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*NOTES ON THE EARLY
COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA*

By RICHARD N. FRYE



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is devoted to essays and treatises on subjects relating to coins, paper money, medals and decorations.

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Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana

BY RICHARD N. FRYE



BUKHĀRĀN AND KHWĀRAZMIAN COINS

THE AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY
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NOTES ON THE EARLY COINAGE OF TRANSOXIANA¹

INTRODUCTION

THE history of the lands between the Oxus and Jaxartes Rivers in pre-Islamic times is still largely veiled, chiefly because of the paucity of literary sources. The coins, seals and archaeological monuments consequently have to bear more than their share of the burden in the reconstruction of the events of the past. Because of the lack of other aids and references, the identification and deciphering of the legends on the coins from this region have proved most difficult. Many coin types present unsolved problems for the numismatist, and much work remains to be done.

Fortunately the sands of Chinese Turkestan have revealed a wealth of archaeological material, well preserved by the dry climate, among which the manuscript fragments in various languages loom large in importance. It is not the place here to describe the treasures, both artistic and literary, brought back to European museums and libraries by Sir Aurel Stein, P. Pelliot, Gründwedel, Le Coq, and others in the first two decades before the first World War.² These finds also have a significance for the history of Western Turkestan, the Transoxiana of the ancients. First, however, it is necessary to survey briefly

¹ This study is an expanded section from my translation and notes to Narshakhi's *History of Bukhara*. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. W. B. Henning, who read the first draft and made many valuable suggestions and additions, and who proposed the new reading of the legends on the coins of Bukhara (see below), and to Dr. George C. Miles, who gave valuable aid on bibliography, plates, and the final draft of this study. (*N.B.*—The full titles of journals are given in the first references to them; thereafter they are abbreviated. Numismatic journals which are well known, such as the *Revue Numismatique*, however, are abbreviated throughout the work.)

² Cf. A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1928), 25–28.

the linguistic picture of both Eastern and Western Turkestan before these lands came under the influence of the Turks, the former primarily in the eighth and ninth centuries, the latter in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of our era.

In the northern part of the Tarim basin of Chinese Turkestan the so-called "Tocharian" languages *A* and *B* were spoken. Much speculation on the identification of the people who spoke these languages has been made, but at the present we can only say that *A* was used by the people of Agni (modern Karashahr), while *B* was the language of Kucha.³ Related to these two *centum* languages of the Indo-European family was the original language of the kingdom of Krorayina, which was situated between Lou-lan, Endere, and Niya in the eastern part of the Tarim Basin. This language is preserved only in a few words, survivals in the Indian Prakrit which later became the language of this area, and which is preserved in the Kharoṣṭhi manuscript fragments discovered by Sir Aurel Stein.⁴ In the southern part of the Tarim Basin an Iranian tongue, Khotanese-Śaka, was employed. The town of Khotan was the center for this language, although a dialect of it has been found in manuscript fragments from the town of Maralbashi, to the northeast of Kashgar.⁵ This language had close affinities to that of the Śaka invaders of India in the second century B.C., remains of which we find preserved on inscriptions in India from the second century A.D.⁶ In addition to these indigenous languages, there were a number of "outside" tongues in use. Sogdian, an East Iranian language, was used by traders, colonists, and missionaries, the last composed of

³ For the latest information see H. W. Bailey, "Recent Work in Tokharian," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London, 1947), 126-153.

⁴ T. Burrow, *The Language of the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (Cambridge, 1937), viii.

⁵ S. Konow, "Ein neuer Saka-Dialekt," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 1935, no. 20.

⁶ Konow, *Khotansakische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1941), 2.

Buddhists, Manichaeans, or Christians. The canonical language of the Manichaeans was Parthian, a Middle Persian tongue, remains of which were also found among the documents from Chinese Turkestan. Pahlevi fragments and texts in related dialects were also discovered. The dialects of these languages complicate the picture considerably. Syriac, and later Turkish and Tibetan materials, illustrate the veritable linguistic gold mine which Chinese Turkestan proved to be.

In Western Turkestan, in addition to Sogdian (and the Middle Persian dialects in Iran), there was a separate language in Khwārazm (modern Khiva), and another tongue spoken by the Hephtalites, who came from the east in the fifth century A.D. (*cf.* below). It is probable that all were Iranian languages, spoken in Transoxiana before the Turkish expansion. Here the sole archaeological expeditions have been Russian, and the reports have been few and singularly lacking in details.

We shall be concerned principally with the Khwārazmian coins and the "Sogdian" coins of Bukhara, although other types will be mentioned. For purposes of convenience the work has been divided into five sections: the earliest coinage of Transoxiana, the coins of Khwārazm, the coins of Bukhara, other Sogdian coins, and the early Islamic coins. Problems in the decipherment of the coins of Khwārazm, and a new reading for the Sogdian legend on the coins of Bukhara are presented. As addenda, the section on coinage of the Persian text of Narshakhī's *History of Bukhara*, based on new manuscripts, and a translation with notes, will clarify certain outstanding problems in the interpretation of this significant source.

Since the publication of J. de Morgan's summary of the pre-Islamic coinage of the Near East and Central Asia, no review of the coin types of Central Asia has appeared.⁷ Much new

⁷ J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale*, 1 (Paris, 1923-1936). This volume was compiled from notes after the death of the author and leaves much to be desired.

material has been discovered by archaeological expeditions in Soviet Central Asia since then. It is difficult, however, to obtain many of the Soviet accounts of numismatic discoveries, still more to make use of the incomplete descriptions and poor plates. Nevertheless, an attempt to bring together information on the various coin types of Transoxiana may prove of some use.

A discussion of all the coins is impossible, and only the Khwārazmian, and the so-called "Bukhār Khudāh" coins have been examined in any detail. The criterion for the discussion of any coin in this study is its provenance. It is of some significance for the history of Central Asia, I think, if Byzantine coins are found in sites in the Altai Mountains, but the study of these coins is obviously the province of the numismatist who specializes in Byzantine coins. Generalizations on the significance of finds of coins in Transoxiana are to be avoided, for this region was a crossroad of trade, and many foreign coins were certain to be found here. The identification of mint marks is almost hopeless, while similarities in design and execution frequently can be deceiving. The decipherment of many of the coins is hindered by our incomplete knowledge of Khwārazmian and other tongues of Central Asia. It is to be hoped that the linguist will cooperate with the numismatist in this work, and so aid in the reconstruction of the history of Transoxiana.

I. THE EARLIEST COINAGE

To my knowledge, no hoards of Achaemenid coins have been found in Transoxiana, a fact which would cast doubt on the assumption that coins were minted locally at this time. Since Bactria and Sogdiana were provinces of the Achaemenid empire, one would suppose that the coins of the Persian monarchs were current in Transoxiana, although we have no direct evidence.⁸ There is also no evidence that coinage was

⁸ E. Drouin, "Monnaies des grands Kouchans," *RN* (1896), 173, interprets

known here previously. It is improbable that Alexander the Great had coins struck in Transoxiana, for it was the eastern frontier of his empire which was insecurely held. According to C. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London, 1933), 206, Alexander "usually left untouched the local system for marking magisterial responsibility that he happened to find already in operation." The Attic system, however, soon replaced the various older Asiatic systems.

Numismatics almost alone has reconstructed the Greco-Bactrian and Kushan king-lists. The coins of the early Seleucids are rarely found in Eastern Iran and Transoxiana, and it is only with the coins of the Greek rulers of Bactria that we are on relatively safe ground. Many Greco-Bactrian coins, beginning with the reign of Heliocles (died *ca.* 159 B.C.), and including many previously unknown issues, are said to have been found in the excavation of the great Ferghāna canal in Uzbekistan just before the late war.⁹ It is interesting to note that the *earliest* coins found in this excavation, *i.e.*, in what was probably the northernmost province of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom, belong to Heliocles, the *last* of these monarchs to rule this territory before it was lost to nomad invaders.¹⁰ At Panjikant, south of Samarkand, a new type of coin-medal of Antimachus I, struck in honor of his predecessor Euthydemus I (*ca.* 170 B.C.), was found. At a near-by site four obols of Euthydemus were uncovered together with copper coins having non-Greek legends.¹¹ This would serve to substantiate

the finding of several copper coins in Transoxiana, which have the figure of a king piercing an upright lion (Achaemenid style) upon them, as proof of the circulation of Achaemenid coins in Transoxiana long after the fall of the Achaemenid empire. There is not enough evidence at hand to substantiate this.

⁹ M. Voronets, "Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya 1937-1939 gg. v Uz. SSR," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1940, fasc. 3-4, 338.

¹⁰ W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (Cambridge, 1938), 279.

¹¹ B. Kastalskii, "Neizdannaya greko-baktriiskaya tetradrahma-medal Antimakha I, bitaya v chest Evtidema I," *VDI*, 1940, fasc. 3-4, 347.

the contention that Euthydemus ruled Sogdiana, and that he may have been originally satrap of that region before his conquests south of the Oxus River.¹² Many barbaric imitations of the coins of Euthydemus were also found in the vicinity of Samarkand.¹³ The coin type of Euthydemus, then, served as a model for the later coinage of non-Greek rulers. These latter coins were perhaps the first coins minted in Sogdiana, although this is purely a surmise based on their provenance.¹⁴ There are three types of these coins: the first with a Greek legend only, the second with mixed Greek and Aramaic (in fact early Sogdian, but designated as Aramaic by Allotte de la Fuÿe because of its origin), and the third with an all-Sogdian legend.¹⁵ J. de Morgan tentatively assigned the first group to a date prior to the Yüeh-chih invasion of Transoxiana before 140 B.C.¹⁶ The coins with mixed legends were assigned to the period of Yüeh-chih domination in Transoxiana, and the last series was said to be contemporary with the Indo-Śaka king Maues, whom de Morgan placed *ca.* 120–

¹² Tarn, *op. cit.*, 83. Many Greco-Bactrian coins were found in the mound of Tali Barzu in the Samarkand district, according to G. V. Grigor'ev, "Poseleniya drevnego Sogda," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 6 (Moscow, 1940), 30.

¹³ Kastalskii, *op. cit.*, 347; Tarn, *op. cit.*, 164, note 212.

¹⁴ No mint marks of cities in Transoxiana have been identified on these coins, but their weight and the location of the majority of the sites where they were found led Allotte de la Fuÿe to assign them to the territory of ancient Sogdiana, modern Uzbekistan; *cf.* A. de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane et des contrées voisines," *RN*, quatrième série, 14 (1910), 329–333, and plates II and III.

¹⁵ A. de la Fuÿe, *op. cit.*, Plate II, and the continuation of the same article in *RN*, 28 (1925), 31.

¹⁶ J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, 418. The invasion of the Yüeh-chih seems to have lasted over an extended period of time. According to Tarn, *op. cit.*, 276–277, they left their home in Kansu province, West China, *ca.* 176 B.C. Fifteen years later they were in Western Turkestan near Lake Issyk Kul, while in 128 B.C. they were on the Oxus.

90 B.C.¹⁷ Since the Yüeh-chih (if we can assign this Chinese name to the nomad invaders who established themselves in Transoxiana after the fall of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom) copied the coinage of their predecessors, one would suppose that they also retained their mint towns. This is to assume that there were mint town(s) of the Greco-Bactrian sovereigns north of the Oxus River. It is improbable that the Yüeh-chih had a numismatic tradition before they invaded the West, hence imitations of the local coinage were inevitable.¹⁸ The exact relation of the Kushans to the Yüeh-chih cannot be discussed here. The accepted view is that the former were one of the tribes or sub-divisions of the Yüeh-chih who gained ascendancy over the others. The attempts to equate the name *Kushan* with the name *Yüeh-chih* have not been convincing.¹⁹ In any case the Kushan empire, with Kanishka as the best-known monarch, succeeded the Greco-Bactrian state as the dominant power in Transoxiana and modern Afghanistan.

Kushan coins have been found in Soviet Central Asia in greater numbers than Greco-Bactrian coins, and small hoards have been uncovered in various sites, some widely separated. In the excavation of Baikand, near Bukhara, a large quantity of Kushan coins was discovered in a preliminary survey.²⁰

¹⁷ J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, 418.

¹⁸ The coins of Hermaios, the last Greco-Bactrian king of Kabul, with Chinese characters, have been explained by Tarn, *op. cit.*, 338. Professor Lien-sheng Yang of the Harvard-Yenching Institute proposes a different reading of the Chinese characters on these coins, as reproduced in J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, 363; 銅錢重廿四銖, *t'ung-ch'ien chung nien ssü shu*, "copper-coin [weight] twenty-four *shu*." The stylized characters on the other coin reproduced on the same page are read by Professor Yang as 六銖錢, *liu shu ch'ien*, "coin [weight] six *shu*."

¹⁹ *Cf.* R. Shafer, "Linguistics in History," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 67 (1947), 296–305.

²⁰ A. Yu. Yakubovskii, "Zarafshanskaya arkhologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g.," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 4 (Moscow, 1940), 51, and his "Zarafshanskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g.," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (Leningrad, 1940), 63.

The mound of Tali Barzu, in the Zarafshān River valley near Samarkand, also yielded many Kushan coins in the level above the Greco-Bactrian stratum.²¹ In various sites of ancient Khwārazm (modern Khiva), many Kushan coins have been found, as well as Kushan coins overstruck with the so-called "Khwārazmian" sign, an S.²² The discovery of Kushan coins in Khwārazm, and in other scattered sites in Central Asia, however, need not signify the existence of a great Kushan confederacy, or of a northern and southern Kushan dynasty, as Tolstov has suggested.²³ One needs more and fuller evidence for such a conclusion. Byzantine coins, and coins from the Bosphorean kingdom of Southern Russia, have been found as far east as the Altai Mountains, where there hardly could have been any political influence.²⁴ Tolstov has studied the pre-Islamic Central Asian coinage and has come to the conclusion that the Kushan, Khwārazmian and so-called "Heraya" coins are related, which implies a political-cultural relation. Later, Tolstov reported that the finds of coins at Toprak-kala in the territory of ancient Khwārazm permitted him to say that the coins of Heraya were a branch of the Khwārazmian mintage.²⁵ The last-named coins have been known for a long time, but their identification has been a matter of dispute.²⁶ Although these

²¹ Grigor'ev, "Gorodishche Tali-barzu," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (Leningrad, 1940), 96.

²² S. P. Tolstov, "Novye materialy po istorii Khorezma," *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, 1946, part 1, 74.

²³ S. P. Tolstov in a review of A. N. Zograf, *Monety Geraya* (Tashkent, 1937), 36 pp., in *VDI*, 1939, part 2, 119.

²⁴ S. Kiselev, "Nakhodka antichnykh i bizantiiskikh monet na Altae," *VDI*, 1940, parts 3-4, 360-362.

²⁵ Tolstov, "Novye materialy po istorii Khorezma," *op. cit.*, 78. Cf. below the discussion of Khwārazmian coins.

²⁶ Cf. P. Gardner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum* (London, 1886), xlvi, 116, and plate XXIV; A. Cunningham, "Coins of the Indo-Scythian King Miaüs, or Heraüs,"

coins were first found in Afghanistan, the Soviet scholar thinks they were struck at a mint, or mints, to the north of the Oxus River, primarily because of their resemblance to the coins of Khwārazm.²⁷ The name of this ruler has also been read as Miaos, and Tarn goes further when he says that Miaos was the first chieftain of the Yüeh-chih to issue coins on the model of the Greco-Bactrians.²⁸ He is dated *ca.* 50 B.C., and his coins are attributed to the mint at Kapisa (Begram).²⁹ Tarn's analysis of these coins would contradict the thesis of Tolstov, which is based solely on stylistic similarities.

It is not the purpose of the present study to discuss the problems of Kushan coinage, which are obscure and complicated. The identification of mint towns from letters and signs found on these coins is still a matter of mere guesswork and unacceptable as a basis for further study. Many Kushan coins have been found north of the Oxus River, and one would assume the existence of mints in this area rather than the importation of all the coins from the south. Further complications arise from a disputed chronology of the Kushan rulers. Recently R. Ghirshman has proposed a new chronology on the assumption that there were four dynasties: the early Kushans, the house of Kanishka and his successors, the later Kushans, and the Kidārites (the last of the Kushans), named after their chieftain. The key date of the accession of Kanishka is placed

Numismatic Chronicle, third series, 8 (1888), 47-58; Cunningham, "Coins of the Sakas," *NC*, third series, 10 (1890), 112-115; Allotte de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane II," *RN* (1925), 36-41; S. P. Tolstov, "K voprosu o monetakh Geraya," *VDI* (1939), 2, 114-117. Tolstov identifies this ruler as a Kushan governor (*yabgu*) of Sogdiana in his "Monety drevnego Khorezma," *VDI*, 1938, part 4 (5), 122, 128.

²⁷ Tolstov, "K voprosu o monetakh Geraya," *op. cit.*, 118.

²⁸ Tarn, *op. cit.*, 305. This view is also held by R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo, 1946), 109, 185.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 506.

at 144 A.D. by Ghirshman.³⁰ The second dynasty lasted from 144 to 242 A.D., when Shāpūr I, the Sasanian ruler, put an end to Kushan independence.³¹ The arguments advanced by Ghirshman are convincing, but the lengths of rule of various Kushan potentates, whose existence is known only by their coins, still present many problems.

Herzfeld has attempted to identify the "mint" marks on some of the late Kushan gold coins. One coin has several letters in Parsik script which Herzfeld reads as Smə or Samarkand.³² This is only a conjecture for which there is no proof. Unfortunately, the history of Transoxiana, unlike that of Iran, presents no continuity of minting down to the Umayyad period. It is also a surmise that some coins of Pērūz, brother of Shāpūr I, were minted in Samarkand from ca. 242 to 252 A.D.³³ Identifications of the coins of the later Kushans, both for time and place, are based primarily on artistic and technical resemblances to Parthian or Sasanian types. On this basis a brief summary of the coinage of Bactria and Transoxiana, in the second century A.D., has been made by Vasmer.³⁴

The involved question of the circulation and disappearance of gold coins, and their relation to the silver issues, is beyond the scope of the present study. From Islamic sources we learn that Transoxiana was rich in both gold and silver mines.³⁵

³⁰ R. Ghirshman, "Fouilles de Bégram," *Journal Asiatique* (1943-1945), 68, and his *Bégram*, 106.

³¹ Ghirshman, "Fouilles," 63, 69, and his *Bégram*, 107, 163.

³² E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sasanian Coins*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 38 (Calcutta, 1930), 14-15.

³³ R. Vasmer, "Zur Münzkunde von Baktrien in 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, 42 (1932), 52.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), 164, 169; V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (London, 1937), Index 522; G. Le Strange, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb* (London, 1919), 193.

These mines were probably known and exploited in antiquity, although we have no direct evidence. There is no reason to assume that the Kushans were cut off from a supply of silver, but the gold coinage of their contemporaries, the Romans, may well have exerted a strong influence on them. It is well known that gold, as a metal of coinage for Rome, came into prominence only at the end of the Republic and the early years of the Empire.³⁶ The prestige of Rome, and the brisk trade in the first centuries of our era, must have had some influence on other currencies. The recent discovery of a Roman trading colony on the east coast of India indicates the extent and importance of the Oriental trade of the Roman Empire.³⁷ The fact that we have no Parthian gold coins may be explained by the hostility which existed between the rulers of Iran and their eastern and western neighbors. The Kushans and Romans had a mutual enemy, and mutual interests in trade, so it is not surprising to find both minting gold while the Parthians maintained a silver standard.³⁸

The merging of the late Kushan coins with the issues of the Sasanian governors of the east, the so-called Kushano-Sasanian coins, ushers in a new period. The rare Sasanian *aurei* were probably minted in Khurāsān or Transoxiana after the conquests of the new Iranian dynasty in this area.³⁹ At the advent of the Sasanian dynasty, ca. 225 A.D., Transoxiana was probably divided into a number of small principalities. The only literary sources for a history of this period are a few statements in the Chinese dynastic histories, frequently based on

³⁶ H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins* (London, 1928), 18, 25, 121.

³⁷ R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Gosh and Krishna Deva, "Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman Trading-station on the East Coast of India," *Ancient India*, no. 2 (1946), 17-124.

³⁸ G. Bataille, "Notes sur la numismatique des Koushans," *Aréthuse*, fascicule 18 (1928), 25.

³⁹ Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 1.

hearsay.⁴⁰ The numismatic picture likewise is obscure, but already in the third century A.D. coin types began to change from the Parthian-Kushan "thick" to the Sasanian "thin" type.⁴¹

The coins of the last Kushan dynasty, the Kidārites, are based upon Sasanian models. Our knowledge of the Kidārites is still scanty, and much rests upon uncertain evidence. It seems that the name is derived from the first ruler, Kidāra, who consolidated power north of the Hindu Kush Mountains *ca.* 350 A.D.⁴² The date as well as the course of events is a matter of dispute, and the reconstruction of Marquart is the only extensive study of the problem.⁴³ According to him, the Kidārites ruled over most of the area east of the Caspian Sea, and the expeditions of the Sasanians against them took place in this area. The base of operations of the Persian army was Gurgān at the southeast corner of the Caspian.⁴⁴ Marquart, following Chinese sources, identified the capital of the Kidārites as the town of Balkhān in the ancient bed of the Oxus River, which once flowed to the Caspian Sea.⁴⁵ The son of Kidāra, and presumably his successor, after suffering a de-

⁴⁰ Historical sources are lacking, but later Chinese sources give us an idea of the political situation in earlier times; *cf.* E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 134.

⁴¹ This does not refer to copper coins, which hardly could be made as thin as the Sasanian silver pieces. It is true that several "thick" types are attributed to the Hephthalites, although their coinage was, on the whole, similar to the Sasanian; *cf.* J. de Morgan, *op. cit.*, 449-452.

⁴² Ghirshman, "Fouilles," *op. cit.*, 69.

⁴³ J. Marquart, "Ērānšahr," *Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesell. der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 1901, 55-58; *cf.* also his "Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Analekten," *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 9 (1929), 97.

⁴⁴ *Ērānšahr*, 57, note.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 55. He uses the antiquated translation of E. Specht, "Études sur l'Asie Centrale," *Journal Asiatique* (1883), 328, which is based in turn on the translations of A. Rémusat and Stanislas Julien.

feat at the hands of the Sasanian forces, led his people over the Hindu Kush Mountains to invade India. Marquart dated this event shortly after 468 A.D., in the time of Pērūz, the Sasanian monarch who secured the throne with the aid of the Hephthalites.⁴⁶ This hypothesis raises a number of problems. Similar, but with convincing variations, is the thesis of M. F. C. Martin, a numismatist, who advanced the theory that the Kidārites separated into two branches under pressure from the northern nomads, the Chionites.⁴⁷ One group migrated westward toward the Caspian, while the other branch moved south over the Hindu Kush. The leader of the second group was Kidāra himself. Martin places the date of the migration a century earlier than Marquart, *ca.* 350 A.D., which coincides with the date proposed by Ghirshman.⁴⁸ No references to Kidārite coins found in excavations in Soviet Central Asia have come to my attention. One would suppose that their rule did not extend so far north, or if it did it may have been transitory. The coins struck by the Kidārites in Afghanistan and India represent a separate problem. Likewise, the question of the relations of the Kidārites with the Chionites, and the Sasanians, involves a study of literary sources as well as of the coins.⁴⁹

The Hephthalite invasions of the fifth century A.D. introduce a new element into the history of Transoxiana, and they present one of the most enigmatic problems of this history.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 58; *cf.* A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed. (Copenhagen, 1944), 293. On the name of the son, *κοιγγαν*=*qūn qān*, *cf.* Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen* (Leipzig, 1914), 70.

⁴⁷ M. F. C. Martin, "Coins of the Kidāra and the Little Kushāns," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Numismatic Supplement no. XLVII (1938), 23-50, 5 plates.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 32; Ghirshman, "Fouilles," *op. cit.*, 69.

⁴⁹ The Greek, Syriac, and Middle Persian sources are very confusing, and the summary of the history of this period by O. Wesendonk, "Kūšān, Chioniten und Hephthaliten," *Klio*, 26 (1933), 336-346, does little to clarify the situation.

Mention of the Hephtalites is found in Chinese, Greek, Syriac and Arabic sources, and their coins are found in most of the large Oriental collections. The term *White Huns* was used by the Greek authors to designate the Hephtalites, but it was also applied to other nomads of Central Asia, and the historical picture is consequently very confusing. Manuscript fragments, with the same script as that on the coins of the Hephtalites, have been found in Chinese Turkestan. At least three such fragments were brought from Turfan by Le Coq and preserved in Berlin until the late war.⁵⁰ This script is a very corrupt form of the Greek alphabet used by the Greco-Bactrian rulers and their successors, the Kushans. The language has remained undeciphered, although it is probably an Iranian tongue closely related to Sogdian. The name *Hephtalite*, adopted from the name of the ruling family, can be compared with a Sogdian plural * *Heβtalīt* (singular * *Heβtalak*), and the name of one of the kings, *Aχšōndār* (not *Aχsunwār*), may be compared with Sogdian 'χš'wnd'r "king."⁵¹

Most of the Hephtalite coins have an identifying sign  which might have served as a coat of arms of the royal family. Whether this symbol was used by all the Hephtalites, by one tribe, or by one dynasty, is unknown. It is not found on all coins classified as "Hephtalite," but it is frequent enough for us to assume an extensive use of it over a long period of time. The historical picture, the relations of Hephtalites with conquered peoples, tributaries, and the like, is almost a *tabula rasa* in history.

Again the works of Marquart are the best guide for what little we know of these people.⁵² The date of the Hephtalite

⁵⁰ A. von Le Coq, "Köktürkisches aus Turfan," *Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1909, 1049-1061; also F. W. Thomas, "A Tokhari MS," *JAO*, 64 (1944), 1-3, one plate.

⁵¹ W. B. Henning, "Neue Materialien zur Geschichte des Manichäismus," *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), 17, note 2.

⁵² Especially his *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), also "Über das Volks-

invasion of Transoxiana is uncertain, but it probably lasted a number of years, beginning *ca.* 400 A.D. The interrelations of the names *Hephtalites*, *Chionites*, and *Kadisäer* are obscure, but all were invaders from Central Asia. According to Marquart the last-named were a branch of the Hephtalites who ruled in the vicinity of Herat.⁵³ Another branch of the Hephtalites may have been the Zāvuli tribe which gave the name to the province of Zābulistān (in Islamic sources), the modern Ghazna in Afghanistan.⁵⁴ The White Huns in the Caucasus area present another problem. The ruler of the White Huns, Grumbates, who aided Shāpūr in his siege of the city of Āmida (modern Diyarbakr) held by the Romans, may have been ruler of the Caucasian branch only.⁵⁵ The Hephtalites certainly ruled over Transoxiana, for later Arabic geographers referred to the land between the two rivers as *Hayāṭīlah* (Hephtalites).⁵⁶ Yet finds of Hephtalite coins there have been rare, which leads one to suspect that the Hephtalites followed a policy similar to that of the Yüeh-chih, and for a time left the local coinage alone. Although the wars of the Hephtalites with the Sasanians occurred for the most part in the sixth century A.D., the northern invaders would seem to have been in Transoxiana a century earlier.⁵⁷ Solutions to the many prob-

lem der Komanen," *Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, 13 (1914), 70-75. Some of Marquart's identifications have been questioned by P. Pelliot, "A propos des Comans," *JAO* (1920), 140.

⁵³ Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 77-78. The Armenian form of the name is Katišk'.

⁵⁴ Marquart and J. M. de Groot, "Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Žūn vom 6-9 Jahrhundert," *Festschrift Eduard Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), 252.

⁵⁵ Wesendonk, *op. cit.*, 342.

⁵⁶ G. Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), 433.

⁵⁷ A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen, 1944), 289, note 5, asserts that the Hephtalites did not reach the borders of Iran until the middle of the fifth century.

lems of Hephtalite and related coins await the results of archaeological excavations in Soviet Central Asia and Afghanistan.

II. THE COINS OF KHWĀRAZM

In the period just before, during, and after the Muslim invasions we are on firmer ground, primarily because of the valuable Arabic sources. Two series of coins have been investigated, the Khwārazmian coins, mentioned above, and the so-called "Bukhār Khudāh" coins. According to Tolstov, in 1937 there were forty-four Khwārazmian coins in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad, and 195 (including fragments) found by the first archaeological expedition to the territory of ancient Khwārazm. By 1945 the number had risen to almost a thousand.⁵⁸ A few odd pieces were to be found in collections outside Russia. Tolstov gives a detailed summary of past work on the Khwārazmian coins, which indicates that they have been known as long ago as 1850.⁵⁹ It was only in 1870 that E. Thomas published and studied five of these coins, casts of which had been sent him from St. Petersburg.⁶⁰ It is unnecessary to repeat the various suggestions of Thomas, Drouin, and Rapson on the attribution of these coins. All of the coins preserved in St. Petersburg had been found in Russia proper (province of Perm), hence speculation on their provenance was varied.⁶¹ It is certain now that they represent the coinage of pre-Islamic Khwārazm. Legible plates of two of the coins were published by Markov in 1892.⁶²

⁵⁸ S. P. Tolstov, "K istorii Khorezmiiskikh Siyavushidov," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, seriya istorii i filosofii, 2 (1945), 275.

⁵⁹ Tolstov, "Monety shakhov Drevnego Khorezma i drevnekhorezmiiskii alfabit," *VDI* (1938), no. 4 (5), 121.

⁶⁰ E. Thomas, "Indo-Parthian Coins," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1869), 503-521, reprinted in *NC* (1870), 139-163.

⁶¹ E. J. Rapson, "On the Attribution of Certain Silver Coins of Sassanian Fabric," *NC* (1896), 249.

⁶² A. Markov, "Neizdannyya Arsakidskiya monety," *Zapiski Vostochnago*

The articles of Thomas (note 60), of Allotte de la Fuÿe,⁶³ and of Tolstov, are the principal sources of information on these coins, and they alone need concern us here. Unfortunately the reproductions of the coins given by Tolstov are so poor that one is unable to use them.

Before discussing the coins, a few words on our present state of knowledge about the Khwārazmian language may be in order.⁶⁴ The details of the knowledge of the Khwārazmian language among the Muslim literati were summarized for the first time by Zeki Validi.⁶⁵ A few Khwārazmian words were known from the Muslim writers, primarily al-Bīrūnī, but all literature in the Khwārazmian language has perished without a trace. Zeki Validi found a number of manuscripts in Istanbul of juridical contents with Khwārazmian words and sentences.⁶⁶ Dr. W. B. Henning studied the material which Zeki Validi had found, and gave the first brief analysis of the Khwārazmian language.⁶⁷ This material was adapted, and somewhat expanded on the basis of additional manuscripts in Russian collections, by Freiman.⁶⁸ The language is closer to

Otdeleniya Imp. Russkago Arkheologicheskago Obshestva, 6 (1891), 301, plate IV, nos. 32 and 33.

⁶³ A. de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane," *RN*, quatrième série, 29 (1926), 141-151, plate VI (VII), 14, 15, and 17.

⁶⁴ For the history of Khwārazm in ancient times cf. W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 293-294, 478-480, and K. Inostrantsev, "O do-musulmanskoj kulture Khivinskago Oazisa," *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya* (St. Petersburg, February, 1911), 284-318.

⁶⁵ A. Zeki Validi, "Über die Sprache und Kultur der Alten Chwarezmier," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 90 (1936), *27-30.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, *27-28, also his "Hwārezmische Sätze in einem arabischen Fiqh-Werke," *Islamica*, 3 (1927), 190-213.

⁶⁷ W. B. Henning, "Über die Sprache der Chwarezmier," *ZDMG*, 90 (1936), *30-34.

⁶⁸ A. Freiman, "Khorezmiiskii Yazyk," *Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, 7 (1939), 306-319. In the same journal, pp. 79-91, S. L. Volin has an article,

Sogdian and Ossetic than to other Iranian tongues; hence parallels with these two languages must be utilized in an attempt to decipher the literary remains and the coins. It is also possible that the inscriptions on some of the silver objects found in Russia, but of Central Asian origin, are in Khwārazmian.⁶⁹ Since the literary Khwārazmian remains are written in Arabic characters the only paleographical materials we have are the coins, the silver bowls, etc. mentioned above, and the remains in the old Sogdian alphabet for comparison.⁷⁰

To pass on to the coins themselves, Tolstov has classified the coins into two main groups, one with debased Greek and Khwārazmian legends, and the other with Khwārazmian only.⁷¹ Each group is further subdivided into three sections. The first section is composed of coins which are not found, to my knowledge, in any collection outside of Russia.⁷² Section, or type, A is composed of tetradrachmae with the figure of a bearded ruler facing right. On the reverse is a horseman in the Parthian style, with the Khwārazmian sign , which is found on coins of the other types as well. The sign is related to the mark on the Kushan coins, especially of Huvishka, also on the coins of Heraya.⁷³ Above the sign is a debased Greek

"Novyi istochnik dlya izucheniya Khorezmiiskogo yazyka," similar to, but more expanded than, the article of Zeki Validi.

⁶⁹ Ya. I. Smirnov, *Vostochnoye Srebro* (St. Petersburg, 1909), Plate XIX, CXIV and others.

⁷⁰ The ancient (non-Buddhist) Sogdian script is represented in the ancient letters found by Sir Aurel Stein in Tun-huang, pub. by Hans Reichelt, *Die Sogdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 2 Teil (Heidelberg, 1931), and a few fragments of inscriptions; cf. A. Freiman, "Drevneishaya Sogdiiskaya Nadpis," *VDI* (1939), part 3, 135-136.

⁷¹ Tolstov, "Monety shakhov Drevnego Khorezma," *op. cit.*, 125.

⁷² The reproductions which Tolstov gives on p. 126 are poor. One of these coins was reproduced by E. Thomas, "Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins," *JRAS* (1883), 81.

⁷³ Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 124, 128.

inscription, and at the bottom a Khwārazmian legend. The Greek is said to be a debased form of the word ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ(Σ), but the photographs are too poor for checking.⁷⁴ The second section of the first group, A, is composed of small, thick copper coins poorly preserved. The third group, α, copper coins, is distinguished by a sign in the form of a cross. Nowhere, to my knowledge, except in Tolstov's article, are the coins of the last two types represented.⁷⁵ Their relation to the silver issues, or to each other, is a matter of speculation. Tolstov suggests that coins of type α might be the coins of lower Khwārazm (perhaps due to their provenance?).⁷⁶

The second class of coins is later in date, and more of these were found than of the first group. Both silver drachmae and copper coins are found, all with Khwārazmian legends. They are classified by Tolstov by the type of headdress, and by the position of the legends. A subgroup, B 1, has an Arabic word فضل just behind the rider on the reverse. On the coins of the British Museum and The American Numismatic Society (FRONTISPIECE, figs. 3 and 4) it is clearly الفضل. Tolstov claims that this dates the coins from the time of the governor of Khurāsān, al-Faḍl ibn Yaḥyā al-Barmakī, 787-795.⁷⁷ Another group of coins β are of a crude copper type with a large sign  on the reverse, and a crude portrait of a ruler on the obverse (Plate III, p. 132 of Tolstov's article).

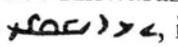
It is not possible here to discuss the various readings proposed by Tolstov. He has a large quantity of coins of all types which cannot be checked, and one must rely on his transcriptions. The first legend which Tolstov studied was a cursive legend on the latest Khwārazmian coins with the Arabic word on the reverse. The cursive Khwārazmian legend on the

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 127.

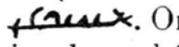
⁷⁵ One of the class α coins of Tolstov's classification was reproduced in W. Tiesenhansen, *Notice sur une collection de monnaies orientales de M. le Comte S. Stroganoff* (St. Petersburg, 1880), 8, no. 16.

⁷⁶ Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 129.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 131.

obverse side, to the right of the ruler's face, is, unfortunately, different from the cursive legend on the back of a similar coin from the British Museum (FRONT., fig. 3). Tolstov reads the legend  *š'wšpr*, which is the ruler mentioned by al-Bīrūnī as شاورش and in the Chinese sources as *shao shih-fên* 稍施芬.⁷⁸ Several remarks may be made. First, the form of the name as it appears in the text of al-Bīrūnī is open to question. There are a number of manuscripts of al-Bīrūnī's work which were not available to Sachau, one of the most important of which is in the 'Umūmī library in Istanbul. (Cf. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, erster Supplementband (Leiden, 1937), 872.) These manuscripts should be consulted. It is difficult to believe that even then the original form of the name can be determined, since the Khwārazmian language is so little known. Second, the Chinese name was pronounced *šau šie p'iuən* in ancient times (Karlgren's reconstruction). The final syllable would be somewhat difficult to reconcile with the Iranian form of the name. Furthermore, without legible reproductions it is impossible to check Tolstov's reading. His reading of the first four letters of the obverse as *qršd*, whom he identifies as the brother of the Khwārazmshah in the time of Qutaiba, is hardly acceptable. The Khwārazmian coins which we have at our disposal all belong to the same class. Tolstov suggests that the cursive Khwārazmian legend on the obverse, which he copies , is the name of the predecessor of the *Šāušafar*, in the work of al-Bīrūnī — ترکسته or 'Abdallāh. This is mere surmise and a continuation of Tolstov's method of seeking to make the coin legends fit the names of Khwārazmian rulers given by al-Bīrūnī. Tolstov must have used a manuscript in the Soviet

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 134-135. E. Chavannes in his "Notes additionelles sur les Toukiue (Turcs) occidentaux," *T'oung Pao*, 5 (1904), 92, quotes a passage from the *Ts'ê-fu yüan-kuei*, 册府元龜, vol. 971, which tells of tributary envoys from three states, including Khwārazm, of which the ruler's name is given as Shao-fên. Chavannes has identified this ruler with the *Shāušafar* of al-Bīrūnī.

Union for this form of the name. Sachau (p. 36) has the form ترکستانه with a variant ترکستانه. All forms are to be regarded with suspicion. I am unable to propose a reading for the cursive legend on these coins (FRONT., figs. 2, 3, 4), which on no. 2 looks more like . On the reverse, around the figure of the horseman is a legend  which Tolstov read as *MR' MLK'*, two Aramaic ideograms for "lord" and "shah" (FRONT., fig. 1, rev.).⁷⁹ The former (*MR'Y*) occurs frequently in the Sogdian fragments from Mug Mountain.⁸⁰ There is a precedent in Sogdian for two titles used together, in much the same fashion as our "Mister President," and that is the *βγω γωβω* of the fragments from Mug Mountain. Perhaps the Khwārazmian titles are used in the same manner, but it might be that the first three letters represent the name of the kingdom, or place of mintage, as in the coins of Bukhara (cf. below). The princes of the small Central Asian states had different titles.⁸¹ At first I thought of the possibility of Merv, O. P. *Marguš*, but even on historical grounds this was unacceptable, since it was a province of the Sasanian empire governed by a *marzspān*. The ruler of Khwārazm, on the other hand, did hold the title of Shāh according to the letter of Tansar, high priest of Iran in the time of Ardašīr I.⁸² It is not certain that the first letter is the same as the fourth, an *m*. The reading *MLK'*, however, is convincing. The final word of the legend was read as *χwrazm* or Khwārazm by Tolstov.⁸³ The first two letters were compared with the Book Pahlevi ligature, while the rest were read as ancient Sogdian. This

⁷⁹ Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 133.

⁸⁰ A. Freiman, *Sogdiiskii Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1934), 45 *et passim*.

⁸¹ E.g., the *Tirmidh Shāh*, the *Afshin* of *Ustrūshana*, the *Shār* of *Gharchistān*, etc. Cf. Christensen, *op. cit.*, 501.

⁸² Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Ta'rikh-i-Tabaristān*, ed. 'Abbās Iqbāl (Teheran, 1942), 18.

⁸³ Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 137.

ignores the fact that in all Iranian languages the name of the country has a long *ā* in the first syllable, which should also be represented in Khwārazmian.⁸⁴ I can propose no alternate reading, and it would seem that more knowledge of the language is necessary before further work on the coins be attempted.

In regard to the small characters on the reverse of one of the coins, just behind the rider (FRONT., fig. 2, rev.), in a letter dated 23 October 1947, John Walker, of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, wrote, "The letters which Gen. Cunningham read as IX = Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, are really part of an Arabic legend upside down, which I can read as: **الابراد**, i.e. *al-Abraḍ* (?), or some such name."

On the other coins Tolstov read 'bdwł MLK', "Abdallāh Shāh," *Afrīgh* (the name of the ruling dynasty, according to al-Bīrūnī), and *šywsš*, the **شاوش** of al-Bīrūnī.⁸⁵ On the basis of the alphabet on the coins, several silver bowls in the Hermitage museum are identified as Khwārazmian. The inscriptions on them are crude, and at least one is in Sogdian.⁸⁶ Much work remains to be done in this field, but Tolstov has opened the way, and others will carry the task further.

Tolstov reached a number of general conclusions based upon his study of the coins. First, one dynasty, the Afrighids, ruled in Khwārazm from the third to the eighth century A.D. Second, they had a distinctive sign **س**, which they placed on the coins, and which was related to the Kushan mark. This would substantiate the Chinese sources, which imply a Kushan confederacy in ancient times.⁸⁷ So the ruling dynasty in

⁸⁴ From Henning's account, *op. cit.*, *ZDMG*, 1936, *30, the Khwārazmian language, written in Arabic script, sometimes has long vowels where short ones should be represented, but not *vice versa*.

⁸⁵ Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 136-137.

⁸⁶ Ya. I. Smirnov, *op. cit.*, Plate XLI, no. 71.

⁸⁷ E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 134.

Khwārazm was of Kushan origin. Third, close cultural contact with Bactria is indicated by finds of silver vessels and objects common to both, as well as by finds of Greco-Bactrian coins in the territory of ancient Khwārazm. The trade which Khwārazm maintained with Eastern Europe in Islamic times also existed in the pre-Islamic period, as Khwārazmian coins found in Russia proper show. Finally, the preservation of the ancient type of Khwārazmian coins into later times indicates that Khwārazm was long independent, and the cultural tradition was preserved with little outside influence except from Iran.⁸⁸

A new, unique coin was found in the excavations of Toprak-kala in Khwārazm in 1940.⁸⁹ It was well preserved, with a debased Greek inscription on the reverse around the figure of a horseman in the Parthian style.⁹⁰ This was the oldest "Khwārazmian" coin yet found, according to Tolstov. On the basis of the horseman pictured on the reverse, Tolstov proposed a chronological relationship of the later Khwārazmian coins with the issues of the Greco-Bactrian king Eucratides, as follows: Eucratides—the coin from Toprak-kala—the coins of Heraya—the two Khwārazmian types.⁹¹ On the basis of stylistic resemblance to Parthian coins, the unique find from Toprak-kala was dated in the first century B.C. This provides a long series of Khwārazmian coins, according to Tolstov, although many problems of dating and deciphering still remain.

⁸⁸ Tolstov, *op. cit.*, 145. Islamic coins were minted early in Khwārazm. We have a *fals* struck in Khwārazm in 224/838; W. Tiesenhäusen, "Novoye sobranie vostochnykh monet A. V. Komarova," *ZVOIRAO*, 3 (1888), 56, plate II, no. 3.

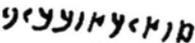
⁸⁹ Tolstov, "K istorii Khorezmiiskikh Siyavushidov," *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk*, seriya istorii i filosofii (1945), 275.

⁹⁰ See the plate on p. 280 of Tolstov's article.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, 278.

III. THE COINS OF BUKHARA

Coins of a class which has attracted more attention than the Khwārazmian issues were first reproduced by C. M. Fraehn in 1832, without comment.⁹² Cunningham also reproduced them with a brief note eight years later.⁹³ The first attempt to study these coins was made by E. Thomas, who suggested that they might have come from the western part of Central Asia, and been modeled after a Sasanian prototype.⁹⁴ The practice of each Sasanian ruler of adopting a special type of headdress to be used on his portraits and coins made the identification of the prototype easy. The prototype was the portrait of Varahrān V (420–438 A.D.). Thomas, however, thought that the model was taken from the coin type of the rebel Varahrān Chūbīn, ca. 578, who in turn had copied the coinage of his predecessor of the same name.⁹⁵ No one was able to assign these coins to a definite time or area of circulation, until a Russian orientalist, P. Lerch, determined their provenance and showed that they were the issues of the rulers of Bukhara.

The legend on the coins  was read as *Bukhār Khuddāt* by Lerch.⁹⁶ The second word, however, was unsatisfactory, for it corresponded to no known word in any

⁹² C. M. Fraehn, *Die Münzen der Chane vom Ulu Dschutschis* (St. Petersburg, 1832), plate XVI, figs. 8 and 2.

⁹³ A. Cunningham, "Notes on Captain Hay's Bactrian Coins," *JRASB* (1840), plate 3, nos. 6 and 7, facing p. 538.

⁹⁴ In J. Prinsep, *Essays on Indian Antiquities* (London, 1858), II, 116–117.

⁹⁵ E. Thomas, "Bilingual Coins of Bukhara," *NC*, third series, vol. 1 (1881), 118.

⁹⁶ First in P. Lerch, "Sur les monnaies des Boukhār-Khoudahs ou princes de Boukhara avant la conquête du Mavereennahr par les Arabes," *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1879), 417–429; cf. also his *Monety Bukhar-Khudatov* in the series *Trudy Vostochnago Otd. Russ. Arkh. O-va.*, 18 (1876).

Iranian tongue, nor could it be explained as the combination of two words meaning "God-given," or "self-given." No new plausible interpretation of the second word was proposed until Allotte de la Fuÿe, on the basis of some additional specimens with slightly different legends, suggested the reading *Khūd Kānā*.⁹⁷ This was assumed because *Kānā* is the name of the ruler mentioned by Narshakhī as the first person who coined money in Bukhara (see addenda). The veracity of Narshakhī's account was doubted by Barthold, and it is difficult to believe that the story was not transformed in some degree, if not invented.⁹⁸ It is true that we have no historical references to a ruler called *Kānā*, but since the name does occur in Sogdian it is not to be dismissed as pure fiction.⁹⁹

In a review of J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941) in the *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (1943), 209, M. Sprengling suggested that the final *t* of the word *Khuddāt* was the Sogdian plural ending *-t*. In Sogdian, however, the word is *γωt'ω*, and Henning's reading (below) eliminates this conjecture.

Since the time of Lerch many of these coins have been found, especially by the Soviet archaeological expeditions in Central Asia. The coins may be divided tentatively into three groups: those with only a "Bukharan" legend, the second group with bilingual legends, and finally those with Arabic alone. It seems fairly well established that the coins with

⁹⁷ A. de la Fuÿe, "Imitations de la drachme de Varahrān V, frappées à Merv," *NC*, 7 (1927), 175–180. Cf. the discussion in J. Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), lxxxviii, and A. de la Fuÿe, "Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane II," *RN*, 29 (1926), 150. He says these coins are imitations of the issues of Bahrām Gōr (Varahrān V), struck at Merv after his victory over the Hephtalites ca. 428 A.D.

⁹⁸ W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), 204.

⁹⁹ The name occurs as *k'n'kk* in H. Reichelt, *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenrese, op. cit.*, 49.

bilingual legends existed as late as the reign of Hārūn al-Rašīd (170–193/786–809).¹⁰⁰ The “Bukharan” or Sogdian legend remains the same on almost all of the coins till the final disappearance of this formula on the third class.

The legend on these coins presented a problem, and with no pretence to a knowledge of Sogdian epigraphy, I requested the aid of my former teacher, Dr. W. B. Henning of the London School of Oriental and African Studies. In a letter dated 19 July 1947 the following communication was received, which, I believe, solves the problem of the legend on the “Bukhār Khudāh” coins:

The coins of the “Bukhār-Khudāhs,” last studied by John Walker, *A Catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian Coins* (London, 1941), pp. lxxx foll. and plates xxviii–xxix, bear inscriptions in the Sogdian script and language. The writing resembles closely that familiar from the Sogdian “Ancient Letters”; cf. H. Reichelt, *Die Soghdischen Handschriftenreste des Britischen Museums*, 2 (Heidelberg, 1931), which, as I hope to show elsewhere,* date either from the last decennium of the second or the second decennium of the fourth century A.D. The numismatists who have occupied themselves with these coins in recent times have failed to recognize the true character of the writing; in consequence they have imported into their readings e.g. a letter *d* (supposedly resembling *r*), thereby producing or admitting such legends as *Bukhār-Khuddāt* or *Bukhār Khud Kānā*, although such a letter does not exist in Sogdian.

How closely the legends follow the rules of Sogdian orthography is shown even by their first letter, the *p*† of

¹⁰⁰ Walker, *op. cit.*, xc–xcvii, also A. de la Fuje, in *NC*, 7 (1927), 162–174.

* [W. B. Henning, “The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters,” *BSOAS*, 12 (1948), 605–615—. R. N. F.]

† That it is *p* cannot seriously be doubted.

pwy'r = Bukhara; for the three sounds *β*, *p*, and *b* of the Sogdian language the Sogdian script had only the two letters *β* and *p*, the latter of which was used for both *p* and *b* (similarly the letter *t* had to serve for both *t* and *d*). The eighth and ninth letters of the legends are distinct (in most specimens) from the fifth (*r*) by a longer and more curved downward stroke to the left (see e.g., FRONT., figs. 5–9, and Walker Pl. xxviii b 2, b 5, b 8; xxix 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10); they can therefore be read only as *β* or *k* (for the eighth, *β* is more likely by far). The eleventh letter, in some of the oldest specimens, has the shape  which is precisely that of the Sogdian letter *y* in the “Ancient Letters” (so clearly Walker Pl. xxviii b2 and b5); later on it is like * (Walker Pl. xxix 1 and 7) sometimes split into two parts ( or  *ibidem* 2, 3, 4, 8, 10 and FRONT., figs. 7–9), sometimes compressed into a simple vertical () or , *ibidem* xxviii b 8, xxix 5, 6, 9, and FRONT., fig. 5). The split form of this letter has led Allotte de la Fuje (and before him, as we shall see, the medieval historians of Bukhara) to the assumption that the legend consisted of twelve letters (the two last being *n'*), an assumption which cannot be maintained in view of the clear form of the letter in the oldest specimens.

There are thus only two possible readings of the legend,

either *pwy'rγwβk'y*

or *pwy'rγwββ'y*,

the former being preferable. The legend consists of three words, *pwy'r*, *γwβ*, and *k'y*: this is assured by the Bukhara coin with a different legend (Walker p. lxxxix) in which a word (of doubtful reading, perhaps *mz'yγ* “great”?) intervenes between *pwy'r* and *γwβ* and in which *γwβ* is apparently not followed by *k'y*. The first word, *pwy'r*, has long been recognized as the name of Bu-

* Corresponding to final *-y* in the later Sogdian cursive script.

khara. The second, $\gamma\omega\beta$, is obviously the common Sogdian word for "king," which is mostly spelt $\gamma\omega\beta\omega$ but occurs also as $\gamma\omega\beta$ (see P 6, 58 . . . 'rδ'yρ'k- $\gamma\omega\beta$ = . . . *prabhā-rāja*).*

The last word, *k'y*, is a little more difficult. As in view of the long run of the legend (probably from Sasanian times to the end of the eighth century A.D.) it cannot well be the name of a king, it seems likely that it is an additional title. No such title is found in Sogdian. However, I see no objection to the assumption that the kings of Bukhara borrowed, in Sasanian times, the grandiloquent Persian title *Kai*, which in Sogdian could not be spelt otherwise than as *k'y*. In Pahlavi script *Kai* is spelt *Kdy*, †*cf.* *Rdy* for *Rai*, *Pwsdy* for *Pūsai*, etc. We find *Kai* on the coins of several Sasanian kings as their title or one of their titles. Thus on nearly all coins issued by Yezdegerd II and Pērōz (together A.D. 439–84). Although *Kdy* occurs both before (earliest under Šāpūr III, *cf.* A. D. Mordtmann, "Die Münzender Sassaniden," *ZDMG*, 24 (1880), 72, No. 304) and after those two kings, it is characteristic of the Sasanian coinage of the fifth century only. If we add to this the fact that the coin imitated by the rulers of Bukhara is one struck by Bahrām Gōr, the predecessor of Yezdegerd II, we are driven to the conclusion that the Bukhara coins were first issued in the 5th century. This view is further supported by the palaeographic evidence which leaves no doubt that the date of the first coins was not far removed from the date of the Sogdian "Ancient Letters."

The meaning of the legend *Pwγ'r γωβ k'y* (which

* E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens* (Paris, 1940), 85.

† *Cf.* E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, 1, p. 77 foll. H. H. Schaeder, "Beiträge zur Iranischen Sprachgeschichte," *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 15 (1936), 571; again misunderstood by J. M. Unvala, *Coins of Tabaristān* (Paris, 1938), 26, note.

should be pronounced as *Buχār χωβ kai*) is therefore "King-Emperor of Bukhara." The title was presumably adopted by the rulers of Bukhara under Hephthalite dominion, in emulation of the kings of Persia whose coinage they borrowed at the same time. What, however, Narshakhī says about *Kānā the Bukhār-Khudāh*, who was the first in Bukhara to strike coins at the time of Abū Bakr, is not genuine tradition but merely *derived from an early misreading of the coin legend*. In the tenth century A.D. when Sogdian script could still be read in Bukhara, but the true reading *K'y* had long been forgotten, specimens of the coin in which the last letter was split into two sections were misread as *pwγ'r γωβ k'n'* by an early numismatist, and this was interpreted to mean "King of Bukhara (translated* as *Bukhār-Khudāh*) *Kānā*." Possibly this misunderstanding was helped along by the fact that a family name *Kana(k)* happened to exist in Sogdiana, or at least in Samarkand (see Reichelt, *loc. cit.*, p. 12, *k'n'kk*).

The bilingual Bukharan coins have been discussed in detail by Walker.¹⁰¹ The coins with all-Arabic legends have been known for a long time.¹⁰² They represent the final product in the development of the Bukharan series. They have been assigned to the time of the Caliph Amīn (193–198/808–813), although the legends are illegible.¹⁰³

Islamic authors mention three types of alloy dirhems in

* The translated title, which was substituted for the Sogdian title, was probably in official use in Bukhara in the eighth century A.D., when the Sogdian language had been largely replaced in that district by Eastern Persian.

¹⁰¹ Walker, *op. cit.*, xc.

¹⁰² First reproduced by C. M. Fraehn, *Novae Symbolae ad Rem Numariam Muhammedanorum* (St. Petersburg, 1819), section 2, plate 2, no. 14. On p. 46 he discusses the coin and believes it was minted by the Khazars.

¹⁰³ Walker, *op. cit.*, xciv.

circulation in Transoxiana, the *Ghiṭrīfī*, *Muḥammadī*, and the *Musaiyabī*. Walker and others have identified these dirhems with the Bukharan dirhems which have Arabic letters as well as the Sogdian legend. The literary accounts say that they had a figure engraved on them and illegible characters, but it is nowhere stated that all had the same figure or the same legend.¹⁰⁴ Ibn Ḥauqal, however, said that the people of Samarkand had dirhems called *Muḥammadī*, which belong to the coinage of *Bukhara* (*wa la hum min nuqūd Bukhārā*).¹⁰⁵ They are also described as alloys, which is corroborated by the account of Narshakhī regarding the *Ghiṭrīfī* dirhems (see below). On the other hand, the area of circulation of these dirhems presents some difficulty. According to Ibn Khurdādhbih, in speaking of the taxes, Ferghāna, Sughd and other areas paid in *Muḥammadī* dirhems, Shāsh, Ushrūsana and others paid in *Musaiyabī*s, while Bukhara alone paid in *Ghiṭrīfī*s.¹⁰⁶ If all three coins are the same type, then one can say that Bukharan coins circulated throughout Transoxiana. The difference in the coins seems to have been the Arabic name stamped on them, but no coins with the name *Ghiṭrīfī* or *Musaiyabī* have been found. Walker misunderstood Barthold when he criticized the latter's statement that "the words of Narshakhī and Sam'ānī . . . do not allow of any doubt that the names of the three viceroys were engraved on coins."¹⁰⁷ The words of these two authors are explicit on this point; whether they told the truth or not is another matter. Ibn Ḥauqal says that there were only three mint towns in Transoxiana: Bukhara, Samar-

¹⁰⁴ H. Sauvage, "Matériaux pour servir à l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes," *Journal Asiatique*, septième série, 18 (1881), 505-506; 19 (1882), 38.

¹⁰⁵ Ibn Ḥauqal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers, *BGA* 2, vol. 2 (Leiden, 1939), 500, line 4.

¹⁰⁶ M. J. de Goeje, ed., *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik* of Ibn Khurdādhbih, *BGA* 6 (Leiden, 1889), 27-28 (French trans.).

¹⁰⁷ Walker, *op. cit.*, xciii.

kand and Ilāq (al-Shāsh).¹⁰⁸ I should like to suggest, with no proof, but as a mere surmise, that the *Ghiṭrīfī* dirhems were minted at Bukhara, the *Muḥammadī* dirhems at Samarkand (with the same portrait as the *Ghiṭrīfī*), and the *Musaiyabī* dirhems at Shāsh. I do not venture to surmise whether the last were the same style, and with the same portrait, as the other two. The names in Arabic, which are found on various examples of this coinage, serve to complicate rather than simplify the problem of identification. Walker has dealt extensively with this, and it need not concern us here.¹⁰⁹

An interesting feature is the simultaneous use of alloyed dirhems of the old type with a portrait, and the new Islamic coinage of the 'Abbāsids. 'Abbāsīd dirhems were struck in Bukhara in 148/765, 151, etc., in Samarkand as early as 143/760.¹¹⁰ So it would seem that the "pre-Islamic" type of coins was minted in Bukhara (and Samarkand?) at the same time (and place?) as 'Abbāsīd dirhems. The latter must be what Narshakhī means when he speaks of "pure silver" dirhems which came to equal six *Ghiṭrīfī* dirhems. It is probable that there were these two types of coins in circulation in Transoxiana. The 'Abbāsīd dirhems may have served for trading purposes with the central provinces of the Caliphate, while the "pre-Islamic" type of dirhems were certainly for local circulation.

IV. SOGDIAN COINS

This by no means completes the survey of pre-Islamic coins of Transoxiana. The various specimens noted by Allotte de la Fuje and summarized by de Morgan present problems which might be solved after a general classification of all the coins of

¹⁰⁸ Ibn Ḥauqal, *op. cit.*, 510, line 6.

¹⁰⁹ Walker, *op. cit.*, xc-xcvii.

¹¹⁰ A. Markov, *Inventarnyi Katalog Musulmanskikh Monet Imperatorskago Ermitazha* (St. Petersburg, 1896), 16-17.

northern India, Afghanistan and Khurāsān, as well as Transoxiana, has been made. There is too little information on the provenance of many of the coins to assign them to any area or period of time without a decipherment of the legends.

Mention must be made of several hoards of coins found in Transoxiana, which have been designated as "Sogdian" coins.¹¹¹ There are two classes, one called Sogdian coins of Sasanian type, not investigated,¹¹² and Sogdian coins of Chinese type, which have been studied.¹¹³ These latter coins have square holes in the center, and have legends in the Sogdian cursive (Buddhist) script. One coin has been read *trywn MLK'*, "Tarkhūn king," the ruler of Samarkand *ca.* 700–710 A.D. Another coin has the legend *'ω-rk MLK'*, which has been read by Freiman as *'ωyrk*, "Ghūrak, king," a ruler of Sogdiana *ca.* 710–737.¹¹⁴ A third coin in the Hermitage has been read as *Bγsowm'n MLK'*, who is identified with a king of Samarkand mentioned by the *T'ang shu ca.* 650–655 A.D. 拂呼縵 *Fu-hu-man*, *p'iuat-χuo-muān* (acc. to B. Karlgren, *Grammata Serica* (Stockholm, 1940), 500 h, 55 h, and 266 k resp.), which name Chavannes identifies with N. Persian *Bahman*, MP (book) *Vahuman*,¹¹⁵ Avestan *vohu. manah*, one of the

¹¹¹ These coins were found in the excavations of Tali Barzu (cf. G. V. Grigor'ev, "Poseleniya drevnego Sogda," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 6 (Moscow, 1940), 31), and of Baikand (cf. A. Yu. Yakobovskii, "Zarafshanskaya arkhologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g," *Kratkie Soobshcheniya*, 4 (1940), 50).

¹¹² Yakubovskii, "Zarafshanskaya ekspeditsiya 1939 g," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (1940), 63.

¹¹³ O. I. Smirnov, "O trekh Sogdiiskikh monetakh," *VDI* (1939), no. 1, 116–120.

¹¹⁴ For further information on Tarkhūn and Ghūrak, cf. V. A. and I. I. Krachkovskii, "Drevneishii arabskii dokument iz Srednei Azii," *Sogdiiskii Sbornik* (Leningrad, 1934), 53–54, 61–66; also A. Freiman, "Datirovannye Sogdiiskie dokumenty s gory Mug v Tadjikistane," *Doklady Gruppy Vostokovedov*, *Trudy Instituta Vostokovedeniya*, 17 (1936), 163.

¹¹⁵ E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (St. Petersburg, 1903), 135.

Ameša Spenta. The ending of the first Chinese character *p'iuat*, however, causes some difficulty. In T'ang times and even later this character would have been employed to transliterate a syllable ending in *-r*, so the syllable originally might have been something like *-bor* or *-var*. It would be most unusual if the consonantal ending had disappeared at this time in Chinese. It could possibly have transcribed some guttural *à la rigueur*. Great care must be taken in the reconstruction of the sounds of syllables from Chinese characters, and the supposition that *Vahuman* is the name which the Chinese characters reproduce is open to doubts. It is also difficult to understand the Sogdian form given by Freiman, and the reproduction of the coin is so poor one cannot check the reading.

Whether these coins are the same type as those described, but not reproduced, by Drouin, is unknown.¹¹⁶ Several series are mentioned by him, including one with Chinese characters as well as "Sogdian." It is more probable, however, that these coins of Drouin belong to the Turgeš, a west Turkish confederation or empire which flourished in the first decades of the eighth century of our era with its center in the Lake Issyk Kul region.¹¹⁷ These last-named coins are of Chinese type with square holes in the center. Many were preserved in the Hermitage Museum and others were found in excavations in Taraz (Talās) and elsewhere.¹¹⁸ These coins have been interpreted and divided into six classes by Bernshtam, and dated *ca.* 704–766 A.D.¹¹⁹ Some of the coins were minted at the town of Balāsāghūn, which was located near Lake Issyk Kul.

¹¹⁶ E. Drouin, "Monnaies Turco-Chinoises," *RN* (1891), 456–457.

¹¹⁷ W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* (London, 1928), 187.

¹¹⁸ A. N. Bernshtam, "Tyurgeshskie Monety," *Trudy Otdela Vostoka*, 2 (Moscow, 1940), 105.

¹¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, 105–111.

V. ISLAMIC COINAGE

The pre-Islamic type of coinage in Transoxiana overlaps in time the Islamic coinage, which was first introduced by the currency reform of the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik *ca.* 76 A.H./695 A.D. The first reformed coin found in Rayy, Iran, dates from 81 A.H.,¹²⁰ while one coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, minted at Merv, is from the year 76.¹²¹ We have no evidence that the new coinage became current in Transoxiana at the time of the reform. If the reformed coins had circulated along with the pre-Islamic coins anywhere in Transoxiana, then the mint at Merv probably would have supplied all needs in the lands across the river.

The Umayyads never controlled the lands beyond the river. Using Merv as a base of operations they sent armies and raiding expeditions into Transoxiana. Prisoners and booty were secured, tribute imposed and converts made, but the land was not firmly held. Merv was the seat of the governor of Khurāsān and a mint city from pre-Islamic times. It has been mentioned (note 108) that there were only three mint towns in Transoxiana (in pre-Sāmānid times). It is improbable that Bukhara and Samarkand were mint towns for Umayyad reformed currency, while al-Shāsh, in Ilāq Province on the frontier of Islamic territory, could hardly have been one. The lack of a continuous tradition of minting makes the study of coinage here more difficult than in other parts of the Caliphate.

The 'Abbāsīd revolt must have accelerated the process of Islamization in Transoxiana, for 'Abbāsīd power was soon more strongly entrenched here than the Umayyad had ever been. Still Transoxiana was a breeding ground of revolts and

¹²⁰ G. C. Miles, *The Numismatic History of Rayy*, Numismatic Studies no. 2 (New York, 1938), 8.

¹²¹ H. Lavoix, *Catalogue des Monnaies Musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Khalifes Orientaux* (Paris, 1887), 68, no. 203.

conspiracies against the central government, both political and religious. The 'Abbāsīd general Abū Muslim struck coins in the mint towns of Iran, and the British Museum has two copper coins struck in Bukhara in 132/749-750, but lacking his name.¹²² In any case they are the same kind as the later 'Abbāsīd copper issues. They are from the time when the partisans of Abū Muslim controlled the city, but were they the first coins of Islamic type coined in Bukhara? According to Narshakhī, coins were not minted in Bukhara before the time of Abū Bakr (632-634 A.D.), but this statement cannot be verified, and it probably refers to the coins of pre-Islamic type.

Shortly after the founding of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, Islamic coins appear from the mints of Transoxiana in abundance. A Kufic coin of Muḥammad al-Mahdī, struck at Bukhara in 143/760, is one of the earliest 'Abbāsīd coins from this mint.¹²³ At this time (from 141 A.H.) al-Mahdī was an honorary governor of Khurāsān under his father al-Manṣūr, later almost co-regent. The minting of 'Abbāsīd dirhems probably started a little later in Samarkand, although Markov mentions coins as early as 143 and 144/760-761 struck in Samarkand.¹²⁴ The third mint town of Transoxiana, al-Shāsh, was almost certainly later in the minting of 'Abbāsīd coins than the other two. A copper *fals* is reported from here, dated 166/782-3, but it is uncertain.¹²⁵ The reading Akhsīkath, capital of Ferghāna province, on a copper *fals* of the year

¹²² S. L. Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, 1 (London, 1875), 191, nos. 79 and 80.

¹²³ E. J. Thomas, "On Some Bilingual Coins of Bokhara," *Indian Antiquary*, 8 (1879), 273. This coin is found in Fraehn's *Recensio*, p. 21, no. 22. The coin of Manṣūr 138/755 reported by W. Tiesenhansen, *Monety Vostochnago Khalifata* (St. Petersburg, 1873), 68, is doubtful.

¹²⁴ A. Markov, *Inventarnyi katalog musulmanskih monet Imperatorskago Ermitazha* (St. Petersburg, 1896), 16, nos. 51 and 56.

¹²⁵ Tiesenhansen, *op. cit.*, 110, footnote to no. 1008.

144, is most suspicious and, as far as I know, unique.¹²⁶ Al-Shāsh, near modern Tashkent, was a province rich in silver mines and of importance in the trade with the nomads on the frontiers of Islamic territory. Hence, the issuance of 'Abbāsid coins here is not surprising.¹²⁷ Since the Musaiyabī dirhems were especially circulated among the Turks in the steppes, might not al-Shāsh have been the mint of these dirhems?¹²⁸ We find dirhems struck at al-Shāsh and at Ma'din al-Shāsh in 190/805-6, but earlier dates are possible.¹²⁹

A problem arises, for we find two names on coins of the 'Abbāsid period, *al-Shāsh*, and *Ma'din al-Shāsh*, "the mine of Shāsh." There is no reason, however, why there could not have been a mint at the settlement near the mines as well as in the capital city of the province. It is somewhat unusual but perhaps the most plausible explanation.¹³⁰

'Abbāsid coins continued to be minted in Transoxiana until the advent of the Sāmānids. Before the rise of this dynasty, which was independent of caliphal authority, the family of the Ṭāhirids, governors of Khurāsān, had established an almost independent regime, and coins were issued in their name. Two years after the date when Ṭalḥa ibn Ṭāhir was confirmed in the governorship of Khurāsān we find a coin

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* 73, no. 732.

¹²⁷ G. Le Strange, trans., *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Qazwīnī* (London, 1919), 193.

¹²⁸ A. Zeki-Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes (Leipzig, 1939), 112-113.

¹²⁹ Tiesenhhausen, *op. cit.*, 165. The earliest coin in the British Museum from Shāsh, acc. to S. Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 9 (additions to vol. 1), 59, is the year 218 A.H.

¹³⁰ This may have been the name of a town *kūh-i-sīm* in Persian; W. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 172. On this question cf. W. Tiesenhhausen, "O Samanids-kikh Monetakh," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Arkheologicheskago Obshchestva*, 6 (1853), 35.

minted in his name in Bukhara, 209/824.¹³¹ A coin of Ṭalḥa from Samarkand dated the following year indicates that both mints started coining his currency at the same time.¹³² This coinage can be designated as 'Abbāsid coinage, which continued until the advent of the Sāmānids. Since the Ṣaffārids did not rule the territory on the northern side of the Oxus River, except for temporary nominal control in limited areas, they did not issue any coins in the mints of Transoxiana.¹³³

Under the Sāmānids new mints appear. In addition to the old mints, we find Akhsikath in the province of Ferghāna, Tūnkath, capital of Ilāq province and Ushrūsana, the province to the northeast of Samarkand. Why were new mints opened? Several reasons may be advanced in explanation. Under the Sāmānids Transoxiana flourished as never before, and prosperity was a concomitant of internal security. At the same time, as we see from Narshakhī and other Islamic authors, the amount of money in circulation increased, taxes rose, and consequently the need for more money grew. Trade with the people of the steppes flourished, as the large hoards of Sāmānid coins found in northern and eastern Europe indicate.¹³⁴ Furthermore, the frontier of Islam was extended farther into the lands of the infidels under the Sāmānids. With this advance the territory which had once been the frontier now became the safe hinterland. The exploitation of the silver mines of Ferghāna and Ilāq provinces was the result.

Al-Shāsh was already an important mint under the Ṭāhirids. We find coins minted there in the name of 'Abdallāh ibn Ṭāhir in 220/835 and 229/843, and it continued into Sā-

¹³¹ S. Lane Poole, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, 73, no. 241.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 9 (additions), p. 176, no. 239 m.

¹³³ Cf. R. Vasmer, "Über die Münzen der Ṣaffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Ḥurāsān," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 23 (Vienna, 1930), 131-162.

¹³⁴ R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East Down to the Mongol Epoch," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 (1937), 295.

mānid times.¹³⁵ From Ma'din al-Shāsh one coin is dated as early as 190/805.¹³⁶ The earliest dated coins in Fraehn's *Recensio*, from the mints of Transoxiana, are: Tūnkath, 302/914 (p. 73, no. *154), Binkath, 306/918 (p. 79, no. *186), Akhsīkath, 304/916 (p. 76, no. *171), Ferghāna, 304/916 (p. 566, no. *171 a), Tirmidh, 293/905 (p. 51, no. *53). The rise to power of the Sāmānid dynasty occurred at this time. It is possible that Akhsīkath and Ferghāna represent one mint, for the former was the chief city in the province of Ferghāna. Likewise, Binkath was the largest city in Shāsh province, and was itself called al-Shāsh.¹³⁷ Tūnkath was the center of Ilāq province, but its exact location is uncertain. All of these names are Sogdian, ending in the Sogdian word for city, *knδ>kaθ*. Coins from Tirmidh on the Oxus River are few and rare, so possibly the mint was temporary. There may have been other mints in use for a short period of time, but the chief mints have been mentioned.¹³⁸

The geographer Iṣṭakhrī says that dirhems were used in Bukhara but not dīnārs.¹³⁹ Yāqūt has the same statement, adding that this applied to the time of the Sāmānids.¹⁴⁰ The problem of gold and silver standards is complicated and can-

¹³⁵ C. M. Fraehn, *Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum*, (St. Petersburg, 1826), 16***, no. *4; B. Dorn, *Ch. M. Fraehnii Supplementa ad Recensionem* (St. Petersburg, 1855), 35–36, nos. c-4, a 6, b 9.

¹³⁶ C. M. Fraehn, *Recensio*, 34, no. *238. P. Casanova, *Inventaire Sommaire de la Collection des Monnaies Musulmanes de S.A. la Princesse Ismaïl* (Paris, 1896), 21, no. 502, is the same. The coin dated 170/786 from Ma'din al-Shāsh, no. 501, is doubtful, and may be 190.

¹³⁷ W. Tiesenhhausen, "O Samanidskikh Monetakh," *Zapiski Imperatorskago Arkheologicheskago O-va.*, 6 (St. Petersburg, 1853), 34–35. Al-Shāsh may have been the chief mint of the Sāmānids.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 205. Tiesenhhausen mentions a dirhem struck at Farab (Firabr), near Bukhara in 342/953, in the name of the Caliph.

¹³⁹ Iṣṭakhrī, ed. M. De Goeje, *BGA* 1 (Leiden, 1870), 314.

¹⁴⁰ Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-Buldān*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 1 (Leipzig, 1924), 519.

not be discussed here, but the collection of gold coins in the Museum of the American Numismatic Society alone is enough to disprove the statements of the Muslim geographers. Dīnārs minted in al-Shāsh 248–253/862–867, in Samarkand 247–310/861–922, and elsewhere, indicate that gold did not vanish and silver occupy its place. On the other hand, silver certainly did predominate over gold as the medium of exchange in this period. It is known that silver was the money of the steppes, and the hoards of Islamic coins found in Eastern Europe are conspicuous for the absence of gold coins. Therein lies another reason for the development of the silver mines of Transoxiana, and the increased amount of currency in circulation. The coinage became more and more debased, evidence for which is found both in literary texts and in the coins themselves. This, however, is an involved economic question requiring detailed investigation of the literary sources. Further investigation of Sāmānid currency would take us into new areas with many new problems.

PERSIAN TEXT OF
CHAPTER 17 OF NARSHAKHĪ'S
HISTORY OF BUKHARA

ذکر درهم و سیم زدن بخارا

نخستین کسی که سیم زد بخارا پادشاهی بود نام او کانا بخار خدات و او سی سال بر بخارا پادشاه بود و در بخارا بازرگانی بکرباس و گندم بود او را خبر دادند که بولایت‌های دیگر سیم زده‌اند او نیز فرمود تا بخارا سیم زدند از قره، خالص و برآن صورتی خویش فرمود با تاج و این برونزگار خلافت امیر المؤمنین ابوبکر صدیق رضی الله عنه همچنان بود تا برونزگار [نواب] هارون الرشید غطریف بن عطا امیر خراسان شد در ماه رمضان سال صد و هشتاد و پنج و این غطریف برادر مادر هارون الرشید بود و مادر هارون الرشید خیزران نام بود دختر عطا از یمن از شهریکه آنرا جرش خوانند و اسیر افتاده بود بطبرستان و از آنجا او را بنزدیک مهدی آوردند مهدی را از وی دو پسر آمد یکی موسی الهادی و دوم هارون الرشید و چون کار خیزران بزرگ شد این غطریف بنزدیک وی آمد [از یمن] و با او می بود هارون الرشید خراسان بوی داد و بدان تاریخ در دست مردمان سیم خوارزم روان شده بود و مردمان آن سیم را بناخوش دلی گرفتندی و آن سیم بخارا [که روان شده] از دست مردمان بیرون شده بود چون غطریف بن عطا بخراسان آمد اشراف و اعیان بخارا بنزدیک او رفتند و از وی در خواستند که ما را سیم نمانده است در شهر امیر خراسان فرماید تا ما را سیم زنند و بهمان سکه زنند که سیم بخارا در قدیم بوده است و سیمی می باید که هیچکس از دست ما بیرون نتواند کرد و از شهر ما بیرون نبرد تا ما با سیم میان خویش معاملات بکنیم و بدان تاریخ قره عزیز بود پس اهل شهر را جمع کردند و از ایشان رأی خواستند در این معنی برآن اتفاق کردند که سیم زنند از شش چیز زر و قره و مسنگ و ارزیز و آهن و مس همچنان کردند و بان سکه پیشین بنام غطریف زدند یعنی سیم غطریفی و عامه مردمان غدرفی خوانندی و سیم قدیم از قره، خالص بود و این سیم که باخلاط زدند سیاه آمد اهل بخارا نگرفتند سلطان خشم کردشان و بکراهت می‌گرفتند و قیمت نهادند شش غدرفی بیک درهم سنگ قره، خالص و سلطان بهمین قیمت گرفت تا رایج شد⁽¹⁾ و بدین سبب خراج بخارا گران شد بهرآنکه خراج بخارا در قدیم دوست هزار درم قره بود چیزی کم چون غدرفی زدند و شش درم سنگ قره رایج شد سلطان بهمین غدرفی بر ایشان لازم کرد چون [نرخ]

(1) تا خراجرا آنچه شد: MS. D. Teheran ed.

غدرفی عزیز شد و چنان شد که درم غدرفی بدرم قره روان شد و سلطان قره نخواست و غدرفی خواست خراج بخارا از دویست هزار درم قره کم چیزی بود بیکبار⁽²⁾ هزار هزار درم و شصت هزار و هشت هزار و پانصد و شصت و هفت درم غدرفی بر آمد محمد بن جعفر آورده است که بسال دویست و بیست⁽³⁾ [صد] درم قره پاکیزه بهشتاد و پنج درم غدرفی بوده است احمد بن نصر گوید در شهر سنه اثنین و عشرين و خمسمایه بود که ما این کتاب را ترجمه کردیم صد درم قره خالص بهشتاد درم غدرفی بود و زر سرخ⁽⁴⁾ مثقالی بهفت و نیم درم غدرفی بود محمد بن جعفر آورده است که این غدرفی بکوشک ماخک زده اند در شهر بخارا و در سیم غدرفی قره بیشتر از اخلاط دیگر است و گفته اند که در هر درمی یک حبه زر است و در هژده درم بوزن نیم درم سنگ یا چهار دانگ و نیم باشد و بخارا عدلی [و] پیشین بسیار زده اند هرکسی از آل سامان و از پادشاهان دیگر بعد از آل سامان ذکر آن کرده نشد چون در آن عجیبی نبود

(2) Teheran ed. MS. D: خراج بخارا از آن سبب زیاده صد هزار درم شصت هزار و هشت هزار درم

(3) MS. A: دویست شصت و بیست. It is better to assume that صد has fallen out.

(4) Schefer ed.: در شرع

The chapter on numismatics in Narshakhī's Ta'rikh-i-Bukhārā has been translated before, but the translations (except that by P. Lerch) have all been based on the text edited by C. Schefer (Paris, 1893). The present translation is based upon the Teheran edition, 1936, ed. Prof. Raḍavī, with variants (very few) as found in the manuscript of the British Museum [cf. C. Rieu, Supplement to the Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1895), 58, no. 87], designated R, and in a manuscript in the library of the American Oriental Society, designated A.

TRANSLATION

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MINTING OF DIRHEMS
AND SILVER IN BUKHARA¹

THE first person who coined silver in Bukhara was a ruler named Kānā (R: Kātā) Bukhār Khudāt. He was the ruler over Bukhara for thirty years.² In Bukhara trading was done with cotton cloth and wheat.³ He was informed that in other countries silver money was coined. So he too ordered coins to be struck in Bukhara of purified silver, and

¹ The text and translation of this section first appeared in P. Lerch, "Monety Bukhar-Khudatov," *Trudy Vostochnago Otdeleniya Russ. Arkh. O-va.*, 18 (1876), 60-68. Another version is given pp. 69-74. It was partly translated, apparently without knowledge of Lerch's work, by E. Blochet in the *Nuismatic Chronicle* (1927), 158-159, and by H. A. R. Gibb in the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, 2 (1937), 301-302.

² The Sogdian name *k'n'kk* has already been mentioned (footnote 99). J. Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang* (Leiden, 1938), 151, identified him with 伽那設, *Chia-na shê*, Karlgren's reconstruction: *g'ia nā śiāt*, Kana shad, prince of the T'u chüeh (Turks); cf. E. Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 30, 57.

³ H. A. R. Gibb, *op. cit.*, 301, translates this sentence: "The merchants of Bukhārā who were engaged in the cotton and grain trade informed him that silver coins had been struck in other countries." The majority of manuscripts do not support this translation.

he ordered his image, with a crown, to be put on them. This was in the time of the Caliphate of the commander of the faithful Abū Bakr(al-)Ṣiddīq, God be pleased with him. So it was until in the time of (*A*: the vice regent, نواب) Hārūn al-Rashīd, when Ghiṭrīf ibn ‘Aṭā became amīr of Khurāsān in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 185 (September 801).⁴ This Ghiṭrīf was the brother of the mother of Hārūn al-Rashīd. His mother was called Khaizurān, the daughter of ‘Aṭā from the city of Yemen which is called Jurash (*R* and *A*: خدأش). She was taken prisoner in Ṭabaristān, and from there was brought to the Caliph al-Mahdī, who had two sons by her. One was Mūsā al-Hādī and the second was Hārūn al-Rashīd. After Khaizurān had reached such a high position this Ghiṭrīf came to her (*R* adds: from Yemen) and remained with her. Hārūn al-Rashīd gave him (the governorship of) Khurāsān.

At that time the coins of Khwārazm were in circulation among the people, but the people took those coins with reluctance.⁵ The money of Bukhara (*R* adds: which had been current) had disappeared among the people. When Ghiṭrīf ibn ‘Aṭā came to Khurāsān, the notables and leaders of Bukhara went to him and requested that since they had no silver left in the city, the amīr of Khurāsān should order money to be coined for them from the same die⁶ as was used for the

⁴ Ṭabarī (ed. De Goeje), 3, 612, 622, merely says he was appointed governor of Khurāsān in 175/791, and was removed the next year. The *ḥaṣṭād* of Narshakhī's text should be corrected to *ḥaṭīd*. Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rikh*, ed. T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), 2, 481, says he was the slave of a man of Jurash (in Yemen) and was recommended to the caliph by ‘Alī ibn Sulaimān ibn ‘Alī the *wazīr*; cf. p. 488. This was in the time of Mahdī; see Ibn al-Athīr, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leiden, 1851–1876), 6, 84. On Khaizurān see Ibn al-Athīr, *ibid.*, 6, 27, and the index to Ṭabarī for many entries.

⁵ These are probably the pre-Islamic coins of Khwārazm discussed above.

⁶ Walker, *op. cit.*, cli, translates سكه as “die.” Blochet, *op. cit.*, 159, as “of the same type.”

coins of Bukhara in ancient times. “The coin should be (such) that no one would take it from us or out of our city, so we can carry on trading amongst ourselves with (this) money.” At that time silver was expensive. Then the people of the city were assembled and their opinion asked on this matter. They agreed that money should be struck of six things: gold, silver, **msnk*, tin, iron, and copper.⁷ So it was done. They struck

⁷ P. Lerch, “Sur les monnaies des Boukhâr-Khoudahs,” *Travaux de la troisième session du Congrès International des Orientalistes*, 2 (St. Petersburg, 1879), 427, gave two variants: *msk* and *mnsk* (*A*; *mnk*). He explained this as a word the translator of Narshakhī (from the original Arabic to Persian) could not understand, hence wrote in *musk*. N. Veselovsky, in the *Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosveshcheniya* (St. Petersburg, December, 1897), 467, suggested that the Persian word for tin should fill this corrupt reading, which is given as *msk*, since tin was a metal found in the analysis of the coins. Veselovsky, however, does not say what the word for tin, which he proposes, is, nor does he give us the chemical analysis of the coins. That this suggestion is to be rejected is evident on looking at the following word in the text, which is “tin.” It has been mistakenly translated as “lead.” This word اردزین is to be translated as “tin.” Qazwīnī, ed. G. Le Strange, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, Persian text (London, 1915), 262, line 20, trans. 256, specifically identifies this word with the Arabic *qala'ī*. Mehmet Aga-Oglu, “An Observation on the Alloy of the *Ghitrifi* Coins,” *The American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes* 1 (1945), 101–104, suggests that these coins were really an alloy of copper and lead. He quotes the work of Gardizī as a source for this statement. A chemical analysis of the coins should reveal the truth, for other Islamic texts have different statements. In the *Kitāb al-Ansāb* of Sam‘ānī, ed. D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1912), 410 a, lines 18–21, almost the identical words used by Narshakhī are found, which indicates that both are from the same source, or the former copied from the latter. Sam‘ānī says of Ghiṭrīf ibn ‘Aṭā: “When he became amīr over Khurāsān in the year 171/787 [*sic*], during the caliphate of Rashīd, the people of Bukhārā asked him to strike dirhems for them, which could not be carried anywhere and would not be current elsewhere. He struck dirhems, in [one] of which were a number of fine minerals. When it was melted, nothing was left over (*i.e.*, they all fused together). There was alloyed [the following]: gold, silver, iron, lead and copper, ground together with musk *ولطحن بمسك*. They struck Ghiṭrīfī dirhems from these.” Sam‘ānī gives رصاص, which is usually translated (and so above) as “lead,” but “lead” is properly Persian سرب,

coins with the former die, with the name of Ghiṭrīf,⁸ *i.e.*—Ghiṭrīfī money.⁹ The common people called them Ghidrifi. The old coins had been made of pure silver, but this money, which was struck in alloy, came out black, and the people of

Arabic *آنك*; cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Ĵamāhir* (Hyderabad, 1936), 258. Here *مصاص* must be translated as “tin” (white lead). The impossibility of the word *musk* is obvious. A communication from Dr. W. B. Henning solves the difficulty.

“The unknown name of the sixth metal which by Narshakhī is given as *msk*, *mšk*, and **msnk* (misspelt *mnk* in cursive script) was almost certainly *msnk*. In this we may tentatively recognize the word for brass (in the modern sense, *i.e.* alloy of copper and zinc) familiar from German *Messing*. The opinion that the Germanic word (MHG. *messinc*, *missinc*, Angl.-Saxon *maestling*, ON. *messing*, *mersing*) is derived not from Latin *massa* but from an Eastern source was long ago advanced by F. Kluge and O. Schrader, who pointed to Slavonic words such as Polish *mosiądz* for which Miklosich posed Slavonic **moseng’u*. The Persian word preserved by Narshakhī may well have been the source of the Slavonic word. As the vowels of *msnk* are unknown (*missing*?) we cannot say whether it is a cross-form of *mis* ‘copper’ and *piring* (*birinj*) ‘bronze,’ later ‘brass’; this was, *mutatis mutandis*, assumed already by Schrader.”

⁸ Veselovsky, *op. cit.*, 467, translated this “in the name of Ghiṭrīf,” but Barthold, *Turkestan*, 207, rightly says that Narshakhī’s words admit of no doubt; the coins were struck with the name upon them. No such coins have been found.

⁹ For a summary of Islamic authors on the Ghiṭrīfī coins cf. H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l’histoire de la numismatique Musulmane* (Paris, 1882), under Ghiṭrīfī. Ya’qūbī, *Kitāb al-Buldān*, ed. T. G. Juynboll (Leiden, 1861), 73, says that the dirhems of Bukhara are like copper. Yāqūt, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 1 (Leipzig, 1924), 519, says they are made of iron, copper *صفر*, lead *آنك*, and other metals. They were used only in Bukhara and vicinity. They had pictures on them but were Islamic coins, as were also the Muḥammadī and Musaiyabī dirhems. Ibn Faqlān (ed. Zeki-Validi Togan, 5; Russian ed., 57), says they were made of copper, red copper, and yellow copper *نحاس وشبه وصفر*, and one hundred of them equalled one silver dirhem, which does not agree with Narshakhī. Maqdīsī, ed. De Goeje, *BGA* 3, 340, says one silver dirhem equalled six Ghiṭrīfis, in accord with Narshakhī. Al-Bīrūnī, in his *Kitāb al-Ĵamāhir*, *op. cit.*, 246, says, “The Ghiṭrīfī are nothing but *fulūs* (copper coins) struck of copper (with) a mixture in it.” He then gives a poem about them.

Bukhara would not accept it. The government (*sulṭān*) became angry with them, and they took the money by compulsion. The exchange was established at six Ghidrifi for one dirhem’s weight of pure silver. The government accepted it at this rate (for taxes), so that it became current. Because of this the tax of Bukhara became heavy, for the tax of Bukhara in olden times was two hundred thousand silver dirhems, or a little less.¹⁰ After Ghidrifi were struck and became current at six for a dirhem’s weight of silver, the government compelled the people to pay (taxes) in these Ghidrifi. When the (*A*: price of the) Ghidrifi became dear, and it turned out that the Ghidrifi dirhem became equivalent to the silver dirhem, the government refused to accept the silver dirhems, but demanded the Ghidrifi.¹¹ The tax of Bukhara rose suddenly from a little less than two hundred thousand silver dirhems to 1, [1] 68,567 Ghidrifi dirhems.¹²

Muḥammad ibn Ja’far relates that in the year two hundred and twenty [one hundred] dirhems of pure silver equalled eighty-five Ghidrifi dirhems.¹³ Aḥmad ibn Naṣr says that in the year 522/1128 (only *A* has the figure complete), when he translated this book, one hundred pure silver dirhems equalled

¹⁰ Veselovsky, *op. cit.*, 468, translates this, “which was a trifle.” This interpretation is disputed by Barthold, *Turkestan*, 204, note 2.

¹¹ Gibb, *op. cit.*, 302, translates this sentence, “the government asked for silver and ghidrifi (equally).”

¹² An alternate reading of the Teheran edition is 168,000. E. Blochet, *op. cit.*, 160, has 1,608,567. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 204, adds up the variants and proposes 1,168,567, which is the correct interpretation.

¹³ Veselovsky, *op. cit.*, 468, adds *صد*, to read, “In the year 220, one hundred dirhems equalled eighty-five Ghidrifi.” The reading is uncertain and we have no evidence from numismatics or from other texts. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 204, note 4, accepts the emendation of Veselovsky. Manuscript *A* adds sixty between the two hundred and the twenty, which might be interpreted, “in the year two hundred and sixty, twenty dirhems, etc.”

seventy Ghidriḥi dirhems. A red-gold mithqāl was equal to seven and one-half Ghidriḥi dirhems.¹⁴

Muḥammad ibn Ja'far stated that this Ghidriḥi was coined in the castle of Mākhak in the city of Bukhara.¹⁵ The Ghidriḥi coin contains more of silver than of the other alloys. It is said that there is one grain (*R* and *A*: "portion") of gold in each dirhem, and in every ten dirhems (*sic*) it is found in the amount from half a dirhem's weight to four and one-half *dāng*.¹⁶ Many [of the copper coins called] '*adlī* (and) *pishīz*

¹⁴ Manuscript *R*, Schefer's ed., and Gibb, *op. cit.*, 302, have در شرع, "in law a mithqāl was worth —." For a discussion of the economic significance of this passage see R. P. Blake, "The Circulation of Silver in the Moslem East," *HJAS* 2 (1937), 303–306.

¹⁵ The name *Mākh* or *Mākhak* was given to a mosque in Bukhara, and possibly to the surrounding district as well. Yāqūt, *op. cit.*, 4, 380, says that the man for whom the mosque was named had been a fire-worshipper (*majūsi*), then became a Muslim and made a mosque out of the temple (*dār*?). Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, 499 a, tells the same story and gives a list of prominent people of Bukhara with that name. A. Christensen, "Die Moschee Mākh in Buḥārā," *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, 7 (1904), 49–51, connects the word with *māh*, Persian "moon, month." The Sogdian form is *māχ*; cf. al-Bīrūnī, *Āthār al-Bāqiya*, ed. E. Sachau, 30, 46, trans. 34, 56. Whether this is to be connected with a moon cult, as Christensen thinks, is questionable; see V. Bartold, "Mesta do-Musulmanskogo kulta v Bukhara i ee okrestnostyakh," *Vostochnoe Zapiski*, 1 (Leningrad, 1927), 18. According to Bartold, 15–16, there were two mosques of Mākhak in Bukhara, one in the bazar of Aṭṭar, and the other in the Kurpi bazar. The mosque of Magok-Attar was excavated in 1935, and by stratification was dated in the ninth century A.D. A full report of the work has not been seen, but for a short notice of the excavation see *Sovetskaya Arkheologiya*, 3 (1937), 270.

¹⁶ The Persian form of the word is *dāng*, Arabic *dāniq*; see the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, 1, 2. Abteilung (Strassburg, 1901), 63. This would be three-fourths of a dirhem. Walker, *op. cit.*, cli, note 2, indicates the absurdity of this, but fails to see the error. W. B. Henning called attention to this, and proposed a revised reading. If one dirhem contained one *ḥabba* of gold, obviously ten dirhems contained ten *ḥabba*, which is much less than one-half a dirhem. A *ḥabba* is $\frac{1}{36}$ of a dirhem, hence one must read هزده instead of هرده. The original text, as reconstructed by Henning, must have read:

(=*fals*)¹⁷ were struck in Bukhara by every one of the Sāmānid dynasty, and of the other rulers after the Sāmānids. These have not been mentioned, for there is nothing remarkable in it.

و گفته اند که در هر درمی یک حبه زر است [با یک حبه و نیم] و در هزده درم بوزن نیم درم سنگ یا چهار دانگ و نیم باشد

"They say that in every dirhem there is one grain of gold, or one and one-half. In eighteen dirhems this amounts to one-half a dirhem, respectively three-fourths of a dirhem in weight."

¹⁷ The '*adlī* (the reading '*adalī* is also possible) was a coin of small value, apparently an alloy. They were said to be in use in Daylam on the Caspian Sea coast. The exact value, or identification with coins which have survived, is unknown. For further information see Sauvaire, *op. cit.*, *JA*, 1881, 502, 506, also the glossary to the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum*, ed. De Goeje, 4 (Leiden, 1879), 297. For a discussion of the meaning of the word see W. Tiesenhäusen, *Notice sur une collection de monnaies orientales de M. le Comte S. Stroganoff* (St. Petersburg, 1880), 55–56. In Khwārazm in the thirteenth century A.D., they had a coin called عدلیک. [Professor Zeki Validi Togan, Istanbul, in June 1948 told me there were two different coins in use in Khwārazm, the '*adlī* and the '*adalī*. He is at present making a special study of Medieval Khwārazm.] *Pishīz* is another coin of small value. It is described as small in size. For literary references to it, including verses, see Ziya Şükûn, *Farsça-Türkçe Lügat* (Istanbul, 1946), 488. In a manuscript copy of the *کتاب تحفه السعادة*, a Persian-Persian dictionary, India Office manuscript no. 1294 (Ethé 2458), foll. 32 b, the following definition is found, which is not entirely clear:

بشیز بآ فارسی مفتوح و شین مکسور مہری از قرہ و درم ماہی و یک باہ
دانگ ای چہار مرحقہ از دانگ کہ بتازی فلس گویند چنانچہ شیخ سعدی فرماید
بیت نیست سخا دادن بسیار چیز از درمی دانگ ز دانگی بشیز

"*Pishīz*, with a Persian b (*i.e.* p), vowel a, sh with an i, is a seal made of silver, also a *māhī* dirhem, a subdivision of a *dāng*, *i.e.* four ——— (?) of a *dāng*, which is called *fals* in Arabic. As Shaikh Sa'dī says, many are the things not bestowed with ease; from a dirhem a *dāng*, and from a *dāng* a *pishīz*."

I take *māhī* to be the word ماہچہ, ماہہ, or ماشہ, which is one-twelfth of a *tolē*, which in turn was two and one-half mithqāls in the last century. The value in Narshakhī's time is unknown.

PROVENANCE OF COINS ILLUSTRATED ON THE FRONTISPIECE

1. \mathcal{A} . Obv. and rev., British Museum. Wt. 4.74 grm.
2. \mathcal{A} . Obv. and rev., British Museum. Wt. 2.26 grm.
3. \mathcal{A} . Obv. and rev., British Museum. Wt. 2.16 grm.
4. \mathcal{A} . Obv. and rev., Ex-Newell Collection, American Numismatic Society. Wt. 1.91 grm.
5. \mathcal{A} . Obv. and rev., Ex-Newell Collection, ANS. Wt. 2.62 grm.
6. \mathcal{A} . Obv. and rev., Ex-Newell Collection, ANS. Wt. 2.12 grm.
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