halves, with dividers as before, partially readable as – *zarb [ha]rīdw[ar] sanah ahd julūs maimanat manūs*. The mintmark of a trident is seen to the left of 'Ahd'.

2. Ar Rupee, 11.16 g; Spink-Taisei auction no. 14, part of lot 1060, *ibid*. Unpublished.



Obv: the couplet, seen partly, with dividers as on the issues of Saharanpur – *[sikka zad dar jahān be fa]zal ilāh hāmī dīn muhammad akbar shā[h]*

Rev: legend in two parts, in the same layout as before. The mint-name is not read at this juncture, but discussed further. The rest of the legend reads as – *[za]rb ... sanah ahd [julūs] [ma]imanat manūs*. A circle appears to the left of 'Ahd'.

3. Ae Fulus, weight not given. Published by Goron and Wiggins, *ibid*.



Obv: legend in three lines, partially visible, as – *fulūs akbar [shāhī] 120[2 or 3]*. The Ye in its *majhūl* form in the word 'Shāhī' forms the divider. The date is placed just below the name 'Akbar'.

Rev: legend in two lines – *[za]rb [ha]rdwa[r] sanah ahd*. Two marks, a trident and a stylised dagger appear on the left and right sides of 'Ahd', respectively.

#### **Analysis of the Numismatic evidence**

As described in the beginning, the first reign of Muhammad Akbar was identified first through his coins. Whitehead noted the

coins dated 1202-1203 AH, struck in the name of Muhammad Akbar bearing his first regnal year. He posed the question to S. H. Hodivala at the end of November 1919 – "Is it possible that a claimant called Muhammad Akbar, an individual either distinct from or the same as the personage who afterwards became Muhammad Akbar II, was pushed forward in addition to Bedar Bakht as a claimant to the Mughal throne in the troubled period 1202-03 AH?" To his delight, Hodivala dug out the reference from the *Selections from the Calcutta Gazette* and answered in the affirmative. They jointly wrote the paper in which coins of Shahjahanabad, Ahmadabad and Saharanpur mints were described. Subsequently Sanjay Garg mentioned the exact date of his coronation, 15 October 1788 from a contemporary archival source. In the same paper he rectified the usage of the word 'claimant' or 'pretender' by his predecessors to describe Muhammad Akbar's status, to a more rightful 'puppet'. The doubt about their attribution was first raised by P. L. Gupta, who in the paper that he co-authored with Garg, summarily dismissed Whitehead's claim that coins were issued in the name of Muhammad Akbar from Shahjahanabad mint. In the same paper, he struck down the reading of the mint-name 'Haridwar' with a long 'i' as proposed by Goron and Wiggins to attribute a rupee of the puppet reign of Muhammad Akbar to the famous North Indian pilgrimage town. As Gupta claimed that his views were based on historical facts and because his comments have serious historical implications, it is worth analysing his assessment of the historical evidence and examine the question in the light of new numismatic finds.

Coins of the Shahjahanabad mint: Gupta challenged Whitehead's attribution of the Shahjahanabad coins on the following four historical facts –

1. Ghulam Qadir fled from Delhi with a number of Mughal princes on 12 October 1788.
2. Akbar Shah was installed as a puppet ruler at Saharanpur on 11 Muharram 1203 AH, corresponding to 15 October 1788.
3. The Marathas installed Shah Alam II on the throne at Delhi on 17 October 1788.
4. Delhi subsequently remained under Maratha control, who were hostile to Ghulam Qadir, so would not have recognised his puppet.

Describing these events, Gupta remarks that "there would have been no-one at Shahjahanabad to favour Ghulam Qadir and his puppet king, Akbar Shah, and issue coins within this short period", and therefore there is no reason to assume that coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar were struck at Shahjahanabad. He suggests the possibility that the coin may have been struck at Saharanpur to lend support to putative claims that Ghulam Qadir may have had to Delhi (Shahjahanabad). Gupta then points out to the lacunae as perceived by him, in numismatic evidence presented by Whitehead, to overrule this possibility. He notes that the silver coin published by Whitehead bears only the figures '22' of the date. The first of these is truncated and there is no dot, indicating the Zero, between the two. Whitehead assumed the presence of this dot and restored the date to (1) 2 (0) 2. That Hijri year ends on 2 October 1788 and as Muhammad Akbar was crowned on 15 October, the date 1202 would mean that he had no kingly status on that date. Thus, Gupta concludes that, given the evidence that dated the event of Muhammad Akbar's investiture, Whitehead's surmise is "today rendered worthless". But in an attempt to account for the truncated date, he restores it to (12) 22, corresponding to 1806 AD, the first year of the legitimate rule of Muhammad Akbar. Gupta's analysis, therefore, leads to two inferences, which are:

- a) No coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar could have been struck at Shahjahanabad because, having been crowned at Saharanpur, he was never present at Shahjahanabad as puppet ruler. Even if his patrons were, the period was too short to strike coins in his name. Gupta reiterates this observation further in the paper and declares that apart from Saharanpur, no other place



could be credited with having struck coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar as a puppet king.

b) Whitehead's Rupee of Shahjahanabad belongs, not to the puppet reign, but to the legitimate reign of Muhammad Akbar and the date that it bears is not 1202, but 1222.

Both these inferences require rethinking in the light of new evidence. It may be seen from Gupta's argument that his first inference is based on the fact that Muhammad Akbar was crowned on 15 October, an event which he claims to have taken place at Saharanpur. But the historical discussion preceding the numismatic analysis presented here indicates that there is good reason to believe that Ghulam Qadir, after his flight from Delhi, never reached Saharanpur. Gupta based his argument on the evidence of two letters published in 'The Calendar of Persian Correspondence', where they are to be found in Vol. VIII, 1788-89, National Archives of India, New Delhi, 1953, pp. 352-53. It is worthwhile referring to them in the original to see what they contain. The contents of the two letters are as follows:

1) Mirza Akbar Shah to Nawab Faizullah Khan: "From the unbounded favour of Providence, on the 14th *Muharram* (15 October) the imperial throne was illuminated by our august accession and the sound of the kettle-drum of felicitations reached the ears of the inhabitants of earth and of the world above it. The dignity of the pulpit increased a thousand-fold on account of the *khutba* being preached from it in our auspicious name and the face of the gold and silver coins shone brighter than the sun and the moon by the effulgence of the impression, of our name on them. Now that the writer has taken the administration of affairs in his own hands and the *Vakil-i-Mutlaq Amirul-Umara Najibud-Daulah* Ghulam Abdul Qadir Ahmad Khan *Sabit Jang* and all the nobles of the empire have girded their loins in his service, the Khan is called upon to remain firm in the path of allegiance according to ancient custom."

2) Ghulam Qadir Khan to Nawab Faizullah Khan: "On the 14th *Muharram* His Majesty Muhammad Akbar Shah ascended the imperial throne and *khutba* was read and *Sikkas* issued in his name in all parts of the world. His Majesty has addressed a *shuqqa* to the Khan who should therefore send a reply expressing his devotion and allegiance."

(Faizullah Khan sent these letters in the original to Mr. Ives, who was the British Resident at Lucknow. He further states that 'He took the letters brought by the servants of that rebel and turned them out without any answer'. This correspondence is dated 19 *Safar* 1201 AH (19 November 1788) and was received at Lucknow on 3 December.)

As can be clearly seen, the letters do not mention where the investiture of Muhammad Akbar took place. Gupta seems to be entirely imaginative in claiming that it happened at Saharanpur. In all probability, he arrived at this inference by combining the two archival details, i.e. the mention of the date of coronation in the Calendar of Persian Correspondence and the instance in *Calcutta Gazette* where Saharanpur is mentioned as the 'Rohilla capital'. The exact location remains a mystery, although it is entirely conceivable that it might have taken place in the Red Fort (Shahjahanabad) just before the imminent flight of Ghulam Qadir. Judging from Sarkar's mention that Ghulam Qadir trudged twenty miles before he could find an access to ford the river Yamuna after his exit from the Delhi fort, there is an equal likelihood of the event taking place somewhere en route to Ghausgarh, possibly in the close vicinity of Delhi. Secondly, even though the Marathas re-installed Shah Alam II on the throne at Delhi on 17 October, it still allows two days for the supporters of Ghulam Qadir in Delhi to strike coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar. This lapse of time is not as short as Gupta claims. Thirdly, while arguing against Whitehead's attribution of the silver coin of Shahjahanabad, Gupta has completely ignored the fact that he published a copper coin of that mint as well. The date on this fulus is also truncated but can be convincingly restored to 1203 AH, which began on 3 October 1788. In that case the coin falls safely within the year which saw Muhammad Akbar invested with

the robes of royalty, and Gupta's contention about disregarding Shahjahanabad as the mint again falls short. The decisive evidence that the date on this coin, even though truncated, is nothing else but 1203 comes from a different source. In the British Museum collection, there exists another fulus, minted in the name of Shah Alam II, bearing the date 12 (0) 4, where the reverse die bears links with that used for striking the Muhammad Akbar fulus, published by Whitehead. In fact, accounting for the usual wear, it may indeed be the same die used for Muhammad Akbar's coins. The coin may be described as follows -

Ae Fulus, 8.87 g; BM accession number 1903-10-9-89, purchased from W. S. Talbot.



Obv: legend in two lines - 'alām shāhī 12 (0) 4 / fulūs. The 'ye' of 'Shāhī' in its *majhūl* form forms the divider. The date is seen below 'Shā'.

Rev: legend in two lines - *zarb shāhjahānābād / sanah ahd* in two lines, with 'Be' of 'Zarb' forming the divider. Symbol of a fish above the regnal year and a four-pointed star after it.

The similarity in the reverse die is noticeable when they are juxtaposed illustratively. The regnal year that this coin bears reads 'Ahd', which is anachronistic for Shah Alam II, who was in the 31<sup>st</sup> year of his reign in 1204 AH. This die link conclusively proves that the fulus bearing the name of Muhammad Akbar was indeed struck at Shahjahanabad. It also demonstrates that the successor political authority at Delhi did not bother about replacing the reverse dies of the old puppet, although the obverse bearing his name was duly replaced with one bearing the name of Shah Alam. The second silver coin described above bears the last numeral '3' very clearly and it can be safely surmised that the chronological detail on it must have been 1203.

We have to conclude therefore that coins of both metals were struck with the mint-name Shahjahanabad during the puppet reign of Muhammad Akbar.

Gupta's inference about the date on Whitehead's coin silver coin demands an enquiry as well. Whitehead's coin indeed bears the numerals 22. Gupta reckons them to stand for 1222 and attributes the coin to the first year of the legitimate reign of Muhammad Akbar. But in reasoning in this manner, Gupta has not considered the stylistic development of coins struck at Shahjahanabad. When rupees struck at Shahjahanabad are studied it becomes apparent that those bearing the name of Shah Alam II, bear two couplets. Those struck prior to the year 1202 AH bear the 'Haft Kishwar' couplet that reads:

*sikka zad bar haft kishwar bi sayah fazl-i-alāh  
hāmī dīn-i-muhammad shāh alam bādshah*

Coins after 1202 AH bear the 'Şāhib Qirānī' couplet, which reads as follows:

*sikka zad zi tayid şāhib qirānī  
hāmī dīn-i-alāh muhammad shāh 'alām bādshāh*



Both these couplets have a characteristic layout on the obverse of coins of Shah Alam II, and the placements of the differentiating mark (a royal umbrella) and the date are specific for both. The couplet seems to have changed in that fateful year, 1202. There are two variations in the arrangement of the second couplet, on with the words *ṣāhib qirān* in the last (third) line and the other with the same words in the second line. They are illustrated here –



The variant where the words are placed in the second line continued in the aftermath of Shah Alam II's restoration. Here the date and the mark of an umbrella are in a different place. The design of the silver coins of Muhammad Akbar, in his legitimate reign (post-1806) is derived from the coins of Shah Alam II of this type. As such, it retains both the couplet and the placement for the date and mark, with due changes in the text to incorporate his name instead of his father's. It now reads

*sikka zad zi tayid 'ṣāhib qirānī'  
hāmī dīn-i-alāh muḥammad akbar bādshāh*

The coin of Muhammad Akbar published by Whitehead bears a different couplet to that seen on the issues of his legitimate reign. The placement of the mark and date are more similar to that seen on the coins of Shah Alam II before his dethronement. These observations are even more accentuated in the case of second rupee, dated 1203, described above. Notably, this coin omits the umbrella, regarded as a sign of royalty, from the design of the coin. These design-related type similarities with the Shah Alam II issues before his dislodgement indicate that these coins, although bearing truncated dates, could not have been struck twenty years after the related types had ceased to be issued from the Shahjahanabad mint. The type similarities overwhelmingly support that these coins are issues of Shahjahanabad mint during the years 1202 and 1203.

One point made by Gupta in relation to Whitehead's silver coin deserves explanation. This is about the date being reckoned as 1202 AH, the year that ended on 2 October 1788. When we know from archival sources that Muhammad Akbar was enthroned on 15 October, the date 1203 AH can be account for. But what would be the exegesis for the date 1202 AH? Moreover, Whitehead's coin of 1202 AH and the coin from the Spink auction bearing 1203 AH are of two completely different dies. They differ in details such as the differentiating mark and the words that are calligraphically arranged as dividers. Two explanations are possible for the occurrence of two different dies in such a short space of time – they were either struck at different times, or at different locations. Judging by the chronological detail seen on the Whitehead specimen, the former seems to be the case. We therefore have to ascertain at which juncture in the course of all the woeful events of the year 1788, especially before the termination of the year 1202 AH, i.e. 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1788, conditions were most suitable for the Whitehead coin to be struck.

Fortunately, there seems to be one particular period when Ghulam Qadir, the mastermind behind the upheaval, is known to have played with the idea of installing Muhammad Akbar on the throne. This was almost immediately after the dethronement of Shah Alam II and subsequent investiture of Bidar Bakht as Nasir-ud-din Muhammad Jahan Shah on 31 July 1788. Ghulam Qadir had placed Shah Alam II in confinement and tried to coerce him to the maximum for money. In the first week of August, his efforts are known to have been conciliatory and not intemperate. He turned drastic on the 10 August, the day he blinded Shah Alam.

The clinching reference may be had from Keene's 'Fall of the Mughal Empire', quoted by Hodivala. Keene writes, "On the 7<sup>th</sup> [of August] he [i.e. Ghulam Qadir] visited the Emperor in his confinement and offered to put on the throne Mirza Akbar, the Emperor's favourite son *who did in fact ultimately succeed*". (Italics and explanatory information within square brackets are mine). Hitherto, historians have assumed that this 'ultimate succession' of Muhammad Akbar came about after Ghulam Qadir's flight from Delhi. But it is plausible that Ghulam Qadir executed his decision, albeit in a token manner by producing a coin, before he blinded Shah Alam. In fact his frustration even after such a 'complimentary' measure as to offer and install the Emperor's favourite son in Bidar Bakht's stead seems to have resulted in the heinous culmination on 10 August. In the wake of this bit of literary evidence and the appearance of coins of two different designs and dates it is plausible that the Whitehead specimen will have been struck at the orders of Ghulam Qadir on 8 or 9 of August, 1788.

At this juncture it would be worthwhile to comment on one more fallacy in Gupta's statements about the chronological detail seen on these coins. The rupee of Hardwar mint published by Goron and Wiggins bears the date 1203 AH in a truncated form, where only the last figure 3 is visible. In his analysis, Gupta seems to be guided by his conviction that no other mint apart from Saharanpur could have issued coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar as puppet. In his attempts to drive home the certitude, he remarks that the date on this coin as well must be reconstructed to 1223 AH and not to 1203. He therefore attributes the rupee to the legitimate reign of Muhammad Akbar. He is aware of the fact that in this case the regnal year 'Aḥd' (first) as borne by the coin in question does not correspond to the year 1223 AH. But he concludes, "this may conveniently be overlooked"! This deduction needs no further comments.

Coins of the Ahmadabad mint: As described earlier, Whitehead published a fulūs bearing the mint-name Ahmadabad issued during the puppet reign of Muhammad Akbar. P. L. Gupta, while maintaining that no other mint apart from Saharanpur must have struck such coins, offers no explanation for this coin and seems to have overlooked it.

Whitehead was led completely off course as far as the question of locating the mint was concerned. He identifies 'Ahmadabad' on the coin as the capital of the *Subah* of Gujarat, a city that had been famous since the early medieval centuries. His conclusions are based on the study of Ahmadabad coins conducted by A. Master and published in NS vol. XXII, entitled 'The post-Mughal coins of Ahmadabad'. In this paper, Master identified the issues of Bidar Bakht of Ahmadabad mint as struck from the city of that name situated in Gujarat. As Bidar Bakht and Muhammad Akbar were puppets of Ghulam Qadir, both Master and Whitehead wonder why the authority of the Rohilla would be numismatically attested in Ahmadabad in faraway Gujarat. Master claims that even though the mint-name is Ahmadabad, the coins were actually struck 'in the capital' by the Rohilla. What is meant by the word 'capital' is not clear but presumably Master proposes Delhi. This is further elucidated as he cites a parallel of some coins of Nadir Shah Afshari, who invaded Delhi in c. 1740, having been struck at Ahmadabad. He comments that "the desire to assert a claim over a wealthy and important city like Ahmadabad which was nominally under Mughal rule, would appear to have been sufficient inducement for the striking of these coins by Nadir Shah and Bidar Bakht". As far as coins bearing the name of Nadir Shah are concerned, it must be noted that they were struck in his name not only at Ahmadabad in Gujarat, but also at 'Azimabad (Patna) in Bihar and Murshidabad in Bengal. Their issue at these far off places which never came under direct Afsharid control is to be seen as a numismatic response to the terror that Nadir unleashed in Delhi and the fact that he indeed ascended the imperial throne in Delhi, setting aside the Mughal Emperor, Muhammad Shah. It had nothing to do with his 'desire to assert a claim' over any of these cities. Mughal officers who were in charge of these cities



struck the coins in his name. The comparison afforded by Master is therefore rather unsuitable in the instance of Nadir Shah. As far as the case of Ghulam Qadir goes, we know extremely well that he and his accomplices never exerted any territorial claim beyond the area of the Doab, Rohilkhand and Delhi proper. The question of him aspiring to lay claim over Ahmadabad in Gujarat, or anyone in that city accepting his suzerainty to cause a coin to be struck in the name of his puppets, does not arise.

Sanjay Garg in his paper also seems to toe the same line as Whitehead and Master while discussing the issues of Bidar Bakht. He, however, recognises the labour in vain of working out the historicity of links between the Rohillas and Gujarat. But his response confuses the question even more. He expresses the view that the reading of the mint-name as 'Ahmadabad' is probably a mistake for 'Muhammadabad' and sides with Rodgers who had read the mint as such. Identifying the name as an Islamic alias of Banarás, the prominent Hindu pilgrimage centre, Garg opines that it was a city of importance and 'also close by' that the Rohilla could well have had some interest here. Garg's opinion was justified logically, to say the least, taking into account the 'Ahmadabad' issues of Bidar Bakht available to him through published sources when he wrote the paper. But a coin of Bidar Bakht illustrated here clearly shows the *Alif* preceding the *He* in the mint-name. The name has therefore to be read as Ahmadabad and not Muhammadabad as contended by Garg.



We have to examine the possibility of offering an alternate explanation as far as the location of Ahmadabad where these coins were struck. The issues of Ahmadabad are not confined to Bidar Bakht alone. Some other coins bearing the name of Shah Alam II have also come to light. Although a few specimens are known bearing the date 1201 AH / RY 28, the chronological details on most of them indicates that they were struck in the same fateful year, 1202 AH. Intermediary combinations of 1202 / RY 28 and 1202 / RY 29 are also known. The next issues in the sequence belong to Bidar Bakht (dated 1202 AH / Ahd) and Muhammad Akbar (1203 AH / Ahd). These observations indicate that the mint-name as such appeared for the first time in 1201 AH and was continued until Muhammad Akbar's puppet reign. No coins are known to bear dates later than 1203 AH. Given the connection between the issues of Ahmadabad bearing the names of Bidar Bakht and Muhammad Akbar, it is conceivable that the coins bearing the name of Shah Alam II were also struck by Ghulam Qadir, evidently before he turned hostile to the Mughal Emperor. It may be noted at this juncture that some coins of Ahmadabad in the name of Shah Alam II are attributed to Bidar Bakht in the Krause-Mishler World Coin Catalogue, KM no. 738. However, the political conditions in which Bidar Bakht was raised to kingship, would mean that such a case was impossible. The Krause Catalogue seems to be ambiguous about the issues any way, because some other coins bearing the same mint-name and same dates of issue have been attributed to Shah Alam II (KM nos. 480 - 484).

#### Locating Ahmadabad

Having said that, the question about the location of this mint still remains unanswered. For a probable explication we have to turn to Rohilla history and see how the course of historical events has been reflected in numismatic development. The seat of the Rohilla clan to which Ghulam Qadir belonged was Najibabad, the town established by Najib Khan, the grandfather of Ghulam Qadir. When Zabita Khan, Najib Khan's son and successor, lost

the war against the Nawab of Awadh in 1774, he had to surrender Najibabad to Awadh. The seat of Najib Khan's family was then moved to Ghausgarh, a fortress built by Najib Khan in 1765, across the Yamuna to the west of Najibabad. In the years after his defeat, the area under Zabita Khan's control gradually shrank due to incessant strife with the Marathas, the Nawab of Awadh, the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam and the Sikhs. His authority was limited to the present-day district of Saharanpur and a few tracts of land that he succeeded in getting legitimised from Shah Alam. It was in Ghausgarh that Ghulam Qadir succeeded Zabita Khan in 1785.

The numismatic activity of Najib Khan's family is seen to start almost simultaneously with the foundation of Najibabad, which happened in 1755-56. The earliest coins are dated in the third regnal year of Alamgir II, which corresponds to 1756-57. Coins in the name of Alamgir II give way to those bearing the name of Shah Alam II, which is seen in the form of his 'Haft Kishwar' couplet. The Rohilla issues up to 1763 (1177 AH) do not bear a prominent differentiating mark, but in that year a stylised dagger appears on the reverse, next to the regnal year. Similarly, a floral sprig is seen on the obverse emanating out of the loop of 'mī' in the word 'Hāmī'. This is not a differentiating mark in its true sense, but, as a decorative motif, it is specific in its placement on coins of mints located in and around Delhi, chiefly in the Braj, Doab and the Rohilkhand regions. In 1774, when Najibabad was transferred to Awadh after the defeat of Zabita Khan, both the dagger and the sprig are seen replaced with symbols of Awadh affinity. They are the 'fish' (that replaces the dagger on the reverse) and the 'crescent' (that replaces the sprig on the obverse). These coins continue to be issued regularly until Najibabad was handed over to the British in the early 1800's and eventually the mint was stopped in favour of the Farrukhabad rupee of the East India Company by a regulation of 1807. But some coins bearing the mint name 'Najibabad' and retaining the Rohilla marks of dagger and sprig are known with dates and regnal years of Shah Alam II, indicating they were struck after 1774.



The range of dates and regnal year combination noted for such issues are 1194 AH / RY 22, 1197 AH / RY 24, 1198 AH / RY 25, 1200 AH / RY 27 and a specimen of RY 28, where the date is truncated. Once it was transferred in 1774 to Awadh, Najibabad never reverted to the Rohillas. Given this historical fact, it is strange that coins with 'Najibabad' as the mint-name should exist with marks of Rohilla affinity dated well after the transfer. The only possible explanation for the existence of such coins is that the Rohillas struck them at a different place with a pseudo-mint-name 'Najibabad'.



It is interesting to note that the last year known for these issues is the first known for coins with the mint-name 'Ahmadabad', thereby offering a chronological continuum. The 'Ahmadabad' issues retain the differentiating mark of a dagger, albeit executed in a manner more realistic than that seen on the pseudo-'Najibabad' coins. One cannot miss the similarities in the execution of the legends, the layout of the inscriptions and the positioning of the mintmarks in the coins belonging to these two series. It is therefore plausible to suggest that the mint that struck the coins with the pseudo-mint-name Najibabad in the post-1774 period, and that striking the 'Ahmadabad' coins was in fact the same.

The possible contenders of identification of this Ahmadabad will be the places with which Najib Khan Rohilla's family was associated in the post-1774 years. As we have already described the domains of Zabita Khan, the successor of Najib Khan remained confined to the present-day Saharanpur district and some tracts of land around Meerut after c. 1778-1780. As the Ahmadabad issues are dated from AH 1201 (1785), it would be appropriate to identify the place that struck these, as well as the pseudo-Najibabad issues, in these areas. Historically, four towns in this locale could be the disputants for 'Ahmadabad'. They are Saharanpur, Sukartal, Ghausgarh and Meerut. Of these, Sukartal and Meerut can be safely ruled out because even though they were fortified towns, they did not play any significant role apart from being outposts in Rohilla history. Saharanpur was the headquarters of an administrative division and an important provincial town. In fact an explanatory note that appears below the Ahmadabad listing KM no. 738 in the Krause-Mishler Catalogue states that the coins were issued by Bidar Bakht, when the city of Saharanpur "took the name Ahmadabad". But the fact that some coins in the name of the puppet Muhammad Akbar, which are placed towards the end of the numismatic sequence being described, bear both mint-names, i.e. Dār al-Sarūr Sahāranpūr and Aḥmadābād, means that they have to be two different places. The only contender left for Ahmadabad is therefore Ghausgarh, the Rohilla capital after the surrender of Najibabad.

The probable identification of Ghausgarh with Ahmadabad can be substantiated by other observations. Firstly, the importance of Ghausgarh as the capital would itself support it. It is likely that the coins with the pseudo-mintname Najibabad were struck at Ghausgarh, given the nostalgic links the Rohillas may have had with their fallen capital. Secondly, the mint at Ghausgarh would have catered economically to the same zone of commerce as serviced by the Najibabad mint. The fact that Najibabad remained a productive mint under Awadh control is reflected in the chronological discontinuity of the 'Najibabad' issues of Ghausgarh, thereby indicating the mint was sporadically run. One may ask the questions why the mint-name appeared as 'Ahmadabad' at all and not 'Ghausgarh', and why with a different mintmark, albeit different just in execution? The answer to this may lie in the numismatic rhetoric of Ghulam Qadir, who is known to have succeeded his father in about the same year as shown on the earliest issues with the mint-name Ahmadabad. This would mean that Ghulam Qadir struck his first coins in the name of Shah Alam II at Ghausgarh with the mint-name 'Ahmadabad'. It is therefore not difficult to explain the executional change in mintmark. A further substantiation comes from the fact that the word 'Ahmad' was in fact a part of Ghulam Qadir's name. Sanjay Garg has published a seal in his name, which indicates his position as *Amir-ul-Umara* and *Wakeel-i-Mutlaq*. Although historians often use the name 'Ghulam Qadir' (probably following Seton-Kerr's reference to him as such), the seal gives his full name as 'Abdul Qadir Ghulam Ahmed Khan'.

It is interesting to note that the seal bears the same dates as known from the early coins of Ahmadabad, i.e. 1201 and RY 29 of Shah Alam II. This indicates that he probably initiated his

numismatic activity about the same time he was invested with the robes of Regency in 1788.



**Coins of Saharanpur mint:** By far the most known specimens of silver coins belonging to the puppet reign of Muhammad Akbar are minted at Saharanpur. A close observation of the known pieces indicates that they can be executionally categorised into two different, yet complimentary styles. The first of these has clusters of four dots placed within the loops of the letter 'Sīn' in the words 'Julūs' and 'Manūs' on the reverse. The second has clusters of five dots. Then there are further minor differences noticeable. The coins with four dots invariably have a 'star' placed just below the 'Be' of 'Zarb' on the reverse, but in the case of coins with five dots, the star may or may not exist. One more executional change is seen in coins with five dots and the star, that is the presence of a small 'leaf' below the 'Sīn' in the word 'al-Sarūr' in the mint-name 'Dar-us-Saroor Saharanpur'.

All these varieties indicate that the mint at Saharanpur functioned for a considerably longer time under the protégés of Ghulam Qadir than the other three. It is not known with certainty when the Marathas won over Saharanpur from the Rohillas. But from the numismatic evidence, it is seen that the Marathas continued operating the mint (discussed further) and the coins issued after the reinstatement of Shah Alam II display the same executional links as those seen on the coins of Muhammad Akbar.

As regards the copper coin of this mint, neither Whitehead nor Gupta illustrated it even when they had access to the coin or, in Gupta's case its photograph. Whitehead was not certain about the chronological detail seen on the coin, but a recent physical verification of the unique specimen has confirmed that it bears the AH date 1203 just above the name of Muhammad Akbar on the obverse.

**Coins of the Hardwar mint:** Goron and Wiggins first published a rupee and a copper fulūs in the name of Muhammad Akbar attributed to this mint. Although the mint-name was fairly clear on the copper coin, the one on the silver rupee was much truncated. This was also the case with the dates on both coins. The date on the rupee was truncated in all but the last digit, which showed it to be 3. The date on the fulūs was read as 120 followed by 2 or 3. To justify their reading of the mint-name on the Rupee, Goron and Wiggins envisaged the presence of a long 'i' between 'Har' and 'Dwar' on the coin and read the mint-name as 'Harīdwar' instead of 'Hardwar' or 'Haridwar', the common variants of the place name. They went on to describe the religious importance of the town and at the end of their description thanked Prashant Kulkarni for restoring the mint-name. To sum up their paper, Goron and Wiggins have noted their surprise at the 'trident' mintmark the coins and remarked that "a staunchly Hindu town like Hardwar should support a Rohilla puppet at all". Further, they advance a possibility that the coins may not have been struck at Hardwar at all. They claim that the Rohillas intended "to persuade people that Muhammad Akbar had more support than he actually had" and therefore struck coins bearing the mint-name Hardwar at another town, possibly Saharanpur.

The attribution of a rupee and a fulūs to Hardwar by Goron and Wiggins drew much flack from Gupta's pen. The first bone of contention that Gupta had against such a claim was his conviction that no other mint than Saharanpur could have struck coins in the name of the puppet emperor. Secondly, he employs two different strategies to expunge the attribution of the silver and the copper coins. As regards the silver coins, his approach hinges on reading and reconstructing the mint-name and restoring the date on the



specimen. As far as the latter is concerned, he maintains that the figure '3' visible on the coin forms the part of the date 1223 AH and not 1203 AH, as contended by Goron and Wiggins. In that case, according to Gupta, the coin does not date to the period of the puppet reign of Muhammad Akbar, but to the legitimate reign. He acknowledges the fact that reading the date 1223 AH will not account for the mention of first regnal year on the reverse of the coin, but alleges that it can be overlooked, as instances of mismatching of the dates and regnal years "is no unknown phenomenon in Mughal numismatics". He employs a similar strategy to reject the attribution of the copper fulūs published by Goron and Wiggins, where the date borne by the coin is read by them as 120 (2 or 3). He interprets the dot placed between the digits as the *nuqta* below the word 'Akbar', and opines that the date may be read as 12 (2) and then restored to 1221, which was the first regnal year of the legitimate rule of Muhammad Akbar.

Gupta's strategy about restoring the dates on the silver and copper coins published by Goron and Wiggins requires rethinking. At the outset, there is a catch in accepting the date on the rupee as 1223, because it does not correspond to the first regnal year. Gupta accepts this and therefore bases his rejection of attributing the rupee more on restructuring the mint-name than the date. As far as the fulūs is concerned, Gupta's regard for the dot as the *nuqta* in the word 'Akbar' and his contention that "we know no instance where the letter *be* of Akbar is written on coins without the *nuqta* beneath it" does not prove the situation either way. On the fulūs of Ahmadabad mint published by Whitehead there is sufficient room to believe that the *nuqta* was not placed below the word. In any case the presence, exclusion or position of most *nuqtas* in the legend on the coin is entirely a variable phenomenon in Mughal numismatics and such instances cannot be taken as standard in case of a particular ruler. Moreover, an examination of the execution of the digits of the date on the fulūs published by Goron and Wiggins yields interesting results. On this coin the numerals 1 and 2 are seen clearly, but the digit following 2 is not clear. It could be 2 or 3. Gupta thinks it to be 2 and concludes that the date is 122 (1). But when the curvature of the curves attached to the vertical stroke are compared, it is seen that curvature seen on the truncated digit is much shorter than that seen on '2' that precedes it. This proves that the truncated digit is in fact 3 and not 2. In this case if we give credence to Gupta's construct of the dot as the *nuqta*, we have to restore the date to 1231. This date does not match the detail of regnal year on the reverse, which is shown as the first. It misses it by ten years even in the legitimate reign of Muhammad Akbar. The date therefore cannot be 1231, and the dot cannot be the *nuqta*. If only we regard the date to be 1203, it fits well with the regnal year, the first in this case, of the puppet reign of Muhammad Akbar.

Furthermore, in concluding that the date on both the rupee as well as the fulūs correspond to 1223 or 1221, Gupta has completely ignored the evolution of the coin design. It has been already demonstrated while discussing the coins of Shahjahanabad mint that the execution of the legend and the placement of differentiating marks follow a definite evolutionary course in the coins of the puppet reign of Muhammad Akbar. Therefore these coins cannot be discussed in isolation from their predecessor and successor coins, both of which are in the name of Shah Alam II. The same observations can be underscored here to show that the rupees of Hardwar in question bear designs that cannot be dated to a period that was separated by twenty years from their stylistic counterparts. From this point of view the coins published by Goron and Wiggins cannot be attributed to the legitimate reign of Muhammad Akbar.

The questions Gupta has raised about restoring the truncated mint-name require some thought. He is right in pointing out that there is no *prima facie* reason to read the mint-name as 'Harīdwar', with the long 'i'. The pilgrimage town lies en route to, and is regarded as a gateway leading to two famous shrines situated in the Himalayas, namely Badrinath and Kedarnath. As one of the shrines is of Vishnu and the other of Shiva, the

followers of Vaishnavism and Shaivism refer to Hardwar by different names, which are almost homophonic. The Vaishnavites derive the etymology of the name as 'Hari + Dwara', or the 'Gate to Vishnu' and the Shaivites derive it as 'Hara + Dwara', or the 'Gate to Shiva'. Hence it is possible to denote the name of the town by any one of these. But in restoring the mint-name to 'Harīdwar', Goron and Wiggins have ignored the fact that altering the short 'i', as in the accepted name 'Haridwar', to the long one completely changes the meaning of the word. It no longer stands for 'Gate to Vishnu', but means 'Gate to the monkey', because the word 'Harī' with the long 'i' means 'monkey' in Sanskrit! Gupta points out this mistake and remarks in disgust, "no one in India would dare to write the name in that way". Gupta then debates Goron and Wiggins' restructuring by enumerating further disagreements on what the truncated characters should stand for. Chief amongst them is the character read as the terminal form of *Ye*, read by Goron and Wiggins as the long 'i'. He negates their claim and offers several options on what that letter should be depending on its execution. However, he does not offer an alternate explanation of what the entire name should be. He merely comments, "the mint-name must be something else. Let us wait for a better specimen with a full mint-name".

The rarity of the coins has precluded a proper assessment of the question. After the publication of one specimen by Goron and Wiggins, only one more silver coin attributed to Hardwar has turned up. This is the specimen offered in the Singapore auction. It too bears a truncated mint-name, but it is sufficient to confirm some of the doubts raised by Gupta. The word on this coin indicates the letter contended by Gupta is indeed the detached form of *Ye*, and as such may stand for the long 'i'. If the word 'Harī' ends in the long 'i', we should expect that the remaining legend should read 'dwar' rendered by four characters in the Persian alphabetic sequence as *Dāl-Wāv-Alif-Re*. The legend on the rupee published by Goron and Wiggins bears only two characters of these. Of them, the execution of the second, which should stand for *Wāv*, does not match with the form of the character. It is more like *Dāl* or *Re*, displaying a thinning on the downward stroke, which should thicken in case of *Wāv*. The Singapore specimen clearly bears the succeeding *Wāv-Alif-Re* combination. This means that there is one character too many in rendering the mint-name as ending in 'dwar'. Instead of the sequence '...*Re-Ye* (detached) *Dāl-Wāv-Alif-Re*', the Singapore specimen bears '...*Re-Ye* (detached) *Dāl-Dāl/Re?-Wāv-Alif-Re*'. The mint-name would therefore stand, not for 'Harīdwar' but for something else.

The fact, which would go against this contention, is the mint-name seen on the copper Fulus published by Goron and Wiggins. This clearly reads '...rdwar' and may well stand for 'Hardwar', thereby bypassing the possibility of explaining the mint-name on the rupee as the cumbersome 'Harīdwar'. Both the coins published by Goron and Wiggins bear the same mintmark, i.e. of a trident, executed in a comparable manner, thereby indicating that both of them were indeed products of the same mint. Although the Singapore specimen does not bear the trident, other features such as the execution of the obverse legend, placement of the date and the mint-name itself, albeit in a truncated form, indicate that it was also a product of the same mint. How do we account for the observations that –

1. The copper coin clearly reads 'Hardwar'
2. The Silver coins do not read 'Hardwar' and the alternative explanation of 'Harīdwar' is untenable given its linguistic basis and also the execution of the name on the coins itself.
3. Yet, they seem to be the issues of the same mint, given the similarities in their type features and mintmarks?

There can be two possibilities – one, notwithstanding the type similarities, the silver and copper coins are indeed struck at different mints; or two – the mint-name on the silver coins has to be accommodated to stand for Hardwar in its given form. After giving a considerable thought to the first supposition, the only other place-name that would satisfy the rendering of characters as



seen in the mint-name on silver coins was found to be 'Haraura'. A subdivision of Saharanpur district is known by that name. But identifying the mint-name as 'Haraura' would mean that the preceding word, one that ends in the long 'i', would have to be explained otherwise and we have no explanation for it in the context of Haraura. In any case, the first is an unlikely supposition, because the evidence of type similarities and the mintmarks is very difficult to discard by norms of numismatic methodology and scientific reasoning. The second possibility therefore has to be opted for.

The only way one can account for the truncated mint-name to stand for 'Hardwar' and not 'Harīdwar', is to render the word ending in the detached *Ye* as an epithet. As the letter that precedes it is *Re*, it would be plausible to restore it as the honorific 'Sri', assuming the initial *Sīn* to be truncated in both specimens. The rest of the mint-name can be conveniently restored to 'Hardwar', provided the characters read by Goron and Wiggins as *Dāl* and *Wāv* are rendered as *Re* and *Dāl*, respectively. That would account for the 'rd' portion of 'Hrd', the 'H' being restructured beyond the visible extent of the legend. The remainder is *Wāv-Aliḥ-Re*, that would read as 'dwār' any way, and the whole legend could be 'Sri Hardwār'. It should be noted that the re-interpretation of characters *Dāl* and *Wāv* as *Re* and *Dāl* is in accordance with Persian epigraphy and as such, there should not be any need of its further substantiation.

The occurrence of the epithet 'Sri' on these coins may not be viewed as a novelty. The religious importance of Hardwar is multifarious. Its situation en route to Badrinath and Kedarnath has already been referred to. It is also situated on two other Himalayan pilgrimage routes that lead to the origins of the Ganges and the Yamuna, two most important rivers of North India. The Ganges actually flows past Hardwar. It is regarded that it enters the plains of North India at this juncture and therefore 'becomes civilised', offering its bounties for mankind and leaving behind the uninhabitable mountain ranges. It is therefore not surprising that a place of such veneration is described with an honorific 'Sri' preceding its name.

The rendering of the honorific epithet for the mint-name as 'Sri' raises one more question – when the mint was continued in operation by the Marathas, the mint-name on their coins has been read as 'Tirath Haridwar'. Why was the epithet 'Sri' changed to 'Tirath', or 'a religious place'? Again, two possibilities may be envisaged – the first, there should be some reason for this change, and the second, that the reading 'Tirath' has been wrongly determined. In all probability it seems that the second option should hold true. In rendering the mint-name as 'Tirath Haridwar' one has to account for two aspirated sounds, 'th' which ends the epithet and 'ha' which starts the mint-name. Going by the rules of Persian writing, the word should have two 'H's – one that ends in the epithet and the other that initiates the word 'Haridwar'. Extant portions of the mint-name on known specimens show that there exists only one 'H' – the one that occurs at the beginning of the section 'Haridwar'. There is no trace of the 'H' that would end the epithet 'Tirath'. This being the case, the epithet has to be reconstructed as 'Tirat' instead of 'Tirath' – ending in the dental 'T', rather than the aspirated dental 'Th'. Correlating the phonetic construction and semantic sequence of the characters, this would be an inaccurate form of the word and as such should not exist in transcription. On the other hand, if we regard the honorific as 'Sri', the extant legend can be easily reconstructed as employing the incorporation of the vowel 'i' in the conjoint form with the succeeding word, i.e. 'Haridwar'. This would also explain the occurrence of the 'Ye' on coins of Muhammad Akbar, as there it would stand for the 'i' ending in 'Sri' engraved in its disjoint form. The possible excuse for employing a conjoint form in preference to a disjoint one would be the shortening of the word that it brings about, offering more ground to incorporate a long mint-name in a limited space.

A careful examination of specimens of Haridwar coins of the Maratha period is required to substantiate this reading. As the

coins are rare it is difficult to find a specimen that clearly shows the beginning of this rather long mint-name. The best specimen that would substantiate the reading is to be found in Whitehead's Punjab Museum Catalogue, vol. II, no. 3161 (Pl. XIX). Maheshwari and Wiggins have illustrated the same in 'Maratha Mints and Coinage', p. 156.



A close examination of the mint-name on this specimen clearly shows that the first character has three curves in its beginning indicating that it cannot be a 'Te' as is required for the word 'Tirath'. It can only be a 'Sīn' or 'Shīn' and that fits well with the rendering 'Sri'. The two *nuqtas* indicating the addition of the short vowel 'i' in its conjoint form are also visible just below the right end of character 'Be' in the word 'Zarb'. Thus it is clear that the unconventional form of writing the word 'Sri Haridwar' by joining both words at the end of the first that misled Whitehead to conclude the reading as 'Tirath Haridwar'. The rendering as proposed here solves the mystery of the 'additional Ye' as it occurs on coins of Muhammad Akbar.

The historical sequence of events at Hardwar needs to be checked with a view to examine it as a mint town for the Rohilla chieftain. Gupta contends that coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar could not have been struck at Hardwar because –

- a. Ghulam Qadir and his puppet, Akbar Shah, did not hold regal respect amongst the masses outside the walls of Saharanpur.
- b. Hardwar had never been a 'flourishing' mint before the days of Ghulam Qadir, therefore any politically motivated event, even that leading to a dire necessity, would not have resulted in coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar being struck there.
- c. The mint became operational only during Maratha rule, when Ghulam Qadir was dead and Muhammad Akbar was not his puppet anymore. The Marathas had 'every reason' to issue coins from the mint.

All these statements can be systematically countered. The first was Gupta's assertion and it has already been proven wrong, as demonstrated by issues of Shahjahanabad and Ahmadabad mints, both of which are definitely located outside the walls of Saharanpur. The second is a kind of circular argument. A mint gets functioning for economic and political reasons at some point in space and time and it need not be presupposed whether there was a flourishing mint at that place before or not. This logic fails to substantiate Gupta's stance on Saharanpur as the only legitimate place where Ghulam Qadir could have struck coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar. Saharanpur had never been a 'flourishing Mughal mint' in the past. In fact the only coins attributed to Saharanpur in the period before that of Ghulam Qadir are some *fulūs* of Akbar and a few very rare *rupees* of Aurangzeb. Yet coins in the name of Muhammad Akbar were struck there, thereby reviving the minting tradition after nearly a hundred years. Further, Gupta maintains that the Marathas had 'every reason' to operate a mint at Hardwar. The same reasons can be had to operate it by the Rohillas as well. In short, Gupta's arguments lead us nowhere. What needs to be examined is whether Hardwar actually existed under Rohilla control during the period of Ghulam Qadir. The only reference we have about ascertaining the extent of Rohilla control is that given by Iqbal Hussain, who bases it on a manuscript named *Tarikh-i-Shah Alam* by Munna Lal. It is said that, towards the end of his life, Zabita Khan, the Rohilla chief had control over present-day Saharanpur district and some tracts of land near Meerut. As Hardwar lies in the present-day Saharanpur district and is about 50-60 miles as the crow flies from both Saharanpur and Ghausgarh, it is conceivable that it lay in



Rohilla hands when Ghulam Qadir was engaged in his antics in and about Delhi.

There would be no direct political relationship between the Rohilla regime and the mint. This is evident from the fact that the practice of farming the mint rights had thrived in these years. There is every possibility that, in an attempt to raise quick revenues and to maintain the circulation of specie in the region, which was economically cut off from all sides by the Marathas, the Rohilla cronies at Saharanpur, Ahmadabad and Hardwar encouraged mints to operate and allowed licensees to strike coins at these places. This is how they came to be struck in the name of Muhammad Akbar. The location and trade nexus existing in the region was favorable for operating mints. Increased demands for specie flow to the area created a favorable environment for the entrepreneurs at these towns to lease and operate mints. This is also proved by the fact that Saharanpur functioned as a prolific mint under the Marathas, who had the same economic attitude towards leasing mint rights as the Rohillas. The observation that there are no issues of Ahmadabad in the succeeding years would be accounted for by the fact that Ghausgarh was completely destroyed by the Marathas in the aftermath of Ghulam Qadir's imprisonment. This may well serve as one more substantiation of the identification of Ahmadabad as Ghausgarh.

Goron and Wiggins have expressed surprise at the occurrence of 'trident' as the differentiating mark on the issues of Hardwar under Rohilla control. But it must be said that this remark and also the remarks about the 'staunchly Hindu City' like Hardwar supporting a Rohilla puppet, are reminiscent of old colonial historiographic traditions. It is understandable that in many cases the mintmarks reflect the religious bias of the farmer who operated the mint and not always the political authority that legitimised its activity. It is equally conceivable that several Hindu pilgrimage sites like Hardwar lay under Muslim control and there are no political manifestations of the religious differences that were perceived to exist between these communities. As far as the symbols or coin designs are concerned, there are no numismatic indications that religious proclivities of either community were at loggerheads with the other. A good example would be the neighbouring kingdom of Awadh, wherein the coins struck at the holiest Hindu city of Banaras displayed Hindu symbolism as differentiating marks under Muslim political hegemony.

#### **The numismatic legacy of Muhammad Akbar**

The mints that began functioning in the reign of Muhammad Akbar as a puppet remained functional for the next one and a half decade. It is interesting to see the similarities in the coins that were struck in the immediate aftermath of Ghulam Qadir's fall.

In the case of Shahjahanabad, the coin design seems to have undergone a drastic change after the reinstatement of Shah Alam. This has been detailed earlier. A gold coin offered for sale in Spink Auction 37, lot no. 523 (16 September 1991), entitled 'Coins of the Islamic World, bears the date 1203 AH and the regnal year 30. This may have been the first issue after Shah Alam was reinstated. The Marathas had no control over the Emperor's domains in Delhi and therefore the coins do not have any symbols of Maratha affinity.

The arrest of Ghulam Qadir in December 1788 unleashed Maratha fury upon his domains. Their march was from south to north along the course of the great rivers. It is not known exactly when the northern parts of Rohilla territory fell to Maratha control exercised by nominees of Mahadaji Sindhia. But it would have been soon after Ghulam Qadir's arrest and before his death in February 1789. The first Maratha governor of Saharanpur is known to be Ghani Bahadur, who belonged to the family of the Nawab of Banda. As said before, the Marathas encouraged private mint operations at both Saharanpur and Hardwar. The first coins struck under Maratha control at both these places are direct successors of those struck under Ghulam Qadir, bearing the name of Muhammad Akbar. The silver coins bear the date 1204 AH / RY 31, which means that they were struck in the early half of 1789.

Similarly, the issues of Hardwar bear the date 1205 AH / RY 31, that indicates their issue in the latter half of 1789. In the case of the copper coins, the Rohilla - Maratha succession is more marked as indicated by the first copper coins bearing RY 31 of Shah Alam struck under Maratha patronage. On these coins the mint-epithet is retained in direct continuation of Muhammad Akbar's issues. On all coins, the mintmarks are suitably replaced. Thus the 'fish-hook' seen on the reverse of Muhammad Akbar's Saharanpur coins and the trident on Hardwar are given the sack. Both these mints ceased production after the second Anglo-Maratha war and the treaty of Surji-Anjangaon, by which Sindhia had to relinquish his claims to all territories to the north of the Chambal, and hand them over to the British. Tracts subject to the Sindhias in the Doab and to the east of Delhi were assimilated into the Northwestern Provinces and Ceded Territories, to form the 'United Provinces', constituted under the Bengal Presidency. Saharanpur remained a functional mint under the East India Company for a transitory period. In 1805, it was closed to give way to the new coinage consisting of milled Farrukhabad rupees of the Company that were introduced in the region to put an end to the multiplicity of regional currencies.

#### **Lead coins of the Tanjore Marathas**

By Satya Bhupatiraju

According to Maheshwari and Wiggins<sup>1</sup>, the coinage of the Tanjore Marathas has not been researched in much detail. They are not particularly abundant or well represented in museums either. The coins themselves are quite generic, and carry no dates or names of rulers. Attribution to Tanjore is based on locational evidence and distinguishing marks / legends unique to the Marathas. It is reasonable to assume that Tanjore Maratha coin types were similar to coins prevalent in Tanjore earlier under the Nayakas, and to coins used contemporarily in surrounding areas of South India. Influence of Maratha coins elsewhere (especially of the "main" Maratha rulers) should also be considered a possibility. These assumptions are borne out by the coins attributed to the Tanjore Marathas.

Gold and Copper coins of the Tanjore Marathas have been reported. Writers such as Scholten speculate that the Marathas issued "Porto Novo" type gold pagodas (ones with a granulated reverse), but these apparently were indistinguishable from contemporary pagodas issued by the Dutch. Such pagodas were later also issued by the British and the Nawabs of Arcot. Maheshwari and Wiggins assign a few gold fanams to the Tanjore Marathas, but mainly based on anecdotal evidence. Copper coins of the Tanjore Marathas are distinguishable as such, and weigh approximately 3 - 3.5 g.

Several representative types of copper coins of the Tanjore Marathas are listed by Maheshwari and Wiggins<sup>1</sup>, and more recently by Ganesh<sup>2</sup>. Maheshwari and Wiggins label the coins copying Shivrai or Chhatrapati paisas as "early" coins. These contain the familiar *shri raja shiv* legend on one side, and *shri chhatrapati* on the other. For "later" coins, a common legend on one side seems to be *maharaja*. On the other side, one can find legends such as *mahadeva*, *mudra*, or depictions such as the goddess Laxmi, two deities, an elephant, or a bull.

Below are two coins recently acquired. They are made of lead, a hitherto unknown metal for coins of the Tanjore Marathas (my thanks to Shailendra Bhandare for informing me of this fact). These coins have legends similar to the copper coins presented by Maheshwari and Wiggins<sup>1</sup> (T14a, page 186), and by Ganesh<sup>2</sup> (10.11, page 146).

Coin 1:





Weight - 4.0g

Side 1 legend – *mudra* (meaning stamp / mark / symbol / strike)

Side 2 legend – *maharaja*

Coin 2:



Weight - 4.4g

Side 1 legend – *mudra*, under an (oVu) symbol (this may represent the Vaishnava *Namam* – the V-shaped mark on Vishnu's forehead, with sun and moon on either side).

Side 2 legend – *maharaja*

It is interesting to note that there were some European colonies in the vicinity that issued lead coins during their early period. The coins have royal monograms and sometimes dates. By placing the lead Tanjore Maratha coins in the context of these colonial lead coins, we can presumably draw some conclusions, but first a short bit of history and geography (courtesy Maheshwari and Wiggins<sup>1</sup>).

Venkaji, a half-brother of Shivaji I served as a feudal baron in the employ of the ruler of Bijapur. He took over his paternal *jagir* of Bangalore and attached the kingdom of Tanjore from Alagiri Nayaka in 1674. In 1687, a Mughal army seized Bangalore and limited the Marathas to a few territories around Tanjore. The lineage of Venkoji was continued after his death. The Maratha presence in Tanjore proved beneficial to Rajaram, the Maratha king, during his exile and subsequent period of Mughal-Maratha conflict in the deep south. Tanjore was captured by the East India Company in 1773 and restored to the Marathas in 1776. In 1781 it was occupied by the army of Hyder Ali of Mysore. In 1799, the East India Company reoccupied Tanjore and relegated the Raja to

the status of a pensioner. Tanjore lapsed as a state when the Raja died in 1855 without a male heir.

The European colonies of Tranquebar, Karikal, and Nagapattanam were all located along the Tanjore coast. Mitchiner<sup>3</sup> discusses their coinage. Lead cash coins, weighing about 4g, were struck at Danish Tranquebar during the reign of Christian IV (1588-1648). The reverse of some of these coins had the company monogram DVOC (written as overlapping oVc, with a D at the bottom). Frederik III (1648-1670) also struck lead cash coins of a lower weight of 3g. Lead cash of 4-5g and copper cash of 1-2g were struck side by side during the reign of Christian V (1670-1699). Under later rulers only copper cash, and then silver fanams and gold coins (granulated pagodas) were struck. The Dutch occupied Nagapattanam in 1657 from the Portuguese, and in 1676, when Venkaji established himself at Tanjore, the grant of Nagapattanam to the Dutch was confirmed. The Dutch issued lead and copper cash in addition to gold fanams, and later, pagodas. The lead coins of the Dutch weighed about 4g, and the obverse included the company "VOC" monogram. Also, the French, who held Pondicherry (which is halfway between Madras and Nagapattanam), issued lead coins weighing about 5 g, circa 1680-1693.

The Tanjore Maratha coins can thus be surmised to be local issues which followed the lead issues of the nearby European colonies. From their weight, one can surmise they were probably issued in the late 1600's to early 1700's, and could be among the earliest Tanjore Maratha coins as such.

<sup>1</sup> Maheshwari and Wiggins, *Maratha Mints and Coinage*, IIRNS Monograph No. 2, Nashik, 1989, pp 182-187

<sup>2</sup> K. Ganesh, *The Coins of Tamil Nadu*, 2002, pp 143-152

<sup>3</sup> Michael Mitchiner, *Oriental Coins and Their Values*, vol. 3. *Non-Islamic States and Western Colonies*, Sanderstead, UK, 1979, pp 190-254, nos. 1394 - 2053

### The Aksumite Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

By Vincent West

The Fitzwilliam collection<sup>1</sup> contains 12 Aksumite coins of which two are gold, one silver and 9 copper.

Table 1 lists the coins with type references to the standard catalogue, Munro-Hay and Juel-Jensen 1995 (henceforth *AC*). 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.

**Table 1: The Collection**

All the coins except no. 4 are cited in *AC*. Each of them was reweighed at the Museum – a weight in brackets indicates that the coin is chipped (the amount varies). Coins 2 and 12 are illustrated on figures 1 and 2 (actual diameters 14mm and 20mm respectively)<sup>2</sup>.

King, Coin No.	Accession No.	AC Type	Metal and Weight (grams)	Die Axis	Provenance (see Table 2)	Notes
<b>Endubis</b>						
1	CM.2-2000	1	AU 2.66	12:00	Buttrey (2000)	Munro-Hay et al. 1988 SG 507 ("gold content 94.7%")
<b>Ezanas</b>						
2	CM.59-1953	36	AU 1.60	12:00	Ratto (1953)	Obv. dot each side of disk and crescent
<b>Anonymous</b>						
3	CM.355-1982	50	AR 0.46	06:00	Phillipson (1982)	Fitzwilliam 1982 pl. VII (k) and p.29 A
4	CM.268-1961	52	AE 1.15	12:00	Robinson (1961)	
5	CM.361-1982	52	AE (0.65)	10:00	Phillipson (1982)	Fitzwilliam 1982 pl. VII (l) and p.29 G <sup>3</sup>



**Ouazebas**

6 CM.356-1982 54 AE 1.40 12:00 Phillipson (1982) Fitzwilliam 1982 pl. VII (j) and p.29 B

**Anonymous**

7 CM.357-1982 76 AE (0.32) not noted Phillipson (1982) Fitzwilliam 1982 pl. VII (m) and p.29 C. Pierced

**Joel**

8 CM.358-1982 134 AE 1.04 09:00 Phillipson (1982) Fitzwilliam 1982 pl. VII (n) and p.29 D. Obv. pellet r. of chin

9 CM.359-1982 134 AE 0.63 06:00 Phillipson (1982) Fitzwilliam 1982 pl. VII (o) and p.29 E. Obv. pellet r. of chin

10 CM.360-1982 134 AE (0.36) 03:00 Phillipson (1982) Fitzwilliam 1982 pl. VII (p) and p.29 F. Obv. pellet r. of chin

**Armah**

11 CM.269-1961 153 AE 1.56 11:00 Robinson (1961)

12 CM.270-1961 153 AE 2.12 12:00 Robinson (1961) Obv. cross r. of chin

**Table 2: Provenances in Chronological Order**

Provenances are those given on the tickets and in the Accession Register. AC recorded the provenance of only the Phillipson (1982) coins.

Provenance and Date	Description	Coin Nos.
Ratto (1953)	Purchased from M Ratto, Milan coin dealers, 28 February 1953 by Philip Grierson <sup>4</sup> (Honorary Keeper of Coins and Medals from 1949)	2
Robinson (1961)	Presented by E Stanley G Robinson ex Ethiopian Souvenirs Box PO 30 Addis Ababa	4, 11, 12
Phillipson (1982)	Presented by David Phillipson	3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10
Buttrey (2000)	Presented by Theodore Buttrey (Keeper of Coins and Medals 1988-1991) ex Glendining sale 2 February 1972 lot 95	1



Coin 2



Coin 12

**References**

- Fitzwilliam 1982. *The Annual Reports of the Syndicate and of the Friends of the Fitzwilliam for the Year ending 31 December 1982*, p. 29, pl. VII.  
 Munro-Hay S.C. and Juel-Jensen B., 1995. *Aksumite Coinage*, Spink.  
 Munro-Hay S.C., Oddy W.A. and Cowell M.R., 1988. The Gold Coinage of Aksum: New Analyses and their Significance for Chronology, *Metallurgy and Numismatics* 2, pp. 1-16, pls. 1-3.  
 Pollard J.G., 1979. The Department of Coins and Medals, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, *Compte rendu* 26 (1979), pp. 41-51.

**Notes**

- For the history of the collection see Pollard 1979.
- I am grateful for help from Dr Martin Allen and other staff of the Department of Coins and Medals at the Museum. Dr Allen also kindly provided the photographs.
- Though correctly identified on pl. VII as Anonymous [AC 52], it is misidentified on p. 29 as of Hataz [AC 141].
- Personal communication from Professor Grierson.



## Money circulation in early-mediaeval Sogd (6<sup>th</sup> - first half of 8<sup>th</sup> century AD)

By Michael Fedorov

*To the memory of Ol'ga Ivanovna Smirnova*

### **Historical background**

The name Sogdiana /Sogd/Soghd is encountered in the written sources of many languages and periods, starting from high antiquity. What were its boundaries in the period under examination? The Chinese travelling monk, Hiuen Tsiang (629-645), described Sogd as a country extending between the Chu river and the Iron Gate, the ravine in the Baisuntau mountains connecting Soghd and Tokharistan (Gafurov 1972, 247). But this was a misunderstanding. What he probably meant was that he met Sogdians living in all this vast territory. In fact there were Sogdian colonies which sprang up around the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD as emporia on the Great Silk Road and which, by his time, had developed into fullblooded towns, centres of Sogdian commerce, industry and culture, with small adjacent agricultural areas populated by Sogdian peasants. But these Sogdian oases were surrounded by the vast extent of steppes and mountains populated by nomad Turk tribes. The rulers of Sogdian colonies were vassals of Turk Qagans and paid them tribute, thus buying their protection against the arbitrariness and harassment of unruly nomads, who regarded plundering raids on their industrious neighbours as one of the best sports imaginable. As a matter of fact, Sogd proper comprised the fertile valleys of the Zerafshan and Kashka Daria rivers, with their prominent towns of Samarqand, Bukhara, Kesh and Nesef. According to the mediaeval Arab and Persian/Tajik geographers there were Samarqandian Soghd and Bukharan Soghd (Gafurov 1972, 247).

The greater part of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD was, for Soghd, a time of the indisputable supremacy of the Hephthalites (White Huns). Originally, the Hephthalites were nomads who had come from the East. The majority of them had settled in Tokharistan (ancient Bactria) in north-eastern Afghanistan. Gradually they gained strength and established a kingdom of their own (ca 350 AD). In 355 they took Balkh, which they made their capital. In 415 Hephthalites occupied the Kabul valley. By 425 they had subjugated Afghanistan, whence started the conquest of North India (Sohail Ahmad Khan 1992, 87). According to the Armenian chronicler, Egishe Vardapet, the Sasanian Shah, Yezdigerd II (439-457) attacked "the King of the Kushans" in 453-454 but was defeated. E. Nerazik (Istoria 1963, 410) wrote that the battle raged between Yezdigerd and the King of the Hephthalites, whom Egishe mistakenly called the King of the Kushans. B. G. Gafurov (1972, 198) shared her opinion. In the following years the Hephthalites three times defeated the Sasanian Shah Peroz (459-484). The first two times he was captured and paid huge ransoms to redeem his freedom. In the third battle he was killed. After that, the Sasanians paid the Hephthalites an annual tribute for more than half a century. The defeat of the Sasanians triggered Hephthalite expansion. Between 467-470 and 480 they conquered Sogd and turned to East Turkestan. They conquered Turfan (in 479), Urumchi (between 490-497), Karashar, Kashghar, Khotan (between 497-509). So by 510 a great Hephthalite empire had been created stretching from Central Asia and East Turkestan to Afghanistan and northern India (Gafurov 1972, 200).

In the time of Shah Kubad (488-531) in Sasanian Iran a popular, anti-feudal movement started, led by Mazdak, who

preached that there should not be the rich and the poor, that the property of the rich should be taken from them and shared between the poor, and that all should be equal. Kubad tried to use that movement against the unruly nobles and thus to consolidate central power. But the aristocrats dethroned him and put him in prison. His brother, Zamasp (496-499), was proclaimed the Shah. Kubad managed to escape and fled to the Hephthalites. There he married a daughter of the Hephthalite king who gave him an army with which Kubad reinstated himself on the throne of Iran, having executed the rebellious nobles. Later (in 528-529) he killed Mazdak and massacred the Mazdakids. He continued to pay the Hephthalites the tribute as did his son Khusru I Anushirvan (531-579) during the first years of his reign (Gafurov 1972, 212-213). That was why a vast amount of Sasanian silver had accumulated in the Hephthalite state. This consisted mainly of Sasanian drachms which served the money circulation in the Hephthalite state, Sogd included, though some quantity of Hephthalite copies of Sasanian drachms were also minted.

But in the same 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, far away from Sogd, in the Altay and adjacent regions, there sprang up a nomad state of Turk tribes, the Turk Qaganate (551-744). The Turks were subjects of a confederation of Jujan nomad tribes, but their ruler Bumyn (551-553) rebelled against the Jujan, defeated them and created a state of his own, which comprised Altay and Mongolia. Already in Bumyn's lifetime his brother, Istemi (died in 575), proclaimed himself Qagan and was actually independent in the western part of the state. It was the same under Qagan Mugan (553-572), Bumyn's son. It was Istemi who headed Turk expansion to the west. In 555 AD the Turks reached "the Western Sea" (Aral or Caspian). So Semirech'e (Jety Su), the Kazakh steppes and Khwarizm were subjugated by Istemi. In 558 the Turks advanced to the Volga, driving before them defeated native nomad tribes. With this, Istemi's western campaign came to an end. Then he started his advance to the south (to Central Asia). And here the Turks confronted the Hephthalites. The first clashes took place at the end of the 550s (Gafurov 1972, 215; Gumilev 1967, 35).

Khusru I Anushirvan (531-579) who, by then, had consolidated his state, carried out several important reforms. Among these was the creation of a strong army which he used it to his advantage and refused to pay the Hephthalites the tribute which the Sasanians had been paying since the 480s. He started negotiations with the Turks aiming to conclude with them an alliance against the Hephthalites. The Hephthalite king, Gatifar, in an attempt to prevent this, massacred the Turk envoys, when they were crossing his territory. This was an outrage and violation of international law. Istemi raised a huge army in order to crush the Hephthalites. He took Chach, Parak (Chirchik valley), Farghana and advanced to the Syr Daria. Meanwhile Gatifar was raising an army near Bukhara to which came the troops from Shugnan, Balkh, Khuttalan, Vashgird, Tirmidh, Amul and other places. Khusru I took advantage of this, invaded the Hephthalite realm from the south and seized some lands. Having taken Samarqand, Kesh and Nesef, Istemi came to Bukhara. The battle raged eight days. The Hephthalites were routed and Gatifar killed.



Scholars date the battle to between 563-567, or 563, or 565, or ca 560. A. M. Mandelshtam (Istoria 1964, 43) thought that it was 563, for in 564, after a long interval, Sogd resumed diplomatic relations with China (Bichurin 1950, 261). For him it was evidence that Sogd had become independent from the Hephthalites. I share Mandelshtam's view. The Hephthalites fled south and elected a new king, Faganish, the ruler of Chaghanian, who recognised Khusru I Anushirvan as his suzerain. But then a controversy started between the allies about the Hephthalite heritage and the Turks established friendly relations with the eternal enemy of the Sasanians, Byzantium.

In 568 the Turks sent an embassy there, headed by a Sogdian merchant named Maniach. This was reciprocated in August 568 by the Byzantine embassy, headed by Zemarch. In 569 the Turks started a campaign against the Sasanians. Having advanced as far as the Sasanian frontier, Istemi demanded that Iran should pay him the tribute which it had paid to the Hephthalites. Khusru I ignored him. So the Turks captured and plundered Sasanian lands east of the Caspian sea. Khusru agreed to pay them tribute and peace was made in 571. The Sasanians received Kabulistan, Zabulistan, Tokharistan, Sind, Bust, and other lands. The Hephthalite ruler of Chaghanian, Faganish, remained a vassal of the Sasanians. The Hephthalite domains north of the Amu Daria were transferred to the Turks, who by 571, had captured the north Caucasus and advanced to Bospor (Kerch), a frontier town and fortress of Byzantium. Later, the Turks acted as allies of Iran and in 576 took Bospor. In 580 they invaded the Crimea but internecine wars within the qaganate (which ended by 603 with the creation of two qaganates: Western and Eastern) stopped their advance. In 581 "Khotan, Persia and Hephthalites" rose against the Turks. Mandelshtam wrote that "of course" they were the Hephthalites of Central Asia, since south of the Amu Daria the Hephthalites were vassals of the Sasanians. The Turks quelled the Hephthalite uprising. In 588 a Turk army led by Qagan Save crossed the Amu Daria, took Tokharistan and advanced to Herat. The Sasanian Hormizd IV (579-590) sent against them his best warlord, Bahram Chubin, and the pick of his army: mounted, mailed archers who had been taught archery from childhood and kept training and improving their skill all their life. In a fierce battle, Bahram Chubin shot Save dead. The Turk army was defeated. Save's son tried to continue the war but lost it, whereupon peace was made. At the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, the Hephthalite principalities in north Afghanistan rebelled against the Sasanians. The Sasanian warlord, Smbat Bagratuni, invaded Tokharistan twice, defeated the Hephthalites, helped by Turks, and returned with booty. But the Sasanians did not retain the province. The Turks crossed the Amu Daria and expelled the garrisons left by the Sasanians (Gafurov 1972, 217-221, Gumilev 1967, 47, 50, 126-134; Istoria 1964, 43, 47).

After that, Sogd remained a semi-independent buffer state between the Turks and the Iranians. But it was under the suzerainty of the Turk Qagans. There was no centralised state in Soghd. It was a confederation of petty Sogdian kingdoms headed by the ruler of the strongest one: in Eastern Sogd it was Samarqand or (at least once) Kesh. In Western Sogd it was Bukhara. The Turk Qagans left the petty Sogdian kings on their thrones but sent their representatives to control them and to collect tribute which was to be sent to the Qagan. Sometimes the Turks eliminated recalcitrant rulers. So in 605 they killed the ruler of Chach and put on his throne a Turk. In this way was the

Turk dynasty in Chach founded. In the 630s the Turks killed the ruler of north Farghana and sent a Turk ruler there. They secured Sogdian rulers' loyalty by dynastic marriages. So qagans Datou (575-603) and Tun Shehu (618-630) gave their daughters in marriage to the rulers of Samarqand. Some Turk contingents (especially in the time of the internecine wars) migrated to Sogdian (and other) oases of Central Asia adopting a sedentary way of life in the fertile lands or (more frequently) continuing the nomadic way of life on the outskirts of oases and adjacent arid zones (Gafurov 1972, 222-223, 249). There could be cases where a Turk aristocrat brought his tribe and, by using its military force, deposed a local petty ruler and seized his throne. By the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD, the situation had stabilised, the borders of kingdoms were established and remained as such till the Arab conquest of Central Asia. This stability was due to the internecine wars which ravaged the Western and Eastern Turk qaganates. The Turks had their hands full without meddling with the local petty kingdoms in Sogd and other parts of Central Asia. As for the Sasanians, they were engaged in almost eternal wars with their archenemy, Byzantium, till weakened by these wars, internal strifes, and palace revolutions Sasanian Iran fell an easy prey to the Arab conquerors.

In 630 Tun Shehu was killed by his brother, Mohedu (Bichurin 1950, 284). Internecine wars broke out in the Turk qaganate and the Turks' authority over Sogd weakened. This allowed the Sogdian kings to look for a new suzerain. By that time, China had become stronger. Naturally, distant Chinese emperors were likely to be suzerains more in name than in reality and were more preferable. Only a year after the death of Tun Shehu, in 631, the ruler of Samarqand sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor with rich gifts and asked to become his vassal (the idea being that a vassal would be protected by his suzerain). Like the emperor was a realistic person. He said that he did not like the idea of sending his army as far as 10000 li (5000km) and ruining his people in the process (by extorting money for the campaign) just for the sake of vainglory (Bichurin 1950a, 311). Other emperors though were more gracious. They accepted embassies and gifts (the Chinese described them as tribute), granted the Sogdian ruler the title *van* (vassal king) and sent envoys back with gifts for their ruler. So everyone was happy. The Chinese chronicles never failed to register such embassies. And it is thanks to this that we know the names of Sogdian kings (unfortunately more often than not distorted by Chinese ideograms out of all recognition) and some approximate chronology. I shall return to this somewhat later.

In the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD Samarqand was ruled by a dynasty which claimed to descend from the *Yueji* and which had reigned (so they assure us) without a gap for many centuries. The ruler, Daishibi (Chinese transcription), was married to a daughter of Datou qagan (575-603). Eight smaller principalities were subject to Samarqand: Mi (Maimurg), Tsao (Ishtikhan), He (Kushania), Nashebo (Nesef) and some others. This confederation of principalities constituted Eastern/Samarqandian Sogd. It is interesting that at some (earlier) period the Eastern Sogdian confederation was headed by the ruler of Kesh. There was also a principality of Panch (Penjikent), more or less independent. In Western/Bukharan Sogd there was a confederation of principalities headed by the ruler of Bukhara.



**RULERS OF SAMARQAND**  
according to Smirnova (1981, 423-424).

- Shifubi/Daishibi** (Old Chinese transcription: *siäi-piu-piet/d'ai-siäi-piet*) son-in-law of Datou qagan (575-603).  
**Tsiumuji** (Old Chinese transcription: *k'iuät-muk-tsie*) contemporary of Shehu qagan (611-618); in 631 he sent an embassy to China.  
**Shishpir** (Sogdian *šyšpyr*, Old Chinese transcription: *siäi-siet-piet*); in 642 sent embassy to China.  
**Wuzurg** (Sogdian *wzwrk* (?), Old Chinese transcription: *d'ung-xa*); in 645 sent embassy to China.  
**Varhuman/Avarhuman** (Sogdian *βrym'n/ 'βrym'n*, Old Chinese transcription: *piuet-you-muan*). Between 650-655 the Chinese appointed him as ruler. According to Smirnova, during his reign, the Arab general, 'Ubayd Allāh, invaded Sogd in 54/673-4.  
**In 56/675-6** according to Narshakhī there was no king in Samarqand.  
**m'stn** (?) *'wyn*, reading by Smirnova, or **m'stč 'wnš**, reading by Livshits, (after 675-6?).  
**Tukaspadak** (Sogdian *twk'spδ'k*, Old Chinese transcription: *tuok-sa-p'jie-d'iei*) mentioned in Chinese chronicle no later than 696, died in 698.  
**niei-niet ši-ši** (Old Chinese transcription) son of **Tukaspadak** or **Varhuman/Avarhuman**. From 698, no later than 700.  
**trywn** (Old Chinese transcription: *t'uet-xuen*; Arab transcription: Ṭurkhūn) elected by people in 700, dethroned by nobility and died in 710.  
**'wr'kk** (Old Chinese transcription: *'uo-lek-ka*; Arab transcription: Ghūrak) elected by nobility no later than autumn 710; in 712, the Arabs having conquered Samarqand, left him as ruler of Sogd.  
Diarchy 719-722 **Chūrak** and **šyw'styč** (Arab transcription: Dīvashtī).  
**'wr'kk** (Old Chinese transcription: *'uo-lek-ka*; Arab transcription: Ghūrak); embassy sent to China in 738 informed about his death and the enthronement of his senior son *tuet-γat*.  
**twry'r** (Old Chinese transcription: *tuet-γat*). In 750 he sent embassy to China. Dethroned no later than 755.  
**Yazīd** son of Ghūrak in 783 arrived in Merv, to the Arab governor of Khorāsān.  
**Descendants of Ghūrak** were living in the time of the Sāmānids. One of them was Abū Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Marzbān b. Tukūsh Baqī b. Kashīr (?) b. Ṭurkhūn b. Kanarang b. **Ghūrak**. Starting at least with Muḥammad, they were Muslims.

**RULERS OF ISHTIKHAN AND KABUDAN**  
according to Smirnova (1981, 424-425).

- 'uo-kian** (Old Chinese transcription) son of the king of Samarqand. Between 600-620 his father appointed him ruler of Ishtikhan.  
**twry'r** (Old Chinese transcription: *tuet-γat*). In 731 his father, the king of Samarqand, **Ghūrak**, appointed him ruler of Ishtikhan.  
**mwrzyn** (Old Chinese transcription: *muät-zian*). Ruled Kabudan. Died circa 738.  
**suo-tuo-b'ukla** (Old Chinese transcription). In Kabudan circa 738. Junior brother of **mwrzyn**.  
**Ka-la-b'ukla** (Old Chinese transcription). Qarā Bughrā. In 742 sent embassy to China from Kabudan. Before that he was in Ustrushana. Between 742-745 sent embassy to China from Ishtikhan.  
**šiet-a-xat** (Old Chinese transcription). (Shīr?) Akhura. Sent embassy in 755 from Kabudan to China.

**RULERS OF KESH**  
according to Smirnova (1981, 425-426).

- d'iek-tšia** (Old Chinese transcription). Built Kesh. Sent embassy to China between 605-616.  
**šyšpyr** (Old Chinese transcription *šäu-siet-pir*). King of Sogd (?). Sent embassy in 642 to China.  
**šiet-a-xat** (Old Chinese transcription). (Shīr?) Akhura. Appointed ruler of Kesh between 656-660.  
**Cousin of the King of Khuttal** (name is not known). Mentioned as ruler of Kesh in 699-700.  
**Vik** (Arab transcription) ruler of Kesh. In 722 concluded a treaty with the Arabs.  
**y'nōwn** (Chinese transcription: *Yendun*. Arab transcription: Yandūn). According to Chinese chronicle, he died in 738.  
**xubo** (Chinese transcription), son of Yendun, in 738 appointed as successor to his father.  
**Sie-kian-d'isi** (Chinese transcription) or Ishkand (Arab transcription). In 739 sent embassy to China. In 740 received title "King of chakirs". In 741 sent embassy to China.  
**'γryδ** (Arab transcription Ikhrid). Killed by Arabs in 752.  
**δ'rn** (Arab transcription Ṭarān). Brother and successor of Ikhrid.

**RULERS OF BUKHARA**  
according to Smirnova (1981, 426-428)

- šiät-liäk-təng** (Old Chinese transcription). Sent embassy in 609 to China.  
**xa-liəng-ka** (Old Chinese transcription). Sent embassy in 649 to China. Reported that before him there were 22 rulers of his dynasty.  
**ts'ai** (Old Chinese transcription). Shāba (or rather Shāia?) in Arab transcription. Appointed ruler in Bukhara province.  
**Bidūn** (Arab transcription). Died no later than 677-8 (?).



**Khatūn** (Arab transcription). His widow, the queen-regent, contemporary of Arab governors of Khorāsān, Salm b. Ziyād (681-684) and 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim (683-691).

**tuok-siet-pua-d'iei** (Old Chinese transcription). Tūkāspāda (=Tughshda) I (Arab transcription), son of Bidūn. From 693.

**Vardān khudāt** (Arab transcription). Usurper. 708-709.

**tuok-siet-pua-d'iei** (Old Chinese transcription). Tūkāspāda (=Tughshda) I (Arab transcription), son of Bidūn. Restored to the throne by the Arab governor of Khorāsān, Qūṭayba in 709-710. In 719 sent a letter to the Chinese emperor. Ruled Bukhara 32 years. In 726 sent his junior brother to the court of the Chinese emperor. In 727 executed by the Arabs.

**Tūkāspāda II**, son of Tūkāspāda I. Ruled 10 years. Killed in 738.

**k'iuət-tši-pua** (Old Chinese transcription). Qūṭayba (Arab transcription), brother of Tūkāspāda II. Sent embassies to China in 744, 745, and 750. Killed by Abū Muslim after 750.

**a-siā-lan** (Old Chinese transcription). Skān [Salān?] (Arab transcription). Or maybe it is Arslān (?). Brother of Tūkāspāda II. Ruled 10 years. Executed by order of the Caliph.

**Buniyāt** (Arab transcription). Brother of Tūkāspāda II. Ruled 7 years. Executed in 782-783 by order of Caliph al-Mahdī. There were also rulers of Panch (Penjikent) and some other petty domains. I shall return to them later.

### *Money Circulation in Medieval Sogd*

*Eastern (Samarqandian) Sogd.*

On the eve of the Hephthalite conquest of Samarqandian Sogd money circulation in this area was served by series of silver or billon "coins with archer". Coins of these series served the money circulation here for about half a millenium. The earliest issue appeared at the end of the first-beginning of the second century AD. There were four periods (or varieties). In the first period there were the coins copying Seleucid coins of Antioch. Obverse: head of king (turned left), with, behind, the Sogdian legend 'št'm. Reverse: full-length figure (facing) with bow in left hand. On the sides ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ /ANTIOXOY. Later, the Greek legend became distorted. In the second period, the Greek legend disappeared and new Sogdian legends βγwrty or hprwnh appeared. In the third period, on the coins there was the Sogdian legend kyδr. Coins of the fourth period are the most numerous. If coins of the preceding periods are found in ones, coins of the fourth period are found in tens and hundreds. They are more or less anepigraphic: the Sogdian legend is distorted out of all recognition. The same goes for the images: the head of a king looks like an irregular mess of dots and strokes. The figure on the reverse (especially the bow) is more recognisable. At the same time the weight and size of the coins was constantly (and smoothly) reduced. Having started at about 4g (Greek drachm) it ended with tiny coins weighing 0.3-0.2 g (hemibol). The diameter of these coins is between 8-11 mm. At the excavations of Penjikent 68 coins of the fourth period were found. E. V. Zeimal (1983, 269-272) dated the fourth period to the 4<sup>th</sup>-beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

But Penjikent (60 km east of Samarqand) was an outpost of the area where such coins circulated. The centre of this area was Samarqand where, apart from single finds, a hoard of 1500 coins was found. A jug with coins had been put into a small hole which was dug from an archeological level dated by ceramic of the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> centuries. That is to say, the hoard was deposited no earlier than the 6<sup>th</sup> century. (Tashkhodzhaev 1974, 12). Several coins were found in Dzhezak, 90 km north-east of Samarqand. A hoard of 29 such coins was found at Tali Barzu, 6 km south of Samarqand (Ernazarova 1974, 234). According to the archaeological data, a hoard of 26 such coins found in Penjikent could not have been deposited later than the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Since it comprised the latest types, Zeimal (1983, 271) wrote that the cessation of the mintage of such coins should not be dated later than the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. But the fact that such coins were found in archeological strata containing ceramics of the 6<sup>th</sup> - first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century shows that they

continued to circulate for about a century after they stopped being minted. Zeimal (1983, 273) noticed that the spread of Sasanian and Sasanian-type coins and the cessation of mintage of "the coins with archer" in 6<sup>th</sup> century Sogd were concomitant. He connected both events (the appearance of Sasanian coins and cessation of the "coins with archer") with the Hephthalite conquest.

I do not know of any copper coins minted in Samarqandian Sogd in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, but since "the coins with archer" were very small (and some of them billon) there was no urgent need to strike copper money.

The valley of the Kashka Daria river (Kesh, Neseft) was considered part of Samarqandian/Eastern Sogd. In the 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century a series of copper coins was struck in the Kashka Daria valley with the head of a king, turned to the left, and a Sogdian legend (obverse) and full-length image of a king stabbing a rampant lion with a sword. Livshits read the legend as kyšykw k'w, "king of Kesh (?)" (Zeimal 1978, 210). It is not clear whether the subjugation of the Kashka Daria valley by the Hephthalites terminated the mintage of such coins. But even if the mintage of such coins was ceased, they certainly circulated in the 6<sup>th</sup> century as was the case with the "coins with archer" in Samarqand and its province.

And so in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, a new stage in the money circulation of Sogd had started. As I have already mentioned, the Hephthalites, having defeated the Sasanians, imposed on them an annual tribute, which the Sasanians paid for several decades, at least for about half a century. Because of this, a considerable amount of the Sasanian silver accumulated in the Hephthalite state. Thus it was mainly these Sasanian drachms which served the money circulation in the Hephthalite state (Sogd included). But the Hephthalites also minted coins of their own.

In the southern part of their state (Afghanistan, North India) silver coins were minted on the pattern of Sasanian drachms and copper coins on the pattern of Kushan coppers. On the obverse of those drachms were individualised images of Hephthalite kings in a winged crown, with, on the reverse, a fire-altar and two guards with spears. Copper coins had images of a lion, zebu bull, mounted king, sun-disk, etc. In Sogd barbarised copies of the drachms of the Sasanian shah, Peroz I (459-484), were minted. The Hephthalite drachms had less silver and were lighter (about 3g) than the Sasanian drachms. The issue of Hephthalite drachms was dictated not so much by economic reasons (shortage of currency) as by political, representative reasons, to proclaim the Hephthalite kings (in the southern part of the Hephthalite state, that is). In Sogd, though, the images of the king were stylised and seem to be a barbarised copy of the image of Peroz. Smirnova (1963, 56) supposed that the Pahlavi legend on



such coins was “changed to a native (?)” legend but was not sure. As to Hephthalite coppers minted in Sogd, I have not come across any so far. This was probably because the tiny silver and billon “coins with archer” (Samarqandian Sogd) and coppers with the image of a king stabbing a lion (Kashka Daria valley) continued to circulate in the 6<sup>th</sup> century and there was no urgent need for additional small currency to serve the petty, everyday trade in Sogd.

According to M. E. Masson (1955, 184), Sasanian drachms of Peroz and Hephthalite imitations of such coins are plentiful in the Zerafshan valley, with some uncovered hoards comprising “hundreds” of such coins. Drachms of other Sasanians have also been found but not in such quantity. Gold Sasanian and Byzantine coins are rather rare. Smirnova (1970, 157) called imitations of Peroz’s coins “Hephthalite Central Asian drachms”. I would rather call them “Hephthalite-Sogdian drachms”. Such coins have also been found near Dzhizak, Khojend and Tashkent. It shows that they circulated there, but it is highly improbable that they were minted there. Some Hephthalite imitations of Peroz’s coins have Sogdian countermarks: βγγ, δšćγ βγγ, tkyn etc. Hephthalite imitations of Peroz’s drachms have about 80% silver (Smirnova (1970, 158). After the fall of the Hephthalite state (563-567), the mintage of Hephthalite-Sogdian drachms came to an end but they (together with Sasanian drachms) continued to circulate (and satisfy the money circulation needs) till the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century inclusive. One may infer it from this that mintage of native Sogdian drachms was resumed only in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, a point that I shall return to later.

After the collapse of the Hephthalite state, native Sogdian kingdoms were revived or at least regained their actual independence. Turk Qagans were quite satisfied with the tribute paid to them and did not interfere with the administration or the currency circulating in those petty kingdoms.

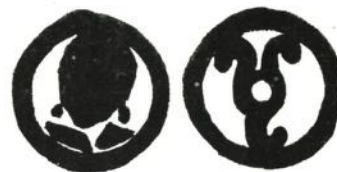
#### Bronze coins

By the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, a shortage of small currency struck mainly before the Hephthalite conquest (hemiobols with archer and Kashka Daria coppers) became perceptible. So the first coins of the East-Sogdian kingdoms were bronze. The earliest series Smirnova (1981, 20-22) called “town (town mintage) Sogdian bronze”, dated them to the end of the 6<sup>th</sup>-beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and attributed them mostly to Samarqand. I would rather date the beginning of the striking of such coins not to the end but to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century, when Samarqand actually became independent. These coins have one feature in common: a portrait on the obverse and the heraldic *tamgha* (sign) of Samarqand (or Samarqandian kingdom) on the reverse. Smirnova thought that this was the image of a deity, patron saint of the town, or (less plausibly) of a ruler. These bronze coins were cast in moulds which had a portrait and (with only one exception) a Sogdian legend.

Type 1. (Smirnova 1981, 20, 88).

Obverse: Badly worn out image of a deity or ruler (facing). One can discern the contours of a head (with pear-shaped eardrops) and shoulders. Reverse: heraldic *tamgha* of Samarqand. It resembles a letter y with a circle in the middle. It is almost always oriented to the left, but here it is oriented to the right. It is the only anepigraphic type of the late-Sogdian (as Smirnova called them) coins. Diameter 20-23 mm. Weight from 1.12 g to 4.35. Six coins are heavier than 3g. Five coins are between 2.5g and 3 g. Seven coins

are between 2 and 2.5 g, and six coins between 1 and 2 g. (fig 1).



Type 2. (Smirnova 1981, 21, 93).

Obverse: image of a deity or king (head three-quarters, shoulders facing) with long hair reaching the shoulders. Turned-down collar and neck-ring are discernible. Reverse: *tamgha* of Samarqand. To the sides, (vertical) Sogdian legend *twr'k / γwβ*, or *twy'k / γwβ*. I. e. “*hwab* of *Tur's*”, or “*Mighty hwab*”. Etymology of the title (honorary epithet) *hwab* is not clear. Smirnova (1981, 22) thought that it derived from the Avestan *hwapā* “he whose deeds are good”. Metrology: 23 mm / 5.86 g, 20 mm / 3.7 g, 20 mm / 2.8 g, 17 mm / 2.23 g. (fig 2).



Type 3. (Smirnova 1981, 21, 95).

Obverse: image of a deity or king (three-quarters) with long hair reaching the shoulders. Turned-down collar and neck-ring are discernible. Reverse: *tamgha* of Samarqand. At the sides, (vertical) Sogdian legend *γwβty' (?) / γwβ* (Eulogized *hwab*). Metrology: 22 mm / 5.75 g, 19 mm / 2.19 g, 20 mm / 2.1 g. (fig 3).



Type 4. (Smirnova 1981, 22, 98).

Obverse: a moustached deity or king (facing) with fringe and hair cut short so that ears (with ear-rings) are uncovered. Reverse: *tamgha* of Samarqand. Around it βγγ / γwβ / prn (?) i.e. “*Lord (God) / hwab / Farn (?)*”. 20 mm / 2.3g, 18 mm / 2.3 g, 15 mm / 0.8g. (fig 4).



Type 5. (Smirnova 1981, 21-22, 96).

Obverse: image of a deity or king (facing) with long hair reaching the shoulders. Reverse: *tamgha* of Samarqand. Around it Sogdian legend *γwβ / mwknyn(?) γnš'n*. The reading by Smirnova is: “(Signifying) goodness sign of *hwab*”. On p. 96, however, she gives another reading: *γwβ /*



mwrnyn(h) / ʁns'n(h?) and no translation. Metrology: 24 mm / 3.54 g, 24 mm / 3.66 g, 23 mm / 3.37 g, 18 mm / 1.62g. (fig 5).



These coins, according to Smirnova, were minted before the "Period of the *ikhshids*", i. e. the kings of Samarqandian Sogd, whose names were contained in the legends. This period started with *ikhshid* Shishpir (second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century). In my opinion, the period within which such coins were minted is the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The petty Sogdian kingdoms regained their actual independence in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and would surely have marked this event by issuing their own coins of Sogdian type.

But the "Period of the *ikhshids*", was preceded by a seemingly short period when Sogdian imitations of Chinese and then Sino-Sogdian coins were issued (cast from bronze).

#### Type 1.

Sogdian imitation of the Chinese fen. (Smirnova 1981, 35, 100). Bronze coin with square hole in the middle. Obverse: to the sides of the hole, four Chinese characters "Kai Yuan Tong Bao", i.e. "Cash (of the period) Kai-Yan". Reverse: blank. The "Kai-Yuan" period started in 621 AD. So this Sogdian imitation of a Chinese coin could not have been issued before 621. Most probably it was issued at the very beginning of the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Metrology: 24 mm / 4.41g. (fig 6).



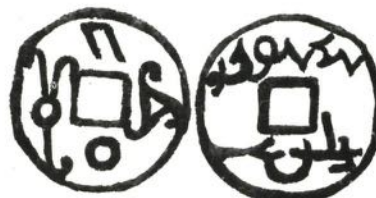
#### Type 2.

Bilingual coin. (Smirnova 1981, 35, 101). Obverse: the same as Type 1. Reverse: to the left of the hole is a sign resembling a letter y but without a circle in the middle. The sign is oriented to the right. To the right of the hole, the Sogdian legend βγγ "Lord/God" which according to Smirnova (1981, 36) could refer to a deity, or the Chinese Emperor, or the Turk Qagan. Metrology: 24 mm / 4.41 g, 24 / 4.02, 24 / 3.95, 24 / 3.3, 24 / 2.65. (fig 7).



#### *Ikhshids* (MLK') of Sogd.

šyšpyr (second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD). The first Sogdian king cited on coins is Shishpir. Obverse: square hole (7x7 mm). To the left of it, heraldic *tamgha* of Samarqand (oriented to the right). To the right, a triskelion with a small triangle in the centre. Above it, a sign resembling a rectangular staple turned downwards. Below it, a circle. Reverse: above and below the hole: šyšpyr / MLK', i.e. "Shishpir / ikhshid". Sogdian word "ikhshid" is described by the heterogram MLK' (which is "king" in Aramaean). Weight of coins is between 1.1 and 6g. Diameter is between 19 and 25 mm. (fig 8).



Smirnova (1981, 36) identified him with the ruler of Kesh, *šiäu-šiet-piet*, who sent an embassy to China in 642. Later she doubted this identification. She wrote: "It is difficult to explain single finds of coins citing this king... in the Kashka Daria basin (Kesh and Nahsheb) and comparatively frequent finds of such coins, including one hoard, at Afrasiab (ancient Samarqand) notwithstanding that the residence of the king should, probably, be transferred from Kesh to Samarqand". The argumentation (and the sentence itself) are somewhat lame (M. F.). "Probably", she continued "one ought to renounce this identification in favour of the other. Chinese chronicles mentioned among the kings of Samarqand a contemporary of Datou-qagan (575-603), Shifubi, or Daishibi, the Chinese transcription of whose name with the proper conjuncture (re-arrangement and substitution of characters)... can (?-M. F.) be restored as Shishibi, which in its turn allows us to indentify the ruler of Samarqand, the contemporary of Datou-qagan, with the owner of the name Shishpir, cited on the coins. Accordingly I will change the dating of such coins". This second identification is totally unacceptable. The authentic late-Sogdian coins of Eastern Sogd (cast in bronze, with a square hole in the middle), bearing Sogdian legends (king's name and title) and Sogdian heraldic signs, are the further development of the two preceding types: the Sogdian imitation of the Kai-Yuan type Chinese coins and the bilingual, Sino-Sogdian, anonymous coins made on this Chinese pattern. This means that the coins citing Shishpir could not have been minted before 621 when the "Kai-Yuan" period (and mintage of the Kai-Yuan type coins) had started. Under the Samarqand ruler Shifubi/Daishibibi (old Chinese transcription *šiäi-piu-piet/d'ai-šiäi-piet*) who was the son-in-law of Datou Qagan (575-603) there must have been issued some series of the above-mentioned bronze coins with the image of a deity or king on the obverse and the *tamgha* of Samarqand on the reverse (and without the square hole).

The first ruler of Kesh, who built the town of Kesh and sent an embassy to China between 605-616 AD, was Dije (Old Chinese transcription *d'iek-tsia*). Then came Shishpir (Old Chinese transcription *šiäu-šiet-piet*) who, in 642, sent an embassy to China from Kesh (Bichurin 1950a, 316).

While citing one Chinese chronicle about the embassy of the Samarqandian king to China in 631, Smirnova (1968,



27) failed to register some very important facts mentioned by the chronicle.

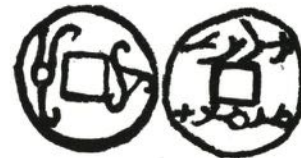
1) The king of Samarqand Guimuji (Old Chinese transcription *k'iuat-muk-tsie*) "married a daughter of the Qagan of the Western Turks's in the time of the Suy dynasty", between 589-618. This king of Samarqand was the son-in-law of Tun Shehu Qagan, who reigned in 618-630 (Bichurin 1950a, 311; Gafurov 1972, 222). These two facts pinpoint the event: the king of Samarqand married the Tun Shehu's daughter in 618, in the first year of the reign of this Qagan. So the reign of *k'iuat-muk-tsie* in Samarqand started no later than 618.

2) In 627 *k'iuat-muk-tsie* sent an embassy with gifts to the Chinese Emperor. But this was to establish diplomatic relations; the Samarqandian king asked nothing else from the Emperor. In 627 he was the son-in-law of the reigning Qagan and all the military might of the Turk Qaganate stood behind him. None would dare to attack him. The situation, though, changed in 631 when *k'iuat-muk-tsie* sent an embassy and asked the Chinese Emperor to accept him as a Chinese subject. Maybe he also asked for protection and military help. The Emperor said that he would not send his army as far as 10000 li (5000 km) and would not ruin his people (by extorting money for this purpose) just for the sake of vainglory (Bichurin 1950a, 311). Even if *k'iuat-muk-tsie* did not ask for help, the Chinese Emperor could well have been informed by his spies that *k'iuat-muk-tsie* was in trouble (probably at war with some of his neighbours). Hence his negative answer. One way or the other, in 631 *k'iuat-muk-tsie* still was king of Samarqand. But then come coins of Shishpir with the *tamgha* of Samarqand, which means that they were issued in Samarqand. Rare finds of such coins in the Kashka Daria valley and more frequent finds (including one hoard) of such coins in Samarqand (as well as in Penjikent, 60 km east of Samarqand) attest to it. And it means that after 631 Shishpir captured Samarqand and became king of Sogd. Shishpir was mentioned for the last time in 642 when he sent an embassy to China. The Chinese chronicle mentioned this event while describing the principality of Shi or Kyusha (Kesh) but should it necessarily mean that he was then only the ruler of Kesh?

**MLK' w/tz/nwr/kk or w/tz/nwkm.** This extraordinary collection of letters Smirnova (1981, 38, 108-111, 423) read on the coins which she placed after the coins of Shishpir. The Sogdian alphabet comprised 22 letters. Four of them were seldom used (only in heterograms\*). In the middle of a word some letters (about half of the alphabet, to wit) could be read in different ways (Rtveladze and Livshits 1985, 17). Hence t or z etc. Sogdians had learnt the trick of recognising the whole word without reading every letter

\* Aramaeic script and language were a kind of lingua franca for the officials of the Achaemenid state, Persian cuneiform being cumbersome and unwieldy for everyday use. Documents written in Imperial Aramaeic have been found throughout the territory of the Achaemenid state from Egypt to Central Asia. When the Achaemenids left Central Asia, the Aramaeic script language continued to be used by local officialdom. Then, starting from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, the Aramaeic language was gradually supplanted by vernacular languages. The script, however, remained – the ancient scripts of Central Asia are derived from Aramaeic. Moreover, many Aramaeic words and expressions continued to be used. First they were pronounced as Aramaeic words. But in due course, there came a time when a Sogdian scribe wrote MLK' but spoke it as *Ikshid*. In this way, MLK' became a heterogram, a foreign word (written in a foreign script) used as a graphic symbol to denote a certain word in the native language.

separately (otherwise there would have been scores of different readings). Unfortunately (or fortunately?) we are not Sogdians. Smirnova wrote that of all the permutations only **MLK' wzwrk** great *ikhshid*, or *ikhshid Wuzurg* (Wuzurg also could be a name) are more or less suitable. Obverse: to the left of the hole, the heraldic *tamgha* of Samarqand (oriented right). To the right of the hole, a triskelion. There are no signs above and below the hole. Reverse: **MLK'** above and **wzwrk** (?) below the hole. Weight of coins is between 3.6 and 1g. Diameter is between 16 and 20 mm. (fig 9).



On these coins is the *tamgha* of Samarqand and a triskelion. This triskelion was the heraldic *tamgha* of the family/dynasty to which Shishpir and **wzwrk** (?) belonged. Smirnova (1981, 38, 423) identified **wzwrk** (?) as the ruler of Samarqand *d'ung-xa* who, in 645, sent envoys to China. Elsewhere, though, the same chronicle mentions *d'ung-xa* as a Turk chief. So it is not at all clear here. B. I. Marshak, who had been excavating Penjikent for several decades, dated such coins to the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century since they were found in archaeological strata of that time. It seems that *d'ung-xa* was the ruler of Samarqand in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, who ascended the throne in 645 and sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor asking for investiture. And, if so, Shishpir could not have reigned beyond 645. Incidentally, in her earlier work Smirnova (1963, 87) read on the same coins **tnwkk** (**wzwrk**?), i.e. was more sure of the reading **tnwkk** than of the reading **wzwrk**. In my opinion **tnwkk** is more apt, anyway it is much closer to *d'ung-xa* than **wzwrk**. Moreover, there was such a Turkic name as **Tonyukuk**. One Tonyukuk was known in Mongolia at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup>- beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Istoria 1984, 241).

**'Brywm'n or Brywm'n** (ca 650-655 till ca 675-676). Obverse: the same *tamghas* (Samarqandian and triskelion) as on the coins of Shishpir and Wuzurg(?) but retrograde: to the left of the hole, the triskelion; to the right of the hole, the heraldic *tamgha* of Samarqand (but oriented to the left). Reverse: above and below the hole: **'Brywm'n / MLK'**, i.e. "Awarkhuman / *ikhshid*". Sogdian *ikhshid* is represented by the heterogram **MLK'**. Only 1 such coin is known. Other coins cite not Awarkhuman but Warkhuman.

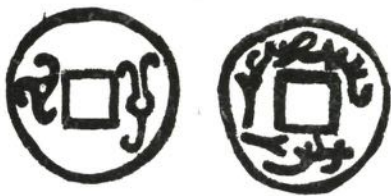
**Type 1.** Obverse the same. Reverse: **'Brywm'n MR'Y / MLK'**, i.e. "Lord Warkhuman / *ikhshid*". **MR'Y** is a heterogram.

**Type 2.** Obverse the same. Reverse: **'Brywm'n M' or MY / MLK'**, "Lord Warkhuman / *ikhshid*". Such coins are very rare.

**Type 3** (94% of coins). Obverse the same. Reverse: **'Brywm'n / MLK'**, i.e. "Warkhuman / *ikhshid*" (Smirnova 1981, 38-39, 112, 423). Weight of the coins is between 0.8 and 2.9 g. Diameter 18-23 mm. (fig 10, 11).







Smirnova (1981, 39) speculated that there could be two rulers: Awarkhuman (or Warkhuman I) and Warkhuman II, but she, herself, doubted it (she wrote "if the existence of two bearers of this name were proved"). In 1965 I discovered<sup>1</sup> the palace of the Samarqand ikhshids and took part in its excavation. There was a hall with walls decorated with murals, depicting the arrival of a foreign embassy at Samarqand. Above the of envoys was a figure in a white robe. On the lap of this robe was a Sogdian inscription. Livshits deciphered the inscription with the reading "that to the king 'βryw'm'n 'wnš (Awarkhuman [from the clan/dynasty] Unash [Hun/Hunnish]) arrived the envoys from Chaghanian and Chach". As ill luck would have it, the image of Awarkhuman himself was destroyed by a *tashnau* pit<sup>2</sup> dug down from the level of the 10<sup>th</sup> - 11<sup>th</sup> centuries. So, the triskelion was the heraldic *tamgha* (or tamgha) of the Samarqandian kings from the Unash clan/dynasty. It was substantiated later by coins themselves, when Livshits read on the coins of another ikhshid the legend *m'stč 'wnš MLK'*, "ikhshid Mastich [from the clan/dynasty] Unash" (Albaum 1975, 54-56).

The Chinese chronicle, which turned Warkhuman into *Fuhuman* (Old Chinese *piuat-you-muan*), related that he was appointed ruler between 650-655. According to Smirnova (1981, 423) it was in the time of Warkhuman that the Arab governor of Khurāsān, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād (673-675), invaded Sogd. She did not, however, refer to any source. In 54/673-4 the Arabs took Rāmītān, Paykend and came to Bukhārā. The ruler of Bukhārā made peace with the Arabs and paid them a sum of money after which they withdrew. The first attempt to capture Samarqand was made in 56/675-6 by the governor of Khurāsān, Sa'id b. 'Uthmān. After heavy fighting, the Arabs made an armistice and withdrew, having taken hostages. According to Narshakhī, at that time there was no king in Samarqand (Smirnova 1970, 200; 1981, 423). If this is so, the reign of Warkhuman must have ended no later than AH 55. Could it be that the Arabs attacked Samarqand having learned about the interregnum and some internal strifes connected with it?

<sup>1</sup> In 1965 some well-meaning Soviet bureaucrats decided to build a bypass so that the Tashkent-Termez highway would not cross Samarqand. Of course they could not have chosen for it a better place than Afrasiab. The work was started after our expedition returned to Tashkent. When news came that bulldozers were destroying Afrasiab I was sent to carry out an archaeological survey (we could not stop the works then). Firstly at the surface of the land smoothed by the bulldozer I found a rectangle (about 10x10m) delineated by a pinkish line. It was a hall with adobe walls covered by clay plaster. The plaster had become pinkish because of a fire which had raged in the hall. Then about 10-15m west of it I came across fragments of alabaster plaster painted scarlet, blue, and yellow. I raised the alarm. The destruction of Afrasiab was stopped. Excavations started. The world-famous Afrasiab murals were uncovered and saved for science and future generations.

<sup>2</sup> Such cylindrical pits (diameter 0.8-0.9, depth 8-9 m) were dug under the floor of a room where ablutions were made. Some time after the palace of the ikhshids was abandoned, the upper part of its walls was destroyed and remnants of the rooms were stuffed with debris to make a platform on which a new building was erected.

The reign of Warkhuman was long, certainly in comparison with those of Shishpir and Wuzurg(?). I believe this to be the case because there are four types of his coins and the amount of his coins (67) published by Smirnova (1981, 103-125) surpasses the amount of coins of Wuzurg(?) and Shishpir taken together (23+30). After Warkhuman Smirnova (1981, 423) placed a ruler whose name she read as *m'stn? 'wyn*. Livshits (1973, 25-26) read it as *m'stč 'wnš*, i.e. Mastich (from the clan/dynasty) Unash (Hun/ Hunnish). Now this reading is generally accepted. I shall return to this ruler later.

Kh. G. Akhunbabaev (1986, 87) put after Warkhuman a ruler whose name Smirnova (1981, 45) found difficult to read. She only wrote that there were 12 or 13 letters: *'wkk wrt č(?) m'wk* or *'rmwk*. She added that the date of these coins *uslovno* (conditionally/conventionally/theoretically) is defined by the *Mugh* monetary complex<sup>3</sup> of the first quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century which comprised two such coins. Two lines further on, however, she wrote: "however, judging by the weight and size of these coins, one ought to attribute them to the first half of the VII century". A. M. Belenitsky and V. I. Raspopova (1981, 10), who excavated ancient Penjikent for several decades, wrote, on the basis of the finds in certain archaeological strata, that those coins were cast no later than the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Livshits (1971, 11) read the name *'wrk wrtrmwk'*, i.e. Urk Wartramuka. This reading is now generally accepted.

In 1986 Akhunbabaev (1986, 87) dated these coins as follows: "after 675-till 696". In 1988 he (1988, 102) redated them: "after 650/55(?) - not later than 675", but on more than shaky grounds. At the excavations of Karatepe (near Samarqand) on the floor of one room coins of Urk Wartramuka were found. This room had been destroyed in a fire. Fragments of pottery were found dated to the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, but there were none of the type of ceramics which were widespread at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. "Everything (underlined by me - M. F.)", wrote Akhunbabaev "indicates that the building was destroyed deliberately". But he did not specify what that "everything" was. He referred to an article by an archaeologist who had excavated Karatepe (but did not indicate the page). I read this article. Nothing is written there about any deliberate destruction of the building. The author, Yu. P. Manylov (1987, 49), wrote only that room Nr. 4, where the coins of Urk Wartramuka were found, had been destroyed in a fire. And that is all.

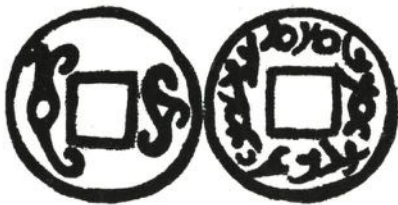
"Apparently" (underlined by me - M. F.), Akhunbabaev added, "the destruction of this building and the whole settlement ought to be connected with the first Arab campaign against Samarqand, led by the governor of Khorasan, Sa'id, son of Uthman (675-676). ... In which case the coins of Urk Wartramuka ought to be dated to a time not later than 675. Most likely the ruler who issued these coins was the successor of Warkhuman". Then "apparently" and "most likely" somehow disappeared and, on the next page, Akhubabaev (1988, 102-4) wrote "Urk Wartramuka (after 650/55? - not later than 675)".

I cannot accept these speculations of Akhunbabaev as a serious argument, nor the redating of Urk Wartamuka's reign. The date of Urk Wartamuka's reign which Akhunbabaev (following Smirnova) gave in his previous article ("after 675-till 696") is also tentative.

<sup>3</sup> The "Mugh monetary complex" is the corpus of coins found at excavations of the castle at Mount Mugh, east of Penjikent. It was the castle where part of the archive of Divashtich was found.



**'wrk wrtrmwk' MLK'**. After 675(?)—not later than 696(?). Obverse: the same *tamghas* (Samarqandian and triskelion) as on the coins of Shishpir, Wuzurg(?) and Warkhuman, but not retrograde as on the coins of Warkhuman. The arrangement is as on the coins of Shishpir and Wuzurg(?): the *tamgha* of Samarqand (oriented to the right) is to the left of the hole, the triskelion is to its right. Reverse: around the hole: **'wrk wrtrmwk' MLK'**, *Urk Wartamuka* ikhshid. So Urk Waratramuka belonged to the same clan/dynasty **Unash** as his three predecessors and his reign was quite long. In Smirnova's catalogue (1981, 217-227) there are 76 of his coins, which is more than the coins of Warkhuman (67) and more than the coins of Wuzurg(?) and Shishpir taken together (23+30). Weight of the coins is between 1.5 and 6 g. The diameter is 28-23 mm. Interestingly enough, judging by their weight, the coins of Urk Waratramuka could be earlier than the coins of Warkhuman as they are heavier. They are closer in this respect to the coins of Shishpir. (fig 12).



In September 696 the Chinese emperor appointed, as king of Samarqand, *Dusaboti* (Old Chinese *tuok-sa-p'jie-d'iei*). On his coins he was cited as **twk'sp'd'k** Tukaspadak. He was one of the strongest and most influential nobles/warlords of Sogd, because, before he became king, the Chinese had granted him the title of "great chief" and the honorary rank of General of the Chinese Imperial Guards. But he did not belong to the **Unash** clan/dynasty (as the preceding kings had done). The *tamgha* of his clan, placed on his coins together with the *tamgha* of Samarqand, is quite different from the **Unash** triskelion. Akhunbabaev (1986, 88) called this *tamgha* "a variant of the Penjikent rulers' *tamgha*". Indeed it looks like the Penjikent *tamgha* but turned upside down and much narrower. The latter may be explained by the circumstance that, on the coins of Tukaspadak, about a third of the obverse field (right of the hole) was allocated for this *tamgha* while on the coins of Penjikent it covered the whole obverse field. Tukaspadak's successor, *Nine Shihsi* (Old Chinese *niei-niet-si-si*), was appointed king of Samarqand in August 698 (Smirnova 1963, 28). So Tukaspadak reigned one year and 11 months.

**twk'sp'd'k MLK'** (696–698). Obverse: to the left of the hole, the *tamgha* of Samarqand (oriented to the right). On its right is a special *tamgha*: a rhomboid crowned by a horizontal line with two short prongs extending upwards. Under the rhomboid are two short "legs" curving outwards. Reverse: Around the hole: **twk'sp'd'k MLK'**, *ikhshid Tukaspadak*. His coins are not numerous – only 24 (Smirnova 1981, 131-137). This is quite understandable because he reigned only about two years. The weight of the coins is between 1.1 and 3.2 g. Diameter 18–25 mm. (fig 13).



After Tukaspadak, Akhunbabaev (1986, 84) placed **Mastich Unash**. He excavated a house at Afrasiab. On the *konstruktivnyi* floor (on which the walls were built) coins of Tukaspadak were found. But in the rooms were found coins of Mastich Unash and Tarkhun. So he inferred that the coins of Mastich were cast after Tukaspadak's death (698) and before Tarkhun's enthronement in 700 (Tarkhun was succeeded by Ghurak in 710). So the coins of Mastich fall in the reign of the ikhshid whom the Chinese called *Nine shihsi* (Old Chinese *niei-niet-si-si*). Livshits wrote that *Nine shishi* was the Sogdian **nnšyrč** (Nanai Shirch), *Friendly to [goddess] Nana* (Kliashornyi, Livshits 1971, 138). So Akhunbabaev considered that Nanai Shirch was the epithet of Mastich Unash. It sounds convincing but I consider it methodologically incorrect to decide such a serious question as the chronology of the ikhshids on the basis of several coins found in one or several rooms. It is no secret that coins could circulate several decades after the death of the ruler who issued them. And it could be sheer chance that, in some building, coins of Mastich were found above the coins of Tukaspadak.

Smirnova (1963, 28; 1981, 41) put Mastich Unash (she read **m'stn? 'wyn**) after Warkhuman and before Tukaspadak. At first she wrote that *Nine shishi* was the son of Tukaspadak, then that he was the son of Warkhuman or Tukaspadak. The chronicle, at least in Bichurin's translation (1950a, 311) first published in 1851, is obscure: "vladetel' (possessor/sovereign) *Fohuman* is made ruler. Chief elder *Dusoboti* received the title, vladetel'. After the death of *Fohuman* his son, *Ninie shishi*, was put (on the throne), after the latter's death the elders elected vladetel' *Tuhun*" (underlined by me – M. F.). So according to Bichurin, *Ninie shishi* was the son of *Fohuman*, but it is not clear whether he succeeded *Fohuman* or *Dusoboti*. On the one hand it is said that *Ninie shishi* was put on the throne after the death of his father, *Fohuman* (immediately after or simply after?); on the other hand it is said that *Tuhun* succeeded *Ninie shihsi*, which is possible only if *Ninie shishi* succeeded *Dusoboti*. A hundred years later, at Smirnova's request, sinologist B. I. Pankratov translated the same passage as follows: "this land (i.e. *Kan*) was made *Kangüi* general-governorship (*Kangüi dudu-fu*). Its (i.e. *Kan*'s, i.e. Samarqand's – M. F.) *van* (title given by the Chinese to a vassal king – M. F.) *Fuhuman* was made *dudu* (governor – M. F.). In the years of *Van'-sui-tung-tian*' great chief (*da shou-lin*) *Dusaboti* was made *van*. Died. Son *Ninie-shishi* put (on the throne). Died. People put (on the throne) *Tu-hun*, made him *van*" (Smirnova 1963, 27). So in Pankratov's translation (which I believe to be more correct – M. F.) it is not said that *Ninie-shishi* was the son of *Fuhuman*.

If Mastich Unash and Nanai Shirch is the same person, then the coins of Mastich Unash show that he could be the son of Warkhuman. The *tamghas* of Mastich are the same as on the coins of Warkhuman: Samarqandian and triskelion. So Mastich Unash (=Nanai-Shirch?) could be the son of Warkhuman. But in our present state of knowledge based on available sources one should be aware of the possibility that they could have been different men.

**m'stč 'wnš MLK'** (698–700). Obverse: the same heraldic *tamghas* (triskelion and Samarqandian) as on the coins of Shishpir, Wuzurg(?), Warkhuman and Urk Waratramuka but not retrograde as on the coins of Warkhuman. It is as on the coins of Shishpir, Wuzurg(?) and Urk Waratramuka: the *tamgha* of Samarqand (oriented right) is to the left of the hole, the triskelion is to the right.



Reverse: around the hole: *m'stč 'wnš MLK'*, *Mastich Unash ikhshid*. So Mastich Unash belonged to the same clan/dynasty of Unash as his four predecessors. His reign was short and his coins are not numerous. In Smirnova's catalogue (1981, 126-130) there are 23 of his coins (cf. Tukaspadak, who ruled two years: 24 coins). The weight of the coins is between 1.24 and 3.1 g. Diameter 20-26 mm. (fig 14).



Around the year 700 a new ikhshid, *trywn* (old Chinese *t'uət-xuən*, Arab *Ṭurkhūn/ Ṭarkhūn*), was elected in Samarqand. He ruled not less than 10 years: a Sogdian document has survived dated to the tenth year of *trywn*'s reign. In 709, Qutayba attacked Samarqand. *Ṭurkhūn* made peace with him and pledged to pay an indemnity. He started to collect the money but, when Qutayba withdrew, the Samarqandians rebelled. In the autumn of 710 the elders dethroned and imprisoned *Ṭurkhūn*. A new ikhshid, *'wr'kk* (Arab Ghūrak/Ghurek, old Chinese *'uo-lək-ka*), was elected. *Ṭurkhūn* committed suicide. According to another chronicle, he was killed by Ghūrak. So *Ṭurkhūn*'s reign should have started around the year 700 (Smirnova 1963, 29; 1981, 42, 423).

*trywn MLK'* (700-710). Obverse: to the left of the hole. the *tamgha* of Samarqand (oriented right). To the right of the hole is a special *tamgha*: a rhomboid crowned by a short horizontal line with two short prongs extending upwards. Under the rhomboid are two short "legs" curving outwards. His heraldic *tamgha* is the same as on the coins of Tukaspadak, which means that he belonged to the same clan/dynasty as Tukaspadak. Reverse: around the hole: *trywn MLK'*, *ikhshid Turkhun*. Coins of Turkhun are numerous, which is quite natural because he reigned for not less than 10 years. In Smirnova's catalogue (1981, 138-158) there are 144 of his coins (cf. Warkhuman-67, Mastich-23, Tukaspadak-24). The weight of the coins is between 1.32 and 4.46 g. (fig 15).



So, in 710 a new ikhsid of Samarqand, *'wr'kk*, was elected. It was Ghūrak who fought the Arabs bitterly and lost Samarqand to them in 712. Qutayba made Ghūrak pay an indemnity of 2,000,000 drachms, banished him from Samarqand (Ghūrak built himself a new capital) but appointed him king of Eastern Sogd (provinces of Samarqand, Kesh and Nesef). In 718 Ghūrak asked China for help against the Arabs, but the emperor refused. In 719-722 there was a diarchy in Sogd: both Ghūrak and the ruler of Penjikent, Divashtich, claimed to be the king of Sogd. In 720 an anti-Arab uprising broke out, led by Divashtich. The uprising was quelled, Divashtich was crucified in the autumn of 722. After that, Ghūrak was the indisputable ikhshid of Eastern Sogd. In 738 an embassy arrived in

China bringing news about Ghūrak's death. His son, *twry'r*, old Chinese *tuət-yat*, was appointed king.

*'wr'kk MLK'* (710-738). Obverse: To the right of the hole, the *tamgha* of Samarqand (oriented right). To its left, a special *tamgha*: a rhomboid (sometimes almost oval) body crowned by a sign resembling the upper part of 2 letters C placed back-to-back or a silhouette of a flying bird. Under the rhomboid is a sign resembling a short letter T turned upside down. Sometimes it looks like a squat triangle. Reverse: around the hole: *'wr'kk MLK'*, *ikhshid Urak*. Urak belonged neither to the Unash clan/dynasty whose *tamgha* is a triskelion, nor to the Tukaspadak-Tarkhun clan/dynasty who had another *tamgha*. The coins of Urak are not numerous - 41. Smirnova (1981, 42, 158-165) explained this by the decline in trade and industry caused by the Arab conquest. But one should not forget that there were quite enough bronze coins in circulation, and that an increase in the amount of money in circulation would have led to inflation. His coins are heavier than the coins of his immediate predecessors. The weight of the coins is from 2.7 to 4.6 g. Diameter 22-23 mm. (fig 16).



There are coins which, according to Smirnova (1981, 166, 43), cite *'wr'kk MLK'*. She calls them "imitation?" of Urak's coins. There are two types of such coins. The first type has an important distinction: the coins were struck albeit on cast flans. Coins of the second type were cast. But neither type has a square hole in the middle. There is only an imitation of the hole: in the central part of the coins on the obverse and reverse there is a square frame imitating the hole. And, what is strange, the coins, according to Smirnova, cite Urak but had, on the obverse, the *tamgha* of the clan/dynasty to which Tukaspadak and Tarkhun belonged. This circumstance puzzled Smirnova. Belenitsky and Raspopova (1981, 11-12) thought that such coins had been issued by Ghurak in Ishtikhan or Ferenket after he had been banished by Qutayba from Samarqand.

In 1986 Akhunbabaev (1986, 81-84) offered an explanation to this problem. At the excavation of an aristocratic house at Afrasiab in the strata "dated to the first quarter (after 712) of the VIII century" he found 3 such coins. Owing to the excellent state of preservation of one coin he managed to read the legend in a different way from previously. He read it *'prykk MLK'*, *Afrig ikhshid*. But in the list of Samarqandian ikhshids, known from coins and written sources, there is no such name. In Akhunbabaev's opinion an answer to this puzzle is given by the *tamgha* of Tukaspadak and Tarkhun which is "identical to the sign on the coins of the rulers of Panch and represents one of its variants" (underlined by me - M. F.). So what is it, identical or variant? But anyway there is indeed a resemblance. Hence Akhunbabaev inferred that Tukaspadak, Tarkhun and Afrig were related to the rulers of Penjikent. Apart from the *tamgha* some other facts speak in favour of a connection of Afrig with Panch. The legend on his coins is circular (as on the coins of Panch) and not placed in two arcs read from right to left (as on Samarqandian coins). Coins of Afrig were also cast in Penjikent: finds of defective/botched pieces attest to it. Afrig is an epithet "Blessed One". So Akhunbabaev came



to the conclusion that it was an epithet of the Penjikent ruler, Divashtich. Sogdian documents found at mount Mugh referred to Divashtich as "Sogdian King, Ruler of Samarkand". Livshits (1979, 62-63) opined that Divashtich bore that title for about two(?) years. But there was also an opinion that this represented only a pretension to the Sogdian throne. Akhunbabaev wrote that the coins with the epithet Afrig, the *tamgha* of Samarqand and the *tamgha* related to Penjikent allow us to look at the problem from another point of view. In 718 Ghurek sent an embassy to China asking for help against the Arabs. Having learned about his treacherous behavior, the Arabs appointed Divashtich king of Sogd or at least supported his claim to the Sogdian throne. Akhubabaev wrote that coins citing Afrig were cast in Panch in 719-720 when Divashtich was king of Sogd. As to the coins which were struck, he deemed that they were struck by Arabs in Samarqand, which the Arabs had turned into their stronghold. I think he is right. Smirnova (1981, 64) wrote that histograms of Sogdian bronze coins never give a compact triangle with one apex, which in her opinion showed that Sogdians issued coins *al marco* i.e. from a certain amount of bronze was cast a certain amount of coins (but there was not the same decreed weight for every coin). She wrote that of all the Sogdian bronze coins only "the second series of Ghurek (imitations?) without the square hole" are the exception to the rule and give a distinct triangle with its apex at 1.5 g. This means that their decreed/intended weight was about 1.5 g. Here we see two different approaches: Sogdian and Arab. It is interesting that the heaviest of the Arab-Sogdian bronze coins which appeared by the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (3 different types) had a weight of 1.6 g (Smirnova 1981, 79). Bearing in mind that coins lose weight in circulation (and on being cleaned) I consider that their decreed weight was 1.6 g. Smirnova singled out two types of this enigmatic series differing in the disposition of the *tamghas*: 1) a rhomboid *tamgha* to the left of the hole imitation, Samarqand *tamgha* to the right; 2) Samarqand *tamgha* to the left of the hole imitation, rhomboid *tamgha* to the right. Could this be the difference between coins issued in Samarqand and coins issued in Penjikent? Judging by finds made at Penjikent such coins date to the second quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Smirnova (1981, 44) admitted the possibility that such coins could have been issued by Ghurek but not in Samarqand, from where the Arabs had banished him. "But the difference in *tamghas*" she wrote "on the coins of the two series bearing the name of Ghurek speaks rather against identification of persons who issued them, and probably among the kings of Sogd there were two ikhshids with the same name. Maybe this name could have been assumed by Divashtich whose coins (i.e. with the name Divashtich - M. F.) are not known so far" (underlined by me - M. F.). By the way here she was close to solving the riddle: it looks as if the coins with the name which she read as 'wr'kk, and Akhunbabaev as 'prykk, were indeed issued by Divashtich.

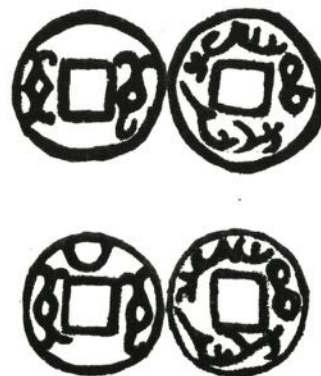
Divashtich headed an anti-Arab uprising in 720-722 (Gafurov 1972, 319). The uprising was quelled and Divashtich crucified. His head was sent to the caliphate. According to Akhunbabaev the mintage of coins with his epithet "Afrig" was stopped by the Arabs when he rebelled, but in Penjikent his coins were issued until Penjikent was captured and devastated by the Arabs. In Smirnova's catalogue (1981, 180-190) there are 37 coins of the first and 38 coins of the second type. They (37+38) surpass the amount of Ghurek's coins, which speaks in favour of such coins having been issued not by one but by two mints (i.e. Penjikent and Samarqand).

After that, Ghurek (who did not join the uprising) remained king of Sogd till his death in 738. The last ikhshid of Sogd was *twry'r*, old Chinese *tuət-yat*. He was first mentioned in 731 when his father Ghurek sent an embassy to China asking for the appointment of his senior son, *Tuət-yat*, as ruler of Ishtikhan and his junior son as ruler of Maimurg. It was granted. Turghar was enthroned in Samarqand in 738. He reigned at least until 750, when he sent an embassy to China. The year of his dethronement could have been 755 when the Arab governor of Khorāsān, Khalid b. Ibrāhīm (755-757) started to mint Arab-Sogdian drachms in his name. It did not necessarily mean that Turghar was killed. He could have lived on as a rich and influential noble. His son, Yazīd, was mentioned in 783 and one his descendants was mentioned under the Sāmānids (Smirnova 1981, 424-425).

***twry'r MLK'* (738-no earlier than 750).**

Type 1. Obverse: to the right of the hole, the *tamgha* of Samarqand (oriented right). To the left of the hole there is a special *tamgha*: a rhomboid or oval body crowned by a sign resembling the upper part of two letters C placed back-to-back or a silhouette of a flying bird. Under the rhomboid is a sign resembling the lower part of two letters C placed back-to-back. Sometimes instead of this there is a squat triangle. Reverse: Around the hole: *twry'r MLK'*, *ikhshid Turghar*. Weight of coins from 1.42 to 2.8 g. Diameter 19-22 mm.

Type 2. On the obverse, apart from the heraldic *tamghas* of Samarqand and Ghurek-Turghar's clan/dynasty, above the hole is a sign resembling a crescent with its back turned downwards. The coins of the second type are more numerous (211) than the coins of the first type (57). Smirnova (1981, 44-45, 191-217) wrote that such a "crescent sign" has been encountered on Chinese coins issued between 740-755 and that Turghar could have borrowed it from the Chinese. Weight of coins from 1.44 to 3.5 g. Diameter 16-20 mm. (fig 17, 18).

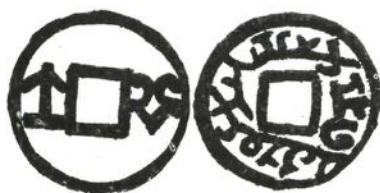


Sixty km east of Samarqand lay Penjikent/Panchikat, the capital of the principality of Panch. In Eastern Sogd its mint was second only to the mint of Samarqand. The principality of Panch was ruled by a dynasty of its own. In the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries the rulers of Panch issued coins with their name, *tamgha*, and title represented by the heterogram *MR'Y* or *MR'Yn* (Aramaic *my lord*) with the addition of the principality's name. The *Ikhshid* did not need to indicate the name of the principality: *MLK'* was the title of the ruler of Sogd (Smirnova 1981, 46).

The earliest coins of Panch were minted in the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.



**pnčy MR'Yn 'lc m'wky'n** *Lord of Panch Amukian* [or *Chamukian?*] (second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century?). Obverse: to the left of the hole, Turkic rune (*oq* – arrow), arrowhead upwards, mounted on a horizontal line. To the right of the hole, according to Smirnova “the simplest (or rather the earliest? – M. F.) variant of the *tamgha* of Panch”: a rhomboid crowned with a sign resembling the upper part of two letters C placed back-to-back. From the sides of the rhomboid project two short horizontal lines. The figure remotely resembles a fish, tail upwards, fins outstretched. Reverse: clockwise around the hole: **pnčy MR'Yn 'lc m'wky'n**. Weight 3.5–5.5g. Diameter 26–27 mm. There are 23 such coins in Smirnova’s catalogue Smirnova (1981, 47, 230-233). (fig. 19).



After the coins of Amukian, Smirnova (1970, 173; 1981, 49, 233-240) placed coins on which she read: **pnčy nnδβ'mpnh** and **pnčy nnδβnpnhw** – *Lady of Panch Nana*. The difference between the titles **δβ'mpnh** (from *δamano pašni*-lady/dame of the house) and **δβnpnhw** evaded her. She thought that it was probably like the difference between the Persian titles *bambišn* and *bānūk* – Queen and Lady. In her opinion the legends could be understood in two ways: 1) the city patroness, the goddess Nana, is mentioned; 2) the rulers of Panch were women with the theophoric name, Nana. For instance, at the time of the Arab conquest, Bukhara was ruled by a queen-regent with the title *khatun*.

Next Smirnova (1963, 102; 1981, 47-48, 256) put coins of a ruler whose name she read: **γwβ pnčy MRYn βyδy'n**, *hwab lord of Panch Bidian?* Livshits (1962, 47) read a Sogdian document (found in the ruins of Divashtich’s castle at mount Mugh) dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of **βytyk MLK' pnčy MR'Y čk'yn čwr Bylk'**, *Ikshid of βyt Lord of Panch Chakin Chur Bilga* (Bilga in Turk is “Wise, Sage”). His reading was accepted by Akhunbabaev (1988, 107) who read the legend: **γwβ pnčy M[RY]n Bylk'**, *Hwab Lord of Panch Bilga*. I agree with them.

Freiman (1936, 161–165) having read the Sogdian documents found at mount Mugh, wrote that Divashtich ruled for not less than 14 years and thought that he and Tarkhun, king of Sogd was one and the same person. I.Y and V.A. Krachkovsky (1934, 62-66) proved that Divashtich was a contemporary of Tarkhun and ruler of Penjikent. Smirnova (1963, 11) wrote that Chakin Chur preceded Divashtich, since a document dated to the 15<sup>th</sup> year of Chakin Chur’s reign was found in the archive of Divashtich, who was killed in 722. Livshits (1962, 51) wrote that Divashtich most probably started his reign in 708, and that prior to that for at least for 15 years the ruler of Panch was Turk, “a very significant fact characterising the role of Turks in the life of Samarqandian Sogd towns”. Smirnova at first identified Bidian with Divashtich but later wrote that they were different persons (1963, 15; 1981, 48).

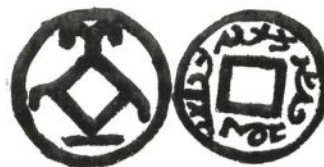
Divashtich reigned for at least 14 years and it seems very strange that his coins are not known. Akhunbabaev attributed to him coins on which he read the title and epithet **'prykk MLK'** (*Afrig ikshid*). But according to him (1986, 82–84) such coins were issued from the year 719 (or

the end of 718). Could it be that during all the preceding years Divashtich did not issue any coins? Henning (1965, 252) wrote that coins with the legend **pnčy nnδβ'mpnh** and **pnčy nnδβnpnhw** (*Lady of Panch Nana*) cite the goddess Nana (Patroness of Panch) but were issued by Divashtich, because otherwise it is impossible to explain the absence of his coins. I totally agree with him.

One might suppose that Divashtich was, so to say, Prince Consort and Nana cited on the coins was the queen of Panch. The coins are known (Smirnova 1981, 362) with the image of a woman and a man and the Sogdian legend **MR'... γ'ttwnh**, *Lady Khatun* (*khatun* in Turk is queen). So it was an image of the Queen and Prince Consort. But documents found at Mount Mugh speak against this. There are documents (Livshits 1962, 63-64, 110) dated to the 6<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup> year (of the reign) of *Lord of Panch Divashtich*; 7<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, 13<sup>th</sup> year of *Lord Divashtich*. There are documents dated to the first and second year of *King (MLK') of Sogd Lord (MR'Y) of Samarqand Divashtich*. So Divashtich was not a Prince Consort. He was Lord (ruler) of Panch and for at least two years he was *Ikshid* of Sogd and *Lord of Samarqand*. Livshits (1962, 110) established that he had such a title (and position) in 720–721. Thus was he titled in the letter sent to him by 'Abd al-Rahman b. Subh who was in Sogd in 720–721. So for not less than 14 years Divashtich was *Lord of Panch* and not less than 2 years he was *King of Sogd*. So this makes not less than 16 years in all. He was killed in 722. Thus his reign could have started no later than 706. Nevertheless it remains a mystery why he did not place his name (Divashtich) on his coins.

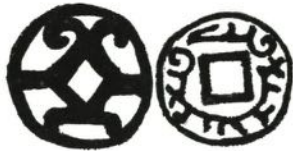
And now to the coins.

**γwβ pnčy M[RY]n Bylk'**, *Hwab Lord of Panch Bilga* (not later than 691 – not later than 706). Obverse. Variant of Panch *tamgha*, differing from the *tamgha* of the preceding coins. It was modified and has acquired its classic form. The rune *oq* has disappeared, the rhomboid extending over the whole obverse field. The rhomboid looks almost square, because it encloses the square hole in the middle of the coin. The sign has acquired a pedestal looking like a horizontal line. “Fins” at the sides of the rhomboid are not horizontal but curve downwards. Reverse: Around the square hole **γwβ pnčy M[RY]n Bylk'**. Weight 1.5 – 3.75 g. Diameter: 21–22 mm. In Smirnova’s catalogue (1981, 256-305) there are 358 coins. (fig 20).



**pnčy nnδβ'mpnh** (Smirnova [1963, 92] dated the coins to the “end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century – not later than 708, or after 722”. But in later works she was vague about the date). Obverse: rhomboid *tamgha* of Panch. Its pedestal looks like a rectangular staple (prongs downward) or sometimes it looks more like an arc. The “fins” are horizontal. Reverse: **pnčy nnδβ'mpnh**. There are two types of coins, differing by size. Type 1: weight 1.3–2.6 g (but mostly about 2g), diameter: 18–20 mm (but mostly 20 mm). Type 2: weight 0.9–1.86 g (but mostly between 1–1.5 g), diameter: 16–19 mm (but mostly 17–18 mm). In Smirnova’s catalogue (1981, 223-240) there are 11 coins of the first and 76 coins of the second type. (fig 21).

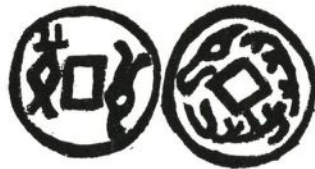




**pnčy nnδβnpnwh** (Smirnova [1963, 97] dated this series the same way as the preceding one). Obverse: romboïd *tamgha* of Panch, the same as on the preceding coins. Reverse: **pnčy nnδβnpnwh**. Weight 1.2–3.15 g (mostly between 1.5–2.5 g), diameter: 16–19 mm (mostly 17–18 mm). In her catalogue (1981, 241–255) there are 162 coins. (fig 22).



**'prykk MLK'** (720 [or 719?]-721 [or 722?]). Obverse: to the right of the square, imitating the hole, is a variant of the Panch *tamgha*, close (but not identical) to that of Tukaspadak and Tarkhun: a rhomboid crowned by a short horizontal line with two short prongs rising upwards. Under the rhomboid are two short "legs" curving outwards. To the left of the square is a Samarqandian *tamgha*. On some coins it is vice versa with the Samarqandian *tamgha* on the right and the Panch *tamgha* on the left of the square. Reverse: **'prykk MLK'**, *ikhshid Afrig*. This is the only type which gives a triangle histogram shape with a peak of 1.5 g, which (or rather 1.6 g) was the decreed weight. Diameter 20–25 mm. (fig 23).



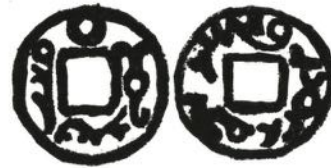
Apart from Samarqand and Panch, mints worked sporadically in the small principalities of Fansar and Pargar. Smirnova (1981, 46, 228–230) read the mint as **pns'r** or **p's'r** and **pry'r**. In the event it was **pns'r** she located it in the basin of the Fan Daria, a southern tributary of the Zerafshan (90 km south-east of Penjikent). If it was **p's'r** she placed it at the border with Chaghaniān, where the locality of Bāsār (Bāsārā, Bāsārān) is mentioned by Muslim writers. **pry'r** she identified with Falgar (south of the Zerafshan and west of the Fan Daria, closer to Penjikent) or Farkhar, a town in Chaghānian. Chaghānian did not issue bronze coins with a square hole. Hence both **pns'r** and **pry'r** should be located in the valley of the Zerafshan, east of Penjikent. **pn(Fan) s'r(head)** gives "Head of (river Fan)".

**pns'r γwβw č[?]m'wky'n**, Hwab of Fansar Chamukian (7<sup>th</sup> century, no later). Obverse: To the right of the hole, the *tamgha* of Samarqand (or was it the *tamgha* of Samarqandian/Eastern Sogd?) oriented to the right. To the left of the hole, **prn**, *Farn*, the name of the God of Prosperity (or of a temple of this God). Reverse: around the square hole: **pns'r γwβw č[?]m'wky'n**. Only one such

coin (2.7 g, 23 mm) was known to Smirnova (1981, 46, 228). (fig 24).



**pry'r γwβw ...?**, Hwab of Pargar ...? (7<sup>th</sup> century, no later). Obverse: to the right of the hole, the Samarqandian *tamgha* (or was it the *tamgha* of Samarqandian/Eastern Sogd?) oriented to the right. Above the hole, a circle. To the left of the hole, **prnβyy**, *Farn Bag* (God Farn). Reverse: around the square hole: **pry'r γwβw ...?**. Only one such coin (3.7g, 23 mm) is known (Smirnova 1981, 46, 229). (fig 25).



**... yrt MLK'**, unknown *ikhshid*. Obverse: Head of a king (facing) wearing a crown with wings and crescent above them. Reverse: Sogdian legend **... yrt MLK'**. Smirnova (1981, 310) wrote that it could be [**prn** /β]yrt MLK' *Blessed king*). Under the inscription is the Samarqandian *tamgha* placed horizontally. Weight 1.6g (3 other coins have chipped edges). Diameter 18–19 mm.

Stavisky (1977, 139), following Vainberg, wrote that in the late 380s in Tokharistan a Chionite kingdom sprang up which minted coins with the legend **ΓΟΒΟΖΙΚΟ** (tentative reading). Surprisingly, on these coins we find the y-shaped *tamgha* of Samarqand, Fansar, Pargar and **... yrt MLK'**! So the y-shaped *tamgha* in the 4<sup>th</sup> century was the *tamgha* of the ruling clan of the Chionites. This *tamgha* was placed on the coins of the Samarqand rulers in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup>–first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. In the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century they lost Samarqand and the throne of the *ikhshids* to the ruler of Kesh, Shishpir, who established in Samarqand a new dynasty of *ikhshids* from the Unash/triskelion clan. On coins of Samarqand Shishpir and his successors placed 2 *tamghas*: the y-shaped one (this had been associated with Samarqand for such a long time that it was by now perceived as a traditional *tamgha* of Samarqand) and the triskelion of the Unash clan. When the Unash clan was ousted from Samarqand by the Tukaspadak-Tarkhun clan, which was later ousted from Samarqand by the Ghurek-Turghar clan, the y-shaped *tamgha* of Samarqand was placed on the coins of Samarqand together with the *tamgha* of their own clan. And so it continued until the last days of the Samarqandian *ikhshids*. Coins of Fansar, Pargar and **... yrt MLK'** show that, having lost Samarqand, the clan with the y-shaped *tamgha* survived in minor principalities, where it sporadically issued coins of its own.

Here I would like to recall the narration of the Chinese chronicle that "Hsiung-nu" (Huns) killed the ruler of Sude and captured his lands. The "Hsiung-nu" ruler of Sude, a contemporary of the Chinese chronicler, belonged to the fourth generation of his dynasty (Bichurin 1950, 260). Enoki (1955, 24–25) wrote that Sude was Sogd and that



“Hsiung-nu” were Chionites who, by 437 AD, had already been ruling Sogd (Samarqandian) for four generations. He also considered that the Chionites had captured Sogd before they appeared in the South of Central Asia. Gafurov (1972, 197) shared Enok’s view.

Four, or say, three and a half generations would make 70 years (20x3.5). So the Chionites captured Sogd and established in Samarqand the Chionite dynasty with the y-shaped tamgha somewhere around 367 AD (437-70). About the end of 380 another branch of this ruling clan of Chionites established their state in Tokharistan and minted coins there with the y-shaped *tamgha*/tamgha. But what about Fansar and Pargar?

They were the easternmost areas. The Chionites, coming down from East, captured Fansar and Pargar and created their principalities there. Then some Chionite tribes, led by chiefs from the clan with the y-shaped tamgha proceeded westwards, took Samarqand and created their own state there. About that same time, other Chionite tribes, led by the chiefs from the same clan with the y-shaped tamgha proceeded to the south and created the state in Tokharistan. So the y-shaped *tamgha* of Samarqand was originally the tamgha of the ruling clan of the Chionites! It seems that the Chionite dynasty in Tokharistan did not survive the Hephthalite conquest or at least did not regain the throne after the fall of the Hephthalites. Anyway there were no more coins with the y-shaped tamgha after the fall of the Hephthalites. The Chionite /y-shaped tamgha dynasty of Samarqand was not exterminated by the Hephthalites. The rulers from this dynasty either became vassals of the Hephthalites, or, once dethroned, lived on as a rich and powerful feudal clan, biding their time. When the Turks defeated the Hephthalites and the Hephthalite empire came to its end, the Chionite dynasty of Samarqand regained its throne. Samarqandian coins with the y-shaped tamgha attest to this. I believe that the last Chionite ruler of Samarqand was *k’iuat-muk-tsie* who, in 618, married the daughter of the Turk qagan, Tun Shehu, and in 631 sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor seeking to become his vassal. It most probably was he who between 631-642 lost Samarqand to Shishpir, the ruler of Kesh, who founded the Unash /triskelion dynasty of Samarqandian *ikhshids*. Having lost Samarqand, the Chionite /y-shaped tamgha clan retained Fansar and Pargar and probably one more principality.

In this way, coins have been able to substantiate the Enoki’s hypothesis brilliantly. Where could the Chionites have come to Fansar and Pargar from, so as to be able to proceed from there to Sogd and Tokharistan? From or via the Pamir or Tien Shan.

By the way, the y-shaped *tamgha* of Samarqand survived until the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. It was placed (horizontally) on a Muslim fals minted in Samarqand in 144/761-2 by the Arab governor, Ash’ath b. Yahyā (Smirnova 1963, 48). Thus the tamgha of the Chionite chieftains was connected with Samarqand for about four centuries.

**kšβ’n’k γωβ’’γwrpt.** *Hwab of Kashf (Kesh) Akhurpat.* Smirnova (1951, 15) was the first to publish such a coin. She read **kyβ’rk γωβ...?** Later (1963, 129) she read **γyβ’n’k γωβ’’γwrpt** and repeated this reading in 1981 (Smirnova 1981, 306). Livshits read **kšβ’n’k γωβ’’γwrpt** *hwab of Kashf (Kesh) Akhurpat.* This reading was accepted and repeated by Rtveladze (1987, 160). I also accept this reading offered by Livshits and supported by Rtveladze.

**kšβ’n’k γωβ’’γwrpt.** *Hwab of Kashf (Kesh) Akhurpat* (early 720s). Obverse: moustached, bearded king wearing a crown with wings and crescent above them. King’s face in profile (turned to the right), shoulders in full view. To the right of the face, **prn, farn** (Grace). This could be the name of a God or a proper name (the name of Turghar on his drachms was in the same place, to the right of his face). Reverse: in the centre is a square, imitating a square hole. Within it, **βγγ, Lord/God.** To the right of it is triskelion. On other sides of the square: **kšβ’n’k γωβ’’γwrpt.** Weight 1.81, 1.8, 1.57, 1.43, 1.39g. Diameter 18-19 mm (Smirnova 1981, 306). (fig 26)



The imitation of a square hole on these coins suggests their date: coins of *ikhshid Afrig*, had an imitation of a square hole. In weight too, the coins of Akhurpat are close to the coins of *ikhshid Afrig*. Coins with the titulage *ikhshid Afrig* were minted by Divashtich ca 720/719?-721/722? (Akhunbabaev 1986, 82-84).

The fact that the triskelion was placed on the coins of Kesh is very important. This means that the triskelion proved to be originally the tamgha/tamgha of the clan/dynasty which ruled Kesh. When (after 631, not later than 642) Shishpir, the ruler of Kesh, captured Samarqand (and the throne of Eastern Sogd) he founded a dynasty there of Samarqandian (Sogdian) *ikhshids* which stemmed from the triskelion dynasty of the rulers of Kesh. As Livshits established, this clan/dynasty was called **Unash**. The *ikhshids* from the triskelion /**Unash** dynasty ruled Samarqand (and Eastern Sogd) till the time of Tukaspadak (696-698) who usurped Samarqand and the East-Sogdian throne. The triskelion/**Unash** dynasty retrieved Samarqand and the East-Sogdian throne under Mastich Unash (698-ca 700) but then lost Samarqand (and the throne of the *ikhshids*) to Turkhun who belonged to the same clan/dynasty as Tukaspadak. Judging by its *tamgha* this clan/dynasty of *ikhshids* stemmed from the rulers of Penjikent. In 710 this clan lost Samarqand (and the throne of the *ikhshids*) to the Ghurek-Turghar clan/dynasty. Their *tamgha* also had some affinity to the *tamgha* of the Penjikent rulers. So the triskelion/**Unash** clan, having lost Samarqand and the throne of the *ikhshids*, retained their appanage, Kesh, and ruled it. By the way, *Akhurpat* is a court rank (*Head Groom*). But in this case it seems to be a name. The Chinese chronicle mentioned the ruler of Kesh *huat-piet-ta* who, in 727, sent an embassy to China. Could it have been *Akhurpat*?

As to the y-shaped *tamgha*, it was the *tamgha* of Samarqand and of its original *ikhshids* supplanted in 630s on the throne of Eastern Sogd by the triskelion/**Unash** dynasty founded by Shishpir. The fact that the *hwabs* of Fansar and Pargar placed on their coins the y-shaped *tamgha* shows that representatives of this clan had survived and retained some minor principalities on the eastern outskirts of Samarqandian Sogd. Also ... **yrt MLK’**, who placed the Samarqandian *tamgha* on his coins, was a survivor of this clan. In weight 1.6g (3 other coins have chipped edges) and diameter (18-19 mm) these coins are close to the coins of Akhurpat and *ikhshid Afrig*.



Coins of **sm̄yḏn** (Ismītan). Smirnova (1967, 36-38) published coins first found in 1940 at the Chilek hillfort by G. V. Grigor'ev while excavating an ancient building. In the same building a Byzantine copper coin was found minted between 713-715 AD. Later such coins were found in Penjikent, two of them in a hoard of Sogdian coins dated to the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Smirnova (1963, 123, Nr. 692) included one such coin in her catalogue of the monetary finds made at the excavation of Penjikent. But strange as it may seem, she (Smirnova, 1981) did not include such coins in her "Summary catalogue of Sogdian bronze coins". Anyway I could not find them there. Perhaps she just forgot to include them.

**nn̄y'βy't or nn̄β'βy't sm̄yḏnč.** Obverse. On both sides of the square hole is the same tamgha: two concentric circles mounted on a pedestal shaped like a squat letter "T" turned upside down. The outer circle is open/unfinished (there is a small gap in the upper part of the circle line). Reverse. **nn̄y'βy't or nn̄β'βy't sm̄yḏnč.** Smirnova (1967, 37) wrote that the first word was a theophoric name derived from the name of the goddess **Nana**. The second word was **Smyḏanian**. She identified **sm̄yḏn** with the Ismītan/Samitan of Arab geographers who mentioned such a settlement in Samarqandian Sogd. There is a modern settlement **Mitan** not far from the Chilek hillfort.

#### *Metrology of Sogdian bronze coins*

In her monograph, Smirnova (1981, 63-65, 544-546) devoted several pages to the metrology of Sogdian bronze coins (7<sup>th</sup>– the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century). Her conclusions are acceptable but need to be elaborated and made more precise. She wrote that Sogdian bronze coins were issued *al marco*, i.e. from a certain amount of bronze a certain amount of coins were cast (but each coin was not adjusted to the decreed weight), and that there were at least two weight standards (or rather denominations) of coins which could be discerned by their size. This, in her opinion, was evidence of a highly developed cash nexus in Sogd. She made 16 weight histograms. Annoyingly, she did not indicate where and by whom those coins were issued, and whether each histogram dealt with coins issued by one or several rulers. Those histograms, however, allowed her to draw some conclusions:

- 1 - There is a considerable variation in weight within the same series of coins.
- 2 - The histograms, with the exception of those dealing with "imitations of Ghurek's coins" (or, as Akhunbabaev read them, "Afrig's coins") do not give a triangle with a single peak.
- 3 - On all other histograms there are several peaks (they look like a mountain ridge with several summits of different height – M. F.).
- 4 - The coins show that their weight was gradually reduced in the course of time. According to Smirnova (1981, 65,) in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century from one kilogram of bronze 400-500 coins were cast, while, in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, from one kilogramme of bronze 965 coins were cast.

In Smirnova's view, the several peaks on each histogram could attest either to the fact that there was a gradual debasement of the coins (by reducing their weight) or to the fact that there were coins of several denominations within each series (I am convinced that the latter is the case). She (1981, 65) wrote that in contemporary China bronze coins of 50, 40, 30, 20 and 10 *chzhu* were issued. In other words there was a main unit and its fractions: 4/5, 3/5,

2/5 and 1/5. Having borrowed the coin types from China, the Sogdians most certainly also borrowed the monetary system. As a matter of interest, in China bronze coins circulated also (maybe mainly) in strings containing a certain amount of coins of certain weight. That was why they had a hole in the middle. They were threaded on a piece of string, the string was tied, and a big monetary unit equal to a silver drachm (at least in Sogd) was ready. In Kashghar in the 19<sup>th</sup> century *tangas* circulated which were not silver coins but bunches of bronze coins. Such *tangas* were a counting unit (Fedorov 2001, 239). I believe this was exactly the case in early-mediaeval Sogd. In Sogdian documents prices of commodities are almost always given in drachms, but it is not out of the question that, in some cases, they were "counting drachms", bunches of Sogdian **pn̄y** (*fen* or *fan*). A Sogdian document of the first quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century mentions **'yw n̄ymy ḏrymy**, *one half of a drachm*. Smirnova (1963, 40) wrote that it could be a drachm cut in two or a smaller coin. She thought the second more plausible although she never came across any such coins. I, myself, have never come across either Sogdian drachms cut into pieces (this simply could not have happened: Sogdian drachms were *nummi subaerati*, cutting them would expose their copper core) or small coins equal to half a drachm. I am quite positive the document refers to a counting unit, a string of bronze fens half the size of the main (heavier) bunch/counting unit. Real silver drachms were not plentiful in Eastern Sogd. During 8 years of excavations at Penjikent (1949-1956) there were found 16 silver drachms and 778 bronze coins (Smirnova 1963, 56-138). So it seems that two types of bronze coin strings circulated, the second of them half the weight of the first. For instance 40 and 20 coins (with an average weight of 2.4 g) in a string, i.e. strings of 96 and 48g.

The heaviest bronze coins weigh between 5 and 6g. There were coins of 6g and one coin of 6.79g but in the last case it was said that there was "defective casting", i.e. drops of extra metal were on the coin or the hole in the middle of the coin was partly filled with bronze (Smirnova 1981, 103, 227).

In China there was a main unit and its fractions: 4/5, 3/5, 2/5, 1/5. Bearing this in mind one ought to expect that, apart from the main unit weighing about 6g, there were its fractions: 4/5=4.8g, 3/5= 3.6g, 2/5=2.4g and 1/5=1.2g. On histograms made by Smirnova (1981, 544-546) there are peaks of 1.3g (histograms Nr. 7, 14, 15), 2.1g (Nr. 4), 2.2g (Nr. 8,11), 2.3g (Nr.16), 2.5g (Nr.12). So these coins were 2/5 and 1/5 of the main unit. On histograms Nr. 9 and 3 there are peaks of 3.6 and 3.5g, which is 3/5 of the main unit. On histogram Nr. 2 the highest peak is 4.1g and next to it is a peak of 5g, which is 4/5 of the main unit. Bearing in mind that the coins were cast *al marco* one should not expect 100% coincidence. Only histogram Nr. 10 gives a triangular pattern with a single peak of 1.5g. On histogram Nr. 16 the peak of 1.5g is next only to the peak of 2.3g. On histogram Nr. 5 the highest peak is 1.6g. On histogram Nr. 15 the peak of 1.6g is next only to the peak of 1.3g.

The peak of 1.3g may suggest that the main unit's weight was (1.3x5) 6.5g. But I think it was 6g. This is why, according to Smirnova (1970, 190) a Sogdian drachm was equal to 16 bronze *fen*. Quite certainly the main (heaviest) unit was meant. Then one drachm should be equal to 96g (16x6) of Sogdian bronze coins (a string). By the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century the first Arab-Sogdian coins appeared: coins of the *ikhrid* of Kesh, with an Arabic legend, coins with the *Kalima*, and coins with the Arabic legend **ستين بد رهم** (*sixty for a dirham*, i.e. drachm). The heaviest of these coins



weigh 1.6g (Smirnova 1981, 79). So 60 such coins weigh 96g (1.6x60) and 16 fens (of main unit) also weigh 96g (16x6). This coincidence is by no means fortuitous. So under the Sogdian kings and in the first decades after the Arab conquest, a silver drachm was equal to 96g of bronze coins. A string of bronze coins (of the same type) weighing 96g was a counting unit of a *drachm*. It was like this: a *drachm* was equal to: 16 coins (6x16=96g) of the main unit (referred to as **MU** from now on), 20 coins (4.8x20=96g) of 4/5 **MU**, 30 coins (3.6x30=96g) of 3/5 **MU**, 40 coins (2.4x40=96g) of 2/5 **MU** and 80 coins (1.2x80=96g) of 1/5 **MU**. But the last mentioned (1/5 **MU**) coins, being too small (and more expensive to produce), were not liked and at some period this monetary system was modified: a new monetary unit weighing 1.6g was introduced (1.6x60=96g). The system as a whole was not affected and a new monetary unit (more handy for trade) fitted into it well.

Smirnova (1981, 67) wrote that, in the course of time, Sogdian coins grew lighter. For instance coins of Shishpir were heavier than coins of the *ikhshids* of the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. But this only means that they issued coins of the lighter denominations, i.e. that coins of 2/5 and 1/5 of the main unit as well as coins of 1.6g prevailed while the main unit and bigger fractions either were not issued or issued in insignificant amounts. The diameter of Sogdian coins ranged from 15 to 29 mm. Heavier coins had a larger diameter, but not always and not necessarily. Thus a coin weighing 4.14g could have a diameter of 29 mm while a coin weighing 6g could have a diameter of 27 mm (Smirnova 1981, 217, 221).

Detailed comments on the metrology of individual rulers can be found in the appendix to this paper.

### Bukharan Sogd.

I have written about the history of early-mediaeval Sogd at the beginning of this article. But there was one episode in the history of Bukharan Sogd on which I would like to dwell. In the last third of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD, events took place in Bukhārā in which a certain Bukhar Khudat was mentioned as one of the protagonists (Istoriia UzSSR 1955, 120; Istoriia UzSSR 1967, 158; Gafurov 1972, 223). These events are known as "The Tyranny of Abrui". According to Narshakhī, Abrui was elected to rule Bukhārā but proved to be a bad and cruel ruler. Escaping from Abrui, the dihqāns (landowning aristocracy) and rich merchants fled to Turkestan, where they built a town near ʿArāz. The town was named Ḥamūket/Jamuket, after their leader Ḥamuk/Jamuk. The richest and most powerful dihqān, Bukhar Khudat, was among the fugitives. They asked the Qagan of the Turks for help. The latter sent his son with an army to Bukhārā. Abrui was defeated and put in a sack full of bumble-bees which stung him to death. The Bukhar Khudat, whose name could have been Ḥamūk/Jamuk, returned to Bukhārā and eventually became ruler of Bukhārā.

Scholars are not unanimous about the date of these events. Marquart (1901, 309) dated them to the 560s and thought that Abrui (or Abrezi) was the last king of the Hephthalites. Tolstov (1948, 248 ff.) dated the events to the 580s and connected them with conflicts in the Turk qaganate. He identified Abrui with Abo, one of the pretenders to the throne, who mutinied between 581-584, was defeated and fled to Bukhārā, where he "was elected" by the Bukharans as their ruler. One way or the other, one may date the coming (or rather returning) of Bukhar Khudats to power to the last two or three decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The scanty information provided by Chinese and Arab chronicles allows us to trace the history of the Bukhar Khudats (Smirnova 1981, 426-428) as follows.

**Sheliden** (old Chinese *šiāt-liāk-təng*). Sent an embassy to China in 609, was married to the daughter of the king of Samarqand.

**Helintszia** (old Chinese *xa-liəng-ka*). Sent an embassy to China in 649, advised the Chinese emperor that, in Bukhara, there had been 22 rulers from his dynasty before him.

**Sha** (old Chinese *ts'ai*, Arab Shāba, or Shāia?). Appointed as ruler in Bukhara between 655-660.

**Bidūn**. King of Bukhara, died not later than 677-678(?).

**Khatūn**. His widow, queen-regent. Contemporary of the Arab governors of Khorāsān, Salm b. Ziyād (681-684) and 'Abd Allāh b. Khāzim (683-691).

**Ṭūqāspāda I** (*Dusaboti*, old Chinese *tuok-siet-pua-d'iei*), Arab Ṭūqāspāda (=Ṭūghshāda), son of Bidūn, reigned from 693.

**Wardān Khudat** (usurper), 707-8 till 708-9.

**Ṭūqāspāda I**. Restored to the throne in 709-10 by Quṭayba. Sent a letter to the Chinese emperor in 719, asking for help against the Arabs. In 726 sent his junior brother to the court of the Chinese emperor. Was executed by Arabs in 727. Reigned 32 years.

**Ṭūqāspāda II**, son of Ṭūqāspāda I. Reigned 10 years, killed by conspirators in Samarqand in 738.

**Quṭayba** (*Tsoidibo*, old Chinese *k'iuət-tši-pua*), named after the Arab conqueror of Sogd, Quṭayba. Brother of Ṭūqāspāda II. Sent embassies to China in 744, 745, 750. Killed by Abū Muslim after 750, but no later than 755, when Abū Muslim, himself, was killed.

**Asilan** (old Chinese *a-siə-lan*, Arslan?). Arab Skān (Salān?). Reigned 10 years, killed on the order of the caliph.

**Buniyāt**, brother of Ṭūqāspāda II. Reigned 7 years. In 782-3 killed on the order of caliph al-Mahdī.

And now to the money circulation in Western/Bukharan Sogd.

#### *Copper coins.*

In 5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries AD there circulated in Western Sogd copper coins with the image of the king (turned to the right or facing), with or without a diadem, on the obverse. On the reverse is an altar with tongues of flame above it. The slab

with burning fire is mounted on a pedestal shaped like the *tamgha* of Bukhara. It looks like a circle with two "legs and hands" shaped like a letter U with ends curving outwards. The "U" above the circle is in a normal position, the "U" below the circle is turned upside down. The altar appears



like this on coins Nr. 5-10 published by Zeimal (1978, 205, Table 5). But on coins Nr. 12-13 the altar looks like a short pillar mounted on three receding slabs and covered with three overhanging slabs. As for the *tamgha* of Bukhara it is to the right of the pedestal. Some coins have a Sogdian legend. Smirnova (1981, 31) read it as: k'w, king (Zeimal 1978, 5/13) and  $\gamma\omega\beta$  hwδ'δ (?), *Lord King* (Zeimal 1978, 5/5-6). Some coins of this series were minted up to the 7<sup>th</sup> century. (Zeimal 1978, 210). There are also coins (Zeimal 1978, 205, 5/14-15) with a two-humped Bactrian camel (facing right or left) on the obverse. On the reverse there is a fire-altar. It is either a short pillar mounted on two slabs and covered with three slabs (15/14), or three slabs crowned with a triangle turned upside down (15/15).

The coins with the camel served as a prototype for the late-Sogdian coins of Bukharan Sogd included by Smirnova (1981, 312-314) in her catalogue.

1-Obverse: Enraged kicking male Bactrian (one of the incarnations of Veretragna, God of War) facing right. Reverse: Sogdian legend which Smirnova (1981, 28, 314) read as pny or w/p'y or p'r. I believe pny (*fen* – the name of the bronze coin borrowed by the Sogdians from China) is correct. Weight 1.6, 1.35, 1.31, 1.3, 1.2, 1.1g. Diameter 17-18 mm. Three of the eight coins were found in Paikend (Smirnova 1981, 312-313). (fig 27).



2-Obverse: Depiction of a Bactrian facing left. Reverse: In the middle of the coin is a square with four short lines protruding (outward) from its angles. Smirnova (1981, 316) wrote that this was the "sign of four roads" found on some Chinese coins of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Around it, a Sogdian legend prn βγγ... *God/ Lord Farn...*. Weight 1.3, 0.91g. Diameter 18, 16mm (Smirnova 1981, 314). (fig 28).



It seems to me that the coins with the depiction of a Bactrian camel were contemporary with the East-Sogdian coins (obverse: image of God or king; reverse: Samarqandian *tamgha*) minted in the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> – first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, i.e. after the fall of the Hephthalite state and before the coins of the *ikhsids* appeared.

#### Coins with a square hole

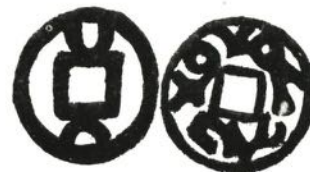
Obverse: the sign of four roads. But here it encloses a square hole in the middle of the coin. Reverse: Sogdian legend βγγ γ'γ'n pny *fen of Lord (or Divine) Qagan*. Weight 1.53, 1.35, 1.1g. Diameter 16x17, 15x16, 14 mm (Smirnova 1981, 315). I think that such coins were issued by a West-Sogdian vassal in the name of the Turk Qagan in the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. (fig 29)



Sogdo-Chinese coins. Obverse: On the sides of the square hole four Chinese characters reading: *kai yuan tong bao*, i.e. "Cash of (the period) Kai Yuan". Reverse: to the right of the square hole is the *tamgha* of Bukhara. Weight from 3.02 to 5.05g. Diameter 19-22 mm (Smirnova 1981, 316-318). Since the period of Kai Yan started in 621 these coins could not have been minted before that year. I believe they were minted in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. (fig 30)



Sogdian coins. Obverse: Modified *tamgha* of Bukhara: instead of a circle in the middle there is a square (the middle part of the *tamgha* encloses the square hole in the middle of the coin). Reverse: Around the hole is the Sogdian legend βγγ z'wrwr, *Lord/God (Al)mighty* or *By the Might of God*. Weight 2.64, 2.6, 2.35, 2.26, 1.91g. Diameter 22, 20, 19mm (Smirnova 1981, 30, 318-319). I think these coins followed the Sogdo-Chinese coins and were minted in the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. (fig 31)



Ramchitak. Obverse: *Tamgha* of Bukhara. Reverse: Around the hole the Sogdian legend βγγ r'mčytk "Lord/God Ramchitak". Depending on the interpretation of the word βγγ (God or Lord) this was either the name of some deity or the theophoric name of some ruler. Weight 0.9 to 2g. Diameter 16-19 mm (Smirnova 1981, 30, 320-323). Judging by their weight and size these coins are later than coins of the preceding series. I think they were minted around the second half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. Ramchitak's reign was long. The number of his coins surpasses the amount of coins of any other West-Sogdian series. And it is equal to the amount of all the other West-Sogdian bronze coins in Smirnova's catalogue (1981, 312-323). (fig 32)

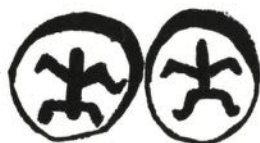


By 1981 the amount of East-Sogdian bronze coins (1364) had surpassed that of West-Sogdian bronze coins (52) more than 26 times (Smirnova 1981, 88-323). Of course one should not discount the fact that by 1981 Penjikent had been excavated for several months every year since 1947 (more than 30 years) and Afrasiab (Samarqand) had been excavated the same way since 1958 (more than 20 years) while, with the exception of several years at Varakhsha, there were no continuous, stationary excavations in the Bukhara oasis. But one may discern two different money circulation areas and two different



monetary policies. Western Sogd issued more subaerati drachms, but fewer bronze coins for normal everyday trade and to change drachms. Eastern Sogd issued fewer drachms but a large amount of bronze coins which, apart from serving local everyday trade and changing silver drachms, functioned as a "counting unit drachm" circulating in the form of strings of specified weight (about 96g).

Naymark (1999, 7) wrote that "surprisingly" the existing numismatic literature assigns no coins to the mint of Bukhara for about 50 years, from 87/709 when it was captured by Qutayba to 138/755-6 when the first fulūs were minted there by Abū Dā'ūd Khalid. He tried to fill the gap and wrote that in the Bukhara oasis coins had been found which (in his opinion) fit the parameters for the "missing" coinage of the first decades of Arab rule. He provided illustrations of 5 coins with a *tamgha* which Smirnova (1981, 77) called "Paykendian", considering that this represented the monogram of the Turk runes *ch* and *r* on a staple-shaped pedestal. Naymark called this *tamgha* a "dancing man" (fig 33).



Surprisingly he did not write that he borrowed those pictures from Smirnova's catalogue (1981, 77 fig 36-37; 418 Nr. 1671; 419 Nr. 1674), and brushed aside what she wrote about those coins. Smirnova (1981, 77) attributed coins with a facing depiction of (as she believed) a deity (obverse) and the *tamgha* of Paykend (reverse), as well as coins with the Paykend *tamgha* on both obverse and reverse to the pre-Muslim time. Three following coins with the *tamgha* of Paykend and an Arabic legend she attributed to the early-Muslim time. Strangely, Naymark did not bother to read an Arabic legend on one coin (or at least what Smirnova wrote about it). Describing this coin (he did not number the pictures in his article) he wrote: "Obv: negative section of profession of faith in 3 lines" (underlined by me – M. F.). But in the illustration of this coin (placed 5 mm above) there are two (not three) lines. The inscription, which he called "negative section of profession of faith", in fact is very negative. It runs: لا الله لا شريك له "No Allāh no associate to him". Smirnova (1981, 77) wrote that this was not some inadvertent mistake but reflected the attitude of the natives towards the Islam forced upon them by their Arab conquerors. Probably such coins were minted in the time of the anti-Arab uprising. Surprisingly Naymark (1999, 7) who borrowed a picture of a coin (left column first from the bottom) from an article by Zeimal (1978, 205, table 5 Nr. 11) mentioned neither his article nor his opinion. Zeimal (1978, 210) wrote that coins of types Nr. 5-13 were issued "till VII c." (underlined by me – M. F.). Even if Naymark disagreed with the dates given by Smirnova and Zeimal he should surely have mentioned them and his arguments against them rather than just ignore them.

Naymark (1999, 7) wrote "The *tamgha* in the shape of a 'dancing man' is different from the well-known *tamgha* of the Bukharkhudas. This fact, and a few registered finds in Paykend served as a basis for the hypothesis assigning this group of coins to the mint of Paykend. New data on the distribution of these coins on the sites of the Bukhara oasis, and a few historical considerations make this a doubtful assumption". The author, however, neither detailed the sites where the coins had been found nor did he give any

information on the "historical considerations" that were so important for his argument. "The problem", he continued "is solved (? – M. F.) by two coin types of the same (in what way "same?" – M. F.) group, which have different reverses but record the earlier stages of the development of the same (again, in what way "same?" – M. F.) portrait on the obverse". Then follow 3 coins with the Bukhara *tamgha* and 2 coins with guards, flanking an altar, on the reverse. But the portraits on the first and two following coins, with the Bukhara *tamgha* on the reverse, are made in quite a different manner. On the first coin it is a three-quarter bust of a person wearing a diadem with crescent. The diadem (with crescent) and haircut on this coin are the same as on a coin of the series which, according to Zeimal (1978, 205 table 5 Nr. 5 and 11, 210), were minted till (but not later than) the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The portrait covers part of the coin and there is free space at its sides. The portrait on the two other coins is quite different: the face occupies all the coin, and it is facing. There is a Bukhara *tamgha* on all 3 coins, but on the first coin it differs in details from the *tamgha* placed on the two other coins. The portrait on these coins is made in the same manner as on the coins with two guards flanking an altar and is close to the portrait placed on a coin with the *tamgha* of Paykend on the reverse. So we are dealing with two different periods and two different styles. The bust image and haircut descended from Hellenistic antiquity while the strictly frontal image of a face alone shows affinity with the Turk stelae of the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century.

"The presence of the standard Bukharkhuda *tamgha* on the earliest coins of this group", Naymark continues, "means that these seven are very probably the last copper coinage of the Bukharkhudas".

I agree with Naymark when he attributes to the Bukhar Khudats coins with a facial portrait, occupying the whole obverse field and Bukharan *tamgha* or two guards flanking an altar (placed on the reverse). The latter motif was certainly borrowed from the Bukhar Khudat drachms. Naymark discerned "direct parallels between the reverse of the next copper type (with guards flanking an altar – M. F.) and the reverse of the silver Bukharkhuda drachms" which allowed him "to suggest that the initial type of the group was roughly contemporary with the so-called 'Mug' type drachms" which "can be dated to the first decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> century". Honestly speaking I could not find any "direct parallels" but (as far as we have nothing better) the coins in question may be dated to the Mugh period. As for the coins with a frontal facial portrait, occupying the whole obverse field, and the *tamgha* of Paykend on the reverse, as well as the coins with Arabic legends and the *tamgha* of Paykend, they were minted in Paykend.

According to Naymark: "before the Arab invasion there was a sedition; the Arabs expelled the usurper Wardan Khuda and restored Tughshada to the throne; in an attempt to legitimise his power, Tughshada 'returned' to the long-abandoned type, which carried a royal portrait and the royal *tamgha*". Tughshada did not need to legitimise his power: he was a legitimate ruler of Bukhara, the son of Bukhar Khudat Bidūn and descendant of many generations of Bukhar Khudats. Naymark finished his article with a rhetorical question: "why did the Bukharkhudas abandon their traditional *tamgha* and start using the new 'dancing man' *tamgha* on the coins minted during the Arab supremacy?" There is only one answer: they never did

#### Silver coins.

##### Bukharan Sogd.

In the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD Bukhara started to strike drachms of its own. Their iconography derived from the



Sasanian drachms minted in Merv by Varahran V (421–438). Obverse: head (in profile) and shoulders (facing) image of a king in a merloned crown with a big globe above it. The king's face is turned to the right. Reverse: *āteshgāh* (fire-altar) with tongues of flame and crowned head (turned to the right) above it. Two sentinels stand at the sides of the *āteshgāh* facing each other. One of them holds a spear in his right hand, another holds a spear in his left hand. The earliest issues copied that particular type of Sasanian drachm more or less accurately. Later images became stylised and distorted (sometimes almost out of all recognition). The Pahlavī legends accumulated mistakes, became distorted and finally lost any sense. The striking of such coins was interrupted by the Hephthalite conquest of Sogd around the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

After the collapse of the Hephthalite state, the mintage of Hephthalite drachms stopped, but they and contemporary Sasanian drachms (and a certain amount of Sasanian drachms struck after the fall of the Hephthalites which were imported into Sogd) continued to circulate till the first quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century.

A shortage of silver coins became perceptible in the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. So in Bukhara around 632–634 Bukhar Khudat Kana (or “from the dynasty of Kana”) resumed, after a long interval, the coining of native Bukharan drachms which had originally appeared in the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century and copied coins of the Sasanian king, Varahran V (421–438). These coins are called *Bukhar Khudat drachms*.

According to Narshakhī (1966, 37) Kana Bukhar Khudat ruled Bukhārā for 30 years. At the time of caliph Abu Bakr (11–13/632–634) he ordered silver coins to be struck in Bukhārā. Oddly enough Narshakhī's narration about Kana Bukhar Khudat starting to mint silver coins in Bukhārā under caliph Abū Bakr was either ignored (and kept silent about) or dismissed as legendary and not deserving any confidence by many scholars.

Thus Smirnova (1970, 157) wrote: “The first point of view (i.e. that drachms of Varahran V type were minted only in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD – M. F.) is based on the words of Narshakhī that these coins started to be minted under caliph Abū Bakr (632–634). The latter is doubtful. If in the 7<sup>th</sup> century Bukhārā had adopted the model for its coins from the Sasanians, it would have adopted, just as the Arabs did somewhat later, the drachms of Khusru II but not the drachms of Varahran V.” But she, herself, annulled this argument several lines later writing that there was a perceptible interval in the striking of the Varahran V type drachms which started in Bukhārā in the 5<sup>th</sup> century. So Bukhar Khudat Kana took as a prototype for his coins not the Sasanian drachm but the Bukhārā imitation of such a drachm, which had been minted in Bukhārā previously by his ancestors.

Davidovich (1997, 29) considered Narshakhī's narration about Bukhar Khudat Kana as legendary, “mistaken” and hence not deserving of any credibility. But let us examine her main arguments. She wrote: “In the ‘History of Bukhārā’, in the beginning of the chapter it was stressed that Bukhar Khudat Kana ordered his face to be portrayed on the coins. But it had been proved long ago that the images on صورت خویش bukharhudat coins imitated (immediately or intermediately) those on the drachms of the Sasanian king Varahran V, i.e. this part of the legend is also mistaken” (underlined by me – M. F.). I cannot accept this as a serious argument. All Kana Bukhar Khudat did, was to order that, instead of the face of some ancient king that

featured on the coins which he took as a model, his own face should be put on his coins. It is as simple as that.

But it was not only because Kana Bukhar Khudat ordered his face to be put on the coins, and not even because he started, as his contemporaries believed, to mint silver coins in Bukhārā that his monetary reform was remembered. In my opinion it was also because Kana Bukhar Khudat introduced a new type of drachm which were *nummi subaerati* (i.e. coins with a base metal core covered with two layers of precious metal). Whatever the reason, the fact remains that his monetary reform was still remembered in Bukhārā in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, even though it had a touch of the legendary about it.

It now remains to date Kana's reign. Narshakhī gives a date which I consider authentic and deserving credibility, as does all his narration. He writes that Kana ruled Bukhārā for 30 years, started to mint silver coins under Abū Bakr (11–13/632–634) and that such coins were minted till the time of Hārūn (170–193/786–809) when in 185/801 governor Ghiṭrīf came to Bukhārā and started to mint a new type of coin. In the event that Kana started his reign by minting coins of his own (as was usual for a new king) then he ruled until 662–664. In which case it was he who sent an embassy to China in 649. The Chinese chronicles, which distort foreign names almost out of all recognition, called him *xā-liāng-ka*. Could it be *xā-liāng ka[na]*? Anyway *ka* is distinctly there. I believe it is possible to make the date of Kana's reign more accurate. According to one chronicle (Smirnova 1981, 426), the Chinese emperor invested ca 655–660 a certain *ts'āi* as ruler of Bukhārā. This was a symbolic gesture. Soghdian rulers sent an embassy and gifts to China and the emperor sent them gifts and investiture in return. Chinese chronicles distort Soghdian names, but it is impossible to turn Kana into *ts'āi* even with the help of Chinese characters. It would seem that *ts'āi* was a successor of Kana in which case Kana's reign could have started between 625 and 630. This would mean that his monetary reform was carried out several years after he had ascended the throne. And now to the coins.

pw γ'r γwβ k'n' (625–630 not later than 655–660). Obverse: head (in profile) and shoulders (facing) image of a king wearing a merloned crown with a globe above it. The king's face is turned to the right. To the right of the king is the Soghdian legend pw γ'r γwβ k'n' [?], *hwab of Bukhara Kana* (or “of the dynasty of Kana”). Some scholars, though, read it as pw γ'r γwβ k'w', *hwab of Bukhara kawa* (kawa is “king”). To the left of the king's head is a degenerate *pahlavī* inscription. Reverse: fire-altar with tongues of flame and crowned head (image of the Spirit of Fire) above it. At the sides of the altar are two sentinels facing each other. One holds a spear in his right hand, another holds a spear in his left hand. (fig 34)



The first person to publish a coin of this type was Fraehn (1819, 46–47) who attributed it to the Khazars. The coins remained a mystery until the time of the Russian orientalist of German origin, Lerch. In 1858, while in Bukhārā as a member of a Russian diplomatic mission, he



bought such coins and a manuscript of Narshakhī's "Ta'rikh Bukhārā". He paid attention to what Narshakhī wrote about the coins minted in Bukhārā by Bukhar Khudat. Then it occurred to him that the legend on the coins could have been made with an alphabet derived from Aramaeic. He read the inscription as containing 11 letters: *Bukhar Khuddat*, thereby discovering 7 letters of an unknown alphabet which he called "Soghdian". In 1876 he read a paper about it at the Third International Session of Orientalists in St. Petersburg. The paper was published in French (1880, 419-429). That was why Russian scholars named such coins "Bukhar Kudat drachms" and "Dirhems of Bukhar Khudat type".

In 1927 Allotte de la Fuye (156-186) corrected Lerch's reading. He read the legend as containing 12 letters *Kana Bukhar Khud*. He also published coins with a longer legend *Bukhar Khudaan Khud ...*, i.e. Lord of lords of Bukhara. In 1941 the Soviet numismatist, M. M. Yavich (1947, 211 - 213), being unaware of de la Fuye's article also read the word *Kana* on such coins. Walker (1941, LXXXV ff) accepted de la Fuye's reading: *Kana Bukhar Khud*. Frye (1949, 24-31) used the reading offered by Henning: *pwx'r xwb k'y/b'y*. Later, however, Henning (1958, 53) himself accepted the reading *pwx'r xwb k'w'*, i.e. *Lord of Bukhara, King*.

In 1954 Diakonov, Livshits and Kaufman (150-162) offered three variants for reading the Soghdian legend: "King of Bukhara Kan(a)", or "King of Bukhara (from the House of) Kan(a)", or "Lord of Bukhara, King". The leading Russian Iranist, I. M. Oransky (1960, 201), read it as *puxār hvab kân(ā)*. Smirnova (1963, 57) preferred the reading "Lord of Bukhara, King".

I am sure that the reading by de la Fuye, Walker, Yavich, Oransky and (as one of the variants) by Diakonov, Livshits and Kaufman as *pwx'r xwb k'n'* is correct. The words of Narshakhī, who wrote that it was Bukhar Khudat **Kana** who started minting silver coins in Bukhārā in the time of caliph Abū Bakr, attest to this. As mentioned above, **Kana** and his monetary reform were still remembered in Bukhārā in the 10th century, albeit with a touch of the legendary about it.

A. Naymark (1999a, 2) wrote that coins with legend *pwx'r xw'b k'n'* (or *k'w'*) were followed by coins with legend *pwx'r xr'n xw'b r/b/k' r/b/k*. It would seem that they were minted by the *ts'āi* of the Chinese chronicle, which mentioned him for the period 565-660. Succeeding issues, however, returned to the shorter form of the legend citing, in my opinion, *k'n'* and not *k'w'*. Such coins were minted most probably by the successor of the said *ts'āi*. It is quite possible that this successor could have been named after his grandfather, Kana, the one who started to mint silver coins in Bukhārā. But later Bukharan drachms became anonymous and remained such as long as they were minted. (fig 35).



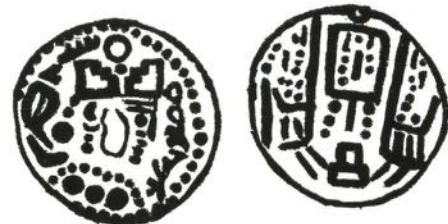
### Samarqandian Sogd

In the second half of the 7th century Samarqand started to mint drachms imitating the coins of the Bukhar Khudats. They and the contemporary coins of Bukhara were called *Bukhar Khudat type drachms* by Russian scholars. By the

end of the 7th century a new type appeared which Smirnova (1970, 160) called *Mugh drachms*. They were found at mount Mugh in an archaeological complex dating back to the first quarter of the 8th century. Smirnova (1970, 160) wrote that the *Mugh drachms* were found in Paikend, Bukhara, Samarqand, Khojend, Penjikent, Usrushana, Varakhsha and inferred that they circulated in the area from Paikend to Khojend and were minted not only in Bukhara but also in Samarqand. I think the *Mugh drachms* were minted in Samarqand, while Bukhara continued to mint drachms of the old, conventional Bukharan type. According to Smirnova (1970, 163) one distinction allows us to distinguish the drachms of Samarqand from those of Bukhara, both being anonymous. Above the king's crown on the Bukharan coins is a crescent and dot, above the king's crown on the Samarqand coins is a circle. On the *Mugh type drachms* which I am familiar with, above the crown there is a circle, not a crescent. In time the images on them became stylised, the legends distorted out of all recognition, the dies became smaller and did not cover the whole flan. (fig 36).



In 738 Turghar was enthroned. He carried out a monetary reform. For the first time on the drachms of Samarqand we find the name of the ruler who minted them. His Bukharan contemporaries, however, continued to mint anonymous drachms. The images on Turghar's coins were made using a new technique of dots and strokes. The dies grew bigger again and covered the whole of the flan (fig 37).



Smirnova (1963, 58) was sure that Turghar's drachms were minted in Samarqand after 738. Belenitsky (1966, 99) wrote that the Turghar's drachms were minted when he was his father's governor in Kabudan, and that was why there was no title on his drachms. When he became king he placed his title on his bronze coins. Davidovich (1979, 90) wrote that it seemed very doubtful that Ghurek, the King of Sogd, should have issued only bronze coins while his son and governor minted silver drachms. And even if this were the case, why did Turghar not mint drachms when he was the king of Sogd? So she was in agreement with Smirnova. And I agree with them. Turghar's drachms could have been minted up to and including 750 AD, when he was mentioned as a king of Sogd by the Chinese chronicle. But in 755-757 Arab-Sogdian drachms with the name of the Arab governor of Khorāsān, Khalid, were already being minted. Turghar's drachms close the series of Soghdian drachms which go back to the Marv drachms of Varahran V.



Ernazarova (1974, 176) noticed that Bukharkhudat drachms were not found at Afrasiab, the site of ancient Samarqand, but were found at Penjikent. Even the drachms of Turghar, issued in Samarqand were found not in Samarqand but in Penjikent. In my opinion this can easily be explained. Samarqand was bled white of silver by the Arabs. When Qutayba took Samarqand in 712 he demanded an indemnity of 2,000,000 drachms and a tribute of 200,000 drachms a year. In addition, there was the systematic plundering by Arab troops. History knows of other such cases. In 1401 Tīmūr captured Damascus and extorted from the inhabitants 10,000,000 dirhems. Even if part of this sum was paid in gold dinars it was a huge amount of silver. The conquerors took every dirhem and dinar they found but rejected fulūs. Damascus was robbed of almost its whole stock of precious metal, which badly affected its money circulation so that for many years dinars and dirhems were scarce there and people traded mostly with the copper coins, rejected by the conquerors (Heidemann 1999, 183, 184, 195). The same was the case with Samarqand in the first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.

For Penjikent, situated 60 km east of Samarqand, the first years of the Arab conquest were years of relative peace. The Arabs had their hands full pacifying and plundering Samarqand. In 104/722 Penjikent was devastated by the Arabs when they quelled the uprising by Divashtich, and was abandoned. In the late 730s it was revived and rebuilt, but the independent principality of Panch ceased to exist. Monetary needs there was served by coins of Ghurek and Turghar and later by Muslim coins (silver coins minted in the Arab caliphate, copper coins minted by the Arab governors of Bukhara and Samarqand). In the early 770s Penjikent was again destroyed by Arabs, this time for good (Smirnova 1963, 21-22).

#### *Metrology of Sogdian drachms.*

There are hoards comprising Sogdian, Arab-Sogdian drachms and Muslim dirhems, the latest dated to 133/750-1 (Davidovich 1979, 85-117). The Sogdian coins in these hoards were struck mostly at the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> – first half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. One hoard was found in Vashan (east of Penjikent), two hoards in Penjikent. The weight histogram of the Sogdian drachms gave a peak of 3.2g (37 coins=56%), 3.1g (12=18%) and 3.3g (10=15%). There were coins of 2.9g (3), 3g (3) and 2.1g (1). Diameter 24-27 mm. 27 mm – 27 coins (40%), 26 mm – 21 (32%), 25 mm – 16 (24%), 24 mm – 2 (3%). So the decreed weight and size of Sogdian drachms must have been 3.2g and 27 mm.

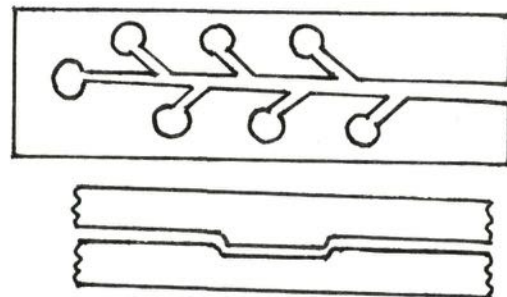
At the excavations of Afrasiab, Shishkina (1973, 120) found 3 Sogdian drachms with a legend read by Smirnova as بسمي (mistakenly it was printed المهني but Shishkina subsequently wrote that it could not be بسمي because the first three prongs were close together while the fourth was apart from them). These drachms were subaerati. But they may have been the product of some counterfeiter. So Davidovich (1979, 107, 108, 111) re-examined the Sogdian and Arab-Sogdian drachms in the hoards published by her. While she was not allowed to cut up all 66 coins, at least on 8 of them a bronze core could be seen under the worn silver coating. Pieces were cut from 3 of the coins in order to do a chemical analysis. They revealed a copper core covered by two layers of silver. So the coins were nummi subaerati. She checked similar coins in the museums of Leningrad, Moscow and Tashkent, and, where it was possible (without cutting the coins) established that they were subaerati, too. They were mostly coins of the latest type with the short legend which Smirnova (1963, 58) read as بسمي while

others (Lerch, Walker, Belenitsky, Shishkina, Davidovich and the writer) consider it the distorted remains of a Pahlavī legend. But in the State History Museum (Moscow) Davidovich found an early drachm of Bukhar Khudat type (with long Pahlavī legend) which is *nummus subaeratus*. She thought that *Bukhar Khudat* and *Bukhar Khudat type* drachms were *subaerati* from the beginning. It was a revelation: all the scholars had thought that such coins were solid silver or billon. Sogdian drachms contained 68.8-65.4% silver. One coin contained 31% silver but Davidovich discounted it. She wrote "So before the reform of Gitrif, and the appearance of gitrifi dirhems, bukharkhudat coins were not minted of pure silver ... they had originally about 70% silver, they belonged to the category of *nummi subaerati*, their core was of base metals with copper prevailing (the other metal was lead – M. F.), their weight standard was based on the indigenous weight unit and was equal to 3.2g or a little bit more" (Davidovich 1979, 106-107, 1997, 29).

I would now like to discuss the method of coining money in early-mediaeval Sogd. No descriptions of the techniques used have actually survived. But a study of the coins allows us to draw some conclusions.

In 1955 Smirnova (1955, 3-13) published the first hoard of Sogdian bronze coins found in Central Asia. It was found in Penjikent at the excavation of a town temple. 129 coins were found in a small room built on to a northern part of the wall which surrounded the court of the temple. In the adjacent room was found a ceramic nozzle for the furnace (most probably a smelting furnace), a plate of copper and lumps of *ganch* (alabaster, gypsum). Naturally Smirnova came to the conclusion that this was a workshop ("mint") where Sogdian *fen* were produced, and that the coins found (especially since there were a lot of botched, defective pieces among them) had been gathered for melting and casting some new coins. I thoroughly agree with Smirnova about this and would mention that in ancient Rome the city mint was also situated at the temple (of Juno Moneta).

Smirnova rightly inferred that the lumps of *ganch*, found at the same place where the ceramic nozzle, plate of copper and the hoard were found, indicated that moulds for casting coins were made from *ganch*. To substantiate this she referred to the *ganch* mould found in 1925 by archaeologist, V. L. Viatkin, at Afrasiab (ancient Samarqand). It consisted of 2 rectangular *ganch* plates (15.7x9x1.5cm). At the surface of each part of the mould were imprints of 7 Sāmānid dirhems, 1 central channel and 7 small channels (in herring-bone pattern) connecting the imprints with the central channel (fig 38, 39).



Masson (1933, 6-8) opined that it was a mould used by a counterfeiter producing fakes of current coins. I, though, believe it was a mould used by some jeweller to cast imitations of Samanid silver dirhems (probably outdated by his time) to make *monistos* (coin necklaces) which were

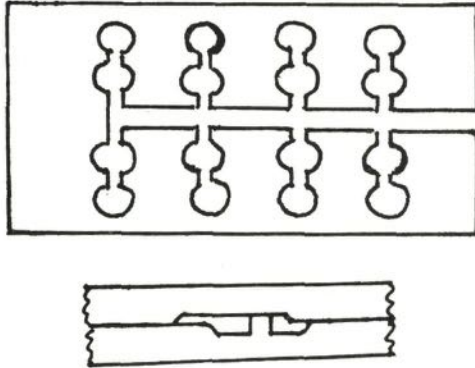


in vogue in Central Asia for quite a long time, even in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Smirnova (1955, 10) wrote that two parts of the mould found by Viatkin used to be bound together and put in an upright position. Then molten bronze was poured into the mould. After the metal had cooled a bunch of coins (it really reminded her of a bunch of grapes) was taken out from the mould and the sprues chopped away. It was the same in Penjikent but with some differences.

A close study of Sogdian bronze coins enabled Smirnova to come to some important conclusions.

1 – one part of the mould had impressions of obverses, the other part had impressions of reverses. The impressions of the reverses (with inscriptions) were deeper than the impressions of the obverses (with the *tamghas*). (fig 40-41).



2 – the channels leading to the impressions were made as a rule on the side of a mould with the deeper impressions of the reverses. This is demonstrated by an incrustation of bronze near the remains of a sprue. The incrustation sometimes covered several letters of the inscription on the reverse. Sometimes, rarely, though, the channels could be made on the obverse side, so that incrustations of bronze could be seen on that side.

3 – sometimes one side of the mould might shift slightly.

There then formed crescent-shaped ledges at the edge of the coin (one indented, one protruding). Incidentally, they show that the impression of the reverse was deeper. It is noteworthy that the mould found by Viatkin was devised so as to prevent such things. One side of the mould was supplied with cone-shaped pegs, while another side of the mould was supplied with hollows where those pegs fitted. Also on one side of the mould the coin impressions were incuse while on the other side of the mould the coin impressions were in relief. The impressions also fitted into one another leaving enough place for the molten metal and at the same time preventing the sides of the mould from shifting. Clearly the side of the mould where the coin impressions were in relief was itself made with a stamp (or mould) where the impressions were incuse so as to make the impressions on the mould (for casting coins) in relief.

4 – sometimes when the sides of the mould were not close together, around the edge of the coin a small thin protruberance formed from bronze which oozed into the crack.

5 – the square peg of *ganch* (to produce the square hole in the middle of the coin) was made in the impression of the reverse (which was deeper than that of the obverse). This peg protruded above the surface of the mould so as to fit closely to the bottom of the impression of the obverse in the other side of the mould.

6 – some coins have a blurred image on the obverse. This means that the upper part of the mould shifted somewhat

and was then corrected before the molten bronze hardened. In my opinion it shows that the mould was in a horizontal rather than vertical position when the molten bronze was poured in, or at least that the mould was left to cool off in a horizontal position. It also shows that the part of the mould with the obverse impressions was the upper one since it could be shifted back to the right position.

7 – a close study of the coins shows that the impressions in the moulds were made either by a coin or by a special stamp. In the latter case the inscription on the coins produced was more distinct than in the former case. Also the diameter of the coins cast in moulds with impressions made by a normal coin was somewhat less than the diameter of the coin which was used to make the impressions. This resulted from the shrinkage of the metal. So the coins cast in the moulds with impressions made by a special stamp were bigger than the coins cast in the moulds with impressions made by a normal coin.

8 – some coins have the remains of two sprues, while others have only one. This shows that impressions at the sides of the central channel were made in a row (at least in pairs). The coin last in a row had only one sprue.

Various casting defects are evident on the coins. Some coins have bronze incrustations. This will have happened when the two parts of the mould were not fitted tightly together, or when one side of the mould shifted away from its correct position. Some coins have an uneven surface which resulted from wear to the mould impressions. Because the *ganch* will have been friable the impressions will have been damaged soon enough. Some coins have voids where the molten bronze failed to reach (usually opposite the channel which connected the individual mould to the main channel). Some coins lack a proper square hole in the middle. This happened when the square peg in the middle of the reverse part of an individual mould did not reach the bottom of its obverse counterpart. The hole will then have been punched carelessly with some instrument.

During the excavation of the "mint" (or rather workshop where coins were cast) in the courtyard of the town temple of Penjikent no mould fragments were found. Smirnova explained that, because of the poor durability of *ganch*, the moulds wore out fast, were broken and discarded. It was easy to make a new mould, probably taking no more than half an hour at the most. The lumps of *ganch* found in the place indicate that this is what was used to produce the moulds.

Thus the following techniques will have been used at early-mediaeval Sogdian mints:

#### *Sogdian drachms:*

1 – Melting copper and silver and casting ingots of both metals of the required weight and size.

2 – Hammering the ingots into thin metal sheets.

3 – Cutting out thin round plates of silver and copper, either with shears or by punching them out with a hollow punch. If shears were used, the outline of the individual will probably have been stencilled on the sheets to make the cutting more precise and easier. The silver plates had to be slightly bigger than the copper ones.

4 – Making flans. A copper nucleus was covered by two thin plates of silver overlapping each other. Then the flan was heated in a forge till the overlapping layers of silver on the edge of the flan melted together.

5 – Minting. The lower die was inserted into a special hollow in the anvil. The flan was put on the lower die and covered with the upper die held by tongs. Then the upper



die was hammered. To make the metal more pliable flans were heated in the forge before minting.

6 – The silver layers, when heated before minting, oxidized at the surface and blackened. So the coins, once struck, had to be cleaned. (At the mint of Bukhārā in the 19<sup>th</sup> century silver tangas were cleaned in vinegar and dried with sawdust).

#### Bronze coins:

1 – Making moulds with inscriptions (and sometimes images). Smirnova established that some moulds were made from *ganch* (alabaster, gypsum), but, judging by analogies with China the moulds, could also have been made of lime- or sandstone (Bykov 1969, 6-9). Sometimes they were made of clay (baked or unbaked). The *ganch* and clay mould could be made several ways. It could be made using a bronze punch where the design of several coins, connected by channels, was made in relief on the metal. The punch imprinted in the *ganch* or clay tablet produced several negative impressions of coins and the connecting channels through which the molten bronze was to flow. A punch with a single coin design was also used. In such cases, the channels connecting the impressions were cut out or stamped separately. According to Smirnova moulds were also made by the simple expedient of impressing actual coins in *ganch* (or clay) and joining the resulting impressions with channels. The punches, too, may have been cast in moulds.

2 – Preparing the ingredients and melting the bronze.

3 – Casting the coins in the coupled moulds (one with the reverse, the other with the obverse impressions of the coins).

4 – Separating the coins cast in the mould from one another. The sprues were chopped off or cut away.

A different process will have been used for some bronze coins issued in the first years of Arab rule (for example, the coins of *ikhshid* Afrig).

1 – Making moulds without inscriptions.

2 – Preparing the ingredients and melting the bronze.

3 – Casting the flans in the moulds.

4 – Separating the several flans cast in one mould from one another.

5 – Minting. The lower die was inserted into a special hollow in the anvil. The flan was put on the lower die and covered with the upper die held by tongs. Then the upper die was hammered. To make the metal more pliable flans were annealed in a forge before minting.

Finally, a few words about the prices or rather purchasing power of early-mediaeval Sogdian coins. Prices are mostly given in drachms which could refer not only to silver coins but also to the counting unit drachms, i.e. strings of bronze coins, weighing about 96g. A young slave 200-300 drachms; a horse 100-200 drachms. Brocade: big length 100, small one 60. Silk 28, 25, 20 drachms a length. A cow 11 drachms; two oxen 12 drachms (6 drachms each). A gown 12 drachms; a dress 15 drachms. Footwear 1-2 drachms. A helmet or perhaps a leather hat, since its price is similar to that of footwear) 2 drachms. *Khum* (big ceramic pithos) 2 drachms. *Yāqūt* (ruby or sapphire) 80 drachms. Mithqāl of gold – 20 drachms. A parcel of land (size unknown) 25 drachms. 100 drachms were paid to build a house, in other words it was the price of a normal adobe house (Smirnova 1963, 49; 1970, 197; Livshits 1962, 48).

#### References

- Akhunbabaev Kh. G. 1986. "Novye nakhodki sogdiiskikh monet iz raskopok 1978-1981 gg. vtsentral'noi chasti Afrasiaba", *IMKU*, 20.
- Akhunbabaev Kh. G. 1988. "Novye nakhodki sogdiiskikh monet iz raskopok 1982-1984 gg. vtsentral'noi chasti gorodishcha Afrasiab", *IMKU*, 22.
- Albaum, L. I. 1975. *Zhivopis' Afrasiaba*, Tashkent.
- Belenitsky, A. M., Raspopova, V. I. 1981. "K voprosu ob utochnenii datirovok sogdiiskikh monet", *KSIA*, vyp. 167.
- Bichurin, N. Ia. 1950. *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v Srednei Azii v drevnie vremena*, tom 1, Moskva-Leningrad.
- Bichurin, N. Ia. 1950a. *Sobranie svedenii o narodakh, obitavshikh v Srednei Azii v drevnie vremena*, Tom 2, Moskva-Leningrad.
- Bykov, A. A. 1969. *Monety Kitaia*, Leningrad.
- Davidovich, E. A. 1964. *Istoriia monetnogo dela Srednei Azii XVII-XVIII vv.*, Dushanbe.
- Davidovich, E. A. 1979. *Klady drevnikh i srednevekovykh monet Tadzhikistana*, Moskva.
- Davidovich, E. A. 1997. "Narshakhi i Kubavi o reforme Gitrifa, metalle i kurse monet gitrifi", *VIISID*, Vyp. 5. Moskva.
- Enoki, K. 1955. "Sogdiana and the Hsiung-nu", *CAJ*, Vol. 1, Nr. 1.
- Ernazarova, T. S. 1974. "Denezhnoe obrashchenie Samarqanda po arkheologo-numizmaticheskim dannym (do nachala IX v.)", *Afrasiab*, vyp. 3, Tashkent.
- Fedorov, Michael. 2000. "Chokan Valikhanov: on monetary systems and money circulation in East Turkestan, Khoqand and Bukhara khanates", *ONS Newsletter*, 163.
- Fraehn, Ch. M. 1819. *Novae Symbolae ad rem numariam muhamedanorum ex Museis Pflugiano atque Manteufeliano Petropoli nec non Nejeloviano Casani, Petropoli et Halis Saxonum*.
- Freiman, A. 1936. "Datirovannye sogdiiskie dokumenty s gory Mug v Tadzhikistane", *TIVAN*, 17.
- Fuye, Allotte de la. 1927. "Imitations de la drachme de Varhran V, frappe a Merv", *NC*
- Gafurov, B. G. 1972. *Tadjiki. Drevneishaiia, drevniaia i srednevekovaia istoriia*, Moskva.
- Gumilev, L. N. 1967. *Drevnie Tiurki*, Moskva.
- Heidemann, Stefan. 1999. "Timūr's campmint during the siege of Damascus in 803/1401", *Studia Iranica*, 21.
- Henning, W. B. 1958. "Mitteliranisch", *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 1, Bd. 4, Leiden-Köln.
- Henning, W. B. 1965. "A Sogdian God", *BSOS*, 28.
- Istoriia. 1955. *Istoriia Uzbekskoi SSR*, tom 1, kniga 1, Tashkent.
- Istoriia 1963. *Istoriia Tadzhikskogo naroda*, tom 1, Moskva.
- Istoriia 1964. *Istoriia Tadzhikskogo naroda*, tom 2, kniga 1, Moskva.
- Istoriia. 1967. *Istoriia Uzbekskoi SSR*, tom 1, Tashkent.
- Istoriia 1984. *Istoriia Kirgizskoi SSR*, tom 1, Frunze.
- Kliashstornyi, S. G., Livshits, V. A. 1971. "Sogdiiskaiia nadpis' iz Buguta", *SNV*, 10, Moskva.
- Krakovskiy, I. Y., Krakovskaya V. A. 1934. "Drevneishii arabskii dokument iz Srednei Azii", *Sogdiiskii sbornik*, Leningrad.
- Lerch, P. 1880. "Sur le monnaies des Boukhāra avant la conquete du Maverannah par les arabes", *Trudy Tret'ego mezhdunarodnogo s'ezda orientalistov v S.-Peterburge 1876*, S.-Peterburg.
- Livshits, V. A. 1962. *Iuridicheskie dokumenty i pis'ma, Sogdiiskie dokumenty s gory Mug*, vyp. 2, chtenie, perevod i kommentarii V. A. Livshitsa.
- Livshits, V. A. 1973. "Praviteli Sogda i 'tsari khunnov' kitaiskikh dinastiinykh istorii", *Pis'mennye Pamiatniki i problemy istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka. IX godichnaia nauchnaia sessiia LOIV AN SSSR*, Leningrad.
- Livshits, V. A. 1979. "Praviteli Pancha", *NAA*, 4.
- Livshits, V. A., Kaufman, K. V., D'iakonov, I. M. 1954. "O drevnei sogdiiskoi pis'mennosti Bukhary", *Vestnik Drevnei Istarii*.
- Manylov, Iu. P. 1987. "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia gorodishcha Karatepe na Narpae", *IMKU*, 21.



- Masson, M. E. "Klad utvari masterskoi fal' shivomonetchika XIV veka pod Tashkentom", *Materialy Uzkomstarisa*, 4, Tashkent.
- Marquart, J. 1901. "Eränšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i", *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, N. F., Bd. III, N. 2.
- Narshakhy. 1966. *Bukhoro Tarikhi*, A. Rasulevniki tardzhima, Tashkent.
- Naymark, Alexandr. 1998/9. "Copper coins of the last Bukharkhudas", *ONS Newsletter*, 158.
- Naymark, Alexandr. 1999a. "Some observations on Bukhar Khuda coins", *ONS Newsletter*, 160.
- Oransky, I. M. 1960. *Vvedenie v iranskuiu filologiu*, Moskva.
- Rtveladze E. V. 1987. *Drevnie monety Srednei Azii*, Tashkent.
- Rtveladze, E., Livshits, V. 1985. *Pamiatniki drevnei pis'mennosti*, Tashkent.
- Shishkina G. V. 1973. "Gorodskoi kvartal VIII-XI vv. na severo-zapade Afrasiaba", *Afrasiab*, vypusk 2, Tashkent.
- Smirnova O. I. 1951. "Sogdiiskie monety sobraniia Numizmaticheskogo otdela Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha", *EV*, 4.
- Smirnova O. I. 1955. "Pervyi klad sogdiiskikh monet", *EV*, 10.
- Smirnova, O. I. 1963. *Katalog monet s gorodishcha Pendjikent (materialy 1949-1956)*, Moskva.
- Smirnova, O. I. 1967. "Numizmaticheskie zametki", *EV*, 18.
- Smirnova, O. I. 1970. *Ocherki iz istorii Sogda*, Moskva.
- Smirnova, O. I. 1981. *Svodnyi katalog sogdiiskikh monet*, Moskva.
- Sohail Ahmad Khan, 1992. *Nomenclature origin and history of coins of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent*, Islamabad.
- Tashkhodzhaev, Sh. S. 1974. "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniia drevnego Samarqanda v 1973g.", *Afrasiab*, 3, Tashkent.
- Tolstov, S. P. 1948. *Drevnii Khorezm. Opyt istoriko-arkheologicheskogo issledovaniia*, Moskva.
- Walker, J. 1941. *A catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins*, London.
- Yavich, M. M. 1947. "Zamechaniia o neissledovannom sredneaziatskom alfavite", *TOVE*, 4.
- Zeimal, E. V. 1978. "Politicheskaiia istoriia drevnei Transoksiany po numizmaticheskim dannym", *Kul'tura Vostoka. Drevnost' i rannee srednevekov'e*", Leningrad.
- Zeimal, E. V. 1983. *Drevnie monety Tadzhikistana*, Dushanbe.

#### List of abbreviations

BSOS	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies</i>
CAJ	<i>Central Asiatic Journal</i>
EV	<i>Epigrafika Vostoka</i>
IMKU	<i>Istoriia material'noi kul'tury Uzbekistana.</i>
KSIA	<i>Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii AN SSSR</i>
LOIVAN	<i>Leningradskoe Otdelenie Instituta Vostokovedeniia AN SSSR</i>
NC	<i>The Numismatic Chronicle.</i>
ONS	<i>Oriental Numismatic Society Newsletter.</i>
SNV	<i>Strany i narody Vostoka</i>
TIVAN	<i>Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniia AN SSSR</i>
TOVE	<i>Trudy Otdela istorii kul'tury i iskusstva Vostoka Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.</i>
VDI	<i>Vestnik drevnei istorii</i>
VIISID	<i>Vostochnoe istoricheskoe istochnikovedenie i spetsial'nye istoricheskie distsipliny.</i>
Uzkomstaris	<i>Uzbekistanskii komitet po okhrane pamiatnikov stariny i iskusstva.</i>



## Detailed Comments on the Metrology of Sogdian Bronze Coins

This appendix provides some detailed comments on the metrology of coins of different rulers. Of course coins corresponding exactly to the weight of the main unit or its fractions are very rare. That is why I have used a weight tolerance (the heavier the weight standard the bigger the tolerance) from +0.1 or 0.2g to -0.9g (bearing in mind that coins lost weight in circulation and that they were issued *al marco*). So coins of 5g and heavier I have attributed to the main unit etc. Anyway it gives, even if approximately, a picture of the monetary mass issued by different rulers. To start with a reminder of the system: **main unit (MU)** is 6g, **4/5MU**-4.8g, **3/5MU**-3.6g, **2/5MU**-2.4g, **1/5MU**-1.2g.

**Shishpir.** Weight from 1.1g to 6. Main **MU** – 9%, **4/5MU** – 26%, **3/5MU** – 39%, **2/5MU** – 13%, **1/5 MU** – 13%. The weight standard of 1.6g is absent (appeared later?). Heavier coins (**MU**, **4/5** and **3/5 MU**) prevail – 74%. Among them prevail coins of **3/5MU** (3.6g) – 39%. Diameter 19-25 mm. 25 mm is the most common – 43%. Next comes 24 mm – 23%. Then follow 22 mm – 17%, and 20 mm – 10%.

**Urk Wartramuka.** Judging by their weight, the coins of Urk Wartramuka should be placed after the coins of Shishpir. In terms of their total mass, however, (i.e. the proportion of heavier denominations) they are perhaps even somewhat heavier. Weight from 1.5g to 6 (1 coin of “defective casting” is even 6.79g). **MU** – 24%, **4/5MU**-38%, **3/5MU** – 23%, **2/5MU** – 12%, **1/5MU** is absent, but there are two coins (which is 3%) of 1.8 and 1.5g, i.e. of the weight standard of 1.6g. Could it be that such coins appeared under Urk Wartramuka? Among his coins prevail the heavy ones: **MU** and **4/5MU** constitute 62%. In terms of the number of known **MU** coins (about a quarter of all the coin issued by him) the proportion of such coins issued by Urk Wartramuka surpasses that found in the coinage of other *ikhshids* taken separately. And coins of **1/5MU** so far are unknown. Diameter 23-29 mm. Diameters OF 27 and 26 mm prevail – 58% (each one 29%), next comes the diameter of 28 mm – 28%. Diameter 29 mm is only 2.6%.

**Warkhuman.** The coins of Warkhuman are considerably lighter: weight from 0.8 to 2.9g. **2/5MU** – 32%, **1/5MU** – 49%, **1.6g** – 19%. There are no coins of **MU**, **4/5MU**, and **3/5MU**. So he issued both the coins of **1/5MU** and of **1.6g**. Diameter 18-26 mm. 26 – 4.5%, 25 – 4.5%, 24 – 13.6%, 23 – 13.6%, 22 – 22.7%, 21 – 7.6%, 19 – 27.5%, 18 – 4.6%.

**Wuzurg (?)**. Coins of this ruler are somewhat heavier than the coins of Warkhuman: from 1.19 to 3.6g. **3/5MU** – 10%, **2/5MU** – 42%, **1.6g** – 32%, **1/5MU** – 16%. Coins of **2/5MU** and **1.6g** are the most common: 74%. Diameter 15-22 mm. 22 – 4%, 21 – 9%, 20, 19 and 16 – 9% each, 18 – 15%, 17 – 12%, 15 – 9%.

**Mastich Unash.** His coins are close to the coins of Wuzurg(?): from 1.24 to 3.1g. **3/5MU** – 5%, **2/5MU** – 35%, **1.6g** – 40%, **1/5MU** – 20%. Coins of **2/5MU** and **1.6g** are the most common: 75%. Diameter 20-26 mm. 26 – 4%, 24 – 39%, 23 – 31%, 22 – 13%, 21 – 4%, 20 – 9%.

**Tukaspadak.** His coins are close to the coins of Wuzurg(?) and Mastich Unash: from 1.1 to 3.2g. **3/5MU** – 23%, **2/5MU** – 59%, **1.6g** – 5%, **1/5MU** – 14%. Coins of **2/5MU** and **1.6g** are the most common: 64%. Diameter 18-25 mm. 25 – 12.5%, 24 – 33%, 23 – 25%, 22 – 12.5%, 21, 20, 19 less than 10% each.

**Tarkhun.** His coins grew heavier: from 1.32 to 4.46g. **4/5MU** – 4%, **3/5MU** – 44%, **2/5MU** – 47%, **1.6g** – 3%, **1/5MU** – 1.5%. Coins of **3/5** and **2/5MU** are the most common: 91%. Diameter 21 – 25 mm. 25 – 14%, 24 – 49%, 23 – 26%, 22 – 10%, 21 – 1%. Diameter of 23-24 is the most common – 75%.

**Ghurek.** His coins are heavy: 2.7 to 4.6 g. **4/5MU** – 40%, **3/5MU** – 53%, **2/5MU** – 7%. Coins of **1/5MU** and **1.6g** are not known so far. Coins of **4/5** and **3/5MU** are the most common: 93%. Diameter 21-23 mm. 23 – 67%, 22 – 28%, 21 – 5%.

**Turghar.** His coins (especially Type 1 coins) are lighter than the coins of his father, Ghurek.  
Type 1: 1.42 to 2.8g. **2/5MU** – 67%, **1.6g** – 33%. Diameter 19-22 mm. 22 – 7%, 21 – 58%, 20 – 27%, 19 – 9%. Type 2 (about four times more numerous than Type 1): 1.1 to 3.5g. **3/5MU** – 3%, **2/5MU** – 59%, **1.6g** – 31%, **1/5MU** – 7%. **2/5MU** and **1.6g** are the most common: 90%. Diameter 16-20 mm. 20 – 6%, 19 – 53%, 18 – 28%, 17 – 11%, 16 – 2%.

The coin issued in Fansar: 2.7g, 23mm, **2/5MU**. The coin issued in Pargar: 3.7g, 23mm, **3/5MU**.

## Coinage of Penjikent

**Amogian.** His coins are heavy and belong with the coins of Shishpir and Urk Wartramuka: from 3.94 to 5.55g to. **MU** – 33%, **4/5MU** – 67%. Diameter 24-27 mm. 27 – 22%, 26 – 39%, 25 – 30%, 24 – 9%.

**Chakin Chur Bilga** (Bidian of Smirnova). His coins are heavier than the coins of Warkhuman and belong with the coins of Wuzurg(?), Mastich Unash and Tukaspadak: from 0.92 to 3.75g. **3/5MU** – 18%, **2/5MU** – 47%, **1.6g** – 25%, **1/5MU** – 10%. Just as with the coins of Wuzurg(?), Mastich Unash and Tukaspadak, coins of **2/5MU** and **1.6g** are the most common: 72% (cf. 72, 74, 75 and 64%). It indicates clearly that Chakin Chur Bilga was a contemporary of those rulers of Samarqand (maybe of all three of them). Anyway his coins are very numerous (359), it speaks in favour of his long reign. Diameter 17-22 mm. 22 – 14%, 21 – 40%, 20 – 20%, 19 – 15%, 18 – 10%, 17 – 1%.

**Nana (nn δβnpwh).** Coins of this type are close to the coins of Chakin Chur Bilga: from 1 to 3.15g. **3/5MU** – 1%, **2/5MU** – 13%, **1.6g** – 52%, **1/5MU** – 34%. But coins of **1.6g** and of **1/5MU** are the most common: 86%. Diameter 17-21 mm. 21 – 2%, 20 – 11%, 19 – 49%, 18 – 34%, 17 – 4%.

**Nana (nn δβ'mpnh).** Coins of this type are lighter and by weight are closer to Warkhuman's coins. Type 1: from 1.3 to 2.6g. **2/5MU** – 64%, **1.6g** – 36%. **2/5MU** is the more common. Diameter 18-20 mm. 20 – 55%, 18 – 27%, 19 – 18%. Type 2: from 0.9 to 1.9g. **1.6g** – 32%, **1/5MU** – 68%. **1/5MU** is the more common. Diameter 16-19 mm. 19 – 9%, 18 – 42%, 17 – 46%, 16 – 3%.

**Afrig** (“imitations of Ghurek coins” according to Smirnova). The weight histogram of this ruler's coins give a triangle with its peak at 1.5g (13 coins) but next to it is a peak of 1.6g (12 coins) and next to that is a peak of 1.7g (10 coins). This suggests that the decreed weight should be 1.6g, i.e. it is the same as that of the early Arab-Sogdian bronze coins. Type 1 diameter 20-25 mm. 25 – 3%, 23 – 12%, 22 – 49%, 21 – 30%, 20 – 6%. Type 2 diameter 21-23 mm. 23 – 21%, 19 – 65%, 21 – 13%.

Sogdian bronze coins contained 1-7% tin, 2-18% lead and 80-90% copper (Smirnova 1981, 70).



