



### ONS News

#### From the Editor

Members in continental Europe should note that Jan Lingen, the Regional Secretary, has a new address. This can be found in the section below on revised addresses and also on the back page.

#### London Meetings

There will be a meeting at the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum at 11.00 a.m. on Saturday 12 May 2007. As it will be the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Indian Mutiny, the theme of the meeting will be "the British Empire in Asia". Talks planned so far are:

Shailendra Bhandare: "Rethinking the Revolt: Coinage in 1857-59."

Prof Ruby Maloni of the History Dept, University of Mumbai: "The Rani of Jhansi,"

Paul Stevens: "Dr Stewart and his machinery for the copper coinage of Bombay".

A second meeting at the Department of Coins and Medals, British Museum at 11 a.m. is planned for Saturday 1 December 2007, commencing 11 a.m.

#### AGM

In Journal no 190 we said that, subject to confirmation, the annual general meeting of the Society would be held at the London Coin fair on 9 June 2007. Unfortunately that will not be possible because a number of Council members will not be able to attend the meeting. Instead the annual general meeting will be held at the meeting planned for Saturday 1 December 2007 at the British Museum in London.

#### Jena Meeting

This year's meeting is due to take place on 12-13 May. A provisional programme has been drawn up which includes the following papers, to be given in German or English depending on the contributor.

Dieter Weber: "Sasanian money and money payments in texts"

Susan Tyler-Smith: "The Shiraz 11/13 hoard"

Dietrich Schnädelbach: "Coin weight standards"

Paul Yule: "The coins of the Sabaeans: using the die-comparison method"

Stefan Heidemann: "The first textual reference to the Mongol capital, Qara Qorum 635/1237"

Johann-Christoph Hinrichs: "Das Kreuz mit dem Kreuz – Christian coinage of the Ilkhanid period"

Muhammad Younis: "First results about the numismatic research on Shiraz"

Necdet Kabaklar: "Snake figures on Ayasluq and Tire mangirs"

For more information please contact:

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### New Members

#### European Region

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notably a well illustrated on coins of Vidarbha Janapada by Avinash Ramteke, and various articles on coins of some early rulers of Maharashtra by both Prashant Kulkarni and Shailendra Bhandare. For more information please contact the editor, Dilip Rajgor, c/o Reesha Books International, Mumbai,

Michael Fedorov: "On the internecine war of 1013-1017 in the Qarākhānid Khaqanate (Qarākhānid coins as historical sources)" in *Central Asiatic Journal*, 51 (2007)1, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden

## Lists Received

1. Stephen Album [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]
2. Early World Coins [redacted]  
[redacted]  
list 44 of oriental coins.

## New and Recent Publications

*The Numismatic Chronicle*, volume 166, London, 2006, includes the following articles and items of oriental interest:

Robert Tye: "Late Indian punchmarked coins in the Mir Zakah II hoard".

Pankaj Tandon: "New light on the Pāratārājas".

Haim Gitler & Matthew Ponting: "Chemical analysis of medieval Islamic coin dies".

Pankaj Tandon: "A gold coin of the Pāla king Dharmapāla".

T.D. Yih: "The typology of Xinjiang silver half miscal pieces inscribed *obdan gumush / besh fen*".

Nikolaus Schindler: "A hoard of Umayyad copper coins from Baysān".

Michael Fedorov: "The Burana hoard of gold dinars (566-605/1170-1209)".

Michael Fedorov: "A hoard of Khytai copper-lead alloy silverwashed dirhams from the Burana hillfort".

There are also reviews of the following books:

Rika Gyselen, *New Evidence for Sasanian Numismatics: the Collection of Ahmad Saedi* (S. Tyler-Smith)

Makiko Tsumura & Kazuya Yamauchi (eds), *Sasanian and Arab-Sasanian Silver Coins from Xinjiang – Sasanian-type Silver Coins in the Xinjiang Museum*. Silk Roadology 19 (S. Tyler-Smith)

Tobias Mayer (with S. Heidemann & G. Rispling), *Sylloge der Münzen des Kaukasus und Osteuropas (Orientalisches Münzkabinet Jena I)* (J. Kolbas).

The article by Pankaj Tandon on the Pāratārājas is of particular importance. It deals with the silver coins and, with the benefit of a larger corpus of specimens, the author has been able to correct previously erroneous or tentative readings, present new legends, identify the rulers and draw up a plausible chronological sequence.

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*Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Madeni Paraları / Ottoman Empire Coins*, vol. 1 AH 1255-1336, by Kaan Uslu, M. Fatih Beyazit & Tuncay Kara. Hard cover, full colour, 168 pages, 243 photographs. This book covers the period from Abdülmeceid to Mehmed VI and lists 1763 different coins from 10 mints, their weights and diameters, mintage figures and gives values for three grades. The price is around \$27 plus \$10 postage. For more information please refer to [www.ottomancoins.com](http://www.ottomancoins.com)

Newsletters 40 (July-September 2006) and 41 (October-December 2006) of the Indian Coin Society have been received. These contain some interesting articles on ancient Indian coinage,

## Other News

### RNS Shamma Prize

The Royal Numismatic Society of Great Britain has awarded Jere L. Bacharach the 2007 Samir Shamma Prize for the publication of his book "Islamic History Through Coins: An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikhshidid Coinage" [Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 2006]. The Prize was awarded jointly with Aman Ur-Rahman's "Zahir-uddin Babur. A Numismatic Study." The Shamma Prize is awarded every other year by the RNS for the best book in the field of Islamic numismatics published during that period.

### Gift of Chinese Coins to Princeton University, USA

A gift of more than 2000 ancient and medieval Chinese coins has been made to Princeton University Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. The gift was arranged by a former alumnus, Lawren Wu, from his mother in memory of his father, the late collector, Souheng Wu. According to Alan Stahl, curator of the University Numismatic Collection, the Wu collection is notable for the care with which it was assembled, with many examples that are extremely rare or notable for their subtle variations in calligraphy. The gift greatly augments the University's collection of Chinese coins, with a comprehensive representation of the coinage from the Tang, Sung, Yuan and Qing dynasties. There are also pieces from the non-Chinese dynasties of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the period of the Mongol Yuan dynasty. Rarities in the Wu collection include a four-character Qi knife coin, two examples of the Wang Mang gold inlaid knife coins and a piece from the Tang dynasty Kaiyuan in silver.

Students are currently helping Stahl photograph and catalogue the Wu collection for the online database, which features about 1500 of the University's total collection of 60,000 coins. The collection is available for research to the University community and the public. To view the online numismatic database go to:

[www.princeton.edu/~rbcs/department/numismatics](http://www.princeton.edu/~rbcs/department/numismatics)

## Auction News

Spink will be offering for sale the collection of Ottoman coins of the late Mr Kenneth MacKenzie at their auction on 27 June 2007. This collection, built up over a lifetime, is particularly rich in the hard-to get smaller denominations from all the many Ottoman mints. An on-line catalogue for this auction can be viewed from early June on [www.spink.com](http://www.spink.com), or contact Barbara Mears at Spink on +44 20 7563 4091 / +44 20 7563 4000.

## Reviews

V. D. Shagalov and A. V. Kuznetsov, *Katalog Monet Chacha III-VII vv./Catalogue of the Coins of Chach III-VIII A.D.*, Hardbound without dust jacket, 328 pages, richly illustrated with black and white photographs and drawings. Full text in Russian and English. Published in Tashkent by the Academy of Science of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Price US \$30 plus postage from Tashkent.

Reviewed by James A. Farr

This is by far the most significant and complete work to date on the ancient coinage of Chach, the historical and cultural region surrounding the Tashkent oasis, from the 3<sup>rd</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries AD. The work is based on the examination of more than 2000 coins and incorporates information from ancient written sources, numismatic and historical investigations of modern scholars, and a wealth of data from coin finds. In many instances the authors provide conclusions and translations of legends of more than one authority without attempting to conclude that any one in particular is correct. While I find this personally to be intellectually unsatisfying, it represents the reality that studying ancient coins and ancient languages is difficult, inexact, and open to multiple interpretations. The beauty of this work is that by providing these differences of opinion, future scholars will be able easily to recognise where there are uncertainties that can be resolved with new coin finds, new information, and fresh points of view.

The coins in the catalogue are divided into nine groups based on the form of the dynastic tamgha on the reverse of the coin. The groups are further divided into types based on obverse portraiture or other representation and legends on the coins. Variants within types are also noted. The nine groups represent an approximate chronological order of the coins of Chach.

Group 1 contains the earliest coins and represents a single type that was used from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. The authors note a gradual decrease in size, degradation in script, and changes in the portrait over the two or three centuries of its use, and they use the changes over time to further divide the type into three chronological periods. All seem to cite the name of a single ruler read by Rtveladze as Wanwan. Groups 2 – 9 were each used over a shorter time, and the authors do not further divide these into periods. The authors provide three separate chronologies for the dates of production of the final eight types. These chronologies were determined by A. V. Kuznetsov, E. V. Rtveladze, and G. Babayarov, respectively, but the authors make no attempt to reconcile these three differing dating scenarios.

Many, but not all, of the coins within Groups 2-9 have the names of rulers, and many, but not all, of the names of these rulers have been tentatively read, often with different readings by different scholars. There are often multiple rulers within each group, each associated with a different type. Because the groups are defined by the type of tamgha found on them, it is likely that each represents a single dynasty or location within the Chach region, and that the multiple rulers within each group belong to a single dynasty.

Perhaps one of the most important aspects of this book is its systematic reconstruction of coin legends, including variations within types. The legends and variants are numbered sequentially throughout the book, with variations of the same legend grouped together, and with the phonetic transliterations of the legends above each group. This is an extremely useful feature. Discussions of the translation of each legend are included within the text accompanying the descriptions of each type and variant within the catalogue.

While there are photographs of each type and variant contained within each description, there are also very nice plates of high-quality drawings at the end of the book. Where relevant, these drawings also show linkages of obverse and reverse variants.

In summary, this is an outstanding work that provides a significant advancement of our understanding of this heretofore poorly understood series of coins. Only in the past decade or so have coins of Chach begun to appear somewhat frequently in the international market, probably a result of a more serious attempt by local numismatists and archaeologists to find buried coins. This book provides the most comprehensive analysis of known types and will be invaluable to scholars and collectors alike. Because it is written in both English and Russian, it will be accessible to a much wider audience than the majority of previous work published on this material. Finally, I should note that the English translation, while somewhat quirky, is actually quite good.

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Jere L. Bacharach, *Islamic History through Coins: An Analysis and Catalogue of Tenth-Century Ikhshidid Coinage*, xix +188 pages, numerous black and white illustrations, published by The American University in Cairo Press, Cairo and New York, 2006. ISBN 977 424 930 5. Hard cover with dust jacket. Price US\$ 24.50.

Reviewed by James A. Farr

The Ikhshidids were governors serving under the Abbasids in Egypt, Palestine and, to a lesser extent, Syria, from AH 323 – 358/935-969 AD. They were contemporaries of the Hamdanids in Syria and the Jazira, and of the Shi'ite Fatimids. The dynasty was founded by Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid, whose grandfather had been a mamluk imported from non-Islamic central Asia, most likely Ferghana. Muhammad was made governor of Egypt under the Abbasid Caliph, al-Qahir, in 321/933, and he successfully defeated pro-Fatimid forces in Misr in 323/935. The Ikhshidids controlled Egypt and Palestine until they were defeated by the Fatimids in 358/969.

This book provides an extraordinary look at the history and numismatics of Ikhshidid rule. In many respects it is intended for two different audiences. The first part is a detailed political history of the Ikhshidids based on both textual sources and numismatic analysis and should be read by anyone who still has doubts about the contributions that numismatics can make to the study of history. The second part of the book is a catalogue of Ikhshidid coinage intended more strictly for numismatists.

The first chapter provides a general framework of what coins can tell us. In particular, the author concentrates on the actual appearance of coins (number of lines of inscriptions, number of circular legends), the names and titles of people on the coins, the differences in appearance among monetary zones, denominations, and the fineness of gold and silver in dinars and dirhams. He focuses on the general appearance of second-period Abbasid coins and explains the hierarchy of names found on coins (caliph, heir, governor) and the proper locations on coins where each step of the hierarchy is found.

Chapter two examines the coinage and rule of Muhammad al-Ikhshid. Although Muhammad's name did not appear on his coinage until 330, there is a remarkable series of silver presentation coinage in his name. The earliest is a small dirham struck in Misr in 324 with the names of the caliph al-Radi and Muhammad b. Tughj, and it was probably intended to proclaim Muhammad's political independence from the Abbasid caliph. Another undated piece, also struck in Misr, was struck in the name of al-Radi and Muhammad, with Muhammad's name placed within a Tamgha similar to that found on coins of ancient Chach, the general area of origin of Muhammad's ancestors. There are also several presentation pieces with human representations including a gold coin probably patterned after a Byzantine solidus of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The coin has a male portrait on the obverse, probably intended to be Muhammad himself, and the reverse has two beardless males, probably his two sons, Abu'l-Qasim Unujur and 'Ali. These presentation pieces are important because they did not have to follow the rules for what could appear on standard gold and silver coinage and thus provide information that could not be seen on standard coinage.

In 323/938, Muhammad asked al-Radi for the right to have an honorary title (*laqab*), and he specifically requested the title al-Ikhshid in honour of his central Asian ancestry. There were at least ten Ikhshids who ruled in 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century Samarqand, and the title was also used in Chach (Tashkent) and the Ferghana valley. Caliph al-Radi granted the request in 327, and the first presentation piece with the name Muhammad ibn Tughj al-Ikhshid was minted in 329, probably in Misr.

The first circulating coins with Muhammad al-Ikhshid's name appeared in 330. This date coincides with the appearance of the *laqabs* of Muhammad's Hamdanid rivals, the brothers Nasir al-Dawla and Sayf al-Dawla, on their coinage. The author suggests that this was done at least in part so that Ikhshidid and

Hamdanid coinage in this monetary zone would look similar and thus be recognised by those using it. The date also coincides with a sharp increase in the fineness of Ikhshidid gold coinage, which had been substantially debased over the previous decade. The author also points out that contemporary Fatimid dinars had retained their purity and that the lower quality of dinars of Misr and Filastin had been noted by chroniclers of the time. The author suggests that Muhammad al-Ikhshid could have included his name on his coinage to differentiate it from prior debased coinage for which he himself was also responsible.

The final part of the second chapter details the complex relationship between the Ikhshids, Hamdanids, Buyids and Abbasids, their struggle for control of portions of Syria and Iraq, and the overthrow of the Abbasid, al-Muttaqi, in 333/944 in favour of al-Mustakfi. The shifting allegiances are reflected in several rapid changes in the coinage of Muhammad al-Ikhshid until his death in 334/946.

The third chapter deals with all of the coinage of Muhammad al-Ikhshid's successors until the fall of the dynasty to the Fatimids in 358/969. There was only a single Abbasid caliph, al-Muti', during this period. Muhammad al-Ikhshid's son and successor, Abu'l-Qasim Unujur, was never granted a *laqab* by al-Muti'. It is thus significant that he used his *kunya* with the *laqab* of his father, and his coins are thus inscribed with Abu'l-Qasim b. al-Ikhshid. His *ism*, Unujur, was not used on his circulating coinage, but there are two presentation pieces inscribed Abu'l-Qasim Unujur.

Analysis of the relative abundance of coins of Abu'l-Qasim Unujur from the Misr and Filastin mints reveals a significant trend. Prior to 339, dinars from the two mints are equally abundant. During the years 339 through 344, dinars from Misr are much more abundant than those of Filastin. Finally, from 345 until the end of his reign, coins of Misr become very rare or non-existent, and those of Filastin become more common. This latter change appears to coincide with the consolidation of power of the famous eunuch Kafur, a powerful black African slave. Beginning in 345 and continuing until 356, every dinar and dirham, irrespective of mint, contained the Arabic initial *kaf* (the first letter of Kafur's name in Arabic) below either the obverse or reverse of the coin. While earlier Ikhshidid coins contained various single letters in the fields, they followed no apparent pattern and changed often. The author provides a table of these letters and the date, mint and denominations of the coins on which they appear. The regular occurrence of the letter *kaf* on this later coinage indicates a different function, most likely a symbol of Kafur's power and his willingness to proclaim it on the coinage.

When Abu'l-Qasim Unujur died in 349/960, he was succeeded by his brother, Abu'l Hasan 'Ali ibn Muhammad, with Kafur as regent. Unlike his brother, 'Ali used his *ism*, not his *kunya*, and his coins are inscribed 'Ali b. al-Ikhshid, again with the *laqab* of his father. When 'Ali died in 355/966, rather than replacing 'Ali with his young son Ahmad, Kafur ruled in his own name. He was never granted the right of *sikka*, so his coins in Egypt and Palestine includes the name of no governor, only the initial *kaf* on the obverse, indicating his rank as second to the caliph. There is, however, an exceptional dinar from Mecca dated 357 with the name Kafur al-Ikhshid. The coin is similar in appearance to standard 'Abbasid dinars of the monetary zone of Yemen and the Arabian peninsula. The author believes that this dinar, as well as an issue of 354 with the initial *kaf*, were acknowledgments by those controlling the mint in Mecca that Kafur was the master of Egypt.

There are some extremely rare copper coins with the names of both 'Ali and Kafur and of 'Ali alone that are significantly different from other coins of this era. They lack a mint name, but they are believed to have been struck in or near Tarsus in the area of Thughur, the Arab-Byzantine frontier. The local governor had an alliance with the Hamdanids, who were based in Aleppo (Halab). However, when Tarsus was faced with an invasion by the neighbouring Byzantines in 350, the Hamdanid, Sayf al-Dawla, withdrew his support, and the Byzantines overran Tarsus. They left soon afterwards, and the Arabs returned. Apparently Tarsus formed an allegiance with the Ikhshidids in the absence of

support from the Hamdanids, and these copper coins provide supporting evidence. In the end, the Byzantines regained control in 354/965 and repopulated the area with Christians. Ikhshidid support did not arrive in time.

Kafur died in 357/968, and he was succeeded by the eleven-year-old Ahmad ibn 'Ali. However, even though he was the legitimate governor, his name is placed in the third position on his coins, on the reverse under the name of al-Muti'. The second position was held by al-Hasan b. 'Ubayd Allah b. Tughj, indicating that he held the actual family power. Al-Hasan was the grandson of Tughj. He had been based in Palestine. He moved to Egypt to consolidate his power, but he returned to Palestine after growing unrest over his policies in Egypt and the deterioration of conditions in Palestine. When he left Fustat, it quickly fell to the Fatimids in 358, thus ending Ikhshidid rule in Egypt. The Qarmatians then took Palestine. There are coins from Palestine dated 359 in the name of Ahmad and al-Hasan, and a final issue of Tabariya dated 359 with al-Hasan's name in third position, indicating his subordination to the Qarmatian Council of Six. Later that year, the Fatimids also began minting coins in Palestine, thus ending all vestiges of Ikhshidid rule numismatics.

The author provides a concluding chapter summarising the importance of numismatics to the study of history in general and Ikhshidid history in particular. This is followed by tables, a glossary, and, finally, a detailed Catalogue of Ikhshidid Numismatic Material. The catalogue contains 224 coins, with 109 gold dinars in the Abbasid style, 97 silver dirhams in the Abbasid style, three copper coins, two Meccan dinars, and 13 silver and gold presentation pieces. The coins are from eight different mints: Misr, Filastin, Tabariya, Dimashq, Hims, Halab, Makkah and Tarsus.

This is a very important work, not only for its compilation of all types of Ikhshidid coinage known to the author, but also for its extraordinary analysis of the coins in the light of Ikhshidid history. I can strongly recommend adding the book to any library of Islamic numismatics or Islamic history. Finally, I would like to add that the book is inexpensive and available through several commercial booksellers, not just a few specialists in numismatic books.

## YET MORE ON BABUR

Following our publication of part of Danish Moin's review of Aman ur Rahman's book on the coins of Babur, the latter has provided the following rejoinder.

1. Lakhnau/Laknur. Firstly it must be understood that the English rendition of Indian words often causes problems. As an example: Delhi, Dahli, Dili etc. The readers may wish to read the English rendition of the names of the two cities being discussed in virtually all the books listed in the Bibliography, to note the various renditions. I note that my using Annette Beveridge's spelling of the city name as 'Laknur' seemed to have caused the confusion. In retrospect I should have followed Irfan Habib's rendition, *Lakhnau* and *Lakhnur*, in his monumental *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, plate 8A. Had Moin consulted this work, or any other Atlas printed in India, he would not have got involved in a *do chashmi* he issue. As for the *ray* of *Lakhnur*, this is very clearly visible on the specimens reproduced in my book. I refer to readers to note the shape of the *ray* in the mint name *Urdu, Babur etc.* Even by the wildest guess, this *ray* could not be construed as a *hamza*; as my friend Adm. Sohail Khan aptly puts it:

*Your "re-attribution" of the mint to "Laknur" with a "Ray" is correct. I have no doubts in my mind. In your book coins 113-01 and 114-01 on page 107 have the final "Ray" absolutely clear. Why go far, look at every single "Ray" of "Zaheer", "zar -- b", "Rasul", "Agra" that show similar downturned beginning and upturned end of the letter "Ray". There can be no mistake in recognising a "Ray". On the other hand a "Hamza" would resemble (please bear with my description) very close to an "open ended wrench or spanner with mouth open to the right" and its left*

hand end can never have an upturned hook. To recheck, I quickly looked at one of my Jahandar Shah's coin of Lukhnow - it has a perfect spanner to the right - truly a hamza in it. Whereas a "Ray" in this calligraphy (true for each and every specimen coin) has an upturned ending, which a "Hamza" would not have. The issue is settled in favour of a "Ray" at the end of the mint name.

As an aside, some 'several generation' residents of Lucknau narrated that the name of the city arose from the fact that, in medieval times, the city was regularly inundated by the flooding of the river Ghumti, necessitating people to use boats for conveyance, hence 'Lakh nau' – (the city of a) hundred thousand boats. Thus Lakhnur would be (the city of a) hundred thousand lights.

2. Thatta/Patna. The illustration of the Thatta coin is not exactly 'reconstructed'. It is enhanced from an image of the coin illustrated in Numismatic Chronicles Series III, Vol XVI [1896] and Series V, Volume III [1926] and too faint to be reproduced as such. I would refer Mr Moin to these journals to definitively settle the issue for himself.

3. Copper coins. I too have seen the illustration of the coin illustrated by Moin. I believe it is a poorly executed piece made during Humayun's time, where the 'Fay' of the fi is inward bent into the 'yeh.' I need not repeat here why Babur struck no coins in AH 935, and refer Moin to page 44 where I have discussed this in detail.

## Articles

### A DIRHAM, PRESUMABLY MARINID, STRUCK IN SLĀ (SALE, MOROCCO)

By Salvador Peña & Miguel Vega

The hitherto unknown silver dirham<sup>1</sup> we present here must obviously be considered Post-Almohad, i.e. struck after the 13th century AD by one of the dynasties ruling at that time in western Islam, though it is not possible to attribute it with certainty to any of those dynasties in particular, as every now and then happens with medieval Islamic square coins. Our hypothesis is that it was issued by the Marinid dynasty of Morocco. Let us have a look at its inscriptions:



I.C

غالب  
إلا الله  
اسلا

*The Only Prevailing  
is God.  
Slā*

II.C

الحمد لله  
رب  
العالمين

*Praise belongs  
to God,  
Lord of the worlds*

The inscription displayed on the area that should probably be considered the reverse is a quotation from the first chapter of the

<sup>1</sup> Post-Almohad dirham, probable Marinid, with the mintmark *Slā*. Weight: 0.74 gr.; dimensions: 16.00 x 17.53 mm. Private collection.

Qur'an (1:2<sup>2</sup>), its use on Almohad and post-Almohad coins being very well known<sup>3</sup>. In fact, the most interesting legend is displayed on the other side. We refer to the sentence: لا غالب الا الله, which is normally identified as the slogan of the dynasty of the Nasrids, the last kings of Muslim Granada, who covered the walls of their palace-castle, the Alhambra, with those words. This could have logically led us to attribute the coin to the Nasrids. Nevertheless, this tentative attribution seems to be in contradiction with the mintmark: اسلا, certainly an unknown town name both in the realm of the Nasrids, i.e. south-eastern Spain, and among the inscriptions displayed on western Islamic medieval coins. But this does not mean it actually has to be an unknown town, for it is surely an alternative spelling for Sale, the twin town of the Moroccan city of Rabat, name of which appeared on coins struck by the Almohads and the Marinids as سلا, i.e. without the initial *alif*<sup>4</sup>.

Similar alternative spellings of the name of a particular place are not unknown on western Islamic coins. The Almoravids produced coins in Granada engraving the name of the city with and without an initial *alif*: اغرناطة and غرناطة. This can be explained as a normative measure taken in order to preserve the morphological rules of classical Arabic, where no word can begin with two consonants<sup>5</sup>. The same graphic device was — and still is — used in Morocco to reflect one of the native pronunciations of the proper name *M'hammad*, instead of *Muhammad*, which is spelled محمد with an initial *alif*<sup>6</sup>. In addition we must have in mind that the name of Sale is still nowadays pronounced *Sla* in colloquial Arabic. And logically the fact that the coin was produced in Sale justifies our attribution of the coin to the Marinids, although an indefinite influence of the Nasrids may not be disregarded, for the relationships between the two dynasties were complex<sup>7</sup>, and we are far from knowing everything about them.

### DIRHAMS OF AL-HAJJĀJ B. YŪSUF FROM DARABGIRD: A NEW SPECIMEN

By M. I. Mochiri

The use of Arabic written in Kufic script in place of Pahlavi on Arab-Sasanian coins is another step towards the monetary reform of the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik innovated in the 70s AH. This step is attested in the years 76-77 by the dirhams of al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf known as the radiant marginal type.<sup>8</sup> But in the year 79 AH a return to the Sasanian values is attested by the issue of dirhams of al-Hajjāj struck in two mints of Fars described as "citadelles de l'iranisme" by R. Curiel.<sup>9</sup> The first of these two mint places is Bishapur with dirhams dated 79.<sup>10</sup> A specimen of the second mint

<sup>2</sup> We are, in our turn, quoting M.A.S. Abdel Haleem's translation: *The Qur'an*, Oxford University Press, 2004.

<sup>3</sup> See A. Medina Gómez, *Monedas hispano-musulmanas*, Toledo: Diputación, 1992, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> See H.W. Hazard, *The Numismatic History of Late Medieval North Africa*, New York: American Numismatic Society, 1952, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> See M. Vega & S. Peña, "Alternancias epigráficas en las monedas almorávides", *Al-Andalus-Magreb* 10 (2002-03), pp. 293-314.

<sup>6</sup> See F. de la Granja, "A propósito del nombre Muḥammad y sus variantes en occidente", *Al-Andalus* 33 (1968), pp. 231-240, on the pronunciation *M'hammad* in medieval Western Islam.

<sup>7</sup> See, for instance, J. Hassar-Benslimane, "Las relaciones entre el arte meriní y naṣrī", in *Arte islámico en Granada*, Granada: Junta de Andalucía-Comares, 1995, pp. 173-179, and P. Garrido Clemente, "La actitud nazarí ante las expediciones benimerines a la Península", in P. Beneito & F. Roldán (eds.), *Al-Andalus y el Norte de África: relaciones e influencias*, Sevilla: El Monte, 2004, pp. 67-110.

<sup>8</sup> Walker, 1967, Pl. XXI, 8; Gaube, 1973, Pl. 14: 2.2.2.4; Gyselen, 2000, Pl. 15, X.

<sup>9</sup> Curiel, 1966: 62. These years correspond to the last stage of the period that I have designated under the title: "Coinage of the Khawārij" (see Mochiri, 1986: 19-20).

<sup>10</sup> Walker, 1967, Pl. XXII, 1.

place, i.e. Darabgird was published by Curiel.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately it is pierced and its date is partly undecipherable. The second specimen published by M.A. al-'Ush is well preserved, but its photography is slightly dark.<sup>12</sup> In view of the rarity of this issue I present here a new specimen, which is in a good state of preservation:<sup>13</sup>



The usual late Arab-Sasanian type

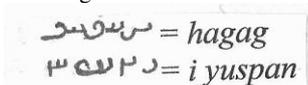
Obverse:

Sasanian bust with the E1B6 ornaments.<sup>14</sup>

Legends:

to the left on 2 lines: GDH 'pzwT

to the right on 2 lines:



in the second quarter of the margin :

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ

= in the name of Allah

at 7.00: م = mn

at 5.30 and 6.30: three pellets

Reverse:

Legends:

in the field to the left the date:

سرسوس

= aywhptaty = 71 = 83 H.

to the right:

د ا

= DA = Darabgird

on the left of the fire altar :

پ

= p

at 11.30: one pellet

Curiel considers the two letters *mn* as the representation of *mansūr*, the proper name of an *'āmil*, the finance administrator of Fars and Seistan from 75 to 82 AH. These two letters *mn* occur in the obverse margin of dirhams of some Arab personalities while *mansūr*, written either in Pahlavi or in Kufic, occurs in the margin of other dirhams as well as on his personal copper coinage.<sup>15</sup>

Curiel omitted the indication of the letter *p* on his coin. This letter *p* is engraved on the dirhams of Darabgird in the same place generally reserved for religious words and symbols such as *dyn*, Yazidi cross<sup>16</sup> etc. The letter *p* does not represent Fasa as proposed by Album<sup>17</sup> for it also occurs on dirhams minted in towns situated outside Darabgird province.<sup>18</sup>

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## AN UNRECORDED EARLY POST-REFORM FALS MINTED IN TIFLIS

By Severian Turkia and Irakli Paghava

Our aim in this article is to report the previously unpublished and seemingly extremely rare Umayyad or Abbasid fals issued in eastern Georgia, in Tiflis (modern Tbilisi, Georgia) and to attempt its dating.

This copper coin first appeared and drew our attention in the summer of 2006. According to the vendor, the fals had been found in the Mtkvari (Kura) riverbed, in the territory of the Ortachala district of Tbilisi. Now the coin is preserved in a private collection in Georgia.

The coin is as follows:

**Obverse:** *The central legend in 2 lines:*

لا اله

[الله]

There is no god  
but Allah

*The circular legend:*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرَبَ هَذَا الْفَلْسَ بِتَفْلِيسَ

In the name of Allah, this fals was struck in Tiflis

**Reverse:** *The central legend in 3 lines:*

محمد

رسول

الله

Muhammad  
is the Messenger  
of Allah

*The circular legend:*

مما امر به الامر ... بن احمد [هذا] الفلّس

By the order of emir ... son of Ahmad [was struck] this fals  
The words ضرب (was struck) seem to be omitted. Æ, Weight (after mechanical cleaning): 1.48 g; diameter: 17-17.5 mm; die axis: 6 o'clock.

Please see *fig. 1* for the photograph of the coin and *fig. 2* for the drawing.



Fig. 1

<sup>11</sup> Curiel, 1966: 63.

<sup>12</sup> Al-'Ush, 1972: 205, pl. XXXV, A. S. 118.

<sup>13</sup> Shams Eshragh's collection. I am grateful to him for allowing me to publish this coin.

<sup>14</sup> Mochiri, 1986: 90.

<sup>15</sup> Gyselen, 2000: 73-4.

<sup>16</sup> Mochiri, 2004: 15-32.

<sup>17</sup> Album, 2002: 54.

<sup>18</sup> Mochiri, 2007 (in press)

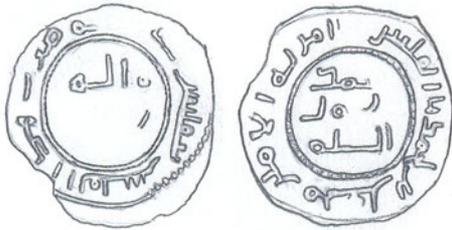


Fig. 2

The coin is undated and the name of the emir does not help us in dating it either. Nevertheless, based on the general type, it is a standard Umayyad or Abbasid fals; moreover, the overall appearance, e.g. the thinness of this coin, which is purely epigraphic and bears no images, as well as the fact that the emir and his name are mentioned in the legend, make us incline to the opinion that this is an Abbasid fals, perhaps an early type.

It seems appropriate to briefly review the general as well as the numismatic history of Arab dominance in Georgia in order to put this coin into a proper context.

The first incursion of Arabs into Georgia presumably dates back to 643-645 AD [6, p.73]. Subsequently, the Byzantine Empire and the Khazars contested the area with the Arabs; the Khazars became particularly active in the 8<sup>th</sup> century invading east Georgia several times and even managing to capture Tiflis in 764 AD, expelling the Arabs from it at least for a while [6, pp.77-81]. Arab rule in the east Georgian province of Kartli and its centre, Tiflis, became more durable by the 30s of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, and this is the time when the creation of the Tiflis Emirate is presumed [2, p.186]. As to western Georgia (Egrisi), despite some temporary successes, the Arabs did not manage to occupy it [6, pp.78-80, 83-84].

Arab sway in eastern Georgia, namely in Tiflis, the centre of their Georgian possessions, is illustrated by the monetary issues of this city.

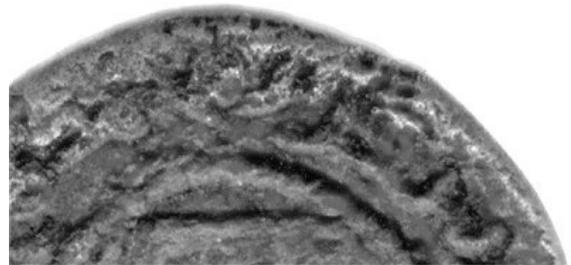
A series of silver coins issued in Tiflis by the Arabs begin with an Umayyad dirham of 85 AH (704/5 AD) [4, pp. 38-39]. Existing data give the impression that the Arabs stopped striking coins in Tiflis for a while, as the subsequent Arab coin is an Abbasid dirham dated 210 AH (825/6 AD), which Pakhomov considered to have been minted in Tiflis [4, pp. 39-40]. The next, indisputable Tiflis dirham was minted in 248 AH (862/3 AD) [4, pp. 40-41]. Later on, dirhams in the name of the Abbasid caliph were minted more or less intensively during 331-335 AH (942/3-946/7 AD) [4, pp. 41-46; 1, p.174]. According to a somewhat vague indication, there also exists a gold denomination, a dinar, minted in Tiflis by Arabs during the reign of the Abbasid caliph, Al-Muttaqi (940-944 AD) [1, p.174]. Subsequently, representatives of the local Jafarid dynasty managed to gain independence from the caliphs and assumed the right of *sikka*, issuing coins in their own name in Tiflis from 342 AH (953/4 AD) until 418 AH (1027/8 AD) [4, pp. 46-49; 8].

Regarding the minting of copper coins in Tiflis by the Arabs, according to Jalaghania, several tens of Umayyad fulus, preserved in the State Museum of Georgia, despite the absence of data about the place and circumstances of their find, may still be considered local issues [7, p. 48]; but no fulus with the mint name Tiflis on them were published [4, p. 38; 7, pp. 47-48] till very recently, in 1998, when the first and so far seemingly unique Umayyad fals bearing the name of the Umayyad caliph Marwan II (744-750) was published [5, p. 233: Tübingen University Collection, AM10B3]. Generally speaking, finds of Kufic fulus in Tbilisi (Arabic Tiflis) are frequent enough, which proves the intensity of small trade in the city in the 8-9<sup>th</sup> centuries [7, p. 56]. It is also noteworthy, that starting from the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century, small fragments of cut dirhams were also used for petty payments, as proved by hoards [7, pp. 54-55]. The fulus found in eastern Georgia are difficult to identify because of their bad state of preservation. Only single specimens have been attributed to the Umayyad dynasty, dating back to the 730s, whereas the majority

may be dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century [7, p. 56]. But to the best of our knowledge, there are no Abbasid fulus with Tiflis as a mint place indicated on them in any museum or private collection; none are published in the numismatic literature.

Taking all this into consideration, it seems that this hitherto unrecorded (Abbasid?) fals with a clear indication of the mint: Tiflis and no citation of the caliph, may be considered as an extremely rare or maybe even unique numismatic vestige of Arab hegemony in Georgia.

The fals bears the name of the emir; it may be the name of a local emir, ruler of the Tiflis Emirate, and not the ruler of the entire province of Arminiyya. Unfortunately, the name is baffling and only a part of it can be successfully read. The patronymic (*nasab*) appears to be legible and reads Ahmad (أحمد), but the personal name (*ism*), is not. For the enlarged image of the fragment of the coin bearing the emir's name please see fig. 3. To our knowledge, no person with such a *nasab* is mentioned in the primary sources with regard to Tiflis and therefore this coin takes on special significance.



As we have already mentioned, this fals is undated, and therefore unfortunately does not tell us when it was minted. The name of the emir cannot help us either as it is only partially legible and unknown from other sources. We may be able to shed some light on this issue by comparing the coin with other fulus, which are similar in terms of typology. It may be significant that other fulus with a 2-line central legend on the obverse were struck in the southern Caucasus, namely in Barda'a in the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century: Barda'a fulus with the central obverse legend arranged like this and dated 142 and 143 AH (759/60 and 760/1 AD) have been published, but their circular legends are different [3, p.64, ##23-24, table 6, ##59-60]. Nevertheless, one could hypothesise that the issue of copper coins in Tiflis may have been resumed or continued (?) right after the Abbasids became caliphs and this fals may date back to the 50s or 60s of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. But this is certainly merely a supposition. There is no doubt that further research is necessary to be able to be more confident with regard to when this coin was issued: maybe studying the typology of Umayyad and Abbasid fulus or waiting for a hoard with another specimen which could be dated according to the accompanying coins.

The evidence presented here that the Arabs were issuing copper coins in the centre of the Tiflis Emirate (on the territory of east Georgia) seems to be very important. It constitutes an important primary source informing us of the economic and monetary policy pursued by the Arabs in Georgia and in the southern Caucasus. While providing us with an indication of a new, otherwise seemingly unrecorded ruler, this coin also assists us in clarifying the political and administrative status of Tiflis, modern Tbilisi, under Arab hegemony.

*Acknowledgements:* we would like to express our gratitude to Messrs Zurab Ghvinjilia, Alexander Akopyan and Vladimir Belyaev, as well as to all those who supported us when working on this paper.

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### ON THE COINAGE OF THE SALLĀRIDS AND CONTEMPORARY MILITARY GENERALS IN IRANIAN ADHARBAYJĀN IN THE TENTH CENTURY AD.<sup>19</sup>

by Aram Vardanyan (Tübingen)

The history of the Sallārid rulers of Adharbayjān of the fourth century AH was described in the works of H. Amedroz, Cl. Huart, V. Minorsky and F. Madelung.<sup>20</sup> In those articles considerable information derived from both historical and geographical sources and illuminating the political history of Adharbayjān and adjacent areas was brought together. However, the question of a chronological sequence of rulers in the towns of Ardabīl and Marāgha in 330 – 361 AH today requires some revision. Such a study can be now based on both narrative sources and numismatic material. The aim of this article is to consider the influence of military generals on the history of Sallārid rule in Adharbayjān during the period under study, taking into account both the passages found in the narration of Ibn Miskawayh and contemporary coins.

According to Ibn Miskawayh, after imprisoning the Kurd, Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm (325 – 341 AH), the Sallārid, Marzubān ibn Muhammad (330 – 346 AH), in 330 AH took possession of Adharbayjān.<sup>21</sup> He placed under his control both Adharbayjān and

Arrān as well as several parts of Armenia. This assumption of power should have found its expression on coins; however, one has to admit that only a very few Sallārid coins dated during the 330s AH are so far known. These rare coins belong to two different types of coins minted at Urmiya in 333 AH.

#### 1. AR Dirham. Urmiya 333 AH.

**Obv:** لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / محمد بن مسافر / الملك

**Obv. 1:** بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بارية سنة ثلث و ثلثين و ثلثمائة

**Obv. 2:** Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

**Rev:** لله / محمد / رسول / الله / المقتدر بالله

**Rev. 1:** Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: To 1870, p. 229, No. 40 = T 1873, p. 292, No. 2934 = V 1927, p. 26 (where misread as Armīniya); *Tübingen No. EC7 E4* (2.40g; 27m);\* SHM inv. No. 3861 (4.29g).

#### 2. AR Dirham. Urmiya 333 AH.

**Obv:** As no. 1.

**Obv. 1:** بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بارية سنة ثلث و ثلثين و ثلثمائة

**Obv. 2:** Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

**Rev:** لله / محمد / رسول / الله / المتقي لله / المرزبان بن محمد

**Rev. 1:** Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: *IC VI, 2003, No. 410* (2.96g); SHM inv. No. 7858/110.

The coins of both types were struck with the same obverse die, although the specimen of No. 1 has five points which are absent on the specimen of No. 2. On the coins of No. 1 the name of Muhammad ibn Musāfir (330 – 337/341 AH) can be seen on the obverse, while the reverse provides less information due to its obsolete nature. It bears the name of the late 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Muqtadir billāh (295 – 320 AH). The coins of No. 2 have another inscription on the reverse. On that side the name of Marzubān ibn Muhammad is engraved beneath the contemporary 'Abbāsīd Caliph, al-Muttaqī lillāh (329 – 333 AH).

On the coins, the title *al-Malik* is cited beneath the name of Muhammad ibn Musāfir on the obverse. This indicates that, while Muhammad ibn Musāfir was considered an overlord, his son and

<sup>19</sup> I would like to thank Dr. Lutz Ilisch for providing me with relevant coins kept in the collection of Islamic coins at the University of Tübingen as well as useful discussions on several issues relating to this topic. I also wish to thank Mr Vadim Kalinin of Moscow for sending me the image of one dirham from his collection. Special thanks are to Dr Ruben Vardanyan for giving me the chance to examine the coins kept in the State Museum of the History of Armenia in Yerevan. I also thank Mr Steven Lloyd of London for his kind permission to publish here a unique dīnār struck in "Armīniya" in 353 AH.

<sup>20</sup> Amedroz H., The Sallari and Rawwadi rulers of Adharbayjan, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909; Huart Cl., Les Mosāfirides de l'Adherbaidjān, in: *A Volume of Oriental Studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, pp. 228-54; Minorsky V., Caucasia IV. Part II. The Caucasian Vassals of Marzubān in 344 / 955, *Bull. of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XV, 1953, pp. 504-29; Minorsky V., The last Musāfirides and the Rawwādid, in: *Studies in Caucasian History*, London, 1953, pp. 158-64; Madelung F., The minor dynasties of Northern Iran, in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. IV, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 232-6.

<sup>21</sup> Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Miskawayh, The Eclipse of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, Vol. V. The concluding portion of "*The Experience of the*

*Nations*", Vol. II, ed. and trans. by Amedroz H., Margoliouth D., London, 1921, pp. 33-7.

\* The references marked with *Italic* indicate the provenance of coins illustrated in this article.

successor, Marzubān, was his governor in Adharbayjān. The latter had both administrative and military power. At the same time the eldest member of the family normally resided in the ancestral domain in Daylam (district of Tarm). He did not take part in military campaigns but would send his military generals and governors to Adharbayjān and, in that way, organised the rule over the province.\* A good example for this statement are the coins of Urmiya which have Muhammad ibn Musāfir designated as *al-Malik*, despite there being no evidence that Muhammad himself led an army to Adharbayjān. On the contrary, the sources mention the name of Marzubān who came, defeated Daysam and established his power in the region. The same picture remained unchanged after the death of Marzubān in 346 AH when his brother, Wahsūdān (349 – ca. 358/360 AH), inherited the highest rank in the family.

After the death of Marzubān, the Sallārid state gradually entered into a period of dynastic wars. Taking advantage of a weakness within the central power of the princely house, the Sallārid military commanders began to play a more active role in the political life of Adharbayjān. They concentrated military power in their own hands and dared to interfere in the internal affairs of the Sallārid state. Some of these generals even struck coins in their own name. One such powerful commander was Justān ibn Sharmazan.\* Thanks to some information provided by Ibn Miskawayh one can conclude that the political history of Adharbayjān was closely connected with the name of that general. The first mention of Justān ibn Sharmazan is found when the historian tells about the events of 330 AH. That year the Sallārid “*Marzubān attached to (his Wazīr) ‘Alī ibn Ja‘far Justān ibn Sharmazan, Muhammad ibn Ibrahīm, Dillir Awarspanah, and the chamberlain Hasan ibn Muhammad Muhallābī...*”.<sup>22</sup> Another mention of Justān ibn Sharmazan is given by Ibn Miskawayh in the context of Marzubān’s unsuccessful campaign against the Buyid, Rukn al-Daula (335 – 366 AH), at Rayy some time around 337 AH. In that battle, Marzubān was defeated and imprisoned in the castle of Samiram (Shamiram). In this connection, Ibn Miskawayh left the following passage: “*Those who escaped out from his (Marzubān’s) army, including such officers as Justān ibn Sharmazan, ‘Alī ibn Fadl, Shahfiruz ibn Karduyah, and other leaders ... joined the aged Muhammad ibn Musāfir and made him their chief. They proceeded to Ardabīl, and he assumed possession of Adharbayjān*”.<sup>23</sup> The possession of Ardabīl by Muhammad ibn Musāfir was very short. Within a short period he departed from the traditional respect shown towards the Daylamites and turned into a tyrant. Very soon he had to flee to his son, Wahsūdān, when the Daylamites in his service plotted to put him to death. Wahsūdān, however, arrested his father and imprisoned him in the fortress of Sisajan. Muhammad died before his son, Marzubān, escaped from Samiram.<sup>24</sup> After the Daylamites rid themselves of Muhammad, they chose as their chief another of Marzubān’s generals, namely ‘Alī ibn al-Fadl. About the same time, the Buyid, Rukn al-Daula, appointed one of his Khurāsānian commanders, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq, as governor of Adharbayjān and sent him thither. He seems to have entrenched himself in Marāgha, exercising control over the province through his sub-governors. The only known coins of Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq so far known are the dīnārs struck at Marāgha in 337 AH.

### 3. AV Dīnār, Marāgha 337 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا الله وحده / لا شريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمراغة سنة سبع وثلثين وثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: محمد رسول الله / المطعع لل / محمد بن عبد الرزاق

Rev. 1: Qu‘ran, IX, 33.



Ref: T 1892, p. 6, No. 10, Tab. 1, No. 5 = M 1896, p. 177, No. 1 = V 1927, p. 170, No. 1 (5.52g; 21m).

In order to get rid of the Buyid governor, Wahsūdān had to release Daysam ibn Ibrahīm from prison. “*Through the mediation of Wahsūdān, ‘Alī ibn al-Fadl put himself under the command of Daysam, who, when his authority was established, proceeded to Ardabīl*”.<sup>25</sup> Dirhams of Daysam are known<sup>26</sup> struck in Ardabīl in 338 AH, pointing to the fact that, by that time, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq had already left Adharbayjān. Indeed, Ibn Miskawayh says that Muhammad grew weary of Adharbayjān and, taking his Wazīr with him, returned to Rayy. “*Daysam proceeded to Ardabīl, where the secretary representing the Khurāsān government requested his permission to return to his own country, which was granted by Daysam...*”.<sup>27</sup>

The subsequent career of Justān ibn Sharmazan is connected with the last years of Daysam’s rule in Adharbayjān. From the passage given below one can assume that, after Daysam had been released by Wahsūdān, Justān ibn Sharmazan came into Daysam’s service and remained by his side until his master’s power in Adharbayjān was over.

In 341 AH, one of Marzubān’s faithful commanders, ‘Alī ibn Mishakī, also known as Bullaka, and who had also been imprisoned with Marzubān in 337 AH, managed to escape from prison. He collected an army in Jibāl and joined Marzubān’s brother, Wahsūdān, to attack Daysam. While ‘Alī ibn Mishakī started towards Ardabīl, Daysam was hunting in the neighbourhood of Barda‘a. Hearing news that ‘Alī ibn Mishakī was approaching towards Ardabīl, Daysam hurried there too. In the battle that took place in the neighbourhood of Ardabīl the Daylamites “*turned their shields round towards his face, and went over to the side of ‘Alī ibn Mishakī, with the exception of Justān ibn Sharmazan. This person stood loyally by Daysam, and was arrested by the Daylamites*”.<sup>28</sup> ‘Alī ibn Mishakī took Ardabīl. Marzubān, who by that time had captured the fortress of Samiram, arrived in Ardabīl and seized Daysam’s treasure. He placed ‘Alī ibn Mishakī at the head of his army and despatched him to pursue Daysam.

\* There is only a short period of time in 337 AH when Muhammad ibn Musāfir, elected by his army as a chief, occupied Ardabīl himself (see below).

\* The sources do not provide the full name of this person. On the dirhams of 359 AH, struck at Ardabīl, that general appears under the name Abū Nasr Justān ibn Sharmazan (No. 23).

<sup>22</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 37.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>26</sup> Bykov A., Dva novykh dirkhema Daysama ibn Ibrakhima al-Kurdi, Epigrafika Vostoka, t. XX, 1971, p. 74, No. 2 (2.09g; 26m).

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 157. The last two quotes show that the rule of ‘Alī ibn Fadl was also very short and, some time later, Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq also no longer possessed Ardabīl. He left one of his sub-governors there (in the text: “*the secretary representing the Khurāsān government*”) who was ruling in the town until Daysam repossessed it in 338 AH.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

#### 4. AR Dirham. Adharbayjān 341 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باذربيجان سنة احدى و اربعين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد / رسول الله / المطمع لله / المرزبان بن محمد / الملك

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: T 1892, p. 235, No. 2, Tab. I, No. 6 = M 1896, p. 305, No. 1 = V 1927, p. 171, No. 3 (3.17g; 26m); Pe 368, 2001, p. 52, No. 702 (3.53g); GFC No. 9371/1147 = LW 1966, p. 105, No. 1147 (3.89g; 25.5m); SHM inv. No. 21026, No. 22; *Tübingen No. EC7 E3* (3.28g; 26m).

Thus, in 341 AH Marzubān already possessed Adharbayjān. His control over the region was undisputed and extended over the vast areas lying between Ardabīl and Shirwān.<sup>29</sup> By striking coins at the mint of "Adharbayjān", Marzubān aspired to demonstrate his undisputed power over the whole region. On such coins Marzubān appears with the title *al-Malik*, which had previously belonged to his father, Muhammad ibn Musāfir. Sallārid coins with the mint-name "Adharbayjān" are also known for some other dates.

The striking of Sallārid coins in Ardabīl continued during the following years of 342 - 343 AH. On those coins Marzubān appears as Abū Nasr Marzubān ibn Muhammad but with his other title *al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad*. His brother, Wahsūdān, is mentioned as *al-Sallār Abū Mansūr* on the obverse. According to Ibn Miskawayh the full name of Wahsūdān was Abū Mansūr Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad.<sup>30</sup> *Al-Sallār* was an old Persian (Sasanian) military title which had originally been based on the word *Sardār*. From that word the Armenian military title *Spasalar*, which was widely used in the twelfth - thirteenth century AD, was subsequently developed.<sup>31</sup> As a son of *al-Sallār*, Wahsūdān considered himself the great commander as well and often appeared on the coins with that title.\*

<sup>29</sup> Around 344 AH Marzubān suppressed a revolt in Darband, which demonstrates the extension of the Sallārid borders as far northwards as Darband. In addition, there is also a list quoted by Ibn Hauqal in his *Kitāb al-masālik wa mamālik* and dated 344 AH which mentions the vassals who had paid annual taxes to Marzubān. From that list one can conclude that Marzubān's power extended over the territories lying between Shirwān and Ahar. See Minorsky, *Caucasica IV*, pp. 519-20.

<sup>30</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 136.

<sup>31</sup> *Enzyklopaedie des Islām*, Bd. IV, herausgegeben von M. Houtsma u. a., Leiden - Leipzig, 1934, p. 102.

\* The highest military person in the Sallārid family carried the honorific title *al-Sallār*. As a rule that was a brother of the ruling prince. Already in Marzubān's lifetime, his brother, Wahsūdān, received that title and nobody in the Sallārid state was allowed to bear such a *laqab* except him. However, after Wahsūdān attempted to take the power of the state into his hands, Marzubān's son, Ibrahīm, refused to obey him and disputed his sovereignty over Adharbayjān. Ibrahīm appropriated the title *al-Sallār al-Mansūr* and engraved it on his coins of 354 - 356 AH (Nos. 14, 16, 20 - 21). These coins were struck during the period of wars between Wahsūdān and Ibrahīm. During that conflict, Ibrahīm, of course, no longer recognised the supremacy of his uncle. While neither Ibrahīm nor his brother Justān placed any titles on the coins struck in Ardabīl and Marāgha in 347 AH (Nos. 8 - 9) it is suggested that Ibrahīm took the title *al-Sallār al-Mansūr* only after Wahsūdān had attempted to usurp the power in the state.

#### 5. AV Dīnār. Ardabīl 342 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / السلار ابو منصور

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باردبيل سنة اثنتين و اربعين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد رسول / الله المطمع لله / الملك المويد / المرزبان بن محمد / ابو نصر

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: *Basel 69, 1986, No. 102* = *Sp 37, 1991, p. 50, No. 294* (4.36g; 20.7m); *Sp 27, 1988, p. 68, No. 365* (4.34g).

#### 6. AV Dīnār. Ardabīl 343 AH.

The same type as above.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار باردبيل سنة ثلث و اربعين و ثلثمائة



Ref: *So 1985, No. 391* (4.31g); SHMM.

#### 7. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 343 AH.

The same type as above.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة ثلث و اربعين و ثلثمائة

No image available

Ref: *Sa 1881, pp. 380-381, No. 1.1* = *V 1927, p. 171, Nos. 4-5* (3.78g; 27m).

In the month of Ramadhān, 346 AH, Marzubān ibn Muhammad died. His state was inherited by his eldest son, Justān ibn Marzubān (346 - 349 AH), who, apparently, ruled during those years jointly with his brother, Ibrahīm (346/349 - ca. 357 AH).<sup>\*</sup> Both dirhams of Ardabīl and dīnārs from Marāgha struck in 347 AH and citing the names of both brothers are known.

\* It is still difficult to find out which rank was given by Justān to his brother. To my mind, Ibrahīm could have been appointed a great commander of the state as Wahsūdān had once been in the days of his brother, Marzubān. It is rather unlikely that Ibrahīm was a ruler of both Ardabīl and Marāgha simultaneously in 347 AH.

## 8. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 347 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / ابراهيم بن المرزبان

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة سبع و اربعين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد / رسول الله / المطمع لله / جستان بن المرزبان

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: M 1896, p. 305, No. 3 = V 1927, p. 172, No. 7 (3.37g; 28m); Ta 1373, p. 298 (3.00g; 27m); Pe 367, 2000, p. 17, No. 1795 (3.82g); IC VI, 2003, No. 411 (3.84g); SHM inv. No. 23242; Tübingen No. 91-16-66 (2.71g; 28m); Tübingen No. 2000-12-23 (3.23g; 27,5m).

## 9. AV. Dīnār. Marāgha 347 AH.

The same type as above but with letter *kaf* or *dal* above the Kalima on the obverse.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بالمراغة سنة سبع و اربعين و ثلثمائة



Ref: Weyl 1878, p. 395, No. 6742 = Tübingen No. EC7 E5 (3.60g; 21m); Ca 1896, Nos. 1153, 4281-5; M 1896, p. 305, No. 2 (4.10g; 22m); RAS (3.47g; 21,5m); Rep. ANS 1971, p. 4, No. 6 = ANS No. 1971.200.4; Pe 276, 1971, p. 32, No. 1473; OMJ = NNB 55, Dez. 2006, p. 517 (3.72g; 21m).

After Justān was enthroned "he appointed as his Wazīr Abū 'Abdallāh Nu'aimī,\* and was joined by his father's officers with the exception of Justān ibn Sharmazan, who delayed, hoping to make himself independent ruler of the province of Armenia where he was governor".<sup>32</sup> Under the year of 349 AH Ibn Miskawayh tells about a revolt by Justān ibn Sharmazan against the ruling brothers. The reason for that was that Justān ibn Marzubān had arrested his own Wazīr, Nu'aimī, suspecting him of some financial machinations. Nu'aimī was a relative of Abū al-Hasan 'Ubaydallāh ibn Muhammad ibn Hamdawayh\* who was the Wazīr

\* The full name of this remarkable Wazīr was Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad ibn Ahmad Nu'aimī (Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 39). Before coming into Justān's service he had a long career as Wazīr at the courts of both Daysam and Marzubān. It is suggested that he might have had an issue of own coins at the mint of Armīniya in 331 AH (see: Akopyan A., Vardanyan A., Muhammad ibn Ahmad – A new governor on a dirham minted in Armīniya in 331 AH, ONS Journal 187, 2006, pp. 11-3).

<sup>32</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 179.

\* In the narration of Ibn Miskawayh the name of that Wazīr is given with a *nasab* Ibn Hamdawayh (op. cit., p. 192), however on the dirham of

of Justān ibn Sharmazan. When 'Ubaydallāh ibn Muhammad heard of that, he asked Justān ibn Sharmazan, who was that time in Urmiya, for help. Justān ibn Sharmazan sent a letter to Ibrahim ibn Marzubān asking him for assistance and promising to come with his army into his service. Ibrahim agreed, came to Urmiya and, after meeting Justān ibn Sharmazan and his secretary, went to Marāgha and occupied it. Justān ibn Marzubān was in Barda'a at the time. On hearing about the alliance of his brother with Justān ibn Sharmazan, he immediately hurried to Ardabīl. He also sent a letter to Justān ibn Sharmazan and his Wazīr promising to release Nu'aimī. Soon, Justān ibn Sharmazan and his Wazīr concluded a peace with Justān ibn Marzubān and jointly made for Urmiya. Ibrahim also hurried there and met his brother, Justān ibn Sharmazan, and his Wazīr there. They concluded a peace but Justān ibn Sharmazan and his Wazīr continued to machinate against the brothers until they learned about their plot. Then Ibrahim and Justān decided to attack Justān ibn Sharmazan. It so happened that, at that moment, Nu'aimī managed to flee from prison to Mūqān. Then he initiated a correspondence with the grandson of the Caliph al-Muktafi billāh (289 – 294 AH), Ishaq ibn 'Isā, who called himself al-Mustanjir billāh (the seeker of God's protection). This al-Mustanjir billāh claimed that he originated from the family of Muhammad and was the only true Caliph. He found many supporters and followers among both the Daylamites and "Black" 'Abbāsids. These forces encouraged al-Mustanjir billāh to capture many cities in Adharbayjān, most of which had belonged to Marzubān ibn Muhammad. Precisely at that time, Nu'aimī joined Ibn 'Isā offering al-Mustanjir the position as army chief. Ibn 'Isā agreed and started preparations to march on Baghdād. Soon afterwards, Justān ibn Sharmazan also joined Ibn 'Isā and took command over the army. Hearing of that, Marzubān's sons marched against the rebel forces. A battle took place between them in the month of Ramadhān where Justān ibn Sharmazan was defeated and had to retire to Urmiya. Ishaq ibn 'Isā was caught and soon afterwards executed.<sup>33</sup>

This evidence shows that, by that time, Justān ibn Sharmazan was already residing in Urmiya. He was also aspiring to expand his power over certain parts of Vaspurakan Armenia. It is also obvious that Justān also had plans concerning Marāgha, which he finally took in 349 AH. H. Nalbandyan suggested that Justān ibn Sharmazan, having in his service the so-called *Hatban* Kurds, had been ruling in the region since 953 AD (341/2 AH).<sup>34</sup>

In 349 AH Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad invited his nephews, Justān and Nasr, along with their mother to his domain in Tarm. When they were in his hands he proclaimed his son Isma'īl as a prince instead of Justān. Afterwards, Wahsūdān "appointed Abū al-Qasim Sharmazan ibn Mishakī\* a commander of his army and despatched him to Ardabīl".<sup>35</sup> Among the sons of Marzubān only Ibrahim survived. He was in Armenia at that time and did not come to visit Wahsūdān. Hearing of the crime committed by his uncle, Ibrahim started to make preparations to dispute the sovereignty with Isma'īl. He rejected Wahsūdān's demand to

Marāgha of 359 AH (No. 24) he is mentioned as 'Ubaydallāh ibn Muhammad Hamdawayh.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 192-4.

<sup>34</sup> Nalbandyan H., Arabakan aghbjurnery Hajastani ev harevan erkneri masin. Yāqūt al-Hamawī, Yerevan, 1965, p. 131 (in Arm.).

\* This Abū al-Qasim Sharmazan ibn Mishakī (or Mishkī) who appears on coins as Al-Nāsir Abū al-Qasim Sharmazan ibn Mishakī, could have originated from a traditional military family. In Ibn Miskawayh's narration there is a passage where he mentions two other generals called Wandasfahan ibn Mishakī and 'Alī ibn Mishakī (see above) who both accompanied Marzubān ibn Muhammad during his campaign to Rayy (Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 137). Wandasfahan fell in the battle but 'Alī ibn Mishakī, together with another general, Muhammad ibn Ibrahim (see above), were taken prisoners (Ibid., p. 137). In 341 AH 'Alī ibn Mishakī managed to escape from prison and, being supplied by Wahsūdān with reinforcements, that same year led an army to Adharbayjān which defeated Daysam and caused him to flee (Ibid., p. 159). One can admit that the generals mentioned here with a *nasab* Ibn Mishakī could have been either brothers or relatives and, in fact, represented the same family.

<sup>35</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 195.

come to Tarm, which made his uncle put his relatives to death. “*Wahsūdān further wrote to Justān ibn Sharmazan and Husain ibn Muhammad ibn Rawwād, bidding them to attack Ibrahīm. They obeyed, and advanced against him, as also did Isma‘īl. Ibrahīm fled to Armenia; Justān ibn Sharmazan, being in his neighbourhood, got control over his army, seized Marāgha and made it dependent on Urmiya*”.<sup>36</sup>

The last passage proves that, after the unsuccessful revolt against the brothers Justān and Ibrahīm, Justān ibn Sharmazan entrenched himself in Urmiya and kept a certain distance from Marzubān’s sons. He easily went over to Wahsūdān’s side as soon as Ibrahīm’s position became unstable.

The history of Adharbayjān between 350 – 360 AH is closely connected with the dynastic struggle within the Sallārid house for the possession of Ardabīl. During that decade power in the region frequently passed either to various representatives of the Sallārid house or their generals, sometimes to both together. At the same time, along with Justān ibn Sharmazan, another powerful Sallārid commander, Abū al-Qasim Sharmazan ibn Mishakī, began to play an important role in the political history of Adharbayjān. After the death of Marzubān this general came into the service of his brother, Wahsūdān.

Although the narrative sources do not illustrate the political history of Adharbayjān between 350 – 354 AH the dirhams of 351 AH struck both in Ardabīl and Barda‘a show that at least that year both Adharbayjān and Arrān belonged to the son of Wahsūdān Isma‘īl.

#### 10. AR Dirham. Barda‘a 351 AH.

*Obv:* لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / اسمعيل بن / وهسودان  
*Obv. 1:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ببردعة سنة احدى و خمسين و ثلثمائة  
*Obv. 2:* Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev:* محمد / رسول الله / المطتع للة / وهسودان بن محمد  
*Rev. 1:* Qu‘ran, IX, 33.



Ref: M 1896, p. 977, No. 4a (1.58g; 23m); Tartu hoard, p.138, No. 37; Ropka hoard (3.60g); *Tübingen No. 2000-12-24* (2.53g; 26,5m).

#### 11. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 351 AH.

*Obv:* لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / اسمعيل بن وهسودان  
*Obv. 1:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة احدى و خمسين و ثلثمائة  
*Obv. 2:* Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev:* لله / محمد / رسول الله / المطتع للة / السلار وهسودان بن محمد  
*Rev. 1:* Qu‘ran, IX, 33.

Ref: T 1892, VI, p. 235 = M 1896, p. 305, Nos. 4 = Peuth hoard, p. 75, No. 29 (3.49g; 27m); M 1896, p. 305, No. 5 (2.84g; 26m); M 1910, p. 41, No. 228; Ta 1373, p. 299 (3.40g; 26m); Ta 1373, p. 300 (3.75g; 26m); Mo 1994, p. 56, No. 32 (3.49g); *Tübingen No. EC7 F3* (3.19g; 26m); *Tübingen No. 2000-11-50* (3.29g; 27m).



Apart from Isma‘īl, there was another person who possessed Ardabīl that same year. This can only be observed numismatically. On the dirhams of another type struck in Ardabīl in 351 AH the reverse bears the name of Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad given in the form of *al-Sallār Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad al-Sa‘īd*, while the obverse has the name of a certain Abū al-Hayjā al-Nāsir ibn al-Rawwād.

#### 12. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 351 AH.

*Obv:* لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / الامير ابو الحجر [ ] / الناصر بن الرواد  
*Obv. 1:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة احدى و خمسين و ثلثمائة  
*Obv. 2:* Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev:* محمد / رسول الله / المطتع للة / السلار وهسودان بن محمد السعيد  
الله  
*Rev. 1:* Qu‘ran, IX, 33.

*Notes:* In the upper segment of the reverse the words الله ... ال both sides of the word الله.



Ref: *Ta 1373*, p. 300 (5.25g; 26m); *Ta 1373*, p. 301 (4.00g; 27m); SHM inv. No. 26697/97.



Ref: *Tübingen*, No. 91-16-67 (4.50g; 26,5m).

The description of coins of this type was given by S. Tabātabā‘ī.<sup>37</sup> Thanks to another specimen in the collection of Islamic coins in Tübingen it was possible to determine the correct reading of the name given on the reverse as *al-Sallār Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad al-Sa‘īd* instead of *al-Sallār Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad ibn Musāfir*.<sup>38</sup> The observations have also shown that the name of the Amīr engraved on the obverse should be read as

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195.

<sup>37</sup> Tabātabā‘ī S., *Islamic Coins of Iran*, Tabriz, 1373.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 300-1.

Abū al-Hayjā al-Nāsir *ibn al-Rawwād* rather than Abū al-Hayjā al-Nāsir *ibn al-Marzubān* as had been offered before.<sup>39</sup> When engraving the word *al-Rawwād* the engraver had left the last *dal* off the die. Unfortunately, the Tübingen specimen has the last line of the obverse central legend entirely erased.

In the list of 344 AH, Ibn Hauqal mentions Abū al-Hayjā *ibn Rawwād* as the owner of Ahar and Warzuqān who paid 50,000 dīnārs to Marzubān annually.<sup>40</sup> This Abū al-Hayjā is identified with the Rawwādid ruler, Husayn *ibn Muhammad*, who in 345 AH seized Tabrīz and later made it his capital.<sup>41</sup> In 349 AH upon Wahsūdān's demand, Justān *ibn Sharmazan* and Husain *ibn Muhammad ibn Rawwād* both attacked Ibrahīm *ibn Marzubān* (see above). As a result, the latter was defeated and had to flee to Armenia.\* In 373 AH Husayn occupied Ardabīl and took possession of the whole of Adharbayjān by 377 AH. Relying on the narration of Asoghik, R. Vasmer suggested that this Rawwādid ruler could have been the son of Rawwād, the fourth son of Marzubān, who died when his father was still alive.<sup>42</sup> The fact that Marzubān had a son who had died before him is also confirmed by Ibn Miskawayh.<sup>43</sup>

Drawing on this evidence one can suggest that the Abū al-Hayjā al-Nāsir *ibn al-Rawwād* mentioned on the coins minted at Ardabīl in 351 AH was the Rawwādid ruler of Ahar, Warzuqān and Tabrīz, Husayn *ibn Muhammad ibn ar-Rawwād* (ca. 344 – 378 AH). Thus, after defeating Ibrahīm, Justān *ibn Sharmazan* took control over his army and occupied Marāgha, but Husain *ibn Muhammad* proceeded to Ardabīl and occupied that town. He was apparently supposed to keep the town under his control until Wahsūdān's son, Isma'īl, arrived there.

One thing remains unclear. If Ibrahīm had been driven out from Adharbayjān already in 349 AH why do the coins of 351 AH bear the name of that Rawwādid ruler but not the name of the contemporary Sallārid governor, Isma'īl? There are two possible explanations for this:

1. Isma'īl was already governing in the town since 349 AH but died in 351 AH and Husayn *ibn Muhammad*, being in his neighbourhood (Ahar and Warzuqān), took control over his lands. He accepted Wahsūdān as overlord;
2. After defeating Ibrahīm in 349 AH, Husayn *ibn Muhammad* advanced to Ardabīl and occupied it. Isma'īl could have needed two more years to establish himself in Ardabīl;

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., p. 300.

<sup>40</sup> Minorsky, *Caucasica IV*, p. 519.

<sup>41</sup> Album S., Notes on the coinage of Muhammad *ibn al-Husayn al-Rawwadi*, *Revue Numismatique*, t. XIV, 1972, pp. 99-100. Album pointed out that, in the Armenian sources, Husayn *ibn Muhammad* had been known by the name Abū al-Hayjā (Ibid., p. 99).

\* Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 233. It is rather unlikely that Ibn Miskawayh meant here the northern parts of Armenia, which, by that time, had been partially under the control of the Armenian Bagratids. The following passage from Ibn Miskawayh has already been quoted in this article: "Ibrahīm fled to Armenia; Justān *ibn Sharmazan*, being in his neighbourhood, got control over his army, seized Marāgha, and made it dependent on Urmiya" (Ibid., p. 195). Somewhat earlier, the historian related that, after Ibrahīm and Justān had defeated Ibn 'Isā and his ally Justān *ibn Sharmazan*, the latter retired to Urmiya (Ibid., p. 194). Comparing these two pieces of evidence, one may conclude that Ibrahīm fled to Vaspurakan Armenia and soon established contact with Justān *ibn Sharmazan* who was not so far from him, namely in Urmiya. A. Ter-Ghevondyan has the same opinion (Ter-Ghevondyan A., *Arabakan amirajut'junneri bagratunjats Hajastanum*, Yerevan, 1965, pp. 175-6). Otherwise, if Ibrahīm had fled to the north and found shelter on the left bank of the Araxes, Ibn Miskawayh would hardly have written that Justān had been "in the neighbourhood" of Ibrahīm.

<sup>42</sup> Vasmer R., *Zur Chronologie der Ġastāniden und Sallāriden*, *Islamica*, Vol. III, 1927, Tafel.

<sup>43</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 166. The historian, however, called him Kaykhusrū.

The second explanation seems more probable, though only coins struck in 350 and 352 AH can support this view or, on the contrary, contradict it.

Despite the Caliph bestowing on Ibrahīm robes of honour and already accepting him as a legitimate governor of Adharbayjān in 350 AH,<sup>44</sup> Ibrahīm left Ardabīl and found shelter in Vaspurakan Armenia. There he started collecting a new army to dispute the power of Isma'īl and his general over Adharbayjān. In that respect, an interesting dīnār struck at the mint of Armīniya in 353 AH was recently reported by Steven Lloyd. That coin bears the name of al-Mansūr Abū Ishaq on the reverse and the name of the contemporary Fātimid Caliph, al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (341 – 365 AH), on the obverse.

### 13. AV Dīnār. Armīniya 353 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا الله / المعز لدین / الله امير / المومنين

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بarmينية سنة ثلث و خمسين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: محمد رسول / الله المنصور / ابو اسحق

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: Lloyd.

The combination of the *laqab*, *al-Mansūr* with the *kunya*, *Abū Ishaq* does not leave any doubt that it is precisely the Sallārid, Ibrahīm *ibn Marzubān*, who is meant on the coin. There are two features which make this piece remarkable: it is the mention of the Fātimid Caliph and the reappearance of coins with the mint-name "Armīniya".

Between 341 – 343 AH Dvin turned into a point of issue between the Shaddādid, Armenian and Sallārid rulers. It seems that the Sallārids finally took Dvin from the Shaddādids and expanded their power over certain parts of northern Armenia. The list of Hauqal included also "the sons of Sunbāt". Here, the grandson of the Armenian Bagratid King, Sunbat I Ashot III (953 – 977 AD), is undoubtedly meant.<sup>45</sup> The political situation in the northern parts of Armenia in 346 - 356 AH remains unclear.<sup>46</sup> No information on who ruled during those years in Dvin is found in the chronicles of that time either. After Marzubān's death, Dvin would have remained either under Sallārid or Armenian administration but, nevertheless, continued to pay an annual tribute to the Sallārids. At the same time the mint of "Armīniya" located in Dvin was no longer active and the last issues bearing that mint-name had appeared back in 332 AH. It appears that the mint was not reopened, hence it is suggested that the dīnār of 353 AH with the mint-name "Armīniya" and citing the name of Ibrahīm was struck in Vaspurakan Armenia, where Ibrahīm had found shelter between 349 – 354 AH.

Another question is what made Ibrahīm place the name of the Fātimid Caliph on his coins? In 1960 S. Stern published an important article on the activity of early Isma'īlī missionaries in the north-west of Iran, where he showed that both sons of

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., p. 205.

<sup>45</sup> Minorsky, *Caucasica IV*, p. 526.

<sup>46</sup> Ter-Ghevondyan, op. cit., p. 175.

Muhammad ibn Musāfir had belonged to the Isma‘īlī sect.<sup>47</sup> The fact that both Marzubān and his Wazīr, ‘Alī ibn Ja‘far, belonged to the Bātinīte movement was taken by the author from Ibn Miskawayh. At the same time, the Shī‘ite beliefs of his brother, Wahsūdān, can be observed from his coins struck in an uncertain mint of Jalālābād in 343 AH.<sup>48</sup> On those coins the religious title of Wahsūdān, *Sayf Al Muhammad*, appears for the first time. The same title also appears on other dirhams of 355 and 357 AH (see, respectively, Nos. 17-22). It is the outer margin of the obverse filled in with the names of Īmāms but also quoting the names of Isma‘īl and Muhammad at the end that gives that list a particular Isma‘īlī sense. The upper segment of the reverse has another Shī‘ite inscription: “‘Alī Khalīfā”.

These important observations upon the religious views of both Marzubān and Wahsūdān makes possible an acceptance of Ibrahīm’s adherence to the Isma‘īlī movement as well. The appearance on coins of the name of the Fātimid Caliph, who was the head of the Ismā‘īlī movement at that time,<sup>49</sup> in this way should be considered from the religious point of view but also as an attempt by the Sallārīd to get any assistance from the Fātimids in his struggle for Adharbayjān.

Ibn Miskawayh related that Isma‘īl had died in 355 AH,<sup>50</sup> which is apparently wrong due to a broken chronology, something which can often be observed in his narration. Isma‘īl died either in 351 AH, as has been suggested above, or by 354 AH, while the coins confirm the possession of Ardabīl by Ibrahīm in that year. By that time, Ibrahīm had collected a big army and concluded a peace with Justān ibn Sharmazan, who was residing in Marāgha. Afterwards they proceeded to Ardabīl and seized it. Sharmazan ibn Mishakī, who, after Isma‘īl’s death remained alone in Ardabīl, had to flee to Wahsūdān. Then Ibrahīm advanced to Tarm seeking vengeance for his relatives. Wahsūdān and his general were now hiding in Daylam and collecting a new army with which to attack Ibrahīm. After devastating the lands of his uncle, Ibrahīm returned to Adharbayjān.<sup>51</sup> Two different types of coins from Ardabīl with the name of Ibrahīm are known so far. On the coins of one type Ibrahīm has the *laqab*, *al-Sallār al-Mansūr*. The name of the Wazīr, al-Sa‘īd ibn ‘Abdallāh, engraved on the obverse so far remains unidentified.

#### 14. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 354 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / الوزير سعيد / بن عبد الله

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة اربع و خمسين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / السلار المنصور / ابراهيم بن المرزبان

Rev. 1: Qu‘ran, IX, 33.



<sup>47</sup> Stern S., The early Ismā‘īlī missionaries in North-West of Persia and in Khurāsān and Transoxania, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. XXIII, 1960, pp. 70-4.

<sup>48</sup> Stern, op. cit., Pl. I (published in ANS Report, 1964, No. 1). Another specimen is in Tübingen collection.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 73.

<sup>50</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 233.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 233.

Ref: M 1896, p. 977, No. 5a (4.04g; 29m); Tübingen No. 95-31-14 (3.43g; 28m); Tübingen No. 95-34-103 (4.15g; 29m).

Another type of coin struck in 354 AH is remarkable for citing, on the reverse, both Ibrahīm’s title *al-Sallār al-Mansūr* and his full name: Abū Ishaq Ibrahīm ibn al-Marzubān. Under *Abū Mansūr ibn al-Sallār* cited on the obverse, Ibrahīm’s uncle, Wahsūdān, is obviously meant.

#### 15. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 354 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / المطيع لله / ابو منصور بن السار

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة اربع و خمسين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد رسول الله / السلار المنصور / ابو اسحق ابراهيم / بن المرزبان

Rev. 1: Qu‘ran, IX, 33.



Ref: Pe 376, 2003, p. 150, No. 1565 (3.70g); Pe 367, 1999, p. 17, No. 1796 (4.59g); Pe 368, 1999, p. 52, No. 703 (4.83g); Tübingen No. EC7 E6 (4.54g; 28,5m); Tübingen No. 2000-11-49 (4.78g; 28m).

These two types of coins prove that Ibrahīm possessed Ardabīl already in 354 AH. However, it remains unclear why Ibrahīm cited the name of his uncle while striking his coins. The name of Wahsūdān given in the form of *Abū al-Mansūr al-Sallār* is engraved under the name of the Caliph on the obverse. Could this be considered a political step by Ibrahīm to find a compromise with his uncle and to conclude a peace with him or this was his acceptance of Wahsūdān as an overlord?

Ibrahīm was still in possession of Ardabīl during a short period of the year 355 AH. On the coins struck in Ardabīl in that year, the name of Ibrahīm appears on the reverse under that same title *al-Sallār al-Mansūr* cited on his coins struck a year before. There are no other names apart from the caliphal one on the obverse. This detail points to the fact that, by that time, Ibrahīm no longer recognised his uncle’s sovereignty over him.

#### 16. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 355 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / المطيع لله

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة خمس و خمسين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد / رسول الله / السلار المنصور / ابراهيم بن المرزبان

Rev. 1: Qu‘ran, IX, 33.

No image available

Ref: M 1896, p. 305, No. 5 = V 1927, p. 174, No. 10 (3.87g; 30m).

#### 17. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 355 AH.

Obv: As No. 16.

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة خمس و خمسين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / وهسودان بن محمد / سيف ال محمد / لله

Rev. 1: Qu‘ran, IX, 33.

No image available

Ref: V 1927, p. 175, No. 12 (4.16g; 29m) = Hoard of Denis, region of Perejaslav in Russia (1912).

The coins of this type have the same obverse legends as on the coins of No. 16 but with the name of Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad on the reverse. The title *Sayf Al Muhammad* is inscribed beneath Wahsūdān's name. Excluding the possibility that Wahsūdān was residing in Ardabīl himself, it is unclear who struck the coins of that type and how this type should be positioned in the chronological chain of the other issues dated 355 AH.

According to the coins, Ibrahīm's power was short-lived and, that same year, Wahsūdān's general, Sharmazan ibn Mishakī, marched into Adharbayjān again. After a few engagements, Ibrahīm was defeated and driven out from Ardabīl. On the dirhams struck in Ardabīl in 355 AH Sharmazan ibn Mishakī ordered his own name to be engraved on the obverse, with the name of his lord, Wahsūdān, on the reverse. The latter is also mentioned with his *laqab al-Sallār al-Sa'īd*.

### 18. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 355 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / شرمزن بن مشكي

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة خمس و خمسين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / السلار السعيد / وهسودان بن محمد

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: Tübingen No. 95-31-15 (4.34g; 26m).

This issue must have been extremely short. Soon another of Wahsūdān's sons, called Abū al-Hasan Nūh ibn Wahsūdān arrived in Ardabīl as governor.\* He immediately undertook an issue of his own coins replacing the general's name on the obverse with his own. At the same time he left the reverse inscriptions unchanged.

### 19. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 355 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا الله / وحده لا شريك له / نوح بن وهسودان / ابو الحسن

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة خمس و خمسين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / السلار السعيد / وهسودان بن محمد

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.

\* It seems that Wahsūdān never, himself, possessed either Ardabīl or any town within Adharbayjān. He always resided in his domain in Daylam. As the eldest representative of the Sallārīd family, Wahsūdān's name had to be mentioned on coins as an overlord. His government over the realm was carried out through the governors. Firstly, he would send to Ardabīl his faithful general, Sharmazan ibn Mishakī, and only after the town was in his hands did Wahsūdān despatch his son there as governor. Thus, his sons received the civic power over the region, while the generals had control over an army. For instance, he dealt thus with his sons Isma'īl in 349 AH and then Nūh in 355 AH.



Ref: V 1927, p. 175, No. 13 (4.05g; 27m); Ra 1997, p. 62, No. 52 (4.10g); ANS No. 1997.73.1 (4.76g; 26m); SHM inv. No. 6331 (3.68g).

After his defeat by Sharmazan ibn Mishakī, Ibrahīm had to make for Rayy to ask its Buyid ruler, Rukn al-Daula, for help. The latter was married to Ibrahīm's sister, so that he received Ibrahīm with honour. He ordered his Wazīr, Abū al-Fadl ibn al-'Amīd (Ustadh), to march to Ardabīl and to restore Ibrahīm in his rights over Adharbayjān. In 355 AH Ibn al-'Amīd arrived in Adharbayjān "won over to his side the local rulers and Kurdish chieftains; he induced Justān ibn Sharmazan to become his subject".<sup>52</sup> Ibrahīm was restored in his rights over his father's lands but the Buyid Wazīr returned to his master. The dirhams of another type of 355 AH from Ardabīl confirm this information. Such coins bear the names of both Ibrahīm and Wahsūdān on the reverse and the name of Rukn al-Daula as an overlord on the obverse. The position of the names on the reverse shows that Wahsūdān became subject to Ibrahīm. His name was modestly engraved under the name of Ibrahīm ibn Marzubān as *Wahsūdān ibn al-Sallār*. His being mentioned as a son of *al-Sallār* Wahsūdān also occurs on the dirhams of 354 AH (No. 15), already discussed above. On those coins, Wahsūdān appears with his *kunya*, *Abū Mansūr*. At the same time the title *al-Sallār al-Mansūr* engraved above Ibrahīm's name points to the fact that that *laqab* belonged to Ibrahīm.

### 20. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 355 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / ركن الدولة / ابو علي

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة خمس و خمسين و ثلثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / السلار المنصور / ابراهيم بن

المرزنان / وهسودان بن السلار

Rev. 1: Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: V 1927, pp. 175-6, No. 14 = M 1910, p. 136, No. 1 (4.95g; 27,5m); V 1927, p.176 (5.05g; 27,5m); Tatarstan hoard = Kalinin (4.95g; 27m); SMHA inv. No. 6332 (4.55g; 28,7m); Tübingen No. 91-16-68 (4.28g; 28m).

Similar coins were also struck in Ardabīl the following year. At least for a certain part of the year 356 AH the town was still in the hands of Ibrahīm, probably, according to the terms of the agreement made between the Buyid Wazīr and Wahsūdān.

<sup>52</sup> Ibn Miskawayh, op. cit., p. 242.

## 21. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 356 AH.

*Obv:* لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له المطيع / لله ركن الدولة / ابو علي  
*Obv. 1:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة ست و خمسين و ثلثمائة  
*Obv. 2:* Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev:* لله / محمد / رسول الله / السلار المنصور / ابراهيم بن المرزنان / [و]هسودان  
 بن السلار  
*Rev. 1:* Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: Sp 27, 1988, p. 68, No. 366 (4.28g); Tübingen No. EC7 F5 (5.29g; 29m).

The subsequent history of Adharbayjān, including the period 356 – 360s AH, is poorly reflected in the narrative sources. According to Munajjim Bashī, after the departure of the Buyid Wazīr from Adharbayjān, Wahsūdān again sent Sharmazan ibn Mishakī to Ardabīl. On this occasion, Sharmazan burnt the town and raided the neighbourhood. Ibrahīm had to conclude a peace with his uncle, ceding to him some territories.<sup>53</sup> Probably around 357 AH, Ibrahīm died. At least his name no longer appears on any contemporary coins issued in Ardabīl, which could indicate either his death or rejection of any claims over Adharbayjān. Ardabīl and the whole of Adharbayjān were now under the control of Sharmazan ibn Mishakī. This is also proved numismatically. One dirham minted at Ardabīl in 357 AH and citing the name of Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad on the reverse and his general, Sharmazan ibn Mishakī, on the obverse is known. On that coin, Wahsūdān appears with another *laqab*, *Sayf Al Muhammad* (The sword of Muhammad's family).\*

## 22. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 357 AH.

*Obv:* لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / شرمزن بن مشكي  
*Obv. 1:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة سبع و خمسين و ثلثمائة  
*Obv. 2:* Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev:* لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / السلار السعيد / وهسودان بن محمد / سيف ال محمد  
*Rev. 1:* Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: SHM inv. No. 17529/27.

No coins are yet known struck in Ardabīl in 358 AH. On the coins dated 359 - 361 AH, Wahsūdān's name no longer appears.

<sup>53</sup> Minorsky, *The last Musāfirids...*, p. 163.

\* The same *laqab* is also found on another type of Ardabīl dirham issued in 355 AH (see No. 17).

For a short time the name of his general, Sharmazan ibn Mishakī, disappears too. The only name (besides the caliphal one) which is present on the dirhams of 359 AH from Ardabīl is that of Justān ibn Sharmazan.

## 23. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 359 AH.

*Obv:* لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له  
*Obv. 1:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة تسع و خمسين و ثلثمائة  
*Obv. 2:* Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev:* لله / محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / المسدد ابونصر / جستان بن شرمزن  
*Rev. 1:* Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: GM 153, 2006, no. 5470 (5.14g).



Ref: Tübingen No. EC7 F1 (5.91g; 29m).

On the upper specimen the date is illegible while on the Tübingen specimen it is not. However, it is obvious that both coins were struck with the same pair of dies.\* Another specimen of this type was published by R. Hebert but dated mistakenly as 355 AH.<sup>54</sup> There is also one specimen of this type in the collection of the ANS (No. 1965. 243. 299 (4.91g; 28m).

## 24. AR Dirham. Marāgha 359 AH.

*Obv:* لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / الوزير عبيد الله / بن محمد / حمدويه  
*Obv. 1:* بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بالمراعة سنة تسع و خمسين و ثلثمائة  
*Obv. 2:* Qu'ran, XXX, 3-4.

*Rev:* لله / محمد / رسول الله / المطيع لله / رستم بن جستان  
*Rev. 1:* Qu'ran, IX, 33.



Ref: Ba 40, 2005, p. 98, No. 1142.

\* Here it should be noted that, unlike the Sājids, who used sometimes up to four different pairs of dies, the Sallārīds were content only with one pair for each type.

<sup>54</sup> Hebert R., *A Sallarid dirham of Abu Nasr Justan b. Sharmazan*, ONS Newsletter 105, 1987, pp. 4-5 (4.79g; 28.8m).

What happened to Justān ibn Sharmazan after he lost control over Ardabīl? One can suggest that he returned to his domain which, by that time, included at least the towns of Marāgha and Urmiya. One dirham offering a certain explanation to this question was published recently. This coin was struck in Marāgha in 359 AH. It bears the name of Rustam ibn Justān on the reverse and the name of the Wazīr, ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Muhammad Hamdawayh, on the obverse. The name of this Wazīr has already been mentioned above. This was the Wazīr of Justān ibn Sharmazan in the second half of the 340s AH. The latter, as is known, was in possession of Urmiya and Marāgha during those years and turned these towns with their neighbouring areas into his own domain. It seems that, around 359 AH, Justān ibn Sharmazan died. Ardabīl passed to Sharmazan ibn Mishakī but the lands of Justān ibn Sharmazan went to his son, Rustam. It is likely, that, at that same time, his father’s Wazīr, Abū al-Hasan ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Muhammad Hamdawayh, came into his service.

Apparently, after joining Ibrāhīm in 354 AH, Justān ibn Sharmazan remained on his side until the death of his patron. Either in 358 or 359 AH Justān ibn Sharmazan drove Sharmazan ibn Mishakī out of Ardabīl and took a control of the town. However, in 360 AH Sharmazan ibn Mishakī won the town back. There are dirhams of two different types from Ardabīl dated 360 and 361 AH which have the names of Sharmazan ibn Mishakī on the reverse and Rukn al-Daula Abū ‘Alī on the obverse.

### 25. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 360 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / ركن الدولة / ابو علي

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة ستين و ثلاثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / الناصر ابو القسم / شرمزن بن مشكي / الله

Rev. 1: Qu‘ran, IX, 33.



Ref: So 1987, p. 61, no. 864 = Tübingen No. EC7 F6 (5.56g; 30m).

### 26. AR Dirham. Ardabīl 361 AH.

Obv: لا اله الا / الله وحده / لا شريك له / ركن الدولة / ابو علي بوية

Obv. 1: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم باردبيل سنة احدى و ستين و ثلاثمائة

Obv. 2: Qu‘ran, XXX, 3-4.

Rev: محمد رسول الله / المطيع لله / الناصر ابو القاسم / شرمزن بن مشكي / الله

Rev. 1: Qu‘ran, IX, 33.



Ref: Sp 27, 1988, p. 68, No. 366 (3.47g).

The name of the Buyid prince on the coins of 360 – 361 AH shows that Sharmazan ibn Mishakī was able to recapture the town with the help of the Buyids or at least with their approval. At the same time the disappearance of Wahsūdān’s name from the coins of his general can speak in favour of the fact that the former died between 358 - 360 AH.

### Conclusions

1). Using both historical sources and coins, one can draw up the chronology of ruling persons in Adharbayjān between 330 – 361 AH thus:

#### The Sallārid princes

Muhammad ibn Musāfir (330 – 337/341 AH) as overlord in Tarm. Ca. 337 AH possessed Ardabīl for a short time.

*Al-Malik / al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad* Abū al-Nasr Marzubān ibn Muhammad (330 – 337; 341 – 346 AH) in Adharbayjān, some parts of Armenia, Arrān and Shirwān.

*Al-Sallār / Al-Sallār al-Sa‘īd / Sayf Al Muhammad* Abū Mansūr Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad (349 – ca. 358/360 AH) as overlord in Tarm.

Justān ibn al-Marzubān (346 – 349 AH) in Ardabīl, Marāgha and Barda‘a.

Isma‘īl ibn Wahsūdān (either in 349 – 351 or from 351 to 354 AH) in both Ardabīl and Barda‘a.

Abū al-Hasan Nūh ibn Wahsūdān (355 AH) in Ardabīl.

*Al-Sallar Al-Mansūr* Abū Ishaq Ibrāhīm ibn al-Marzubān (353 AH) in Vaspurakan Armenia, then (354 – 355; 355 – 356 AH) in Ardabīl.

#### The Buyid occupation of Adharbayjān

Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Razzāq (337 AH) in Marāgha and Ardabīl.

#### The Kurdish occupation of Adharbayjān

Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm (338 – 341 AH) in Ardabīl, Barda‘a, Nakhjawān and Dvin.

#### The Rawwādid occupation of Adharbayjān

Abū al-Hayjā al-Nāsir ibn al-Rawwād = Husayn ibn Muhammad al-Rawwād (from 349 to 351 or between 351 – 354 AH) in Ardabīl.

#### The Sallārid generals

‘Alī ibn Fadl (ca. 337 AH) in Ardabīl.

‘Alī ibn Mishakī (341 AH) in Ardabīl.

*Al-Mashdad* Abū al-Nasr Justān ibn Sharmazan (340s – ca. 359 AH) in Urmiya, then (349 – ca. 359 AH) in Marāgha and (359 AH) in Ardabīl.

Rustam ibn Justān ibn Sharmazan (359 – onwards AH) in both Urmiya and Marāgha.

Al-Nāsir Abū al-Qasim Sharmazan ibn Mishakī (354 - 355; 356 (?); 357; 360 – 361 onwards AH) in Ardabīl.

2). Unlike their predecessors, Daysam ibn Ibrāhīm and the Sājids, the Sallārids widely used their *laqabs* while striking coins. The following seven titles are known so far:

1. *Al-Malik*
2. *Al-Malik al-Mu‘ayyad*
3. *Al-Mansūr*
4. *Al-Sallār*
5. *Al-Sallār al-Mansūr*
6. *Al-Sallār al-Sa‘īd*
7. *Sayf Al Muhammad*

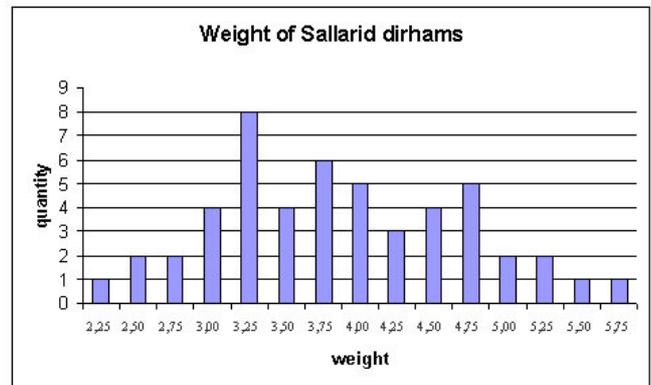
The coins provide a definite attribution of each of these titles to the appropriate Sallārid princes. At the same time none of these titles were borne by the Sallārid military generals. Thus, according to coins, the title *al-Malik* belonged to Muhammad ibn Musāfir (333 AH) and then passed to Marzubān ibn Muhammad (333, 341 AH). The title *al-Malik al-Mu'ayyad* belonged to Marzubān (342-343 AH) as well. Ibrahīm ibn Marzubān's title *Al-Sallār al-Mansūr* (354 – 356 AH) appears on the most of his coins (354 – 356 AH). His other title *al-Mansūr* has been met with so far only once (353 AH). The titles *Al-Sallār* (342-343, 351 AH), *Al-Sallār al-Sa'īd* (355 AH) and *Sayf Al Muhammad* (355, 357 AH) were the *laqabs* of Wahsūdān ibn Muhammad. In addition, on the coins of one type of 355 and 356 AH Wahsūdān appears as *Wahsūdān ibn al-Sallār*. Finally, on the dirhams of one type struck in 354 AH Wahsūdān's name is given as *Abū Mansūr ibn al-Sallār*.

3). While striking their coins, the Sallārids also paid attention to the position of the names engraved on both sides. Apart from that of the caliph, from one to three other names could be inscribed on the coins simultaneously. Of course, all these names were cited according to a special sequence in which every person had his hierarchic place on a coin. On the coins of that time the name of the contemporary caliph, Sallārid prince, ruler of the town, Wazīr and vassal (seldom) are found. The reverse was the more honourable side and it is there that the names of both Caliph and Sallārid prince are normally placed. There are also a few occasions when the name of the caliph appears on the obverse. Such coins were struck sometime in 354 – 356 AH (Nos. 15 – 17, 21). Beneath the caliphal name, the name of a person who was responsible for the taxes to the caliph is mentioned. As a rule that is a governor of the province, i.e. the Sallārid ruling prince. In addition to the name of the Sallārid prince, the name of his vassal could be also mentioned on that side. In that case the name of a vassal was placed under the name of the prince. A good example for such combinations are the coins of No. 20.

The obverse was not so honourable and the sequence for engraving names there was not so strict. On that side the name of an overlord, a ruler of a town or a Wazīr could be placed. The name of an overlord was always cited beneath the Kalima on the obverse. This seems to have been a person to whom either the Sallārid prince himself or ruler of the town(s) had annually paid taxes. For example, on the coins Nos. 1 - 2 the name of Marzubān's father, Muhammad ibn Musāfir, is cited, while the coins Nos. 20 – 21, 25 – 26 bear the name of the Buyid, Rukn al-Daula. There is no doubt that both persons were considered overlords at that time. On the obverse, the names of contemporary Sallārid Wazīrs (Nos. 14, 24) as well as co-reigning persons (Nos. 8 - 9) could also be mentioned. It has already been said above that in the days of Marzubān's reign his brother, Wahsūdān, still headed the Sallārid army. As a great commander his name was engraved on the obverse side of coins struck in 342 – 343 AH (Nos. 5 - 7). If the name of the Sallārid prince was on the reverse then the name of a local ruler was normally cited on the obverse (Nos. 10 – 12, 18 – 19, 22). However, in 359 – 361 AH, when the power in the Sallārid state passed to the military generals, the ruler over both the town and the whole province became the same person. In that case his name was placed on the reverse as well and no other names were cited on that side (Nos. 23 - 26).

4). Fifty Sallārid silver dirhams were weighed. It should be noted that the early Sallārid issues of 333 and 341 AH aspired to an average weight between 2.40 – 3.89g. The weight of coins issued between 347 – 354 AH was normally around 3.50g. However, the issues of 354 – 361 AH show a definite tend to exceed 4.00g. Some issues of 356 – 360 AH even weigh more than 5.00g.

The average weight of the coins is 3.97g. The heaviest coin so far is the dirham of Ardābil struck in 359 AH by Justān ibn Sharmazan (No. 23b) and which is now in the collection of Islamic coins at the University of Tübingen (No. EC7 F1 (5.91g; 29mm)).



\* The weight of coins was rounded off. For example, the coins weighing between 3.25 – 3.50g. constituted the column marked as 3.25g. The same weight distribution was used for other coins.

5). Finally, the full list of coins struck by the Sallārids and their generals between 333 – 361 AH is given below.

Year AH	Adharbayjān	Ardābil	Armīniya	Barda'a	Marāgha	Ūrmiya
333						AR-2
341	AR					
342		AV				
343		AV/AR				
347		AR			AV	
351		AR-2*		AR		
353			AV			
354		AR-2				
355		AR-5				
356		AR				
357		AR				
359		AR			AR	
360		AR				
361		AR				

\* The number of types known from the same year.

#### Abbreviations

1. **Ca** - Casanova P., Inventaire sommaire de la collection des monnaies Musulmanes la S. A. princesse Ismail, Paris, 1896.
2. **LW** - Linder-Welin U., The kufic coins in the hoard from Hägvalds in Gerum, Gotland, *Nordisk Numismatisk Årsskrift*, 1966, pp. 82 - 124.
3. **M 1896** - Markov A., Inventarnyi katalog gosudarstvennogo imperatrisheskogo Ermitazha, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1896.
4. **M 1910** - Markov A., Topografija kladov vostochnykh monet, St. Petersburg, 1910.
5. **NNB** - Numismatisches Nachrichtenblatt 55, Dezember 2006.
6. **Peuth hoard** - Vasmer R., Der Münzfund von Peuth, Estländischen Literarischen Gessellschaft, Bd. XII, 1927, pp. 65-100.
7. **Ra** - Rajabli A., Numizmatika Azerbaydzhana, Baku, 1997.
8. **Rep. ANS** - Annual Report of the ANS, New York, 1971.
9. **Ropka hoard** - The hoard found in Ropka, Estonia.
10. **Sa** - Sauvaire H., Lettre à M. Stanley Lane-Poole sur quelques monnaies orientales rares ou inédites de la collection de Mr. Ch. de l'Ecluse, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIII, 1881, pp. 380-98.
11. **T 1873** - Tiesenhausen V., Monety vostochnogo khalifata, St. Petersburg, 1873.
12. **T 1892** - Tiesenhausen V., Numismaticheskie novinki, Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdelenija Rossiyskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva, Vol. VI, 1892, pp. 229-64.
13. **Ta** - Tabataba'i T., Islamic Coins of Iran, Tabriz, 1373 (in Per.).
14. **Tartu hoard** - Noonan Th., The 1958 dirham hoard from Tartu in Estonia, *ANS Museum Notes*, Vol. XXII, 1977, pp. 135-59.
15. **Tatarstan hoard** - The hoard found in Tatarstan, Russia.
16. **To** - Tornberg C., Découvertes récentes de monnaies koufiques en Suède, *Revue Numismatique Belge*, Vol. II, 1870, pp. 221-45.
17. **V** - Vasmer R., Zur Chronologie der Ğastāniden und Sallāriden, *Islamica*, Vol. III, 1927, pp. 165-86.
18. **Weyl** - Weyl A., Verzeichnis von Münzen und Denkmünzen verschiedener mohammedanischer Dynastien der Jules Fonrobertschen Sammlung, Berlin, 1898.

1. **ANS** - The American Numismatic Society, New York.
2. **Ba** - Baldwin's Auction Catalogue, London.
3. **Basel** – Auktion Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel.
4. **GFC** – Gotlands Fornsal Collection, Wisby, Gotland.
5. **GM** – Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, München.
6. **IC** – Islamic Coin Auction in London, Baldwin's Auctions, London.
7. **Kalinin** – Mr. Vadim Kalinin collection, Moscow.
8. **Lloyd** – Mr. Steven Lloyd, London.
9. **OMJ** – Orientalisches Münzkabinett Jena.
10. **Pe** - Auktion Katalog von Dr. Busso Peus Nachf. Münzhandlung, Frankfurt am Main.
11. **RAS** – Russian Archeological Society, St. Petersburg.
12. **SHM** – Statens Historiska Museum, Stockholm.
13. **SHMM** – State History Museum of Moscow, Moscow.
14. **SMHA** - State Museum of the History of Armenia, Yerevan.
15. **So** - Sotheby's Coins, Medals and Numismatic Books, London.
16. **Sp** - Spink's Catalogue of Coins of the Islamic World, Zürich.
17. **Tübingen** - Forschungsstelle für Islamische Numismatik, University of Tübingen.

### THE QUMM AH 830/835 UNCERTAINTY RESOLVED

By Roland Dauwe

The tankas of the fifth issue of the Timurid ruler, Shahrukh (807-850/1405-1447), are without any doubt the most common coins ever to have been struck at Qumm. That fifth issue started in Qumm in 828 and was continued until the sultan's death in 850. The mint of Qumm was very productive from 828 until 838, but the output was drastically reduced afterwards, though its activity continued until the first years of the next ruler, Sultan Muhammad (850-855/1447-1451).

Among this well-known series are coins bearing a date that, over the years, has caused a lot of confusion, as it was read as 830 by some of the scholars and dealers, but 835 by others. On these coins the date is invariably written  $\text{٨٣٠}$  (fig. 1).



Fig. 1

An argument to support the reading as 835 is the fact that on the tankas dated 820 and 840, the 0 is written as a  $\cdot$ , which is the normal way to write an Arabic zero ( $\text{٨٢٠}$  and  $\text{٨٤٠}$ ); and there are no obvious reasons why there should be an exception for the year 830. On the other hand, on the coins bearing with certainty a 5 in the date (845, 850 and 851), the 5 was never written in the Arabic way ( $\text{٥}$  or  $\text{٥}$ ), but by  $\text{٥}$ , a form that was used by many Mongol dynasties (fig. 2).



Fig. 2

As one can see, both interpretations have an argument in their favour, but only one can of course be correct. Fortunately there is another element that settles that confusion once and for all. When the fifth issue was started it retained the reverse type of the third issue, the kalima in a square, surrounded by the four Rashidun. The tankas of 833, however, were struck at Qumm with two different reverses: the first one with the kalima in a square, and a second one with the kalima in a circle (fig. 3).



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

From then on, all the tankas were struck with the second reverse type (sometimes with a horizontal line across the circle) and until the end of the reign. This means that all tankas of Qumm, struck between 828 and 833, have a reverse of type 1, while those struck from 833 until 850 have a reverse of type 2. Since all the pieces with the confusing date I have seen have the square reverse of type 1 (fig. 4), this means that they were struck before 833, leaving the reading 830 as the only one possible.

### MAJOR VARIETIES OF THE TYPE D 3<sup>rd</sup> STANDARD COINS OF SULTAN HUSAYN ISSUED IN TIFLIS AND AT OTHER MINTS

By Irakli Paghava, Severian Turkia, Kirk Bennett

Our aim is to give a short synopsis of the silver coins minted by the kings of the east Georgian province and kingdom of Kartli in their capital city, Tiflis, in the name of Sultan Husayn and dated 1130-1134 AH (December 1717 – October 1722), and to publish some new, previously unknown major varieties of these coins. In addition, we would like to delineate and discuss some calligraphic and design features shared by the 3<sup>rd</sup> standard coins of Husayn issued at other mints.

During the reign of Sultan Husayn, eastern Georgia (divided into the kingdoms of Kartli and Kakheti) was still subject to Safavid Iran. However “the Persian government, which relied on the Georgian army to extricate it from its difficulties, refrained from undue interference at Tiflis” [Lang, p. 104].

The Safavids were still exercising their right of *sikka* at the Tiflis mint as well as in many other cities which they controlled. However, in contrast to other mints also issuing silver coins bearing the names of Safavid shahs, the Tiflis mint was not controlled by the shah's officials, but by the local Georgian ruler [Kutelia, p. 29], who was considered the shah's *vali* (viceroy) by the Persians, but king of Kartli by his Georgian subjects [Lang, p. 21]. This is proved by the contemporary Georgian legislation and reports of both foreign travelers and local merchants: the king of Kartli was levying all the taxes on mint operations and was distributing the income from minting coins himself, not transferring it to the state budget of Safavid Iran; moreover, the mint itself was located in that part of Tiflis controlled by the Georgian king, and not by the Iranian garrison occupying the citadel [Kutelia, pp. 29-32]. In our opinion, therefore, it would not be wrong to state that the silver coins minted in Tiflis in 1130-1134 AH (December 1717 – October 1722) and bearing the name of Sultan Husayn have a direct connection with the then Georgian kings and rulers of Kartli and to some extent may be considered their coinage as well.

In 1130 AH, which started on 5 December 1717, the east Georgian province and kingdom of Kartli was ruled by Bakar (Shah-Nawaz III), while his father, Vakhtang VI (Husayn-Quli-Khan), was still residing in Iran. Vakhtang VI returned to Georgia

in August 1719 [Lang, p. 110], which corresponds to the end of 1131 AH (1132 AH started on 14 November 1719), and controlled Tiflis until 6 May 1723, when, as the result of a fratricidal and internecine conflict, the city was seized by King Constantine (Mahmad-Quli-Khan) of Kakheti (this happened in 1135 AH, which started on 12 October 1722 and ended on 1 October 1723) [Allen, p. 186].

That means that all coins dated 1130 and probably at least the majority of coins dated 1131 were issued by Bakar (It is noteworthy that there are copper Tiflis coins bearing Bakar's name and dated 1130 and 1131 [Pakhomov, pp. 254-255, ##120-126]). Some silver coins dated 1131 might also have been issued by Vakhtang VI following his return to Tiflis, although there are no copper coins bearing his name and dated 1131; the coins dated 1132-1134 definitely constitute Vakhtang's coinage.

It is noteworthy that Vakhtang's "formal accession was celebrated by a ceremony in which quantities of coins were poured over his shoulders – a ritual preserved from ancient times" [Lang, p. 110]. One could maybe even speculate that the relative commonness of Tiflis coins dated 1131 was a consequence of the need to coin enough money to conduct the above-mentioned ceremony, and/or to meet other accession-related expenditures.

No Safavid Tiflis coins dated 1135 have been published yet, indicating that probably none were struck or that they were minted in a very small quantity (their existence is not impossible [Pakhomov, p. 225]). This is quite understandable as Georgian military operations in support of the Russian imperial army of Peter I invading the south Caucasian provinces of the Safavid state had already started before the end of 1134 AH (October 12 of 1722). Vakhtang VI moved on Ganja with his army in September 1722 [Allen, p. 186]. This probably brought most economic activity in the region to a halt, which in turn presumably affected the activities of the Tiflis mint, as the latter was practicing the open minting system [Kutelia, p. 26] in which anyone willing to paying the minting charges could bring metal or foreign/old coin to the mint and have it struck.

Silver coins bearing the name of Husayn were issued according to different weight standards, but they all fall outside the scope of this paper except for those minted in Tiflis in 1130-1134 AH (the third standard based on the toman of 1400 nokhod, Type D: *Hoseyn bande-ye shâh-e velâyat* [Album, p. 130]).

Using certain calligraphic and design criteria, Tiflis coins of this period may be easily divided into two groups:

1. Coins dated 1130-1132 AH
2. Coins dated 1133-1134 AH

(Most other Safavid coins of this period could also be categorised using these same criteria).

Tiflis silver coins dated 1130-1132 are as follows:

#### Obverse:

5-line legend in Persian:

شاه ولا

یت

بنده حسین تفلیس

ب

[the date] ضر

(May be translated as: Husayn, slave of the shah of sanctity - i.e., Ali [Kutelia, p. 46]).

Ornaments in field.

Surrounded by a so-called "common margin", which for Safavid coins is "two lines and dots in a row between them" according to Pakhomov, the venerable researcher of Oriental and particularly south Caucasian and Persian numismatics [Pakhomov, p. 217, Footnote 2].

Ornaments in field.

The dates are one of the following:

۱۱۳۰

۱۱۳۱

۱۱۳۲

(1130, 1131 or 1132)

All the legends are written with short vertical and long horizontal strokes corresponding to the Nasta'liq calligraphic style.

#### Reverse:

Shia creed:

لا اله الا الله

محمد

رسول الله على و

لى الله

(There is no god but God, Muhammad – the messenger of God, Ali – the vicegerent of God)

Ornaments in field.

Surrounded by common margin.

All the legends are written with short horizontal stems while the uprights are straight and vertical; the general look corresponds to the Naskh calligraphic style.

For 1130-1132 AH the following denominations of silver Tiflis coins are known:

- Abbasi (for 1130-1132 AH : [Pakhomov, p.224-225]; *Figs. 1-8*) ;
- Mahmudi (for 1130-1131 AH : [Pakhomov, p.224]; *Figs. 13-18*; mahmudi dated 1132 AH listed as KM#281);
- Shahi (for 1131 AH : [Pakhomov, p.224]; shahi dated 1132 AH listed as KM#280 [Krause, #280]; *Figs. 22-23*);
- Bisti (for 1130 AH : [Kutelia, p.45]), not published for other Safavid mints [Kutelia, p. 46].

In contrast to the period of 1130-1132 AH, the coins minted in Tiflis and dated 1133-1134 are also different, besides the date (۱۱۳۳, ۱۱۳۴), in terms of the following:

1. The obverse legends are in the Naskh and not in Nasta'liq style;
2. The obverse legends are the same, but are arranged in a different way:

شاه ولا

یت

بنده حسین

[the date]

ب

تفلیس

ضر

3. The obverse margin comprises two lines with S-shaped curlicues between them;
4. The reverse margin comprises the names of the 12 imams instead of dots between two lines:

على حسن حسين على محمد جعفر موسى على محمد على حسن محمد

(Ali, Hasan, Husayn, Ali, Muhammad, Ja'far, Musa, Ali, Muhammad, Ali, Hasan, Muhammad)

For 1133-1134 AH the following denominations of Tiflis coins are known:

- Abbasi (for 1133-1134 AH: [Pakhomov, p. 225]; *Figs. 9-11*);
- Mahmudi (for 1134 AH: *Figs. 19-21*; mahmudi dated 1134 AH also listed as KM#281 [Krause, #281]);
- Shahi (for 1134 AH: [Pakhomov, p. 225], apparently struck with specially designed shahi dies).

Generally speaking, "type D abbasid show a great variation in calligraphy, legend arrangement and borders" [Album, p. 130], but to our knowledge type D Safavid silver coins 1129-1135 AH have not been paid much attention in terms of this variation yet, certainly not with regards to Tiflis coinage. However, one could attempt a preliminary classification of abbasid and other silver denominations minted in the Safavid state in that period.

The combination of different styles on different sides of the coin is just as intriguing as the change of style from Nasta'liq to Naskh for obverses in 1133 AH in Tiflis and at many other mints.

We have no explanation for this fact, though one should probably keep in mind that, while using Arabic script on both sides, the legends are nevertheless in different languages: Persian on the obverse and Arabic on the reverse. Anyway, this does not explain the change in the calligraphic style.

According to our observations, the aforementioned peculiarities are true of other Safavid mints as well, so that a rule may be preliminarily formulated based on observations of 56 specimens published in the [Zeno Oriental Coins Database] before December 4, 2006: *Nasta'liq obverse and Naskh reverse for 1129-1132, and Naskh for both obverse and reverse for 1133-1135*. Of course, there are exceptions, e.g. coins dated 1129-1132 with a Naskh obverse ([Zeno Oriental Coins Database, #31687]: Isfahan 1131 AH abbasi: the obverse legends are in a style with features of both Naskh and Nasta'liq; 1 out of 56) and coins dated 1133-1135 with a Nasta'liq obverse ([Zeno Oriental Coins Database, ##34925, 29265, 30798]: Nakhjevan 1133 AH, Tabriz 1133 AH and Qazvin 1135 AH abbasis, respectively; 3 out of 56).

Another rule may be formulated with regard to the design typically used with the Nasta'liq and Naskh styles: *Regardless of year, a Nasta'liq obverse has dotted margins on both sides, while a Naskh obverse has an S-like ornamental margin on the obverse and a 12-imams margin on the reverse*. Exceptions exist; either a coin with a Nasta'liq obverse may have a 12-imams margin on the reverse ([Zeno Oriental Coins Database, ##34346, 30798, 31045]: Rasht 1132 AH, Qazvin 1135 AH and Qazvin 1131 AH abbasis, respectively; for the latter also see *Fig. 12*; 3 out of 56 in the Zeno sample), or a coin with a Naskh obverse has a dotted margin on the obverse ([Zeno Oriental Coins Database, #20809]: Ganja, 1134; 1 out of 56; cf. *Figs. 11, 19, 21*).

The conformity in the style of legends and other graphical features on coins minted in various cities supports the hypothesis that in 1129-1135 AH, the die patterns were produced in a centralised way and then distributed among the mints. Kutelia refers to p. 76 of Pakhomov's *Coin Hoards of Azerbaijan and other Republics, Lands and Provinces of the Caucasus*, writing that "When one compares the dated Tiflis coins of the XVII c. to the first two decades of the XVIII c., it becomes clear that when the change in legends was conducted in Iran, it was immediately reflected, usually in that very year, by the production of the Tiflis mint. Most likely the corresponding agency of the shah's divan systematically sent to Kartli the texts of the new legends, and the dies were engraved in Tiflis according to these texts" ([Kutelia, p. 26], our translation from Russian). It is noteworthy that Tiflis coins bearing the names of the Safavid shahs, Abbas I and Sulayman, were different in appearance from the contemporary production of Iranian mints, but those of Sultan Husayn were similar [Kutelia, p. 40-41].

Of course more research is required; the rules we have formulated are not all-inclusive and can serve only as a basis for further study of Type D Safavid coins of the period 1129-1135 AH. In our opinion, a mint-by-mint approach would demonstrate whether the pattern we have outlined is true in all cases, or only in the case of particular mints (this paper may serve as a source of the relevant information for the Tiflis mint). Thus, one could shed more light on the numismatic history of the last years of the Safavid state prior to the Afghan, Russian and Ottoman invasions; we may start doing this research in 2007.

Having made an attempt to categorise the 3<sup>rd</sup> standard coins of Sultan Husayn minted in Tiflis and other cities, we would like to discuss the following previously unpublished numismatic material from the Tiflis mint.

As we have already mentioned, one of the four features distinguishing Tiflis silver coins dated 1133-1134 from those dated 1130-1132 is the fact that the obverse margin on the former is comprised of two lines with S-shaped curlicues between them instead of a common margin (*Figs. 9-10*, cf. *Figs. 1-8*). However, there is an evidently rare variety of Tiflis abbasi dated 1134 with the obverse margin comprised of two lines and diamonds or diamond-shaped dots in a row between them (*Fig. 11*, cf. *Fig. 10*), and 1134 mahmudis also with either diamonds or dots between the lines (correspondingly *Fig. 19* and *Fig. 21*, as opposed to *Fig. 10*).

In terms of the other criteria, these pieces (*Figs. 11, 19, 21*) are typical for the coinage of 1133-1134 AH. It is remarkable that we did not manage to find a mahmudi dated 1134 with the standard common margin, which is strange considering that 1134 abbasis with the standard margin are common - certainly much more so than abbasis with the unusual margin.

The standard margin type dies of different sizes were probably in use simultaneously at the mint, leading to some interesting and very specific mulings: coins struck with dies of the same coin type, but of inappropriate and sometimes different size. For instance, mahmudis dated 1130-1134 were struck with either abbasi dies (*Figs. 14-15, 19-20*) or specially produced dies of lesser diameter (*Figs. 13, 18, 21*). To our knowledge, little or no attention was paid to this fact before, even by authors who gave detailed descriptions of Sultan Husayn's Tiflis coinage [Pakhomov, pp. 224-225; Kutelia, pp. 45-46]. Sometimes abbasi and mahmudi dies were combined to strike the coin (*Figs. 16, 17*), producing, as we would call them, *denomination die mulings*. Sometimes the obverse was struck with the mahmudi die and the reverse with the abbasi one (*Fig. 17*) or vice versa (*Fig. 16*). Thus, there are AH 1131 mahmudis struck on both sides with abbasi dies (*Fig. 14-15*); mahmudis struck on the obverse with an abbasi die and on the reverse with a mahmudi die (*Fig. 16*, 1131 because the obverse die presumably matches with *Fig. 6*); mahmudis struck on the obverse with a mahmudi die and on the reverse with an abbasi die (*Fig. 17*); and mahmudis struck with mahmudi dies only (*Fig. 18*; [Pakhomov p. 224]). Mahmudis dated 1134 were also minted using either abbasi dies (*Figs. 19-20*: smaller planchets were struck with different fragments of the bigger abbasi dies) or specially produced mahmudi dies (*Fig. 21*). For the 1130 AH mahmudi, we have found so far only the variety struck with specially designed mahmudi dies (*Fig. 13*, for date cf. *Fig. 2*; [Pakhomov, p.224]).

At least some shahis in their turn were also struck with dies larger than the flan. Both abbasi and mahmudi dies could be used. We would like to draw the reader's attention to two shahis of the 1130-1132 AH type (the date is unfortunately off-flan in one case): a shahi with the obverse struck with an abbasi die and the reverse struck with a mahmudi die (*Fig. 22*), and a shahi dated 1131 struck with mahmudi dies only (*Fig. 23*). Specially designed dies of the size appropriate for shahi flans were used as well, and coins struck with them have already been published (for 1131 AH: [Pakhomov, p.224]).

It is remarkable that, even if the dies were specially designed for minor denominations like the mahmudi or shahi, the diameter of their working surface was usually bigger than that of the planchet (*Figs. 18, 21*).

Not only were bigger dies used for minting minor denominations, but smaller dies (i.e., dies fitting the smaller flans) were used for minting larger denominations as well. We would like to publish two abbasis, both dated 1130 and having their reverses struck with mahmudi dies (*Figs. 3-4*). It is very remarkable that in one case the reverse is struck with a typical 1130-1132 AH reverse die: the Shia creed surrounded by a common margin (*Fig. 3*), whereas another coin with an obverse dated 1130 is struck with the typical 1133-1134 AH reverse die: the Shia creed surrounded by the names of 12 imams in the margin (*Fig. 4*).

We would like to suggest two hypotheses regarding how the latter coin (*Fig. 4*) came to be struck:

1. The reverse dies (at least one mahmudi die) with the Shia creed and 12 imams in the margin were already engraved at some time around 1130 AH, i.e. *before* this type came into exclusive use at the Tiflis mint in 1133-1134 AH. That mahmudi die was applied to a planchet together with the obverse abbasi die dated 1130 and having the features of 1130-1132 AH coinage (legends in Nasta'liq, specific arrangement of legends, common margin).
2. Reverse dies (including the mahmudi dies) with the Shia creed and 12 imams in the margin were *not* engraved until

about 1133-1134 AH, but at about that time a mahmudi die of that later type was either

- a. accidentally used together with an obverse die dated and produced in 1130, which had evidently been preserved at the mint; or
- b. used on purpose with an obverse die dated and produced in 1130 AH and preserved at the mint, perhaps because the proper 1133-1134 type obverse die had worn out, but the mint officials did not want to stop production until a new obverse die could be engraved.

Coins from other Safavid mints struck with a combination of dies pertaining to different periods by style (i.e., to 1129-1132 and 1133-1135AH) are known (Fig. 12), but to our knowledge, Tiflis coins like this have never been published before, so this specimen is unique. We do not think that it was normal for the Tiflis mint to combine 1129-1132 and 1133-1135 AH type dies (1130-1132 and 1133-1134 AH, in the case of Tiflis), and since no other coins like this (with 1130-1132 AH type obverse and 1133-1134 AH type reverse) have been published, we believe that the uniqueness or great rarity of this curious coin (Fig. 4) may be better explained by the second hypothesis. If true, it would lead us to an important conclusion, namely, that at least some obverse dies were preserved at the Tiflis mint for at least several years rather than being destroyed immediately after the end of each year.

In our opinion, there is currently insufficient evidence to ascertain whether dies of improper size for the planchet were used by accident, or whether it was a common practice in case of need. However, the relative abundance of denomination die mulings with Tiflis mahmudis and shahis suggests either exceptional carelessness on the part of mint officials, or a general willingness to use larger dies on the smaller planchets, usually employing abbasi dies and not bothering to produce special dies of smaller size.

There are additional, less remarkable varieties of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Standard Tiflis Coins of Sultan Husayn which differ from typical strikes in terms of the inner line of the "common margin" on 1130-1132 coins.

We would like to publish 2 abbasis dated 1132 AH. The obverse of one of them (Fig. 7) has the common margin, whereas on the obverse of the other (Fig. 8) the inner line of the margin is dotted.

The reverse of one mahmudi dated 1131 and published in this paper has the common margin (Fig. 14), whereas another one has a reverse with a dotted inner line around the Shia creed (Fig. 15). The fact that an abbasi die was used for striking the reverse of this mahmudi points to the existence of abbasis with the dotted inner line on the reverse, though we have not encountered them yet.

It seems that, when engraving mahmudi dies, the craftsmen did not bother engraving the external line of the common margin all the time (Fig. 13; cf. Fig. 18 where the external line is present), perhaps in consideration of the frequent discrepancy between the mahmudi dies and the mahmudi planchet diameters (Figs. 18, 21).

By way of a conclusion, we would like to note the following:

- When studying the Safavid coinage it might be helpful to remember that the Tiflis mint issuing silver coins with the name of the concurrent Safavid shah was at the same time the capital of the east Georgian Kingdom of Kartli, which enjoyed autonomous status under the rule of the local royal Bagrationi dynasty. This fact could cast new light on both Safavid and Georgian numismatics: it may be useful to bear in mind that it was actually Bakar and Vakhtang VI who profited by minting silver coins bearing Sultan Husayn's name in Tiflis in 1130-1134 AH (December 1717 – October 1722).
- The two rules formulated in this paper (1. a *Nasta'liq* obverse and *Naskh* reverse for 1129-1132, and *Naskh* for both obverse and reverse for 1133-1135; and 2. regardless of year, a *Nasta'liq* obverse has dotted margins on both sides, while a *Naskh* obverse has an S-

like ornamental margin on the obverse and a 12-imams margin on the reverse) could help to classify the Safavid coinage in a turbulent period on the eve of foreign invasions, and could maybe give us some insight into the organisation of the monetary production of the Safavid state. However, further research in this direction is definitely required.

- The existence of varieties, including the combinations of dies of various size and/or type (i.e. 1130-1132 AH or 1133-1134 AH types) might be important for the further classification of Tiflis coins of the period, as well as for a better understanding of the organisation and minting techniques of the Tiflis mint (and maybe of other Safavid mints as well).
- The existence of a muling with an obverse dated 1130 and a reverse struck with a reverse die of the 1133-1134 AH type seems to be of particular significance, and may mean that, in the late Safavid period, at least some dies were not destroyed right after the year indicated on them had elapsed, but could be used afterwards, even 2 years later or more, in case of need or by accident.

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Fig. 1. – Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1130 AH (AR, Weight: 5.41 g; diameter: 23-24 mm; die axis: 7:15 o'clock)



Fig. 2. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1130 AH (AR, Weight: 5.27 g; diameter: 22 mm; die axis: 7 o'clock)



Fig. 3. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1130 AH (AR, Weight: 5.31 g; diameter: 21.5-22 mm ; die axis: 12:15 o'clock)



Fig. 9. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1133 AH (AR, Weight: 5.37 g; diameter: 24 mm; die axis: 6 o'clock)



Fig. 4. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1130 AH (AR, Weight: NA; diameter: 22 mm; die axis: NA)



Fig. 10. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1134 AH (AR, Weight: 5.41 g; diameter: 24.5 mm; die axis: 8:30 o'clock)



Fig. 5. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1131 AH (AR, Weight: 5.33 g; diameter: 21.5-22 mm; die axis: 10:30 o'clock)



Fig. 11. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1134 AH (AR, Weight: 5.35 g; diameter: 24 mm; die axis: 7 o'clock)



Fig. 6. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1131 AH (AR, Weight: NA; diameter: NA; die axis: 4:30 o'clock)



Fig. 12. - Safavid, Husayn I, AR, abbasi, Qazwin, 1131 AH (AR, Weight: 5.38 g; diameter: 24.5 mm; die axis: 8:45 o'clock)



Fig. 7. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1132 AH (AR, Weight: 5.39 g; diameter: 23-24 mm; die axis: 4 o'clock)



Fig. 13. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, 1130 AH (AR, Weight: NA; diameter: NA; die axis: NA)



Fig. 8. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, abbasi, Tiflis, 1132 AH (AR, Weight: 5.39 g; diameter: 25-25.5 mm; die axis: 3 o'clock)



Fig. 14. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, 1131 AH (AR, Weight: 2.65 g; diameter: 18-19 mm; die axis: 12 o'clock)



Fig. 15. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, 1131 AH (AR, Weight: 2.69 g; diameter: 19 mm; die axis: 4 o'clock)



Fig. 16. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, [1131] AH (AR, Weight: 2.72 g; diameter: 17.5-18 mm; die axis: 4:15 o'clock)



Fig. 17. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, 1131 AH (AR, Weight: NA; diameter: NA; die axis: NA)



Fig. 18. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, 1131 AH (AR, Weight: NA; diameter: NA; die axis: NA)



Fig. 19. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, 1134 AH (AR, Weight: 2.69 g; diameter: 18 mm; die axis: 6 o'clock)



Fig. 20. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, 1134 AH (AR, Weight: NA; diameter: NA; die axis: NA)



Fig. 21. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Vakhtang VI, AR, mahmudi, Tiflis, 1134 AH (AR, Weight: 2.65 g; diameter: 18 mm; die axis: 9 o'clock)



Fig. 22. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, shahi, Tiflis, [1130-1132] AH (AR, Weight: 1.32 g, holed; diameter: 15 mm; die axis: 12:30 o'clock)



Fig. 23. - Safavid, Husayn I, Kingdom of Kartli, Bakar/Vakhtang VI, AR, shahi, Tiflis, 1131 AH (AR, Weight: NA, plugged; diameter: 14-15 mm; die axis: 7 o'clock)

## RE-DATING EUKRATIDES I RELATIVE TO MITHRADATES I

By L.M.Wilson and G.R.F.Assar

As Justin (41.6.1.) reports that the inception of the reign of Eukratides was 'at about the same time' as that of Mithradates I of Parthia, his remark has always helped us determine the inception date of Eukratides I. Although his phrase 'at about the same time' may cover a gap of many years, unless we dismiss Justin altogether the inception date for Eukratides I of Bactria is approximately the same as for Mithradates I. Since the previous generally accepted dates for Mithradates I have been c.171 to 138 BC, the inception date of Eukratides I has generally been taken as approximately 171 BC while the actual date for Eukratides could be a few years before or after this.

But it has now been shown that the dates of Mithradates I need to be changed. Firstly, it can be shown that Mithradates I succeeded his brother, Phraates I, in 165 BC, shortly before the death of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 BC), and not in c. 171 BC<sup>1</sup>. Secondly, contrary to the general belief that Mithradates I died in 138/7 BC, there is contemporary evidence from Babylonia to confirm that he was alive as late as April 132 BC<sup>2</sup> and there is a further piece of contemporary evidence, a "Deed of Gift to the House of Gods" from Babylonia dated July 132 BC, showing that the son of Mithradates I, Phraates II, succeeded his father as a minor<sup>3,4</sup> and reigned jointly with his mother for a few months (before he attained majority). Thirdly, this terminal date (132) with the 31 full regnal years of Mithradates I assigned by Moses of Chorene (33 total including the 2 incomplete years, as before), gives 165 as the inception date<sup>2</sup>. Therefore the revised dates for Mithradates I are c.165 to 132 BC. In other words the whole reign has been shifted by 6 years. Using this revised date for Mithradates I, it seems that the best estimate for the date of the accession of Eukratides I to the throne of Bactria is now somewhere around 165 BC.

The actual date can of course be a few years either side of this 165 date, (as was the case for the 171 date<sup>5</sup>, above), and can perhaps be narrowed down to give a better estimate. The

usurpation of Eukratides appears to have been a long process, with Eukratides I fighting against rivals over several years. So when does one take the beginning of his actual reign and when did Eukratides himself consider that his reign officially began? As Justin places the accession of Eukratides I close to that of Mithradates I, it may be safer to assume that the Bactrian ruler actually began a couple of years earlier than the Parthian, rather than later. Perhaps a date closer to 170 BC for the inception of Eukratides I may be more accurate, satisfying the long usurpation, as well as satisfying the enormous coinage output and accommodating the adoption of an epithet by Eukratides I (associated with the coinage of Timarchos). The adoption of the *megalou* epithet by Eukratides I seems to be associated with his invasion of 'Indian' territory to the south of the Hindu Kush and was no later than c.162/1 BC since Timarchos copied his type. Thus his pre-epithet coinage must be accommodated into the years before c.162 and an inception date of 165 seems rather late. One further crucial chronological marker is the 'year 24' inscription from Ai Khanoum<sup>6</sup>. His dates must fit around this 24 regnal year time-frame. If there is a suitable inception (or terminal) date for Eukratides I then the (at least) 24 year length of his reign may give an approximate terminal (or inception) date, as discussed further below.

Incidentally, if Eukratides I went to war with Demetrios I (rather than II) and given the revised inception date of Mithradates I, Demetrios I may have reigned from c.185 to c.170/167 BC, his terminal date being shifted a few years later than before<sup>5</sup>. A terminal date closer to 170 is still possible, but given that the war between Eukratides and Demetrios may have lasted some time a date closer to 167 seems more likely.

For the terminal date of Eukratides I, perhaps the two best lines of evidence we have are 1) the dating of the Parthian campaign against Media, taken together with Justin, and 2) the famous 'Year 24' inscription fragment from Ai Khanoum<sup>6</sup>.

For 1), with the proviso that Justin as an historical source does compress, omit and tend to force synchronisms and that 'meanwhile' may cover a gap of many years, Justin (41.6.5) places the death of Eukratides I just before or at around the time of the conquest of Media by Mithradates I. Again, unless we dismiss Justin altogether, his remarks could help determine the terminal date of the reign of Eukratides I. Given that Mithradates I combined vigour with prudence, it is highly unlikely that he began to attack Media before Alexander Balas challenged Demetrius I in 153/2 BC. In fact, this date agrees well with Justin (41.6.6) who reports that the Partho-Median conflicts went on for some time with both sides enjoying intermittent success before the Parthians finally prevailed. The date of Mithradates' conquest of Media can be fixed to late 148 - early 147 BC. So, assuming that Justin's chronology is at least approximately correct, the Parthian evidence appears to give another terminal date of the reign of Eukratides I. It now seems that an estimate from this reasoning is that the date of his assassination was somewhere around 150 BC, although it is not clear if the beginning of the Median campaign or its final climax or sometime in-between should be taken, nor if Justin refers to just the last mentioned event in Bactria (the assassination of Eukratides) or the previous events in general happening 'as a war arose between the Parthians and Medes'. If the date of the *final* conquest of Media is taken, then the latest date of his assassination, as suggested by Justin, is circa 148 BC. Bearing in mind the reservations about Justin, this is not a reliable or precise date and plus or minus 5 years may be a realistic margin of error. However, the Indian campaigns of Eukratides probably continued for many years and the enormous output of Eukratides' coinage with the *megalou* epithet (after c.162/1) does suggest a later terminal date rather than an earlier one.

For 2), the famous 'year 24' inscription from Ai Khanoum; the archaeological context does suggest a close association to Eukratides I according to Bernard<sup>6</sup>. If this does refer to Eukratides I and not to a previous king (like Demetrios I) and if it is a regnal year of Eukratides I, then we know that the reign of Eukratides I officially had at *least* 24 regnal years. There is no guarantee that Eukratides had just 24 regnal years. If the 'year 24' inscription is

associated with Eukratides I and does give his regnal years, it is not certain that this was his *last* year and that Eukratides I died after 24 regnal years. He may have ruled for more than 24 regnal years and it could be possible that the terminal date of Eukratides I is later *and/or* the inception date is earlier than a reign based only on 24 years (which gives c.165 to c.142 or c.171/0 to 148/7).

The (at least) 24 year length of Eukratides' reign does seem to stretch the dates for its inception and termination if only c.165 and c.150 (or even 148) deduced above from the Parthian chronology and Justin are taken. Thus it appears that the inception date was indeed earlier and dates of c.171 to c.148 BC satisfy the 24 year requirement. However this may be further complicated by the fact that it *could* be possible that Eukratides I backdated his reign, hence the official inception date of Eukratides I may be earlier than the date on which he actually occupied the throne. Unfortunately we have no solid information about his usurpation, which may have lasted several years (hinted in Justin) and he may even have backdated his reign to the time he was a satrap or commander under Demetrios I. This may explain why he had already conducted 'many wars' before being besieged by Demetrios.

If the inception date for Eukratides I is c.170, this could be considered together with the '24' regnal years, to give c.147 as the terminal date (or 148 if the inception date is 171). From 1) we have the death of Eukratides I in about 148, giving us another possible terminal date. Thus dates of c.171 to c.148 may satisfy all the points above. As can be seen there is not much difference between these dates and the previous generally accepted dates of c.171 to 145 BC, but these are by no means certain and an inception date closer to 165 cannot be ruled out.

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## RELATIONS BETWEEN THE INDO-GREEK KINGS AFTER MENANDER, Part 1.

By Jens Jakobsson

*This article attempts to outline the history of the Indo-Greek kings from the time of the death of Menander I to the fall of Taxila to the Saka Maues. Thanks are due to Mark Passehl (co-moderator of Yahoo Hellenistica Group) for several suggestions. All dates are approximate.*

The death of the Indo-Greek king Menander I Soter is generally stated to have occurred around 130 BC. At this time, while the Bactrian kingdom was succumbing to the pressure of the Yüeh-chi, the Indo-Greek kingdom was still flourishing after his recent conquests.



Fig 1. Tetradrachm of Menander, middle-aged portrait. (www.gmcoinart.de)

Nevertheless, the time of Menander's death seems to have been troubled by the internal conflicts so typical of Hellenistic states. According to Plutarch (Political Precepts, 28:6), Menander died while on campaign, and, though popular enough to have the cities he conquered quarrelling over the burial honours, it seems as though Menander was not an undisputed king. We know of overstrikes of Menander on Zoilos I, a king who inherited six of his monograms<sup>1,2</sup>, and Menander's own dynasty seems to have lost its dominant position after his death. The young Thrason Megas (c. 130 BC) is believed to have been Menander's son<sup>2</sup>. If any conclusions could be drawn from epithets, Thrason's mother was presumably a princess related to Eukratides I Megas, but despite this ambitious titulature only a single specimen of Thrason's coinage is extant, so we must fear that the boy was soon murdered, perhaps by Zoilos I.

This leaves Nikias (c 130-115 BC) as the remaining heir of Menander. Nikias was also a Soter king and sometimes used a modified version of Menander's Athena Alkidemos reverse. Their portraits are rather similar: Nikias, who to this author ages from young to middle-aged on his coins, was likely a younger relative of Menander. Menander, Thrason and Nikias are linked chronologically by a monogram unique to them (see Table 1).



Fig 2. Early and late Nikias tetradrachms. The hair-line is most similar to Menander. (www.cngcoins.com)

Table 1. The monograms used by Nikias<sup>2</sup>.

Suggested sequence	Monogram
1. Menander I Thrason Nikias	⌘
2. Menander I Nikias Theophilos? Philoxenos	⌘
4. Antimachos II Eukratides I Menander I Zoilos I Lysias Antialkidas <b>Nikias</b> <b>Theophilos? Philoxenos</b> Diomedes Hermaios	⌘
5. Nikias Theophilos? Philoxenos	⌘

Nikias' coins are however rather scarce and he only controlled a smallish kingdom centred around the Kabul valley in southeast Afghanistan/northern Pakistan, where some of the coins have been unearthed (see Table 2). Most Indo-Greek kings ruling in the Paropamisadae or Gandhara issued Attic tetradrachms for distribution in Bactria, but we know of no such coins for Nikias. This indicates that he never held territories immediately south of Bactria.

Table 2. The Charsada<sup>2</sup>, Swat<sup>3</sup> and Khauzikhelai<sup>3</sup> hoards in northern Pakistan

Charsada: Antimachos II, Menander I, Zoilos I, Lysias, Antialkidas, Nikias, Theophilos Dikaios, Philoxenos

Swat: Antimachos II, Menander I, Zoilos I, Lysias, Nikias, Antialkidas,

Khauzikhelai: Apollodotos I, Antimachos II, Menander I, Nikias, Lysias, Antialkidas and Philoxenos.

Another minor king, Theophilos Dikaios, shared three of Nikias' four coin monograms and therefore either succeeded or preceded him in the "Kabul valley kingdom". Theophilos Dikaios did not strike Attic coins either, though there are Attic coins of the king Theophilos Autokrator, with a different reverse (Athena Nikephoros, a popular type of Lysimachos). While these coins are very interesting – the title Autokrator was used by the Parthian kings and Theophilos Autokrator possibly played a role during the last period of the Bactrian kingdom – it seems that they were struck by a different Theophilos or, if not the case, at another period than during his reign in the Kabul valley kingdom. Other later Indo-Greek kings who struck Attic coinage always used their regular motifs on these issues.

The lion's share of Menander's kingdom was however taken over by first the aforementioned Zoilos I Dikaios (c. 135-130 BC) and then by Lysias Aniketos (c 130-120 BC). It is possible that Zoilos only ruled in Gandhara and did not survive Menander, but Lysias ruled in Punjab as well (for a single example, his coins have been found in Sonipat north of New Delhi – see Table 3).

Table 3. The Sonipat hoard in eastern Punjab (883 coins)<sup>4</sup>.

Apollodotos I, Antimachos II, Menander I, Lysias, Antialkidas, Philoxenos, Diomedes, Heliokles II, Amyntas, Hermaios, Straton I

Lysias and Zoilos use the Euthydemid reverse of Herakles standing, which may indicate that they were both descendants of that Bactrian dynasty, especially since Lysias<sup>55</sup> also copies the epithet and elephant-crown of Demetrios I (c 200-185 BC), the son of Euthydemos I. And it seems likely enough that Euthydemid princes fled from Eukratides I to India. Theophilos Dikaios uses a similar reverse, and since they share the same epithet, he seems closely related to Zoilos. These three "neo-Euthydemids" could be said to look reasonably similar, but less so than Nikias and Menander do. Theophilos was a dynastic name of sorts: an Indo-Greek city was named Theophila according to Klaudios Ptolemaios (Geographia, VII 1:55), probably named after the father of a king.

However, Zoilos I and Lysias have only one monogram in common with Nikias and Theophilos<sup>2</sup>. This could possibly be interpreted as the neo-Euthydemids gaining control of the little Kabul valley kingdom and placing Theophilos there as a sovereign regent. The neo-Euthydemids seemingly disappear after the rise of Antialkidas Nikephoros (c 120-105 BC), who succeeded Lysias as the dominant Indo-Greek king. His relation to Lysias is unclear, but their close succession is proved by their many similar

<sup>55</sup> Mark Passehl suggests that Lysias was the son of Demetrios III Aniketos, a Euthydemid king whom he identifies with Justin's "Demetrius, king of the Indians" (Epitome of Pompejus Trogus XL:6), who besieged Eukratides I c 150 BC, but was defeated just before Eukratides was murdered. This minor ruler is however often placed around 100 BC<sup>1,3</sup>; the issue is most complicated.

monograms, as well as their common “mule” copper coins which were probably struck by mistake<sup>1</sup>.



Fig 3. Attic tetradrachm of Antialkidas. (www.cngcoins.com)

Antialkidas gives the impression of a Bactrian prince in Indian exile. Not only were his Zeus Nikephoros silver and Dioskouroi bronzes adapted from Heliokles I and Eukratides I respectively, he also inherited the grim expression of these later Bactrian kings, unlike the Archaic smile of Menander, and, just as Lysias, he posed in the headwear of earlier Bactrian rulers: the flat *kausia* and bull's horns helmet.

It seems likely that Antialkidas had close connections with refugees from Bactria, and he also struck more Attic silver than any other Indo-Greek king, which might point to his attempts (probably futile) to regain ground north of Hindu Kush. The many Bactrian associations could be contrasted with the relative dearth of references to Menander on the coins of Antialkidas and other close successors. The concerns of the Buddhist convert, Menander, had no doubt been mostly for *Indian* matters – but for all his glorious achievements in the east, Menander was unable to save the Greek heartland of Bactria. Embittered Graeco-Bactrians who flooded his kingdom may well have blamed Menander for this failure – justly or not we cannot say – and supported more Bactria-oriented candidates after his death.

If we return to the three monograms of Theophilos, two of them were not inherited by Antialkidas but went directly to Philoxenos Aniketos (c 110-100 BC). Philoxenos uses the reverse of a king on a prancing horse, featured half a century earlier on the silver of the Euthydemid king, Antimachos II (also on rare types of Nikias), but since Philoxenos' coins have little in common with those of the other neo-Euthydemids it is unclear whether he was one of them. Philoxenos struck square silver coins, rare among Indo-Greeks but used by the Saka king Maues shortly after<sup>3</sup>. Possibly it was an alliance with the Sakas that gave Philoxenos the momentum to defeat Antialkidas – a Pyrrhic victory then, earning the Sakas a dangerous foothold in India.

According to Bopearachchi<sup>5</sup>, Philoxenos ruled the entire Indo-Greek realm. But his connections to Nikias' monograms suggest that Philoxenos first became king in the Kabul valley and subsequently overthrew Antialkidas in the major kingdom – or possibly the other way around. He inherited at least three of his predecessor's monograms but also started several new ones<sup>2</sup>.

It should be said that Theophilos Dikaos might have ruled after both Nikias and Philoxenos: in the Swat and Khauzikhelai hoard (Table 2), coins of these kings were present, but not any of Theophilos.

Antialkidas probably had sons – two likely candidates are Heliokles II and Archebios – but their rule came later and their father's downfall forced them into temporary exile, probably to Bactria. Just before 100 BC it seems that Philoxenos ruled more or less supreme in Menander's kingdom from Kabul to New Delhi. Given the sad decline of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, he was the mightiest Greek ruler of his age, but the isolation of his kingdom prevented any historians recording the afflictions which would soon overcome the Indo-Greeks as well. After his death, this Hellenistic outpost would fragment for good.

Part II of this article will feature an overview of the monograms of Philoxenos and his successors.

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### RARE HISTORICAL COINS OF MU'IZ AL-DIN MUHAMMAD BIN SAM

By Rear Admiral Sohail Khan (R)

Numismatic evidence often shows historical records more precisely than the surviving written accounts/books or archaeological buildings and monuments completed many years later than the occurrence of such events as the commencement of a reign, the occupation of important towns and assumption of certain regal titles. History books, records and authorities commenting on Mu'iz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam have been proposing that:

- Mu'iz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam (Ghori) had earlier borne the name *Shihab al-Din*, but, after becoming a ruler, he never used this title on any coins or recorded documents.
- Mu'iz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam was installed as ruler of Ghazni in AH 569 / 1173 AD.
- The title *Sultan al-A'zam* was used for the elder brother, Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad bin Sam occupying the seat at Firoz Koh as "supreme sultan", and the "lesser" title, *Sultan al-Mu'azzam*, was used by the younger brother Mu'iz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam, installed as sultan at Ghazni.

I have some very rare coins which show that all three propositions of historians may be wrong. The coin images supporting the evidence are given below.



AU Dinar 4.0 gm  
Obverse:

Kalima: *al-mustanjid – al-sultan al-a'zam ghiyath al-dunya wa'l din*  
*abu'l fateh muhammad sam*

Reverse:  
*muhammad rasul allah – malik al-a'zam shihab al-dunya wa'l din*  
*abu'l muzaffar muhammad bin sam*



AU Dinar 1.4 gm

Obverse:

Kalima: *al-mustanjid – al-sultan al-mu‘azzam ghiyath al-dunya wa’l din*  
*abu’l fateh muhammad sam*

Reverse:

*muhammad rasul allah – al-sultan al-a‘zam mu‘izz al-dunya wa’l din*  
*abu’l muzaffar muhammad bin sam*



AU Dinar 3.8 gm

Obverse:

Kalima: *al-mustanjid – al-sultan al-mu‘azzam ghiyath al-dunya wa’l din*  
*Abu’l fateh muhammad sam*

Mint: Ghazna

Reverse:

*muhammad rasul allah – al-sultan al-a‘zam mu‘izz al-dunya wa’l din*  
*abu’l muzaffar muhammad bin sam*

The first coin was issued when Mu‘iz al-Din was Shihab al-Din; he was Malik al-A‘zam ruling areas of Garm Ser, Bust etc. and then became properly installed as sultan at Ghazni. All these coins carry his elder brother's name as Sultan Ghiyath al-Din. Contrary to a rigid rule propagated by nearly all writers that the elder brother, Ghiyath, the supreme sultan at Firoz Koh, was always referred to as *Sultan al-A‘zam* and that the younger brother, Mu‘iz al-Din, sultan at Ghazni, was always referred to as *Sultan al-Mu‘azzam*, we see that the younger brother also used the so-called superlative title of *Sultan al-A‘zam* and, strangely enough, the elder brother, Ghiyath, is *Sultan al-Mu‘azzam* on the same coin. The third coin above issued when Al-Mustanjid was Caliph, clearly gives the denomination as "zarab haza dinar be-balda Ghazna". This is not strange. There is another clear example in the Mughal Emperors: Mu‘azzam was the senior brother who succeeded Aurangzeb Alamgir as Bahadur Shah, while A‘zam Shah was the younger brother who unsuccessfully claimed the throne, but lost.

The other important point is the date of assumption of sovereignty by the younger brother Mu‘iz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam is indicated by the sequence of events which seems to be as follows:

AH	AD	
543	1148	Sultan Sanjar was defeated by the Ghuzz nomadic Turks
544/5	1149/50	Ghazni burnt by ‘Ala al-Din Jahansoz Ghori
547	1152	Bahram Shah Ghaznavi re-took Ghazni, but died soon after, in 547. The Ghuzz Turks take Ghazni in 547/1152. Khusru Shah Ghaznavi fled to his Indian territories and established himself at Lahore.
558	1163	Ghiyath al-Din Muhammad bin Sam Ghori became king at Firoz Koh

559	1164	Ghiyath al-Din took Ghazni from the Ghuzz Turks and conferred it on his younger brother, Sultan Mu‘iz al-Din Muhammad bin Sam – a brilliant move because, for nearly two centuries, most of the eastern areas of the Muslim empire up to Lahore, Multan and Sind had accepted the Sultan of Ghazni as their lord.
		[Al-Mustanjid was Caliph from 555/1160 to 566/1170]
569	1173	Many history books state that Mu‘iz al-Din became Sultan at Ghazni on this date but we have coins above which show him as Malik and Sultan during the reign of Caliph Al-Mustanjid.

The above coins therefore show that Shihab al-Din/ Mu‘iz al-Din was the ruler at Ghazni with the title *Sultan al-A‘zam*, when Al-Mustanjid was the Caliph i.e. between 555 & 566, which is at least 3 or more years before 569/1173, the generally available date from records other than the above dinars.

### PERSIAN COUPLETS ON THE SEALS OF THE LESSER MUGHALS

By Sanjay Garg

The Mughal emperors after Akbar had Persian verse inscriptions stamped on their coins. The Lesser Mughals - a horde of Mughal offspring, on the other hand, had no such means to exhibit their love for Persian poetry. Some of them, however, found a convenient means in the form of their personal seals. While no original seal seems to have survived to this date, a number of seal-impressions (or sigilla) affixed to various documents are available to us.

Nine sigilla bearing Persian verse and pertaining to these lesser Mughals can be found on the documents of the English East India Company now in the collection of the National Archives of India. These scions of the Mughal dynasty include four sons and four grandsons of Shah Alam II. Besides, a seal of one of the daughters of Shah Alam II also bears a Persian verse inscription. The earliest date on these seals is AH 1202 (AD 1787/88) and the latest AH 1245 (AD 1829/30); the dates of the documents bearing these sigilla range from AD 1789 to 1857.

#### I. Sons of Shah Alam II

##### 1. Mirza Sulaiman Shikoh

Sulaiman Shikoh was a son of Shah Alam II. He died at Agra on 24 February 1838, and was buried at Sikandarah, near Agra. The following Persian couplet is found on a seal dated 30 RY of Shah Alam II (= AH 1202/ AD 1787/88) which is affixed on the envelope containing a letter addressed to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, which was received on 8 April 1789.<sup>56</sup>

rect. 2.5 x 1.9 cm



Fig. 1

<sup>56</sup> National Archives of India (hereafter NAI), Foreign Department, Persian Branch, OR 91 of 1789.

سليمان شكوه ابن خديو  
هست  
جهان آنكه شه عالم  
هست  
۳۰ خسرو صاحب قران

هست سليمان شكوه ابن خديو جهان  
قران هست آنكه شه عالم خسرو صاحب

*Hast Sulaiman Shikoh ibn-i Khudev-i Jahan  
Hast Ankeh Shah Alam Khusru-i Sahib Qiran*

Sulaiman Shikoh is the son of the King of the World  
And he is Shah Alam, the King and Lord of the Conjunctions.

## 2. Mirza Sikandar Shikoh

Sikandar Shikoh was a son of Shah Alam II and his wife Qudsia Begam. He was executed in July 1838 on the charges of murdering his wife. The following Persian couplet is found on a seal dated AH 1202/ AD 1787/88, affixed on the envelope containing a petition addressed to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, which was received on 1 September 1796.<sup>57</sup>

rect. 2.5 x 2.0 cm

Fig. 2



۱۲۰۲ ستان گيتی  
قران شه عالم آنشاه  
حب  
سكندر شكوه ابن صا

سكندر شكوه ابن صاحب قران  
شه عالم آن شاه گيتی ستان

*Sikandar Shikoh ibn-i-Sahib Qiran  
Shah Alam an Shah-i-Gaiti Sitan*

Sikandar Shikoh is the son of the Lord of Conjunctions  
And he is Shah Alam, the World Conquering King.

## 3. Mirza Shams ud-Din Bahadur

He was a son of Shah Alam. The following Persian couplet is found on a seal dated AH 1204/ 31 RY of Shah Alam II (AD 1789/90) which is affixed on a document dated December 1814.<sup>58</sup> The document contains two other seals.

rect. 2.8 x 2.4 cm



Fig. 3

عالم ثاني تمبر صاحبقران ۱۲۰۴  
شاه  
گورگان ابن  
آفتاب  
هست شمش الدين بهادر ۳۱

هست شمش الدين بهادر آفتاب گورگان  
ابن شاه عالم ثاني تمبر صاحب قران

*Hast Shams al-Din Bahadur Aftab-i Gurgan  
Ibn-i Shah Alam Sani Timr-i Sahib Qiran*

Shams ud-Din Bahadur is the sun of Gurgan (dynasty)  
And he is the son of Shah Alam II and the pupil of the eye of the  
Lord of  
Conjunction (i.e. Amir Timur).

## 4. Mirza Zahid ud-Din

He was a son of Shah Alam II. The following Persian verse is found on a seal dated AH 1239 (AD 1823/24) affixed on a Hibanama (Deed of gift) executed by Nawab Sit un-Nisa Begam, a daughter of Shah Alam II, in favour of her children and servants.<sup>59</sup> The document is dated 11 June 1844 and bears 11 seals.

rect. 3 x 2.5 cm

Fig. 4



نسب  
ابن شاه عالم عالی  
از ادب زاهد الدين ۱۲۳۹  
ے  
کرد بیعت با عماد الدين [رو xx]

از روی ادب ابن شاه عالم زاهد الدين  
عالمی نسب کرد بیعت با عماد الدين

*Az ru-i Adab ibn-i Shah Alam Zahid al-Din  
'Ali nasb kard bai't ba Imad al-Din*

Reverently the son of Shah Alam II, Zahid ud din  
(Of) lofty lineage has promised loyalty to Imad ud din.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, OR 319 of 1796.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, OR 949 of 1814.

<sup>59</sup> NAI, Mutiny Papers, 1857, Coll. 200, No. 26.

## II. Grandsons of Shah Alam II

### 1. Mirza Khusrau Shikoh

He was the son of Sulaiman Shikoh and a grandson of Shah Alam II. The following Persian couplet is found on a seal dated 47 RY of Shah Alam II (= AH 1219/ AD 1804/05) which is affixed on the envelope containing a letter addressed by the Prince to Mr Seton, Member of the Supreme Council of the Governor-General (1812-1817), which was received on 4 February 1817.<sup>60</sup>

rect. 3.4 x 2.8 cm

Fig.5



زند شاه عالم شامنش جهان  
۱۲۱۹  
فر  
۲ خسرو شکوه ابن سلیمان شکوه آن  
خسرو شکوه ابن سلیمان شکوه آن  
فرزند شاه عالم شامنش جهان

*Khusrau Shikoh ibn-i Sulaiman Shikoh an  
Farzand-i Shah Alam Shahinshah-i Jahan*

Khusrau Shikoh is the son of Sulaiman Shikoh, who is  
The son of Shah Alam (II), the King of the Kings of the World.

### 2. Mirza Ali Hussain

He was the son of Sulaiman Shikoh and a grand son of Shah Alam II. The following Persian couplet is found on a seal dated 24 RY of Akbar Shah II (= AH 1245/ AD 1829/30) which is affixed on the envelop containing a *Niyaznama* addressed by the Prince to the Governor General, Imu Saheb (عمو صاحب), which was received on 19 October 1850.<sup>61</sup>

rect. 3.5 x 3.0 cm

Fig.6



چو سلیمان شه عالم  
پدر بود و جد  
نیاشد  
علی حسین چرا از اهل کرم ۱۲۴۵

<sup>60</sup> NAI, Foreign Department, Persian Branch, OR 68A of 1817.

<sup>61</sup> NAI, Mutiny Papers, 1857, Coll. 103, No. 121.

علی حسین نباشد چرا از اهل کرم  
پدر بود چو سلیمان و جد شه عالم

*Ali Hussain nabashad che ra Ahl-i-Karam  
Pidar buwad chu Sulaiman wa jadd Shah Alam*

Why should Ali Hussain be not considered amongst the generous  
ones

When he has father like Sulaiman Shikoh and grandfather (like)  
Shah Alam (II).

### 3. Mirza Muhammad Kawus Shikoh

He was a son of Akbar Shah II. The following Persian couplet is found on a seal affixed on a letter dated 5 July 1857 addressed by the Prince to one, Mukund Lal, in which he requests the latter to send Rs. 25/- ! The date on seals is not clear.<sup>62</sup>

rect. 3.4 x 2.8 cm



Fig 7

کاوس شکوه ابن اکبر شهه غازی شد  
سلطان جهان اکبر از فضل الہی شد  
سلطان جهان اکبر از فضل الہی شد  
کاوس شکوه ابن اکبر شهه غازی شد

*Sultan-i Jahan Akbar az Fazl-i Ilahi shud  
Kawus Shikoh ibn-i Akbar Shah Ghazi shud*

By the Grace of God Akbar (II) became the King of the World  
(And) Kawus Shikoh is the son of Akbar Shah, the Champion of  
the Faith.

### 4. Mirza Ahmad Baksh

He was the son of Khujista Bakht and a grand son of Shah Alam II. The following Persian couplet is found on a seal dated AH 1234 (AD 1818/19) affixed to a petition of a number of Mughal princes residing in the Red Fort at Delhi, addressed to Akbar Shah II requesting him to dissuade the English from using the Fort as a magazine.<sup>63</sup> This long petition bears 64 seals.

rect. 3 x 2.5 cm



Fig. 8

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 55, No. 149.

<sup>63</sup> NAI, Mutiny Papers, 1857, Coll. 201, No. 126.

نبیره شاه عالم بن خجسته ۱۲۲۲  
بخت  
که احمد بخش در معدنست تاج و  
تخت

نبیره شاه عالم بن خجسته بخت  
که احمد بخش در معدنست تاج و تخت

*Nabira-i Shah Alam bin Khujista Bakht  
Ki Ahmad Baksh Durr-i Ma'dan ast Taj-o-Takht*

Being the grand son of Shah Alam (II) and the son of Khujista  
Bakht

Ahmad Baksh is pearl of the mine of the Crown and the Throne.

### III Daughter of Shah Alam II

#### Nawab Quraish Sultan Begam

She was the daughter of Shah Alam II. The following Persian couplet is found on a seal dated AH 1205/ AD 1790/91 affixed on a farman of Akbar Shah II dated 1808.<sup>64</sup>

vesica :  
ver. 2.5 cm ; hor. 3.7 cm

Fig. 9



ست  
ز شاه دران ا  
ز نسل خسرو بوند و  
نست  
از طرفین این قریش سلطا  
نجیب  
۱۲۰۵  
است نجیب از طرفین این قریش سلطان  
ز نسل خسرو بوند و ز شاه دران است

*Najib az tarafeen in Quraish Sultan ast  
Ze nasl-i Khusru-i Hind wa ze Shah-i Durran ast*

Quraish Sultan is noble from both the sides (of lineage-paternal as  
well as  
maternal)

As she comes from the lineage of the Emperor of Hind and the  
Durrani king.

## RUPEES OF FARRUKHSIYAR, THE FIRST OFFICIAL MUGHAL-STYLE COINAGE OF THE BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

By Dr Paul Stevens

### Introduction

A previously unreported half rupee of the Bombay mint issued in the name of Farrukhsiyar has recently come to light, and I thought that it might be of interest to other members of the ONS, particularly those studying and collecting the coins issued under the authority of the British in India.

### Background<sup>1</sup>

In 1672 the English at Bombay had begun to strike silver coins in an English style but they soon found that these were not acceptable outside the confines of Bombay island. They quickly realised that they would have to strike coins in the style of the surrounding native silver coins, which was of course the Mughal style, if they were to get them accepted in trade. Since Bombay was considered to be English sovereign territory, and the English king had given his permission for them to strike coins, they considered themselves within their rights to strike Mughal-style coins in the name of the English monarch. This they did, first in the name of James II and then William and Mary (there is considerable controversy about whether or not certain Mughal-style coins represent an issue in the name of Charles II). However, the Moghul Emperor was not happy with this and the English were forced to stop the practice in about 1797. This meant that they were forced to have their silver coined into rupees by the Governor of Surat, a practice that they found very slow and costly. Consequently they continued to try to get permission to strike Moghul style coins in their mint at Bombay.

On 27<sup>th</sup> March 1713, the Directors instructed Bombay as follows:

*'We expect you to encourage our own mint at Bombay by coining rupees there of the same weight and fineness with those at Surat, or very near it. If you make them finer, we shall lose by it and therefore you must be very careful to prevent it. If coarser they will get an ill character and very likely if one or two per cent worse, they will be undervalued to three or four per cent. Therefore they should be the same; and though at first the shroffs may endeavour to decry them, yet in time the rupees will retrieve and afterwards preserve their reputation, as experience tells us those have which were coined at Madras.'*

This instruction appears to be an attempt to get the Bombay authorities to strike coins in the Moghul style. By 1713 the authorities at Bombay already knew that they could not strike coins in this style without the permission of the emperor. They also knew that English-style rupees would not be accepted very widely outside Bombay. So they would have found it difficult to comply with the instruction. However, it may have helped ensure that the matter of the Bombay coinage would be included for discussion by the embassy sent to the Mughal Court in 1715. This embassy was sent to the court of the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, and included the following request to extend the coining rights of the Company in Bombay:

*'That on the island of Bombay belonging to the English, European siccaes are current, they request that, according to the custom of Madras, they may at Bombay coin siccaes.'*

This time the emperor acceded to the request and in an edict (firman) dated 6 January 1717 the Company was granted the right to produce gold and silver coins in the name of the emperor and with the mint name Munbai (Bombay):

*'On the island of Bombay let there be the glorious stamp on the siccaes coined there, passing them current as all other siccaes are throughout the Empire.'*

Pridmore also quotes another version from James Fraser:

<sup>64</sup> NAL, Foreign Department, Persian Branch, OR 68A of 1817.

*'And in the island of Bombay, belonging to the English where Portuguese Coins are Current, that according to the custom of Chinapattan, the fortunate coin may be struck'.*

The firman issued by the Emperor allowed the striking of both gold and silver coins in his name. The Bombay Council agreed that the coins should carry the Emperor's name and the regnal year 5. Thus the first coins attributed to the British should bear this regnal year although none are currently known and only years 6 and 7 have been reported. Rhodes refers to Hussain<sup>2</sup> in attributing a coin of RY 2 to Bombay, but the mint name is not clear. Likewise, Rhodes refers to Ahmad<sup>3</sup> in attributing a coin of Jahandar to the Bombay mint although this is also questionable. It is therefore conceivable that rupees were struck prior to the granting of the firman but this has not been confirmed.

**Rupees showing the two different differentiating marks**  
(enlarged photo from F. Todywalla)



Rupees of Farrukhsiyar show two different marks in the *seen* of Julius one is a 'carrot' shaped mark, which continues into the reign of Muhammad Shah. The other is a crown mark and may represent the fact that these coins were struck by the British following the grant of the firman. These rupees with the crown mark are quite rare.

No half rupees of Farrukhsiyar were known until now but herewith is published such a coin ( RY 7; wt 5.32g; diameter 23.0-24.2), shown below. This half rupee also has the crown mark seen on some of the rupees.

**Half Rupee, dated RY 7 (enlarged)**



**References**

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- <sup>2</sup> Rhodes (1975) BNJ Vol 45 pp 98-99. Refers to Hussain MK (1973) Catalogue of coins in the Central Museum, Nagpur, part II p95
- <sup>3</sup> Rhodes BNJ vol 45 pp 98-99. Refers to Numm Supp XLV, Art 324, 'Some rare Moghul coins in the State Museum, Hyderabad (Deccan)' by K M Ahmad

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**A MOHUR OF MAHMUD SHAH DURRANI  
STRUCK AT HERAT**

By Peter Smith

The purpose of this short article is to report a mohur of Mahmud Shah Durrani struck at Herat dated AH 1224.

Mahmud was the fourth ruler of the Sadozai dynasty. The dynasty ruled all of Afghanistan from 1747 – 1817. The dynasty's founder was Ahmad Shah Durrani who ruled from 1747 until his death in 1773. Ahmad was succeeded by his son, Taimur, who ruled until his death in 1793 and in turn was succeeded by his son, Zaman Shah who was deposed by his brother, Mahmud.

The complexity of the Durrani dynasty is well known. In brief, when Taimur died in 1793, he left 23 sons. Zaman and his full brother, Shuja, were opposed by Humayan and Mahmud. During these struggles, Mahmud ruled various parts of Afghanistan including Kabul. However, he held on to Herat throughout his career.

Krause and Mishler's Standard Catalog of World coins lists rupees and fractions for Mahmud at Herat but not mohurs. The rupees are common and fractions of rupees rare. R.B. Whitehead in his Catalogue of Coins in the Lahore Museum states that he does not know of any gold issue bearing the name of Mahmud from the mint of Herat. The coin weighs 11.0g.



The couplet is the usual one for Mahmud's first reign and as used throughout his reign at Herat and is translated by Whitehead as:

*Struck coin on gold with the aid of God  
The world-conquering Cyrus, Mahmud Shah*

**A SILVER DRACHM OF NAHAPANA WITH  
GREEK LEGEND**

By Dr Shailendra Bhandare

On my recent visit to Jan Lingen, my friend and well-known collector of Oriental coins in the Netherlands, he showed me some of his acquisitions in the past three years. Amongst them, I noticed this silver drachm of Nahapana, the Western Kshatrapa ruler, which deserves publication due to a unique feature.



Nahapana belonged to the house of the Kshaharatas, which possibly had a north-western origin. A Kshaharata Kshatrapa named Liaka Kusulaka is mentioned with his son, Patika, in the Taxila copper plate inscription. Patika also finds mention in the Mathura Lion Pillar capital inscription, where he is addressed as a 'Mahakshatrapa' or 'Great Kshatrapa' and is a noteworthy personality of 'Sakastana', or the country of the Sakas (Scythians). R C Senior published a coin of another Kshaharata Kshatrapa named Hospios. As the titles these rulers employ are indicative of subordination, it is plausible that the Kshaharatas were once subordinate to a higher Scythian ruler, most likely Maues. Sometime in the first century BC, the Kshaharatas seem to have settled in and around the Saurashtra peninsula, Kutch and interior Gujarat where they continued to employ the seemingly

inferior titles but in all probability ruled independently of any superior ruler.

The date of Nahapana has been a matter of protracted debate, but in recent years thanks to a few counterstruck coins, it has been possible to date his reign with considerable accuracy to c. 30 – 80 BC. His inscriptions refer to years 41 to 46 and they are widely believed to represent the years of his reign rather than any specific era. As part of the political picture in 1<sup>st</sup> century peninsular India, Nahapana is famous for his rivalry with the Satavahanas, the pre-eminent dynastic house that had reached a nadir in its fortunes about the same time Nahapana's stars had been in the ascendant. During Nahapana's reign, Kshaharata power penetrated deep within Satavahana territory, as evident from details in several inscriptions in the Buddhist cave temples of the Deccan and also from coin finds at Nasik, Junnar and in the Bhokardan excavations. The main trigger for Kshaharata expansionism was the economic boom that had been brought in by the trade with Rome, conducted through several coastal entrepôts and commercial centres in the Indian hinterland. This economic flourishing was also marked by the growth of urban centres, patronage of art and the spread of Hinayana Buddhism as a major religious doctrine. However, the Satavahana king, Gautamiputra Satakarni, was able to reverse the fortunes of his dynasty. Sometime around 78 BC, he dealt a crushing blow to Nahapana. The Kshaharata house was exterminated in this struggle; Gautamiputra's claim to fame as 'the exterminator of the Kshaharatas' is mentioned in inscriptions at Nasik and Sannati, engraved during the reign of his son and successor, Vasishthiputra Pulumavi.

Apart from coins, textual evidence has played an important role in reconstructing the history of the Kshaharata-Satavahana conflict. From the Indian literary tradition we have certain Jaina sources that refer to it, but most important in this regard is the 'Periplus of the Erythraean Sea', a manual of seafaring attributed to an unnamed, Greek-speaking Egyptian sailor who was familiar with the Indo-Mediterranean maritime trade. In section 41 of this text we find the following information:

*"Beyond the gulf of Baraca are that of Barygaza and the coast of the country of Ariaca, which is the beginning of the Kingdom of Nambanus and of all India. That part of it lying inland and adjoining Scythia is called Abiria, but the coast is called Surastrene. ... The metropolis of this country is Minnagara, from which much cotton cloth is brought down to Barygaza".*

From geographic and philological points of view this matches closely with the description of Gujarat, with 'Baraca', 'Surastrene' and 'Barygaza' identified respectively with 'Dwaraka', 'Saurashtra' and 'Bharukachchha', the ancient name of Bharuch. W H Schoff in his critical edition of the 'Periplus' identified the 'Nambanus' mentioned in this section as Nahapana and this identification has been deemed valid by all subsequent researchers.

Nahapana issued a profuse silver currency, struck to the Indian drachm standard of c. 2.2 g. The influx of silver into his kingdom had increased tremendously thanks to the thriving trade with Rome, and metallic analysis has shown that his coins were actually struck from Roman silver denarii. The silver coinage of Nahapana was the first indigenous silver currency in the region after the demise of the Magadhan imperial punch-marked coins. In fabric and design, they resemble the coins of late Indo-Greek rulers like Menander and Apollodotos II. The circulation of Indo-Greek coins in Gujarat finds mention in the 'Periplus' (section 47) and is also substantiated from evidence of the Gogha hoard; it is therefore not surprising that Nahapana modelled his silver coins on the Indo-Greek drachms. Thus, they have a profile portrait of the ruler on the obverse and a dynastic emblem, consisting of a thunderbolt and an arrow, on the reverse. Attributive legends in hybrid Sanskrit appear both on the obverse and reverse.

Owing to a curious combination of factors such as the issuer's ethnic identity, geo-political provenance and numismatic design legacy, these coins are inscribed in three scripts. A hybrid Graeco-Roman legend appears around the portrait on the obverse,

resembling the Indo-Greek prototypes. The reverse is inscribed in two indigenous scripts, namely Brahmi and Kharoshthi, ostensibly owing to the fact that the former was in vogue in the realms whereas the latter represented the north-western homelands of the Kshaharatas. As Kharoshthi was not in vogue in Gujarat and parts of the Deccan, the inscription in that script is seen to have become truncated, with the last (and most important) word, the King's own name, often being shortened. The legends on the reverse read *Rajno Kshaharatasa Nahapanasa* while the Graeco-Roman transliteration of this inscription occurs on the obverse as 'PANNIΩ ΣΑΗΑΡΑΤΑΚ ΝΑΗΑΡΑΝΑΚ'. The legends are in the genitive sixth case and on the majority of coins, the Graeco-Roman legend is in a corrupt or garbled form..

The best publication of Nahapana's silver coins, with all minor variations in the legends, is found in Amiteshwar Jha and Dilip Rajgor's seminal contribution, '*Studies in the Coinage of the Western Ksatrapas*' (IIRNS, Nasik, 1994). Here Jha & Rajgor make important, and sometimes conclusive, observations about various controversies surrounding Nahapana's silver issues, notably the debate whether these coins were struck by a single ruler named Nahapana, and whether the successors of this ruler – homonymous or not – continued striking coins with his name on them (pp. 4-5). In their opinion, there was only one ruler named Nahapana and he struck the entire series of silver coins under discussion. They also discount the theory that Nahapana's successors continued striking coins in his name.

Quoting Rev. H R Scott's publication of the Jogaalthebhi Hoard, Jha & Rajgor note five variations in the Kharoshthi legend on the reverse (p. 26): four with a character from the King's name progressively deleted as *Nahapana*, *Nahapa*, *Naha* and *Na*, and a fifth where it is omitted altogether. They have further noted five other variations, all of which retain or omit some of the letter forms of the ruler's name and thus read *Nahanasa*, *Nahapasa*, *Napasa*, *Nahasa* and *Nahana*. For these variations they "do not foresee any reason other than the lack of visualisation by the die-cutter about the accommodation of the legend in two scripts". As for the Graeco-Roman inscription on the obverse, Jha & Rajgor comment - "the correct rendering in Graeco-Roman script was short-lived. As the script was a foreign one not prevalent in the region, very few people would have been acquainted with it." They further note that since Nahapana was involved in a protracted struggle with the Satavahanas, the theatre of Kshaharata activity moved further and further away from the Gujarat-Kutch region, "to an area where the tradition of the Graeco-Roman legend was unknown, and perhaps there was none who knew Greek". In Jha & Rajgor's opinion, this resulted in die-cutters' disregard for the Greek legends and they merely copied legends from earlier coins, which in turn meant that the Graeco-Roman legends got corrupted with "Σ becoming I, H becoming B and N written as Π".

Another controversy which Jha & Rajgor attempt to address is about Nahapana's portraiture on his silver coins (p. 24). Previous researchers had noted a tremendous variation in the execution of portraits; in fact it was this variation that had given rise to the theory of the coins being struck by more than one ruler named Nahapana. Jha & Rajgor countered such arguments of Scott, Dubreuil and F W Thomas with sound reasoning and concluded that the variation in the portraiture reflects the longevity of Nahapana's reign – the portraits merely show the king at different stages in his life. Indeed, if the years mentioned in his inscriptions are to be reckoned as his regnal years, he would have reigned for at least 46 years.

Jha & Rajgor probed into the contextual alignment of variation in portraiture with the degradation evident in the Graeco-Roman as well as the Kharoshthi legends. One would assume, as indeed Rev Scott had, that there would be a correlation between these two, i.e. coins with a 'correct' or non-garbled Graeco-Roman legend would be the earliest and, thus, would bear the younger portrait. Jha & Rajgor, however, found that such a correlation was not evident – they documented coins with a seemingly 'older' portrait with the correct Graeco-Roman legend as well as those having a 'younger' portrait bearing the same

feature. They attribute this observation to individual die-cutters, who, with their disregard of Graeco-Roman script, would copy coins readily available to them. Thus, so far as coins with an 'older' portrait but a non-corrupt legend are concerned, it is plausible the die-cutters copied the Graeco-Roman legend from an earlier issue while they truthfully engraved the 'older' portrait. This explanation, however, would not answer for a converse situation, i.e. coins with a 'younger' portrait bearing the corrupt Graeco-Roman inscription which Jha & Rajgor admittedly documented (p. 25). Another problem about Jha & Rajgor's reporting is – while they allude to the 'younger' and 'older' portraits, they did not elucidate characteristics that would qualify such a classification when they illustrate the coins.

These views are rendered once again open for scrutiny in the light of what the drachm from the Lingen collection bears on its obverse. Here for the first time, we see that the legend on the obverse is not a mere transliteration of the attributive legend in hybrid Sanskrit on the reverse – it is a legend inscribed in the Greek language and reads BACIAICQY XA...OY NABANOY or 'Basilisou Kha...ou Nabanou'. The Greek letter forms in the legend and the choice of a 'C' to replace Σ for 'S' are very similar those observed in the 'Bactrian Greek' legends of the Indo-Parthian or early Kushana coins, such as those of Gondophares, Abdagases, Gondophares-Sases and Vima Takto or 'Soter Megas'. This variation in the obverse legend is noteworthy for a number of reasons and I will elaborate them further one by one.

Firstly, this is the only clinching 'material link' we have for Rev Scott's textual identification of Nahapana as 'Nambanus' from section 41 of the 'Periplus'. Indeed, when the genitive case for 'NABANOY' in the legend is changed to the nominative case, we get NABANOΣ, which is very close to 'Nambanus' and also linked closely to 'Nahapana' in philological terms.

Secondly, this coin throws open much of the debate concerning the curtailments and omissions evident in the Kharoshthi legend. Going by Jha & Rajgor's views, which employ a kind of 'evolutionary' or 'linear' approach so far as employment of scripts is concerned, a coin with a clear Greek legend should precede those with hybrid Graeco-Roman inscription and as such should have the corresponding Kharoshthi legend in its full or non-curtailed form. It should also be placed at a relatively early stage in Nahapana's reign as presumably he would have had access to die-cutters who knew or at least were familiar with Greek only at such a juncture and not later, when his activities focus on territories with not much regard for Greek or Graeco-Roman script. But here on this coin, we find the Kharoshthi legend already degraded and truncated – it reads 'Rano Chaharatasa Nahapasa' with some letter forms showing crude and inferior execution. It is thus evident that, in the 'evolutionary' sense, this coin could be placed somewhere in the middle of Nahapana's reign and yet the obverse bears the correct Greek legend. The explanation given by Jha & Rajgor for the deterioration seen in the hybrid Graeco-Roman legend, viz. Nahapana's activities moved to an area where "the tradition of the Graeco-Roman legend was unknown, and perhaps there was none who knew Greek", is therefore rendered open for reconsideration.

Thirdly, the portrait on the coin may be classified as a 'young' portrait judging by its characteristics. If we assume this coin is to be placed somewhere in the middle of Nahapana's reign, the prevalent argument with respect to his portrait, i.e. that it shows him at different stages of ageing in his life, is also thrown open for rethinking.

It therefore transpires that this piece in the Lingen collection is important from several historical and numismatic viewpoints. I am indeed grateful to Jan for allowing me to publish it.

## VISHWASIMHA, SON OF RUDRADAMAN: A NEW WESTERN KSHATRAPA RULER

By Dr Shailendra Bhandare

As a result of regular research, new coins of the Western Kshatrapas continue to turn up. Many new dates have been recently discovered and at least two new rulers – Jeeva (?)daman, son of Rudrasena, and Ishwaradeva, have been recently noticed. To these, a welcome addition comes in the find of a coin of yet another new ruler.

This coin appeared in a mixed lot offered in Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, London, early last year. I am thankful to Edward Baldwin and Seth Freeman at the firm, who kindly sent me a photograph of the coin and also to the owner, who wishes to remain anonymous. The lot contained fifty coins, consisting of a range of Western Kshatrapa rulers and also a few Gupta silver coins. The lot thus appeared to be an old collection, formed perhaps originally in Gujarat.



The coin weighs 2.3 g and has the characteristic profile portrait of the ruler, to right, on the obverse. The reverse bears the Kshatrapa dynastic emblem of a three-arched hill, surmounted by a crescent and flanked by a crescent moon and sun. A wavy line representing a river appears below the arched hill symbol. The legend begins at 12 o'clock and may be read as:

*Rajno Mahakshatrapasa Rudradamnaputra(sa) Rajno  
Kshatra(pasa Vish)wasihasa*

Some of the letters are truncated at the top, but may be restored satisfactorily. The letters shown in brackets are not visible but their presence may be safely conjectured taking into account the spacing of characters and syntax of the legend.

A worthwhile question would be the reconstruction of the name 'Vishwasimha' especially when the initial 'Vi' is totally off the coin's flan. This may be answered on the basis of the spacing of characters. The 'Sh' in the name is also truncated, but the way in which the 'Wa' is placed, well below the general base line of the inscription, confirms that it must be a compound character. To the right of the letter, faint traces of the curved top of 'Sh' may be made out and thus the compound letter may safely be restored to 'Shwa'. Once this is satisfactorily done, the 'Vi' preceding it may be interjected based on the spacing of characters between the last letters of the word preceding it, i.e. 'Kshatrapasa'. 'Vishwasimha' is thus the correct solution for restoring the name of the ruler. It is a well-known name in the dynastic list and one more ruler named Vishwasimha, follows in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. He should thus be named Vishwasimha II as the one who struck the coin being published here precedes him as Vishwasimha I.

As seen from the legend, Vishwasimha I was the son of Rudradaman and struck the coin in his capacity as a 'Kshatrapa'. His father holds the higher title 'Mahakshatrapa'. We know from coins that Rudradaman had three other sons, namely Rudrasimha I, Damajadashri I and Damaghsada. Each of these struck coins as 'Kshatrapa' as well as 'Mahakshatrapa'. Vishwasimha I may have been the eldest of these brothers and seems to have predeceased his father, Rudradaman, as the only coin struck in his name has a lower 'Kshatrapa' title for him. The coin has no date and thus may be placed before the first known instance of dating on Western Kshatrapa coins, Saka 100 (178 AD). Rudradaman's famous inscription at Junagarh, dated Saka 72, does not mention Vishwasimha I. It would thus follow that his investiture as 'Kshatrapa' must have taken place sometimes between Saka 72

and Saka 100. Rudrasimha I is known to have struck undated coins with the 'Kshatrapa' and 'Mahakshatrapa' titles, before he initiated the dated coinage in Saka 100. He may have adopted the lower title soon after Vishwasimha I's demise and then been appointed to the higher title after his father Rudradaman died. Taking into account all these developments, Vishwasimha's appointment to the 'Kshatrapa' office and the issue of coins in his name may be dated to c. 80-90 of the Saka Era (158 – 168 AD).

### SOME COINS OF THE SAFAVID RULER, TAHMASP I: PART 4

By Stan Goron

As in the previous parts of this article, all the coins presented here are on the "second western weight standard" of around 6.2 g.



**Tabriz 938** mint and date within elongated cartouche, ruler's name below; reverse within square.



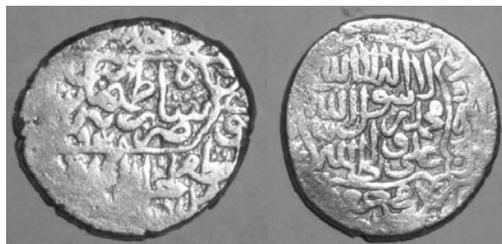
**Tabriz 938** obverse as previous type, reverse with 12 Rashidun arranged in mill-sail fashion within scalloped circle. Kalima in margin.



**Tabriz 938** ruler's name and date within elongated cartouche, mintname below; reverse within bulging square.



**Tabriz 938** obverse as previous type, reverse within scalloped circle.



**Tabriz 938** ruler's name, mint and date within elongated cartouche, reverse within bulging square.



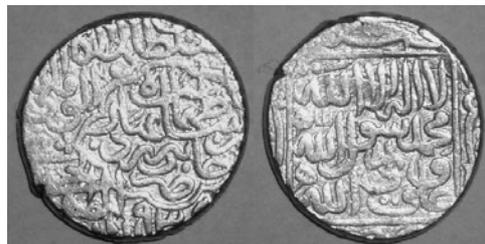
**Tabriz 938** ruler's name, mint and date within cartouche of different shape; reverse within double square.



**Tabriz 938** ruler's name, mint and date within square-like rectangle; reverse within quadrifoil.



**Tabriz 939** mint and date within elongated cartouche, ruler's name below; reverse within square.



**Tabriz 939** ruler's name *tahmasp shah bahadur khan*, and mintname within ornamental cartouche, date below; reverse within square.



**Tabriz 941** mint and date within octolobe, reverse within square.



**Tabriz 942** mintname and date within circle, ruler's name and titles in circular, marginal legend; reverse within square.



**Tehran 938** mintname within elongated cartouche, date at bottom; reverse within circle.



**Tabriz 942** mint and date within elongated cartouche, ruler's name below; reverse in square.



**Urdu 938** ruler's name, mintname and date within circle; reverse within square.



**Tabriz 944** mint and date within octolobe, reverse within square.



**Urdu 938** ruler's name, mintname and date within rhombus; reverse within square.



**Tabriz 944** obverse as previous type, reverse in form of circle.



**Urdu 940** mintname and date within octagon, ruler's name to the right; reverse within hexagon.



**Tabriz 945** mintname and date within circle, ruler's name bottom right; reverse within square.



**Van 938** mintname and date within circle, ruler's name below; reverse within bulging circle.



**Tabriz, no date visible** ruler's name, titles and mintname all arranged without any cartouche; reverse within square.



**Van 939?** Mintname and date within ornate cartouche; reverse as previous type.



**Van 941?** Ruler's name and mintname within circle, date below; reverse within square.



**Yazd 940** ruler's name, mint and date within rhombus with indented sides; reverse within square.

## XRF-ANALYSIS OF SOME DOUBTFUL CHINESE CASH FROM MALAYSIA.

By T.D. Yih and J. v.d. Kreek, The Netherlands

### Introduction

From the 8th century onwards Chinese bronze cash coins were exported to the Indian Archipelago as well as the Malayan peninsula, and used as medium of small change. However, during later periods, cash coins were not only imported, but also produced on the Malayan peninsula. In the Portuguese annals on Malacca, Alberquerque reports that, in 1419, Muhammad Iskander Shah, the son and successor of Parameswara, the founder of the Sultanate of Malacca, visited the Chinese court and obtained permission to produce cash coins made of pewter, a tin-copper alloy.

However, it was only with the publication of Saran Singh's Encyclopaedia of the coins of Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei in 1986, that tin cash from that early period were reported and illustrated (Singh, 1986). According to Singh, in the middle of the 15th century the Chinese merchants in the Sultanate of Malacca issued tin cash coins to overcome a shortage of Chinese bronze cash that was used as small money. These were pieces with northern Sung reign titles as legends.

Singh illustrated a number of pieces with 5 different reign titles (table 1a). It should be remarked that the two Singh pieces with the legend "Qian Ping yuan bao" (SS17) have the abbreviated form of the character *bao*. Furthermore, one had a clear outer rim, whereas the other specimen had no or only a very small rim on the obverse.

Remarkably, some years after the publication of Singh's encyclopaedia such pieces appeared on the market. In 1989 several pieces were offered by S. Semans (1989) who even then had doubts about their authenticity and, in that same year, I obtained six pieces from a Malayan coin dealer. Their pimply surface and especially the blurred appearance of the legends made them suspect. These pieces are the subject of this study which also includes an analysis of their metallic content. For comparison, metal analysis data of some other Chinese and other south east Asian cash pieces containing lead or tin have been included in this study.

Besides some bronze northern Song cash coins, they comprise some private tin cash coins (*jokoh's*) that were issued by Chinese gambling houses or the leaders of the Chinese communities at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in a number of Malaysian sultanates such as Johore, Pahang, Trengganu. They were legal currency and used together with the arabic-inscribed tin

coins (Pridmore, 1969/70). Further, some cash-like coins from the Sultanate of Bantam on Java and some lead cash inscribed "Qian Heng zhong bao" from the Southern Han dynasty in China were also included.

### Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used:

KI refers to coins from the late Mr. Klaassen (The Netherlands); NS = northern Song, SH = southern Han; SS number refers to the number used in Saran Singh's book; Y number refers to the analysis code used for pieces from the first author's collection. Occasionally a number from a numismatic book is used such as Millies (1871) or Netsche r (1864);

### Materials and Methods

#### Source

As mentioned above, the six coins for this study were bought from a Malaysian dealer.

They included pieces with the following northern Song reign titles:

- two pieces inscribed "Qian Ping yuanbao" (SS17) with and without outer rim
- one piece inscribed "Yuan Feng tongbao" (SS20a) in running script
- two pieces inscribed "Huang Song tongbao" (SS19) in regular and seal script
- one piece inscribed "Yuan You tongbao" in running script (not described earlier).

Hence, a total of 6 pieces were available for this study. Their metrical data are listed in table 1b.

#### Examination and cleaning

Examination was done using a Zeiss binocular microscope (magnification up to 20X). Cleaning was done in an ultrasonic device using aquadest as fluid.

#### XRF-analysis

The pieces were analysed for their metallic composition using the X-ray fluorescence as described before (Yih, 1993). The analysis should be considered as only semi-quantitative, especially as the pieces showed traces of surface contamination.

### Results

#### Description

As already mentioned above in the introduction, the pieces had a pimply surface. The bluish tin areas were mixed with greyish-white areas indicative of contamination of the surface. This contamination could be partly removed by scratching. Cleaning of one of the pieces in an ultrasonic bath for two hours resulted in the partial removal of the surface contamination. The result was a piece with more of a brownish-grey colour. In view of this change in colour the remaining pieces were not treated ultrasonically. The strokes of the Chinese characters are not cast sharply, but rather blurred, giving the characters a vague and indistinct appearance. All pieces lack inner and outer rims on the reverse.

The Qian Ping piece Y12 is very similar to the Singh piece regarding the abbreviated writing of the character "bao" and the writing of the character "yuan". The upper horizontal and right vertical strokes of the character "qian" do not cross each other at the upper right corner. The character "ping" seems to be more elongated than that of the Singh pieces. The obverse has no outer or inner rims.

The other Qian Ping piece (Y11) has a clear outer and weak inner rim on the obverse. It does not have the abbreviated, but the normal writing of the character "bao". The stroke crossing the right vertical stroke of the character "qian" runs nearly up to the upper horizontal level.

The Yuan Feng piece (Y59) has its legend in running script, instead of the seal writing used on the Singh piece. Piece Y115 is a seal script variant of the Huang Song piece of Singh. The Yuan You piece (Y117) is the first Malayan cash with this reign title and is not mentioned by Singh.

The weights of the pieces under study range from 2.57 to 4.45 g and they are all higher than those of the corresponding Singh pieces, with the extreme example of the Huang Song piece (Y116), which was nearly 1.5 times as heavy as the corresponding specimen from Singh. For the heaviest piece (Y115) there was no corresponding Singh specimen.

### ***XRF-analysis***

The results of the XRF-analysis are listed in table 2. Firstly are listed the data of the 6 pieces under investigation, followed under the reference coins by 6 northern Song bronze cash pieces and a Bantam cash piece with copper as major component. Below that, the coins have been ordered to group the coins with lead as the major component and finally some coins with tin as the major component.

Although the "Malayan" cash pieces are referred to by Singh as "tin" pieces, the XRF-analysis shows that, except for the Yuan Feng piece (Y59), lead is the major component.

For the Huang Song pieces, the Pb/Sn ratio ranges from 2 to 5 and for the Yuan You piece the ratio is even a factor of 9. Unfortunately, there are no analytical data on the metallic composition of the pieces from Singh and their supposed tin/pewter composition is probably only based on their colour.

The rather high percentages of aluminium and/or silicon are very remarkable. XRF-analysis showed percentages up to 19 and 30 for aluminium and silicon, respectively.

As mentioned above, all pieces showed surface contamination. Hence, it was firstly thought that this surface contamination was the cause of the high percentages of aluminium and silicon. However, ultrasonic treatment of the two Qian Ping pieces did not result in a significant decrease of the percentages of Al and Si. The Al and Si contamination is apparently not only superficial and easily removable. The two Huang Song and Yuan You pieces contained high Al percentages without substantial amounts of Si. Another striking observation is the presence of a rather high amount of antimony (Sb).

The four Qian Heng and the three Javanese Qian Ping pieces did indeed have lead as the major component without any other constituents of similar proportion. Remarkable in comparison with the bronze Bantam cash piece (Y89) were also the rather high percentages of Al and Si measured in the fragments of the two lead variants (KL9 and KL10). This might be due to the use of sand moulds.

The Qian Ping piece from Tegal on the island of Java differs from the northern Song analogues by its lack of substantial amounts of copper and higher amount of tin and lead. This is in agreement with early reports from Java on the replacement of Chinese bronze cash by small fragile coins (picis). Even Commelin (1646) illustrates such Qian Ping picis together with a copper Wan li cash coin from the Ming dynasty.

### **Discussion**

Before discussing the high content of antimony and its possible source, firstly a short summary about the use of the various metal alloys for the fabrication of cash and the use of antimony in general - the latter in connection with the application of antimony-containing alloys in printing techniques in the East and the West.

#### ***Metallic composition of cash coins***

Chinese cash are generally made from an alloy with copper as the main component and various quantities of tin and lead in addition. During the northern and southern Song dynasties the percentage of Cu and Sn declines from 74 to 55% and 15 to 2%, respectively, whereas the lead content increases from 11 to 41%. During the

early Ming dynasty the copper content increases again to around 70% at the expense of a decrease in lead content to around 15%. With emperor Jiajing (1522-66) there was a change from bronze to brass by the addition of increasing amounts of zinc and a drop in lead content accordingly (Dai Zhi-Qiang, 1993).

Besides bronze coins, iron and lead cash were also occasionally produced, especially during the southern Song and southern Han dynasties, respectively. When tin is used as the major component in coinage, it is generally present as pewter, an alloy consisting mainly of tin. Before the 16<sup>th</sup> century, for tin coinage no pure tin (>95% tin), but a lead-rich pewter alloy containing about 60% lead was used in Burma and the Malay Peninsula. After 1800, pewter comprised tin, copper, lead, zinc, and/or bismuth in various proportions, but craftsmen discovered that the addition of antimony and the exclusion of lead created a stronger, safer alloy. Modern pewter consists of approximately 91% tin, 7.5% antimony and 1.5% copper.

Documentation about the antimony content of Chinese and southeast Asian coinage is scarce. Sano (1983) mentions for northern Sung and Ming cash highest antimony and lead contents of about 2.5% and 36%, respectively.

#### ***Alloys used in Printing***

Woodblock printing was apparently invented in the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (Cheon, 1976) and this technique was used in China, Japan and Korea until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Besides woodblock printing, the use of movable clay types was already known during the Ching Li period (1041-488) of the Song dynasty (Lee, 2004). However, printing with the help of metal type is reported to be a Korean invention. Lee (2006) describes the composition of the alloys used from 1455 to 1795. The main metal was copper, followed by tin and lead, but no antimony. In the West the use of metal types is reported to originate from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. However, in contrast to the East, the early types in the West were made of an alloy of lead 70%, tin 5% and antimony 25%. Gutenberg, a former goldsmith, was the first to make a type of an alloy containing antimony which produced a less fragile type more suitable for printing than the clay, wooden or bronze types used in east Asia. In the West this has not changed too much during the subsequent centuries. Depending on its use and required hardness modern printers-lead alloys can contain substantial amounts of antimony (Wellinger, 1972).

#### ***Potential source of antimony***

The data on the reference northern Song bronze cash confirm Sano (1983) in that cash pieces contain only a small percentage of antimony, if any. Theoretically, the two major metals in the alloy, i.e. Sn and Pb can be considered as the source for the presence of the high amount of antimony in the six "tin" Malayan cash pieces. However, the data on the tin and lead reference coins indicate that this is very unlikely. Neither the "tin" pieces from the Malayan sultanates nor the tin bazaruco piece from Portuguese Malacca contain antimony. The latter is in agreement with Pollard (1986), who mentions that, except for some late 16th century pieces from Pegu, that contained up to 10% antimony, no antimony has been found in Portuguese tin coinage from the period 1511-1641.

The same applies to the "leaden" pieces from the various regions. The Qian Heng pieces from the southern Han dynasty as well as the leaden Qian Ping pieces from Java consisting of nearly 100% lead do not contain any trace of antimony. The only piece with a small percentage of antimony is the piece from Djambi (N218) on the island of Sumatra.

Hence, it is most unlikely that the high antimony content is the result of the use of antimony-rich tin or lead for the casting of these 6 cash pieces as that was apparently not common in the southeast Asian region between the 14<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Therefore, the only remaining possibility is that the high antimony concentration present in the six pieces is due to the use of modern printers-lead as a metal source. This means they should be adjudged modern fakes.

## Conclusion

Based on the presence of high percentages of antimony and on the comparison with the metallic composition of cash coins from China and S.E. Asia, it is concluded that these six ‘tin’ malayan cash pieces are modern fakes.

## Acknowledgements

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**Table 1a Metrology Malayan cash pieces from Singh (1986)**

Legends	Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)	Singh/Schjoth No.	Remarks
Zhi Dao yuanbao (995-98)	3.10g	23.5 mm	SS16/S468	running script
Qian Ping yuanbao (998-1004)	1.9-2.2g	20-22 mm	SS17/S469	w & wo outer rim
Ching Te yuanbao (1004-07)	2.5 g	22 mm	SS18/S471	regular script
Huang Song tongbao (1027)	2.35	24.5	SS19/S499	regular script
Yuan Feng tongbao (1078-85)	3.55	24.5	SS20/S545	seal script

**Table 1b Metrology Malayan cash pieces from Singh (1986)**

Legends/ Analysis code	Weight (g)	Diameter (mm)	Singh/Schoth No.	Remarks
Qian Ping yuanbao (Y11)	2.57	22.0	SS17/S469	rim
Qian Ping yuanbao (Y12)	2.69	22.5	SS17/S469	no rim
Yuan Feng tongbao (Y59)	3.83	21.7	SS20a/S547	grass script
Huang Song tongbao (Y116)	3.95	23.7	SS19/S499	regular script
Huang Song tongbao (Y115)	4.45	24.5	1SS19a/S496	seal script
Yuan You tongbao (Y11)	3.82	21.8	-/S567	running script

**Table 2 XRF data on metallic composition (%)**

Code	Item	PB	SN	CU	ZN	FE	SB	SI	AL
Y11	Qian Ping tongbao	28	25	0.3	-	6	6.7	22	9
Y12	Qian Ping tongbao	30	18	0.1	-	3.3	10	25	11
Y59	Yuang feng tongbao	16	23	0.1	-	1.8	15	30	11
Y115	Huang Song tongbao	40	18	-	-	12	10	1	19
Y116	Huang Song tongbao	53	11	0.2	-	11	12	1	18
Y117	Yuan You tongbao	52	6	-	-	11	12	1	18
Reference coins									
Y4	Qian Ping tongbao (NS)	28	12	52	12	1.9	-	4.4	1.4
Y5	Qian Ping tongbao (NS)	21	21	52	0.1	0.8	0.1	3.3	0.2
Y30	Yuan Feng tongbao (NS)	18	18	60	0.2	0.6	0.1	3.3	0.3
Y31	Yuan Feng tongbao (NS)	23	12	58	-	0.8	-	3.5	1.8
Y109	Huang Song tongbao (NS)	28	15	57	-	0.3	-	-	-
Y140	Yuan You tongbao (NS)	18	16	62	-	0.6	-	2.0	0.9
Y89	Bantam (M113)	28	8	60	-	0.1	-	2	0.5
S437-0	Qian Heng zhongbao (SH)	99	-	-	-	0.1	-	0.5	0.3
S437-1	Qian Heng zhonbaob (SH)	95	-	-	-	0.4	-	0.4	0.2
S437-2	Qian Heng zhongbao (SH)	93	-	-	-	1.0	-	0.4	0.6
S437-3	Qian Heng zhongbao (SH)	94	-	-	-	0.9	-	0.6	0.2
Y179	Qian Ping (Java) <sup>1</sup>	99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Y180	Qian Ping (Java) <sup>1</sup>	99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Y181	Qian Ping (Java) <sup>1</sup>	99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N218	Djambi	98	-	0.4	-	-	1	0.1	0.3
KL9	Bantam (M113) <sup>2</sup>	72	-	+	-	2	-	11	10
KL10	Bantam (M113) <sup>2</sup>	69	5	-	-	1	-	9	10
SS40	Trengganu	66	33	0.3	-	+	-	0.7	0.5
Y96	Bantam (M111) fake	47	3	43	0.4	5	1	-	-
Y162	Pahang (SS29)	-	100	-	-	-	-	-	-
Y100	Trengganu (SS38)	2.5	94	-	-	3.5	-	-	-
Y101	Trengganu (SS43)	40	53	1	0.5	6	-	-	-
Y163	Bazaruco (Malacca)	-	93	+	-	7	-	-	-
Y204	Kelantan (SS32)	18	68	1	1	1	-	+	+
13572	Qian Ping (Tegal) <sup>3</sup>	48	51	+	0.5	+	-	-	-
SS82	Perak	41	58	0.8	-	+	-	+	+

<sup>1</sup> illustrated by Mitchiner (1986); <sup>2</sup> fragments; <sup>3</sup>from Wereld Museum, Rotterdam

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