



# ORIENTAL NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

## NEWSLETTER

# No. 181

Autumn 2004

### ONS News

#### Leiden

A reminder that this year's meeting takes place on Saturday 9 October 2004 at the Museum of Antiquities / Royal Coin cabinet, Rapenburg 26, Leiden, Netherlands, from 09.30 onwards. There will be a number of talks, an auction as well as the usual convivial gatherings. More information is available on the Society website at [www.onsnumis.org/leiden2004.shtml](http://www.onsnumis.org/leiden2004.shtml) or from Jan Lingen.

#### Members News

We regret to announce the sudden death of Muriel Broome, the wife of Michael Broome, our late founder and former Secretary-General. Muriel was a constant support for Michael's numismatic and ONS endeavours. Our sympathies go to her family.

#### New and Recent Publications

Hodge M. Malek: *The Dabuyid Ispahbads and Early 'Abbasid Governors of Tabaristan: History and Numismatics*, Royal Numismatic Society Special Publication No. 39. Casebound, jacket, viii, 186 pages and 38 plates. Price £50 (£37.50 for RNS fellows). ISBN 0-901405-83-3. Distribution by Spink & Son Ltd, 69 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4ET (tel: ++44 20 7563 4056/4046; fax ++44 20 7563 4068; [books@spink.com](mailto:books@spink.com)). Postage extra.

"This book brings together the history and numismatics of the Dabuyid Ispahbads and early 'Abbasid governors of Tabaristan in the late first and second centuries Hijra. Tabaristan, which corresponds today to the province of Mazandaran in northern Iran, was governed by a dynasty of military commanders

in the late Sasanian period. These Dabuyid Ispahbads remained independent under the 'Umayyad caliphs, but were conquered by the Arabs about 142-143 Hijra. The coins of Tabaristan follow the Sasanian tradition and show on the obverse the bust of the king. The reverse depicts a Zoroastrian fire-altar and two attendants.

The author covers the history of the Dabuyid Ispahbads and the 'Abbasid governors in Part I, and then deals with the coinage in Part II. All the different coin types so far known from major collections are listed in a detailed catalogue section in Part III."

M.I.Mochiri: "Images symboliques des Yazīdīya sur les monnaies Arabo-Sassanides" in *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān*, The International Journal of Ancient Iranian Studies, vol.3, no.1 (spring and summer 2003). Iran University Press (www.uip.ir).

*The Coinage of Assam, Vol. II, Ahom Period* by N.G.Rhodes and S.K.Bose will be released by the end of September 2004. This book will cover in detail the coinage of the Ahoms in Assam and will include chapters and discussion on such matters as the historical background, monetisation in the Ahom period, demonetisation by the East India Company government, mints and minting technology, die study, forgeries etc. There will be illustrations of about 900 coins, besides a map, manuscripts, copper-plate grants, contemporary paintings, monuments, buildings and royal seals of the Ahoms, both in colour and black & white, entirely printed on imported matt paper. Size 7.25 x 9.5 inches. Hard cover, cloth binding. The book will contain a foreword by the eminent Ahom scholar, Prof. J.N. Phukan of Gauhati University. Price: \$21. For all pre-publication booking prior to 31 August, 2004, postage will be borne by the publishers. Dealers discounts will be available. Please contact Mira Bose, (Library of Numismatic Studies), Block B/4, 347/328, Banerjee Para Road, West Putiary, Kolkata - 700 041.

E-mail: bosecoins@rediffmail.com for additional information.

*Collector's Guide to Indian Canteen Tokens*, by Praful K Thakkar, pp 88, soft-bound, distributed by Reesha Books International, 7 Sonal Sarshan, Goshala Road, Mulund, Mumbai 400 080, India, info@reeshabooks.com, price \$13. The book lists almost 300 canteen tokens with details of issuer, locations, metal, weight, size, shape, value and description of obverse and reverse. Most of the tokens are illustrated in colour.

#### 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 198 (July 2004), 199 (Aug 2004).
2. AH Baldwin & Sons Ltd (11 Adelphi Terrace, London WC2N 6BJ, UK; tel ++1 20 7930 6879; fax ++1 20 7930 9450; coins@baldwin.sh; www.baldwin.sh) Islamic coin list no. 8 (Sept 2004).

#### Other News

##### *Nepal Numismatic Society*

This Society was formed in 2002, and is based in Kathmandu. The President is Mr Sagar Man Shrestha (e-mail: sagar1908@hotmail.com). At a function held on 3 July this year, the Society conferred Honorary Membership on the Nepalese scholar, Satya Mohan Joshi, and on our Secretary General, Nicholas Rhodes, for distinguished services to Nepalese Numismatics.

#### Auction News

Spink coin auction on 6/7 October 2004, London, includes a small collection of Mughal coins, a good selection of Iranian material of various periods, as well as other oriental material. Their auction on 25 November 2004 will include a good selection of Indian sultanate coins. Please contact ONS member Barbara Mears for more information.

Baldwin Auctions, London, will be holding their Islamic sale no. 9 on 12 October 2004 with 612 lots including the Pavlos Pavlou collection of Arab-Byzantine coins (c.400 coins in 171 lots) and a good selection of Turkoman figural bronzes. The later part of the general sale on the morning of 12 October will include a good, varied selection of over 500 Indian lots. (auctions@baldwin.sh)

#### Reviews

*The Indian Institute of Research in Numismatic Studies, P.O. Anjaneri, District Nasik, Maharashtra 422 213, India*

The URNS has a programme of publishing monographs and short booklets for collectors. These cover a range of Indian coin series and some related subjects. They include:

*Roman gold and silver coins from India: a collectors guide*, by P.V. Radhakrishnan, 1999

*Ramatankas: Hindu religious tokens illustrating themes from the Ramayana*, by Michael Mitchiner, 2001

*Kosala State region, c. 600 - 470 BC, silver punchmarked coinage*, by Paul Murphy, 2001

*Bharatiya sikke*, by Amiteshwar Jha, 2003 (Indian Coinage)

The subject of the present review is two recent publications in the same series, written by Danish Moin

1. *Essays on the coins of Bengal Sultans*, by G.S. Farid. Compiled by Danish Moin. Card covers, 8.5 by 5.5 inches, pp. 166. Price Rs 350 or US\$ 20

Twenty-eight papers written by G.S. Farid are collected together in this book. The majority of papers deal with a range of topics relating to the coinage of the Bengal Sultanate. Two papers are concerned with other aspects of Islamic numismatics. Most were originally published in various journals during the 1970's and 1980's, and two date from the early 1990's. Some of the original publications are not easy to access, so it is useful to have the information gathered together in this book. The text is presented in a clear format. Some of the illustrations are poor. This is largely due to the indifferent quality of photographic reproduction in the original publications. The compiler has noted this. Farid wrote during a period when understanding of the Bengal Sultanate and its coinage was developing, and was one of the numismatists who contributed to that development. Some of Farid's views can be modified in the light of more recent research, as might be expected. Numismatists interested in following the evolution of concepts in Farid's chosen field are likely to find this book useful.

2. *Coinage of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan: a typological study*, by Danish Moin; Card covers, 9.5 by 7 inches, pp. 56. Price Rs 150 or US\$ 10

A brief historical survey introduces the subject, and this is followed by an introduction to the coinage of Mysore. The various coin types issued by Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan are then catalogued. Coin types are illustrated by photographs, which are placed above the catalogue descriptions. The results of recent studies have been included, with the result that the range of known coin types has been expanded. The catalogue is followed by a discussion of Tipu Sultan's mints and their locations. The known mints and dates for each of Tipu Sultan's coin denominations are then listed in three tables. Following a select bibliography, the book ends with three plates of coins. The booklet is laid out clearly and the catalogue is easy to follow. Collectors and scholars interested in this period of Mysore's numismatic history will find Danish Moin's study a useful addition and update to earlier publications.

Michael Mitchiner

#### Articles

##### **Fixed Points in the Coinage of Seventh Century Syria**

By Clive Foss

The study of the 'Arab-Byzantine' and related coinages has made tremendous progress in recent years, culminating in the publication of the *Sylloge of Islamic Coins in the Ashmolean Museum I* (2002), and constantly advanced by the discussions at



the round tables in Oxford and New York. There are still important gaps in our understanding of this coinage, and particularly in its relation to historical events. Establishing a chronology remains an elusive priority, and perhaps will never be altogether possible. Yet it may be useful to pause to consider what has been determined so far, if only to see where the field stands, and to emphasise remaining problems. The following items represent in **bold** type dates that may be considered firmly established, while those in *italics* have been proposed, but remain to be tested.

**601-610.** Regular Byzantine bronzes, struck in three denominations (M, K and I, the latter appearing as XX and X under Focas, 602-610). The issues of Focas' year 8 (November 609-October 610) represent the end of continuous Byzantine minting in Syria.  
DOC II.1.186-191 (nos. 83-104)

**609-610.** Revolt of Heraclius and his father, with bronzes (M and K) struck in Alexandretta. These give Heraclius the anomalous title of consul. The issues of year 14 (610/611), which shows the emperors crowned, was presumably issued for a short time after the successful completion of the revolt in October 610.  
DOC II.1.214f. (nos. 15-17)

**610-630.** Bronzes issued under the Persian occupation, struck probably in north Syria, an organized series with real dates and marks of officinae, showing activity of up to five workshops. This coinage, which uses Byzantine types (Justin II, Maurice, Focas and Heraclius) but with largely garbled legends, provides an important precedent for the Arab-Byzantine coinage.  
Henri Pottier, *Le monnayage de la Syrie sous l'occupation perse (610-630)*, Paris: CNRS 2004

**614.** Large bronzes (M) of Heraclius struck in Jerusalem, dated to year 4 (613/4) in two die-linked types. These are presumably an emergency issue associated with the defence of the city against the Persians who captured it in May 614. They were therefore only struck for a few months.  
MIB III. X 27, 28; Simon Bendall, "The Byzantine Coinage of the Mint of Jerusalem", *RN* 159 (2003) 307-322

**626-629.** Bronzes (M) of Heraclius struck in Cyprus, with obverse type of three standing figures and dates 17, 18, 19. These coins are also found in the Levant, where they were extensively imitated. They probably represent a military issue associated with the reoccupation of Syria by the Byzantines. Their types had great influence on the bilingual Arab-Byzantine series, providing the prototype for the regular obverse of Tiberias and the common reverse of Damascus with its frozen 'date' XYII. This series is currently being studied by M. Henri Pottier.  
DOC II.1.330f. (nos. 184-185; of these 184a.2-4 are imitations, the rest official issues); Tony Goodwin, "A Hoard of Byzantine Imitative Folles" *NumCirc* 102 (Oct. 1994) 357-9.

**633-636.** Heraclius countermarks, in the form of two monograms representing the name of the emperor and applied to bronzes, many of them the post-630 reformed issues of Heraclius himself. Detailed study of over 150 of these coins concludes that the countermarks were applied in Syria and Palestine, perhaps most commonly in and around Caesarea, with some apparently also produced in Cyprus.

Wolfgang Schultze, I. Schulze, W. Leimenstoll, "Heraclian Countermarks on Byzantine Coins in Seventh-century Syria", *BMGs* (in press)

**634-636.** Bronzes (M only) of Heraclius (portrayed with Heraclius Constantine) struck in Neapolis, most likely the city in Palestine. These evidently were a military issue associated with resistance to the Arab invasions.  
P. J. Donald, "The Neapolis Coins of Heraclius", *NumCirc* 94 (May 1986) 116 and "Neapolis Under Heraclius - A Further Find", *NumCirc* 95 (June 1987) 151

**641-658.** Dates of issue of bronzes (M) of Constans II commonly found in Syria, though struck in Constantinople. The abundant imitations of these coins formed a major part of the circulating medium in seventh-century Syria, being found throughout the region and in Palestine. Whether these imitations were contemporary, or were issued to supply a lack when the Byzantine imports ended, has not been determined. They may have been issued over a very long period, and were in any case still circulating at the end of the century.  
Marcus Phillips and Tony Goodwin, "A seventh-century hoard of Byzantine and imitative copper coins", *NC* 157 (1997) 61-87

**660+.** Gold issues of Muawiya, derived from types of Heraclius, but without a cross.

These are type A.2 (and quite probably the closely related types A.3 and 4), as described by George Miles in "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage", *ANSMN* 13 (1967) 205-229 (other examples of A3: Walker 54, SICA 1.606). These are close imitations of coins of Heraclius from which the cross-bars of the crosses have been removed from obverse and reverse, leaving the reverse design to resemble a letter T on steps. Identification of the issue is made possible by the text of the anonymous Syriac *Maronite Chronicle*, written after 664. It recounts that Muawiya issued gold and silver coins which were rejected by the public because they lacked crosses, an event mentioned in the Chronicle's account of the crowning of Muawiya at Jerusalem in 660, and suggesting that the issue coincided with the official beginning of his reign. In any case, the presence of one example of type A2 in a hoard probably buried around 680 indicates that it was issued under Muawiya and supports its identification with the coins mentioned in the Chronicle. The type may be considered to date to the reign of Muawiya.

C. Foss, "A Syrian Coinage of Muawiya?", *Revue numismatique* 158 (2002) 353-366

**685.** Large bronzes (M) of Abd al-Malik showing him in company with another 'caliph' presumably his brother 'Abd al-'Aziz, and possibly representing an accession issue (hence the proposed date). A variety of this type, struck from the same obverse dies, has a reverse without the Arabic legend, but with garbled Greek around M. Whether this represents a double series of coins struck for different populations, or is simply a case of a die wearing out and being replaced by what was at hand has not been determined. In any case, it has important consequences, for as Andrew Oddy has pointed out, this reverse can be linked with a type of Scythopolis, confirming that mint as the place of production, and showing that the Scythopolis bronzes were being issued a this time. Since, as Oddy noted, the coin in question seems to fit late into the Scythopolis series, their issue would have begun some time before this date. In other



words, the type may provide a fixed point for some part of that coinage.

C. Foss, "The Two-Caliph Bronze of Abd al-Malik", *ONS Newsletter* 177 (2003) 4-5.

A. Oddy, remarks in discussion at the 8<sup>th</sup> Numismatic Round Table (Coinage and Money in the Seventh-Century Near East), Oxford, November 2003.

*before 688/9 (AH 69)*. Small bronzes of Tiberias type (though without mintmark) bearing the reverse legend *qutri*. Since this word could easily have been taken as the name of the notorious Kharijite leader Qatari ibn al-Fuja'a whose rebellion began in 69, the type was presumably struck before that date. It may be associated with a similar type struck in Baysan, which copies the images of Tiberias but is inscribed something like *fihs al-haqq bi-baysan* and appears to represent a step toward a standardised regional coinage, replacing the aberrant large bronzes struck in that city and Gerasa. I would suppose that these are issues of the first years of 'Abd al-Malik, who came to power in Syria in 685.

C. Foss, "The Kharijites and their Coinage", *ONS Newsletter* 171 (2002) 24-34.

*687 or 690*. Conquest of Edessa by 'Abd al-Malik from ibn Zubayr, and therefore earliest date for the standing caliph coinage of 'Abd al-Malik issued there and at Harran. This does not, of course, indicate when the coinage began or ended, but it may explain the peculiar types of those two mints. Their standing caliph coins bear an image remarkably like that on the coinage of Jerusalem, and the inscription *muhammad* (Harran) or *muhammad rasul Allah* (al-Ruha). Coins of Harran have *muhammad* also on the reverse, with the typical  $\Phi$  on steps, while al-Ruha used the *shahada* around the  $\Phi$  or a simpler staff on steps. The strongly religious nature of these types, with the name of the prophet next to the obverse figure (and therefore perhaps identifying it) would be appropriate to the circumstances, for these were the first 'Umayyad coins struck in Mesopotamia, a region conquered from the regime of al-Zubayr which had already advertised its piety by religious legends on its Arab-Sasanian coinage. Identity of type between these coins and the issue of Jerusalem indicates that the latter (as usually supposed) was a product of the reign of 'Abd al-Malik.

Coins: Walker *Vat.1* (p.26), 92; SICA 687, 688.

Conquest of Edessa: The complex chronological problems are discussed by Gernot Rotter, *Die Umayyaden und der zweite Bürgerkrieg* (Wiesbaden 1982) 173-180, 208-216.

Religious types of b. Zubayr: R. G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Princeton 1997) 550-554.

**691-694=AH 72-74**. Issues of dated silver dirhams of Arab-Sasanian type, but with marginal religious legends *bismillah* (*la ilaha illa allah wahdahu* added in 73 and 74) *muhammad rasul allah* at Damascus (72-74) and Homs (72 only). These extremely rare coins at first sight conform to the early Arab-Sasanian issues with the name and image of Chosroes II, but their marginal legends, as well as date and mintmark in Arabic, represent an innovation. They were struck after 'Abd al-Malik had wrested control of the East from ibn Zubayr by defeating his brother Mus'ab b. Zubayr, in 72/late 691. These coins appear to represent an attempt at standardisation, with silver of a typical eastern type being introduced into Syria for the first time (or second, if the text cited above about Muawiya is correct). In these years, the numismatic policy of the caliph is still

experimental, seeming to seek ways of issuing a universal coinage.

SICA 278, 279 (Damascus), 305 (Homs), with discussion p. 27f.; cf. M. Bates, "History, Geography and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage", *RevSuisse* 65 (1986) 231-263 at 243-9.

**693-697=AH 74-77**. Issues of standing caliph gold with *shahada* on obverse, staff on steps and date on reverse. This type bears no mintmark, but was probably struck in Damascus. The reverse type, with the staff ending in a globe (not the  $\Phi$  of the standard standing caliph bronzes) also appears at al-Ruha/Edessa (Walker 93 with 'Muhammad' obverse) and on an anonymous undated bronze (Walker p.14 Kh.1; *ANS 1998 Annual Report* 29, with two imperial figures on the obverse; *shahada* on both sides)

George Miles "The Earliest Arab Gold Coinage", *ANSMN* 13 (1967), 212-214.

**694/5= AH 75**. Silver dirham of Sasanian type, with *shahada* on obverse margin and standing caliph reverse, inscribed *khalifat allah amir al-mu'minin*. The obverse of this coin strongly resembles that of the Syrian dirhams of 72-74 except that the name of Chosroes has been replaced by the date, written out in Arabic. The reverse, however, is totally different. Instead of the traditional fire-altar flanked by attendants, it bears the image of the standing caliph identified by the inscriptions. This unique coin has been attributed to Damascus by its resemblance to that city's issues. Note, however, that the title 'Caliph of God', with its curious misspelling in which the letter *ya* is omitted, appears also on some of the standing caliph bronzes of the northern mints of Sarmin, Ma'arat Misrin and Manbij; these also omit the name of the caliph. Whether this hints at the place where the silver was struck is uncertain. The close resemblance of type, in any case, may indicate that these anonymous bronze standing caliph types are contemporary with this issue.

This type forms part of a complex of experimental issues of AH 73-77 (692-697).

Walker, *Arab-Sassanian* p.25; SICA I.28;

Experimental issues: Luke Treadwell, "The 'Orans' Drachms of Bishr ibn Marwan and the Figural Coinage of the Early Marwanid Period" in J. Johns, ed., *Bayt al-Maqdis, Jerusalem and Early Islam* (Oxford 1999) 223-269

**696-697= AH 77**. First issue of 'reformed' gold dinars, from which all images have disappeared, to be replaced by inscriptions alone. These coins, which bear no mintmark, were presumably struck in Damascus, and continue in an uninterrupted series through the Umayyad period.

Walker pp. 84-89.

**698/699= AH 79**. First issue of reformed silver from Damascus (the only place in Syria where the series was struck), bearing date and mintmark and continuing, like the gold, through the Umayyad period.

Walker pp. 104-201, conveniently tabulated lx-lxi.

**705/6 = AH 87**. First dated bronze of the reformed series, with the name of the caliph al-Walid, struck in Damascus in the year of his accession (Walker P130, p.253). A common dated series without mintmarks (Walker p.289-293) begins in AH 90 (708/9). All of these were preceded by at least two series of aniconic bronzes, of which the earliest bears the simple *shahada*, with no indication of



mint or date; a series bearing names of mints, many of them in greater Syria, follows, evidently before the dated coins. Stephen Album has dated the first series to c.77-85 AH (696-704). Its widespread overstriking on a great variety of bronzes with figural types suggests that the older coins were called in at this time and reissued. If that is correct, all such types will predate the reform of the bronzes.

Stephen Album, "Umayyad and Abbasid relationship is rethought", *The Celator* 3.6 (June 1989) at p. xxii.

Overstrikes: Shraga Qedar, "A Hoard of Monetary Reform Fulus", *INJ* 8 (1984-5) 65-75

An outline like this reveals an immediate problem: the lack of any firm chronological points between the Arab conquest and the reign of 'Abd al-Malik. The sequence of issues from the beginning of the century through the Persian occupation and Byzantine reconquest poses no problems. Nor do the precious metal issues of 'Abd al-Malik. The half century of the early caliphate and the reign of Muawiya, however, remain an almost total blank, with the possible exception of one or two gold issues. Likewise, the bronzes of 'Abd al-Malik remain to be pinned down.

Some progress, however, is being made. Association of an early type of 'Abd al-Malik with a late one of Scythopolis (discussed above, re 685) suggests that that anomalous series began well before 685 and is perhaps to be dated to the reign of Muawiya.<sup>1</sup> An early issue of Abd al-Malik struck in Tabariya and Baisan (above, 'before 688/9') may represent a first attempt at standardisation of the coinage. If so, it may suggest that the heavy coins of Scythopolis and Gerasa were being replaced by smaller ones, more consistent with the issues of other mints. (The large coins continued to circulate, however, down to the reform, as shown by overstrikes). Historical circumstances provide a date sometime in the issue of the peculiar bronzes of al-Ruha (Edessa) and Harran, and confirm (what was already generally believed) that the anonymous issue of Jerusalem was struck under 'Abd al-Malik. Identity of type between the Standing Caliph bronzes and gold and silver issues certainly suggests that they were contemporary but does not solve the vexed question of priority – though scholarly opinion now seems definitely to favour the idea that the bronze preceded the gold.

The end of the figural bronze coinage also remains to be specified. Overstrikes certainly suggest that it was replaced by the aniconic type around 700. In this, the Syrian coinage differs dramatically from the Arab-Sasanian, where bronzes with a great variety of figural types continued to be issued through the 'Umayyad period and even beyond.<sup>2</sup> There, too, the reform of the silver was a more gradual process, with the majority of mints striking the reformed types in AH 79, but some still using the old Sasanian types until 85/704.

<sup>1</sup> In that case, the dating proposed by H. Pottier in his forthcoming work may be correct. He would associate these large coins with the reformed heavy coinage issued at the beginning of the reign of Constantine IV (668-685). On the other hand, I find it hard to believe that this one local issue would be influenced by Byzantine practice of which it might hardly be aware (coins of Constantine IV are very uncommon in Syrian finds), especially when production of a much smaller piece, based on the issues of Constans II, was virtually universal in the area. It seems more likely that the large type is owing to its direct imitation of coins of Justin II which had circulated widely in that district.

<sup>2</sup> For these, see the discussion of Stephen Album in *SICA* 1.37f., 45-49.

## The Dating of a Series of Early Arab-Byzantine Coins

By Tony Goodwin

This article describes a series of distinctive Pseudo-Byzantine coins,<sup>1</sup> struck on the halved flans of older Byzantine folles, which circulated in Syria in the years following the Islamic conquest of the 630s AD. The majority of these coins copy, sometimes rather loosely, the Cyprus three standing figure folles of Heraclius, but there are a number of other interesting varieties based on Byzantine prototypes spanning the whole of the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century. The coins have not been extensively published and have sometimes been mistaken for regular Byzantine coins or contemporary Byzantine imitations.<sup>2</sup> The main objectives of this article are to describe the different types and more importantly to offer evidence that at least the vast majority, and probably all of them were minted in Syria after the Arab conquest.

The main prototype for the series is an issue of folles with the mint signature **KYIP** for Cyprus dated to years 17, 18 and 19 of Heraclius (626/7 to 628/9). The obverse depicts the empress Martina on the left, wearing a distinctive crown, Heraclius in the centre and Heraclius Constantine on the right (see Cat. 1). The style is generally neat with slim standing figures and no blundering of the reverse legends. The coins are usually reasonably well struck on fairly round flans without signs of undertypes. Cyprus had not previously been a Byzantine mint, other than for a very brief period during the Heraclian revolt, and the period 626 to 629 coincides with Heraclius' final offensive against the Persians. It is therefore quite likely that the coins were struck for military rather than normal civilian needs. This conjecture is supported by the odd fact that, whilst they are quite commonly found in Syria, they do not appear to occur very frequently in Cyprus itself. This suggests that, whilst the first coins may have been struck in Cyprus, the army quickly moved on to the mainland with its minting equipment and supply of coinage, but retained the Cyprus mint mark.<sup>3</sup>

Distinct from these clearly official coins is a group of coins of similar overall design and module, but of much coarser style and often with slightly blundered legends. Cat. 2 is a better than average example in which Martina is clearly differentiated, although on the majority of examples (Cat. 3) this is not the case. Most examples are struck on slightly oval flans, again without obvious signs of an under-type, and the date is predominantly 17. Again they are common in Syria (probably more common than the clearly official coins), but uncommon in Cyprus itself. These are almost certainly local Syrian imitations, a hypothesis which is supported by the existence of similar coins, found in the same area, with anomalous mint signatures such as Constantinople, Thessalonica and Antioch.<sup>4</sup> Their date is uncertain but two factors point to their being a few years later than the official issues. The first is that a number of coins show the central figure bearded, whilst the left hand figure (originally Martina) is smaller than the central figure, and wears a crown which is exactly the

<sup>1</sup> "Pseudo-Byzantine" in the context of this article means the first phase of Syrian Arab-Byzantine coinage during which coins were produced without meaningful legends or mint marks.

<sup>2</sup> For example Wroth no. 273 (Pl. XXVI no. 5). This coin and nos. 273a and 274 were part of a hoard, said to have been found in Cyprus and consisting mainly of official coins of Constans II (641-668), originally published by Warren in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1861. In the *Dumbarton Oaks catalogue* of 1968, Grierson illustrated two Pseudo-Byzantine three-figure coins overstruck on cut flans (Heraclius 184a.2 and 184a.4) without noting that they were anything other than official Byzantine issues. More recently, Oddy, 2004, has suggested that the whole series of imitative three-figure coins may be Byzantine military issues.

<sup>3</sup> In an interesting unpublished paper entitled "Was there ever a mint in Cyprus?", delivered at the 1993 BM/ONS Seventh Century study day, Paul Pavlou questioned whether the mint was situated in Cyprus at all. He also seems to have been the first to point out that the "Cyprus" imitations with busts on the obverse must post-date the Arab conquest.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. Hahn MIB Heraclius X51.



same as the other two figures. The alteration of Martina's image would certainly not have been tolerated on coins minted by the army accompanying Heraclius in the 620s and the design must have been inspired by the later gold *solidi* of Heraclius issued in the mid to late 630s.<sup>5</sup> Secondly a few examples exist, which are of similar module and style, but which combine the year 17 Cyprus reverse with an obverse bust apparently copying folles of Constans II (641-668).<sup>6</sup> The first Arab raids into southern Syria occurred around 633 and the conquest was effectively complete by 638, although the coastal city of Caesarea held out until 640. It is therefore probable that the majority of these imitations were produced during the invasion or during the first few years of Arab rule. However, it seems unlikely that the large-module imitations could have survived much beyond the mid 640s, given the large numbers of smaller-module Byzantine folles that were by then being imported into Syria.

We now come to the main subject of this article, the distinctive three-figure "cut coins". These coins were struck on flans which were prepared by halving an old, large-module Byzantine follis and clipping the two sharp corners to create a very approximately oval flan. Occasionally the corners were left unclipped and occasionally rather more than half a coin was used, perhaps because the original flan was irregular in shape or unusually small. The coins were clearly struck cold and usually much of the undertype is visible, occasionally much more than the overstrike. The halved coins are mostly folles of Maurice (582-602) and Phocas (602-610), although the latest undertype that I have so far identified is a Class 5 follis of Heraclius of year 21 or 22, but bearing a common Heraclian countermark which probably dates to year 23 (631/2 or 632/3) or slightly later.<sup>7</sup> This coin, Cat. 19 (illustrated 1.5x actual size as are all the cut coins referred to from now on) provides a salutary example of the dangers of using countermarks as dating evidence on overstruck coins. The countermark is deeply impressed and appears quite fresh, with a typical raised, flat spot on the reverse. It would certainly appear as if struck on the three-figure coin, rather than the undertype, were it not for the fact that the countermark has clearly been cut through with a chisel when the old Heraclian coin was cut in two to produce two new flans.<sup>8</sup>

The "cut coins" are common finds in Western Syria and Lebanon, but not in Israel or Jordan.<sup>9</sup> Like other Arab-Byzantine coins they are occasionally found in Cyprus (see footnote 2). The area of circulation therefore seems to have been more restricted

than that of the normal, usually standing emperor-type Pseudo-Byzantine coins. The standard of die engraving is very variable; a few examples (e.g. Cats. 5 and 15) are at least as good as contemporary official Byzantine work, whilst others (e.g. Cats. 6 and 7) are extremely crude. However, the majority (e.g. Cats. 4 and 21) are moderately crude and very similar in style to the larger module imitations described above. This raises the interesting question of whether the large-module imitations and the "cut coins" were produced by the same mint or mints. Although I have been unable to find any examples of the same dies being used for the two modules, the stylistic similarities make it very likely that some of the same die engravers were involved in both. It is also quite possible that the two modules co-existed for a short while.

The die engravers were eclectic in their choice of obverse and the following have so far been noted, the dates in brackets being the date of issue of the Byzantine prototypes:-

1. Two standing figures copying early folles of Phocas and Leontia issued 602 to 604 (Cat. 8).
2. Three standing figures, with Martina differentiated, copying the Heraclian Cyprus folles of years 17 to 19, issued 626 to 629 (Cat. 5).
3. Three standing figures, with the left-hand figure not differentiated. These could be merely sloppy copies of the Cyprus folles or based on Heraclian *solidi* of the mid 630s.
4. Two standing figures, the left-hand one in military dress copying Class 5 folles of Heraclius issued 629 to 640 (Cat. 9).
5. Three standing figures with the left-hand figure smaller, but not otherwise differentiated, and the central figure bearded. These must copy *solidi* from the late 630s (Cat. 4).
6. Three standing figures with the centre figure in military dress copying Heraclius Class 6 folles issued 639 to 641 (Cat. 10 and 11).
7. One standing figure copying the Class 1 to 4 folles of Constans II issued 641 to 648 (Cat. 12).
8. Beardless bust copying the "Inper Const" folles of Constans II issued 643/4 (Cat. 13).
9. Bearded bust copying either the year 11 "Inper Const" folles of Constans II issued 651/2 or *solidi* of approximately the same date (Cat. 14, 15 and 16).

The commonest types are 3 and 5, and the various facing bust types are by no means uncommon, but the important fact to emerge from this sequence is that the series must have continued into at least the 650s, that is at least twelve years beyond the Arab conquest. Any lingering doubts that the bust types do actually copy coins of Constans II must be dispelled by the existence of blundered versions of the **INPER CONST** legend, unknown before year 3 of Constans II, on some of the cut coins (Cats. 14 and 15). Some of the individual obverses are worthy of close scrutiny. The well-engraved bust of Cat. 15 is clearly meant to represent Constans II as the start of the **INPER CONST** legend can clearly be read, but the bust is unlike any known numismatic busts of this emperor. He also wears a crown with a central circlet, a feature which is not found on Constans' copper although it does occur on the gold. Cat. 7 is a good example of amateur die engraving as it very much looks as if the die engraver intended to cut a three-figure die but ran out of room for the right-hand figure and decided to settle for just two.

The reverses are less variable, the majority being loosely based on Cyprus year 17, but sometimes the reverse is so crude as to be little more than a generalised Byzantine reverse with an **M** with a few symbols around. However, a few more interesting reverses occur. Cat. 11 is a faithful copy of a Class 4 Heraclius follis of Cyzicus dated year 18 (627/8), but it is coupled with the obverse of a Class 6 follis originally issued in years 30 and 31 (639/40 and 640/41). Cats. 17 and 18 both have fairly normal 3 figure obverses, but coupled with the distinctive cursive **m** reverse

<sup>5</sup> e.g. MIB 44ff. The left-hand figure on the *solidi* is Heraclonas, who was created Augustus in 638.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. a coin in the Ashmolean Museum, SICA Vol. 1 Cat. 528

<sup>7</sup> I understand from Wolfgang Schulze that the latest coin which he has recorded with this countermark is a Heraclius follis of year 25.

<sup>8</sup> I have seen several examples of Constans II folles with convincing Heraclian countermarks, but these must all have been applied to the undertype. In 1991 Pavlou published a typical three-figure "cut coin" with a countermark assigned by Grierson to Heraclius Constantine or Heraclonas (Grierson 1968, p. 55 Class G), and I have since seen another one, but again both of these examples could possibly have had the countermark applied to the undertype. The 3 three-figure "cut coins" said to have been found in Cyprus, which were mentioned in Footnote 2, all bear a countermark (MIB Constantine IV Km. 1) which is usually found on folles of Constans II and is generally agreed to have been applied in Cyprus under Constantine IV (668 - 685). I have examined these coins in the British Museum and am convinced that the countermarks are not from the undertypes.

<sup>9</sup> These observations are based on examination of commercial parcels from Syria, Lebanon and Jordan mainly seen on the London market during the 1990s and of the coins offered for sale in the bazaars of Aleppo, Damascus and Jerusalem. However, I know of one example from Israel, found in excavations at Nessana, in the collections of the Palestine Exploration Fund, London. My impression is that, among Syrian finds, "cut coins" are more common than either the official Cyprus folles or the large module imitations, but much less common than the normal type of post-conquest Pseudo-Byzantine coin. These usually imitate Standing Emperor types of Constans II and are struck on freshly prepared flans in a variety of shapes.



of Constans II. In the case of Cat. 18 the inspiration seems to have been a Class 3 follis of Constans II issued only in 643/4. This is another important piece of dating evidence as it shows that the three-figure obverses survived at least into the mid 640s.

We therefore have firm evidence that the cut coins were produced at least as late as the early 650s, but could they be significantly later than this? Indeed could the whole series date from say the 660s, when it is likely that much of the Syrian Pseudo-Byzantine coinage was struck? A partial answer to this question is provided by two overstrikes (Cats. 20 and 21), both of regular Constans II Class 6 folles dated 656/7 overstruck on typical three figure cut coins. This at least demonstrates that the cut coins were in circulation before that date, although it does not, of course, tell us when production ceased.

Given the large number of obverse types and the frequent occurrence of inappropriate obverse/reverse combinations, it seems very unlikely that the obverses progressed chronologically from Phocas to Constans II. It is much more likely that the die engravers were given a good deal of freedom to choose designs from whatever prototype was to hand, but that the preference was generally for the three-figure type which was presumably already acceptable in the locality of the "mint". It would be helpful to be able to confirm this by frequent reverse die links between different types of obverse, but I have so far only been able to find one example (Cats. 4 and 9). In fact die links in the series seem to be relatively uncommon, although die duplicates are more frequently encountered.<sup>10</sup>

In conclusion therefore we can be absolutely certain that the cut coins were in production during the 650s, although as yet we lack firm evidence that the three-figure coins continued beyond the mid-640s. The start date is less certain; from the evidence of the undertypes it must have been after about 632, but it was probably some years later if we accept that the cut coins followed the larger-module three-figure imitations. It is therefore highly probable that all the cut coins, and probably many of the larger-module imitations, date from after the Arab conquest. Because the coins are so different in appearance to their Byzantine predecessors, it is most unlikely that they were deliberate forgeries. It is much more likely they were produced for some local civil or ecclesiastical authority in Western Syria to provide small change for a population which already favoured the three-figure Byzantine coins. They, therefore, fit well into the first phase of Arab-Byzantine coinage, the Pseudo-Byzantine series. The possibility remains that they appeared a few years earlier than the normal Pseudo-Byzantine coinage, which is found throughout Syria and Palestine, but the period of minting the two types of coin almost certainly overlapped and they probably circulated alongside each other.

### Catalogue

*All coins are Pseudo-Byzantine unless otherwise stated. All coins are shown approximately 1.5x actual size, except for Cats. 1, 2 and 3 which are shown more or less actual size. Comments on the prototypes for the images on these imitative coins are given in italics. The readings of legends, which are usually blundered, are the best approximations using available fonts. Apart from Cats. 1 and 2 almost all coins show traces of the undertype, but this is only mentioned where it can be identified. Coins which were published in Goodwin 1994 are cross-referenced at the end of each entry*

<sup>10</sup> Compared to other series of Arab-Byzantine there are quite large numbers of dies; certainly 200 obverses and maybe considerably more. Establishing die identities is also made difficult by the apparent distortion of images caused by the undertypes and the frequent occurrence of slight double-striking. For example, close examination of Cats. 10 and 11 show that they were both struck from the same obverse die, but initially they look rather different due to the prominent undertype on 9 and the slight double strike on 11.



1. Byzantine 6.22g. 6h. Obv. Martina, Heraclius and Heraclius Constantine standing facing holding globus crucigers. Rev. **M** with monogram above, officina Γ, ANNO - **XYII** (year 17 = 626/7) either side and **KYIIP** in exergue (MIB 198).



2. 5.32g. 6h. Obv. As Cat. 1. Rev. **M** with monogram above, officina Γ, ANNO - **XYII** either side and **KVO...** in exergue.



3. 5.33g. 6h. Obv. Three standing imperial figures holding globus crucigers, central figure bearded and left hand figure smaller (Heraclonas?). Rev. **M** with cross above, officina Γ, ANNO - **XYII** either side.



4. 5.52g. 12h. Obv. As last. Rev. **M** with cross above, officina Γ, ANNO - **XYIII** either side and **KVPO** in exergue (same die as Cat. 9). Goodwin 1994 no. 8.



5. 4.21g. 6h. Obv. As Cat. 1. Rev. **M**, officina Γ, ANN - ...**II** (partly retrograde), **KVNP** in exergue. Goodwin 1994 no. 2.



6. 3.52g. 12h. Obv. Three crude standing imperial figures holding stylised globus crucigers. Rev. **M** with cross above, officina Γ and **AHO - ANN.** either side.





7. 4.47g. 12h. Obv. Two crude standing imperial figures holding crosses, right hand figure larger and bearded. Rev. **M** with cross above, officina  $\Gamma$  and ANNO to left.



8. 4.18g. 6h. Obv. Two standing imperial figures, left-hand figure holding globus cruciger and right-hand figure holding cruciform sceptre diagonally. Copies an early follis of Phocas issued 602 to 604. Rev. **M** with cross above, officina  $A\Gamma$  and \*HIO - X... either side. Goodwin 1994 no. 29.



9. 3.75g. 6h. Obv. Two standing imperial figures with cross between heads, left-hand figure in military dress holding long cross and right-hand figure holding globus cruciger. Copies a Class 5 follis of Heraclius (MIB164) issued 629 to 640. Rev. As Cat. 4 (same die).



10. 5.32g. 1h. Obv. Three standing imperial figures, central figure in military dress holding long cross (same die as Cat. 11). Rev. **M** officina  $\Gamma$ , ..NNO - XYIII and ...P in exergue. Goodwin 1994 no. 11



11. 5.18g. 12h. Obv. As Cat. 10 (same die). Rev. **M** with Heraclian monogram to left, officina **A**, XYIII to right and **KYZ** in exergue. Copies a Class 4 follis of Heraclius, Cyzicus mint (MIB 186), issued 627/8.



12. 4.91g. 12h. Obv. Standing imperial figure holding long cross and globus cruciger. Copies a Class 1 to 4 follis of Constans II (MIB 162ff) issued 641-648. Rev. **M** with cross above, officina  $\Gamma$ , ANO to left and **KAI** in exergue. Goodwin 1994 no. 13.



13. 4.88g. 12h. Obv. Beardless imperial bust holding globus cruciger, blundered legend to right. Copies a follis of Constans II (MIB 166) issued in 643/4. Rev. **M** with cross above, officina  $\Gamma$  and ANO - XYII either side. Goodwin 1994 no. 14.



14. 5.30g. 6h. Obv. As Cat. 13 but with medium length beard and **const** (blundered) to right. Probably copies a follis of Constans II (MIB 169) issued in 651/2. Rev. As Cat. 11.



15. 4.84g. 6h. Obv. As Cat. 14 but with longer beard and circlet on crown and **InP** to right. Rev. **M** with cross above, officina  $\Gamma$  and +UH - ..N.. Overstruck on a halved follis of Maurice Tiberius (502-602).



16. 5.16g. 12h. Obv. As Cat. 15 but with longer beard and no legends visible. Probably copies a solidus of Constans II from the mid to late 650s. Rev. **M**, officina **B** and ANN - ...II either side. Goodwin 1994 no. 12.



17. 5.22g. 12h. Obv. Three crude standing imperial figures, those on left and right with crosses, central figure bearded. Rev. **m**



with cross above and ANA - XEO either side. The reverse copies the Class 1 and 4 folles of Constans II issued from 641/2 onwards.



18. 4.80g. 2h. Three standing imperial figures holding vestigial globus crucigers. Rev. **m** with ANNO - +III. This reverse looks like a retrograde version of a Class 3 follis of Constans II issued in 643/4.



19. 4.56g. 6h. Two standing imperial figures (third figure presumably not struck) holding globus crucigers. Rev. **M** with monogram above, officina **Γ** and ANN (partly retrograde) to left. Overstruck on a halved Class 5 follis of Heraclius (MIB 164) which had been countermarked (visible on the obverse to the right of the head of the right-hand figure). Goodwin 1994 no. 17.



20. Byzantine. 3.31g. 6h. Constans II (641-668). Obv. Constans standing holding long cross and globus cruciger. Rev. **M** with CTA and date numeral 16 (=656/7) in exergue (MIB 172). Overstruck on a Pseudo-Byzantine coin:- Obv. Three imperial figures. Rev. **M** officinal **Γ** and NN to right, die axis 12h. (Note that the figure of Constans II is positioned exactly over the central figure of Heraclius making the overstrike difficult to spot at first glance).



21. Byzantine. 3.58g. 6h. Constans II (641-668). Obv. As Cat. 20. Rev. **M** with star above, officina **E**, **KWN - CT...** either side and date numeral 15 or 16 (= 655/6 or 656/7) in exergue (MIB 172). Overstruck on a Pseudo-Byzantine coin:- Obv. As Cat. 20. Rev. **M**, official **Γ** and **III**X to right, die axis 12h.

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#### Uzgend under the Qarākhānids (according to data provided by Qarākhānid numismatics).

By Michael Fedorov

In 1970 I wrote an article about the history of Uzgend based on the data provided by Qarākhānid coins (Fedorov 1973, 90-97). This article has now become obsolete: since 1970 many new coins have been found, and some moot questions settled. I have therefore decided to update and expand it.

Uzgend/Uzjend (modern Uzgen, Kirghiz Republic), the easternmost town of Fergana, is situated on the bank of the Qara Darya (a southern tributary of the Syr Darya, which bisects the valley dividing it into northern and southern Fergana). According to V. V. Bartold (1963, 213), "in the time of the first Qarākhānids" (i.e. before the death of İlek Naşr b. 'Alī in 403/1012-13) Uzgend was "the capital of Mawarānnahr" and later "the capital of Farghāna". The victorious campaign of 389/999 which ended in the conquest of Bukhārā and the last remnants of the Sāmānid state was launched by İlek Naşr b. 'Alī from his capital Uzgend. The last Sāmānid amīr, 'Abd al-Malik b. Nūh, together with his brother, Ismā'īl, and other relations were deported to Uzgend and imprisoned there (Bartold 1963, 327-329).

The latest Sāmānid coin (Kochnev 1988, 193) was minted in Uzgend in 380/990-91, the earliest Qarākhānid dirhem (Kochnev 1995, 203/1) was minted in Uzgend in 381/991-92 by Arslān Tegin b. Ulugh Tegin, who cites Shihāb al-Daula Abū Mūsā Turk Khāqān as his suzerain. The *laqab* Shihāb al-Daula belonged to Boghrā Khān Ḥārūn, ruler of Balāsāghūn, who, in 382/ 992, captured Bukhārā, the capital of the Sāmānids, but who died in that same year. Bīrūnī (1957/150) wrote: "Boghrā Khān, when he took the field in the year three hundred and eighty two, named himself Shihāb al-Daula".

But the mintname on the coin of AH 381 is Farghāna. The name of a province was often substituted on coins for the name of its capital. Hence the main mint of Shāsh province was almost always named Shāsh. The name of its capital, Binket, is rarely found on Qarākhānid coins. Coins with the mintname İlāq are more numerous than coins with the mintname Tūnket, which was the capital of İlāq province. Coins with the mintname Soghd were also minted. After 381 the Farghāna mint never minted dirhems, but, in the beginning of the 10th century AD, it minted copious fulūs for the whole of Farghāna province. Sometimes fulūs with the mintname Farghāna were minted in other towns of the province. In such cases a double mintname was put on the coins: Farghāna-Akhsīket, Farghāna-Osh, Farghāna-Qubā, Farghāna-Marghīnān (Kochnev 1995, 206 /47, 208/77, 215/ 176). The only exception was Farghāna-Uzgend, which does not occur because it was well-known that the mint with the mintname "Farghāna" operated in Uzgend.



I believe that the Arslān Tegīn cited on dirhems of AH 381, Farghāna, was Naṣr b. 'Alī. In this case his father, Ulugh Tegīn, will have been the ruler of Kāshghar, 'Alī b. Mūsā, who was the Head of the Qarākhānids at least from AH 382, when Boghrā Khān Hārūn had died. Arslān Khān 'Alī b. Mūsā fell in the war against the infidel Turks in January 998/388 (Bartold 1963, 330).

Later (after AH 384) Naṣr b. 'Alī is cited on coins of Farghāna with the new, probably higher, title of Toṅgha Tegīn (Kochnev 1995, 203/7, 10) and finally he received the title of İlek (second only to the title of Khān). On AH 389 fulūs of Farghāna he is cited as Arslān (sic!) İlek, and on AH 389 Bukhārā fulūs he is cited as Naṣr b. 'Alī İlek (Kochnev 1995, 208/72, 82). The title İlik al-Jalīl appears for the first time on fulūs of AH 386, 388 Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 205/40, 207/64).

Oddly enough, the earliest Qarākhānid coins known so far with the mintname Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 208/78-81) appeared only in 389/999, i.e. in the year that Bukhārā was conquered by Naṣr b. 'Alī. Could the two be connected?

Four types of fulūs were minted in AH 389. Type 208/79 cites, on the reverse, Arslān İlek (field) Amīr al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Maulā Amīr Mu'mīnīn (marginal legend) and the anonymous Khān (obverse field). On the fals of AH 385 Farghāna (Kochnev 1995, 204/17) Amīr al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī Maulā Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn cites, as his suzerain, Khāqān al-Muzaffār Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Which means that the anonymous Khān of AH 389 Uzgend fulūs was Aḥmad b. 'Alī, Naṣr's brother. Type 208/81 differs from type 208/79 in that, in the reverse field, instead of Arslān İlek we find İlek al-Jalīl and in the reverse marginal legend the words Maulā Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn are omitted. Sometimes it looks as if the die-sinkers took special pains to ensure that the dies differed from one another at least by some insignificant detail. Maybe this was required to distinguish dies made by different die-sinkers, maybe it was the die-sinkers' innocent hobby (but a nuisance for those who try to categorise such coins). So type 208/78 differs from type 208/79 in that it cites, in the reverse marginal legend, Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naṣr b. 'Alī Qarākhān. Here the title Qarākhān belongs to 'Alī, Naṣr's father.

Types 208/78, 79, 81, are, so to speak "normal" coins, and reflect the situation in Uzgend normally. But there is also "abnormal" type 208/80. This cites Amīr al-Jalīl al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Khān (!?) in the reverse marginal legend, İlek al-Jalīl in the reverse field and the anonymous Khān in the obverse field. This coin could hardly mean that Naṣr b. 'Alī accepted the high title of Khān. He simply could not have had the two titles of İlek and Khān on the same coin. In my opinion this coin resulted from a mistake by a careless die-sinker.

In 390 (Kochnev 1995, 210/102) fulūs of Uzgend cite, on the reverse, Amīr al-Jalīl Naṣr b. 'Alī Maulā Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn (marginal legend), Naṣr b. 'Alī (field) and Naṣr (obverse field). Provided this coin was not struck from mismatched dies, no suzerain is cited. But I know cases when in the same town, in the same year the suzerain is cited on dirhems but not on copper falūs which served the local trade and were usually not exported. Coins of AH 391 Uzgend are not known so far. In 392/1001-02 (Kochnev 1995, 208/77) fulūs of Uzgend cite Amīr Naṣr b. 'Alī Maulā Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn (reverse circular legend), İlek (reverse field) and Naṣr (obverse field). Strange coins with two mintnames: Uzgend and Akhsīket were also minted in AH 392 (Kochnev 1995, 208/77). I think they were struck from mismatched dies. It seems that, in AH 392, the mint of Akhsīket was temporarily closed and its dies were brought to the central mint in Uzgend. These hybrid coins also cite only Naṣr, without any suzerain being cited.

The first dirhems were minted in Uzgend in 392. Dirhems of AH 392-402 (Kochnev 1995, 210/112; 211/113, 115, 122; 212/130; 218/213) are notable for a commendable uniformity, having on the reverse a classic variant of the titulage: Pādshāh / Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān / al-Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek / Naṣr. The name of

Naṣr can be written either in Arabic or in Uigur and the title Pādshāh is sometimes omitted. The dirhem of AH 394, Quz Ordū (Kochnev 1995, 212/133, citing Quṭb al-Daula Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Aḥmad b. 'Alī Qarākhāqān, shows that Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān, cited on the dirhems of Uzgend, was Aḥmad b. 'Alī, the brother and suzerain of Naṣr.

Fulūs of AH 396, 399, 400, 401 Uzgend are known (Kochnev 1995, 215-221/176, 214-215, 254-255, 261). A fals of AH 396 cites, on the reverse, Amīr al-Jalīl Naṣr b. 'Alī Maulā Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn (marginal legend) Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek (field); no suzerain is cited. Fulūs of AH 399-400 (218/214-215) cite, on the reverse, Amīr Naṣr b. 'Alī Maulā Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn (marginal legend), Naṣr b. 'Alī (field), Amīr Naṣr b. 'Alī (obverse marginal legend). Some fulūs of AH 400 (221/254-255) cite, on the reverse, Amīr Naṣr b. 'Alī Maulā Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn (marginal legend), Naṣr b. 'Alī (field) and his suzerain, Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Khān or simply Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq (obverse marginal legend). AH 401 fulūs (221/261) cite Amīr Naṣr b. 'Alī Maulā Amīr al-Mu'mīnīn (reverse marginal legend) and Pādshāh (obverse field), no suzerain being cited.

Although Naṣr b. 'Alī died in 403/1012-13, his latest dirhems of Uzgend so far known were minted in 402 (Kochnev 1995, 211/113, 218/213). In that same year, 402, dirhems were struck in Uzgend in the name of Khāqān Quṭb al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī (Kochnev 1995, 224/297). In 400-402/1009-12 internecine war was waged between İlek Naṣr and his brother, Toṅghān Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī. The third of the brothers, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, took sides with İlek Naṣr. In this war Aḥmad lost Tūnket, Shāsh and Ispījāb, while the allies lost Uzgend and Ṭarāz (Fedorov 1990, 8-9). Peace was made in AH 402 on the terms of the "status quo ante bellum". But it appears that Naṣr died at the very beginning of AH 403 before he was able to mint his coins in Uzgend.

No coins of AH 403 Uzgend are known. In 404 dirhems struck in Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 227/332) cite Quṭb al-Daula Khāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī. In 405 they (Kochnev 1995, 231/397) cite Khāqān Quṭb al-Daula wa Naṣr al-Milla Qarākhāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī. Then in that same year the situation changed: fulūs of Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 231/398) cite Amīr al-Jalīl Atim Tegīn and his suzerain, Aḥmad b. 'Alī Khāqān. A fals of AH 408, Ispījāb, cites Amīr al-Jalīl al-Sayyid Atim Tegīn Aḥmad b. İlek (Fedorov 1971, 166. As it happens, Kochnev (1995, 239/493) misread the mint-name, reading Ushrūshana instead of Ispījāb). Coins of AH 407 Samarqand cite Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek (Kochnev 1995, 233/427). Which means that İlek, the father of Atim Tegīn was Muḥammad b. 'Alī. So the coins show that, in 405, Aḥmad b. 'Alī granted Uzgend as an appanage to his nephew, Atim Tegīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.

In 404 internecine war broke out between Aḥmad b. 'Alī and his brother, Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī, who accepted the title, Arslān Khān. Coins show that Atim Tegīn took sides with Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. In 405 coins were struck in his name in Akhsīket as a vassal of Arslān Khān (Kochnev 1995, 227/333). There is also a coin of AH 404, Akhsīket (Kochnev 1995, 227/333), citing the same rulers, but I believe that this coin was struck from mismatched dies, the die with the date 404 being obsolete. It looks as though Atim Tegīn either conquered Akhsīket from Aḥmad b. 'Alī, or Akhsīket was granted to him by Aḥmad b. 'Alī and that Atim Tegīn handed the town over to Arslān Khān.

According to Bīrūnī "The Khān and İlek were warring near Uzgend", when the Khwārizmshāh, acting on the advice of Bīrūnī, offered his help as a go-between and, thanks to his efforts, the warring Qarākhānids made peace in the first half of AH 407. The Khwārizmshāh did it because he was seeking allies in the conflict between Khwārizm and Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna (Beihaqī 1962, 592-593). Soon after that, AH 408, Toṅghān Khān Aḥmad b. 'Alī died (Material 1973, 58).



No coins of Uzgend are known for AH 406. In 407 coins of Uzgend cite either Arslān Khān as a sole owner of the town (Kochnev 1995, 237/464) or Arslān Khān and his vassal İlek (Kochnev 1995, 235/440). Coins of AH 407 of Samarqand cite Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek (Kochnev 1995, 233/427) which shows that the anonymous İlek on AH 407 coins of Uzgend was Muḥammad b. 'Alī.

Kochnev (1995, 237/463) mentioned a strange coin of AH 407, Uzgend, minted by the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids, the ruler of Kashghār, Yūsuf Qadir Khān (the son of Hārūn Boghrā Khān, the conqueror of Bukhārā in 992). Could it be that Kochnev misread the date? Or could it be that the die-sinker omitted the word *عشره* (ten) and the date became 407 instead of 417? Anyway, if the date is authentic, it would mean that Qadir Khān, took advantage of the internecine war among the Western Qarākhānids to capture Uzgend, but that, later, when the Western Qarākhānids made peace, he was driven out of there.

In 408 (Kochnev 1995, 235/441, 239/491-492) dirhems of Uzgend cite İlek (i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Alī) and his suzerain, Arslān Khān (i.e. Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī).

In 409-410 (Kochnev 1995, 240/514) the situation changed: in Uzgend appeared a subvassal, Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr (the son of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī). The coins cite: Arslān Khān (suzerain), İlek (vassal) and Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr (subvassal). Thus Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr possessed Uzgend as a vassal of İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī, who possessed Uzgend as a vassal of Arslān Khān Maṣṣūr b. 'Alī. Apart from being cited on Uzgend coins, each of them was entitled to some part of the taxes collected from Uzgend, but the immediate owner of Uzgend was Aḥmad b. Maṣṣūr, who resided there.

Then the situation changed again. For part of AH 411 (Kochnev 1995, 243/560-561) fulūs of Uzgend cite only İlek and his suzerain, Arslān Khān. Then a new subvassal appears there. In 411 some fulūs of Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 243/562) cite Arslān Khān (suzerain), Amīr Muḥammad b. 'Alī İlek (vassal) and 'Ain al-Daula (subvassal). A fals of AH 412, Akhsiket (Kochnev 1995, 244/569), citing Amīr al-Sayid 'Ain al-Daula Muḥammad b. Naṣr, shows that this 'Ain al-Daula was Muḥammad, the son of İlek Naṣr b. 'Alī (the conqueror of Bukhārā in 389/999). Coins of AH 412 Uzgend are not known.

In 413-414 (Kochnev 1995, 245-246/595, 610) fulūs of Uzgend cite Arslān Khān (suzerain), İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī (vassal) and 'Ain al-Daula (subvassal).

In 415/1024-25 Arslān Khān and his brother, İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī, died. Supreme power in the Western Khaqanate was seized by another branch of the Qarākhānids called the Ḥasanids. The new Head of the Western Qarākhānids became Tonghā (or Tonghān or Toḡhān) Khān II Muḥammad b. Ḥasan with his capital in Balāsāghūn. His brother, 'Alī, who in 411-415 possessed Bukhārā, was granted the title of İlek (second only to the title, Khān). He also received Shāsh and Khojende as an appanage, where (as in Bukhārā) he cited his brother, Muḥammad b. Ḥasan as suzerain (Kochnev 1995, 248/640-642, 247/633).

In 416 the Eastern Qarākhānids, led by Qadir Khān I, invaded the lands of the Western Qarākhānids. Simultaneously Maḥmūd of Ghazna launched his invasion of Mawarānnahr from the south. 'Alī Tegīn fled into the desert. But then Maḥmūd withdrew his army, having decided that it was safer to have the Qarākhānids fighting each other than a victorious Qadir Khān. Anyway Maḥmūd's intervention allowed Qadir Khān to conquer vast territories from the Western Qarākhānids. In 416 he captured Balāsāghūn and Eastern Farghāna together with Uzgend. The Western Qarākhānids retained Western Farghāna with Akhsiket till 418 but then lost the whole of Farghāna and Khojende (Fedorov 1983, 111-113).

In 416 three types of coins were minted in Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 249/661, 663, 664). Dirhem Nr. 249/661 cites the suzerain, Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān, and his vassal Sulaimān b. (reverse field) Shihāb al-Daula (obverse field). Dirhem Nr. 249/663 cites as suzerain, Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān, and his vassal Kuch Tegīn (reverse field) 'Aḥud al-Daula (obverse field). Fals Nr. 249/664 cites as suzerain, Qadir Khān, and his vassal, Kuch Tegīn (reverse field) 'Aḥud al-Daula (obverse field).

Nastich and Kochnev (1988, 74) wrote that the *laqab* 'Aḥud al-Daula "most likely" belonged to Muḥammad b. Naṣr (who, by the way, already had another *laqab*, 'Ain al-Daula – M. F.). If so, it appears that Muḥammad b. Naṣr, who possessed Uzgend in 414 as a vassal of Arslān Khān and İlek, changed his allegiance and recognised Qadir Khān as suzerain, after the Eastern Qarākhānids invaded the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. But later Qadir Khān took Uzgend from him and handed it over to his vassal, Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula. According to Bīrūnī (1957, 150) Boghrā Khān Hārūn (the father of Qadir Khān I and the conqueror of Bukhārā in 382/992) had the *laqab* Shihāb al-Daula. So Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula was the brother of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf. As for 'Aḥud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn, we should not discount the possibility that the title, Kuch Tegīn, belonged not to Muḥammad b. Naṣr but to some other Qarākhānid.

In 418 (Kochnev 1995, 251/693) dirhems of Uzgend cite Kuch Tegīn (obverse) and his suzerain Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān I Yūsuf (reverse). Fulūs of AH 419 Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 251/705) cite Amīr Yūsuf b. Hārūn (reverse circular legend) Khān Maliq al-Mashriq (reverse field) and his vassal Sulaimān (obverse field).

In 420-423 (Kochnev 1995, 252/715) dirhems of Uzgend cite Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Maliq al-Mashriq Qadir Khān and his vassal Kuch Tegīn (reverse field) 'Aḥud al-Daula (obverse field). But fulūs of AH 420 Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 252/716) cite only Qadir Khān. It means that, for part of 420/1029, Qadir Khān was the immediate owner of Uzgend and then passed it to his vassal Kuch Tegīn. In the event that Sulaimān and Kuch Tegīn were different people it would also mean that Qadir Khān took Uzgend from Sulaimān and after some time handed it over to Kuch Tegīn. But fulūs of AH 421(?) and 422(?) Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 253/737) cite, on the reverse, Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula (marginal legend) and his suzerain Malik al-Mashriq (field). If the dates really are 421 and 422 these fulūs could suggest that the title 'Aḥud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn belonged to Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula, because dirhems of AH 420-423 Uzgend cite 'Aḥud al-Daula Kuch Tegīn, while fulūs of AH 421-422 Uzgend cite Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula. Fulūs of AH 423 Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 254/751) cite Amīr al-Ajall Yūsuf b. Hārūn (reverse marginal legend) and his vassal 'Aḥud al-Daula Kuch(?) Tegīn (reverse field). On the obverse can be found the title, Khān.

In 424-425 dirhems of Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 256/773) cite Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Kuch Tegīn (reverse field) and his vassal Hāshim (obverse field). According to Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1963a, 43), Qadir Khān I Yūsuf died in the beginning of Muḥarram (the first month) of AH 424. That was why Kuch Tegīn did not cite him as suzerain on his coins of AH 424.

In 425 the situation changed. Dirhems of AH 425-430 Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 257/794-795) were minted in the name of Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Qadir Khān or Malik al-'Adil Qadir Khāqān, i.e. Qadir Khān II. Fulūs of AH 425-426 Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 257/796, 258/807) cite Amīr al-Ajall Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula (reverse marginal legend) Malik al-Muzaffār (reverse field) Qadir Khān (obverse field). These coins show that Qadir Khān II was Sulaimān b. Hārūn (the brother of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf) who, after the death of Qadir Khān I, accepted his title. Some dirhems of AH 427-429 Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 259/820) apart from mentioning Qadir Khān II also cite his vassal, Hāshim.



There is a strange dirhem of AH 428 Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 259/830) citing Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ṭonghā Khān. Provided this coin was not struck from mismatched dies (the die with date 428 being obsolete), this coin shows that in 428 Ṭonghā Khān managed to capture Uzgend but in the same year was driven out of Uzgend by Qadir Khān II, who continued to mint there in AH 428, 429, 430.

It seems that Qadir Khān II died in AH 430. Anyway, after AH 430 he disappears from the coins.

In 430-433 there was already a new ruler in Uzgend (Kochnev 1995, 259/830): Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ṭonghā Khān. According to Ibn al-Athīr this Ṭonghā Khān III was the uncle of the ruler of Kashghār, Arslān Khān Sulaimān (son of Qadir Khān I Yūsuf), and hence the brother of Qadir Khān I and Qadir Khān II. Under the year AH 435 Ibn al-Athīr (Materialy 1973, 60) mentions Ṭonghā Khān (III) as an owner of the "whole of Farghāna". He writes that, in 435, Sharaf al-Daula (i.e. Arslān Khān Sulaimān) gave to his uncle Ṭoghā (Ṭonghā) Khān the "whole of Farghāna" and to his brother Bughrā Khān (Muḥammad) Ṭarāz and Ispījāb. In fact he did not give anybody anything. He was forced to sanction the dismemberment of his father's vast state into three independent khanates: Ṭonghā Khān's (the whole of Farghāna), Bughrā Khān's (Shāsh-Ispījāb-Ṭarāz) and his own (Kāshghar-Yarkend).

But Arslān Khān could not reconcile himself to the disintegration of his father's vast state. Circa 440 he attacked Ṭonghā Khān and conquered almost all of Farghāna. In all the towns of Farghāna coins struck after 440 cite Arslān Khān as suzerain or immediate owner. The title, Ṭonghā Khān, disappears from the coins. Only in Akhsīket in 440-449/1048-58 were some coins struck in the name of a certain Jalāl al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn, citing Boghrā Khān as suzerain (Kochnev 1997, 278/1196). It appears that, having retained Akhsīket, Ṭonghā Khān changed his khanian title to the humbler title of tegīn (prince) and recognized Boghrā Khān as suzerain, seeking protection against Arslān Khān.

In AH 440, 441, 442, 444, 445 (Kochnev 1997, 278/1198, 1199, 1202) coins of Uzgend cite Arslān Qarākhāqān (reverse field) and his vassal 'Aḡud- or Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām.

Circa 447 Arslān Khān attacked Boghrā Khān but lost the war. Boghrā Khān defeated and took him prisoner. Boghrā Khān became the Head of the Eastern Qarākhānids. But 15 months later, in AH 449, he was poisoned by one of his wives (she ordered the imprisoned Arslān Khān to be strangled, too). She put on the throne her juvenile son Ibrahīm. Internecine wars broke out in the Eastern Qarākhānid khaqanate. Ibrahīm was killed by the ruler of Barskhān, Ināl Tegīn. The Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm b. Naṣr used this internecine war, attacked the Eastern Qarākhānids and reconquered all the lands lost by the Western Qarākhānids in AH 416-418 to Qadir Khān Yūsuf, including Balāsāghūn (Bartold 1963a, 44; Fedorov 1980, 43-44).

The coins reflect those events. In 448 (Kochnev 1997, 282/1259, 1260) dirhems of Uzgend cite Mushayyad al-Daula Malik al-Islām Zain al-Dīn Boghrā Qarākhāqān. In 449 dirhems of Uzgend (Kochnev 1997, 282/1254) cite Malik al-Islām Boghrā Qarākhāqān and his vassal Jalāl al-Daula (i.e., most probably, Jalāl al-Daula Ṭonghā Tegīn of AH 440-449 Akhsīket).

In AH 452, 454(?), 458-460 in Uzgend (Kochnev 1997, 250/894, 251/900, 908, 253/930) dirhems cite Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm and his son and vassal Dā'ūd Kuch Tegīn.

Before his death, the invalid, Ibrahīm, abdicated in favour of his son, Shams al-Mulk Naṣr. Another of his sons, Shu'aith, rebelled. Internecine war broke out between the brothers in 460/1068. Shams al-Mulk Naṣr defeated Shu'aith. But the Eastern Qarākhānids, took advantage of this internecine war among the Western Qarākhānids to attack them and managed to reconquer almost all the lands lost to Ṭabghāch Khān Ibrahīm. Only

Khojende, which became a frontier town, was left with Shams al-Mulk (Fedorov, 1983, 122).

Shams al-Mulk died in Dhū-l-Qa'da 472/13.4.12.5 1080 (Bartold 1963b, 630) and was succeeded by his brother, Khiḍr. For a long time his coins were unknown. The first coin of Khiḍr Khān, minted in Uzgend in AH 473, was discovered by me in 1970. Thanks to this coin I was able to establish the unknown fact that, having, c. AH 460, lost to the Eastern Qarākhānids all the lands east of Khojende, the Western Qarākhānids launched a new war and recovered at least all of Farghāna including Uzgend. I supposed that Farghāna was reconquered not by Khiḍr Khān but by Shams al-Mulk, who made use of the internecine war among the Eastern Qarākhānids in AH 467 (Fedorov 1978, 173-178). My supposition was proved correct by one coin, found 20 years later: it was minted in Uzgend in 467 by Shams al-Mulk (Kochnev 1997, 256/962).

In AH 467 (Kochnev 1997, 255/962) dirhems of Uzgend cite Malik al-'Adil Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Nāṣr (reverse) Malik Shams al-Mulk (obverse). In AH 473 (Fedorov 1978, 176) dirhems of Uzgend cite Burhān al-Daula Ṭabghāch Khān Khiḍr.

There then followed a gap in the mintage of Uzgend, but judging by the fact that the Head of the Western Qarākhānids, Muḥammad b. Sulaimān (495-524/1102-1130), minted coins at the mint with the mintname Farghāna (Kochnev 1997, 258/987), Uzgend belonged to him. As it happened, he also minted coins in Marghīnān (Kochnev 1997, 258/991). It is interesting that both these mints were situated in Southern Farghāna. It is possible that, at this time, Northern Farghāna was the appanage of the Qarākhānid, Ḥasan b. 'Alī. In the Gurmiron hoard, together with coins of the Qarākhānid ruler Djabra'il, killed in AH 495 (Pritsak 1953, 49) there were coins minted in Kāsān by the Qarākhānid ruler Ḥasan (Kochnev 1997, 288/1345, 1347). Kochnev (1997, 288) attributed the coins citing Ḥasan to the Eastern Qarākhānid, Ḥasan, the ruler of Kāshghar (in AH 467-496). But I am sure these coins were minted by the Western Qarākhānid Ḥasan b. 'Alī, whom Sultan Sanjar enthroned in Samarqand, after he had dethroned Muḥammad b. Sulaimān in AH 524. Pritsak (1953, 50-51) identified this Ḥasan b. 'Alī with Saghun Bek who mutinied against Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, enthroned by Sultan Sanjar in Samarqand in AH 495. It appears that the coins from the Gurmiron hoard were minted in Kāsān by Ḥasan b. 'Alī when he was fighting against Muḥammad b. Sulaimān for the throne of the supreme ruler between AH 496-503. Having defeated Ḥasan in 503/1109, Sanjar deported him to Merv (Bartold 1963, 384; Pritsak 1953, 50-51).

I attribute to the coinage of Uzgend copper, silverwashed, fiduciary dirhems minted c. 522-526/1128-32. A hoard of such coins was found in Fergana in Osh (Kirghiz Republic). None of the coins had a legible date, and only one retained part of the mintname "...sīket". But they can be dated more or less accurately. 232 coins cite Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān and his co-ruler and son, Qadir Khān Aḡmad. They could only have been minted between 522-524. When a rebellion broke out against Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, he asked the Saljūqid Sultan Sanjar for help. Sanjar came with 70,000 warriors, occupied Bukhārā and started to mint coins there in his own name (Khodzhanizyazov 1979, 114/415; Bartold 1963, 383-384). Meanwhile Qadir Khān Aḡmad put down the rebellion and became co-ruler with his father. Now there was no need for Sanjar's help but he stayed in Bukhārā nonetheless. So Arslān Khān and Qadir Khān struck coins in Samarqand while Sanjar did likewise in Bukhārā. Then Sanjar claimed that he had caught assassins sent by Arslān Khān to kill him. He besieged Samarqand and took it after several months of siege in Rabī' I 524. Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, by now an invalid, was taken prisoner and deported to Balkh.



115 coins of the Osh hoard were struck in the name of Qadir Khan Aḥmad alone, no later than the middle of AH 526, when Sanjar invaded Mawarānnaḥr again to quell the rebellion of Qadir Khan (Bartold 1963, 383-384). Since Aḥmad's rebellion was quelled in the second half of AH 526 (and we know nothing about him after that), these 115 coins could not have been minted after AH 526. So the hoard will have been hidden about that time. The coins of the hoard should therefore be dated to circa AH 522-526.

399 coins of the Osh hoard were struck in the name of Ḥasan Qarākhān citing Sanjar b. Malikshāh as suzerain. One coin retained part of the mintname: "...sīket". It shows that Akhsīket was an appanage of Qarākhān Ḥasan, the vassal of Sanjar. Having dethroned Arslān Khān in 524/1129-30, Sanjar put on the throne of Samarqand this same Ḥasan b. 'Alī, also known in the chronicles as Ḥasan Tegīn (Bartold 1963, 384).

Thus Northern Farghāna with its capital Akhsīket was an appanage of Ḥasan b. 'Alī's family and he himself was in Samarqand. So the appanage of Qadir Khān Aḥmad, who rebelled against Ḥasan b. 'Alī, occupying the throne of his father in Samarqand, will have been in Southern Farghāna. And the capital of Southern Farghāna at that time was Uzgend. Moreover, as will be recalled, Uzgend belonged earlier to Arslān Khān Muḥammad b. Sulaimān, the father of Qadir Khān Aḥmad.

The Osh hoard breaks down into two different groups clearly demonstrating two different policies. The coins of the first group were minted by Qarākhān Ḥasan and his son, Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain. The main bulk of those coins (435 of 560 or 87%) cite Sultan Sanjar as suzerain. The coins of the second group never cite Sanjar. They were minted by Qadir Khān Aḥmad. The mintname has not survived on the coins of Ḥusain b. Ḥasan but his appanage at the time of Aḥmad's rebellion must have been in Northern Farghāna, just like the appanage of his father. The second town of Northern Farghāna which had a mint was Kāsān. So the appanage of Ḥusain b. Ḥasan was probably Kāsān.

It is not out of the question that, after the rebellion of Qadir Khān Aḥmad was quelled by Sanjar, Uzgend was granted in appanage to Ḥusain b. Ḥasan. One inscription of the Northern mausoleum in Uzgend relates that construction of the mausoleum started on 4 Rabī' II 547/27.07 1152. Another inscription names the ruler for whom it was built as Khāqān al-'Ādil al-A'zam Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Alp Qutluḡ Tūnghā Bilgā Turk Toḡhrul Qarākhāqān al-Ḥusain b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (Yakubovsky 1947, 29). Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1898, 132) called him "Sāhib (ruler) of Farghāna Ḥusain Toḡhrul Khān ibn al-Ḥasan Qarākhān" and wrote that he died in Rajab 551 i.e. between 20.08-19.09 1156. So at least starting with AH 547 (and, I believe, considerably earlier) and till AH 551 Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain b. Ḥasan was ruler of Uzgend (as the place is called on coins from at least the second half of the 12th century AD) and Farghāna.

For a long time his coins were not known. In the Catalogue of Muslim coins in the Hermitage Museum Markov (1896, 281/546-554) placed coins minted by an anonymous Toḡhrul Khan among the coins of Toḡhrul Khan Naṣr son of Toḡhrul Khan Ḥusain. Markov wrote that the mintnames had not survived on those coins. But a hundred years later Kochnev (1997, 265/1102, 1103) claimed that he read on some of those coins the mintname Uzgend and on others the name al-Ḥus(ain). He attributed these coins to the Uzgend mintage of Toḡhrul Khan Ḥusain b. Ḥasan. If so, and if Kochnev was not mistaken, these coins could have been struck no later than Rajab (seventh month) of AH 551/09.1156.

In the second half of the 12th century AD there began the process of disintegration of the Western Qarākhānid khaqanate into several mutually independent principalities. The ruler of Samarqand, who was the nominal Head of the Western Qarākhānids, was not cited as suzerain on the coins of those principalities. The Khytai, whose vassals the Qarākhānids were

since the battle of Qatwān in 1141, encouraged this process. They would rather have several weak vassals ruling small principalities, than one strong vassal ruling a centralised Western Qarākhānid khaqanate. The principality of Farghāna with its capital in Uzgend was the first to become independent from Samarqand. It seems that Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain b. Ḥasan was the first who did not cite the nominal Head of the Western Qarākhānids on his coins minted not later than 551/1156 in Uzgend (as the town was named on coins of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th century AD). But then the Farghāna principality itself disintegrated into three smaller principalities with their capitals in Kāsān, Uzgend and Marghīnān.

Interesting data on the history of the Uzgend principality is provided by the coins of Samarqand. Thus between 551-556/1156-6 two brothers and a son of Ḥusain b. Ḥasan had succeeded each another on the throne of Samarqand. The ruler of Samarqand, Ibrahīm, son of Arslān Khān Muḥammad, was killed by Qarluḡ nomads who constituted part of the Qarākhānid armies, just as the Ghuzz constituted part of the Saljuqid armies. According to Ibn al-Athīr this happened in Dhū-l-Hijja 550. According to Jamāl Qarshī it happened in AH 551 (Bartold 1963, 396-397). The ruler of Uzgend, Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain, who outlived Ibrahīm b. Muḥammad by about half a year, took advantage of this situation and sent his son Maḥmūd (with a strong army) to Samarqand. In AH 552 and 553 (Kochnev 1997, 262/ 1047; Tübingen University Collection, 94311) coins of Samarqand cite Qadir Toḡhrul Khān Maḥmūd b. Ḥusain. In that same year, 553, there was a new ruler in Samarqand: Jaghry Khān 'Alī b. Ḥasan, the brother of Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain (Bartold 1963, 397). The only extant coin of Jaghry Khān minted in Samarqand has no date (Kochnev 1997, 262/1046).

In AH 556 Qilych Ṭafghāch Khān Mas'ūd b. Ḥasan, the brother of Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain and Jaghry Khān 'Alī, came to power in Samarqand (Davidovich 1985, 97).

After AH 551 there is a gap in the coinage of Uzgend. Davidovich (1957, 118) considered that Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain was succeeded in Uzgend by his son Maḥmūd. But as coins show, Maḥmūd b. Ḥusain possessed Samarqand in AH 552 and 553.

In 559-568, 570-574/1163-79 coins of Uzgend cite Arslān Khān (Khāqān) Ibrahīm, the son of Toḡhrul Khān Ḥusain b. Ḥasan. Arslān Khān Ibrahīm minted coins in Uzgend as an independent ruler.

In 574 Arslān Khān Ibrahīm captured Samarqand. Kochnev (1984, 374; 1993, 432-433) mentioned a dirhem minted in Samarqand by Qutluḡ Bilgā Khān 'Abd al-Khāliq under caliph al-Mustaḍī (AH 566-575). In 1984 he deemed that 'Abd al-Khāliq ruled Samarqand for a short time in AH 566. In 1993 he wrote that 'Abd al-Khāliq b. Ḥusain (the brother of Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain) "probably possessed Pārāb" and that, after the death of the ruler of Samarqand, in 574/1178-79, both brothers contended for Samarqand. I cannot but agree with this. The coin in question shows that 'Abd al-Khāliq captured Samarqand but that, in the same year AH 574, he was driven out of it by Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain.

Davidovich (1957, 118) considered that Ibrahīm was succeeded in Uzgend by his nephew, Muḥammad b. Naṣr b. Ḥusain. On the coins of this ruler known at that time, the mintname had not survived. The dates were read by Davidovich as 574 and 578. But the present writer (Fedorov 1982, 121-122) and Kochnev (1983, 91-92) independently from each other established that Davidovich was mistaken. She did not pay attention to the fact that the caliph cited on those coins was al-Nāṣir (AH 575-622). So the date which Davidovich read as 574 was in fact 594 and in AH 594 in Uzgend there was another ruler. Both Kochnev and I also considered that the date which Davidovich read as 578 was in fact 598. سبعين -70 and تسعين 90 differ only in the diacritical marks, which were usually omitted on the coins, and, as a result, are easy to mistake for one another.



Anyway in (57)4/1178-79 there was a new ruler in Uzjend (Kochnev 1997, 268/1106). He minted as an independent ruler and, on his coins, never cites Ibrahim b. Husain, who, having ascended the throne in Samarqand, became the nominal Head of the Western Qarākhānids. This new ruler of Uzjend was Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qadir Khān. He minted copper, silverwashed, fiduciary dirhems in AH 574, 576?, 579, 582, 584, 587, 594, 596, 597, 599?, 601, 602, 603, 606, 607 and gold dinars in 602 (Kochnev 1997, 268-270/1106-1120). A dirhem of AH 594 cites him as Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qadir Khāqān b. Sulṭān. The only Qarākhānid with the title of sultan at that time was Ibrahim b. Husain, which means that Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qadir Khān was a son of Ibrahim b. Husain. A dirhem of AH 601 (Markov 1896, 975/606b) cites him as Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ulugh Sulṭān. It is noteworthy that during the reign of Ibrahim b. Husain, who accepted the title of sultan in AH 584, none of his own family dared to accept the title of sultan. But after his death three sultans appeared: in Uzjend, Samarqand and Tirmidh, and each of them stressed that he was "son of the sultan" or "son of the sultan of sultans". So the dirhem of AH 601 Uzjend shows that Ibrahim b. Husain died no later than AH 601.

Davidovich (1961, 194, 195; 1979, 197) established that, in the second half of the 12th century AD, there were several monetary reforms in Uzjend. When the amount of fiduciary, copper, silverwashed dirhems surpassed the needs of trade for circulating coins, inflation started. The government tried to stem this by issuing new, fiduciary dirhems, each time increasing their weight and size. Having started in 569/1173-74 at about 3.2 g, the copper, silverwashed dirhems of Uzjend ended in 609/1012-13 at 12.9 g. Davidovich (1961, 195) singled out 5 metrological groups in the mintage of Qadir Khān: 1 – heavier than 3 g, average diameter 27-28 mm – AH 579; 2 – about 4 g, average diameter 31-32 mm – before AH 594 and in AH 596; 3 – about 6 g, average diameter 35-36 mm – AH 582-584, 594, (606?), 4 – heavier than 8.5 g, average diameter 40-41 mm – AH 601, 603, (606?); 5 – heavier than 11.6 g, average diameter 42-43 mm – AH (606?), 607. This metrology helps to date Qarākhānid coins of that time which have no legible date. According to Davidovich, coins of types 2 and 3 circulated in AH 582-586, types 3 and 4 in AH 601-606, and types 4 and 5 in AH 606-609. During each of those periods 2 types, or denominations, circulated with a ratio of 1:1.5. Each time monetary reform was carried out as a result of inflation, the old, lighter denomination was prohibited, while the old, heavier denomination began to play the role of the lighter denomination for the new coins which were half as heavy again.

Opinions differ about the time when the reign of Qadir Khān came to an end. The latest coins of Uzjend citing Qadir Khān were minted in 607 (Kochnev 1997, 270/1117-1120). It is interesting that two coins (Nr. 1119-1120) cite the Khwārizmshāh, Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tekesh as suzerain of Qadir Khān. Two other coins (Nr. 1117-1118), minted by Qadir Khān as an independent ruler, cite him as Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ulugh Sulṭān Qadir Khān. But when he became the vassal of the Khwārizmshāh, he relinquished the title, Ulugh Sulṭān, and was cited as Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qadir Khāqān.

After the disastrous battle of Qatwān in 1141 the Qarākhānids became the vassals of the Khytai Gūr Khāns. The ruler of Samarqand, 'Uthmān son of Ibrahim b. Husain was also a vassal of the Gūr Khān. 'Uthmān remained a vassal of the Gūr Khān until AH 606. He wooed the daughter of the Gūr Khān and asked for her in marriage but was rejected. Offended, 'Uthmān changed his allegiance and became a vassal of the Khwārizmshāh. Coins of AH 606 Samarqand cite Sulṭān al-A'zam 'Uthmān and his suzerain, Sulṭān al-Mu'azzam Muḥammad (Kochnev 1997, 267/1099). The Gūr Khān sent 30000 warriors and captured Samarqand. He treated 'Uthmān leniently but made him pay a contribution. The Gūr Khān's governor was left in Samarqand and

the Khytai went back. Then Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh advanced with an army to Samarqand. 'Uthmān and his troops met him and joined the Khwārizm army. In Rabī' I 607 (August-September 1210) the armies of Khwārizm and Samarqand fought and defeated the Khytai in the province of Ṭarāz (Bartold 1963, 420). That was why Qadir Khān in Uzjend recognised the Khwārizmshāh as suzerain.

In 608, coins of Uzjend cite Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Kuch Arslān Khāqān. Davidovich (1957, 105-107) wrote that he was the same Qadir Khān, who accepted a new "anonymous"(!?) title, "more modest" than his previous title, Ulugh Sulṭān, since he decided "to demonstrate his submissiveness to Muḥammad", but being afraid of the Khytai he did not cite Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh as suzerain on his coins. "If the title reflected the relative political status of its bearer and could be changed", she added, "the *laqab* was an individual (underlined by me – M. F.) honorary sobriquet and usually did not depend on a change of the political status of its bearer. As an immediate example one may refer to the same Ibrahim b. Husain, who was the ruler of Uzjend, then of Samarqand, who changed his titulage but always remained 'Nuṣrat al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn'. That is why, while identifying coins, the *laqab* is a more valid argument" (underlined by me – M. F.). So in her opinion the fact that Qadir Khān and Kuch Arslān Khāqān had the *laqab* Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn proved that Qadir Khān and Kuch Arslān Khāqān was the same person. She seems to have considered "Qadir" to be the given name, and not part of the title, since she called the title Kuch Arslān Khāqān "anonymous".

Coins of AH 609 Uzjend cite Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Kuch Arslān Khāqān Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad and his suzerain, Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Tekesh (Khwārizmshāh). It is very interesting that Davidovich (1957, 104, 107) attributed these coins to another ruler, the successor of Qadir Khān in Uzjend, on the grounds that this Kuch Arslān Khāqān had another *laqab*, Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn. She wrote: "Muḥammad (Khwārizmshāh – M. F.) managed to deprive Qadir of Uzjend and handed it over to another person" i.e. to Mu'izz al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Kuch Arslān Khāqān Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad.

Fortunately coins were subsequently found which disproved this erroneous interpretation by Davidovich of the numismatic and written sources. A coin of AH 609 Uzjend (Kochnev 1997, 270/1119-1120) was found which cite Jalāl (sic!) al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Kuch Arslān Khāqān Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad and his suzerain, Muḥammad b. Tekesh. Also a coin of AH 407 Uzjend (Kochnev 1997, 270/1121) was found which cites Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qadir Khān and his suzerain, Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Tekesh. So Qadir Khān "demonstrated his submissiveness to Muḥammad" not by accepting "the more modest" title of Kuch Arslān Khāqān, as Davidovich asserted, but in the normal way, i.e. by citing Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh as suzerain on his coins.

And so the coins show that the reign of Qadir Khān in Uzjend came to an end in 607/1210-11. I believe that this event was connected with other events, than those mentioned by Davidovich. In AH 607 Qushluk Khān, chief of the Nāimān nomads, who, with his tribe, fled to the west to escape from Chīngiz Khān, rebelled against the Khytai Gūr Khān, who had granted him asylum. Qushluk Khān sacked Uzjend and captured the treasury of the Gūr Khān, which the latter had left under the protection of the ruler of Uzjend. It appears that Qadir Khān tried to defend Uzjend and the Gūr Khān's treasury and payed for it with his life. The Gūr Khān managed to defeat Qushluk and regain his treasury, but Qadir Khān did not reign in Uzjend after 607. Jamāl Qarshī (Bartold 1898, 132) wrote about the "mashhad" (place of martyrdom) of the "next to last İlek" (i.e. Qarākhānid ruler) which was revered by the people of Farghāna in the 13<sup>th</sup> century AD. It looks as if this "next to last İlek" was the next to last ruler of Uzjend.



In this way began in AH 608 in Uzgend the reign of Kuch Arslān Khāqān Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad. He was most probably the son of Qadir Khān and, if so, the latter's Muslim name was Aḥmad.

In 609/1212-13 the ruler of Samarqand, 'Uthmān b. Ibrahīm, having had his fill of the Khwārizmshāh and the Khwārizmians, rebelled. The Khwārizmshāh crushed the rebellion and executed 'Uthmān. Then he sent envoys to "the amīrs of Farghāna and Turkistān" demanding obedience from them (Bartold 1963, 430). In 609 Kūch Arslān Khān Maḥmūd, who minted in 608 in Uzgend as an independent ruler, started to cite the Khwārizmshāh as his suzerain. But already in that year, 609, coins were minted in Uzgend in the name of Muḥammad Khwārizmshāh only (Osh History Museum, KP 3598, Nr. 123, 123/1,2). Thus came to an end the dynasty of the Qarākhānids who ruled Uzgend between 381-609/991-1213.

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**Table 1. Uzgend. D – Dirhem. F – fals. W – Western Qarākhānid. E – Eastern Qarākhānid.**

Year		Suzerain	Vassal	Subvassal
389	F	W. Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Arslān İlek Naşr b. 'Alī	
389	F	The same	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek al-Jalil Naşr b. 'Alī	
390,2	F	W. Naşr b. 'Alī or İlek Naşr b. 'Alī		
393-402	D	W. Nāşir al-Haqq Khān (Aḥmad b. 'Alī)	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl Naşr (or İlek Naşr)	
396	F	W. Mu'ayyid al-'Adl İlek Naşr b. 'Alī		
399,400	F	W. Naşr b. 'Alī		
400	F	W. Nāşir al-Haqq (or al-Haqq Khān)	W. Naşr b. 'Alī	
401	F	W. Naşr b. 'Alī Pādshāh		
402,404	D	W. Khāqān Quṭb al-Daula Aḥmad b. 'Alī		
405	D	W. Khāqān Quṭb al-Daula wa Naşr al-Milla Qarākhāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī		
405	F	W. Khāqān Aḥmad b. 'Alī	W. Amīr Atimtegin	
407(417?)	D	E. Nāşir al-Haqq wa'l Dīn Malik al-Mashriq wa'l Şīn Qadir Khān		
407	D	W. Arslān Khān (Manşūr b. 'Alī)		
407,8	D	The same	W. İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	
408	D	The same	W. İlek Muḥammad	
409,10	D	The same	W. İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	W. Aḥmad b. Manşūr
411	F	The same	W. al-Manşūr İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī	
411	F	The same	W. İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī	W. 'Ain al-Daula
413	D	The same	W. al-Manşūr İlek (Muḥammad b. 'Alī)	The same



413	F	The same	W. Amīr Muḥammad b. 'Alī	The same
414	F	W. İlek Muḥammad b. 'Alī	W. 'Ain al-Daula	
416	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān (Yūsuf)	W?E? Kuchtegīn Saif al-Daula?	Saif al-Daula?
416	D	The same	E. Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula	
416?	F	Qadir Khān	W?E? 'Adud al-Daula Kuchtegīn	
417?	F	Malik(?) al-Mashriq(?) Qadir(?) Khān(?)	Sulaimān b.(?) Shihāb(?) al-Daula(?)	
418	D	E. Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān <i>Iusuf</i>	W?E? Kuchtegīn	
419	F	E. Khān Malik al-Mashriq Yūsuf b. Hārūn	E. Sulaimān	
419	F	E. Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān	W?E? 'Adud al-Daula	
419	F	E. Qadir Khān		
420	F	E. Malik al-Mashriq		
420-423	D	E. Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Malik al-Mashriq Qadir Khān	W?E? 'Adud al-Daula Kuchtegīn	
421	E	E. Malik al-Mashriq	E. Amīr Sulaimān b. Hārūn	
421???	E	The same	E. Amīr Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula	
422?	F	E. Qadir Khāqān		
423	F	E. Khān Yūsuf b. Hārūn	W?E? 'Adud al-Daula Kuch(?)tegīn	
424,5	D	W?E? Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Kuchtegīn	Hāshim	
425-430	D	E. Qadir Khān or Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq Qadir Khān		
427-429	D	E. Malik al-'Adil Qadir Khān	Hāshim	
425,6	F	E. Qadir Khāqān Sulaimān b. Shihāb al-Daula		
428,30-33	D	E. Malik al-Mu'ayyad Ṭonghā Khān		
440,1	D	E. Arslān Qarākhāqān (Sulaimān b. Yūsuf)	'Adud al-Daula	Bahrām
441,2,4,5	D	The same	Fakhr al-Daula Bahrām	
448	D	E. Zain al-Dīn Mushaiyad al-Daula Boghrā Qarākhāqān(Muḥammad b. Yūsuf)		
449	D	E. Malik al-Islām Boghrā Qarākhāqān	Jalāl al-Daula	
452	D	W. Mu'ayīd al-'Adl Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī)	W. Kuchtegīn ... (Dā'ūd b. Ibrahīm)	
454?	D	W. Malik ... Mu'ayīd al-'Adl 'Imād al-Daula Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm (b. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī)		
458-460	D	Mu'ayīd al-Adl Ṭafghāch Khān Ibrahīm	Kuchtegīn Dā'ūd (b. Ibrahīm) or Kuchtegīn	

Table 2. *Uzgend / Uzjend. Dn – dinār. D – dirhem. F – fals. All Qarākhānid rulers are Western Qarākhānids.*

Year		Suzerain	Vassal
467	D	Nāṣir al-Ḥaqq wa'l Dīn Shams al-Mulk Naşr (b. Ibrahīm b. İlek Naşr b. 'Alī)	
473	D	Burhān al-Daula Ṭafghāch Khān Khidr b. Ibrahīm (b. Naşr)	
547-551?	D	Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ṭoghrol Khān Ḥusain (b. Ḥasan)	
559-568, 570-574	D	Nuşrat al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Arslān Khān Ibrahīm (b. Ḥusain)	
572,3	D	Nuşrat al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Arslān Khān (Ibrahīm b. Ḥusain)	
574, 6? 594,6,7	D	Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qadir Khāqān (Aḥmad b. Ibrahīm)	
579, 582,4,7	D	The same	
<b>594</b>	D	Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn <b>Qadir Khāqān b. Sulṭān</b>	
59(7???)	D	Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qadir Khāqān	
<b>601-3, 606</b>	D	Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ulugh <b>Sulṭān</b> Qadir Khāqān	
(60)2	Dn	Ulugh Sulṭān Qadir Khāqān	
606,7	D	Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Ulugh Sulṭān Qadir Khān	
607	D	Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Tekesh (Khawārizmshāh)	Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Qadir Khāqān
608	D	Jalāl al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Kuch Arslān Khāqān	
609	D	'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Tekesh (Khawārizmshāh)	<b>Jalāl</b> al-Dunyā wa'l-Dīn Kuch Arslān Khāqān Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad
609	D	'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Tekesh (Khawārizmshāh)	<b>Mu'izz</b> al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Kuch Arslān Khāqān Maḥmūd b. Aḥmad
609	D	'Alā' al-Dunyā wa'l Dīn Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Sulṭān Tekesh (Khawārizmshāh)	



## New Types of Early Medieval Silver Portrait Coins from Northern Pakistan

by Wilfried Pieper

A number of different types of small silver coins weighing less than 1g are quite characteristic among the coinages of post-Gupta, early medieval India. Mitchiner lists a number of different types in his catalogues dating them from the late 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century AD<sup>1</sup>. Among them are such well known types as the 0.7-0.8 g Punjab '3-dots design' pieces dated by Mitchiner to the late 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. These pieces have a blundered portrait, derived from the Gupta bust design, on the obverse and a reverse design composed of three prominent thick dots together with some lines and Brahmi letters either side of the dots that sometimes appear as 'Ga-pta' or 'Gu-pta' (MACW 4905ff). Well known are also the c.0.5g elephant coins from Bundelkhand with Brahmi legend 'Sri Rana Hastya' on the reverse (MACW 4910) and a series of c.0.5g portrait types with different Brahmi legends on the reverse, these last ones tentatively attributed to the late 6<sup>th</sup> century Kalachuris (MNI 287-298). Another well-known series of c.0.5g coins with a crude portrait on the obverse and the Brahmi reverse legend 'Sri Rana Vighraha' has been listed by Mitchiner as 7<sup>th</sup> century issues of the Gurjuras of Broach (MNI 248).

In addition to these main types, an important, new, bilingually inscribed series, which has been attributed to the Gharlibids of Multan, surfaced some years ago in the upper Sindh region. This Multan coin series has been studied by Joe Cribb and the results of his study have been mentioned in an article of the ONS-Newsletter by Robert Tye who gives a useful survey of the different series of the small silver types and a revised view of the date of their issue<sup>2</sup>. According to Tye all these small silver types might have been introduced in the mid 8<sup>th</sup> century AD. The small c.0.5g Multan silver coins were issued in the name of a number of different Gharlibid rulers and they show the design of the three thick dots together with an Arabic inscription on one side and a Nagari legend on the other side. A large hoard of these Hindu-Moslem transition coins has been studied by Joe Cribb at the British Museum. From Cribb's still unpublished study it appears that the Gharlibid series was introduced during the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD, i.e. before the early Arab small silver coinage of Sind (MNI 219ff) which was first issued in the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD. As the '3-dots' design of these Gharlibid coins appears iconographically closely related to the '3-dots' design of the above-mentioned Punjab coins, Joe Cribb concludes that the Punjab '3-dots' coinage had probably provided the prototype for the Gharlibid coins. This would possibly revise the chronology of the Punjab '3-dots' coins into the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD.

The coins published here belong to two new series of early medieval small silver coins with a Northern Pakistan provenance. The first series is anepigraphic and has a portrait on the obverse and a 'fire-altar with attendants' design on the reverse. The second series has a portrait on the obverse and a Brahmi legend around a trident on the reverse. The portrait/altar series is completely unknown and only one specimen of the portrait/ trident series, reportedly from Swat, had previously been published, by Robert Tye<sup>3</sup>. The description of this coin had been provided by Robert Senior who had tried a tentative reading as 'Raja Sri Thajighra'. Comparing the drawing of the coin in Robert Tye's article with the new specimens it appears that it belongs to our type 6 and that it has the same inscription. Thanks to Professor Harry Falk this inscription can now be read as 'Shri Yashaaditya'. Apart from Robert Tye's publication, Michael Mitchiner published four apparently related silver coins from Swat which also show a Brahmi legend around a trident<sup>4</sup>. The other side of these very small coins, weighing only between 0.3 to 0.4g, is however described as being blank. The Brahmi legend on these four Swat specimens was identified by Mitchiner as 'Sri Rovina' with the additional Brahmi letters 'Gu-Ta' either side of the trident.

The 15 coins I am publishing here were selected from a group of 42 mostly well-preserved pieces. Their weights range

from 0.52g to 0.96g with an average weight of 0.69g. Of these 42 pieces 3 are of the anepigraphic portrait/altar type and the other 39 pieces are of the inscribed portrait/trident type. All busts on the coins are to the right with the exception of only one specimen which shows a left-oriented bust. Of the 39 'portrait/trident coins' 34 show the same portrait: that of a clean-shaven man with simplified facial features, wearing large earrings and a crown with a variable number of dots inside the crown. On most specimens there are three dots inside the crown, but crowns with four, five or six dots are also observed. On some of the 'dotted crown' specimens there is a swastika in front of the portrait (types 5 and 8).

Apart from the 'dotted crown' type the following headdresses can be described: one piece shows a crescent with a thick dot inside on top of the crown (type 4); two specimens have a kind of turreted crown with thin contours leaving the design elements of the crown void on one piece (type 15), whereas they are filled on the second specimen (type 14); still another has a crown like a round cap with ties hanging down from the back (type 12) and another, also unique, specimen depicts a crescent-topped crown composed of two globular elements, creating the impression of a hair style with a thick hairknot (type 13). Most of the portraits with 'dotted crowns' are quite sketchy and in contrast to them the other portrait types are more lifelike and fleshy. To me these faces with the large ears decorated with large earrings have quite a Hun-like appearance with headdresses obviously derived from Sasanian coin types.

Sasanian influence is of course also reflected in the use of the fire-altar motif on the specimens of the portrait/altar series. A peculiarity of the fire-altar scene on these pieces is the fact that the attendants are depicted in a seated position. Each of the three specimens of the altar series shows a different portrait type: on one specimen (type 3) there is a swastika in front of the portrait and the ruler wears a feather-like crown; on another specimen the crown is similar but the single elements that arise from the base of the crown are of a more rectangular form and more geometrically arranged (type 2). And on the third specimen of the 'altar series' (type 1) the crown is topped with a crescent with a thick dot inside as on the unique type 4 specimen of the 'trident series'.

When it comes to a chronological attribution of these coins it would be most desirable if their legend 'Shri Yashaaditya' could tell us something. The honorific title 'Shri' as part of a Brahmi legend seems to have been introduced into Indian coinages during the Gupta period with its first use on coins of the mid 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. 'Yashaaditya' may be taken as a personal name or as an epithet. According to Professor Harry Falk the Sanskrit word 'Yashaaditya' means 'sun of the glory'. Generally speaking, names ending in 'aditya' are known for a good number of Hindu kings of Gupta and post-Gupta times and there are also a number of Hun rulers with such names as Narendraditya, Prakasaditya and Udayaditya. Unfortunately however, Yashaaditya is completely unknown. It does not appear on any other coin nor in any genealogical list or any other text.

In this situation it may be helpful to analyse the iconographical details of the coins in question and to compare them with coin series that are already known.

I already mentioned that my first impression of the portraits was that they could represent the facial features of Hun rulers. The earrings they are wearing are very prominently depicted and very large. The crowns are simplified to an extent that makes an identification of possible prototypes difficult if not impossible. It is, however, clear that the inspiration for the depiction of these crowns reaches back to Sasanian models, this being a common practice for Hun coinages but not for the coins of Hindu rulers. The 'turreted crowns' of types 14 and 15 had been used by a number of Sasanian kings from the 4<sup>th</sup> to the early 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. The 'crescent with dot inside', as it appears on some types of the new series (types 1 and 4), is a well-known design element of most of the Sasanian crown types but of course also too unspecific to allow any chronological conclusions. It is uncertain whether the



different number of dots on the crowns of the 'dotted crown' types (types 5-10) has a special meaning or if these dots are mere decorative elements. They do however remind one of Hun coins of the Peroz imitative type where they are given special attention. So it is interesting to observe the three dots on top of the crown of the Hun drachms which have been catalogued by Mitchiner as late 5<sup>th</sup> /early to mid 6<sup>th</sup> century Afghan copies of Peroz' drachms (MACW 1465ff). Göbl places this same coin type to the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD with Kabul, Ghazni and Peshawar provenances (Göbl 289)<sup>5</sup>.

The swastika on some of our small silver pieces is a conspicuous design element (types 3, 5 and 8). We find a swastika on some coin series issued by Hun rulers: it appears in a modified form as a swastika-tamgha on a silver drachm of Khotalaka of NW-India, late 5<sup>th</sup>/ 6<sup>th</sup> century AD (MACW 1542). And it can be found on a series of Hun imitation coins copying the Sasanian silver drachms of Khushru I (Göbl 295). The swastika on these pieces is prominently placed on the right, reverse margin. Göbl mentions provenances south of the Hindukush for these Khushru imitation coins, fixing 556 AD as a terminus post quem.

The 'fire-altar with attendants' design, originally derived from Sasanian prototypes, is of course widely used and not at all unexpected for Hun issues. However, the fact that the attendants are seated on the new small silver coins of the altar type is something very unusual (types 1-3). It might be possible that this depiction had been inspired by the 'seated Ardochsho' design from 6<sup>th</sup> century NW-Indian copper coins issued by the Hun ruler Mihirakula and by some of his successors (MNI 4-14) who had obviously copied it from Kushan and Kidarite prototypes.

And then there is the trident, so prominently depicted on these new small silver coins. The first association it evokes is of course a chronological relationship to the Maitrakas of Vallabhi, ruling Saurashtra from about 470-770 AD. The way it is depicted on the new series - broad with curved prongs - appears, according to Mitchiner, on Maitraka specimens of the intermediate phase<sup>6</sup>. For the late issues of the Maitraka series the trident characteristically has a side-arm, which is not the case with the trident on the coins under discussion, nor has it the almost straight prongs which can be seen on the early Maitraka issues. Generally speaking it was a widely used practice for early Indian coinages until the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD to arrange Brahmi coin legends around a centrally placed device. This can, for example, be found on coins of the Maitrakas of Vallabhi, the Maukharis of Kanauj (here it is interesting to observe that Maukhari drachms had been copied by the Hun ruler Toramana II), the Kalachuris of Mahismati or the Vardhanas of Thanesar/Kanauj. In conclusion it could well be that the small portrait/trident types from Pakistan found the inspiration for their characteristically shaped trident design in Maitraka coins of the 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century AD. It's a well-known fact that the Huns copied and imitated many coin designs thereby frequently mixing different design elements. The trident was among the particularly favoured Hun coin designs. A trident is, for example, depicted on the scyphate gold coins of Göbl type 85, but also on a good number of silver and copper coins issued by various Hun rulers. Of special importance in this context may be the small copper type Göbl E1. It depicts a Sasanian-influenced portrait to right on the obverse and a trident on the reverse with the Brahmi legend SHAHI at its sides and it is possible that it has some relation to the new portrait/trident series. An even closer relationship to the new trident series is shown by another small copper coin of c.0.5g weight, listed by Göbl as E10. It shows a portrait to right, the headdress of which is crowned by a crescent and three dots. The Brahmi legend around the portrait has been read as SHRI MENDRATA. The reverse of this coin is described as 'Dreizacktamga', a tamgha in the form of a trident. Göbl tentatively dated this piece to the time of Toramana, but was unsure about this dating because of the isolated nature of that piece.

Each of the discussed iconographical features alone can certainly not provide sufficient evidence for a convincing

chronological placement of the new 'trident' and 'altar' coins. But if the iconographical evidence is taken together it seems reasonable to posit the first date of the issue of these coins as not before the late 6<sup>th</sup> century AD. I would propose to date these new 'trident' and 'altar' coins to a Northern Pakistan Hun principality of the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD. Until the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century AD the successors of Toramana II (530-560 AD) still ruled larger parts of Northern Pakistan. But even after the fragmentation of the Hun Empire, small Hun principalities continued to exist in that region in the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD and I think the issuers of the small silver coins under discussion were among them. In a message to SACG<sup>7</sup>, Robert Tye proposed a dating for these coins based on their metrology to the second part of the 8<sup>th</sup> century AD, immediately before the revised date of the Punjab '3 dots' coins. I think a dating to the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century AD would also not contradict the time-frame of the circulation of the small silver coin series of Western and Northern India. And such a dating would also place them closer to the discussed coin series from which, as I think, they took their iconographical inspirations.

The 15 different types, which I have been able to identify among the 42 specimens of the group I examined, are illustrated and described below. The credit for identifying the Brahmi legend on these specimens as SHRI YASHAADITYA is due to Professor Harry Falk. My special thanks to him! Regarding the reading of the Brahmi legend, Professor Falk emphasizes that there are two possibilities: either as 'yashaaditya' or as 'yashoditya'. One has, however, to keep in mind that, in principle, both readings would be against the correct rules of orthography. Theoretically there exists no word 'yasha' at all but only 'yashas'. And words ending in 'as' change to 'o' when followed by a word commencing with a short 'a' but to 'a' when followed by a long 'aa'. The word following 'yashas' is 'aaditya' meaning 'sun'. The only orthographically correct word-formation in this case would be 'yasha-aaditya' but this correct form is certainly not rendered on the coins. Beginning at 12 o'clock with the SHRI the legend runs clockwise around the trident. Sometimes, however, the legend runs in an unusual anticlockwise way (types 4, 10 and 12). On some specimens (types 13, 14 and 15) there seems to be a legend different from the 'Yashaaditya' types. But as the legend on these pieces is indistinct and incomplete one cannot say any more about it. I do not claim to provide any chronological order among the different types. I am also not in a position to explain why, on some types, a swastika is used and on others not. One could only imagine that the stylistically reduced 'dotted crown' types are at the chronological end of the series. Maybe the status of this series will become clearer as new specimens turn up in a possibly more enlightening context.

#### ALTAR TYPES:



Type 1: Silver coin, 13mm, 0.79g, unpublished (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right surrounded by a rayed border. On top of the crown there is a crescent with a thick dot inside.  
Rev.: Fire altar flanked by two seated attendants, surrounded by a rayed border.



Type 2: Silver coin, 11mm, 0.67g, unpublished (1 specimen observed).



Obv.: Crowned bust to right surrounded by a rayed border. The crown is built of four rectangular elements arising obliquely from the horizontal base of the crown.

Rev.: Fire altar flanked by two seated attendants, surrounded by a rayed border.



Type 3: Silver coin, 12mm, 0.68g, unpublished (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right surrounded by a rayed border. The crown is similar to that of type 2 but its single elements are less rectangular and somewhat bent resulting in a feather-like appearance; the facial features are also 'wilder' and there is a swastika in front of the bust.

Rev.: Fire altar flanked by two seated attendants, surrounded by a rayed border.

#### TRIDENT TYPES:



Type 4: Silver coin, 11mm, 0.92g, unpublished (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right in dotted border. Similar crown as on type 1 with a crescent on top with a thick dot inside.

Rev.: Trident with anticlockwise Brahmi legend SHRI YASHAA(DI)TYA around. Surrounded by dotted border.



Type 5: Silver coin, 12mm, 0.90g, unpublished (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right in dotted border. Swastika in front of bust. The crown is shaped like an open rectangle with three dots inside.

Rev.: Trident with uncertain and incomplete Brahmi legend; HE on left and TI on right. Dotted border.



Type 6: Silver coin, 12mm, 0.66g, Robert Tye ONS-NL 148, type D with misread legend. (This was the commonest type within the group of 42 specimens. But due to small flan sizes it is difficult to distinguish varieties with three from those with four dots).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right in rayed border. 'Open rectangle' crown with three dots.

Rev.: Trident with Brahmi legend SHRI YASHAADITYA around.



Type 7: Silver coin, 12mm, 0.86g, unpublished.

Obv.: Crowned bust to right in rayed border. 'Open rectangle' crown type with four dots inside.

Rev.: Trident with Brahmi legend SHRI YASHAADITYA around in border.



Type 8: Silver coin, 11mm, 0.80g, unpublished (2 specimens observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right with swastika in front. 'Open rectangle' crown type with four dots inside.

Rev.: Trident with Brahmi legend SHRI YASHAADITYA around in dotted border.



Type 9: Silver coin, 12mm, 0.60g, unpublished (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right in rayed border. 'Open rectangle' crown type with five dots in a semi-circular arrangement inside.

Rev.: Trident with uncertain legend around in rayed border.



Type 10: Silver coin, 12mm, 0.66g (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right in rayed border. 'Open rectangle' crown type with six dots in a circular arrangement.

Rev.: Trident with anticlockwise Brahmi legend SHRI YASHAADITYA around. Surrounded by rayed border.



Type 11: Silver coin, 10mm, 0.54g (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to left in dotted border. 'Open rectangle' crown type with three dots inside.

Rev.: Trident with uncertain and incomplete legend around.



Type 12: Silver coin, 12mm, 0.96g (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right in dotted border. The crown is filled with a solid structure of cap-like appearance.

Rev.: Trident with Brahmi legend YASHA... on left. Surrounded by dotted border.



Type 13: Silver coin, 11mm, 0.67g (1 specimen observed).

Obv.: Crowned bust to right. Double-globe crown with crescent above (appears like a headdress with a thick hairknot).

Rev.: Trident with uncertain legend around.





Type 14: Silver coin, 13mm, 0.94g (1 specimen observed).  
 Obv.: Crowned bust to right in dotted border. Thick turreted crown.  
 Rev.: Trident with uncertain legend around.



Type 15: Silver coin, 12mm, 0.52g (1 specimen observed).  
 Obv.: Crowned bust to right in border. Thin-lined turreted crown.  
 Rev.: Trident with uncertain legend around.

**Notes**

1. Mitchiner, M., 'Oriental Coins and their Values – the Ancient and Classical World', 1978, abbreviated in this article as MACW
- Mitchiner, M., 'Oriental Coins and their Values – Non-Islamic States & Western Colonies', 1979, abbreviated in this article as MNI
2. Tye, R., 'Dammās, Daniqs and 'Abd al-Malik' in 'ONS-Newsletter No.148', 1996, pp.7-10
3. Tye, R., *ibid*, p.8
4. Mitchiner, M., 'Early Medieval Silver Coins from Swat' in 'ONS-Newsletter No.84'
5. Göbl, R., 'Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien-Band I-IV', 1967
6. Mitchiner, M., 'Oriental Coins and their Values – Non-Islamic States & Western Colonies', 1979, p.49, coins 254-258
7. SACG, abbreviation for 'South-Asia-Coin-Group' (a well established and reputed internet discussion group mainly for Indian numismatics), message 7225

**AE Imitations of Indo-Greek Drachms from Swat  
 c.4-6<sup>th</sup> Century AD  
 by Waleed Ziad**

The Kashmir Shmast hoard continues to mystify us, pouring forth a plethora of unpublished bronze varieties from the 5<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Kashmir Shmast, or Kashmir Cave, is located in the Swat Valley in Northern Pakistan, in the heartland of Gandhara, and from 1998 to today, has yielded large hoards of bronze coins dating from the 4<sup>th</sup> century to the Hindu Shahi period. A number of known and unpublished varieties from this find spot dating from the Kushano-Sasanian and Kidarite periods have been discussed in Wilfried Pieper's ONS article entitled "A New Find of Small Copper Coins of Late 4<sup>th</sup> Century Gandhara." The AE units discussed in this article were found in a larger hoard of approximately 300 bronzes from the area. An article currently in progress by the author will introduce approximately 50 hitherto unpublished varieties from this hoard.

While not delving deeper into the history and geography of the find spot, I wish to introduce two coin types, which stand out as numismatic-historical anomalies.

*The Menander Imitations*



1.

2.



3.

4.



5.

6.



7.

8.



9.

10.



11.

12.



13.

14.



15.

Obv. Crude Helmeted Bust of Menander right. Degenerate legend surrounding bust.

Rev. Crude Figure of Pallas Athena standing, holding shield. Degenerate legend surrounding bust. No control mark.

As we are aware, Menander was perhaps one of the most famous of the Indo-Greek kings, ruling from c.160-145 BC, during which time his coinage across Gandhara and Bactria was extremely prolific. His well-executed drachms constituted one of the major currencies of the region. While records do not indicate that any Menander drachms were minted posthumously, they have been found in vast numbers with later Scythian hoards, indicating that they still circulated well after Menander's death. The Mir Zakah II hoard, for example, which included coins from the Achaemenid satrapal to the late Scythian periods, contained a substantial number of Menander's drachms. The drachms of Apollodotus II, to a lesser extent were also popular and were recognised and accepted as currency for many centuries.

The AE Menander imitations have *only* been found with Hunnic and Kidarite hoards in Swat<sup>1</sup>, and it is safe to assume, based on the fabric, metal, and the weight standard (from 0.56 to 1.62 grams) that these were issued by the Hunnic rulers of the area



in approximately the 5<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. Coins from Kashmir Shmast, based on studies of Kashmir Shmast hoards conducted by Wilfried Pieper, Haroon Tareen, and the author, range from the Kushano-Sasanian period (Mitchiner 1266 onwards, the Kushano-Sasanian coins of 'The Kushans' to Varahran Kushanshah III, mid-III century onwards) to the Hindu Shahi period, with smaller imitations of Samanta Deva bronzes conforming to a loose "Kashmir Shmast standard". While the Kushano-Sasanian issues found in the hoards are common dumpy varieties, with the occasional dumpy fractional, after the Kidarite period, the fabric of the coins changes to thin, in some cases almost wafer-like, bronzes of less than 1 cm diameter, generally conforming to the published AE ¼ drachms issued by the Nazek, Alxon, Kidara, and Turko-Hephthalite tribes. These Menander imitations conform to this fabric.

Alexander III, Antiochus I, Eucradites, Antimachos, Heliocles, and other Bactrian rulers' currency was imitated prolifically by the Scythian tribes, the Khwarizmian kingdoms, Sogdian tribes (including the Yuch Chi), and others, and the Hermaios tetradrachms were imitated to an even greater extent, including by Kujula Kadphises. Generally, however, as is the case with Hermaios and Eucradites, we find a steady stream of gradually degenerating (both artistically and in terms of silver content) imitations commencing soon after the rulers' death, or even during his reign in some cases. This find is unique in that we see an approximately 600 year gap between the prototypes and the imitation, with nothing inbetween. This might possibly suggest that Menander drachms remained in use even during the Hunnic period because of their high silver content and standardised weight, a very rare combination after the decline of the Kushan empire. In fact, the sparse mintage of silver coins by the Kushans, the Kidara, and the Kushano-Sasanians suggests that silver was a scarce metal in 3<sup>rd</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century Gandhara. In some cases, Menander's drachms may have acted as a substitute silver currency.

It is impossible to attribute these coins to the decree of any ruler, who might have wanted to associate himself with the legendary ruler Menander. From the multitude of varieties found in the Kashmir Shmast hoard, and the variance between dies, it is most probably the case that Kashmir Shmast coins were minted by local moneyors who imitated popular coins at a whim, occasionally "barbarizing" the legends and control marks.

Consistently, none of the legends on the obverse or reverse make any sense. The legend originally in Kharoshthi and Greek (reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ / Maharajasa Stratarasa Manadrasa) has been reduced to a series of 'I's, or dashes in more degenerate issues. The flans are very irregular tending more towards quadrilaterals than circles.

The weight of the Menander imitations is highly variable, ranging from 0.56 to 1.63 grams. The shape of the coins, as is the case with others founds in Kashmir Shmast, is crude, as is the execution. The flan thickness ranges from wafer thin to approaching the thickness of the prototypes, and the edges are very uneven. The smaller units are struck from smaller dies. Because of the crude execution of all the pieces, it is difficult to ascertain whether the two noticeably smaller coins (0.56, 0.64 g) were minted as fractional currency or whether they are more degenerate versions of the larger varieties. For example, Kujula Kadphises AE units were imitated in smaller sizes with barbaric execution.

#### *An Apollodotus II Mule*

A rare bronze mule, of which only one piece was found in a Kashmir Shmast hoard of over 300 bronzes, is presented below.



17

Obv. Bare bust of Apollodotus II (?) right wearing tiara. Surrounding legend in corrupt Greek.

Rev. Winged Nike standing left in Indo-Scythian style, holding wreath and palm. Surrounding legend in corrupt Kharoshthi.

The obverse of the mule seems stylistically to be derived from the drachms of Apollodotus II (c.80-55 BC). Traces of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ remain on the upper right hand side of the flan. The reverse is derived from the Indo-Scythian reverse found on coins of Maues (c.90-57 BC), Azes I (57- c.35 BC), and on numerous bronzes of the Indo-Parthian dynasty.

The difference in execution between the Menander imitations and the Apollodotus imitation is substantial. The latter, while crude, still maintains parts of the original legend in both languages. The reverse design is more three-dimensional and the figure of Nike has not been reduced to lines and dashes.

#### *Coin weights and sizes*

No.	Diameter (mm)	Weight (g.)
<b>Menander Imitation</b>		
1	20x13	1.44
2	13	0.84
3	13x12	0.99
4	15x13	1.62
5	13x12	1.35
6	13	1.01
7	13	1.28
8	13	1.18
9	14	1.19
10	13	1.12
11	13	1.10
12	13	0.92
13	14	1.10
14	13x11	0.64
15	12	0.88
16	11	0.56
<b>Apollodotus II Mule</b>		
17	14	1.44

#### *Note*

1. This has been substantiated by numerous dealers in the region. Other collectors and I have personally sifted through uncleaned lots from Kashmir Shmast to find a number of Menander imitations

#### **A recent find of 18 AE Coins of the Jāms of Sind, attributed to Jām Nizām al-Dīn, and Jām Fīrūz**

By Waleed Ziad

A group of 18 Æ coins from the period of the Jāms of Sind have been discovered in southern Pakistan, specifically in the small town of Dadu. Crudely struck on roughly octagonal flans, the fabric is entirely distinct from that of the neighboring kingdoms. One coin is struck in the name of Jām Nizām al-Dīn, while the other 17 coins are in the name of his son, Jām Fīrūz.

During the Islamic period, the rulers of the Punjab and Western Sind, from 1203 to 1259 had minted currency, mostly billon jitals, and silver tankas. Lower Sind, however, had ceased to issue indigenous currency from the period following the collapse of the Emirate. These rare Æ coins, minted during the Samma period (734/1333 - 930/1524), mark the commencement of lower Sind's monetary independence after over 400 years.

Copper coins of the Jāms of Sind have been published previously by Simon Digby (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,



1972) in an article entitled "The Coinage and Genealogy of the later Jams of Sind." Stan Goron and JP Goenka, in the recently published *Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, introduces one bronze variety of Jām Nizām al-Dīn, and a silver coin and two copper varieties of Jām Firūz.

The flans of these tankas are broader than contemporary coins of the Delhi and Gujarat Sultanates of similar weight. Substantial hoards of coins of the Sultans of Gujarat have been found in Sind, leading us to believe that Gujarati currency was the popular medium of exchange during the period of the Samma Jāms. The average weight of the Sind coins is approximately 15.28 grams ranging from 13.14 to 16.53 grams (refer to chart below for individual weights). This weight, if based on the Gujarati standard (8.9g / tanka), lies between the 1.5 falus and 2 falus denominations issued by the Sultans of Gujarat.

The Sammas were originally a Rajput tribe of the Kutch and Lower Sind region, who under Jām Unar (734/1333 - 753/1367) in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, defeated the Samra dynasty in Sind, assuming the throne of lower Sind with the title "Jām." During this magnificent period in Sindi history, the kingdom remained politically and economically tied to the Sultanate of Gujarat, with occasional periods of friction.

Jām Nizām al-Dīn, known popularly as Nanda, ruled from 866/1461 to 914/1508 and is regarded even to this day as one of the legendary rulers of Sind. His reign was considered to be the most glorious period of Sindi history, associated with the flourishing of education, the arts, and literature, and the establishment of Sind as a political and cultural force in the region. The Jām himself was considered the exemplar of piety, and an accomplished poet. The liberal and peaceful environment of his kingdom brought numerous persecuted scholars and political figures to seek refuge in Sind. His reign was also marked by tensions with Gujarat, as Sulṭān Maḥmūd Beghara (863-917) briefly expressed a desire to expand his borders into Sind. The tensions ended with a marriage alliance between the two kingdoms, and Maḥmūd later provided the Jām with support to suppress a rebellion on the eastern frontier.

Nizām al-Dīn's son, Jām Firūz (914/1508 - 931/1524-5) was the last Samma sultan. Jām Firūz was considered to be a weak ruler, and his reign was characterized by internecine power struggles within the ruling family, rebellion, and foreign incursions which led to the eventual termination of Samma rule. The first threat came from Jām Firūz' first cousin, Jām Salaḥ al-Dīn, who raised an army aided by Muzaḥḥār of Gujarat and Rao Khengar of Kutch. In an effort to protect himself, Jām Firūz enlisted the aid of various Mughal nobles. The next offensive came from Shāh Shuja' Beg of the Timurid Mughal household of Herat. Jām Firūz was forced to leave Tatta and sought refuge in Gujarat under Sulṭān Bahādur. In 1535, Humayun, the Mughal emperor, invaded Gujarat and the Jām was killed in the encounter.

#### *The coin of Jām Nizām al-Dīn*

The single piece of Jām Nizām al-Dīn is approximately 20 mm in diameter and octagonal in shape, weighing 14.05 g.

The obverse reads as follows:

n  
sulṭā bin (?)  
nizā(m) al-dīn  
shāh (?)

The reverse legend is also not entirely clear, but most likely refers to the Jām's father, Ṣadr al-Dīn Jām Sanjar (858/1454-866/1461) (Plate II,1):

n  
sulṭā  
(ṣadr?)...al-dīn  
bin (?)

The piece listed by Goron & Goenka, SJ1, weighs between 5.5-6.5 g., and was earlier published in JRAS 1972 by Digby. The obverse legend of Goron & Goenka's piece reads *jām nizām al-dīn bin* while the reverse continues *jām ṣadr al-dīn*. Goron also mentions that smaller denominations exist. It is interesting to note firstly that Goron & Goenka's piece refers to the ruler simply as "Jām", while the larger coin introduces the titles "Sulṭān" and "Shāh" to the local title, and his father is referred to as "Sulṭān" (if indeed the reverse legend reads *ṣadr al-dīn*). Further, it may be noted that the smaller piece does not appear to be a sub-denomination of the larger, implying that multiple weight standards were employed in the sultanate. We may assume that either different states in the kingdom were not monetarily integrated or that there was no centrally enforced standard, with the coins being minted on a civic basis. The execution of the smaller piece also appears much finer than the larger, employing a more developed calligraphic script, possibly a derivative of the contemporary Delhi Sultanate script.

#### *Coins of Jam Firuz*

The coins of Jam Firuz are struck on a slightly larger flan, approximately 22 mm in diameter, and are generally octagonal in shape. The weight of the coins varies from 13.50 to 16.53 g.

The obverse dies are more or less the same, containing the following legend (Plate I, 2-18):

shāh  
firūz  
jām

with the tip of the alif in "jā" joining "fir" at the point of the "yā".

There are two distinct reverse types, which vary in terms of the arrangement of the words. The execution of coins which feature the Type II reverse, while still crude, is finer than that of coins with the Type I reverse, with narrower lines. The Type I reverse legends generally read *bin sulṭān nizām shāh*, arranged as follows:

Reverse I: 11 coins

nizā shāh  
m  
sulṭān bin

The reverse legend in type two above introduces another enigmatic two-letter word to the right of the word *nizām*, in addition to another two letter word which occurs to the right of the word *sulṭān*. One possible reading is *shāh nizām sulṭān al-dīn*, although this reading would require an additional "alif" before *l-dīn*.

Reverse II: 6 coins (uncertain reading)

shāh  
nizām dīn (?)  
sulṭā al (?)  
n

Goron & Goenka list two smaller bronze coins of Jām Firūz, SJ3 weighing 11.4 g. and SJ4 weighing 6.1-7.5 g. (SJ3 is not pictured). The legend and execution of SJ4 is identical to Type I, and the weight is roughly one half of the weight of the approximately 15 g. coins listed above. SJ4 seems to be a half denomination of the above coins. Goron & Goenka noted that in this series, Jām Firūz refers to himself merely as "Shāh" while his father is endowed with the title "Sulṭān".

Given the nature of the reign of Jām Nizām al-Dīn, and the economic and cultural growth which occurred, it is not surprising that Sind once again was able to develop its own monetary system. The architectural and artistic innovations of this period



endowed Sind with a distinct character, separate from that of neighboring Gujarat and Safavid Persia. Further, the periods of tension between Mahmūd's Gujarat and Samma Sind would have called for the development of a separate coinage, for economic purposes, and more importantly, as a proclamation of Samma power and independence. After all, throughout Islamic history, upon the declaration of independence or assumption of the throne a ruler's first acts would be to have his name announced in the Friday prayer, and to have coins minted in his name.

*Coin Weights and Sizes*

No.	Diameter (mm.)	Weight (g.)
<b>Jam Nizam al-Din</b>		
1	20	14.05
<b>Jam Firuz</b>		
2	22	13.14
3	24	15.12
4	23	16.09
5	22	16.41
6	23	15.58
7	23	15.63
8	23	16.53
9	22	15.86
10	22	15.14
11	23	16.34
12	23	15.37
13	22	13.50
14	21	15.32
15	22	16.09
16	23	15.53
17	22	14.64
18	23	13.67

Jam Nizam al-Din II obv. & rev.



Jam Firuz - type I obv.



Jam Firuz - type II obv.



Plate I

Jam Firuz - type I rev.



Jam Nizam al din II



Jam Firuz



Type I



Type II





Plate 2

### A Unique Coin of Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf, Sultān of Bengal

By Binoy Kumar Kundu

Shams al-Dīn Yūsuf Shāh (AH 879-885; 1474-1481 AD) assumed the throne of Bengal after the death of his father, Rukn al-Dīn Bārbak Shāh. From epigraphic evidence it is evident that he assumed the throne in the year 879, although his coins have been recorded only from AH 880. It is likely, therefore, that he assumed power at the end of the 879. Most of his coins are known from the mints of Dar al-Zarb (years 880-884) and Khazānah (years 881-884). In addition, a few coins have been noted from Bārbakābād (883) and Shamsābād-(884).

Recently I came across a coin of this ruler with a unique design and legend orientation. The coin is illustrated here and described below.



Obverse: *al-sultān ibn sultān bin al-sultān shams al-dunyā wa'l dīn abū 'l muẓaffar* inscribed around square enclosed between two circles. *yūsuf shāh bin bārbak shāh bin maḥmūd shāh* inscribed in three lines. Date, 881, and mint-name *khazānah* within the square. Reverse: The *Kalima* within an 8-pointed star formed by two intersecting squares. Wt: 10.5 g, diameter: 28 mm.

The mint-name "Khazānah" may be identified as the treasury of the capital. Tarafdar<sup>1</sup> was of the opinion that "coins were struck in a mint at the capital and deposited in the Treasury. There was a mint-master and a treasurer to look after the mint and treasury administration. The coins minted from khajānah indicates that they were issued directly from the central treasury".

The present coin would seem to be a special issue in view of its execution and calligraphy. In each of the eight lobes of the eight-pointed star on the reverse of the coin there is an "A", which can be interpreted as the Arabic numeral "8". If this is the case then it may be assumed to have a certain significance and be engraved in association with the *Kalima*.

*Kalima* is one of the prime factors of Islam. Eight types of religious faith or 'Iman' are the foundation of the *Kalima*. These eight 'Iman' are mentioned in *Imane Mufasssil*<sup>2</sup>. The eight 'Iman' or religious faith of a person are on:

1. Allāh
2. On the Rasuls of Allāh
3. "Akherat" of the world beyond death
4. "Maleakat" or on Ferishtas
5. The doctrines of Allāh enumerated in the divine books
6. Belief in the time of universal dissolution and annihilation
7. "Taḳdir" or fate, i.e. all favourable or unfavourable events occur at the direction of Allāh

8. Resurrection after death as well as faith in the last day, i.e. "Qiyamat"

Another symbol placed eight times around the *Kalima* is one that resembles the Arabic letter *hā* in its round form. This letter signifies 5 in arithmetic and may have been used here to signify the five prime aspects of Islam, namely *Kalima* (profession of faith), *namāz* (prayer), *roza* (fasting, especially during Ramadan), *zakat* (alms) and *hajj* (pilgrimage to Mecca)<sup>2</sup>.

The reign of Yūsuf Shāh may be distinguished by the "application of the laws of the shariat strictly in state affairs". He ordered the Ulemas to see that the laws of Islam were carried out in all spheres of life. Gulam Hussain, the author of *Riyaz-us-Salātīn*, mentions him as a very learned and pious man. Tabaqat-i-Akbarī describes him as a well-wisher of his subjects and of virtuous disposition. Ferishta states that he was a scholar who charged the Ulemas to see that the law of the prophet was duly observed. His attachment to religion may be evidenced from the construction of a number of mosques all over the kingdom<sup>3</sup>. This coin may, therefore, symbolise the sultan's deep attachment to his religion.

It is interesting to note that the geometrical design on the reverse of the present coin bears a close resemblance to the obverse design of a type of the sultan's grandfather, Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh<sup>4</sup> in that both have an 8-pointed star formed by two intersecting squares. This latter ruler was the founder of the "later Ilyās Shāhī" dynasty, and, although on this particular coin of his the *Kalima* is absent, Yūsuf may have wished to advert to his grandfather in this way (as well as by using the title *al-sultān ibn sultān bin al-sultān*) in order to demonstrate his legitimacy at a time when his brother (the later Jalāl al-Dīn Faṭḥ Shāh) was a possible contender for the throne. We know that Yūsuf's reign commenced in the year 879 from the Sultanganj inscription<sup>5</sup>, but, as mentioned above, no coin of that year in his name is known and those of the following year are relatively scarce, suggesting it took him some time to consolidate his position.

#### References

1. Tarafdar, M.R. *Husain Shahi Bengal*, Dacca, 1965, p 102
2. S.M. Akhtar Hussain, *Islamer Panchastambha*, Calcutta, 1997 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) p 5, 7
3. Muhammed Mohar Ali, *History of Muslim Bengal*, Riyadh, 1985, p 172
4. (Editor's note) See type B436 in S.Goron & J.P. Goenka *The Coins of the Indian Sultanates*, New Delhi, 2001.
5. Karim, A, *Corpus of the Arabic & Persian Inscriptions of Bengal*, Dhaka, 1992, pp 181-2.

### The Coins of the Bombay Presidency The Transitional Mints of the Deccan

By Dr. Paul Stevens

#### Introduction

As the British extended their control of India during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a number of areas that had active mints fell under their management. Some of these mints were kept in operation for a number of years after they were taken over by the British. Bhandare has used the term 'transitional' to describe mints of this type<sup>1</sup>, and that convention has been used here, although the term 'provincial' is sometimes used in the records. There are a number of examples of this happening on the western side of India, where various territories came under the control of the Bombay Presidency in the first half of the nineteenth century. Pridmore has recorded the coins of some of these mints (e.g. those of Surat), but, for some reason, he chose to ignore others, even quite major mints such as Poona and Ahmedabad. Some publications<sup>2</sup> give listings of coins from these

1 Bhandare S. Talk presented to the Royal Numismatic Society 2001

2 Bruce C.R., Deyell J.S., Rhodes N., Spengler W.F. *The Standard Guide to South Asian Coins and Paper Money since 1556 AD*. Krause publications, Iola, Wisconsin (1981).



mints with headings such as 'EIC', but provide no supporting documentary evidence for the attributions and these are sometimes incorrect. A study of the records stored in the India Office Library (referred to in the footnotes as India Office Records – IOR) has therefore been undertaken to fill some of this gap and the present paper records the work undertaken on one particular district of the Bombay Presidency.

Inland from Bombay was the area known as the Deccan, with the mints of Poona, Nasik/Chandore and Ahmednuggur (Ahmadnagar), which were all acquired in 1817/1818. The records are not completely clear about the operations of these mints, but what archival evidence does exist can be combined with knowledge of the coins themselves to produce a much clearer picture than has hitherto been seen.

**Fig 1. Map of Mints of the Deccan**



**Circulatory context**

One important consideration in a discussion of these transitional mints is the fact that the coins issued from the mints that came under British control, together with those that remained under the control of native rulers, circulated together with many older types of coin in any one area. Local moneychangers or shroffs found a niche for themselves in exchanging one type of coin for another at a rate that allowed them a profit. This rate of exchange is referred to in the records as the 'bazar' rate. Once the British had gained control of the different regions, they instructed their local officials to collect examples of all the coins circulating in these regions and send them to Bombay for assay. The Assay Master at Bombay published two tables, one in 1817<sup>3</sup> (covering the Northern districts) and another in 1821<sup>4</sup> (covering the whole Presidency), establishing an official exchange rate between all of the different coins in circulation, and allowing the local officials to accept the coins in payment of taxes. As the grip of the British tightened on the territories in their possession, the number of different coins that were acceptable in payment of taxes was gradually reduced and hence the coinage gradually became more standard. However, standardisation throughout the Bombay Presidency could not be achieved until the mint at Bombay had acquired the capability of meeting the demand of the entire Presidency and it could not do this until a new steam-driven mint was introduced at the beginning of the 1830s. Even then, the coins of the neighbouring states crossed into British-controlled areas and continued to be used by the local population. The old (pre-steam) mint at Bombay could not meet the demand for the whole Presidency and this provides the explanation for the existence of the transitional mints. They were essential in providing sufficient currency until about 1834/35, because the Bombay mint could not satisfy the demand, although many of the transitional mints were closed before then.

3 Bombay Consultations, 5<sup>th</sup> March 1817. IOR P/408/31, p211.

4 Bombay Consultations, 13<sup>th</sup> August 1821. IOR P/411/40 p32.

The table has been published by Stevens in ONS Newsletter No. 180, p27

**Poona**

Rupees were first struck at Poona during the Moghul occupation at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries. They bear the name of the emperor Aurangzeb and the mint name of Muhiabad *ur* Pune. The Marathas had a firm hold in Poona by the middle of the eighteenth century and coins were struck there in the name of Muhammad Shah, the Moghul emperor. Regular and systematic minting of coins by the Maratha government started about 1760 at Poona and several different types were issued there, namely the *Hali sikka*, the *Ankusi* and the *Pharasi sikka*. These coins were struck until 1818 when, during the third Maratha war, Poona was taken by the British following the battle of Kirkee. On the annexation of the Peshwa's territory, the EIC took over the mint at Poona and continued to issue the *Hali sicca* and the *Ankusi* in much the same form, but they were properly dated in the Fasli era on the reverse<sup>5</sup>. That the mint was kept in operation is confirmed in a record of the receipts and expenditure for the territories conquered and ceded by the Peshwa in 1818/1819, wherein are found the costs of running the Poona Mint (Rs 2569-3-89) for 1818/19 and an estimate of the costs for 1820 (Rs 2500-0-0)<sup>6</sup>.

The coins were issued by the Tanksale or Mint Master family of Deshasth Brahmans under the supervision of British Officers and they were apparently allowed to add ten percent copper alloy to the silver coins as their profit<sup>7</sup>.

In 1820 the mint establishment at Poona was cited by Captain Gibbon as<sup>8</sup>:

**Table 1. Establishment of the Poona Mint in 1820**

	Rs
2 Hammermen	12
1 Stamp Holder	9
2 Billow Boys	30
3 Coolies	18
1 Smith	9
1 Bhistee	10
1 Engraver of Stamps	22
5 Peons	30
2 Carpoons	35
Sundries	25
	Rs 200

**Silver Coins**

Prior to 1820 the EIC records contain references to coining of copper coins at the Poona mint, but little on the coinage of silver.

Shortly before August 1822 the Poona mint was closed for some time owing to the discovery of frauds. The reason for the closure was outlined by the Commissioner for the Deccan in a letter to Government in 1823<sup>9</sup>:

"...The mint farm was knocked down to him for the year [for 1821/22] at a public auction as the highest bidder and he entered into security for the payment, and the faithful performance of his engagement. The weight and assay of the coin to be struck were particularly specified, and for every deviation from the standard he was to be fined 500 rupees. The contractor adhered to the conditions of his agreement until the month of May 1822 when he was found out mixing up more than the prescribed quantity of alloy in the coins. The extent to which this deterioration had been caused not being known, some decisive measures became necessary to check the evil and the mint was accordingly shut up and the Farmer

5 Wiggins K.W., (1996). Acquisition of Indian Mints by E.I.CO. Numismatic Panorama, New Delhi.

6 Boards Collections F/4/697, p708

7 Bombay Gazetteer (1885). Vol. XVIII, Part II, Poona, p104. Government Central Press, Bombay.

8 Bombay Consultations, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1820. IOR P/408/45, p323.

9 Bombay Consultations 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1823. IOR P/408/55, p77.



placed in jail to stand his trial for the fraudulent breach of contract. In the examination which followed, it was discovered that he had sent a considerable quantity of depreciated money into circulation, and being found guilty of the charge brought against him was sentenced to pay a fine of 3700 rupees, double the amount which he gained by debasing the coin and indemnifying Government for the loss sustained by the closure of the mint – which was 3637 rupees.”

The closure of the mint caused great inconvenience due to the shortage of circulating coin and it was reopened<sup>10</sup>, although, exactly when this happened is not clear.

In 1823 the Assay Master at Bombay reported on the outcome of tests he had conducted on *Hali Sicca* rupees lately coined at Poona<sup>11</sup>.

**Table 2. Assay of Hali Sicca Rupees by the Bombay Assay Master**

	Weight Grs Decls	Touch Pct	Pure Silver Grs Decls	Value of 100 In B'bay Rupees
No 1	175	97.75	171 – 06	103 – 87
No 2	175	97.75	171 – 06	103 – 87
No 3	175.25	97.50	170 – 86	103 – 75
Av. of 17	175	97.75	171 – 06	103 – 87

These coins were presumably sent to Bombay for assay after the mint had been reopened, implying that the mint must have been open by March 1823<sup>12</sup>. The contractor who had been responsible for the mint prior to its closure was Appajee Muckajeesett who, in 1824, sent a petition soliciting the remission of an indemnification to Government for the loss sustained from the mint at Poona having been closed on account of his breach of agreement. The Bombay Government rejected his petition, as they did a second petition from him<sup>13</sup>.

In 1826<sup>14</sup> the Collector at Poona asked for advice on whether or not he was allowed to accept an offer for the mint contract that was not the highest in cash terms but was made by a person who had been responsible for keeping the mint in operation for the previous two years. This letter states that ‘During the last two years the farmer (who is the person that has offered the least sum this year) has sustained considerable loss from the small number of rupees that have fallen from the mint...’. From this it is apparent that not many rupees were struck during the years 1824 and 1825 (Fasli 1234 and 1235). Government confirmed that the Collector could choose whomsoever he considered most suitable for the contract and this he duly did at the rate of 3,200 rupees for ‘the current Faslee’.

By 1831 the new mint at Bombay had begun operation and the Collector at Poona wondered if he should issue a contract for the mint for that year<sup>15</sup>. He was informed that he should issue a contract for silver only and that the new Bombay Mint would provide copper coins<sup>16</sup>.

The Poona mint was still producing rupees in January 1834 because the Collector informed Bombay that ‘two silver coins continue to fall from the mint of Poona both having the Fusly year “1243” stamped upon them. These are called the one “Hallee Sicca” and the other “Ankoosee”. The Poona mint not having

been ordered to be stopped...<sup>17</sup>. However, by September 1834 the mint appears to have been closed<sup>18</sup>.

These records confirm the dates observed on the coins themselves. These range from Fasli 1230 to 1244 (AD 1820 to 1834).

The rupees can be distinguished by the presence of the Fasli date and either the ‘Scissors’ or the *Ankus* mark on the obverse (Fig 2).

**Fig 2. Scissors and Ankus marks**



Scissors

Ankus

### Copper Coins

In 1819 the Commissioner of the Deccan asked for copper coins to be supplied to Poona from the Bombay Mint. However, the Mint Committee replied that they had never had any intention of supplying copper coins to the Deccan from Bombay, but that they did have a supply of copper that could be sent to Poona for coining locally<sup>19</sup>. Initially the price of copper was too high for the authorities at Poona<sup>20</sup>, but as the price fell they asked for a sample to be sent and half a ton was duly dispatched<sup>21</sup>. The trial showed that to produce pice at the rate of 64 to the rupee, given the cost of the copper, would result in a loss to Government. By 1820 the cost of the copper had fallen, and the Mint Committee at Bombay was insistent that any pice produced at Poona should be exchanged at 64 to the rupee even if this meant a slightly lower weight<sup>22</sup>. This rate was consistent with the rate that the Mint Committee had asked both Broach and the Southern Concan to achieve and they were obviously trying to establish a standard throughout the Presidency. This did not pose a problem for the authorities at Poona<sup>23</sup>, and presumably minting of the coins started in that year, since specimens exist dated Fasli 1230. As has been stated above, the Collector at Poona was instructed not to renew the contract for copper coins in 1831 and thus pice dated Fasli 1240 (1830) are the last to be issued by the Poona mint.

The copper pice bear a Nagari inscription and can be identified by the presence of the Fasli date on the obverse.

**Fig 3. Silver Coins of the Poona Mint**

Obverse: A Persian inscription: *Sikka Mubārak Bādshāh Ghāzī Shāh ‘Alī Gauhar* = the auspicious coin of Shah Ali Gauhar, the Emperor and Warrior

Reverse: A Persian inscription: *Zarb Muhiābād Pāne Sanat (ry) julūs maimanat māmūs* = Struck at Muhiabad Poona in his (Ry) year of tranquil prosperity

Edge: Plain

Weight (g): Ankusi, Rupee: 9.90-11.21, Half Rupee, Quarter Rupee, Eighth Rupee in proportion

Hali Sicca, Rupee: 11.11-11.35, Half Rupee, Quarter Rupee in proportion.

Diameter (mm): Ankusi, Rupee: 19.5-22.0, Half Rupee: 16.4-17.5, Quarter Rupee: 13.8-14.7, Eighth Rupee ?

Hali Sicca, Rupee: 21.9-24.2, Half Rupee: ? Quarter Rupee: ?

10 Bombay Gazetteer (1885). Vol. XVIII, Part II, Poona, p104 footnote. Government Central Press, Bombay

11 Bombay Consultations, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1823. IOR P/411/41.

12 Bombay Mint Proceedings 19<sup>th</sup> March 1823. Extract of a report from the Commissioner in the Deccan 25<sup>th</sup> August 1823? Transferred from the Revenue Department. IOR P/411/41 p13.

13 Bombay Consultations 25<sup>th</sup> February 1824. IOR P/411/42 p13.

Bombay Consultations 11<sup>th</sup> August 1824. IOR P/411/42 p69

14 Bombay Consultations, 19<sup>th</sup> July 1826. IOR P/408/65.

15 Bombay Consultations, 7<sup>th</sup> June 1831. IOR P/411/50.

16 Bombay Consultations, 29<sup>th</sup> June 1831. IOR P/411/50.

17 Bombay Consultations, 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1834. IOR P/411/53.

18 Bombay Consultations, 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1834. IOR P/411/53, No 277.

19 Bombay Consultations, 7<sup>th</sup> April 1819. IOR P/411/39, p30.

20 Bombay Consultations, 21<sup>st</sup> April 1819. IOR P/411/39, p32.

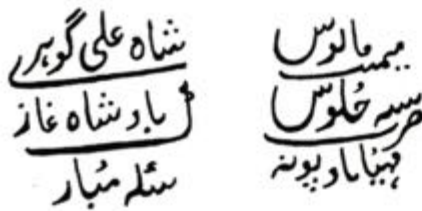
21 Bombay Consultations, 1<sup>st</sup> September 1819. IOR P/411/39, p130.

22 Bombay Consultations, 29<sup>th</sup> March 1820. IOR P/411/40.

23 Bombay Consultations, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1820. IOR P/411/40.



Full legends on the Poona silver coins



Silver rupee, Ankusi type



Silver rupee, Hali Sicca type



Silver half rupee



Silver quarter rupee



Fig 4. Copper coins of the Poona mint

Obverse: A Nagari inscription: *Sri Raja Siva*

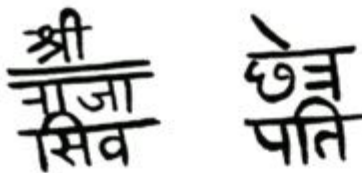
Reverse: A Nagari inscription: *Chhetra Pati*

Edge: Plain

Weight (g): Pice: 9.78

Diameter (mm): 19.0-20.0

Full legends on the copper coins



Copper Pice



*Nasik (Gulshanabad)/Chandore*

Nasik became a stronghold of the Marathas in the mid-eighteenth century. Their first rupees were struck in the name of Alamgir II, and these were followed by coins with the name of Shah Alam II. The old Moghul name of Gulshanabad was retained on the coins, although the name Nasik seems to have been used in all other

matters once the Marathas had charge of the district. Coins were struck with the Shah Alam legend until 1818 (AH 1233) when the city fell into the hands of the British at the conclusion of the third Maratha war. Wiggins states that the mint continued production of the same type of rupee and its fractions until AH 1249 (AD 1833) when it was closed down<sup>24</sup>.

In contradiction to this last statement, in 1823, the Commissioner for the Deccan stated that 'The only other mint in this part of the Deccan [apart from Poona] is that of Chandore<sup>25</sup>, implying that, by 1823, only the mints at Poona and Chandore were operating in the Deccan.

So, what about Chandore? The Bombay Gazetteer of 1880<sup>26</sup> states that

"the Chandore rupee coined at the Chandore mint in Nasik (this mint started about 175 years ago was closed soon after the British conquest) was current at the beginning of British rule, but it has now disappeared".

Although this was written 50 or 60 years after the event, it does imply that the mint in Nasik (presumably in the Collectorate of Nasik) might have been located at Chandore, not in the town of Nasik itself. This, together with the previous quote about the Chandore mint, suggests that there was a mint at Chandore and this was the only mint in the Deccan other than Poona.

There are, therefore, two possibilities. Firstly there may have been two mints operating, one at Nasik and one at Chandore, or secondly, there may have been only one mint, at Chandore, producing the coins identified as 'Nasik' type (Jaripataka) rupees. The first possibility seems to be the more likely for several reasons. Firstly, if the mint was in Nasik when the British took control, it seems unlikely that it would have been moved from that place. If it had been moved to Chandore, then the type of rupee produced would most probably have been the Chandori type rather than the Jaripataka type, which was strongly associated with Nasik. The Jaripatakas are known to exist with dates down to AH 1249 (1833/34, see later). Finally, reference to the table originally published in 1821 by the Assay Master at the Bombay mint, reveals that the 'Chandore' rupee was coined at Chandore and that the 'Jeereputka' rupee was coined at Nasik<sup>27</sup>, although the table does not give the dates when the rupees were struck. None of this provides conclusive evidence, but it does seem to point to the existence of a mint at Nasik from about 1818 to about 1834 (see catalogue below) and another at Chandore sometime early in this period, at least.

This conclusion is confirmed by a letter from the Collector of Ahmednuggur to Bombay, dated 4<sup>th</sup> November 1833<sup>28</sup>.

"With reference to your letter dated 4<sup>th</sup> May last regarding the custom of stamping coins in subordinate treasuries and directing me to prohibit such a practice in all the treasuries in this zillah, I have the honor to annex, to be laid before Government, copy of a letter from Mr Andrews, 1<sup>st</sup> Assistant Collector at Nassick, detailing his proceedings in consequence of these instructions.

I apprehend Mr Andrews has misunderstood the instructions of Government by stopping the mints at Chandore and Nassick, but I beg to solicit the instructions of Government on this point.

The Chandore rupee is coined at Chandore and the Jerryputka at Nassick, and both are in circulation in this zillah, as well as in other parts of the Deccan, and some inconvenience will, I imagine, be experienced by the

24 Wiggins K. W., (1996). Acquisition of Indian Mints by E.I.C.O. Numismatic Panorama, New Delhi.

25 Bombay Mint Proceedings 19<sup>th</sup> March 1823. Extract of a report from the Commissioner in the Deccan 25<sup>th</sup> August 1823? Transferred from the Revenue Department. IOR P/411/41 p13.

26 Bombay Gazetteer, vol. XII, Khandesh. Government Press Bombay, 1880, p195.

27 Stevens ONS No. 180 p29

28 Bombay Consultations, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1833. IOR P/409/28, No. 651.



deficiency in the circulation which will be created by these mints being stopped.

The Chandore mint coined last year 183,928 and the Nassick mint 69,383 and yielded a revenue to Government of 1358.2.66.

There is also a mint for coining copper at Chandore which coined 27,050 rupees and yielded a revenue to Government of 103. .64 last year."

The Bombay Government replied (in 1833)<sup>29</sup>:

"The mints at Nassick and Chandore, I am directed by His Lordship in Council to state, should be reopened, as otherwise inconvenience may arise from the want of Chandore and Jurreeputte rupees in Candeish and Gunthurree."

The same entry in the records shows that both mints appear to have been working in 1820, because the author refers back to an event when W. Wilkins wrote to Captain H. Pottinger (Collector of Ahmednuggur)<sup>30</sup>:

"I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1<sup>st</sup> instant with an enclosure from the Commissioners calling upon me to report whether the mints of Nassick and Chandore were under our immediate control or farmed out for a stated period.

In reply I beg leave to state that the mints of both places are not farmed out, but the business of coinage is entrusted to natives who pay a percentage to Government upon the number of rupees coined, and consequently the operations at both these mints can be suspended whenever it is the pleasure of Government to have recourse to that measure, and I should conceive that there could not be any inconvenience whatever in placing the mints under the control of the Committee in Bombay provided any benefit is contemplated by that arrangement.

The only control exercised at present by Government over the mint master is that whenever the operation of coining takes place, one of the Carcoons of the Kumavisdar's establishment with a peon or two is present to take an account of the number of coins which are struck during the day and who, when the days work is over, locks up the dies and the keys are deposited with the Kumavisdar."

Thus, despite some inconsistencies, the records provide good evidence that two mints were operating, one at Nasik and one at Chandore, throughout the 1820s and into the early 1830s. The mint at Nasik produced the Jaripataka rupees, which have been identified by Maheshwari and Wiggins<sup>31</sup>.

The design of any coins issued from the Chandore mint is not known but may have been of the standard Chandori type of rupee. The quote above also indicates that there was a significant output of copper coins from the Chandore mint in 1832 at least. Again, the identity of these coins is not certain (but see Lingen ONS Newsletter 152 for a copper coin with mint name Gulshanabad).

Fig 5. Nasik Rupee (Jaripataka type)<sup>32</sup>



Fig 6. Chandori Rupee (standard type Ry28 – may not be the type issued by the British?)<sup>33</sup>



Fig 7. Chandori Rupee with dot below trisul, possibly the latest known type. Perhaps this was the type struck under British authority<sup>34</sup>?



Other mints may have been operational after 1823, because there is an entry in the records that shows the number of coins struck on average, annually, in various places during the period 1823 to 1833<sup>35</sup>.

Table 4  
Average annual coinage for 10 years prior to 1833/34 at the Presidency and subordinates.

Mint	Number	Comments
Candeish	80,000	
Ahmednuggur & Nassick	205,000	Chandore rupee

#### Candeish

Candeish (or Khandesh) was a district to the north of Nasik but exactly where in this district a mint might have existed is not clear. The Assay Master's report of 1821 states that the Chandore rupee was the standard coin of Candeish so it seems likely that any mint in Candeish would have produced the Chandore rupee. Indeed, the table above might even be referring to the mint at Chandore, which is not far from Candeish. Alternatively, the table may refer to the number of coins shipped to the treasuries at Candeish rather than the number produced there. If coins were produced at a mint in Candeish, there is currently no information known about the design of the coins.

#### Ahmednuggur (Ahmadnagar)

As with Candeish, there is no clear reference to the site of a mint operating under British jurisdiction in Ahmednuggur. There was a Maratha mint at Wabgaon (Vaphgaon), which is close to Ahmednuggur<sup>36</sup>, so perhaps this mint was operational during the 1820s. Alternatively, the table might simply refer to coins supplied to Nasik and Ahmednuggur Collectories from the Chandore mint. The design of the coins is not known.

#### Pattern Coins for Ahmednuggur

In 1820, consideration was given to a request to establish a mint at Ahmednuggur by Captain Gibbon<sup>37</sup>. The mint was to produce coins for the whole Deccan with Captain Gibbon himself acting as Mint Master. The coins were to consist of silver rupees (double,

29 Bombay Consultations, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1833. IOR P/409/28, No. 651.

30 Bombay Consultations, 27<sup>th</sup> November 1833. IOR P/409/28, No. 651.

31 Maheshwari & Wiggins, Maratha Mints and Coinage (1989).

32 Photo from Jan Lingen

33 Photo and information from Jan Lingen

34 Photo and information from Jan Lingen

35 Bombay Consultations, 1835. IOR P/411/54, No. 5 & 6. 21<sup>st</sup> January 1835.

36 Bhandare S. Personal communication

37 Bombay Consultations, 26<sup>th</sup> April 1820. IOR P/408/45, p323.



single, half, quarter and eighth) and copper pice (double, single and half) and specimens of the rupee and pice were sent to Bombay. In the event the proposal was rejected on the grounds that a serving officer could not undertake such work and there were no plans to establish a Mint Master for the Deccan. However, a specimen of a copper pattern rupee for the Deccan dated 1820 exists in the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay and has been published by P.L. Gupta. No very clear photo of this coin is available for publication but the coin is described as follows:

**Fig 8. Ahmednuggur Pattern Rupee**

Obverse: The date, 1820, above a Nagari inscription surrounded by the legend THE HONBLE EAST INDIA COMANY

1820  
सरकार  
कंपनी अंगरेज  
बाहादुर सन  
१२२०

Transliterated as: *Sarkār/Kampany Angrez/Bahādur San/1220* (or, more probably, 1221). The picture published by Gupta is not very clear but a date of Sursan 1221 is most likely.

Reverse: A Persian inscription surrounded by the legend BRITISH INDIA DECCAN ONE RUPEE

سركار كميپني  
انگريز باهاور  
۱۲۲۱  
سنه

Transliterated as: *Sarkār Kampany/Angrez Bahādur/4321 Sanah*

The script shown by Gupta is not quite as depicted on the coin and he shows the date 1220 in Persian script. This appears to be a mistake. However, he then goes on to state that the date reads 4321 but that it should read 1234. This would equate to AD 1818/1819 which is close to the 1820 engraved in English.

It is very likely that this is an example of the pattern rupee submitted to Government by Gibbon

**Table 5. Poona Catalogue**

Cat No.	Type	Denomination	Fasli	=AD	Comments
1.	Ankusi	Rupee	1232	1822	
2.		"	1233	1823	
3.		"	1234	1824	
4.		"	1235	1825	
5.		"	1236	1826	Mitchiner 1759.
6.		"	1237	1827	Lingen (personal communication)
7.		"	1238	1828	
8.		"	1239	1829	KM 122 p97
9.		"	1240	1830	KM 122 p97
10.		"	1241	1831	KM 122 p97
11.		"	1242	1832	
12.		"	1243	1833	
13.		"	1244	1834	Ref: KM 122 p97
14.		Half Rupee	1233	1823	Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 743
15.		"	1238	1828	Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 743
16.		"	1241	1831	Maheshwari & Wiggins
17.		"	1242	1832	Maheshwari & Wiggins
18.		Quarter Rupee	1233	1823	Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 743
19.		"	1237	1827	Baldwin (2001), sale 25 (Wiggins), lot 743
20.		"	1241	1831	Maheshwari & Wiggins
21.		"	1242	1832	Maheshwari & Wiggins
22.		Eighth Rupee	1234	1824	Maheshwari & Wiggins
23.		"	1240	1830	Maheshwari & Wiggins
24.	Hali Sicca	Rupee	1230	1820	KM 126 p97
25.		"	1231	1821	
26.		"	1232	1822	
27.		"	1233	1823	Maheshwari & Wiggins
28.		"	1234	1824	Mitchiner 1758.
29.		"	1235	1825	BM
30.		"	1236	1826	
31.		"	1237	1827	Maheshwari & Wiggins
32.		"	1238	1828	Maheshwari & Wiggins
33.		"	1239	1829	Maheshwari & Wiggins
34.		"	1240	1830	KM 126 p97
35.		"	1241	1831	KM 126 p97
36.		"	1242	1832	BM
37.		"	1243	1833	KM 126 p97
38.		"	1244	1834	
39.		Half Rupee	1233	1823	Maheshwari & Wiggins



40.	"	1236	1826	Maheshwari & Wiggins
41.	Quarter Rupee	1230	1823	Maheshwari & Wiggins
42.	"	1238	1826	Maheshwari & Wiggins
43.	Pice	1230	1820	Ref: BM. All the pice are wrongly attributed in KM South Asia p98 to Satara.
44.		1231	1821	Ref: BM
45.		1232	1822	Ref: BM
46.		1233	1823	Ref: BM
47.		1234	1824	Ref: BM
48.		1235	1825	Ref: BM
49.		1237	1827	Ref: KM South Asia p98.
50.		1238	1828	Ref: KM South Asia p98.
51.		1239	1829	Ref: BM
52.		1240	1830	Ref: BM

Table 6. Nasik (Gulshanabad) Catalogue

Cat No.	MW <sup>1</sup>	Denom	AH	RY	=AD	Comments
53.	T6a	Rupee	1234		1818/19	These are the 'Jaripataka' rupees
54.	"	"	1235		1819/20	
55.	"	"	1236		1820/21	
56.	"	"	1237		1821/22	
57.	"	"	1244		1828/29	
58.	"	"	1247		1831/32	
59.	"	"	1248		1832/33	
60.	"	"	1249		1833/34	
61.	T6a	Half Rupee	1235		1819/20	
62.	"	"	1236		1820/21	
63.	T6a	Quarter Rupee	1236		1820/21	
64.	T6a	Eighth Rupee	1236		1820/21	

1. Maheshwari & Wiggins *Maratha Mints and Coinage*, Nasik 1989

Table 7. Chandore Catalogue

Cat No.	Denom	AH	RY	=AD	Comments
65.	Rupee	?	?	?	Type not identified

Table 8. Candeish (unknown mint) Catalogue

Cat No.	Denom	AH	RY	=AD	Comments
66.	Rupee	?	?	?	May be the coins issued from the Chandore mint

Table 8. Ahmednuggur Catalogue

Cat No.	Denom	Status	AH	RY	=AD	Comments
67.	Rupee	Currency	?	?	?	No examples discovered
68.	Rupee	Copper Pattern	1234?	-	1820	Only known example in Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay
69.	Pice	Pattern	?	?	1820?	No examples discovered. Example sent to Bombay by Captain Gibbon in 1820.

#### Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the help and advice of Jan Lingen and Shailendra Bhandare in the preparation of this paper.

#### On the origin of the Kushans with reference to numismatic and anthropological data

By Michael Fedorov

Chinese chronicles render valuable information on the Ta Yüeh-chih (Yueji) and the Kuei-shuang (Kushan). The earliest one, *Shi-chi* incorporated the itinerary of a Chinese envoy, Chang Ch'ien, dispatched to the Ta Yüeh-chih, who being defeated by Hsiung-nu (Huns) migrated to Central Asia, in order to induce them to war against the Huns. He was detained by the Huns, fled from them, found the Ta Yüeh-chih, but failed to persuade them to wage war against the Huns, and returned to China after thirteen years' stay abroad. He wrote: "*Ta Yüeh-chih* is situated almost 3000 li (1500km) westwards of *Ta-yüan* (Fergana). It is to the north of *Wei-shu* (Amu Daria). To the south of it is *Ta-hsia* (Bactria), to the

west is An-hsi (Parthia), to the north of it is K'ang-kü. It is a nomad kingdom. Following their herds they roam from one place to other. Originally the Yüeh-chih lived between Tun-huang and (Mt.) Ch'i-lien. When they were defeated by the Hsiung-nu ... they passed Ta-Yüan and went west as far as Ta-hsia which they attacked and subjugated. They settled their imperial court at the northern side of the *Wei-shu* (underlined by me, MF). Part of the Yüeh-chih stayed in the southern mountains (in East Turkestan). They are called 'Small Yüeh-chih'" (Bichurin 1950, 150-152). It is important that, at the time of Ch'ang Ch'ien, the realm of Ta Yüeh-chi was north of the *Wei-shu* (Oxus) and their capital was on the northern side of the *Wei-shu*. But Ch'ang Ch'ien wrote that Ta Yüeh-chih attacked and subjugated Ta-hsia (Bactria-MF). It means that, having conquered northern Bactria, the Ta Yüeh-chih invaded southern Bactria, subjugated its petty kingdoms but returned to northern Bactria, being satisfied for a while that the Bactrian kings



had become their vassals and paid them tribute. There, north of the Oxus, Ch'ang Ch'ien met in 129-128 BC the Ta-Yüeh-chih, who were still leading a nomadic way of life.

Ch'ang Ch'ien also visited Ta-hsia (Bactria). His description of (southern) Bactria leaves no doubt that, by 129-128 BC, it was still not occupied by the Yüeh-chih: "Ta-shia, situated in the south of the Oxus river, is more than two thousand li to the south-west of Ta-Yüan (Fergana). They are sedentary, have walled cities and houses, and the same customs as the Ta-Yüan. They have no great kings, but some cities and towns have small chiefs. Their soldiers are weak. When the Ta-Yüeh-chih migrated westward, they attacked and defeated them and subjugated all the Ta-shia. The Ta-shia population is approximately more than one million. Their (and not that of Yüeh-chih - MF) capital is named Lan-shi ch'eng (the walled city of Lan-shi)" (Narain 1962, 129). As one may see, Ch'ang Ch'ien did not mention the Yüeh-chih living in southern Bactria at that time.

Then the situation changed. According to A. Narain (1962, 140), circa 100 BC the Yüeh-chih crossed the Amu Daria en masse and occupied southern Bactria. *Ch'ien Han shu (History of the Former Han, 206 BC-8 AD)* states: "The Ta Yüeh-chih kingdom. (The King) resides at Ch'ien-shi cheng... The Ta Yüeh-chih were originally a nomadic nation... They lived between Tun-huang and (Mt.) Ch'i-lien. Mao tun shan-yu (of the Hsiung-nu) attacked them and defeated... Thus the Yüeh-chih moved far away... They went as far as Ta-hsia, which they attacked and subjugated, and settled their imperial court north of the Oxus river... The Ta-shia had originally no great kings or chiefs. Some cities and towns had their small chiefs. The people were weak and feared fighting. So the Ta Yüeh-chih moved there, subjugated them all, and both the Ta Yüeh-chih and the Ta-hsia accepted the order of the Chinese embassy sent by the Han court. There are five *hsi-hou*: Hsiu-mi, with its capital Ho-mo; Shuang-mi with its capital Shuang-mi; Kuei-shuang with its capital Hu-tso; Hsi-tun with its capital Po-mo; and Kao-fu with its capital Kao-fu (Kabul). All belonged to the Ta Yüeh-chih as their subjects (underlined by me - MF)". A. K. Narain (1962, 130) wrote: "the term *hsi-hou*, connected by some with the title *yabgu* 'chief', taken by Kujula Kadphises, seemed to imply indiscriminately 'clan' or 'chief of a clan'". I would add here: "and also 'principality of a clan' (i.e. 'yabguate')".

The *Hou Han shu (History of the later Han, 25-125 AD)* states: "the country of Ta-Yüeh-chih situated at Lan-shih Ch'eng (not in Ch'ien-shih Ch'eng as the *Ch'ien Han shu* has it - MF) which is at a distance of 49 days' travel from An-hsi (Parthia)... and 16370 li (8185 km) from Lo-yang (capital of China) ... when the Yüeh-chih were destroyed by the Hsiung-nu, they went to Ta-hsia and divided the country among five *hsi-hou*: Hsiu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Pa-tun, and Tu-mi. One hundred years and odd later, Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh, *hsi-hou* of the Kuei-shuang, attacked and destroyed (the other) four *hsi-hou*, became independent and set himself on the throne. (His) kingdom was called Kuei-shuang-wang (king of Kuei-shuang). He invaded An-hsi (Parthia) and took the district of Kao-fu (Kabul - MF). He destroyed P'u-ta and Chi-pin, both of which were completely subjugated to him. Ch'iu-chiu-ch'ueh died at the age of more than eighty. Yen-kao-chen became king in succession. He destroyed T'ien-chu (India), where he stationed a general to supervise and govern. Since then the Yüeh-chih are the most prosperous and rich. Many (other) countries call them Kuei-shuang-wang (Kushan kings), but in China they are called Ta-Yüeh-chih according to their old designation (underlined by me. Could it be said more explicitly? - MF)" (Narain 1962, 131).

B. Puri (1974, 183-184) wrote that the marked change took place in the account relating to the Yüeh-chih and Kuei-shuang. The capital of Yüeh-chih in this account is given as Lan Shi, which, according to some scholars (Puri 1974, 188), was the Greek "Alexandria", the capital of Bactria, better known as Bactra. The account relating to the five principalities given here is also different. The *Ch'ien Han shu* states: "There are five *hsi-hou* (underlined by me - MF): **Hsiu-mi**, with capital Ho-mo; **Shuang-mi** with capital Shuang-mi; **Kuei-shuang** with capital Hu-tso; **Hsi-tun** with capital Po-mo; and **Kao-fu** with capital Kao-fu", the *Hou Han shu* states: "they went to Ta-hsia and divided the country

among five *hsi-hou* (underlined by me - MF): **Hsiu-mi**, **Shuang-mi**, **Kuei-shuang**, **Pa-tun** (in *Ch'ien Han shu* Hsi-tun), and **Tu-mi**". Instead of Kao-fu (supposed by him to be a mistake by *Ch'ien Han shu* the chronicler gave **Tu-mi** as the name of the fifth principality.

"The Japanese scholar, Kuwabara Kituzo", wrote B. Puri, "was the first to discover the discrepancy between the two accounts. In his opinion, the authors of the *Hou Han shu* had misunderstood the *Tsien Han shu*. The five *hi-hou* are now supposed to have existed already in Ta-hsia when the Yüeh-chih invaded the Bactrian kingdom, therefore Kushans could not have been Yüeh-chih. The main argument for separating the five *hi-hou* from the Yüeh-chih is the passage 'they are all dependent on the Yüeh-chih'. It is argued that the term 'dependent' would make no sense if the *hi-hou* were Yüeh-chih themselves. One, however, feels that much stress has been laid on the evidence from the Chinese annals, ignoring other obvious factors, like the dress of the Kushans, their features, the use of titles, designations and the language... If that (i.e. Bactria) was the original habitat of the Kushans before their subjugation by the Yüeh-chih, were they known by some other name? The pun on the words need not be taken as decisive in fixing the ... nationality of the Kushans when there are other factors which cannot be ignored". But having convincingly refuted the theory of Kuwabara Kituzo, B. Puri surprisingly (and in my opinion somewhat illogically) came to the following conclusion: "It is probable that the Kushans lived somewhere near Bactria or to the south of it and were a part of the ancient Saka stock. They were known as the Tocharians or Tukharas. While the Kushan rulers do not use the tribal epithet, the Indian sources continue to name them Tokharas. As an important Yabgu, they owed temporary allegiance to the Yüeh-chih consequent to their conquest of Ta-hsia" (Puri 1974, 184, 186). This view was refuted by B. Mukherjee who contended that the Chinese sources were quite definite about the Kushans belonging to the Great Yüeh-chih and the Sakas being distinct from the Yüeh-chih and therefore one cannot maintain that the Kushans had derived from the Sakas (Central Asia 1974, 245).

According to W. Tarn (1951, 283) "the new theory, which makes of the five Yüeh-chih princes (the Kushan chief being one) five Saka princes of Bactria conquered by the Yüeh-chih, throws the plain account in the *Hou Han shu* overboard. The theory is one more unhappy offshoot of the elementary blunder which started the belief in a Saka conquest of Greek Bactria".

K. Enoki (1974, 265) wrote: "All belonged to the Ta Yüeh-chih" does not mean 'All were of the Ta Yüeh-chih', but 'All were under the rule of the Ta Yüeh-chih'. It is clear (!?-M. F.) from the context that the five yabgus were the small leaders who were placed at some cities and towns". I believe it is vice versa and 'All belonged to the Ta Yüeh-chih' meant 'All were of the Ta Yüeh-chih'. K. Enoki referred to the Japanese scholar, Jitsuzo Kuwabara (1916) "who insisted that the Kushan yabgu was not of Ta Yüeh-chih origin but of the Ta-hsia. Toru Haneda (1930, 1933) agreed with Kuwabara's view. Kuwabara's opinion was accepted by Sten Konov (1933), and Paul Pelliot (1934)". Here I ought to add that this view was also supported by a scholar from Kazakhstan, Iu. A. Zuev (1974, 198-202). "Yes, it is true", wrote K. Enoki (1974, 273), "that the Ta Yüeh-chih disappeared some time between their conquest of Ta-shia and the destruction of four yabgus by the Kushans. This is an enigma in the ancient history of Central Asia, which may be solved by the appearance of new evidence in the future. However, as far as the statement of the *Han shu* is concerned, Kuwabara is right".

In my opinion, there is no enigma or mystery because the Kushans stemmed from the Ta Yüeh-chih. The archaeological, anthropological and numismatic data show that the Kushans did belong to the Ta Yüeh-chih. Judging by the portraits on their coins the Kushan kings had artificial deformations of their skulls. Leading Soviet anthropologist V. Ginzburg (1974, 225) wrote: "Head deformation is clearly visible on many images of Kushan kings on coins, which is in agreement with data testifying to their nomadic descent, since the ancient local settled population did not practice head deformation on a mass scale, nor did it have burials of the 'catacomb-shaft' type".

In the 1980s, in Kirgizia, I myself participated in excavations of the nomad barrows where the skulls with artificial deformation



were found. In VIII-III c. BC Kirgizia was populated by Saka nomad tribes who left burial sites comprising barrows on top of pits covered with logs. These Saka nomads were europoids and the artificial deformation of the skull was not wide-spread among them. Then starting in the II c. AD in Central Asia burial sites of barrows with the catacomb or shaft type graves appeared. The graves of the catacomb-shaft type were left by Yueji and Usun nomad tribes migrating from the east and settling in Central Asia. Apart from the catacomb-shaft graves another distinguishing characteristic of these tribes was their practice of artificial deformation of the head, to give to the skull a higher, elongated shape (Istoriia 1984, 40, 150-2; Ginzburg 1974, 225). Judging by their portraits, Kushan kings had annular artificial (macrocephalic) deformation of the skull. It is likely that one of the reasons for the deformation was striving to show the power of the conqueror, to stand out in some way, or else it was a symbol of the ruler and nobility. Another reason for the artificial deformation of the skull may have been the desire of the local population or of some other group to acquire similar or distinct anthropological features. It is noteworthy that judging by their anthropological type and by the mode of the artificial deformation of the skull, the Kushans were closely related to the Hephthalites, the eastern nomad tribes who invaded Central Asia several centuries later. Apart from Kirgizia, artificial deformation of skulls has been recorded in burial sites in Uzbekistan (Fergana, Khorezm, Tashkent and Bukharan oases, Surkhan Daria valley), in Southern Tajikistan and South-westernmost Tajikistan (Zezenkova 1974, 232, 235-236). i.e. in all places where Yüeh-chih either settled or through which they passed.

In Uzbekistan, the southernmost find of a skull with the artificial annular deformation (dated to the late-Kushan period, II-III c. AD) was made in a burial site 18 km north of Termez (fig. 1). A clay painted sculpture of a Yüeh-chih prince (dated to the I c. BC) from the royal palace at Khalchaian is very interesting (fig. 2). This prince had artificial deformation of his skull and a slight admixture of Mongoloid racial features. There is a distinct affinity between this prince and "Kushan Herai (?) Sanab", a king who in the second half (or in the last quarter) of the I c. BC minted the earliest coins mentioning the Kushan (fig. 3). Rulers from the dynasty of the Great Kushan, Vima Kadphises and Kanishka, had pronounced artificial deformations of their skulls (fig. 4, 5). V. Ia. Zezenkova (1974, 235) noted that in craniological material from Kushan times there were types with an admixture of Armenoid features. Vima Kadphises had a pronounced Armenoid nose. The coin of Chach (III-IV c. AD) depicts a king with artificial deformation of the skull and a heavy Armenoid nose (fig. 6). It proves that both the ruling dynasty of Chach and the dynasty of the Great Kushan stemmed from the Yüeh-chih and not from the Ta-shia (Bactrians). Otherwise one would have to admit that the Ta-shia ruled the Chach (which is absurd).

The Yüeh-chih were no altruists. Having conquered Southern Bactria they split it between five Yüeh-chih yabgus, having removed or eliminated the local petty Graeco-Bactrian dynasties. The notion that the Yüeh-chih conquered Ta-hsia just to split it between five local Ta-shia yabgus sounds absurd to me (to say the least). Invasions of Central Asia by eastern nomads happened with monotonous regularity every 150-200 years. The steppes east of Central Asia from time immemorial were the home of nomads. But it could only feed a certain amount of the livestock which nomads subsisted on. When animals and people proliferated out of proportion, bloody fights broke out for pastures. The victor seized the pastures, the defeated had to leave the country. The warlike, hungry and avid nomads (born horsemen and warriors) invaded the flourishing sedentary oases of Central Asia, annihilated native states and dynasties and created states and dynasties of their own. It was normal, routine procedure. And if some native petty king (Chach, Fergana, Khwarezm, Sogdiana and Bactria were confederations of petty kingdoms) managed to survive the invasion of eastern nomad tribes and retain his throne, it was an exception to the rule. The ancient coins of Central Asia reflected the invasions of nomad tribes from the east, or rather the change of ruling dynasties caused by such invasions. Thus, apart from the rulers of Chach and the Kushans, there was a dynasty of rulers with the artificial deformation of the skull in Bukharan Sogd (namely the dynasty founded by king Hyrkod in the I c. BC. Both

Hyrkod (fig. 7) and his close successors (fig. 8) had distinct artificial deformations of the skull. Later though, as their coins show, rulers from the Hyrkod dynasty gave up the practice of artificial deformation of the head.

Thus archaeological, anthropological and numismatic data attest to the fact that Kushans stemmed from the Ta Yüeh-chih.

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1. The skull with annular (macrocephalic) artificial deformation from a burial site 18 km north of Termez (II-III c.).
2. The painted clay sculpture of a Yüeh-chih prince with artificial deformation of the skull from the royal palace at Khalchaian (I c. BC).
3. The portrait of the "Kushan Herai(?) Sanab" placed on his coins (second half or the last quarter of I c. BC). Artificial deformation of the skull is distinct.
4. The portrait of Vima Kadphises placed on his coins. Artificial deformation of the skull is distinct.
5. The portrait of Kanishka placed on his coins. Artificial deformation of the skull is distinct.
6. The portrait of a ruler of Chach placed on his coins. Artificial deformation of the skull is distinct.
7. The portrait of Hyrkod placed on his coins. Artificial deformation of the skull is distinct.
8. The portrait of a close successor of Hyrkod's placed on his coins. Artificial deformation of the skull is distinct.

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