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for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science

Numismatics  
of the  
Islamic World  
Volume 33

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Institute for the History of  
Arabic-Islamic Science

Edited by  
Fuat Sezgin

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OF THE  
ISLAMIC WORLD

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Studies  
in  
Oriental Coins  
by  
Edward Thomas

Collected and Reprinted

2004

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at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University  
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in Collaboration with  
Carl Ehrig-Eggert, Eckhard Neubauer,  
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<p><i>The Pehlvi Coins of the early Mohammedan Arabs.</i>  The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) 12. 1850.  pp. 253-347; 3 pls. ....</p>	1
<p><i>An account of eight Kúfic Silver Coins.</i>  Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) 20. 1851  (1852). pp. 537-544; 1 pl. ....</p>	101
<p><i>Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and  Gems. With a Supplementary Notice on the Arabico-  Pehlvi Series of Persian Coins.</i>  The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) 13. 1851  (1852). pp. 373-428; 3 pls. ....</p>	111
<p><i>Comments on Recent Pehlvi Decipherments. With an  Incidental Sketch of the Derivation of Aryan Alphabets.  And Contributions to the Early History and Geography of  Tabaristán. Illustrated by Coins.</i>  The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) N.S. 5.  1871. pp. 408-459; 2 pls. ....</p>	170
<p><i>On some Bilingual Coins of Bokhârâ, struck in the IInd  Century of the Hijrah - Continuative of Sassanian Types  and Devices.</i>  The Indian Antiquary, a Journal of Oriental Research  (Bombay) 8. 1879. pp. 269-273. ....</p>	225
<p><i>Bilingual Coins of Bukhârâ.</i>  The Numismatic Chronicle (London), 3rd series, 1. 1881.  pp. 116-128; 1 pl. ....</p>	230
<p><i>On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazní.</i>  The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) 9. 1848.  pp. 267-386; 3 pls. ....</p>	245
<p><i>Note on Col. Stacey's Ghazni Coins.</i>  Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta) 21. 1852  (1853). pp. 115-127. ....</p>	369

<i>Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni.</i> The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London) 17. 1860. pp. 138-208; 1 pl. ....	382
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ART. VI.—*The Pehlvi Coins of the early Mohammedan Arabs.*  
 By EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., *Bengal Civil Service.*

[Presented June 2, 1849.]

It but rarely occurs amid the often dry details of Numismatic inquiries that we meet with a subject combining such varied claims upon the attention of so many distinct classes of archæologists, as that now about to be brought under the notice of the Royal Asiatic Society.

This may be freely said, in regard to the numerous points of interest, which will be seen, severally in their turn, to afford matter worthy of the consideration of the general antiquary, the local historian, the philologer, the palæographer, and the medallist. In respect also to the attraction of intrinsic novelty, the specific investigation it is sought to illustrate in the following essay, will be found to merit this distinction in a high degree; the ground being not only comparatively unbroken, but possessing the additional peculiarity, that the first plough has only recently penetrated its surface, inasmuch as six years ago, the European world knew not the signification of the characters in which the legends on the first Arab Dirhems are expressed. For the solution of this enigma we are indebted to the acuteness of Professor Olshausen of Kiel, who, in a comprehensive Memoir on the Pehlvi Legends on Sassanian Coins<sup>1</sup>, has set forth the circumstances attending the original identification, as well as the general results of his subsequent studies in the same department. In concluding his review of the various classes of Sassanian medals that had come under his cognisance, the learned Professor expresses a hope that the avowedly ample contents of our London Cabinets—to which he himself had had a most incomplete access by means only of occasional casts and engravings—might be subjected to a deliberate scrutiny, and the results made known to the antiquarian public: the desire of fulfilling this object has led to the examination of these monuments, the details of which it is now proposed to lay before you.

It may not be generally known to the broad majority of English

<sup>1</sup> Die Pehlwie Legenden, &c. This Memoir has been translated under the auspices of Professor Wilson, and published in the London Numismatic Chronicle for 1848, vol. ix.

readers, that Oriental Numismatists have for some time past been able to appropriate with a fair degree of confidence, a comparatively complete series of medals of the earlier Sassanian period of the Persian monarchy<sup>1</sup>, and a sufficiently obvious commencement of the suite of *pure* Mohammedan money of the same kingdom, the latter being distinguished by their Kufic inscriptions, and having reference to years closely following that marked epoch in the history of the Arabian coinage, A.H. 76, when the Khalif Abdalmalik first regulated the device and superscriptions of the currency of his dominions, with a view to satisfy the newly raised scruples of the professedly more orthodox disciples of the creed of Mohammed. For some years after the definite identification of the chief features of either of these classes of medals, it remained a matter of regret to those devoting themselves to such studies, that though in possession of numerous well-executed specimens of the various coinages, seemingly forming the intermediate links required to connect the one with the other, the alphabet in which their legends were expressed continued to defy decipherment. An important advance in the elucidation of the general subject was

<sup>1</sup> De Sacy, *Mémoires sur diverses Antiquités de la Perse*, Paris, 1793: Sir W. Ouseley, *Observations on some Medals and Gems, &c.*, London, 1801: Ker Porter, *Travels*, London, 1821: A. de Longperier, *Sur les Médailles de la Dynastie Sassanide*, Paris, 1840. The humility of M. De Longperier's prefatory address and the limited results he professed to achieve, secure him from any severe criticism; but my readers have a right to demand that in citing his work I should point out so much of its deficiency as concerns the subject to which this paper is devoted. This is happily confined to the concluding portion of his undertaking, or the five coins in Pl. xii., which terminate his work; these, as has been sufficiently shown by Olshausen, are without exception erroneously interpreted. The reading of Nos. 69 and 70, "Sarparaz," [properly *Amari*, see the 6th Governor, *infra*,] is marked by a note of interrogation, which sufficiently indicates that it was founded on a mere conjecture; but the decipherment of No. 72 is given without any such evidence of doubt, and yet when examined, instead of admitting of interpretation as "retrograde" Pehlvi referable to the Queen "Azermi" Dokht, the legend is found to be couched in very intelligible Kufic, and to convey the name of Hámí. The same character on a similar coin had already been correctly read by that sound and accredited Numismatist Professor Fræhn, and published in the *Journal Asiatique* of Paris, long previous to the appearance of the *Essai Sur les Médailles de la Dynastie Sassanide*, (1824, tom. iv., p. 335.) That the memoir which contained the notice of this coin should have escaped M. De Longperier's eye is the more singular, as it is not only accompanied by a plate, which might well have attracted attention, but in itself entered into a controversy upon the author's interpretation of a Fire-Worship coin, which M. De Sacy, M. De L.'s acknowledged guide, had called in question. Professor Fræhn's paper likewise put forth an approximate solution of the Kufic legend of M. de Longperier's No. 73 (𐭪𐭥𐭩𐭥𐭥𐭩), which the latter author imagined might possibly be read as "Roustam."

made by Professor Fræhn, of St. Petersburg<sup>1</sup>, who, though able to examine the question solely through the medium of the Kufic names to be found on certain Pehlvi medals, availed himself to the fullest extent of the scattered notices in Arab authors having reference to such matters, which, combined with the tests afforded by the coins themselves, enabled him to allocate in a most decisive manner that particular class of the *bilingual* Pehlvi-Kufic Coins, which necessarily preceded the rejection of the first, and the exclusive adoption of the last of those systems of writing. It was thus determined that the celebrated Hojáj bin Yusuf, who was known to have been officially instrumental in the remodelment of Abdalmalik's coinage, was one of the earliest if not the first, who had deviated from the previous practice so far as to have his name inscribed on the Pehlvi fire-worship coins, the descendants of the ancient Sassanian type, in the recently invented<sup>2</sup>, but now recognised religious alphabet of Mohammedanism. The publication of the Arabic text and translation of Makrisi's History of the Arab Coinage<sup>3</sup>, had long ago made known the fact, that the Arabs had, in the first spread of their Eastern conquest, retained unaltered the typical characteristics of the money found current in their newly acquired Persian provinces, as they in like manner have since<sup>4</sup> been found to have continued to use with equal religious unreserve, the Greek coins of the Syrian dependencies wrested from the Byzantine emperors. These items, however, may be said to have constituted the extent of our knowledge of the subject, as the purely numismatic portion of the inquiry presented nothing but an absolute blank; materials in ample profusion were available, but the power of using them was altogether wanting, until in 1843 the success of Dr. Olshausen's investigations enabled him to prove most distinctly that the characters inscribed on the early Arab (or as he has named them, the Arabico-Khusrú) coins, as well as those on many other prior

<sup>1</sup> Journal Asiatique, Paris, tom. iv., 1824, and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction to Ibn Khallikan, O. T. F. pp. xv, xvi, &c.: Klaproth, Aperçu de l'Origine des Diverses Ecritures de l'Ancien Monde, Paris, 1832, p. 82. See also De Sacy, Sur l'Histoire de l'Ecriture chez les Arabes du Hedjaz: Journal Asiatique, 1827; and Marcel's Palæographie Arabe, Paris, 1828, p. 7. Lindberg likewise has some good remarks upon the subject, among the rest, "D'après ce que rapportent les historiens, il faut présumer, que le caractère cufique doit son origine à l'ancien Syriaque ou Estranghélo et au Persan Pehlwi. Les comparaisons, qu'ont faites M. Adler avec l'écriture Estranghélo et M. Kopp avec l'écriture Pehlwi semblent mettre la chose en évidence." Lindberg, Lettre, &c., p. 36. Copenhagen, 1830.

<sup>3</sup> Al Makrizi, Historia Monetæ Arabicæ, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostok, 1797.

<sup>4</sup> M. De Sauley, Journal Asiatique, tom. vii., 1839, pp. 404—502-4, &c.

and subsequent subdivisions of the later Sassanian coinages, were substantially identical with the original elements of the alphabet, communicated to M. Anquetil du Perron by the Parsis of Bombay<sup>1</sup>. In regard to the language conveyed, it was found to differ but little from the modern Persian, though clearly subject in itself to extensive incidental modifications, and to the usual local and provincial variations.

Before proceeding to the details, which demand in some respects minute attention, it may be useful to note briefly the more prominent points of interest peculiar to the different aspects of the entire subject, comprehended in the full Numismatic History of Persia and its dependencies for the century preceding the introduction of Kufic legends, so as in some measure to exemplify the grounds upon which is based the claim previously made upon the attention of the severally specified classes of antiquarian students.

I. To the casual admirer of archæological investigations, we would observe that the present subject possesses a peculiar title to consideration in the circumstance, that the medals, which supply the groundwork of the various collateral inquiries elucidatory of the main question, illustrate the purely initial progress of Mohammedanism over a tract of country, whence its subsequent institutions derived much of their peculiarity of tone and spirit, and in which much of the usually called *Arab* civilization had its origin<sup>2</sup>. In other lands the followers of Islâm conquered kingdoms and provinces: *here* alone, they acquired *an empire* in its complete integrity; here, they found themselves sole possessors of the once bright glories of the successors of Darius<sup>3</sup>, and near the formerly proud metropolis of the Khusrûs, rose but at a brief interval the future centre of the Moslim world<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Anquetil, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1721. See also remarks on the Pehlvi Alphabet, by M. Rask, *Journal Asiatique*, t. ii., p. 143; and Müller's invaluable *Essai sur la langue Pehlvi*, *Journal Asiatique*, t. vii., 3e Series, (A.D. 1839.) Major Rawlinson has also many scattered criticisms on the Sassanian Pehlvi Alphabet, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X.

<sup>2</sup> A single quotation such as the following speaks sufficiently to this:—

در عهد عبدالمملک جراید دیوانی از صورت فارسی باعربی نقل  
کردند و رقوم بنیاد نهادند

*Tarikh Guzidah*, MS. E.I.H. No. 180.

Ardeshr Bâbegân, the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty, claimed descent from as well as the kingdom of Darius.

<sup>4</sup> Baghdad was founded A.H. 145. Madain is "at the distance of one *merhileh* from Baghdad." *Istakhri*, Ouseley, p. 69.

Referring to the importance attributed to this conquest by the early warriors of the faith themselves, it may be seen from their own showing<sup>1</sup> how highly they estimated the value of their once unhopèd-for success, even as contrasted with the nearly simultaneous progress of their arms over the Eastern dependencies of the Byzantine Greeks, which has naturally received so much larger a share of notice from our western authors.

It is also in itself an investigation of more than usual interest to trace the first efforts at the establishment of a regular monetary system by a race, who subsequently attached such exaggerated importance to the *right to coin*, and used the means therewith associated in their finer shades and more minute distinctions, to indicate, not only the simple possession of supreme power—whether spiritual or temporal—but to express by the relative position occupied by the names of each, the proportional estimation pertaining severally to the issuing authority, to his hierarchical, as well as to his feudal lord.

Often, this instrument in the hands of the ruling power was made the vehicle whereby to announce intentions or proclaim accomplished facts, and the current coin of the empire conveyed to the comprehension of the scattered races who bowed to Moslim sway, the official recognition of an heir apparent, or the reminiscent boast of the latest victory. The Mint system of the Mohammedans likewise, in its elaboration in reference to religious tenets, eventually extended much beyond the accustomed setting forth of the chief and received professions of the creed, and progressed occasionally to the definition of the sectarian division which prevailed in the land wherein the coin received its stamp.

The first advance in the scale of Arabian adaptive coinage, to which the present paper is more expressly devoted, presents us with some examples of the names of the very "Companions" of the Prophet, and more at large with the designations of the immediate associates and successors of these notable men: as the pieces, upon which these names are inscribed, usually convey in full, both the record of their own year of issue<sup>2</sup>, and their place of mintage, they are

<sup>1</sup> Witness Omar's anxiety regarding the result of the battle of Kadesia, (Price, I.) and the so entitled "Victory of Victories" of Nehavend, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The recorded year of issue, though true in itself, is not always to be relied on in its bearing upon the individual whose name appears on the opposite surface of the coin, as in those early days of mint arrangement, the name of a governor was often retained on the coins of succeeding years, after his actual decease, so that it is occasionally unsafe to quote the later dates of a governor's coinage, though the initial epochs may be taken as fully trustworthy.

most intimately identifiable with the exact history of the day, and in these medallic monuments we trace with a but recently recovered power of intelligence, the earliest reference to the foreign homes, the adopted cities, or the newly-founded capitals of the children of the Desert—in effect, from the unquestionable contributions tendered by the coins themselves, in the writing now again legible on their surfaces, we are in a position to illustrate from a previously almost despaired of source, many curious coincidences in the early location of the Moslim Arabs in Persia, as well as perhaps more fully many acceptable details concerning the progressional advances in the general scheme of their curiously organised body-politic.

It is a distinction peculiar to the class of money which now occupies our attention, that we find in their legends not alone the single title of one Supreme Ruler, but definite indications of the distribution of the executive power, in the perpetuation of the names of most of the eminent men who shared the glory of the first firm establishment of that remarkable *success*, the consolidated empire of the early followers of Mohammed. In the Numismatic records of the troublous years from A.H. 43 to 72<sup>1</sup> we can distinguish the predominance of this or that faction, as shown in the impress of the names of the chief disputants, or those of their recognised lieutenants, till we see the whole Mohammedan world brought safely under the single sceptre of Abdalmalik at the period last cited. So also, retracing our steps for the moment, we can associate from the concurrent signs and tokens displayed by the coinage, many of the successive phases in the advance of the principles of civil government, as passing from the simple elective acts<sup>2</sup> which usually placed the first Vicars of the Prophet at the head of the votaries of Islám, exemplified in the contentment of the presiding authority to confirm the circulating medium of the country upon the basis of an adherence to existing types and a retention of even previous legends—and in his failure to take advantage of the elsewhere-valued kingly privilege of signalling the possession of power by the issue of a coinage peculiarly his own. We must pass in silence over the next step towards formal monarchy, evinced in the recognition of the hereditary tenure of the Khiláfat under Moavia in A.H. 60, of which we are at present unable to cite any collateral medallic evidence, and proceed onwards to refer to the numismatic illustration of the growing tendency to concentrate all honour in a single absolute master, afforded by the superscription of the *Arabian* Khalif Abdallah Zobeir's name, in the place of that of the admi-

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, 474. 479. (Bohn's edit.)

<sup>2</sup> Ockley, 141. 271. 287. 346.

<sup>3</sup> Ockley, 377.



nistrative officer, on the provincial coinage; a practice, in one instance within our reach, seen to have been imitated by his successful rival Abdalmalik (Coin No. 45, A.H. 75.) About this date, in consequence of the rupture arising out of the allusions to their several creeds, which took place between the Khalif and the Byzantine emperor<sup>1</sup>, whose mints had hitherto supplied the entire gold currency of the Syro-Arabian dependencies, the various existing systems of the coinages of the Mohammedan empire were subjected to a comprehensive revision; and as feelings of religion had been the cause of the first reference to the subject, the discussions and controversies which ensued resulted in the production of a strictly Mohammedan series of dies, whose fields were occupied only by the dull repetition of stated texts from the Korán, with a marginal record of the date and place of mintage of the piece to be impressed, unenlivened by any notice of mundane names, whether of priest or king<sup>2</sup>.

II. To the local historian all these latter indications, in their various bearings, must of course be valuable, over and above which may be cited the material assistance to be derived from our coins, in the advancement of a knowledge of the comparative geography of the countries to which they refer; demonstrating on the one hand the then existing arrangement of the departmental divisions; and on the other, the relative importance of the leading provincial cities as exemplified by the test of the possession of a mint. Next may be noted the more critically useful aid to be derived from the dates furnished by these numismatic monuments, which now appear for the first time, in the *Persian* monetary series, illustrated by these convenient records, expressed in the readily intelligible shape of a single serial cycle, instead as of old, referring to the epochs of the accession of each succeeding king, the determination of the initial date of whose reign was in each case necessarily dependent upon the accurate justification of those of his predecessors.

III. The philologist may notice that the present series, with its associate and dependent classes, not only offers the remarkable instance of the use of varieties of what for the present must be assumed to be the same tongue, but it also affords the striking example of a nearly contemporaneous employment of no less than four distinct sets of linguistic symbols, if not of four diverse languages. It is true that we must not expect, from the limited sentences available, any very comprehensive checks upon the comparative philology of the day, still, much may be gained from a close and systematic examination of these

<sup>1</sup> Makrizi, p. 84.

<sup>2</sup> Fræhn's *Récensio*, pp. 6 to 16.

materials; and if they may be found to offer no other indication of value, they suffice to determine, when considered in reference to their associate mint cities, the necessary currency of certain languages in certain definite countries; and this too with a degree of precision we could scarcely obtain from any other monumental sources.

IV. Those who seek to observe the peculiarities of the older forms of Eastern writing, may gather from the illustration furnished by the coins under review, many incidental facts worthy of investigation, whether it be to trace on the one hand the marked varieties in the forms of the Pehlvi characters in numismatic use among the later Sassanians and their Arab conquerors and immediate successors, as diverging from the previous alphabet of the earlier monarchs of the race of Sassan; or on the other hand, to examine the distinctions introduced into the modern characters, owning the same origin, as employed at the present day by the Parsis of Bombay. Turning to another set of alphabetical symbols—here may be seen the earliest examples of the adoption of Kufic, the sacred alphabet of the Korán, a literal series then only newly invented, but since expressly identified with the growth of Mohammedanism and the first efforts at polished Arabic literature. Not less does the variety in the forms of the Sanskrit, in vogue in the more easterly provinces of Persia at the epochs in question, as preserved on one class of Fire-Worship coins, claim a passing notice: though it must be confessed, that in the present state of our knowledge, little more can be essayed than to compare the isolated letters of the longer inscriptions with their apparent equivalents in the proved Devanagari alphabets of neighbouring lands, as preparatory to an ultimate elucidation of the purport of the entire legends.

Lastly, some of our medals display connected legends couched in characters so new to modern eyes, and so imperfectly associable with any known alphabetical system, that, imitating previous commentators, it would perhaps be wise to avoid any conjecture as to their origin or the language they represent. Still, as some remarks regarding the local existence and duration of the use of this alphabet have suggested themselves as the examination of certain collateral series of coins has been proceeded with, I have thought it right to annex a few observations on the subject, under a separate head.

V. To the scientific numismatist enough has been already said to advocate the cause of the Arabico-Khusrú series; upon the mere collector, who would even mechanically arrange his cabinet, it is scarcely requisite to urge the use of the present investigation, which should *aid*, at least, rightly to fill in a most objectionable and un-

seemly gap in the medallie sequence of an historically important kingdom, and so unite a serial thread already comparatively complete in its prior and subsequent divisions.

The inquiry into the history of later Fire-Worship coins has been divided by Professor Olshausen into four distinct sections, classed under the several heads of—

1. Coins of Tabaristán. 2. Earliest coins of the Arab governors of Persia. 3. Indo-Persic coins of Eastern Irán. 4. Coins of the last Sussanian kings<sup>1</sup>.

As the cabinets to which the learned German had access were chiefly rich in Tabaristán coins, the examination of this suite necessarily forms the leading subject of his Memoir. The materials now available, to which attention will be specially directed in the following pages, consist mainly of the numismatic accumulations of Mr. Masson, which, as might have been anticipated from the *locale* of their discovery, prove usually to be the produce of the eastern mints of Persia: hence it will be found that the present accessions to the general stock excel, in the numerical strength of the Khorásán types, any previous collection of Fire-Worship medals; the deficiency in variety in the Masson cabinet has been to a certain extent remedied by the free reference I have enjoyed to the collections of the British Museum, Sir H. Willock, General Fox, Mr. Bland, Mr. Stokes and others.

Some explanation is due to account for the incomplete form in which the present paper is now put forth. But when the subject was first entered upon, I was, I confess, quite unprepared to encounter the numerous subordinate inquiries it proved requisite to master for a full and perfect understanding even of that particular section of the suite of Persian antiquities to which I then proposed to restrict my attention. I was aware from the first that the time at my disposal was limited, but I had no idea of the extent and difficulty of the ramifications into which so apparently simple an inquiry really extended itself; hence I speedily recognised the necessity of reducing the more prominent object of my undertaking to such a portion of the entire circle of the investigation, as should admit of the probability of being brought to a reasonable degree of completeness within the given time. As such I resolved to confine the direct purpose of the present Essay to an elucidation of the Pehlvi coins of the early Mohammedan Arabs, leaving the medals pertaining to the other subdivisions of the entire series, having typical connexion with the first

<sup>1</sup> Num. Chron., vol. xi., p. 68.

Arab adapted coinage, for the mere incidental notice which might suggest itself as the main question was proceeded with. I should have indeed hesitated to make public these detached contributions to the history of the early Arab coinage, had I not known that,—however ill I might hitherto have succeeded in explaining many of the difficulties,—my continuing the investigation and perfecting the study was rendered impracticable by my speedy return to my more important duties; at the same time I was conscious it was in my power to furnish in the fac-similes of the legends of even the unidentified coins, and the monogrammatic names of their mint cities, many important aids for the eventual illustration of the subject prepared to the hands of others; and thus in the division of labour, to contribute my share (though in this respect a merely mechanical one) to the general knowledge of a most interesting section of mediæval history.

#### THE ALPHABETS.

As the most fitting introduction to any attempt at Pehlvi decipherment, I set forth—both as the basis of my own renderings, and as likely to furnish a useful aid to those who would follow up an imperfectly explored subject—a comparative Palæographic Table (Plate I.), showing the Pehlvi character in various stages of transition, from our earliest example of its use as Lapidary Sassanian, through the modification of that alphabet employed on the later Sassanian coins, and the more precise numismatic development it received at the hands of the Arabs, to the current form imported into Europe with the later Guebre MSS.

The table, in its present shape, will, I trust, prove sufficiently intelligible in all that it purports to show; but some explanation may be required as to whence I obtain my data, and my authority for certain assignments not yet before the public.

I would also take this early opportunity of remarking that the single suites of Numismatic characters, set forth in the lithograph, are not in any wise to be understood as calculated to meet the numerous cases of progressive and provincial variations which will be found to abound in the different series of medals noticed below. The object proposed in the present exposition of these alphabets is to afford a general idea of the most prevalent shapes of each letter, without perplexing the reader with a list of variants, which, however well ascertained in the instances whence they might be cited, frequently consist

THE ALPHABETS

א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת
א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת

Distalif Letters

Chaldee-Hebrew

Arabic-Hebrew

Printed by George Johnson at the British Museum



of mere misapplications, referable to the ignorance of the die engraver, or to conventional modifications exaggerated in the hands of succeeding artists.

The local diversifications from the common standard will be best shown in the succeeding plates, where the name of the mint city will of necessity indicate the geographical site of the variant.

The second and third columns of characters, which follow the opening Hebrew line, consist of the fellow-alphabets common to the Bilingual Rock Inscriptions of Ardashír Bábegán and his son, Sapor I.<sup>1</sup> The several forms here given are reduced fac-similes of the original letters selected from the legends of Sapor's double inscription at Háji Abád, of which the Royal Asiatic Society possesses actual impressions, in the shape of a reproduction of the plaster casts<sup>2</sup> taken from the rock itself by Colonel Sir E. Stannus, and now in

<sup>1</sup> The following résumé will put the reader in possession of a general view of the various Inscriptions of the Sassanids, as well as supply a concise list of references to the available publications on the subject.

ARTAXERXES I. *Ardashír Bábekán*. 223, A.D.

a. Bilingual Pehlvi Inscription, with Greek translation at Naksh-i-Rustam, explanatory of the associate sculpture (De Sacy, *Mémoires sur Div. Ant. de la Perse*, p. 62, etc.; pl. xxii. Ker Porter, 548). *Subject*: Artaxerxes receiving the *eydaris* or ancient diadem (K. P. p. 555) from Ormazd after the defeat and death of Ardeván (De Sacy's identification of the figure to the right as Ormazd is proved by the now legible Sassanian Pehlvi).

SAPOR I. *Shápúr, son of Ardashír*. 240, A.D.

a. Bilingual Pehlvi Inscription, with Greek translation, identifying the chief figure in the sculpture, (Ker Porter, pl. xxviii. p. 572) at Naksh-i-Rajab, as Sapor I. See De Sacy, *Mémoires*, p. 1, etc. and Rich's *Babylon and Persepolis*, London, 1839, pl. xii.

b. The two Pehlvi Tablets in the cave at Háji Abád, near Naksh-i-Rustam (the record of which is yet to be translated), referring to Sapor, the son of Ardashír, (Ker Porter, pl. xv. p. 513).

SAPOR II. *Shápúr, son of Hormuz; grandson of Narsos*. 310, A.D.

a. Sassanian Pehlvi Inscription near Kermánsháh, (Ker Porter, *Tack-i-Bostán*, vol. ii. pl. lxviii, p. 188. Malcolm's *Persia*, *Ták-i-Bostán*, vol. i. pl. 3, facing page 258. The contents of the writing merely serve to identify one of the sculptured figures.

SAPOR III. *Shápúr, son of Shápúr; grandson of Hormuz*. 384, A.D.

a. Sassanian Pehlvi fellow tablet to the last, and in its turn illustrating the identification of the second figure. See De Sacy, p. 211, *et seq.* *Mémoires*. Also, Second *Mémoire* on these Inscriptions, read before the Historical Class of the "Institut" in 1809. Printed in tom. ii. p. 162, *et suivantes*. M. Bord, *Journal Asiatique*, June, 1841; and M. Louis Dubeux, *ibidem*, an 1843.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. Norris, the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, for my knowledge of the existence of these casts, which were obligingly pointed out

Dublin. It is to be mentioned that though this particular inscription—the most comprehensive we have—is as yet unread, being deprived of the advantage of any Greek translation, such as is usually appended to the other bilingual monumental writings, yet the preliminary names, titles, and expressions are so nearly identical with those in certain similar inscriptions deciphered by M. De Sacy, that we can be at no loss to recognise the true value of the majority of the letters in each: some of those not so clearly made out, or not accurately rendered in form from the imperfect materials M. De Sacy had to rely upon, may demand a passing notice.

I commence with the second column of the Plate, exhibiting the alphabet of the leading language of these inscriptions, and which Major Rawlinson has proposed to denominate *Parthian*, but which, judging from the analogy of its literal forms and probable derivation, might be more properly entitled Chaldæo-Pehlvi, or, looking to the locale of its dominant use, might with equal fitness be designated Persepolitan-Pehlvi.

Of the nineteen letters apparently susceptible of individualization; twelve [1 N, 2 E, 3 T, 4 Γ, 5 I, 6 W, 7 C, 8 L, 9 D, 10 J, 11 H, 12 Y] were so accurately placed by De Sacy in their proper positions in the orthography of the inscriptions, that, although occasionally the correct outlines of the figures were strangely distorted, we must still acknowledge that we really owe their first identification to him. So also with the Γ, whose distinguishing mark he failed to detect; but he at the same time assigned to it its right location in the words he read, its right sound in correspondence with its Hebrew equivalent, and even its distinct shape, failing only in that which he had no power to amend—the imperfection of the drawings upon which he had to base his

by him as likely to assist in the elucidation of the particular subject of this paper. Mr. N. had already occupied himself in the transcriptions and comparisons preliminary to a complete decipherment of these monuments, and in the most liberal manner proposed to allow me the use of the materials he had collected. This I for many reasons declined, preferring to work independently from the available fac-similes, which, as has been already shown, were sufficiently introduced for all general palæographic purposes by De Sacy's publications. As I have gone on with my own designedly limited examination of the documents in question, I have at all times freely compared notes with Mr. N., who in most instances is prepared to coincide in my notions. In thus expressing my obligations to Mr. Norris, although I am unable to acknowledge any distinct identification as derived from him, I need only mention his name in connexion with the above facts to show the readers of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society how much advantage I must necessarily have derived from so ready an access to his varied learning and critical judgment.



decipherments. Of the remaining six letters, I cite without any reserve the 𐎠 and 𐎡, which are sufficiently obvious in the forms afforded by the exact copies we have at command; and I have no less faith in the identification of 𐎢, for which I have given full reason in another place<sup>1</sup>. The 𐎣 admits of some doubt; and the two letters given as uncertain, must for the present be allowed to remain so.

The third column in the Plate consists of the characters of the Sassanian Lapidary Pehlvi, the corresponding vulgar version, as I understand, of the prefixed Chaldæo-Pehlvi just referred to. M. De Sacy made much greater progress in the assignment and true definition of the figures of this alphabet than he was able to do with its associate Pehlvi; and as this system of writing has since been the subject of examination in other places, and received more perfect illustration from the extensive currency of its own derivatives, we can appeal with greater confidence to the conclusiveness of the results now given. The only letter in the list to which corresponding values are attached that has hitherto remained at all doubtful is the 𐎤. As I have already had occasion elsewhere<sup>2</sup> to explain my reasons for adopting this identification, I will not detain my readers in this place, but simply repeat that I have full confidence in the assignment.

Of the two Sassanian letters classed as uncertain, I would refer for a moment to the first, which has been rendered by De Sacy as *mn*. Now, although this attribution is easily shown to be erroneous, we are still in no position to supply the necessary correction which should embrace a more satisfactory determination of its real value. I may notice that the Chaldæo-Pehlvi letter placed immediately over the Sassanian fac-simile in the Plate is the usual correspondent of this character in the other text of the inscription.

The second and third outlines placed among the uncertain Sassanian letters are faithful copies of the only two examples of the letter in question that we have in our plaster casts of the inscription<sup>3</sup>; in each case the form occurs as the fifth letter in the word read by De Sacy as 𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤; and upon this rendering, the character has up to this time retained among Orientalists the then assigned value of *s*. M. De Sacy, at the same time, gave the orthography of the analogous

<sup>1</sup> Num. Chron., London, 1849. Oriental Legends on Parthian Coins.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> We have only the six opening lines of the Sassanian transcript of the Hâjî Abâd Tablets, but the leading Chaldæo-Pehlvi text is entire in our plaster impressions.

<sup>4</sup> De Sacy, p. 108.

word in the associate Chaldæo-Pehlvi text as כורסן, which now, however, in our indubitable copy, proves to be כורסן; the question has therefore arisen, Is it not possible that the Sassanian Ծ of De Sacy may also be a ʃ, or some compound holding a ʃ in combination, instead of the hitherto received Ծ? The linear configuration of the character has much of the appearance of ʃ; and there are some further arguments in favour of such an assignment<sup>1</sup>; but, on the other hand, I am aware that the more modern form of Ծ in these Pehlvi alphabets bears very much the appearance of having grown out of such an original as that we are now examining; and as the s, be it of what form it may, is a letter of but rare occurrence in the inscriptions, I must leave the matter for the present undecided, though any reliable copy of the Kermánsháh Inscriptions giving the name of Narses would perhaps definitively settle the point.

The fourth column of the accompanying table displays a set of the Sassanian numismatic letters, such as were in use shortly previous to the Arab conquest of Persia; these will be found to partake of the general identity of the previous lapidary character to a far greater extent than did their own numismatic predecessors. The majority of the forms are susceptible of ready proof from their own mere outlines, as traceable from the characters in the previous line, but some of the modifications may require separate comment.

To avoid the repetition necessarily attending a separate analysis of each alphabet in detail, it will be advantageous to embody such remarks as may offer, respecting the relative types of any given letter in this and the succeeding columns, under the definite heads furnished by the letters themselves in their alphabetical order. My observations will be brief, and merely occasional, as I rely upon the arrangement of the Plate itself sufficing to explain many points that might otherwise call for fuller illustration in this place.

The first letter requiring notice is the ڄ, which offers a singular and somewhat unexpected modification of the lapidary figure to which

<sup>1</sup> The ʃ was a letter even then peculiarly liable to be compounded, as it may be seen among the usually isolated letters of both alphabets distinctly joined in the Chaldæo-Pehlvi at Háji Abád, connected by an additional cross-bar with the ʃ in this very word ڄڄڄڄ; and in the Sassanian Inscriptions at Kermánsháh, the ʃ is invariably joined on to the succeeding ڄ in ڄڄڄڄ [or ڄڄڄڄ] and occasionally to other letters, where it was desirable to mark the suppression of the intermediate inherent short vowel a.

it corresponds. I would take this opportunity of observing that when this character is made to enter into combination with *a*, as  $\text{ay}$  *ach* on the coins, its distinct identity is usually preserved, and its shape is but seldom confounded, as in modern practice, with the  $\text{ay}$  *hp*, which, in the existing system of writing, there are no means of distinguishing from one another. Passing over the two Arabico-Sassanian forms in col. 5, which show one step in the progressional modification of the character, we arrive at the modern Pehlvi correspondent (col. 6), which in its independent definition displays a considerable variation from its prototypes, though it retains much more of the identity of its previous outline in conjunctions that absorb its lower cursive termination, which of itself suffices to alter the general appearance of the letter somewhat deceptively: the three forms in the Neskhí column, given as equivalents, may excite a question; but I would remark that in all cases where I have had occasion to introduce more than one Persian letter as corresponding with the antecedent Pehlvi gradations of the character, my interpretations are supposed only to apply to the special alphabet (No. 5) drawn from the medals now about to be described. It is from this source I must derive most of my proofs, and it is to this literal series that I would particularly devote my space. I would take this opportunity to impress upon those who may not already have realized the idea, that, in citing the letters of the modern Persian alphabet in comparison or phonetic correspondence with their less numerous and less exact predecessors of the Pehlvi, I quote the simple fact, that in certain words on the coins, whose identity is sufficiently established, the given Pehlvi letter occupies the place subsequently taken in the more elaborated system of Neskhí writing—as the case may be—by one of the Persian letters noted as equivalents.

The number of possible Persian substitutes for the Arabico-Pehlvi  $\text{ay}$  might be extended beyond the three forms appended in the concluding column of the Plate, so as to embrace an optional employment of  $\text{ay}$  or  $\text{ay}^1$ ; but the  $\text{ay}$  I have adopted looks more appropriate, as giving the nearest approximate sound, considering that there existed an express sign for the  $\text{ay}$  ( $\text{ay}$ ). But under any circumstances great latitude is allowable in the association of the phonetic powers of the cultivated alphabet of later days with the indefinite

<sup>1</sup> Müller's *Essai*, p. 294.

and interchangeable values attaching to the earlier Pehlvi letters; and we need scarcely feel bound to submit to any very rigid rules in the elucidation of a system which itself is seen to have been so wanting in precision.

The figures, sixth in order in the fourth and fifth columns, are inserted only as guides to those who may seek, in the earlier systems of Pehlvi writing, the equivalent of the Neskhí خ, and not as in any way entitled to be considered as variants of an independent sign—being in effect mere combinations of the letters و = و and ځ = ځ—and as such entering into the orthography of the majority of ancient Persian words now written with a خ, some only of which still retain the full power of the succeeding و. According to the old method, where there was no following و, the و = و alone sufficed for all that the alphabet possessed of the power since inherent in the Kufic خ: hence the simple Parsí ځ = kh, which modern practice distinguishes from the normal و = h by the addition of the dot.

The modification which the original Sassanian ځ underwent in the hands of the die-engravers for the Arabs, seems to consist in the simple rejection of the upper curve of the previous figure ځ. The omission of this portion of the character has a serious effect in increasing the difficulty of precise decipherment, inasmuch as it substitutes a form identical and convertible with a second letter ځ, in place of the old unmistakeable sign, which had but little community of outline with its fellow letters.

The character in col. 4, generally answering to an ځ, and equally serving as an ځ, was used in the lapidary alphabets of Persepolis to represent an ځ only; in our progress onward, we find the letter ځ employed in the unilingual inscription at Kermánsháh in the word ایران Airán—a name elsewhere invariably written with the true ځ—in the presence of the undoubted use of the character ځ as ځ in *Malika*, and the simultaneous acceptance of the old ځ as both ځ and و [شهرمزدي اوهرمزدي, &c.]. On the later Sassanian coins, the one symbol stood for either letter, and the Arabs followed this lead in retaining the commutability of the sign, while its form was subjected

to a degree of simplification which it may be said to retain to the present day, though the necessity of distinguishing the two powers inherent in the one character has eventually led to the *l* being marked by the loop in use in the modern Pehlvi, *ل*.

The *س* in col. 5 requires but slight comment, unless it be to note the serious obstruction to the intelligibility of the Arabico-Pehlvi legends, caused by its receiving the same shape as the *س = ۛ ۛ ۛ ۛ ۛ*. The selection from among the five letters just cited presented a comparatively moderate difficulty; but to decide upon the intention attending the use of a common symbol representing optionally such diverse sounds as *s* and *a*, &c., adds considerably to the uncertainty otherwise attaching to all ancient Pehlvi decipherments.

The gradations and permutations of the *k* and the *g* in the various ancient systems of writing common to Persia, from the third to the seventh century of our era, present curious matter for the study of the palmographer. In the existing state of our knowledge, and working as I do almost exclusively from a single branch of evidence, I shall not presume to offer any very authoritative opinion on the subject, though I have some satisfaction in fixing definitively the form and value of the two lapidary *g*'s, which furnish us with a safe basis for subsequent comparisons. I have not yet met with a decisive example of the use of the *g* on the later Sassanian coins, but the *k* retains its previous lapidary form<sup>1</sup>. Among the legends on the Arabico-Pehlvi medals I find the two varying outlines of *k* bracketed in the plate under the joint heads of *k* and *g*; the ancient Sassanian *k* is here completely lost sight of; from this and other reasons, an impression has arisen with me that the *k* under the form in use among the Arabs may possibly prove to be a modified outline of the old *g*, which was then made to answer for both *k* and *g*, as the Arabic *Kaf Fārsi*. Whence the very Arabic-looking *ك* of the modern Pehlvi was derived it would at this time be rash to speculate; but the existing Pehlvi *گ* probably came from the forms immediately under review.

The next letter that demands attention is Müller's "grand Schiboleth du Pehlvi, le signe ۛ", which, however, viewed by the new light he has thrown upon its history, is far less perplexing in its use

<sup>1</sup> I do not coincide with Major Rawlinson in his notion of the community between the *ز* and *ۛ*. Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. X., p. 89.

among the coin legends, than the already cited convertible symbol standing for *a*, *s*, *h*, &c. It may prove a somewhat difficult task to trace accurately the progress of the development of the present form  $\text{𐬀}$ ; which now manifestly answers both to *n* and *w*, as it likewise can be shown to have done on the Arabico-Khusrú coinages. In certain cases evidencing provincial variations, or examples of the early transition from one style of writing to the other, the expected  $2 = w$  is found duly to hold its place, as does the form  $\text{𐬀}$  still fulfil its ancient functions in representing the *n*. Descending, however, in order of date, the previous outline of *w* becomes obsolete, and we meet with an undoubted exhibition of a letter formed after the likeness of the old *n*, occupying the position of a *w* (in *wist*, &c.), while the proper sign for *n* seems to degenerate to the simple perpendicular line in present currency, into which in the next stage of modernization, the *w* readily follows it<sup>1</sup>. Before taking leave of the degradation of the ancient *n* to the task of serving for a *w*, as well as for, or in some cases in supercession of, its own proper sound, I would notice that in certain cases the  $\text{𐬀}$ , when rudely formed, is often fashioned after a deceptive similitude of the *n* or debased *n*, being rendered by two direct lines placed a given angle to each other (thus  $\text{𐬀}$ ), which combination, did it not occur in an unquestionable case of the initial of  $\text{𐬀}$  and in other, equally indubitable examples, I should have now hesitated to quote.

The *e*, which concludes these alphabets, is easily traced through its progressional modifications; the successive changes are gradual, and, unlike some of the other letters, they offer no sudden or unexpected permutation. A question may I think be raised as to whether the *e*, in its use at the time of the Arab conquest, was not susceptible of phonetic duplication under the optional form of an  $\text{𐬀}$ , which in effect, in its own literal development is a mere figure of two *e*'s conjoined. We know that the Zend  $\text{𐬀}$  *e* when doubled, represents  $\text{𐬀}$  *y*, and the Pehlvi  $\text{𐬀}$  is found in many instances where it cannot but be read as *y* or *iy*, as in  $\text{𐬀}$  زیات *Ziyát*,  $\text{𐬀}$  میان *Miyán*, &c., though the practice of modern Pehlvi authorities would give the reading

<sup>1</sup> The *n* would seem, in the more easterly provinces, to have preceded its subsequent associate into their common present state, inasmuch as I occasionally find *n* in *Nuh* with the back tail-stroke, while the succeeding *n* presents the simple perpendicular line.—See Coin 25, *infra*.

زالت مان, &c. The position the Pehlvi *e* is found to occupy as an adjunct to the *a*, forming  $\omega$  *ae*, also favours the supposition of the optional divisibility of the component parts of the  $\omega$  itself.

On this occasion of the first use of Pehlvi type in English printing, it may be incumbent upon me to introduce, in some detail, the Alphabet now adopted, as well as to advert briefly to the source whence I have derived the fount employed to illustrate the different examples of the ancient Persian language cited in the following pages.

The Dies for this elegant Pehlvi alphabet were cut by Marcellin Legrand, in 1839, for the Société Asiatique of Paris, under the superintendence of M. Jules Mohl, and have up to this moment been but once employed—to print Müller's *Essai sur la Langue Pehlvie*, for which they were expressly prepared.

In process of time the punches, matrices, and the greater portion of the existing type, passed into the possession of the Imprimerie Royale; and as the direction of that institution neither lend, give, nor sell, the advantages otherwise derivable from the production of such extended facilities towards the study of the language by the Société Asiatique were in effect confined to French savants, or foreigners appearing under their auspices. During a late visit to Paris, however, I was so fortunate as to meet with a small fount ready prepared to my hand<sup>1</sup>, which had been cast before the matrices had become the property of the present would-be monopolists; and whatever use may hereafter be made of this means of representing the Pehlvi language in its own proper letters, I may remark that the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society has already felt the want of this type in Major Rawlinson's erudite Memoir; and however much some of my readers may dislike the sight of so utterly strange a character, I myself have full reason to rejoice at escaping the indefinite and unsatisfactory medium of Roman orthographies, or, in this case, the scarcely less perplexing vehicle of the elaborated symbols of the existing Persian alphabet as modified and amplified from its Pehlvi basis by subsequent contact with the more copious Kufic forms of the Arabs.

I desire, in the first instance, to exhibit the Pehlvi alphabet, with all its modern transformations and diacritical distinctions, such as became necessary in the progress of orthographical refinement, to

<sup>1</sup> This is now safe in the possession of Messrs. Harrison and Son, St. Martin's Lane, the printers of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, who freely backed my purchase.

place a literal series, consisting originally of seventeen letters, on anything like a par with the more perfect Neskhí, numbering thirty-two phonetic symbols. The individual letters in Anquetil's list amounted to twenty-four<sup>1</sup>, and the alphabet lithographed at Bombay signalises no less than thirty-three distinct forms<sup>2</sup>, often giving three varying Pehlvi characters as corresponding to a single Neskhí letter, the recognised total of these last only reaching twenty-four, including a palpable Indian combination  $\text{آ} = \text{آ}$  or  $\text{آه}$ . Mullah Firúz also adopts thirty-two different signs as necessary to form a Pehlvi alphabet.

I need not however pursue these comparisons further; it will be sufficient to say that the following list will be found to contain all the simple letters.

1	ا	آ	A	12	ك	K
5	ب	B	13	گ	G	
3	ت	T	14	ل	L	
4	ج	J	15	م	M	
5	خ or ن	خ KH	16	ن	N	
6	د	D	17	و	W	
7	ر	R	18	ه	H	
8	ز	Z	19	ي	Y	
9	س or ص	S	20	چ	CH	
10	ش	SH	21	پ	P	
11	غ	GH	and	آه	AE, which can scarcely claim a separate identity.	

As the isolated letters of the alphabet are subject to extensive modification, in their contact and interjunction with their fellow characters, I annex an explanatory list of the different groups I may

<sup>1</sup> I reject two of his *three* } = و, which are mere repetitions; his words are, "Son Alphabet est composé de dix-neuf caractères, qui ont un rapport sensible avec les Lettres Zendes, et qui donnent vingt-six valeurs; vingt-une consonnes et cinq voyelles." Zend Av., II. p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> Taking } = و and } = ن as separate letters.



possibly have to use in the following pages, premising that I propose to shun all diacritical points, my object being to represent as closely as possible the actual legend I transcribe; and for this purpose I adhere, as nearly as circumstances will permit, to the original forms of the letters. The diacritical marks, which might be necessary to the understanding of the exact power represented by a convertible letter, will be supplied by their more appropriate use in the Neskhí transcript which accompanies each Pehlvi word. In the subjoined table I give only one of the many interchangeable readings allowable in the different compounds. Having annexed the various powers attributable to each individual letter, in the first instance, I take advantage of the power of simplification this allows me to give only a single set of equivalents to each group, even irrespective of phonetic probabilities, taking uniformly my first standard Neskhí letter, and leaving the selection from the interchangeable values to be determined by the context wherein the different combinations may chance to occur. It will be seen that I only admit fourteen different normal forms as composing the entire alphabet, including the  $\text{غ}$ , which I have not as yet met with either on coins, gems, or inscriptions.

1	خ ح ه ا ه	A, H, H, KH
2	ب	B
3	ث ت م	T, TH
4	ل ر	R or L
5	ز	Z
6	س	S and $\text{س}$ , which I do not use.
7	ش	SH
8	غ	GH
9	ك	K
10	م	M
11	ن or و	N or W
12	و	answers to $\text{و د ي}$ , and to judge by modern practice, should also answer to $\text{گ}$ and $\text{ج}$ .
13	چ	CH: at times convertible as $\text{چ}$ and $\text{ن}$ . On coins it also serves for $\text{ص}$ .
14	پ or ف	P or F

COMPOUNDS.								
1	س	ا	8	س	ات	15	س	رت
2	س	ان	9	س	ياپ	16	س	ن
3	س	اين	10	س	يان	17	س	من
4	س	اي	11	س	يم	(18)	س	سن
5	س	اچ and اپ	12	س	ين	19	س	نم
6	س	ام	13	س	يت			
7	س	ان	14	س	ت			

## COINS OF THE LAST SASSANIAN MONARCHS.

Before introducing the Arabico-Persian coinage to the notice of our readers, it may be requisite to say a few words regarding the coins of the later Sassanian monarchs, who reigned immediately previous to the Arab conquest of Persia, and upon the types of whose money the Moslim currency was first based. Engravings of the last Khusru coins have been published in so many accessible works<sup>1</sup> that it may be sufficient to refer to these delineations without entering upon any technical description of the forms and devices of the coins themselves. To the right of the head on the obverse will be found the Pehlvi name سوسرۆب or سوسرۆب, a constant characteristic of

<sup>1</sup> Ker Porter, Pl. lviii. fig. 8. Ouseley, Observations on some Medals and Gems, Plate No. 6, *Rām* (*Rām Hormuz*), Ann. 36, No. 7, mint and date doubtful. Longperier, Essai, Pls. x. 5., Ann. 26, and xi. 4. Marsden, Pl. xxix., figs. dxxxiii., dxxxiv., dxxxv., dxxxix.; Ann. 28, 27, 31, &c.

\* It has remained up to this time somewhat of an open question whether the final letter of this name should be accepted as an ي or a ب: In the former case, it is necessary to understand the affix as the sign of the genitive, or as giving an adjective form to the word; in the latter rendering, the final letter becomes a portion of the name itself, and it is in this sense I am induced to receive it, from observing that in no instance in the later Sassanian medal series is the designation of the monarch made genitive, neither are the names of the Arab Governors, when expressed in Pehlvi, ever written with the concluding character in question,

many subordinate classes in the hands of the Arabs, whose imitations may generally be detected by the typical difference of the bust on the obverse, being executed more in outline than the same figure on the Sassanian prototype. The most important bearing these Sassanian models however have upon our Arab series, consists in the valuable introduction they furnish to the detail of the mint cities, and the information they afford regarding the system of numeration then in use, as distinguished from the more modern Persian forms, and by which many of the readings of the succeeding dates will have to be tested. It will be useful, therefore, to append a certain number of fac-similes of the former, (Pl. II., 1, 2, 3, &c.), and a concise Table of the latter, to illustrate these two points. In referring to this last, it will be remarked, that the early numbers from one to ten run uniformly after the Aramaic (Syriac) scheme of notation: the proper Persian series, here commencing with eleven, presents the peculiarity of prefixing the unit accessions to the higher numbers, twenty, thirty, &c., in the same manner as they are still used in conjunction with the lower numbers between ten and twenty—so that instead of the modern *دو بیست و دو* twenty and two, the combination was effected by *دوازده و بیست* two *above* twenty, in the same way as we at present say, *دوازده و بیست*, &c.

Having prepared the reader to expect certain obsolete forms of this nature, it will be unnecessary to pursue any recapitulation of the different points disclosed at large in the following Table.

unless it is required to connect the name of the individual with his patronymic. Besides this, may be cited the correspondence of the Hebrew and Armenian orthographies of the name, which give severally *קְהֻסְרוֹ*, (Ouseley, p. 25,) and *Khosrov* (St. Martin, *Arménie*, I. 412.) And finally the method of writing the name in cursive Pehlvi, as quoted by Major Rawlinson, (*سوسرو*) seems to set the matter definitively at rest. Ouseley, *Medals*, &c., p. 25, and Longperier, *Essai*, p. 78, adopt the *ك*. Müller, *Jour. Asiatique*, vii., pp. 335, 342, Oshausen, *Num. Chron.* xi. p. 135, and Rawlinson, *Journ. R. A. S.* x., prefer the *ب*. I must not close this note, referring to the word *Khusrú*, without citing M. Oshausen's testimony of the credit due to Sir Wm. Ouseley for the first identification of this name. "He was the only one until that time (1801), who had succeeded in deciphering a word in the Pehlvi character." *Num. Ch.*, xi., 136.

TABLE TO ILLUSTRATE THE SYSTEM OF NUMERATION  
IN USE AMONG THE LATER SASSANIANS.

Ann.		Ann.	
1	وحت ۱۴	20	ویست ۱۰۰
2	تربین ۳۰	21	یائرو بیست ۱۰۰
3	تلتا ۳۰	22	دوانرو بیست ۱۰۰
4	ارپیا ۳۰	23	سینرو بیست ۱۰۰
5	خمشا ۳۰	24	چهارو بیست ۱۰۰
6	شتا ۳۰	25	پنجو بیست ۱۰۰
7	شپا ۳۰	26	شش و بیست ۱۰۰
8	ثومنا ۳۰	27	هفت و بیست ۱۰۰
9	تشا ۳۰	28	هشت و بیست ۱۰۰
10	اسرا ۳۰	29	
11	یانرده ۳۰		
12	دوانرده ۳۰	30 <sup>6</sup>	سی ۳۰
13	سینرده ۳۰	31	یانر سی ۳۰
14	چهرده ۳۰	32	دوانر سی ۳۰
15		33 <sup>6</sup>	سینر سی ۳۰
16	شانرده ۳۰	34	&c., as in the twenties.
17	هفتده ۳۰	40	چهل ۴۰
18		44	45, 46, 47, as in the thirties, &c.
19	نوزده ۳۰	49 <sup>7</sup>	نوه چهل ۴۰

[N.B.—The numbers omitted have not been met with. I quote only what I have authority for.]

<sup>1</sup> The **ه** in these cases answers to **ع**. I have retained the most simple form in my Neskhī transcripts.

<sup>2</sup> And **خشبي ستم و دو** at times.

<sup>3</sup> I retain the **ن** as the equivalent of **ع** in this place, in preference to the more strict rendering of **ج**, (Müller, p. 294; Jour. Asiatique, "il exprime alors le **ع** (ع) ou **ج** (ج)";) though I acknowledge only one original Pehlvi standard **ع = ج**, which in modern Persian transcriptions is frequently replaced by **ج** **ز** and occasionally by **ن**; notwithstanding that there is the express letter **ع** answering to this last; in these cases the **ج** would probably be the most appropriate letter to use in reference to ancient articulations, but the **ن** now preferred makes the Neskhī transcript look less strange to modern associations.

<sup>4</sup> 14 is also written **چهارده سیدلوه** and **چهار و ده سیدلوه** on a coin from the **سید** mint.

<sup>5</sup> The **و** **ی** in thirty is often omitted.

<sup>6</sup> I find 33 written **دود و سه سید** on a coin, with the mint mark **سید** **دیوان** or **دیوان**.

<sup>7</sup> This might perhaps be read as **نوانر سه**; but the above is preferable, as it coincides with the Bismillah coin A.H. 49, Beiza; and the **سید** though indeterminate in the present case, corresponds closely with the same word in the A.H. 48, Bismillah coins, which cannot by any possibility be rendered **سید**.

References to fac-similes of different numbers:—Plate II., fig. *a* = 1, fig. *b* = 2, fig. *c* = 3, fig. *d* = 4, fig. *e* = 5, fig. *f* = 35, fig. *g* = 7, fig. *h* = 8, fig. *i* = 11, fig. *j* = 17, fig. *k* = 16, fig. *l* = 32.

M. de Longperier places the Sassanian monetary standard of the silver pieces at 79 grains<sup>1</sup>, but this weight does not by any means appear to have been sustained under the later monarchs of the race, when the imperial authority was perhaps less implicitly acknowledged in the departmental divisions of the kingdom than it had been under the earlier sovereigns, who instituted and enforced the original currency scheme. An exact examination of the weights of the coins of some of the later Sassanian kings gives no higher an average than 58.46 grains<sup>2</sup>. For the early Arab period, I am inclined to avoid any attempt at generalization, and to follow the assertion of the *Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, to the effect that previous to the definite determination of the standard in 76 A.H. the system of each city was independent and subject only to its own laws<sup>3</sup>; this statement receives confirmation, both from the apparent variation of the average weights and seeming purity of metal of coins emanating from different mints, and from the constant appearance of contremarques bearing the name of a second and frequently proximate city, which can only be supposed to have been employed to recognise the intrinsic value, and intimate the legal currency of the piece thus stamped in the city and district whose name appears on this adoptive seal.

To advert for a moment to the Sassanian abbreviations of the names of their mints, it will be seen that, though often crudely fashioned and less uniform in their outline than the same monograms under Arab treatment, the Sassanian originals possess a useful merit in the employment of larger and more defined letters, and a closer adherence to an alphabet, the value of whose individual characters is placed beyond dispute, by its preservation in the bilingual inscriptions on the rocks at Naksh-i-Rustam and Hájí Abád. These monograms

<sup>1</sup> "Le système monétaire des Perses sous les Sassanides était, pour l'or, l'emprunt de l'aureus romain; pour l'argent, l'adoption de la drachme attique," p. vi.

"J'ai cru pouvoir en inférer que le poids normal des monnaies d'argent Sassanides était de 79 grains," p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Average of 26 coins in the British Museum, Hormusdaz, Varahrán, &c., and 9 Khusrus bearing low dates ( $1520 \div 26 = 58.46$ .)

<sup>3</sup> *بغرمای عبدالملك در سال هفتاد و ششم زر و نقره  
کم عیار ده هفت مسكوك كردند قل هو الله نقش سكه بود  
بیشتر از و در عرب زر و نقره مسكوك نكرده بودند اهل عجم را  
سكه بغارهي و بهلوي بود و اهل روم و مغرب را برومي و عيار هر  
شهري بنوعي ديكر بودي عبدالملك با يك عيار آورد*

*Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah*, MS., E.I.H., No. 180, p. 101.

will be noticed more in detail in their appropriate place in the section devoted to the classification of the mint cities of the Arab conquerors of Persia.

THE PURELY INITIATIVE, IMITATIVE COINAGE OF THE  
ARABS FROM A.H. 18 TO 43.

We gather from the concurrent testimony of the early Arabic authors, that the Hijrah cycle was only instituted, and simultaneously introduced into official use, by Omar, in the 17th year after the Flight'. At this time, Omar was engaged in the formal arrangement of the many important governmental details incident to the demands of a section of an empire newly-received by a race in a state of comparatively backward civilization, from the hands of a dynasty, whose institutions displayed all the perfection of a long established monarchy, under rulers of no ordinary merit in the conduct of the internal economy of their State. Among other matters, which in the ardour of conquest had hitherto been allowed to lie over, was the determination of the currency to be issued by the Arabs for the use of their Persian provinces: and it was thereupon decided to adhere to the Sassanian fire-worship devices of the coins already in circulation, some slight subordinate marginal additions being made to the usual superscriptions to mark either the designation or the faith of the foreign conqueror. This modification is affirmed by Makrizi<sup>1</sup> to have

<sup>1</sup> Price, vol. I., p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Makrizi, Ed. O. G. Tyehsen, Rostochii, 1797.


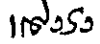


"Quam modo allatam de pecunia Arabum gentilium respectu eleemosynum, et de ejus in Islamismo confirmato usu, legatus divinus legem fecerat, *Abubaker Alzaddik* (justus) fol. mem. ejus successor intemeratam servavit. Cui succedens *Abu Hafes Omar b. Alchettab* f. m. *Ægypto Syria et Iraja expugnantis*, de pecunia nihil constituit, sed eam statu suo usque ad annum Hegire XVIII, chulifatus sui VIIIvum, esse jussit. " " Tunc temporis *Omar* f. m. ipsas eas drachmas ad sculpturam persicam earumque formam, eo tamen discrimine cudi fecit, ut partim: *laus sit Deo*; partim: *Muhammed est legatus Dei*; partim: *non est Deus nisi Deus unicus*, et in lemmate: *Omar*, iis inscriberet, et decem drachmarum pondus sex Mithkalia constitueret. *Osman f. Afsan* f. m. in principem fidelium electus, numos cum epigrapho: *Deus est maximus*, durante chulifatu suo edidit."—pp. 77, 79, 80.

"Tria eduntur judicia, quis primus numos percusserit. Judex quidem *Abulhassan* f. *Muhammed Almawardi* auctor est, *Omarem* f. *Alchettab* f. m. perspecta drachmarum diversitate, quarum alie scil. *Baglienses* VIII; alie sc. *Tiberienses* IV; *Magrebbina* (*Mauretanicæ*) III *Danekis*; *Iemenenses* I *Daneko* constabant, dixisse: *attende ad usualium drachmarum vel meliorem vel viliorem conditionem*, et collato *Bagliensium* et *Tiberiensium* drachmarum XII *Danecorum*

been effected in A.H. 18—an assertion we have no reason to doubt, though there may be some cause to question the exactitude of his statements regarding many of the minor epigraphical adjuncts, which he reports to have been introduced at this period.

It is assumed, and will probably be readily conceded by all who examine the question, that any fire-worship coins which bear Kufic legends, having reference to the religion of Mohammed, or indeed, seeing what is susceptible of proof regarding the origin and introduction of the Kufic system of writing, any coins bearing Kufic letters at all, must of necessity have formed part of an issue achieved under Moslem auspices. We may therefore proceed with confidence to quote any coins superscribed with the words *بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ* [*in the name of God*] as unquestionably of Arab origin. The earliest medal impressed with the name of Khusrú, thus signalized, bears date *دزد* *Yezd*, Ann. 28, which, taken as Anno Hijeræ, brings the coinage of the piece under the reign of Othmán; but a still earlier Pehlvi-Kufic medal, of a hitherto unrecognised type, is found with something like the name of Yezdegird, the last of the Sassanian monarchs, and is dated *Yezd*, ? Ann. 20, that is, during the Khiláfat of Omar, and but shortly after the first revision of the previous mint system, and the introduction of the practice of adding Kufic words to the original Pehlvi legends. A list of the various B'ism'illah Pehlvi coins at present known, with their several dates and places of mintage, will be found in the annexed Table, as prefatory to which, however, it may be requisite to describe briefly the new Arabico-Khusruí type.

Silver. Weight, 57·5 gr. (Six specimens:—1 British Museum, 2 Masson, 3 General Fox).

Obv. Left.		افزود for افرود
Right.		یترکوت or یترگرت (in the older form of Sassanian characters. See fig. 21, Pl. II.)
Marg.	<i>بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ</i> (Pl. II., fig. 22.)	
Rzv. Left.		ویدست = 20 (A.H.)
Right.		یترکوت

(See Pl. II., figs. 23, 24.)

pondere, dimidium ejus, scil. sex daneeorum drachmas elegisse; negat tamen Abu Muhammed Hassan f. Abulhassan Ali f. Muhammed f. Abdalmalec f. Algottán in tractatu suo de mensuris et ponderibus, hoc Omaris fel. mem. propositum fuisse, propterea quod in numerum suorum titulo nihil mutasset."—pp. 146, 147. Price, quoting the *Rauzat al Safá*, places the first issue of Arab money in A.H. 21; vol. I., p. 136. See also Habib al Sair, MS., East India House, No. 471.



I am by no means prepared to insist upon the attribution now proposed for this class of coins, as I find several apparent anomalies in the obverse and reverse dies, a necessary doubt attending the interpretation of the chief name, and certain historical difficulties in reconciling the date and seeming place of mintage. In regard to the first of these points, a reference to the legends copied in Pl. II. will show that the name on the obverse is for the most part expressed in the older form of Sassanian Pehlvi, and tried by this test, the first, second, and third letters answer satisfactorily enough to the transcription adopted above; the fourth character is more dubious, and at the period of the probable issue of the coin, was without doubt, generally employed to represent the value of either (و) or و; but we have already seen in the history of the intertransition of these letters that the و, u, and و, r, held as their common symbol the earlier type of the character under reference; taking therefore the previous joint values of the figure which the older form of the opening letters would seem to demand, the sign now in question may be accepted as an unquestionable و or a possible و. The concluding letter و has lost all pretence to antiquity, and appears under the same outline as the final in the more modern writing on the Reverse. The Pehlvi full stop or silent final mark } succeeds the } on some specimens, which evidences the completion of the word, and assures us that we need not look for any further imperfection due to the omission of requisite letters.

The letters which compose the legends on the Reverse will be seen to partake of the general character of the writing chiefly in use at the period of the Arab conquest, and this in itself constitutes a cause of suspicion in regard to the dissimilarity of the two sets of Obverse and Reverse legends which has been alluded to above. On the subject of the unsatisfactory nature of the decipherment of the name, enough has already been said, and in reference to the third head of our objections, it is to be noted, that if the و بست = 20, is to be taken to imply the year *twenty* of the Hijrah, and the mint monogram is rightly read as Yezd<sup>1</sup>, there is an additional difficulty started in the fact, that the Mohammedans were not in possession of Yezd in A.H. 20<sup>2</sup>. This however would offer no conclusive objection to the assignment above suggested, as we meet with far more remarkable instances of disregard of precision in the setting forth of dates, amid the subsequent examples of the adopted coinages of the early Arabs in Persia.

<sup>1</sup> This question will be examined in its fit place under the identification of the mint cities.

<sup>2</sup> Tabari—Isfahán surrendered, A.H. 20—21. Oekley—Ahwaz and Khorásán conquered about A.H. 21, p. 362 *old* edit. Price's authorities date the reduction of Khorásán in 22, and Kermán and Fárs in 23. Price, I., 138.

TABLE OF DATES ON B'ISM'ILLAH COINS.

Date.	Name.	Date.	City.
28	خسروب سوم دینار	هشت و بیست و سه ۱۰۰۰	یزد و کوفه
32	Id. Id.	دوازده و سی و دو ۲۰۰۰	یزد و کوفه
35	Id. Id.	پنجاه و سه ۳۰۰۰	یزد و کوفه
Id.	Id. Id.	Id. Id.	یزد و کوفه
Id.	Id. Id.	Id. Id.	یزد و کوفه
37	Id.	هفتاد و سه (sic) ۷۰۰۰	یزد و کوفه
48	Id. Id.	هشت و چهل و سه ۳۰۰۰	یزد و کوفه
49	Id. Id.	نوه و چهل و سه ۳۰۰۰	یزد و کوفه
50	Id. Id.	پنجاه و سه ۳۰۰۰	یزد و کوفه

I was at one time inclined to think that the class of coins, of which a list is to be found below, formed a portion of the Moham-medan Khusrui coinage—imagining that *یوم* might be read as *عبد* the “servant,” as it is so expressed in the Pehlvi correspondent of this Arabic word in *عبد الله*: and the idea was supported by the uniform absence of the term in the case of any coin for which an unquestionable Sassanian origin could be claimed; an additional coincidence, which seemed likewise to give weight to the identification, was to be detected in the occurrence of the same word, similarly placed; on the coins of Tabaristán, which have been attributed to an issue of a much later date under undoubted Moslem influence. My faith in the assignment, however, has been considerably shaken by the discovery of the date 14 on a coin cited below; and though this number has appeared in one solitary instance, and may well have been an error of the die-engraver, it militates so much against the conclusiveness of the general appropriation, that I merely give the subjoined coins as a class separated from their fellows by the appearance of *یوم*, without in any way at present claiming

for them an Arabic paternity. At the same time, it is to be added that there is no reason to confine the admission of an Arab origin to those Khusrui medals that are marked by some distinct Islamitic adjunct, as it is probable that the majority of the earlier Arab issues were left to follow the normal type of the pure Sassanian money.

TABLE OF KHUSRUI COINS WITH عبيد يهود.

A.H.	Date.	Mints.	A.H.	Date.	Mints.
14	عبيد يهود	و و س	28	.. .. .	عبيد يهود
17	عبيد يهود	و و و	31	و و و	و و و
23	و و و	و و و	32	.. .. .	و و و
24	.. .. .	و و و	35	.. .. .	و و و
25	.. .. .	و و و	37	.. .. .	و و و
26	.. .. .	و و و			

Among the Khusrui coins calling for more particular remark I may notice:—

(a). Masson, weight 58.5 gr., mint كرو A.H. 35. Obverse as usual. Margin, in imperfect Kufic, عبيد يهود ولي الله. Pl. II. fig. 20.

(b). Mr. Stokes, weight 34 gr., A.H. 45 بئر which in the place of the usual عبيد يهود on the left of the Obverse field, has a star and the Kufic word الله.

(c). Mr. Stokes, weight 53.5 gr., from the same mint, dated A.H. 47; has, in the same position, the star, followed by الله, which again is succeeded by the Pehlvi ك.

It might be supposed from this that the Kufic الله was merely an imperfect rendering of the Pehlvi ك; but the previous instance of the employment of the Kufic word, which Makrizi gives us full reason to expect, may be held to settle the interpretation.

(d). Masson, Beiza, A.H. 47. Obverse as usual, with the marginal inscription بسم الله الملك.

## COINS OF THE ARAB GOVERNORS.

## I. ZIAD BIN ABU SOFIAN.

Ziád bin Abu Sofíán, or, as he was with bitter emphasis designated by many, *Ziad bin Abeah* (زِيَادُ بِنِ أَبِيهِ) "the son of his father," was born in the year of the Hijrah, under circumstances which left some doubt, not unattended with associate imputations of scandal, regarding his exact paternity<sup>1</sup>. In his advance towards manhood, he was early distinguished for his prominent abilities and striking eloquence; so much so, that during the reign of Omar, at a meeting

<sup>1</sup> The facts and details elucidatory of Ziád's parentage are variously related by different authors. Al Tabarí asserts

و معاويه و زيارت و كار و تدبير خویش هم بدو داد و نسبت  
 او بپذیرفت و فرمود تا او را زياد بن ابی سفيان خواندند  
 و پیش از آن او را زياد بن سميہ خواندندي و مادرش را سميہ  
 نام بود و بنده هندی بود پس ابو سفيان با سميہ جمع شد و  
 سميہ از او بار گرفت ابو سفيان از هندی بترسيد و سميہ را  
 بفروخت و آن خرندۀ سميہ را آزاد کرد و زياد از بس بيع  
 بسۀ ماه پيامد و سميہ گفت کہ از ابو سفيانست و هم به  
 ابو سفيان بماند [مانست "Al."] ابو سفيان منکر شد کہ از  
 من نيست بش زياد بترک شد و معاويه دانست کہ آن  
 چگونه است

The statement of the *Rauzat al Safí* puts a less creditable appearance on the origin of Ziád. This may be consulted in its main details as reproduced by the *Khalasat al Akhbar*, and translated by Price, vol. I. 300. Ockley also (p. 359, Bohn's edit.), unfortunately without quoting his authority, gives a somewhat varied version to the following effect:—"Abu Sofian, in the days of ignorance, before drinking wine was made a sin by the Koran, while travelling in Taif, put up at a public house. Here, after drinking somewhat freely, he lay with this Ziyad's mother, Somyah, who was then married to a Greek slave." Ibn Kotaibah mentions two different versions of Ziád's birth, but neither of them support the imputations above noticed.

of "the companions" of the Prophet, he became the object of such conspicuous attention as to draw from Amrú the noted expression, that "had the father of this youth been of the family of Koreish, he would have driven all the Arabians before him with his walking-stick"<sup>1</sup>. The fruit of his subsequent career did not belie its early promise. His first public appointment would seem to have been during the khiláfat of Alí (A.H. 38), when he was nominated by Abdullah Abbas as his temporary representative in the government of Busrah<sup>2</sup>. In the year following he was constituted by Alí Governor of Persia, the duties of which post he conducted with such salutary effect as to entitle himself to the admiration of those, generally least satisfied, but most competent to estimate the palpable advantages of his rule, the governed themselves, who were only content in likening him to their then and since paragon of kingly perfection, Noushirwán the Just<sup>3</sup>. Zíád continued to administer the supreme power in this kingdom until the accession of Moavia<sup>4</sup>, and though he refused at first to acknowledge the title of the new Khalif, he was ultimately (A.H. 44) induced to do so, being subsequently rewarded by the recognition on Moavia's part, of his right—hitherto gravely questioned—to style Abu Sofián their common father<sup>5</sup>. In A.H. 45 Zíád was deputed to correct the irregularities prevailing in the district of Busrah<sup>6</sup>, which, under too mild a governor, had become somewhat flagrant. Here his well-timed, though startling, severity soon reduced his new subjects to implicit obedience<sup>7</sup>, and restored order and good government throughout the entire department<sup>8</sup>. Besides the lieutenancy of Bus-

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, 385; Price, I. 380.

<sup>2</sup> Ockley (quoting D'Herbelot), p. 324.

<sup>3</sup> نریاد نامه کرد بعلي باين حال علي ولايت بارس بدو

داد نریاد بپارس شد و بارس فرمان بردار او شدند Tabari

<sup>4</sup> Ockley (quoting Abú Fedá), pp. 324, 325.

<sup>5</sup> پس معاویه بشام شد و کار بهوي راست بایستاد و انز نریاد بی

ترسید که باصطخر بارس اندر قلعه شده بود و خواسته بسیار

داشت و ترسید که با کسی انز اهل بیت بیغمیر \* بیعت کند

<sup>6</sup> Ockley, 358.

<sup>7</sup> Ockley, 360.

<sup>8</sup> Tabari, A.H. 46; Price, I. 381; Elmacin, p. 55.

rah, "Moawiah gave him those of Khorásán, Sejestán, India, Bahrein, and Amán, not unadvisedly; for the more he committed to his charge, so much the lighter to himself was the burthen of his government". To all these weighty charges was subsequently added the management of the important government of Kufah (A.H. 50<sup>3</sup>), Zíád being the first noble in whose person had been combined the responsibility of the superintendence of both Kufah and Busrah; and of such equal consideration do they severally appear to have been judged, that the Khalif's representative divided the year by a six-monthly residence at each metropolis<sup>4</sup>. Not satisfied, however, with the viceroyalty of all these kingdoms, in themselves constituting almost an empire, Zíád, shortly before his death, petitioned even for more, phrasing his application that "his left hand was occupied in ruling Persia and the rest, but his right hand remained unemployed, and would have Arabia"<sup>5</sup>.

Zíád was carried off by the plague in Ramzán A.H. 53<sup>6</sup>, having fully merited the title of the greatest man of his age<sup>6</sup>. Though European notions might question his means and methods, but few will deny that his measures were well designed towards the ends in view, among the people with whom he had to deal; and though objection might be taken to his almost merciless severity on first taking possession of Busrah, it must be admitted to have been both successful in itself and generally foreign to his nature, if we may judge by the character he had previously gained in Persia.

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, 360.

<sup>2</sup> Price, I. 383; Ockley, pp. 366, 369.

<sup>3</sup> Tabari, &c.

<sup>4</sup> Tabari, &c.



<sup>5</sup> Ockley, 368; Price, I. 384.



<sup>6</sup> Ockley, 369.

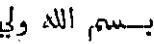
Makrizi notices Zíád's share in the advancement of the Arab coinage to the following effect:—"Delato ad *Moawiah* f. *Sofian* f. m. imperio, Zeiadum filium patris sui Cufæ et Basræ præfecit, dicentem: o princeps fidelium, quum Abdalsaleh Omar f. Alchottab princeps fidelium stipendiorum exercitui dandorum necessitate pressus drachmas comminuerit, et mensuram majorem fecerit, tu moduli melioris constitutione hominum progeniei votis magis respondebis, et subditis majus beneficium dabis, eorumque commoda, veram traditionem complens augebis. Quam ob rem *Moawiah* f. mem. drachmas Alsaudas pondere deficientes scil. VI Danekorum, sive XV Keratiorum minus grano aut duobus, recudi fecit. Cudit quoque *Zeiad* (utriusque Irakæ præfectus) drachmas, quarum decem æquales erant VII Methkalibus, quas edicto usuales pronuntiavit. *Moawiah* quoque denarios imagine sua gladio cincta insignitos percussit."—pp. 80, 81.

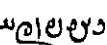

ZIAD I ABU SOFIAN.









No. 1. Silver. Weight, 42.0 gr.






Left Monogram<sup>1</sup>.  and 

Obv. {  نریتات  
 ابوسوفیان

Marg. Kufic.  بسم الله ولي

Rev. Left.  دین علی A.H. 61.  
Right.  دین بیضا (sic) for بیضا

It may be necessary to justify this reading of the unit word, which at first sight looks like  "nine". There is, however, a very palpable variation from the usual form of  in the present instance, as the initial letter is joined at the bottom to the succeeding character; so that, unless the whole word be taken  for  *pro*  "one", which is improbable, or  *pro* "ten," which is still more so, there is no choice left but to take  for  —a form in constant use on the previous Persian coins.

<sup>1</sup> I am anxious to call attention to the singular monogram, common to this and many subordinate classes of fire-worship coins, which up to this time has escaped any very close examination. But first, I would refer to the word , which, though subsequently associated with it, precedes their joint appearance. The first instance of the use of  occurs—in M. De Longperier's classification of the medals of the Sassanians—on a coin attributed to Khusrú I. (A.D. 531), whence it is continued on those of his successors, Hormusdaz IV. and Varahrán VI.; in these examples the word is placed close to the circle dividing the field from the margin of the piece, and commences directly below the star to the left of the figure. Upon the coins assigned to Khusrú II., a change takes place in the entire rejection of the star and the insertion of the monogram under consideration, between the line of the circle and the word . I may pause for a moment to observe, that this indication may possibly prove a safe means of discriminating the money of the two Khusrús. The monogram is subsequently used upon all classes of fire-worship coins, but it appears under so many varieties of form, that it is difficult to select a single example as a test of the whole. At times the component letters of the ciphers look more like the undetermined characters on the Khubus coins, at others, they seem nothing more than simple Pehlvi letters congregated into a single group, in which process they lose much of their distinct identity. Under these conditions, some may be read , (possibly ), &c.

- No. 2. Silver. Weight, 61.0 gr.  
 Same types and legends, with the exception of the date, which is  
 سپینجا ۵۳ ا.هـ.
- No. 3. Silver. Weight, 58.0 gr. British Museum.  
 As above, with the date سپینجا ۵۳ ا.هـ.
- No. 4. Silver. Weight, 31.0 gr. Stokes. (This coin is but little worn, though it may have been clipped.)  
 Obv. As above.  
 Rev. Date, A.A. 53. Mint city ل ل ?
- No. 5. Silver. Weight, 43.6 gr. British Museum.  
 Obv. As above.  
 Rev. Date, A.H. 54. Mint city سجستان ?
- No. 6. Silver. Weight, 35.0 gr. Pl. II. fig. I.  
 Obv. As above; but more accurately engraved than usual, having the complete کسرم with the final د distinctly expressed.  
 Rev. Left. سپینجا ۵۵ ا.هـ.  
 Right. بصره

ADDITIONAL PUBLISHED COINS.—M. Soret (Lettre, Genève) gives a coin identical with No. 2; and a piece of Ziád's is quoted by the same author from the Pietraszewski Cabinet, dated A.H. 52. The name of the mint city is not however mentioned.

## II. OBEIDULLAH BIN ZIAD.

Of the many sons of Ziád', whose names have found a place in history, the most prominent was Obeidullah, who, inheriting in a high degree the general capacity and determination of his sire, seems by their means to have attained an equal, though less enviable, celebrity

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Kotaibah enumerates twenty-three. See passage quoted by Olshausen, p. 52, "Die Pehlwie Legenden."



in the annals of his day, his memory being loaded with the obloquy—exaggerated doubtless by sectarian virulence—due to his share in the destruction of the Imám Husein. Hence we find many Mōhammedan authors, even while conceding to him full credit for his abilities and success, associating the mention of his name with the almost invariable adjunct of “the Cursed”<sup>1</sup>.

During the year succeeding that which witnessed the death of his father, he was appointed by the Khalif Moavia to the government of Khorásán<sup>2</sup>, whence he ably led his troops beyond the Oxus, as far as Samarkand<sup>3</sup>. In A.H. 55<sup>4</sup>, Obeidullah was nominated Amír of Busrah, apparently retaining his previous charge by deputy until A.H. 56<sup>5</sup>, when Khorásán was bestowed upon Saíd bin Othmán.

After the accession of Yezid (in A.H. 60), Obeidullah bin Zíád was selected by the new Khalif to conduct operations against the party and person of Husein the son of Alí, receiving letters patent for the additional governments of Kufah and Arabian Iráke, to enable him more effectually to carry out the Khalif's designs. It is not necessary to follow the prolix relation of the Pársian writers regarding the fulfilment of Husein's destiny; suffice it to say, that the head of the son of Alí was shortly forwarded to Yezid, who, imitating the brutality of his agent Obeidullah<sup>7</sup>, is reported to have displayed his triumph by suiting the then for ever silent lips<sup>8</sup>.

On Yezid's death, in A.H. 64, Obeidullah hastened to secure himself in his position of Amír of Busrah, by persuading the people to elect him their protector<sup>9</sup>; but a similar proposition made to the citizens of Kufah meeting with less favour from that body, induced the men of Busrah to recall their act, and Obeidullah was obliged to quit his metropolitan city somewhat hastily<sup>10</sup>, and flee to Syria. Here, on the opportunity offering, he was mainly instrumental in the elevation of Merwán the son of Hakem to the throne of the Khalifs<sup>11</sup>, and was himself invested with the title and honours of Generalissimo

<sup>1</sup> ملعون Tabarí, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Price, I. 384.

<sup>3</sup> Ockley, 373; Price, I. 384; Tabarí.

<sup>4</sup> Ockley, 373; Price.

<sup>5</sup> Ockley, 374; Tabarí MS. Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>6</sup> Price, I. 412; Tabarí (he enters Kufah Z'ul Hajjah, A.H. 60).

<sup>7</sup> Ockley, 410; Price, I. 396.

<sup>8</sup> Tabarí.

<sup>9</sup> Ockley (quoting MS. Laud, 161 A), p. 431.

<sup>10</sup> Tabarí جون سك كركين

<sup>11</sup> Tabarí.

of the Syrian forces. In A.H. 65<sup>1</sup>, Obsidullah—in the celebrated combat of Ainalwerd—routed and cut to pieces Solimán's army of Penitents<sup>2</sup>. Being directed to proceed against Kufah, then in the possession of Mokhtár, he was met by the latter's General, Ibrahim, and defeated and slain in Moharrim 67 A.H.<sup>3</sup>

## OBEIDULLAH I ZAMID.

Arabic عبيد الله بن زياد

N<sup>o</sup>. 7. Silver. Weight, 60.5. Stuart. British Museum. Unique.

Obv. Head as usual.

Right. { اوبيدالله  
 زياد بن زياد

Marg. بسم الله

Rev. Left. زياد بن زياد or زياد بن زياد A.H. 45.

Right. د for Dárabgerd.

Marg. A monogram.

N<sup>o</sup>. 8. Silver. Weight, 58.0 gr. Masson.

Has the same legends, with the date ٥٠-٤٠-٤٠ ششویست

as it reads, but which I imagine to be intended for ٥٠-٤٠-٤٠

for شش شست A.H. 66.

N<sup>o</sup>. 9. Silver. Weight, 64.0 gr. (Three specimens:—1 Masson, 2 General Fox.)

Obv. As above.

Marg. Contremarque موم

Rev. Left. ٥٠-٤٠-٤٠ شش پنجا A.H. 56.

Right. دزد Yezd.

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, 451; Price, I. 296.

<sup>2</sup> Such was the name applied to "all those who confederated under him to revenge the death of Hussein." Ockley, 447.

<sup>3</sup> Ockley, 459; Price, I. 437.

No. 10. Silver. Weight, 50.5 gr. Masson. Pl. II. fig. II.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left.  $\text{و-و-و-و-و-و-و-و}$  (imperfect) شش پنجا or possibly

هشت (پ)نجا  $\text{و-و-و-و-و-و-و-و}$

Right.  $\text{و-و-و}$  بیضا for بیش

No. 11. Silver. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Obv. As above:

Rev. Left.  $\text{و-و-و-و-و-و-و-و}$  هشت پنجا A.H. 58,

Right.  $\text{و-و-و}$  Busrah.

Additional dates:—A.H. 59, weight, 64.6 gr.; British Museum: a second, Masson, A.H. 60, common, Masson, &c.; A.H. 64, rare, Masson. A.H. 68, common, Masson.

No. 12. Silver. Weight, 63.0 gr. Masson.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left.  $\text{و-و-و-و-و-و-و-و}$  و شست A.H. 62.

Right.  $\text{و-و-و}$  ؟

No. 13. Silver. Masson.

Obv. As usual.

Rev. Left:  $\text{و-و-و-و-و-و-و-و}$  شست A.H. 60.

Right.  $\text{و-و-و-و-و-و-و-و}$  ؟ کرمانهفت

No. 14. Silver. Weight, 45.5 gr. Unique. General Fox. Pl. II. fig. II/2.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left.  $\text{و-و-و-و-و-و-و-و}$  سی شست A.H. 63.

Right.  $\text{و-و-و-و-و-و-و-و}$  کشان or بیشان

## III. SELIM BIN ZIAD.

Selim, the son of Zíád—in virtue probably of his origin—was early in life entrusted with high honours and responsibilities, being invested, as he himself tells us, with the dignity of an Amír before he arrived at manhood<sup>1</sup>. It is not stated at what exact period of his life he was first publicly employed, but he is represented to have succeeded to the charge of the province of Seistán and its dependencies simultaneously with his father Zíád's appointment to the government of Irák<sup>2</sup> (A.H. 50). In A.H. 61, Selim was nominated by the Khalif Yezíd to the superintendence of the important province of Khorásán, Seistán either remaining to him or being conferred anew<sup>3</sup>. He had scarcely taken possession of his fresh command when he entered upon a successful campaign against the Túrks, making himself master of the country of Samarkand, and pushing his victorious troops even to the gates of Khárisim, which eventually capitulated to the invaders<sup>4</sup>.

On the occurrence of the intestine struggles which distracted the Mohammedan empire immediately on the death of Yezíd (A.H. 64), followed by the hasty abdication of his son and momentary successor,

MS. 99, Royal Asiatic Society. <sup>1</sup> که من اتر قبل مردي امير بودم

Ockley (quoting MS. Laud, 161 A) informs us that Selim was 24 years of age in A.H. 61 (p. 420). Supposing this to be correct, he must have been only 13 when first sent to Seistán.

<sup>2</sup> و چون وقت معاويه بود معاويه زياد بن ابی سفيانرا  
بعراق فرستاد و پسرش سلم بن زيادرا بسجستان فرستاد و  
آن زمينهاي سند و هند که بسجستان پیوسته است بدو داد  
و آن وقت معاويه کشاده شد و همه بطاعت سلم بن  
زياد آمدند

MS. 34, Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>3</sup> Ockley (MS. Laud, 161 A), p. 420.

<sup>4</sup> Price, I. 412; Ockley, 420.

و بهر شد و انرجيکون بگذشت و با ترکان حرب کرد  
و سغد سمرقند بکشاد و بدرخواستهم شد و يك سال آنجا بماند

MS. 34, Royal Asiatic Society. و باخر بصلح بکشاد

Moavia II., the people of Khorásán<sup>1</sup> voluntarily confirmed their allegiance to Selim, pending the definite decision of the question of the election of a Khalif. It does not appear very clearly from the statements of our available authorities on the point, how long this arrangement remained in force, but we find that Selim died at Busrah<sup>2</sup> at a period not very far removed from the date of these events<sup>3</sup>, leaving behind him a reputation not easily matched, and evidently deep-sunk in the hearts of the people over whom he had lately ruled, who are reported to have displayed their veneration for his virtues by perpetuating his appellation among their offspring, so that the name of Selim became common in the whole land<sup>4</sup>.

## SELIM I ZIAD.

Arabic سلم بن زياد

No. 15. Silver. Weight, 50·5 gr. Very rare. Pl. II. fig. III. (Two specimens—Mason and General Fox.)

Obv. Left.	سليم	
Right.	{	سليم ي زياد بن زياد
Marg.	بسم الله	
Rev. Left.	سليم بن زياد	شش پنجا A.H. 56.
Right.	درد	ييزد Yezd.

No. 16. Silver. Weight (average of 12 coins), 56·2 gr. Common.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left.	سليم بن زياد	سشست A.H. 63.
Right.	درد	مرو Merv.

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Kotāibah (Paris MS.) has only the following brief notice of Selim:—

سلم بن زياد فكنيته أبو حرب و كان أجود بني زياد و  
ولي خراسان لبزید و قبه يقول بن عراد ؛ عتبت علي فلما  
هجتت ؛ و خالطت اقواما بكيت علي سلم ؛ و مات  
بالبصرة وله بهاعتب

<sup>3</sup> Tabarī. See note quoted under Abdallah Hāzīm, p. 298.

<sup>4</sup> Ockley, 437; Tabarī, &c.

A similar coin in the Masson collection has the date written  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$   
 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 A.H. 63. Contremarque ?  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

Additional dates on coins of the same ruler struck at Merv are—(a), A.H. 64  
 $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ —(b), A.H. 65  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ — $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ — $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$   
 (c); A.H. 66, unique, Masson—(d/2), A.H. 67, common, Masson—(d), A.H. 69  
 $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  rare, Masson.

These Merv coins are frequently found with the Mervalrúd contremarque.

No. 17. Silver. Weight (average of 5 coins), 62.6 gr.

Obv. As above. Contremarque as No. 9.

Rev. Left. Date, A.H. 63.

Right.  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  مervalrúd.

Additional dates:—(a), A.H. 64, rare, General Fox  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$   
 for  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ —(b), A.H. 67  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ ; it also occurs as  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$   
 or  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ ; and a doubtful date is found on one specimen (Masson) written  
 $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  which may be intended either for  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  or  
 taking the initial as  $\text{𐭮𐭲}$  for  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  or  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ ;  
 I notice also a doubtful date  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  70, or more probably an imperfect 67?

No. 18. Silver. Weight, 61.0 gr. (Two specimens.) Masson.

Obv. As usual.

Rev. Left.  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  corrupt rendering for 66.

Right.  $\text{𐭮𐭲}$

No. 19. Silver. Weight (average of 10 specimens), 61.8 gr. British Museum<sup>1</sup>.


Obv. As in the previous examples.

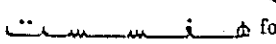
Rev. Left.  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  corrupt date for 66.

Right.  $\text{𐭮𐭲}$  old form for  $\text{𐭮𐭲}$  Herát.

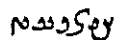
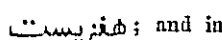
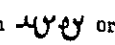

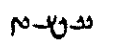
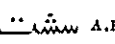
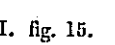
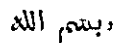
<sup>1</sup> A nearly similar coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has the annual  
 date expressed thus,  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  61 or  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

No. 20. Silver. Weight (average of 9 specimens), 56·7 gr. Common.

Obv. As above. Contremarques, as in No. 9 and 

Rev. Left.   for A.H. 67.

Right. Herát, as in the last coin.

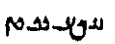
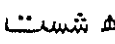
Other specimens have the date written  ; and in one instance even  or  occurs (Masson). The generality of the Herát coins are badly executed. One coin (Masson) of this class, with the year   A.H. 63, has the remains of the name of its mint city thus indistinctly legible , Pl. II. fig. 15. On the margin, following the , is to be seen a word I have not been able to decipher.

No. 21. Silver. Masson. Rare.

Obv. As before.

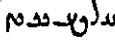
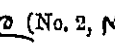
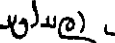
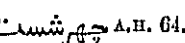
Rev. Left.  

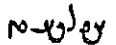
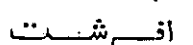
Right. 

General Fox has a second specimen, the date of which is also obscure; but which may be taken as intended for   67 or 68?

No. 22. (Two specimens.) British Museum.

Obv. As usual.

Rev. Left.   (No. 2,   A.H. 64.

Right.   See Pl. II. figs. 11, 12, 13, 14.

#### IV. ABDALLAH BIN ZUBEIR.

After the unequal battle of Kerbelah, in which Husein's pretensions to the Khiláfat were put an end to with his life (10th Moharim, A.H. 61), the provinces of Mecca and Medinah declared for Abdallah the son of Zobeir, and he was shortly afterwards proclaimed Khalif accordingly<sup>1</sup>, his authority being for the time limited to Arabia, Yezid still continuing to hold the rest of the Mohammedan empire. The latter did not long defer his attempts to reassert his supremacy over the land of the holy cities, sending an army against Abdallah, who was eventually besieged in Mecca, and reduced to much distress, when news was received of the death of Yezid (Rabi al Awal,

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, 421, 434; D'Herbelot.

A.H. 64)<sup>1</sup>, which event, in the then uncertain state of rightful order of succession, not only put an end to the siege, but produced an offer from the adverse general to recognise and support Abdallah Zobeir himself, and to lead him to the conquest of the whole [Moslim] world. From some strange and unaccountable infatuation, which remained with him to the last, he refused to quit Mecca, and the Syrian army returned to Damascus unpledged, and free to assist any competitor for the honours of rulership that chance or opportunity might produce. The Khilâfat of Syria and Palestine, after a brief interval, fell to the share of Merwân, while the rest of Mohammedan Asia acknowledged Abdallah Zobeir. Abdallah enjoyed this dignity—such as it was—for nine years, residing uninterruptedly at his ill-chosen capital, exercising a scarcely nominal control over the more distant provinces, many of which remained a prey to anarchy and confusion during the whole of his reign, and interfering but little with others ruled over by virtually independent chiefs, who perhaps had less objection to cite his name than that of a more directly powerful master. He was killed by the celebrated Hejâj bin Yusuf, the General of Abdalmalik, in A.H. 73<sup>2</sup>.

ABDALLAH I ZOBEIR<sup>3</sup>. (Inedited.)

Arabic عبد الله بن زبير. Armenian ԱՊԵՆԱ.

No. 23. Silver. Weight, 51.0 gr. Very Scarce. Pl. II. fig. XIV.

Obv. Left. As usual.

Right.	{	اپدولا	دول
		ی نروقیران	دول
Marg.		بسم الله	دول
Contremarque.		چولان	دول

Rrv. Left. سشست دول

Right. [؟] (کسول) کرمانهفت (کسول)

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, 427.

<sup>2</sup> بیاتنا هه جهان ترا دهه عبد الله بن زبير گفت من انر

مکه بدر نیایم حصین انر او نومید شد و بانر بشام رفت. Tabari.

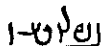



<sup>3</sup> Ockley, 434; Price, I. 450.

<sup>4</sup> Makrizi. "Abdallah f. Zobeir princeps fidelium Meccae constitutus, omnium primus drachmas rotundas (titulis in orbem ductis praeditas), quae vero deformes, crassae et resectae fuerunt, percussit, quod nemo ante eum fecerat. In circuitu unius lateris insculpi curaverat: *Muhammed est legatus Dei*; et alterius: *praecipit Deus observationem (foederis) et justitiam.*"—p. 32.

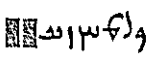
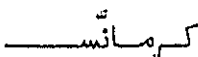


No. 24. Silver. General Fox. Pl. II. fig. IV.

Obv. Area as above.

Marg.  and  only.  Contremarque 

Rev. Left. As above.

Right.  

#### V. ABDALLAH BIN HAZIM.

Of a chieftain, or chieftains, bearing this name, who flourished at or about the epoch required to correspond with the dates on our coins, we have several detached notices, though but little approaching to anything like a single complete connected biography on the one hand, or sufficient means of discriminating the different persons so designated on the other, as, from the strange currency given to favourite names among the early Mohammedans, it is perhaps hazardous to endeavour to identify the various phases of the life of any given individual, existing in such troublous times, amid such changing fortunes and such distant scenes of action as were open to the first Moslim commanders.

The earliest notice of an Abdallah bin Házim, at all suitable to our wants, is found on the occasion of the disturbances which took place in Khorásán in A.H. 31—32, when a chief of that name distinguished himself by suppressing the local revolt, even after his immediate superior had departed to seek succour, leaving the province in virtual possession of the insurgents<sup>1</sup>. For this service Abdallah was rewarded by a post of some importance<sup>2</sup> in the executive government of the country.

Again, on the Khalif Moavia's return to Damascus, in A.H. 40, an Abdallah bin Házim is appointed governor of that city<sup>3</sup>; but whether this, or either of these, was the same Abdallah bin Házim who subsequently became so powerful as effectively independent master of Khorásán, we have no obvious means of deciding. It is

<sup>1</sup> Price, I. 165.

<sup>2</sup> The *Habib us Sair*, quoted by Price, says, "The government [of Khorásán] was confirmed to him in consequence;" but there are doubts about the fact.

<sup>3</sup> Abú Faraj, 123:—"Ipse (Moavia) Damascus reversus, praefecit (ei) Abdallam Ebn Hazem."

perhaps sufficient for all present purposes to say that written history records, and our medals in a manner confirm the fact, that Abdallah bin Házim was employed under Selim bin Zíád during the latter's tenancy of the government of the eastern provinces of Persia, and that shortly after the death of the Khalif Yezíd, in A.H. 64<sup>1</sup>, Abdallah became one of the competitors for the possession of Khorásán, the whole of which—chiefly by absolute conquest from his rival lieutenants, previously nominated by Selim—eventually (A.H. 65)<sup>2</sup> fell to his undivided control, and held nominally for Abdallah Zobeir, but truly in virtue only of his own sword, was ruled uninterruptedly with no light hand until A.H. 72<sup>3</sup>, when the Khalif Abdalmalik, failing to gain his allegiance by fair means, was reduced to conspire with his recusant vassal's lieutenant, to deprive him of his government, which was only at last effected by the treachery of his followers, ending in a pitched battle, in which he lost his life<sup>4</sup>; the victor receiving the

<sup>1</sup> Price, I. 446.

<sup>2</sup> We gather incidentally the approximate date of the rise of Abdallah Házim's power in the statement of Tabarí, that he was occupied an entire year in the siege of Herát, after he had gained possession of the rest of Khorásán, and that Herát was captured in the year the Khwárij came to Kufah, *i.e.* 65. (Ockley, 451.)

و باخر سپاه هراة هز بهت شدند \* \* و سياستي اندر  
خراسان افتاد كه نديده بودند و همان سال بود كه خوارج يكوفه  
آمدند و دعوي شيعه كردند و سپاه بر گرفتند و بشام شدند  
حتانكه اندر عراق كس نماند

Tabarí, MS. 34, Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>3</sup> Price, I. 447; or A.H. 73, Ockley, p. 475.

<sup>4</sup> Price, I. 447. Tabarí gives some curious particulars concerning Abdallah Házim's acquisition of Khorásán, which I transcribe from the Persian version of his work:—

و اميري خراسان از قبل يزید بسلم بن زیاد \* \* \* بود  
\* \* \* خبر آمد كه يزید بن معاويه بمرد \* \* \* پس سلم  
آهنگ شام كرد و مهلب بن ابي صفره را بر خراسان امير كرد  
\* \* \* و چون يزید بمرد فتنه در خراسان افتاد و سه امير  
آهنگ خراسان كردند سلجان بن يزید و عمرو بن حازم و عبید الله

promised reward of his perfidy in the patent which gave him the temporary sovereignty over the subjects of the easternmost division of the Khiláfat.

بن حازم و سلیمان بن یزید چون نزدیک مرو رسید سلم پیش  
وی باز آمد و گفت یا سلیمان کجا میروی گفت نزد تو تا  
مرا بولایینی فرستی سلم گفت مروالروک و طالقان و کوزکان  
[MS. 34. کوزکان] و آن ناحیت ترا باد پس سلیمان مروالروک  
بنشست \* \* چون سلم بنشاپور رسید عبد الله بن حازم  
پیش او آمد و گفت خراسان کرا دادی گفت مهلب را گفت مرا ده  
جواب داد که بخارا ترا دادم عبد الله گفت من خراسان خوهم  
سلم دانست که فتنه انگیزد گفت عهد من ترا بکار نباید که  
من از قبل مریدی امیر بودم اکنون او مرد عبد الله بدر  
مرو آمد مهلب سپاه را کرد کرد و بحرب آمد عبد الله ایشانرا  
بشکست و شهر بگرفت و غارت کرد و نامه کرد بهر شهری که  
خطبه بنام من کنید و همه بگردند مگر سلیمان بن یزید  
که با او جنگ کرد و او را بکشت [This passage varies in MS. 34.]

Royal Asiatic Society, MS. 99. \* \* و ابن عبد الله از مصر

بود و سپاه او همه عرب بود و خراسان بگلبد و شمشیر بگرفت  
Royal Asiatic Society, MS. 33.

Ibn Kotaibah's notice of Abdallah Házim is confined to the following remarks:—

عبد الله بن حازم السلمي یکنی ابا صالح و امه سودا  
یقال لها عجلی و كان اشجع الناس ولی خراسان عشر سنین  
وافتح البسین ثم ثاربه اهل خراسان فقاتلوه

ABDULLAH I HAZIM. (Inedited.)

*Arabice* عبد الله بن حازم

No. 25. Silver. Weight (average of 29 specimens), 59.5 gr. Common.

Obv. Left. افزوت  
 Right. { اپدولا  
 ی هزمان  
 دسکد  
 دسکد

Rev. Left. دسکد دسکد A.H. 63.  
 Right. ۱۱۶ مerv.

Other specimens of the money of this Governor, minted at Merv, bear severally the following dates:—(a), A.H. 64 (دسکد), rare; (b), A.H. 65, rare, Pl. II. fig. V.; (c), A.H. 66, common; (d), A.H. 67, common; (e), A.H. 68, unique (General Fox); (f), A.H. 69—date variously written ۱۱۱, ۱۱۲, and ۱۱۳—نوشتست—common [one example of this coinage gives us a new Pehlvi reading of the name of Házim, thus ۱۱۳]; (g), A.H. 70, rare; (h), A.H. 72 (دسکد دسکد), rare; (i), A.H. 73, unique (General Fox).

No. 26. Silver. Weight, 62.5 gr. Very rare.

Obv. As above.  
 Rev. Left. ۱۱۳ دسکد نوشتست  
 Right. ۱۱۶ مerv.

No. 27. Silver. Weight, 57 gr. Unique.

Obv. As above.  
 Rev. Left. ۱۱۳ دسکد نوشتست A.H. 63.  
 Right. ۱۱۳ Khubus.

The name of the Mint on this coin has been a good deal worn; so much so that I can scarcely rely upon the reading proposed. See Pl. II. fig. 17.

No. 28. Silver. Average weight, 62.5 gr. (4 coins, Masson).

Obv. As above.  
 Rev. Left. ۱۱۳ دسکد دسکد and ۱۱۳ دسکد دسکد هفتشتست A.H. 67.  
 Right. ۱۱۳ دسکد دسکد افزوت or ۱۱۳ دسکد دسکد افزوت  
 Hazarasp? See fac-similes, Pl. II. figs. 11, &c.

Other specimens of this class of coins bear date—(a), unique (General Fox),  
 هشتتشت سنه ۴۰۰ هجرت ۴۰۰ for A.H. 68; in this instance,  
 as in one of the preceding examples, the ۴۰۰'s, in both the annual date and  
 the name of the city, are formed by the juxta-position of an ۴ and an ۰, thus—  
 ۴۰۰ : (b), rare (Masson), ۴۰۰ - ۴۰۰ نوشتت A.H. 69.

No. 29. Silver. Weight (average of 8 specimens), 60.7 gr.

Obv. As in the preceding coins.

Rev. Left. هفتتشتت ۴۰۰ سنه ۴۰۰ A.H. 67.

Right. بیس or با ۴۰۰

Other similar coins have the date ۴۰۰ سنه ۴۰۰ A.H. 68; and one  
 specimen is stamped with the contremarque چولان ۴۰۰ for چولان  
*Current.*

## VI. AUMAR BIN OBEIDALLAH.

In the absence of explicit historical data, there is some difficulty  
 in satisfactorily identifying the individual whose name appears as  
*Aumar-i-Obeidārān* on a considerable number of the available speci-  
 mens of the early Arabico-Persian coins. The first hasty glance  
 would probably lead to the supposition of Aumar's being the son of  
 the notorious Obeidallah bin Zīād, who possessed such extensive  
 power as Governor of Busrah, Kufah, and their dependencies, imme-  
 diately previous to the date of the earliest piece in this particular  
 class, which is seen to have been struck at Kerman in A.H. 65. This  
 association is, however, readily shown to be inadmissible, as it is  
 known that Obeidallah Zīād died (A.H. 67) without issue<sup>1</sup>. In re-  
 marking upon the dates and places of mintages of the remaining coins  
 of this suite, it will be observed that the officer whose name is re-  
 corded on their surfaces remained in uninterrupted charge of the  
 cities represented by the monograms ۴۰۰ [بیضا Beiza,] ۴۰۰, and

<sup>1</sup> قتل عبید الله و لاعتب له و کان یوم قتل یوم عاشورا

سنة سبع و ستین. Ibn Kotāibah. X

in all likelihood **ددم**, during the years 68, 69, and 70 A.H. In A.H. 67, Mosáb bin Zobeir took Kufah<sup>1</sup>, which, together with all Mohammedan lands to the eastward, he retained till his defeat and death, in A.H. 71; admitting therefore, these to be monograms indicating cities subject to Musáb's vicereignty, which may be taken to be sufficiently shown by the identification of the first (the chief Moslem cantonment in Fárs), it is clear that Aumar i Obeidálán must have been in immediate contact with and subordination to Mosáb himself; but, as a confirmation of the previous surmise, we learn from the casual mention of some of Mosáb's most eminent generals, whose absence was rejoiced over by Abdalmalik on the fatal day at Masken, that one of these most trusted officers, by name Omar bin Abdallah, was then Governor of Persia Proper<sup>2</sup>—the identical province whose seat of government is indicated by the coins. In proposing to correct the orthography of this name as found in MSS. by the Pehlvi legend to be read on the medals to the substitution of Aumar for Omar, and Obeidallah for Abdallah, Oriental scholars will admit that I am doing but slight violence to probability in thus amending these designations<sup>3</sup>.

## AUMAR I OBEIDALLAH.

*Arabia* عامر بن عبید الله

No. 30. Silver. British Museum. Unique.

Obv. Left.	افزوت	
Right.	{ سه لو	اومر
	{ سه ر سه ل سه	اوبیتالان
Marg.	الله الحمد	
Rv. Left.	سج و سد	پنج شست A.H. 65.
Right.	و ل سه	کرمآن Kermán.

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> Ockley, p. 468.

<sup>3</sup> Oshausen notices two instances of the occurrence of names nearly similar, *i.e.*

عمر بن عبید الله بن مخر (Num. Chr. xi. 125); one is referred to in A.H. 68, the other (perhaps the same) as falling in battle with the Khwariz.

No. 31. Silver. Weight (average of 7 specimens), 62.8 gr. Common.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left.  $\text{سنة ثمانون و ثمان مائة}$  هشتاد و ثمان مائة ا.ه. 68.

Right.  $\text{بيضا روى}$

One of these coins bears the contremarque  $\text{سنة ثمانون و ثمان مائة}$ , and a second is stamped جائز

Additional dates on Coins of the same Governor and the same mint city:—

(a), ا.ه. 69, unique (Masson),  $\text{سنة ثمانون و ثمان مائة}$  : ثمانون و ثمان مائة (b), ا.ه. 70, common,  $\text{سنة ثمانون و ثمان مائة}$

The only two gold coins I have met with, of the early Arab Khusruf type, bear the name of Aumar i Obeiddá; both were coined at بيضا, and both are dated ا.ه. 70 (Prinsep, British Museum, weight 59 gr.; Steuart, British Museum, weight 67 gr.)<sup>1</sup>.

No. 32. Silver. Weight (average of 4 specimens), 60.7 gr. Common.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left. ا.ه. 68.

Right.  $\text{سنة ثمانون و ثمان مائة}$

Additional dates:—(a), ا.ه. 69  $\text{سنة ثمانون و ثمان مائة}$  ناوشست raro: (b), ا.ه. 70, common.

No. 33. Silver. Weight, 49 gr. Masson. Rare.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left.  $\text{سنة ثمانون و ثمان مائة} = 69$ .

Right.  $\text{سنة ثمانون و ثمان مائة} ?$

Additional date:—ا.ه. 70, weight 61.5 gr. Obv. marg.  $\text{موسى بن موسى}$  \* لله الحمد  
A nearly similar coin is described by M. Soret, p. 12.

<sup>1</sup> "D'après une tradition, *Hercham ben (Mohammed) Kelby* (a. 204) avait dit: que *Mos'ab* n'avait pas seulement fait frapper de la monnaie d'argent, mais encore de la monnaie d'or." Fräehn (quoting Beladery), Jour. As. IV. 346.

## VII. ABDALAZIZ BIN ABDALLAH BIN AMER.

We learn incidentally from Ibn Kotaibah that Abdalaziz, the son of the celebrated Abdallah bin Amer, was [once] Governor of Sejestán', and for the present it would seem that we must rest satisfied with this scanty notice of this officer as sufficient at all events to form a basis for the identification confirmatory of the unusually decisive reading proposed for the subjoined coins.

ABDALAZIZ BIN ABDALLAH AMER. (Inedited.)

*Arabica* عبد العزيز بن عبد الله بن عامر

No. 34. Silver. Weight, 61.4 gr. Prinsep, British Museum.

Obv. Left. As usual.

Right. { ایدولعزیز ی  
 نوملین ویداد  
 نوملسپورولم } ایدولای امیران

Marg. بسم الله العدلی

Contremarque. جائز

Rev. Left. ۶۶ ا.هـ شش شست

Right. دزد یزد

No. 35. Silver. Weight, 63.0 gr. Masson, East India House.

Obv. Left and Right as above.

Marg. As above. (No contremarque.)

Rev. Left. As above, 66 A.H.

Right. دزد یزد

<sup>1</sup> دولی عبد العزیز بن عبد الله بن عامر سجستان  
 Paris MS., p. 47.



کتابخانه  
مرکز دائرة المعارف، بزرگ اسلامی - ۱۳۱۲

VIII. MUSAB BIN ZUBEIR.

The historical facts and details of the public life of Musáb derive additional interest in the eyes of numismatists from the active part he is reported to have taken in the introduction and advancement of those improvements in the adapted currency of the Moslim Arabs, which were undertaken during the reign and under the auspices of his brother, Abdallah the son of Zobeir.

The first notice of Musáb, in the annals of his day, occurs on the occasion of his mission by Abdallah Zobeir to act against the Syrian Khalif Merwán; being encountered by the latter on his return from his successful Egyptian expedition, Musáb sustained a complete defeat (A.H. 64)<sup>1</sup>.

In A.H. 67<sup>2</sup>, we find Musáb deputed to the government of Busrah, where, being joined by that able commander, Mohalleb bin Abu Safrab, he proceeded to attack the celebrated separatist chieftain Mokhtár, at that time in independent possession of very extensive power<sup>3</sup>, and succeeded in putting his forces to the rout near Kufah; Mokhtár himself, with six thousand of his followers, taking momentary refuge in the citadel of that town. On the surrender of this body, after the death of Mokhtár, Musáb, though in his own person apparently disposed to mercy, was induced, by the urgent representations of the Kufians—their fellow citizens—to have the whole number put to the sword.

During the course of the year 71 A.H., Abdalmalik—the then Syrian Khalif—having at length succeeded in placing affairs upon a comparatively satisfactory footing in his own immediate provinces, advanced to the conquest of the rest of Moslim Asia, duly preparing the way—as but too frequently was the custom among these leaders of the Faithful—by treachery. His first and most formidable opponent was Musáb, whom he found, supported by a relatively small force, at Masken, and already labouring under the disadvantage resulting from the defection of an important section of his army, which had been brought over to the Syrian interest. Notwithstanding the inequality of his own troops, Musáb determined to engage, refusing even the proffered terms that were proposed in but little of a hostile

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Ockley, 460; Tabari.

<sup>3</sup> Price, I. 435:—"Kufah, Hejaz, Persian Irak, Egypt [?], and Diarbekir."

<sup>4</sup> Price: Ockley says 7000?

spirit when, in the progress of the action, all hope was lost, remarking that men like himself "did not use to go from such a place without either conquering or being conquered".

MUSAB I ZOBEIR<sup>2</sup>. (Inedited.)

Arabic *مصعب بن زبير*

No. 38. Silver. British Museum. Unique.

Obv. Left. As usual.

Right. 

Right.	{	𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥	مصعب
		𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥	بن زبير

Marg. 

Marg.	𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥	بسم الله
-------	------	----------

Rev. Left. 

Rev. Left.	𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥	هفتاد = 70 odd.
------------	------	-----------------

Right. 

Right.	𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥	Kermansir ?
--------	------	-------------

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, pp. 468-9; Abûl Faraj, Hist. Dyn., 127; Tabari, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Makrizi. "Nec minus frater ejus *Massab f. Zobair* in Iraka drachmas, quarum decem VII methkalibus respondebant, percussit, quibus homines donavit, donec *Al-Hadsjadsj f. Jusuf*, quem *Abdolmalec f. Merwan* princeps fidelium Irakam jam miserat, ab instituto improbi aut hypocritæ recedere licitum judicans illud mutaret."—pp. 82, 83.

"Primus autem, qui numos eudendos curaverit, fuisse dicitur *Massab f. Zobair*, qui fratri sui *Abdallah f. Zobair* jussu, anno LXX Chr. 639. in uno Intero: *benedictio*, et in altero: *per Deum* eis inscripserit. Mutavit hoc *Al-Hadsjadsj f. Jusuf* anno post, et numis inscripsit: in nomine Dei. *Al-Hadsjadsj*."—p. 147.

## IX. OMIAH BIN ABDALLAH.

Of the life and actions of Omiah bin Abdallah bin Khalid, Oriental historians have preserved but scanty memorials; these may almost be said to be comprised in the incidental notices of his appointment to and supercession in, the government of Khorásán.

The dates even of these events are by no means definitively fixed, but are stated by Tabari to have occurred in A.H. 75<sup>1</sup> and 77

<sup>1</sup> و در سال هفتاد و پنج عبدالملك و كيدر را از خراسان بانكرد  
و اميه بن خالد را بفرستاد

Tabari, Royal Asiatic Society, MSS. 33, 34, and 99.

respectively'. In the former year, Omíah replaced Wokiel (Walid\*), the traitorous lieutenant of Abdallah Házim; and in the latter he was removed, in order that the province he ruled might be added to the already extensive power held by the celebrated Hejáj ben Yusuf, who shortly afterwards delegated this charge to Mohallab bin Abi Safruh.

## AUMEAH I ABDALLAH. (Inedited.)

Arabic *أُمِيَّة بِن عَبْدِ اللَّهِ*

No. 37. Silver. Weight, 64.0 gr.

Obv. Left.	أفـنـزوت	١٢٤٥
Right.	{	{
	أومـيـة	١٢٤٥
	يـاـبـدولان	١٢٤٥
Marg.	بسم الله	
Rev. Left.	سـهـفـتات	١٢٤٥
Right.	دوسـهـ١٢٤٥	or سـيـزاجـتان
	دوسـهـ١٢٤٥	Sejestán.

No. 38. Silver. Weight, 66.0 gr. General Fox.

A similar coin, with the place of mintage less fully expressed

سـيـهـسـتن دوسـهـ١٢٤٥ or سـيـزاجـتان دوسـهـ١٢٤٥. Con-  
tremarque *سـيـهـسـتن*

چون سال هفتاد و هفت (هشت 33) (شش 34) اندر  
آمد عبدالملك اميه بن عبد الله بن خالد بن اسدرا اثر

خراسان معزول کرد. Tabarí, Royal Asiatic Society, MS. 99.

Price places the accession and dismissal of Omíah in 74 (75? in noticing the death of Wokiel) and 78 respectively; the former date agrees better with the date on our coins. See Vol. I., pp. 451, 454.

\* Walid? MS. Tabarí, No. 33.

‡ This rendering the final mark } as an N may be objected to, but the same form being used as an undoubted N in all other positions where its value is required, as contradistinguished from the similarly formed U, I have taken it as such to complete the word.

No. 39. Silver. Weight, 57.5 gr. British Museum.

Obv. Left. As last coin.

Right. { اومئیا  
 ی ایسدولان

Marg. بسم الله Contremarque. As on No. 9.

Rev. Left. چهرافتات ۷۴ ا.ه.

Right. خراسان Khorásán.

No. 40. Silver. General Fox.

Obv. As in the last coin.

Rev. Left. ? [هفتتات] 74 ا.ه.

Right. مervalrúid.

#### X. KHALED BIN ABDALLAH.

M. Soret, of Geneva,—an author favourably known to European Numismatists,—has already published a description of a coin, nearly similar to that produced below from the Masson Collection, which he identifies as a piece of Khaled the son of Abdallah, who was nominated Governor of Busrah by Abdalmalik, in A. H. 71. The decipherment upon which this attribution is based was communicated to M. Olshausen previous to its submission to the public, and as it has received from that eminent Pehlvi scholar the stamp of his approval, it requires no adventitious elucidation in this place. M. Soret finds a difficulty in reconciling the historical evidence of the early Arab authors with the date on his coin, inasmuch as the Geneva Dirhem is dated A. H. 75, and Khaled is asserted to have lost his appointment in the same year that he received it; this manifest objection M. Soret proposes to meet by supposing a possible re-inauguration. I am, however, disposed to take a much more obvious and summary method of reconciling the discrepancy, by admitting excessive latitude in certain cases in the continuance of the use of an adopted die,—irrespective of the name it bore,—by the subordinate Government Agents, extending over a period long subsequent to the dismissal or decease of the last Mint-reforming executive authority.

KHALED-I-AFDULAN.

Arabic خالد بن عبد الله

No. 41. Silver. Weight, 59.0 gr. Very rare. British Museum.

Obv. Left. As usual.

Right. { خاليتي سيدلوان  
اپدولان

Marg. بسم الله \* محمد رسول الله

Rev. Left. چهره نجات سيدلوان A.H. 74.  
بيضا pro روى

M. Soret's coin is dated *Busrah*, A. H. 75.

It is worthy of remark that, if the reading now adopted from M. Soret is proved to stand the test likely to be supplied by the discovery of a greater number of specimens of this coinage, we are furnished with a new evidence of the entire want of a  $\text{خ}$  in the older Pehlvi alphabets; we have seen  $\text{سیدلوان}$ ,  $\text{سیدلوان}$  &c., generally using the  $\text{هو}$  where modern practice employs the  $\text{خ}$ , but this is the first numismatic instance of the independent development of  $\text{د} = \text{H}$  (now  $\text{ند}$ ) as serving for the Arabic  $\text{خ}$ , without the succeeding  $\text{و} = \text{و}$ , which was once supposed to form a necessary element of the Pehlvi  $\text{س} = \text{خ}$ . There is a difficulty as to whence the  $\text{س} = \text{خ}$  was derived<sup>1</sup>, (a group which likewise represents the  $\text{خ}$  in Zend); but I may notice, as possibly furnishing evidence towards any determination of the point, that it is singular that the Parsis of Bombay, while giving this last form as one of the signs of  $\text{خ}$ , should also make use of a precisely similar figure for the  $\text{ن}$ . (See Pehlvi Alphabets, lithographed at Bombay.)

I may note incidentally that the name now rendered Khaled in Neshki would be equally convertible from the original Pehlvi as  $\text{حاريت}$ , Hareth.

<sup>1</sup> Müller, 302.

## XI. MOHALLIB BIN ABI SAFRAH.

The name of Mohallib i Abí Safrah finds frequent mention in the chronicles of the events of his day; and among the various descriptions of the intestine struggles, which continued in rapid succession to distract the empire of Islám, he is uniformly noticed as an able and energetic commander, till in process of time he attained the proud pre-eminence of the almost *official* designation of the greatest living captain<sup>1</sup> of the nation of all others, at that moment, the most distinguished for its military enterprise and success. To the details of his rise and progress we need at present but thus slightly refer, as it is not until he comes to be employed in an administrative capacity that our means of illustrating his career become available, when he is found holding certain districts in Persia-Propria for the maintenance of his troops while employed against the Azarakites<sup>2</sup>. Of Mohallib's subsequent elevation to the government of Khorásán we have no numismatic record, the absence of such being probably attributable to the reformation of the Mohammedan currency which was effected in A.H. 76, and resulted in the discontinuance of the practice of commemorating names of either khalifs or viceroys on the coinage of the period.

Mohallib died in full possession of the chieftainship of Khorásán in A.H. 82<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> I quote the Khalif Abdalmalik's own expressions, as rendered by Ockley (p. 473):—"Mohalleb" \* \* \* "who is a man of a most penetrating judgment and good government, hardened in war, and is the son of the grandson of it."

<sup>2</sup> When Hejáj is made governor of Kufah (A.H. 75), he receives orders from Abdalmalik to the following effect:—

باید که خوارج کومها نارس بمهلب دست بان داری  
 که سپاه را روزی بیدهند و شهر بسا و دارا کرد و اصطخر بدو رها  
 کنی حجاج جنان کرد مهلب انر قبل خویش کارداران فرستاد

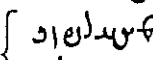


MS. Tabarí, Nos. 99, 33, Royal Asiatic Society. بدین شهرها

<sup>3</sup> Price (quoting Tabarí), I. 460.

## MOHALLIB I ABI SAFRAH. (Inedited.)

*Arabico* مهلب بن ابو صقره


No. 42. Silver. Weight, 56.5 gr. British Museum.

Ov. Left.  انزوتRight.  مهاليبي  
 ابو صقره هانMarg.  بسم الله Contro-marque.Rev. Left.  انا لله A.H. 75.Right.  بيضا

Other specimens of similar coins are to be found in the collection of N. Bland, Esq., and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.


No. 43. Weight, 53.7 gr. Sir H. Willock.

Ov. As in the last coin.

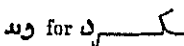
Contremarque. Rev. Left.  انا لله A.H. 76.Right.  بيضا

No. 44. Weight, 56.0 gr. British Museum.

Ov. As in the last coin.

Contremarque. 

Rev. Left. As in the last coin. A.H. 76.

Right.  دام ابكره for ود

## XII. ABDALMALIK BIN MERWAN.

The biography of one so prominent in the annals of the Moslem world as the Khalif Abdalmalik scarcely requires an extended chronicle in this place, being written at large in the history of the creed with whose greatness his name is so closely identified, whether for the re-consolidation of the pre-existing Mohammedan empire under the firm sway of a single dominant hand, or for the actual extension of its boundaries both eastward and westward, and originating those expe-

ditions which in the reign of his successor carried the standards of Islám into Christian Europe—in the subjugation of Spain<sup>1</sup>, on the one hand, and into idolatrous India, in the reduction of Sindh and Multán<sup>2</sup>, on the other.

It may be sufficient for the illustration of the subject more peculiarly claiming our attention, to recapitulate the mere dates of Abdalmalik's acquisition of the different portions of the Asian dominions already subject to the Mohammedan Arabs previous to A.H. 65, at which period—in virtue of his position as *Walí Ah'd*, which had been secured to him by his father, Merwán, in defiance of all equity and accepted engagements<sup>3</sup>—he succeeded to the limited sovereignty of Syria and Palestine, whence, awaiting his opportunities, he eventually extended his influence over the dependencies of Kufah and Busrah (A.H. 71)<sup>4</sup>; Ahwáz, Fárs, and Kermán (A.H. 72)<sup>5</sup>; Khorásán and Arabia (A.H. 73)<sup>6</sup>. He died in A.H. 86, after a reign of 21 years, dating from his first inauguration at Damascus.

ABDALMALIK BIN MERWAN THE KHALIF. (Inedited.)

Arabic *عبدالمك بن مروان*<sup>7</sup>

No. 45. Silver. Weight, 59.0 gr. Masson. Unique<sup>8</sup>.

Obv.	{ <table border="0" style="display: inline-table; vertical-align: middle;"> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">۴۴۶ (۴۴۶)</td> <td>اپدوملكى</td> </tr> <tr> <td style="padding-right: 10px;">۴۳۳ (۴۳۳)</td> <td>مروانان</td> </tr> </table>	۴۴۶ (۴۴۶)	اپدوملكى	۴۳۳ (۴۳۳)	مروانان
۴۴۶ (۴۴۶)		اپدوملكى			
۴۳۳ (۴۳۳)	مروانان				
Marg.	بسم الله				
Rzv. Left.	۴۳۳ ۴۴۶	پنج هفتاد A.H. 75.			
Right.	۴۴۶	مروان مerv.			

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, vol. VI.; M. de Saulcy's *Résumé*, *Jour. Asiatique*, 1839 (*Mousa*, 91, 92 A.H.).

<sup>2</sup> Beladori, *Rainaud's Fragments*, pp. xx and 190.

<sup>3</sup> Tabari MS.; Ockley, p. 436; Price, I. 427.

<sup>4</sup> Ockley (quoting MS. Laud, 161 A), p. 470; Price, I. 445.

<sup>5</sup> Ockley, 472, 474.

<sup>6</sup> Ockley, 475, 479; Price, I. 450.

<sup>7</sup> The Armenian orthography of the name is expressed in Roman letters Aptēmēlēk. (See *Jour. As.*, vol. XIII. (1849), p. 339.)

<sup>8</sup> Makrizi. "Quum autem post eodem Abdallæ et Massab filiorum Zobair, universum imperium ad Abdolmalecum f. Merwan devolutum esset, isque in pecuniam, pondera, et mensuras diligenter inquisivisset, tunc anno Hegiræ LXXVI Chr. 695. denarios et drachmas cudi fecit, pondus denarii XXII Keratia minus grano in Syriaco (pondera); pondus drachmæ vero XXV Keratia aequalia con-



## XIII. HEJAJ BIN YUSAF.

The biography of the celebrated Hejáj bin Yusuf has found a place in too many popular and easily accessible works<sup>1</sup> to require the transcription of any extended summary of his life and actions in this place. It may be sufficient, therefore, to say that Hejáj's extraordinary rise commenced with his expedition against Abdallah Zobeir, in A.H. 72. The success which attended this unpopular undertaking soon marked him out for further employment, and in A.H. 75 he was promoted to the magnificent governments of Irák, Khorásán, and Seistán<sup>2</sup>. These, and added honours, he may be said

stituens. (Keratum autem IV granis, et quilibet Danek 2½ keratilis constiterunt.) Scripsit autem ad Hedsjadsjum Irakæ existentem, ut similes numos euderet. Itaque eos conflagavit, et eorum exempla ad civitatem prophetæ sociis, quibus omnibus bene velit Deus, superstites erant, misit, qui eos non improbarunt, sed sivo æquali epigraphe, sivo figura præditi erant, promiscue habuerunt."—pp. 83, 84.

"*Abdalmaleo f. Merwan* drachmas titulis præditas primus conflasse dicitur. Duo vero numorum genera, alterum titulo persico instructum, Bagliense s. Alauda VIII Danecorum, alterum græce inscriptum, Tiberiense IV Danecorum dabantur, que eruditi istius notatis in consilium adhibiti ita in unam summam collegerunt, ut XII proveniret, eaque in duas æquales partes divisa, VI Danecorum drachmas procuderunt. Referente Abulziado, *Abdalmalecus* Hedsjadsjo in mandatis dedit, ut in Iraka drachmas euderet, cui mandato anno LXXIV, aut ut tradit Almadáni, anno sequenti LXXV morem gessit. Deinde earum percussuram in reliquis tractibus anno LXXV imperavit. *Hedsjadsj* autem eis inscripisse fertur: *Deus unus, Deus æternus est.*"—pp. 147, 148.

Beladery (dec. 279 Hij.), who is noticed by Fræhn to have devoted a special chapter to Arab coinage, informs us that he had heard that, up to the time of Abdalmalik, "les monnaies d'or courantes étaient Grecques, et celles d'argent étaient la monnaie des *Chosroës* ou des *Himiarites*" (وكانت الدينار يرد) (رومية و الدرهم كسروية و حيمرية). Beladery also endeavours to determine the exact epoch of Abdalmalik's introduction of Kufic money, which is said to have been first effected towards the end of A.H. 75, and to have been extended to the different provinces in the following year. See Fræhn, Jour. As., IV. (1824), p. 345.)

\* "Secundum Almakrizium libro de pond. (v. excerpt. p. 66.) *Hedsjadsj* jam anno LXXIV aut LXXV numos vulgavit. Fortassis in moneta aturnanda per annos LXXIV et LXXV periclitati erant prius, quum anno LXXVI omnia in hac arte erant assecuti."

<sup>1</sup> Ockley's Hist. Sar., 474 et seq.; Price, Hist. Moham., I. 440 et seq.; D'Herbelot, in *voca* Hegiage; Abúl Fedá (Reiske), I. 421, &c.; Abúl Faraj; Elmuciu, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> Ockley, 480.

to have retained, with the exception of a brief interval, to the day of his death in A.H. 95, having in effect, though nominally only a viceroy, swayed for twenty years, with all a master's hand, the destinies of a mighty empire; his memory, it is true, is assailed by citations of his cruelties, but his own living answer to the like objection made by his immediate subjects gives a very sufficiently justificatory reply for his own case, and that of many other Oriental potentates similarly circumstanced—"In the way you live, you will always be treated with severity!"

## HEJAJ BIN YUSAF.

No. 46. Weight, 60·0 gr. British Museum.

Obv. Left. Pehlvi.  $\text{𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭲}$  (انسنوت)  
 Right. Kufic. الحجاج بن يوسف  
 Marg. بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله  
 Rev. Left.  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  78 A.H. هشت هفتاد  
 Right.  $\text{𐭮𐭲}$  خت or هوت

No. 47. Weight, 57·0 gr. British Museum.

Obv. Area as in the last coin.  
 Marg. بسم الله  
 Rev. Left.  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  79 A.H. ناهفتاد  
 Right.  $\text{𐭮𐭲}$  بیضا

No. 48. Weight, 55·8 gr. British Museum.

Obv. Area and Margin as in the last coin.  
 Rev. Left.  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  81 A.H. یهستاد<sup>2</sup>  
 Right.  $\text{𐭮𐭲}$  بیضا

<sup>1</sup> Tabarī, quoted by Price, I. 477.

<sup>2</sup> This form is unusual, and perhaps open to question as at present rendered, but we find numerous instances of similar abbreviations of the unit word, and it would be clearly a greater interference with our materials to attempt to make the date into  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  or  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  in preference to 81, as above given.

No. 49. Weight, 59·7 gr. British Museum.  
A similar coin in its entire details.

No. 50. Weight, 60·7 gr. British Museum.  
A coin similar in its other features to the two last, but with the Kufic marginal legend  $\text{الله الجيد}$ .

A Pehlvi Kufic coin of Hejáj, of a slightly varying type, is given by Fraehn, Jour. Asiat. IV. 336, with the marginal legend  $\text{الله الجيد}$ .

INDETERMINATE READINGS.

XIV. ZIAD.

No. 51. Silver. Weight, 45·0 gr. Masson. Pl. III. No. xiv.

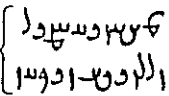
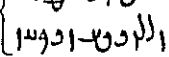
Obv.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{نزيات ي} \\ \text{الله الجيد} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{نزيات ي} \\ \text{الله الجيد} \end{array} \right.$	
Marg.			
Rzv. Left.	$\text{دود}$	$\text{سيفه}$	A.H. 43.
Right.	$\text{ود}$	$\text{Darábgerd.}$	

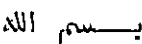
I attribute this coin to Zíád, though I leave the conclusiveness of the identification entirely open to future correction. The name of Zíád—if such it be—is imperfectly expressed, and the final  $\text{س}$  is represented by an  $\text{ع}$  and a following  $\text{}$ ; thus,  $\text{ع}$ : but as this laxity of definition has frequently been found to occur in similar instances where the value of the combination is undoubtedly  $\text{س}$ , it may be suffered to pass without further notice. The restoration of the patronymic is free matter for speculation, inasmuch as there are no less than three or four letters wanting in the middle of the name, and the now vacant space will not apparently admit of the arbitrary insertion of the letters wanting to complete the usual designation of Zíád's father. All available evidence considered, the date, place of mintage, and the legible portion of the chief name, seem to concur in fixing the attribution of the coin to Zíád; and looking to the facts attending the early denial and eventual acknowledgment of his title to call Abu Sofan his father, it is not impossible that the punch contremarque, which has fallen so invidiously on the most important portion of the second line, has, for the present, effaced the medallie recognition of the patronymic that Zíád was permitted to cite, prior to Moavinh's concession of his claim of brotherhood.

No. 52. (Extracted from M. Soret. Given as "No. 758 du Catalogue Sprewitz.")

Obv. Head as usual.

Left. 

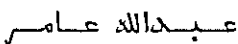
Right.  read by him as معاوية  
 ?

Marg.  بسم الله

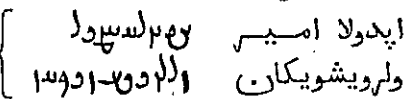

Rev. Left.  سيد احمد A.H. 43.

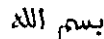
Right.  ود

Possibly "Mááwíá Amír ul rúshúctán" or "ul húrāshuclán" (*Korāish*?).

XV. *Abdallah Amer.*  عبدالله عامر

No. 53. Weight, 57 gr. Steuart, British Museum. Pl. III. fig. XV.

Obv. Head as usual.  اپدولا امير  
 ولرويشويكان

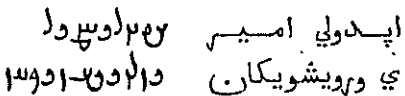
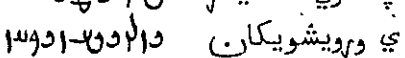
Marg.  بسم الله

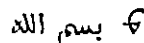
Rev. Left.  چهر پندجا A.H. 54.

Right.  ود — پ — Dárābgerd.

XV. *Abdallah Zobeir?*

No. 54. Silver. Weight, 52.0 gr. General Fox. Pl. III. fig. XV/2.

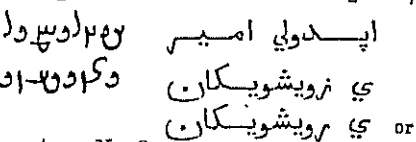
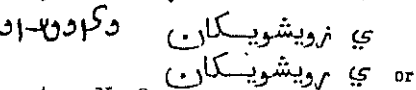

Obv. Head as usual.  اپدولي امير  
 ي ورويشويكان

Marg.  بسم الله

Rev. Left.  سدود سدست A.H. 63.

Right.  سدست ?

No. 55. Silver. Weight, 63.5 gr. General Fox. Pl. III. fig. XV/4.

Obv.  اپدولي امير  
 ي ورويشويكان  
or  
 ي ورويشويكان

Contremarque. As on No. 9.

Rev. As last coin.

XVI. ABDALRAHMAN I ZEID. (*Possibly* I ZIAD?)

No. 55. Pl. III. fig. XVI.

Obv.	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>اپدرمان</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>ي نريتان</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	اپدرمان		١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	ي نريتان		
١٣٤٠		١٣٤٠	اپدرمان							
١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	ي نريتان								
Marg.	بسم الله									
Rev.	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>٥٢</td> <td>٥٢</td> <td>دوينجا</td> <td>52 A.H.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>٥٢</td> <td>٥٢</td> <td>بوسرا</td> <td>Busrāh?</td> </tr> </table>	٥٢	٥٢	دوينجا	52 A.H.	٥٢	٥٢	بوسرا	Busrāh?	
٥٢		٥٢	دوينجا	52 A.H.						
٥٢	٥٢	بوسرا	Busrāh?							

XVII. ABDULLAH ZOBEIR?

No. 56. Silver. Weight, 61.0 gr. Masson. Pl. III. fig. XVII.

Obv.	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>اپدولا</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>ي ونروبران possibly بن نروبران</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	اپدولا		١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	ي ونروبران possibly بن نروبران		
١٣٤٠		١٣٤٠	اپدولا							
١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	ي ونروبران possibly بن نروبران								
Marg.	بسم الله									
Rev.	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>٦٢</td> <td>٦٢</td> <td>دوششت</td> <td>A.H. 62.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>٦٢</td> <td>٦٢</td> <td>كرمان?</td> <td>imperfect?</td> </tr> </table>	٦٢	٦٢	دوششت	A.H. 62.	٦٢	٦٢	كرمان?	imperfect?	
٦٢		٦٢	دوششت	A.H. 62.						
٦٢	٦٢	كرمان?	imperfect?							

XVIII. ABDULLAH.

No. 57. Silver. Weight, 41.0 gr. Pl. III. fig. XVIII.

Obv.	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>اپدولا ي</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>ارمان</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	اپدولا ي		١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	ارمان		
١٣٤٠		١٣٤٠	اپدولا ي							
١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	ارمان								
Marg.	بسم الله									
Rev.	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>٦٦</td> <td>٦٦</td> <td>ششست</td> <td>A.H. 66.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>٦٦</td> <td>٦٦</td> <td>بيزد</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	٦٦	٦٦	ششست	A.H. 66.	٦٦	٦٦	بيزد		
٦٦		٦٦	ششست	A.H. 66.						
٦٦	٦٦	بيزد								

XIX.

No. 58. Silver. Weight, 43.0 gr. Masson. Pl. III. fig. XIX.

Obv.	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>انرا م ي</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>١٣٤٠</td> <td>سوقهان</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	انرا م ي		١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	سوقهان		
١٣٤٠		١٣٤٠	انرا م ي							
١٣٤٠	١٣٤٠	سوقهان								
Rev.	{ <table border="0"> <tr> <td>٦٧</td> <td>٦٧</td> <td>هفت شست</td> <td>A.H. 67.</td> </tr> <tr> <td>٦٧</td> <td>٦٧</td> <td>رد</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>	٦٧	٦٧	هفت شست	A.H. 67.	٦٧	٦٧	رد		
٦٧		٦٧	هفت شست	A.H. 67.						
٦٧	٦٧	رد								

## XX.

No. 59. Silver. Weight, 64.0 gr. Masson. Pl. III. fig. XX.

Obv.	{	کھتان	۱۳۴۷
		انتاي	۳۱۳۵
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev.	{	۶۷۲	۳۷۷۵
		شهرآة	۵۷۵

## XXI.

No. 60. Silver. Weight, 53.0 gr. Masson. Pl. III. fig. XXI.

Obv.	{	اوميران	۳۶۷۳
		ي ابيدوان	۳۳۳۳
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev.	{	دو هفتات	۳۳۳۳۳۳
		۳۳	

## XXII.

No. 61. Silver. Weight, 59.6 gr. British Museum. (Steuart.) Pl. III. fig. XXII.

Obv.	{	اتها	۳۳۳۳
		ي ابيدوان	۳۳۳۳
Marg.		بسم الله ولي الامر	۳۳
Contremarque.		الله	•۱۰
Rev. Left.		دو هفتات	۳۳۳۳۳۳
Right.		کرمانيان	۳۳۳۳۳۳

No. 62. Silver. Weight, 59.5 gr. British Museum.

Obv. As above.

Marg. بسم الله ولي الامر

Rev. Left.		پنج هفتات	۳۳۳۳۳۳
Right.		کرمانيان	۳۳۳۳

No. 63. Silver. British Museum. Pl. III. fig. XXII/2.

Obv. As before.

Marg. بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ [only.]

Rrv. Left. A.H. 75.

Right. كرمانسرو و فدا دودا

I am scarcely disposed to attempt any precise identification of these coins, having an impression that they are mere imperfect renderings of the name of Omihā-i-Abdallah (No. XI. Governor). I adhere in the first name strictly to the most obvious reading afforded by the contour of the letters, but in the second word I have rendered the first and second letters altogether arbitrarily to suit the run of a probable name.

XXIII.

No. 64. Silver. Weight, 67.0 gr. Masson. Pl. III. fig. XXIII.

Obv. ↓	{ دودا دودا دودا دودا	المغير ي مسلمان
Marg.		
Rrv.	{ دودا دودا دودا دودا	سيهفتات A.H. 73.
		سيهفتات?

<sup>1</sup> دودا = دودا pro دودا?

XXIV.

No. 65. Weight, 74.5 gr. Stuart, British Museum. (Broken.) Pl. III. fig. XXIV.

Obv.	{ دودا دودا دودا دودا	ابدلمليك امير ي وروشويكان
Marg.		
Rrv.	{ دودا دودا دودا	[سي? or سه] هفتات
		?

Y 2

## XXV.

No. 66. Silver. Weight, 54.0 gr. General Fox. Pl. III. fig. XXV.

OBY. Right.	{	𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭮	اپدلا
		𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭮	ي اپدولان
Marg.		بسم الله	
REV. Left.		𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭮	سختات ? ا.ه. 73.
Right.		𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭮	?

## XXVI.

No. 67. Silver. Mr. Bland. Unique. Pl. III. No. XXVI.

OBY.	{	𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭮	نزوتواتوس ?
		𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭮	سدات بن اشست ?
Marg.		بسم الله	
REV. Left.		𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮𐭮	پنج سختاد ا.ه. 75.
Right.		𐭮𐭲	

Before taking leave of the medals of the Arab Governors, I must not omit to notice certain copper pieces apparently struck contemporaneously with the silver money described in the preceding pages, though, from the absence of any officer's name on their surfaces, consequent on the baser metal being allowed to go forth unadorned by the designation of the issuing authority, they are destitute of the true historic value attaching to the higher coinages.

No. 68. Copper. Mr. Bland.

OBY. Device, the usual head, but to the right of the field, in the place of the governor's name, is inserted the word 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮. To the left is seen a small monogram.

REV. Device, a single figure.

Left.	𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭮	پنج سخت	ا.ه. 65.
Right.	𐭮𐭲	دا	



No. 69. Copper. British Museum.



Obv. As above, with the addition of the marginal inscription بسم الله

Rzv. Device, a single figure.

Left. ۶۰۰-۶۰۰-۶۰۰ هشت شست ا.م. 68.

Right. و د ا

Marg. \* دلو ؟

A second similar coin, British Museum, has the contromarquo  or 

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It is a frequent and too often a just subject of reproach against those who publish decipherments of ancient monumental writings, that the engravings that illustrate their subjects do not accord with the readings proposed by the author himself. Oriental inscriptions are of necessity more than usually liable to objections of this nature. In the present instance I have to claim unconditional indulgence in this respect, inasmuch as my interpretations have been printed from notes taken from the medals themselves some time since. The engravings were only commenced upon after the major portion of the present paper was actually in type, and are now completed at a moment when it is absolutely impossible to compare them with the originals, much less to endeavour to make them coincide with the text, or even to use this last as a vehicle to point out their defects. This must be sufficient exoneration for me; and for the gentleman who has executed them I have only to say, that with the exception of a want of knowledge of Pehlvi,—in my own opinion, I could not have met with a more excellent artist.

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TABLE OF MINT CITIES AND DATES

A. H.	بوسراہ Busrāh.	بےزا Beiza.	درابگرد. Darabgerd.	سہ ?	سہ ?	یزد. Yezd.
49	...	...	{ Zīād. } { No. XIV.			
49	...	...	Obeidullah.			
51	...	Zīād				
52	No. XVI. }					
53	...	Zīād.				
54	...	Zīād ...	{ Abdallah Amer, { No. XV.			
55	Zīād.					
56	...	...	...	...	...	{ Obeidullah, { Salm.
57						
58	Obeidullah.	Obeidullah.				
59	Idem.					
60	Idem.					
61						
62						
63	...	...	...	...	{ Abdallah Amer, { No. XV. }	...
64	Obeidullah.	...	...	...	...	...
65	...	...	...	...	...	...
66	...	...	Obeidullah	Salm?	...	{ Abdal Ariz, { and { No. XVII. }
67	...	...	...	...	...	...
68	Obeidullah.	Aumar-I-Obeidullah	...	Aumar-I-Obeidullah	...	...
69	...	Idem	...	Idem	Aumar-I-Obeidullah	...
70	...	Idem	...	Idem	Idem	...
71						
72	...	...	...	No. XXI. Amrā.		
73	...	...	...	No. XXIV. }	...	...
74	...	Khāled	...	...	...	...
75	Khāled	Mohallib	...	No. XXVI.	...	...
76	...	Idem	Mohallib.			
77						
78	...	...	...	Hejaj bin Yusuf.		
79	...	Hejaj bin Yusuf.				
80						
81	...	Hejaj.				

ON COINS OF THE ARAB GOVERNORS.

كردمان Kermán.	سجستان Selstán.	مصر Merv.	مرو Mervarúd.	هرات Herát.	خوارزم Hazarasp. ?	؟ ?	A. H.	
							43	
							45	
							51	
							52	
							53	
							54	
							55	
							56	
							57	
							58	
							59	
							60	
							61	
							62	
...	...	...	{ Abdallah Hazim } and Sellm ... }	Sellm.			63	
...	...	...	The same ...	Sellm ...	...	Sellm.	64	
Aumar-I-Obaidullah	...	...	The same.				65	
...	...	...	The same ...	...	Sellm.		66	
...	...	...	The same ...	Sellm ...	{ Sellmand } { No. XX. }	Abdallah...	{ Sellm and Abdallah Hazim. }	67
...	...	...	Abdallah alone...	...	?	...	Abdallah...	68
...	...	...	...	Abdallah	...	...	Abdallah.	69
...	...	...	Abdallah.					70
								71
								72
...	...	...	Omais-I-Abdallah.	Omais-I-Abdallah, Khorásán.				73
...	...	...	...	Omais-I-Abdallah.				74
No. XXII.	...	...	Abdalmalk.					75
								76
								77
								78
								79
								80
								81

## ADDITIONAL CITIES.

- رد or بد Obcidullah Zíád, A.H. 62. Aslem i Sofian? (No. XIX.)  
A.H. 67.
- ال Zíád, A.H. 53.
- سهبجش Moghaira, Zíád, A.H. 54, and different from سهبجش Moghaira, A.H. 73? (No. XXIII).  
Kermán haft (Kermánshah?) Abdallah Zobeir, A.H. 62? (No. XVII),  
and A.H. 63. Kermaunr (Kermánsir?) Abdallah Amer, A.H. 63.  
Musáb, A.H. 71. Ateah i Abdallah? (No. XXII.) A.H. 72, 75.
- ب (short for Busrah?). Abdallah or Abdalrahman i Zeid? A.H. 52.
- سرد (Khubus). Abdallah Házim, A.H. 63. Scythic coins, 63, 68, 69 A.H.?

## IDENTIFICATION OF THE MINT CITIES.

1. Busrah, Pehlvi, بصره. The well-known city of Busrah requires but slight illustrative notice; it may be sufficient to refer the curious reader to the account of its foundation, &c., extracted from Ibn Kotāibah, in Reiske's *Abulfeda*, vol. v., p. 42, and to Tabarí MS., فصل در ذكر خبر بناء بصره بعهد عمر. See also Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 63; "Aboulféda Texte," 308; Edrisi, ii., 155, 156, 161.

2. Beiza, Pehlvi, بيزا, written بيش for بيضا. "Beiza is one of the largest towns in the Kourah of Istakhar: it is a pleasant and well-inhabited place: its walls are white: and it was the station of the Mussulman army at the time of the conquest of Istakhar." (Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 103)<sup>1</sup>; see also *Abulfeda (Text, Paris)*, p. 328.

The name of this Mint occurs frequently on the coins of the later Sassanidæ, where the more distinct formation of the several letters suffices to fix the orthography adopted above.

3. د is the mint monogram for the celebrated city of Dárábgerd, famous as the first capital of Ardeshír Bábegán, the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty of Persia. Dárábgerd was the metropolis

<sup>1</sup> "Beiza has a citadel with fortifications."—Ouseley, 93.

of an important district in the south of Fárs. Its position may be ascertained by a reference to any modern map. Dárábgard, under the same monogram, is frequently found on the later Sassanian money, and its Mint continued to be employed after the adoption of the Kufic *Mohammedan* currency (دریجگرد *د. ن. 91*, see Müller, *De Numis. Orient.*). Tabarí MS., Ouseley, 89 et seq., Aboulféda, 330.

4. *س م ه*. I have not been able to determine the precise meaning of this abbreviation. I have ascertained from the earlier Khusruí examples of its use that the initial letter is properly an *ه*, in contradistinction to the possible *س* or *س*, but it is still a question whether the three letters should stand as *هوت* or *هنت* <sup>1</sup> *خت* *هوت*.

5. *س م د*. Unidentified.

6. *د ك و*. *Yezd*, the well-known town of the name. Istakhrí notices "the district of *Yezd*" as "the most considerable division of the Koureh of Istakhar. Part of this district was formerly [previous to *د. ن. 300*] reckoned as belonging to the province of Kermán, but now is included in the territories of Fárs." (Ouseley, p. 86, Aboulféda, 330.)

Some doubt might be raised as to the conclusiveness of this reading of the Mint Monogram *د ك و* = *د ك و*, as it most frequently appears in the coins of the Arab Governors, as *د و* = *د و*: but the earlier coins give a more correct outline of the different letters, and show the second down stroke as the exact correspondent of one of the known forms of the Sassanian Pehlvi *س*. See De Sacy's *Alphabet*, pl. vii., *Mém. sur Ant. de la Perse*, under *س*; also Longperier, under the same letter, *Introductory Plate*.

7. *ك ر م ا ن* Kirmán. The province of Kirmán forms too important a portion of the Persian Empire to require further identificatory details than its own name carries with it. Tabarí tells us that the capital of the province was in olden days denominated *حیرفت*. (See also Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, 142, &c.; Abulféda *Text*, 336.)

8. *س س ت ا ن* or *س س ت ا ن* Soistán; does not occur as a mint name till the 73rd year of the Hijrah, and it then seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> *ا و د* Near Kasvin?—Ouseley, 167.

employed more to signalize the elevation of a new Governor, than as the representative of any given city, or the continuation of the use of the name from any set of dies previously so marked. In the form and execution of the central devices of these coins, as well as in the shapes of the Pehlvi characters of their legends, there is perceptible a striking uniformity with the same characteristics on the medals bearing the name of Khubus, and having the singular marginal legends which have formed a subject of remark elsewhere.

9. مَرَو Merv. Merv Shahjehán. The then capital of Khorásán. See Ouseley's *Orient. Geog.*, 215, *et seq.*; Abulféda, p. 456.

10. Mervalrúd, or Merv-rúd (Merv on the River), also a highly important town in the days of the Sassanians. After the first capture of Khorásán by the Arabs, Ehnif bin Kais makes it his head-quarters for a time. (Tabarí.) Othmán divided Khorásán into three Governments, of which Mervalrúd constituted one; its dependencies are represented by Tabarí as extending to near Herát. (مرو و مرو رود) Balkh and Nishapúr were made the capitals of the other two divisions. The district subject to Mervalrúd was assessed, according to Ibn Khordadbeh, at 420,400 Dirhems. *Asiatic Jour.*, *Sprenger*, vol. xxx.; Ouseley, 220; Abulféda, 456.

11. Herát, called in olden time هَرِي Hari. On the coins written هَرَ هَرَ Hĕrĕh, or هَرَ Hará, as in Tabarí. See Ouseley, 217, &c.

12. هَرَ هَرَ. I have some reserve in proposing a decisive identification for the city represented by this mint word, but the combination reads so naturally Hazarasp (هَجَرِشْت), that I almost prefer to leave it thus, instead of seeking for a place more important and more frequently mentioned by Arab authors; but as I have reason to question if the early Arabs obtained so complete a settlement at Hazarasp as the extensive issue of coin would imply, I am induced to inquire whether this mint monogram may not possibly refer to Balkh, which was an early Moslem seat of Government, and in classical nomenclature, once bore a designation not very unlike Hajarasht or Aferasht, *i. e.*, *Zariaspa*. Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Persar.* p. 494; Wilson, *Ar. Ant.* 160; see Ouseley, 241; "Fraser's Khorásán," Appendix, p. 67; *Hist. des Sasanides de Fremery*, 275; Edrisí, *Jaubert*, II., pp. 189, 190; Abulféda, 478. (See subjoined Plate II., figs. 11, 12, 13, and 14.)

13. **بابا** Baba, is another word perfectly legible in itself, the relative meaning of which is by no means clear. From the position it holds on the coins of Selim and his deputy, Abdullah Házim, it must be assumed to indicate a city situated within the limits of the Government of Khorásán, and it may possibly prove to answer to Nishápúr, or some of the more important cities of the province whose mint produce is as yet unidentified.

14. **لو** Unrecognised.

15. **ال** Unrecognised. (No. 8 of Plate II.)

16. **شش دود** Shash? written also **شش دود**? doubtful. See Ouseley, 233, vii., &c.; Aboulféda, 494.

17. **کرمانهفت** Kermánsháh. I suppose this to be the Pehlvi method of expressing Kermánsháh. (For various modes of naming this place, see De Sacy, Aboulfedá; also **کرمانشاه** و **قرمیسین** و **قرمیشین** p. 412; Edrisi, **قرماشین** or **قرماشین** ii., pp. 143, 163, 164.)

18. **کرمانسیر** This may possibly be the mint of the district of Kermansir, the eastern portion of Kermán towards Hindustán (sometimes called Nermansir. Marco Polo, p. 85; Pottinger, 199); Bermashir; Ouseley, 145; but the final **د** may perchance merely indicate the city of Kermán.

19. **بج** or **بص** possibly the original mode of indicating Busrah.

20. **خوبس** Khubus, in the desert of Kermán. See Ouseley, p. 199; Aboulféda, **خبیص** p. 442; Marco Polo, "Kobinam," p. 107.

The fac-similes of the Mint Cities of the later Sassanian Monarchs, to be found in Pl. II., have been reserved for notice in this place; I have, however, been induced to curtail any remarks I might otherwise have desired to make from the increasing uncertainty I have necessarily experienced as I have advanced in all Pehlvi decipherments that are not supported by collateral or contextual checks. In the identification of the Mint cities to be found on the coins of the Arab

Governors, a safe index was generally afforded towards narrowing the optional geographical circle, in the boundaries of the provinces submitted to the charge of each officer, whose name was impressed upon the coin; so that the leading name, date, and mint of each piece furnished mutual tests for the determination of the true reading of the conjoint legends. Here, however, no such internal aid is available; the place represented by a given monogram has to be sought over the broad extent of the entire Persian Empire, and we have not alone to combat the ambiguity of the letters themselves, but we find, in most cases, merely the leading portion of each name, which name itself, at best, has to be sought back through the medium of a second language and alphabet, and when reached with apparent *literal* certainty, the city selected is frequently found to have borne a totally distinct designation in the days to which the modern name would have to be made applicable. Under such circumstances I need scarcely excuse myself for not venturing upon any detailed examination of these abbreviations. Some of the more obvious readings may claim a momentary illustration: No. 1, Pl. II., reads clearly *Ram*; it may represent Ram Hormuz, or any *other* of the many *Ram*'s "Rests" of olden time; No. 6 may either be Nisah or Fesah; No. 7 offers the optional letters س ه س Saham, س ه ی Aham, &c.; No. 10 is a variety of the monogram I propose to render *Yezd*; Nos. 11, 12, 13, and 14, are copies of different examples of the name of *Hazarasp*? (Coins 22, 28, &c.); the original of 15 is unique, but the coin whereon it occurs is so much worn that it would not do to rely upon the outline of the mint name it retains; No. 16 is an early example of the method of writing the name of the mint numbered 4 in the above classification of the Arab mint cities; No. 17 occurs on coin No. 27,—my doubts concerning its reading have already been stated; No. 18 is a variant of Kermanhaft, ? the seventeenth mint city noticed above.



Among other monogrammatic abbreviations of the names of the Sassanian mints, which I have not thought worthy of places in the accompanying lithograph, I may cite—*a* س ر, *b* ل د or ل و د, *c* س ر ه, *d* س ر ه, *e* س ر ه, *f* س ر ه, *g* س ر ه &c.





ARABICO-SCYTHIC? COINS, STRUCK AT KHUBUS.


No. 70. Silver. Weight, 58.4 gr. British Museum.

Obv. The usual linear imitation Sassanian head, facing to the right.

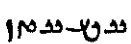

To the left of the head { Monogram   
and 

To the right, in front of the profile Legend, Pl. III., fig. 1.


Marg. In Pehlvi  In Kufic 

To the right of the profile 

Rev. Fire altar and supporters.

Pehlvi { Left  ششست 63 ا.م.  
Right  خبوس Khubus. Pl. III., fig. 2.

Marg. Upper compartments, see Pl. III., fig. 4.



Lower compartments. Left, Monogram, 

Right, Pehlvi, 

Doubtful dates 68 A.H., Pl. III. fig. 3, and 69 A.H. The annual dates on these coins are generally incompletely expressed in their concluding letters.

See also engraving, fig. 4, Pl. xvii., Ar. Ant.














This may be a fitting place to notice the undetermined characters which so peculiarly distinguish these coins. A most important point in the examination of this subject is to determine even the direction followed by the writing, and although so necessary a first step can scarcely be said to be susceptible of direct proof, yet there are many internal coincidences serving to form a fair groundwork for legitimate conjecture. In the first place, it is requisite to test the question by the concurrent legends in other tongues: the reverse marginal inscriptions on the above coins will perhaps afford the most ready means of illustrating this inquiry.


If a straight line be drawn from the upper marginal star, through the centre of the device to the star below the foot of the Altar so as to divide the Reverse surface into two equal portions, and we examine the lower compartments of each, it will be found the word  to the right reads from the outside of the piece, whereas the monogram which occupies the left division—which is so frequently associated with  as to leave no doubt that it follows a like calligraphic inclination—is seen to be legible only from the inside; that is to say, the one has its head lines touching the series of dots which

encircle the field, while the other has its foot lines turned towards the area of the medal. Under these conditions, we should look for the initial point of the superior marginal inscriptions, supposing them in each case designed to follow directions similar to their succeeding words—as starting from the star and crescent directly above the apex of the flames of the Fire Altar, and taking the second letter to the left and the sixth letter to the right, which are identical, as our test, the head and foot lines in each legend would so far correspond; and in like manner, what may be styled the natural direction of the inscription occupying the space on the Obverse usually devoted to the record of the name of the issuer of the coin, would duly coincide with such a scheme of literal inclination, as would *all* similar writings on coins, Classes B, C, &c. It need scarcely be remarked that such a distribution of two legends starting in different directions from one and the same point, can only imply what there would be otherwise reason to anticipate, that the writing affects a perpendicular direction, or was arranged, as is now the custom of Mongol nations, in lines from the top to the bottom of the inscribed surface. The only difficulty in adopting such a determination is, that if we are to recognise in our strange alphabet certain very palpable-looking identities with existing Scythic characters, we must entirely reverse this order of reading, and take our marginal legends each upwards from the crescents and stars, falling in a line with the hands of the Fire Altar supporters, though equally the one must be looked at from the outside of the margin, the other from the centre of the device.

It may be useful to examine cursorily some of the more striking forms seemingly susceptible of isolation from amid the associate characters composing the various legends in this unidentified alphabet, which at the present moment are confined to the following signs:—

## LETTERS.

No. 1  2  3  4  Variant?  5   
 Var.?  6  7  8  9  10  11 

The first in order and most frequent of occurrence is a form consisting of a simple thick circular line,—a round O. In the early stages of almost kaleidoscopic transition from the Greek Legends on the Gold Indo-Scythian coins, the triangular A's gradually merge from their appropriate form into a figure that might be compared to a reversed  $\rho$ , thus  whence the progression into the simple circle, which can be shown to have replaced the original A's, is easily traced; occasionally the circular portion of the  $\rho$  itself was detached from its

perpendicular line, and added to the number of already existing O's, so that in some of the debased gold coins, (Ar. Ant. xiv., fig. 16,) the entire legend presents little else than a simple succession of O's, varied at intervals by a few diverging cross-lines. In the later coins of Sassanian types the O's likewise prevail to an extent that renders it necessary to suppose that, taken as a *bona fide* literal sign, it must answer, like the Pehlvi  $\omega$ , to many and various articulations. (I may remark, among other things, upon the identity of the form with the Nestorian  $\circ = \gamma$ , W, and the Sindhi  $\varpi$ , V.) Klaproth, *Aperçu*, Pl. vi., xi.

No. 2, considered as a compound of No. 1, and an affixed letter in the shape of a T, offers a very Scythic-looking combination; the latter bears a close resemblance to the current forms of Mongol and Manchu A, E, or N finals, &c.

Fig. 3 has also much the air of a Tatar letter, though it might be hazardous to propose to name its extant equivalent; a very similar letter is to be found in the Georgian alphabet, as N. Klap. *Aperçu*, Pl. x.

Fig. 5 finds an exact counterpart in *Fa* Manchu (medial), Klap., p. 96. The assumed variant placed after the fac-simile above given, may possibly prove to be a different letter. The curious in these matters may trace the degradation of the K in Kanerki, Korano, &c., into an anomalous compound formed of three diverging curved lines, which are subsequently replaced by the letters now in question.







No. 8 is like a Pehlvi  $\rho$  P, as well as the same letter in the Manchu alphabet, and the B in Mongol. The letter immediately above the left shoulder of the figure on the obverse of the Khubus coins approximates very nearly to the form of Ph in the Manchu. (See Klap. *Aperçu*, 94, 95.)

Fig. 9 would answer to the E or medial A in Mongol and Manchu.

No. 10 is similar to the Georgian I. as a medial. The conjunctive line runs through the middle of the crescent, and I may notice as a peculiarity in the entire system of writing, that the letters seem, almost without exception, subject to junction by one continuous centre line.


No. 11 occurs only on contremarques, and it is moreover singular in furnishing a precise copy of the oldest form of the Pali  $\text{स}$  s.


No. 71. Silver. Weight, 55 gr. British Museum.

Obv. Head as usual. In front of the profile  which, sup-  
 posing it to be Pehlvi, might be represented in Persian letters  
 by  or   or  See Pl. III., fig. 22.



Marg. Pl. III., fig. 23.

R. rev. Fire altar as usual.

Left. 

Right.  ?

No. 72. A second specimen in the Masson collection has—

Obv.   


R. rev. Left.  ?

Right.  ?

NOTE REGARDING THE UNIDENTIFIED CHARACTERS  
 COMPOSING THE LEGENDS ON CERTAIN CLASSES  
 OF SASSANIAN COINS, Nos. 70, 71, 72.

The undeciphered characters to be found on the coins depicted as Nos. 4 and 8, Pl. xvii, and No. 22, Supplementary Plate, "Ariana Antiqua," and figs. 1, 4, &c., annexed Plate III., though they have attracted some attention from their singularity, have been hitherto passed over without that degree of examination or critical analysis, which their rare occurrence and palæographic interest seem to demand, and though we are still in no condition to decide their import in themselves, or the precise class among the alphabetical systems of Eastern Nations to which they properly belong, yet a close comparison of the various geographical and linguistic data furnished by the different series of medals united by the common bond of the impress of similar symbols on their surfaces, cannot fail to prove useful in preparing the way for a satisfactory determination of the origin and appropriation of the literal symbols in question, or

the development of what at the present moment continues to be the wanting hint towards a definite solution. Under any circumstances, this strange alphabet tested by its association with those of other tongues, whose conterminous existence is accurately defined, and weighed in its connexion with any national or dynastic indications that may chance to offer, will enable us to narrow the true geographical circle of its use around some fairly probable centre, and thus approximately indicate its local habitation, which at least will furnish a most valuable accessory towards the eventual elucidation of the more difficult problem, the family and structure of the language itself.

Without tracing the previous progress in the study of this particular inquiry, or undertaking the useless task of remarking upon coincidences that have escaped the notice of others, it may be sufficient introduction to a detailed examination of the subject, to cite, in as much of chronological order as the materials admit of, the various numismatic ramifications into which the use of this novel character is found to extend; these may be classified as follows:—

1. Its replacing the barbarous Greek on certain later Indo-Scythic coins.
2. Its independent currency on an extensive suite of unappropriated copper pieces of Indo-Persian type.
3. Its detached use on certain coins of the imperial Sassanian type. (Nos. 9 and 10, Pl. xvi, *Ariann Antiqua*.)
4. Its association with the Sanskrit and Pehlvi on the Indo-Sassanian money. (Nos. 8, Pl. xvii, and 22 *Suppy. Plate, Ar. Ant.*)
5. Its appearance on the Arabico-Pehlvi coins struck at Khubus. (Pl. xvii, fig. 4, *Ar. Ant.*)
6. And lastly, the illustrative information derivable from its continued use in *Contremarques*, after its seeming disappearance as an original mint alphabet.

I. The first of these divisions of the general inquiry is perhaps the most curious of the whole, though its aggregate details contribute little beyond the fact of the necessary antiquity of the use of the alphabet under review, in its replacing the original Greek on certain debased coins of the Indo-Scythic type; the comparative degree of antiquity, however, that may be assigned to its employment under these conditions, is still a debatable point, as the sole guide to its decision is the lapse of time which should be allowed for an originally foreign, and probably but imperfectly-acquired language, such as the Greek, as appropriated by these Scythic tribes, to become completely obscure in the hands of an adopting race.

A glance at Coins Nos. 18, 14, 13 and 12, Pl. xiv, Ar. Ant. will show the progressive corruption of the Greek alphabet on some of the less-perfect specimens of the Indo-Scythian mintages: up to this point, in spite of the very palpable debasement of the majority of the letters, there is enough of the primary elements of the legend retained, to justify an inference that even the marginal inscription on No. 12 was designed as an imitation of some of the many already imperfect copies of the original PAO NANO PAO OOHPKI KOPANO of the earlier Kanerki medals, Nos. 1, &c. &c., Pl. xiv, Ar. Ant.<sup>1</sup>

Fig. 17, Pl. xiv, Ar. Ant. is the representation of a different species of coin distinguished by the peculiarity of being concavo-convex, or saucer-shaped; it will be seen however to have been impressed with many of the characteristics of the device of the imperfect coins just noticed, and to have received at the same time much of the crude outline of the Greek legend of their joint prototype, some letters remaining fairly legible, and the general intention of imitation of some one of the already indicated originals, being clearly perceptible throughout the entire obverse marginal inscription. The next coin of this class in the descending order of Hellenic legibility is to be seen in the Prinsep collection, British Museum, which has already been made public in the late owner's own engraving. (No. 6, Pl. xxxviii, J. A. S. B. IV.) Hence we may pass to the medal depicted as No. 16, Pl. xiv, Ar. Ant.<sup>2</sup>

If these several coins stood alone, in their simple conjunction with their obvious exemplars, the inference regarding their legends, in their present form, would merely be that the power or the will to fashion Greek letters had passed away with whatever of the knowledge of that language or alphabet had, concurrently with the Macedonian supremacy, reached the remote provinces of Central Asia, subsequently subjected to Scythic sway. But in associating an examination

<sup>1</sup> Professor Wilson proposed to divide these varieties of imitative pieces into two distinct classes, on the strength of a supposed change from the proper initial *K* in Kanerki to a letter having somewhat of the similitude of a *B*, and so to read the one name as sanctioned of old, and the other as a new designation; it is doubtful whether the difference to be detected between the one and the other does not arise from a simple advance in the process of barbarization.

<sup>2</sup> Under a regulated system of collection and an attendant record of places of discovery much might be gained from such hints as the latter would afford in proving the starting point of coins of undeterminate origin, though of course as applied to gold coins in the East, any such information would carry with it less value than would be conceded in the case of similar data applied to the more locally fixed currencies of silver and copper. The gold saucer coins were found, 1, Kündúz; 1, Badakhshán. See *Ariana Antiqua*, 378.

of the forms eventually produced by successive imitations from an original Greek model, with certain letters on more recent coins of a *locale* which cannot be very distantly removed from the probable "nidus" of these imitative pieces, the eye is necessarily struck by the absolute coincidence of many of the would-be Greek letters on the earlier medals with some of the alphabetical symbols of the very language of which it is now sought to discover the generic source. A reference to Fig. 4, Pl. xvii, Ar. Ant., which, as the latest in point of date and most clearly outlined, may be accepted as a specimen giving the most accurate idea of the once actually current shapes of the debatable letters, will satisfy the reader of the identity of several of the characters found on its margin with certain figures which constitute portions of the degraded Greek inscription on the gold Scythic medals just noticed<sup>1</sup>. This identity being conceded, the question immediately arises, how did these alphabetical coincidences originate? the notion cannot for a moment be entertained, that any given degree of mere debased imitation of Greek, or any other so far lost language, could have suddenly arrested its downward course, and retained such fixity of form, as to carry itself comparatively unchanged through so many collateral modifications of monetary types and apparent varieties of sites, unaffected also by the contact with the veritable letters of two palpably current tongues, as this is seen to have done in the series intervening between the two extreme points now placed in juxtaposition. Hence, did there exist no other ground for such a decision, this argument alone would suffice to prove that the singular literal forms under review must represent a portion of a *bonâ fide* alphabetical series, as distinguished from any servile copying of one standard legend, or any indeterminate agglomeration of individual forms, selected at hazard from an imperfectly understood original, with a view to simulate a legible inscription.

A dependent inquiry next suggests itself—are these, to us unintelligible letters, which thus first appear upon manifest imitations of Scythian coins, by any possibility examples of a system of writing peculiar to the Scythians, and by them brought down and currently introduced into their new possessions? The first hasty reply would probably be in the negative<sup>2</sup>, notwithstanding that many of the

<sup>1</sup> I instance especially *αφα*.

<sup>2</sup> A subordinate argument tending to show the want of any current alphabet among the Kauerki (Yue Chi) Scythians, presents itself in the exclusive numismatic use of Greek letters to express their native names and titles. The Kadphises Scythians, who equally may be supposed to have had no proper system of letters, adopted, with the Greek characters of their Bactrian predecessors, the

doubtful forms on the coins are absolutely analogous with existing alphabetical characters of certain Scythic tribes; as it has been shown that the Scythian hordes generally had no *proper* alphabets prior to the tenth century, A.D.<sup>1</sup>, and in the particular case of the main horde of the Yue Chi, they did not adopt any scheme of writing specially adapted to express their own dialect until 1119, A.D.<sup>2</sup>; but these facts would by no means demonstrate that the division of this tribe which overran Northern India and settled down as the dominant race, in daily contact with a highly cultivated people, did not thus early adopt a set of symbols suited to express the articulations of their own tongue; neither is there anything inconsistent in the supposition that some of the letters thus appropriated should have found their way into the modern alphabets of the Scythian dialects; on the contrary, there are many points of internal evidence which tend materially to strengthen such a view of the subject<sup>3</sup>.

Without attempting at present to decide anything more definite, we must for the moment rest satisfied in assuming, from the mechanical indications afforded by the coins themselves, and the parallel instances of lenuing towards local models capable of citation<sup>4</sup>, that the fabricators of the earlier of the two classes of coins under review understood, and had in common use the same alphabet that finds a place upon the later currencies, (Classes 2, 3, 4, 5,) and that in reproducing the forms of the characters of an unknown, and to them obsolete language, they fell from very ignorance into a progressively increasing assimilation of the distinguishing characteristics of its

Greek style and titles of monarchy, adding, as was the previous custom, corresponding Arian legends on the reverses of the coinage. These last are considered (Lassen, *Journal Asiatic Society*, Bengal,) with some reason to have been adopted, and subsequently retained, in consideration of the possession of the chief seats of the currency of that language; so that their non-appearance on the Kanerki coins in no way affects the question of the antecedent existence of a Scythic alphabet. But the advantage taken by the Yue Chi of the Greek alphabet to define their own or local dignities and designations, proves against them a poverty of means of linguistic expression, which is not so obviously and distinctly chargeable against the Kadphises tribe, or the Parthian monarchs of Persia, whose motives for continuing titular Greek superscriptions in the full integrity of language and letters are easily appreciable.

<sup>1</sup> Ouigour alphabet, Klaproth, *Aperçu*, p. 90; Jaubert, *Journ. Asiatique*, p. 32, (1825,) *id.* p. 6, (1827), Khitan, A.D. 920, Manchu and Mongol, 13th cent. *id.*

<sup>2</sup> Klaproth, *Aperçu*, p. 27, &c.

<sup>3</sup> See examination of coins of Khubus, p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> See the run of Greek into Sanskrit in the Sah coins (*Journ. R. A. S.*, xi.), the *lower* Parthian Greek legends becoming Pehlvi, &c.



individual letters to the occasionally analogous linguistic symbols peculiar to the time and place wherein the imitative coinage received its impress.

All reference to that highly useful indicative portion of the subject, comprised in the typical coincidences of the saucer-shaped Scythian with other series of coins, has been reserved up to this time in order to leave the palæographic bearings of the question to be tried solely on their own independent evidence. It will be remarked, on adverting to Coin No. 17, Pl. xiv, Ar. Ant. which may be taken as the earliest of the convex coins at present within reach, that it possesses the peculiarity in the details of its device, that while the general habiliments of the principal figure remain but little changed from those worn by kings on the flat coins of nearly similar type, the head-dress has been subjected to a striking alteration in the accustomed erect unadorned conical top of the cap being made to project forwards, and terminate in the head and beak of a bird. In seeking for an instance of an analogous employment of such an unusual decoration, we are at once reminded that some of the Sassanian kings of Persia adopted, among other crest devices, the very identical ornament of a bird's-head, and tracing downwards the mutations in the coinage devices of these monarchs, we find that the first instance of the use of such a symbol occurs on a medal of Varahran II.<sup>1</sup>, A.D. 279—296: where the head-dress of the young prince who faces the two principal figures on the obverse, is fashioned as an almost exact counterpart of the cap of the successor of the Scythian, on the gold coins under more immediate notice.

After a brief interval in Persian history, this decoration again appears on the Sassanian money, when it is found forming a portion of the coronal insignia<sup>2</sup> of Hormuzdas II., A.D. 303—310<sup>3</sup>. Whether this device, originating among the imperial Sassanidae, found its way to independent eastern countries, and was there imitatively adopted, and whether at or about either of the periods just quoted as those of the reigns of the aforesaid Persian kings, it would perhaps be difficult to say; but the association is by no means improbable; and as consecutive evidence of the prevalence of such appropriations on the part of the Scythians, it may be noticed that the community of

<sup>1</sup> Longperier, Pl. iv, figs. 5, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Idem*, Pl. v, figs. 4, 5, p. 34.

<sup>3</sup> The coincidence of this Hormuzdas' having espoused a daughter of the King of Kabul, is perhaps in some way to be connected with the introduction of so much of pure Persian devices among the Eastern nations,

head-dress is still more distinctly marked in the next step in the deterioration of the Scythic type, where the head of the standing figure is surmounted by the winged-crown, which so essentially belongs to a Sassanian model<sup>1</sup>.

SEC. II.—This branch of our subject contributes but little towards either the correct location, or the ascertainment of the precise nature of the alphabet under examination, as the information to be gained from its appearance on the surface of a series of unappropriated coins<sup>2</sup>, bearing signs of an Indian, or Indo-Scythic, combined with a Fire-worship affinity, whose origin and place of currency, also, are up to this time undetermined, merely allows us to infer from the number and variety of the specimens extant, that the language represented by the symbols constituting their legends, was independently current over a not unextensive surface of country, which, to judge from the typical indications furnished by the coins themselves, should lie proximate to some of the geographical points of contact of India and Persia.

SECT. III.—The next link, in the numismatic history of these characters, claiming attention, is the similarity observable between the Persian proper coins of Sapor II. Zu'laktaf, the posthumous son and eventual successor of Hormuzdas II., and those depicted as Nos. 9 and 10, Pl. xvi, Ar. Ant. (p. 389.) These latter medals will be seen generally to follow the pure Sassanian types, and are the only examples in the entire Sassanian series which bear legends expressed in the unidentified alphabet under consideration; their association<sup>3</sup> with the Pehlvi coins of Sapor II. is based upon the similitude of the fashion of the tiara which surmounts the head of the monarch on both classes of money, and may be accepted for the moment as sufficiently demonstrating either, in the representation of his portrait on the provincial coinage, the extension of his sway over certain more easterly countries; or, if the obverse device be designed for the bust of the local monarch, as showing in its imitation of the peculiar costume of the Persian Emperor an acknowledgment on the part of the adopter of the superiority, if not supremacy, of a Sassanian Suzerain. If the analogy between the characters in the inscriptions on Coins Nos. 9

<sup>1</sup> Fig. 16, Pl. xiv, *Ariana Antiqua*, &c. See also p. 379, *Ariana Antiqua*, and Prinsep, *Journ. A. S. Bengal*.

<sup>2</sup> For Engravings, see *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. xvii, figs. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Prinsep, *Journ. A. S. Bengal*.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 389, &c.

and 10, Pl. xvi, Ar. Ant., and those occurring on their Scythian predecessors (fig. 17, Pl. xiv, Ar. Ant., &c.), did not effectively indicate a degree of community between the two different issues, it would be conclusively supplied in the numismatic testimony conveyed in the singular fact of this branch of the Fire-Altar series invariably retaining to a marked extent, the concavo-convex form, which so especially distinguishes the imitation Kanerki medals (Class I.) whereon the first definite specimen of the peculiar writing presents itself. Another coincidence of value in the correct classification of medals is to be detected in this ramification of Sassanian money, as evidenced by the unique instance, in the whole mint annals of that dynasty, of the application of a monogram: added to which, the outline of that monogram, when closely examined, is found to bear a striking resemblance to the general peculiarities of those in use among the Indo-Scythians<sup>1</sup>, on whose medals a but little varying symbol is seen uniformly to occupy the exact place on the obverse field of the piece which the more modern representative still holds on the later issue of Sassanian origin.

In this stage of advancement towards unquestioned Sassanian devices, amounting indeed to a complete adoption of the fixed types in their full integrity, modified only by the use of the local language in lieu of the accustomed Pehlvi, it seems requisite to conclude that whereas previous examples of a partial appropriation of certain points of detail in costume may simply import imitation by an independent race of the models introduced by the most powerful of Asian monarchs, the present comprehensive assimilation of type with the Persian originals must be held to indicate some more direct interference with, or even a specific annexation of certain provinces, wherein the doubtful language whose symbols mark our coins was current. How much of the religion of Zoroaster accompanied the extension of the circle of the numismatic dominance of the emblems of that creed, is a question which need not detain us at present.

SECT. IV.—The appearance of these indeterminate characters in numismatic conjunction with the known Devanágari and Pehlvi alphabets, offers in itself a pertinent indication of the boundaries of their currency, as necessarily intermediate between the Indian seat of the one alphabet and the Persian appropriation of the other; added to this, is found the more definite evidence of proximity to the latter country, in the inscription of the name of Khorúsán, on a class of

<sup>1</sup> See especially the monogram on No. 16, Pl. xiv, *Ariana Antiqua*.

coins (B)<sup>1</sup> identified with the peculiar language in question by the adjunct of its characters on the field of the obverse. Less direct but still valuable evidence towards the determination of the exact *locale* of the use of one set of literal symbols, in the more close definition of the true line of the conterminous currency of their two associates, is contributed by the detection of the name of Zabulistán, as impressed upon the bilingual Sanskrit-Pehlvi coins of Vasu Deva<sup>2</sup>.

SECT. V.—The present division of the circle of our inquiry demands but brief remark. The information conveyed by the associate Pehlvi legends on the coins, being concise and distinct to the point, amounting to the affirmation (if the interpretation fail not) of the most precise and definite nature yet obtained from any other class of previously noticed medals, to the effect that the Arabico-Khusruí coins<sup>3</sup>, inscribed with the singular characters more especially under investigation, were struck at Khubus<sup>4</sup>, in the Kermán desert, in the year 63, *et seq.* of a cycle, which the adjunct of the Kufic Bismillah بِسْمِ اللّٰهِ on the margin of the pieces indicates as necessarily Mohammedan, and consequently Anno Hejiræ.

In this combination of data, we obtain the determination of the fact, that in A.H. 63 the language, whose characters now occupy our attention, continued in free and apparently dominant use at this point, intermediate between Persia proper and Northern India.

SECT. VI.—The evidence furnished by the continued use of these characters in “contremarques,” or the small punch impressions employed by a subsequent, or a foreign power, to legalise the currency or attest the intrinsic value of a strange coinage, subsequently to the Mohammedan conquest, and indeed, upon Mohammedan coins themselves, indicates clearly the *bond fide* existence of the language they were used to express, as well as its survival of the epoch of the first introduction of Kufic, in addition to the other alphabetical associations it has been seen to have undergone. Moreover, taking these contremarques as couched in the real or adopted language of the

<sup>1</sup> Class B; *vide infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Class A, described below, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. xvii, Fig. 4, p. 402; Olshausen, *Die Pehlwie Legendenden*.

<sup>4</sup> خَبِيص. See Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 199.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. gr., see Coins Nos. 9 and 38.

dominant power, the state in which the Arabico-Khusrāi coins were thus made legal tenders must, in this view of the case, have been still subject to a race, who owned as their *court* language, the tongue usually rendered by the unidentified symbols under review.

## MISCELLANEOUS INDO-SASSANIAN COINS.

No. 73. Barbarous coin, debased metal, concavo-convex.

Obv. Rude bust, with close head-dress, facing to the right; behind the head, in old Sanskrit,  $\text{𑀧𑀲}$  = षहि Shah

Rev. Imperfect representation of an altar, only partially impressed.

No. 74.

Obv. As No. 73, with the addition of flowing fillets behind the head. The front of the profile in old Sanskrit  $\text{𑀧𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓}$  = पहरजरनह

$\text{𑀧}$  ————— variant?

Rev. As No. 73.

Nos. 75 and 76. Coins figured as Nos. 11, Pl. xvii. and 20, Pl. xxi., Ar. Ant.

Obv. Head to the right. In front of the profile

$\text{𑀧𑀲𑀓𑀲𑀓}$  श्री षहि षहि Sri Shahī.

It is useful to note the modification of the Devanagari letter ष in these coins as introductory to the more decided change in the letter to be seen below.

Rev. The usual fire altar.

No. 77. Copper. Fig. 6, Pl. xvii., Ar. Ant.

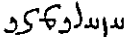
Obv. Head facing to the right, &c. Legend in unidentified characters, Pl. III., Fig. 21.

Rev. Fire altar and supporters; between the figures of the worshippers, forming a part of the altar itself, are the following letters:—

श्री टटे ?	Sri Tate(ch) <sup>1</sup> .
षहि श्री	Shahī Sri.

<sup>1</sup> See also Obverse margin of Class B—Tchoch ? Takash ?

No. 78. Figured in *Ar. Ant.* as 7 of Pl. xvii., and *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. VI. Pl. xiv. fig. 3.

M. De Longperier has attributed a very similar coin to Hormuzdas III., the son of Yazdegerd, interpreting the Pehlvi  *Auhrimazd*? See *his* p. 59, fig. 1, Pl. ix. The reading is scarcely satisfactory, and the type differing materially from those of the coins placed before and after it, renders the assignment more than questionable. Let the Pehlvi name be what it may, the Chakras on the reverse, and the Nagari letters scattered about the fields, give the class of coins a decidedly Indian complexion. Among the rest may be found the old Sanskrit forms of ह : ट or द and त or च.

As connected with the subject, this may be a fit place to notice a rare copper coin in the British Museum, which in a measure seems to bear affinity to the class of medals just referred to. The Obverse presents what to Indian numismatists we should designate as an almost Gupta head, around which is inscribed, in a very old style of Devanagari, the legend श्री राज यगुतरिद्युः Sri Raja Yagutaritya?

The Reverse of this coin displays a fire-altar and supporters, and below the altar is an affair shaped precisely as an inverted pair of spectacles.

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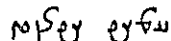
CLASS A.

INDO-SASSANIAN.—VASU DEVA.

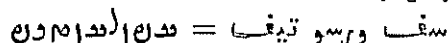
No. 79. Silver<sup>1</sup>.

OBV. Centre.—Bust and bearded front face, head surmounted by a winged crown, partially modified from the Sassanian original, above the apex of which is seen a crescent and a star; the hair is arranged in two globes of curls depending from the back of the ears, after the manner of certain Sassanian coiffures, and behind the neck appear the ends of the filets<sup>2</sup>.

To the right of the figure, in Pehlvi characters



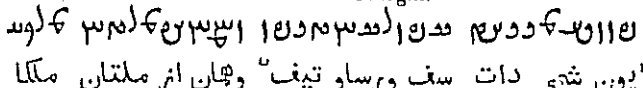
To the left of the main device in Pehlvi characters, fig. 9, Pl. III.



<sup>1</sup> For engravings, see *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. III. Pl. xxv. fig. 6; *Ar. Ant.*, Pl. xxvii. fig. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Traceable in the Sassanian models afforded in Longperier's plates of the coins of Sapor II., Artaxerxes II., and Sapor III., &c.

Margin.



 { In modern Pahlvi.  
 { In modern Persian.

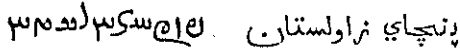
See Pl. III., figs. 10, 11, 12 and 13.

Rrv. Centre.—Bust, with front face: head-dress, close cap, with ascending flames coming to a point over the middle of the head; hair pendant in two large knots of curls, similar to the arrangement seen in the Indo-Sassanian coins (Reverse) B.

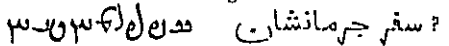
To the right of the bust

श्री वासु देव : Sri Vāsu Deva. Pl. III. fig. 16.

To the left of the bust

 Pl. III. fig. 14.

Margin.

 Pl. III. fig. 15.

A medal, in the Vienna Cabinet, very similar in its typical composition, has been figured in M. De Longperier's work on Sassanian coins, Pl. xi. 3, and attributed to Khusrá II. (Parviz): likewise engraved in Ouseley's Memoir, No. 8. As I do not rely upon M. D. L.'s Pehlvi decipherments, or the accuracy of his engraver, and as in this case he only ventures to read a small portion of the entire legends, I abstain from any remarks based upon such unsatisfactory materials.

<sup>1</sup> In nomine Justi iudicis. Anquetil, Zend-Avesta, ii., 341.

CLASS B.

INDO-SASSANIAN<sup>1</sup>.

No. 80.

Obv. The half profile of a man's head, unbearded, but with small mustaches, pendant ear-rings, close cut hair, with fillets appearing at the back; skull-cap<sup>2</sup>, ornamented with trident-shaped objects in front and on the sides, with the crest of a tiger's head.

Unidentified characters, Pl. III., fig. 17.

<sup>1</sup> For engravings of similar coins see Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. III. Pl. xxi. figs. 10, 11; Journal Asiatique, Vol. VII. (1839), Pl. xvii. fig. 34; Ar. Ant., Pl. xxi. fig. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Artaxerxes II. (A.D. 380, 384), Longperier, Pl. vii. figs. 1, 2, 3, is the first Sassanian who introduces caps of this close form, with ornaments as it were attached, less than as forming a portion of the crown itself. The present caps remind one of many of the old-fashioned sowars' helmets still in use in India, wherein the front ornament (often, too, a variation of a trident in shape) is moveable, and inserted at will.

Margin.

श्री हि ति धिरखरलावदरदेविर श्री षहितिण तदेचनरित

Variants

विरचे

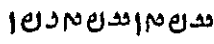
शीर

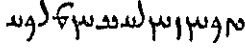
Sri Shahitina तदेवनारित

च

Pl. III., fig. 20.



Rzr. Bust to the front, close cap, with ascending flames on each side coming to a point some distance above the centre of the head-dress, fillets of the Sassanian style, and hair tied in bows below the ears. The face is unadorned by either beard or mustache; but still, in the majority of instances, looks anything but feminine. The connexion in style with the head-dress on the Reverse of Coin A. (Vásu Deva) is obvious and striking.

Left.  Pl. III., fig. 18.

Right.  Pl. III., fig. 19.

In regard to the Sanskrit readings of the Obverse marginal legends I have little or nothing to say in their favour. I can afford to fail where such men as Prinsep and Wilson have been so signally foiled. The truth is, the Sanskrit characters are so imperfectly formed, and vary so materially in different specimens, that this in itself creates a tendency to distrust any decipherment, however carefully collated.

In respect to the Reverse Pehlvi, too, much indulgence is to be claimed, and I do not wish for a moment to conceal that the portion now rendered as "*sif tunsuf tef*" has previously been read "*haft haftád*", 77, which last in reality is the most simple and obvious decipherment. I have been induced to reject it, probable and satisfactory as it seems to be, both because I have had to concede a different meaning to a very similar legend (see Left Obverse, Coins A), and because the

<sup>1</sup> The  of Abulfaraj, (pp. 116, 183, Edit. Pocock, Oxon.) has been shown to convey the current title of the Tartar monarchs. (See St. Martin, *Arménie*, II., 18.) And I may as well take this opportunity of alluding to the  of the Persian and Arabic authors, which has been held by late writers to be applicable as the name of an individual, and has hence furnished ample ground for conjectural identifications. (Guildemeister, *De Rebus Ind.* p. 5; *Asiatic Antiqua*, 133; Reinaud, *Mémoire sur l'Inde*.) The following passage from Tabari determines that this also is a mere generic designation of Indian kings.

و ملك سندرا بنيران ايشان ريبيل خوانند جنانكده ملك عجمرا

كسرى خوانند و انرا ان رومرا قيصر خوانند

ذكر خبير كاشاذن مكران MS. Tabari, Royal Asiatic Society, No. 99, cap.



highness of the number renders it questionable as applied to the epoch of a reign ; and for many reasons the date would not suit the Hejira cycle ; added to which, of the large number of coins of this description I have lately had an opportunity of examining<sup>1</sup>, no single one offers any modification of the fixed legend, such as would be expected did the legend in question supply the date.

I find a difficulty, too, in the name of تکھورن ; but only in the third letter, which is curiously shaped, and may possibly be a  $\text{ق} = \text{د}$  <sup>d</sup>;  $\text{ق} = \text{ي}$  <sup>e</sup>, or a  $\text{خ}$  joined to the succeeding  $\text{و} = \text{و}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Amounting to 70 or 80 at the least. Masson alone has 40 or 50.

## CLASS C.

## VAKHU DEVA.

No. 81. Copper<sup>1</sup>.

Obv. Area.—A coarsely-executed bust, facing to the right ; beardless chin ; head surmounted by a winged diadem, above which is seen the crest of a tiger's head, similar to that found on Coins B.

To the right श्री वहार  
Sri Vahāra.

To the left वसु देवः  
Vasū Deva<sup>2</sup>.

Pl. III., fig. 5.

Marg. Legend expressed in the unidentified characters engraved in Pl. III., fig. 8.

<sup>1</sup> Engraved as fig. 6, Pl. xiv., Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. VI. (1837) ; and No. 8, Pl. xvii., Ar. Ant. ; also fig. 6, Pl. xxv., Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, (1834).

<sup>2</sup> Professor Wilson reads this श्री बत्मान " वसु देव Sri Batmana - Vasu Deva. The second word is given as doubtful ; but the Vasu Deva is stated to be "unambiguous" (Ar. Ant., p. 400). The letter rendered *tm*, in modern Sanskrit characters, presents no doubt a difficulty, and if there are no means of confirming, there exist no sufficient data for rectifying the reading of so high an authority as the author of Ariana Antiqua ; but many will perhaps still prefer the decipherment originally proposed by Prinsep of Sri Vihara (J. A. S. B., VI. 293). As regards the Vasu, I have less hesitation in objecting to Professor Wilson's position, as the second letter in the name, if rightly intended for an स s, should in some measure correspond in outline with the undoubted स in the Vasu on Coins A. In the value now assigned it will be seen that I again follow the first of Sanskrit palæographers, the late illustrious Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.

Rev. Area.—Fire altar and supporters.

Left. In badly-formed Pehlvi letters  $\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$  for  $\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$

Or in Persian characters  $\text{اقتروت}$   $\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$  for  $\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$ . Pl. III., fig. 6.

Right. Also in imperfect Pehlvi  $\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$  for

$\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀} = \text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$  for  $\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$

At times, the legend seems as if it had been intended for a modification of the usual invocation in the substitution of

$\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$  for  $\text{𐬀𐬀𐬀𐬀}$  *God*. Pl. III., fig. 7.

Marg. Precisely similar to that on the obverse.

#### COINS OF TABARISTAN.

I have already had occasion to remark upon the limited number of Tabaristán coins that have found their way into our English cabinets—as such I need scarcely repeat that the materials at command have been found insufficient to form a sound basis for any criticisms upon certain very debateable points still existing in regard both to the correct reading of the coin dates themselves, and to their application, when read, to the several cycles to which they may possibly refer. Such being the case, I confine the present notice to a register of such coins as I have had an opportunity of examining in original, and an expression of my own ideas of the correct interpretation of the dates to be found on each.

No.	Reference to Possessor.	Name on the Coin.	On Margin.	DATE.	
1	B. M. S. 17 .	سالمون	وع <sup>2</sup>	سالمون	چهارشست <sup>3</sup> 64
2	E. I. C., Masson	Id.	Id.	سالمون	نوهشتات 89
3	Idem . . .	Id.	Id.	سالمون	هفتنوت 97
4	Idem . . .	Id.	Id.	سالمون	نونوت 99
5	Idem . . .	Id.	Id.	سالمون	دوست 102
AUMAR.					
6	{B.M. 1 . . . } {Stokes 1 . . . }	سالمون	وع	سالمون	ویستست 120
7	{B.M. 2 . . . } {Paris 1 . . . }	Id.	Id. <sup>4</sup>	سالمون	چهارویستست 124
SAYID (Kufic).					
8	{E. I. C., Wil- } {lock . . . }	سعید	وع <sup>3</sup>	سعید	پنجویستست 125
9	{B.M. S. 17, } {Marsden xiii, } {Bland, Stokes, } {Paris, &c. }	Id.	Id. <sup>5</sup>	سعید	ششویستست 126
10	{B.M. S. 17, } {Stokes . . . }	Id.	Id. <sup>5</sup>	سعید	هفتویستست 127
OMAR (Kufic).					
11	{? , B.M. S. 17, } {Willcock . . . }	عمر	وع <sup>3</sup>	عمر	هفتویستست 127
12	{Marsden xii, } {B.M. 2, Paris } {1 . . . }	Id.	Id. <sup>5</sup>	عمر	هشتویستست 128
13	{B.M., Stokes } {2, Bland . . . }	Id.	Id. <sup>5</sup>	عمر	نووویستست 129
14	{B.M. 1, Bland } {1 . . . }	Id.	Id. <sup>5</sup>	عمر	ویستدوست <sup>6</sup> 129
MUKATIL (Kufic).					
15	{B.M. 3, Wil- } {lock, Bland }	مقاتل	وع <sup>3</sup>	مقاتل	ناوسدست 130
HANI.					
	{B.M., Bland } {3, Stokes . . . }	هانی	وع <sup>3</sup>	هانی	هفتسیوست 137
	{B.M. 2 . . }	Id.	Id.	هانی	هشتسیوست 138

<sup>1</sup> خورشید.<sup>2</sup> عبد. ?<sup>3</sup> Olshausen says 114 (see Num. Chron., p. 99). M. Soret gives a Khurshid (Lettre, p. 13), which he doubtfully reads 110 or 103; it may be 63.<sup>4</sup> سالمون margin.<sup>5</sup> ۱۱۹۱ margin.<sup>6</sup> Olshausen reads this 220.

LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF ARAB GOVERNORS

Name	Date	City	Miscellaneous Legends
I سید بن خالد بن خالد بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۱ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۲
II سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۴۴ھ	زابل	۳ ۱۱۴۴ھ ۴
id سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۵ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۶
III سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۷ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۸
IV سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۹ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۱۰
V سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۱۱ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۱۲
VI سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۱۳ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۱۴
VII سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۱۵ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۱۶
id سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۱۷ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۱۸
VIII سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۱۹ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۲۰
IX سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۲۱ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۲۲
id سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۲۳ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۲۴
X سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۲۵ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۲۶
XI سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۲۷ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۲۸
XII سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۲۹ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۳۰
XIII سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۳۱ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۳۲
XIV سید بن سید بن سید بن سید	۱۱۵۱ھ	زابل	۳۳ ۱۱۵۱ھ ۳۴

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PL III LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF ARAB GOVERNORS.

Num.	Date	City	Miscellaneous Legends
XIV	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١</p> <p>٢</p>
XV	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>٣</p> <p>٤</p>
id	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>٥</p>
id	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>٦</p>
id	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>٧</p>
XVI	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>٨</p>
XVII	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>٩</p>
XVIII	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٠</p>
XIX	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١١</p>
XX	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٢</p>
XXI	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٣</p>
XXII	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٤</p>
id	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٥</p>
XXIII	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٦</p>
XXIV	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٧</p>
XXV	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٨</p>
XXVI	١١٥٨	٧٣	<p>١٩</p>

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No. VII.—1851.

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*An account of eight Kufic Silver Coins.—By E. THOMAS, Esq. C. S.*

During Sir Henry Elliot's late march to Pesháwur, with the camp of the Governor-General, he availed himself of the opportunity to collect such ancient coins and medals as fell in his way, and I was subsequently permitted to examine these acquisitions in detail. The bulk of the collection naturally consisted of either purely local coins or mintages of proximate lauds, but among the rest were found several specimens of Central Asian Kufic Coinages of various dates and kingdoms.

Monies of these classes are comparatively well known in Europe, in consequence of the number of pieces that find their way into our western world, viâ Russia, Turkey, &c., as well as from the full illustration these travellers receive from the willing labours of continental Numismatists.

In this country, medals of this description, though often falling into the hands of Coin-collectors, together with more easily legible and more valued specimens—are usually consigned to the space in each cabinet allotted to the class *Ignoti*, or permitted to remain in unhonoured association with the tenants of the miscellaneous drawer.

To remedy in a measure the reprobation this state of things involves, and as introductory to the further study of similar classes of coins, I propose to describe briefly such of these pieces as have found a place in Sir H. M. E.'s collection—to offer an illustration of a type of each variety, and to introduce Indian readers to an acquaintance with the

No. L.—NEW SERIES.

3 z

valuable works of Continental Authors, who treat on subjects connected with this section of the Numismatic history of Asia.

From those Antiquaries, who are disposed to view this branch of study as *dry* and unprofitable—from those, who set their hearts upon the well-outlined and classic models of earlier days, I would claim a hearing, on the very valid plea, that of *all* divisions of Numismatic science, the Mediæval Moslem Coins the best fulfil the part of exact historical illustration; dealing in no mere repetition of standard types and emblems, seldom subject to ambiguous interpretation, their well covered surfaces convey in simple words, the precise information most prized by annalists: The name and title of the monarch, the city over which he ruled, and the fixed epoch of his sovereignty.

With this much of preface, I now proceed to give a slight sketch of the various treatises I have before alluded to.

The “*Recensio*” of Professor Fræhn is a most elaborate and comprehensive work printed at St. Petersburg, in 1826, giving oriental transcripts of the coin legends, with descriptions and translations in Latin. The publication is unfortunately wanting in illustrations, which renders it of less value to beginners, but as a Text Book, for those advanced in the art of deciphering Arabic coins, it stands to this time pre-eminent in its branch of the literature of the century.

Its printed contents amount to 743 quarto pages, besides which, it has extensive interpolations of starred repetitions of the regular numerical paging in order to admit of the introduction of a mass of additional matter met with during the course of publication.

The Indices alone are a book in themselves, extending over 70 pages of small type double-columns. But more fully to present to the reader’s comprehension the number and variety of the subjects brought under review, I transcribe an outline of the “*Conspectus Classium.*”

CONSPECTUS CLASSIUM.

Sectio I. Chalifæ primarij seu altioris ordinis.

Classis I. Chalifæ Umajjadæ Orientales.

——— II. Ditto Abbasidæ Baghdadici.

Sectio II. Dynastiæ orto duranteve Chalifatu ’Abbasidico Baghdadico natæ atque florentes.

Classis III. Varias dynastias simul comprehendens, sunt autem :

A. Chalifæ Umajjadæ Hispanici.



- B. Ali Principes Hispaniæ.  
 1. Chalifa Hamudides.  
 2. Emirus Murciæ.  
 C. Imami Edrisidæ in Mauritaniâ.  
 D. Emiri Aghlebidæ.
- Classis IV. Emiri Tahiridæ.  
 ——— V. Ditto Soffaridæ.  
 ——— VI. Ditto Samanidæ ('Alides, &c.)  
 ——— VII. Chani Turkarum Hoci-he in Turkistanîâ.  
 ——— VIII. Sultanus Subukteginides.  
 ——— IX. Choresmis chahi.  
 ——— X. Emiri Buweihidæ.  
 Princeps Sijarides.  
 'Alides.  
 ——— XI. Emirus 'Okailides.  
 ——— XI.A. Emiri Merwanidæ.  
 ——— XII. Sultani Seldschukidæ, Classis A and B.  
 ——— XIII. Reges Ortokidæ, A and B.  
 ——— XIV. Atabeki, Classis A, B, C and D.  
 ——— XIV.A. Chalifæ Fatimidæ, B Muwâh'hidi.  
 ——— XV. Sultani Ajjubidæ, Classis A, B, C.
- Sectio III. Dynastæ vel sub vel post occasum Chalifatûs 'Abbasi-  
 dici Baghdadici natæ et pars hodiedum florentes.
- Classis XVI. Sultani Mamluki, A, B.  
 ——— XVII. Ditto Patani. XVII.A. Princeps Senbedarius.  
 ——— XVIII. Chani Hulaquidæ.  
 ——— XIX. Ditto Dschelaïridæ.  
 ——— XX. Ditto Dschudschidæ.  
 ——— XXI. Girâ-Chani.  
 ——— XXII. Chani Dschaghataïdæ.  
 ——— XXIII. Ditto Scheibanidæ, &c.  
 ——— XXIV. Imperatores Baberidæ.  
 ——— XXV. Schahi Persiæ Sefidæ.  
 ——— XXVI. Sultani 'Osmanidæ.  
 ——— XXVII. Scherifi Mauritan, A, B.
- Appendix 1. Christiani numos titulis Arabicis Signantes, Classis  
 A, B, C.

Appendix 2. Numi Muhammedani incerti.

Professor Fræhn's miscellaneous Essays, relating to Medieval Arabic Numismatics, are both numerous and important. Among the rest may be cited

1. *Novæ Symbolæ ad rem Numariam Muhammedanorum, &c.* St. Petersburg, 1819, pp. 47.

2. *Numi Kufici ex variis museis selecti.* St. Petersburg, 1823, pp. 84, 4 plates.

3. *Die Münzen der Chane von ulus Dschutschi's oder von der Goldenen Horde.* St. Petersburg, 1832, pp. 75, 14 plates.

J. H. Müller's work, "*De numis orientalibus in Numophylacio Gothano asservatis,*" (Gotha, 1826, 4to. pp. 187, and suppl. 1841, pp. 61.) offers, in its first part, a complete Catalogue raisonné of all Kufic Coins previously published, together with the author's own new contributions, embracing the period from A. H. 77 to A. H. 663. The second part contains a continuation of the Mohammedan series down to 1232 A. H.

The compilation is one of much value as a book of reference where necessary, the various subjects are ably handled in detail and the whole undertaking is made complete by copious Indices and Lists of authorities both European and Oriental.

As connected with the general subject, I could cite an elaborate Monographie on the Coins of the Bouides by Lindberg, printed in the *Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. du Nord* (1844): Some admirable letters published in the *Paris Journal Asiatique* by M. DeSauley, and many miscellaneous contributions of the same nature from time to time put forth in the form of detached letters by M. Soret of Geneva.

Marsden's "*Numismata Orientalia*" (Lond. 1823,) though designated by a late French writer as "*si plein des inexactitudes, si de pourvu de critique,*" (*Rev. Num. Paris*, 1849,) is extremely valuable, in what nearly all continental publications fail in,—the number and perfection of its illustrations.

No. 1.

Hishám bin Abdalmalik. Wásit A. H. 121.

*Obv.* Area لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بواسط سنة احدى وعشرين ومية

*Rev.* Area الله احد الله

الصدق لم يلد و

لم يولد ولم يكن

له كفوا احد

Margin. محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق, Korán ix. 33,  
ليظهرة على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

No. 2.

Mahdí. Baghdad, A. H. 162.

*Obv.* Area, as No. 1.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة السلام سنة اثنين وستين ومية

*Rev.* Area محمد رسول

الله صلى الله

عليه وسلم

التخليفة المهدي

Margin. Korán ix. 33.

A second specimen struck at Basrah in A. H. 161, adds the name  
of محمد below the *التخليفة المهدي*

No. 3.

\*Nóh bin Mansúr *Samání* (unpublished). Balkh, A. H. 377.

*Obv.* Area لاله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الفلوس ببلخ سنة سبع وسبعين وثلثمائة  
الله

*Rev.* Area محمد

رسول الله

نوح بن منصور

\* As Sir H. M. Elliot's collection does not afford a good specimen of *Samáni* money, I have introduced this example from my own cabinet.

I also subjoin a description of a *Samáni* Coin in Mr. Bayley's collection, which is, as far as I can ascertain, quite new in its type, and in spite of its defective preservation likely to prove of much interest in the unusually prominent association of the name of Nasr bin Ahmed, the founder of the line, with that of the reigning sovereign, Nóh bin Mansúr.

Margin. مما امر به الامير السيد الملك المنصور ايداه الله

Copper. Náh bin Mansúr. Balkh, 374, H. ?

Obv. Area a Circle, described within a square.

containing the name of نصر بن احمد

Interior Margin. لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له نصر من الله

Exterior Margin. الفلح يبلغ سنه اربع وسبعين وثلاثايات  
الله

Rev. محمد

رسول الله

الطابع لله

نوح بن منصور

Margin. مما امر به الامير نصر بن احمد [ مولى ] امير المؤمنين

See also, Die Münzen, p. 51, Tab. xiv. Fig. 22. Recensio, No. 322,  
c, p. 585, and Jour. R. A. Soc. London, No. XVIII. p. 301.

#### No. 4.

Nasr bin Ali *Ailek* (unpublished). Bolhárá, A. H. 394.

Obv. Area لا اله الا

الله وحده

لا شريك له

ابو علي

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم ببشارا سنة اربع وتسعين وثلاثايات

Rev. Area بادشاه

محمد رسول الله

القادر بالله نصر الحق خان

البويد العادل اهلك

نصر

Margin. Korán ix. 33.

A second specimen reads, ناصر الحق خان

#### No. 5.

Jellál-uddín Muhammed Jání beg Khán. Kwáriym, A. H. 743.

Obv. السلطان العادل جاني بك

Rev. ضرب خوارزم في سنة ٧٤٣

Fræhn, pp. 225, 256, &c.

## No. 6.

Búyán Kulí Behádur Khán. Kish, A. H. 753.

*Obv.* Area      سكه ؟  
 لا اله الا  
 محمد  
 رسول الله  
 كش

Margin.— شهور [ سنة ] ثلاث

*Rev.* السلطان الاعظم  
 بويان قلي بهادر خان  
 خلد الله ملكه

A somewhat similar coin has been engraved in Pl. XXI. Fig. 1, Tom. IX. Mémoires de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences St. Petersburg. The Russian specimen has the words *سكه كش* run in between the lines of the *Kalimah* on the Obverse. It has no marginal inscription. A coin of the monarch is engraved in Pl. XV. Fig. 7. Die Münzen.

## No. 7.

Sháh Rokh. Subzwár, A. H. 839.

*Obv.* Area      سبزوár  
 السلطان الاعظم شاه رخ بهادر خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ٨٣٩  
*Rev.* Area      لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
 Margin. ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي

"Class XXIII. of Fræhn Numi Chanorum Scheibanidarum, Dschanidarum, &c.

"in universa Bochariâ Magnâ vel in ejus provinciâ aliquâ."

## No. 8.

Abdul-Latif Behádur Khán.

*Obv.* Area, "The Kalimah."  
 Margin. امير المؤمنين عمر امير المؤمنين  
*Rev.* الخاقان العادل الملك الكامل عبد اللطيف بهادر خان  
 خلد الله تعالى ملكه و سلطانه [ ضرب ] سرمرقاده ( همرتند )

Fræhn, p. 439, gives a dated coin of this Khán of the year A. H. 953.

Sháh Morád\* (New unpublished.) A. H. 1199 ?

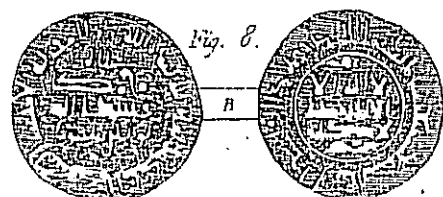
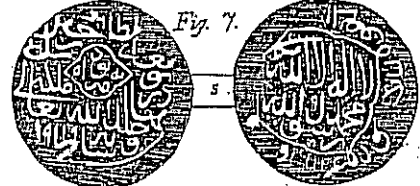
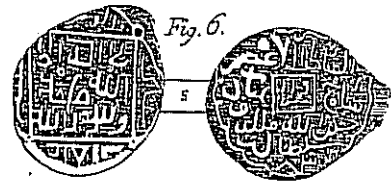
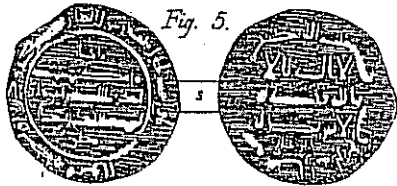
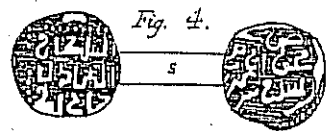
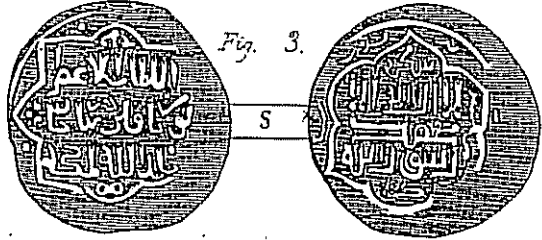
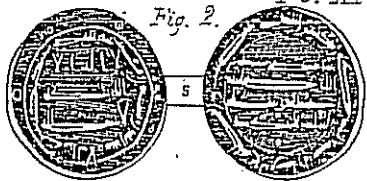
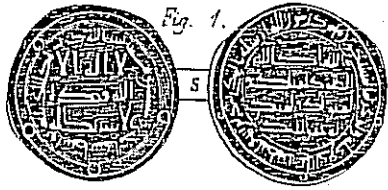
*Obv.* Area. "The Kalimah." Margin, &c.

المرتضى ابا بكر

*Rev.* Area—سلط—السلطان—مراد به نوه بهادر ابوالغازي السلطان—  
—خدا الله تعالى ملكه و سلطانه ۱۱۹۹؛

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\* Sháh Morád was the father of Seyd Emír Haidar, see p. 443, Frchn.



...ancrem idem Sep.

J. Waterloo Sculp.





ART. XV.—*Notes Introductory to Sassanian Mint Monograms and Gems. With a Supplementary Notice on the Arabico-Pehlvi Series of Persian Coins.* By EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

IN June, 1839, I submitted to our Society a brief paper on the subject of the Pehlvi Legends occurring on the medals of the early Mohammedan conquerors of Persia. As the memoir in question was avowedly left incomplete, consequent upon my return to my duties in India, I have since uniformly cherished the hope of being able, at some future period, to remedy the defects and supply the deficiencies of my first essay. In this view, on my arrival in this country a few months since, I commenced collecting new materials, and rigidly examining my previous inferences and conclusions, trusting that I might eventually succeed in compiling a treatise more worthy of the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, than that which our Council had already complimented me by printing.

I, however, again find myself necessitated to bring my studies to a hasty conclusion, and for a similar reason, an event which I did not contemplate when I entered upon the present scheme of revision. Up to this moment I may say that I have done little or nothing towards advancing the inquiry, beyond accumulating fresh examples of the monograms representing the different mint cities of the Sassanian empire, and acquiring some few further illustrative specimens of the local currency of the Arabs in Persia prior to A.H. 76.

In pursuing the general palaeographic question, I have latterly entered more fully upon the subordinate branch, embracing the contemporaneous system of writing in use on gems, seals, &c. Of these relics I have met with a considerable number of specimens, some of which contribute so much of novelty and variety in their leading devices and associate legends, that I have thought it advisable to append to the numismatic details which form the more prominent object of this note, a concise letterpress description of the former—aided by engravings of the more remarkable designs—together with written facsimiles of the latter, transferred by the anastatic process to the zinc plate, reproduced as pl. II.

I had originally some hesitation in coming before the public with the half-developed results of an intricate inquiry. I have now no

apology to offer; for I profess only to place before those who would interest themselves in the pursuit, a certain amount of unpublished materials I had collected for my own use, but which circumstances make it impossible for me to take immediate advantage of. At the same time I feel that the juncture is peculiarly auspicious for the contribution of any data that will aid in the elucidation of the capital question of the ancient philology of Central Asia, which is now attracting such deep attention in the learned world. And especially with reference to the doubts which are being raised as to the authenticity of the Zoroastrian languages, I would point to the significant fact implied in the extensively prevailing use of the Pehlvi character, as *prima facie* evidence of the existence and currency of the language itself, or of its mere dialectic modifications.

I would cite the universality of its influence throughout nearly the entire Persian empire; its employment as the vehicle of expression for the monumental records of the kings; its uniform official currency in the numerous mints of the Sassanian empire, and the geographical definition of its boundaries from the Tigris and the Persian Gulf on the S.W., to Merv and Zabulistan on the N.E., as manifested by the legends on the Arab coins issued within or near those limits.

But beyond this I would now exhibit its acceptance in the affairs of private life, as exemplified by the prevalence of its literal forms on the signets and seals of every-day use. And I would claim this much of deduction from the facts available, that whatever other forms of speech may have existed in the land, whatever of more perfect systems of writing may have been known or employed, it is clear that the seventeen letters of the Pehlvi alphabet sufficed to express all that either official routine or ordinary business transactions required.

From our inscriptions and coins we can fix with precision the date of the currency of this style of writing, and unhesitatingly claim its dominance in Persia from A.D. 223 to A.H. 76. Our new authorities, the gems, do not of themselves similarly define their own epoch; but we may hope, by testing the forms of the alphabet, and observing closely other significant indications, to fix approximately their place in history.

However, beyond their Palæographic value, these incidental records of past civilization possess a merit peculiarly their own, as the unprepared contributions of scattered individuals, which were neither designed by their original owners to meet the eye of the general public of contemporaneous existence, nor the inquisition of inquiring posterity,—standing in this respect in strong contrast to the more

public memorials exhibited by the current money, or the imperial self-laudation of the inscriptions,—here, each specimen represents the offering of a separate unit of the national family, his favourite emblem typified in his chosen device, his name, title, hope, or creed, exemplified in the legend which encircles his adopted symbol. As the signet of the king in its degree, these seals were equally of import in the estimation of those subordinate members of the Eastern race, in whose social code their stamp implied so much. Our collection, then, under one view of the seals and signets of men separated possibly by distance of time and place—united for us simply by one bond—the use of the same language—cannot fail to present us with ample matter for reflection.

I forbear to enlarge upon the subject in its present crude state, and in conclusion of these few introductory words, I would repeat, once for all, that in the present paper I put forth no matured solutions. I pretend to no enunciation of theories, though I offer problems without number to those who would seek to exercise their ingenuity in this department of Oriental archæology. But if perchance I write an introduction approaching to anything like a demonstration, it is upon the necessity of the case, that I would in all honesty communicate all I have learnt to those who may use it better.

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#### ALPHABETS.

I have but few remarks to add to my former observations regarding the Pehlvi Alphabets, except, indeed, to admit the probability of the letter  $\text{𐬀}$  being, what Mr. Norris from the first asserted it to be, a long  $\text{𐬀}$ . My former objections to accepting this identification were chiefly founded on the fact that among the three vowels, which were all that the ancient Pehlvi could boast of, that alphabet already possessed a clearly-defined  $\text{𐬀}$  [ $\text{𐬀}$ ]; and that in the manifest paucity of vowel-signs, so imperfect a literal series would be unlikely to elaborate the nice distinction implied in the use of a second or long vowel  $\text{𐬀}$ . The Persian Cuneiform possessed but one alphabetical I; and the orthographical systems of the neighbouring Semitic languages were alike deficient in any distinguishing power whereby to express in writing the modified sounds of this vowel. I, however, observe that when the Parsi dialect came to be embodied in the more copious

Zend alphabet, full use was made of the two vowels 𐬰 = ı̄, and 𐬱 = ī; besides the irregular employment 𐬲 = ě, 𐬳 = è, and 𐬴 = ê.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, singular to say, the long I, as fashioned in the Zend type cut in Germany, exactly realizes the original outline of our debatable lapidary character.

Accepting, then, this letter as an (𐬲) I long, let us for a moment examine how it will read in the well-defined words of the Sassanian-Pehlvi Inscriptions we are able to select for trial. De Sacy's much-discussed word 𐬰𐬱, which he interpreted as *Boman*, will, under these terms, express in modern Persian the combination 𐬰𐬱. This rendering is so far fully borne out by the corresponding word in the collateral Tablet of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi, which proves to be literally identical, or 𐬰𐬱, *the son of* (𐬰𐬱 *Chald. filius*).

The letter in question is of pretty frequent occurrence in the Bilingual Hájí-ábád Inscription; but in the Trilingual Records at Naksh-i-Rustam, Naksh-i-Rajab, and in the Sassanian tablets at Ták-i-Bostán, it appears but rarely; generally only in the above-quoted word, and as the third letter of the word 𐬰𐬱𐬰 (𐬰𐬱𐬰) in the opening passage in each legend.<sup>2</sup>

The character is not found on Sassanian medals, but it is employed, singularly enough, on the coins of the sub-Kings of Persia of the Arsacidan period, and is associated in the same term 𐬰𐬱 with its fellow Sassanian form of the letter 𐬰 B, in the presence of the

<sup>1</sup> The 𐬰 being represented by 𐬰, and the 𐬰 being expressed by 𐬰. See Spiegel's *Grammatik der Pársisprache*. Leipzig, 1851.

<sup>2</sup> The majority of these Inscriptions commence thus—

𐬰𐬱𐬰 𐬰𐬱𐬰 𐬰𐬱𐬰

which is translated in the Greek ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΟ; or, in other cases, ΤΟΥΤΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΟΝ.—See De Sacy's *Mem. sur div. Ant. de la Perse*; Ker Porter; Rich's *Babylon*, &c. I may add, that the third letter in the Hájí-ábád plaster cast is decidedly a 𐬰.

M. Louis Dubeux reads this 𐬰𐬱𐬰.—See *Journal Asiatique*, 1841, p. 650.

undoubted Chaldæo-Pehlvi characters which compose the remainder of the coin-legend; so that the word would seem to have been borrowed in all its integrity of literal outline, and incorporated with the foreign letters of the inscription in the sister alphabet. The figure  $\text{𐭪}$  is to be seen at times on the Sassanian gems, though it occurs as an exceptional case rather than as a letter of frequent requirement.

Another palæographic difficulty that is still incompletely explained is the origin and progress of the several interchanges of the associate letters R and L. The two extremities of the chain of evidence which extends over the 409 years of the Sassanian domination in Persia, present us with a combination of contrasts. In the one case of the Numismatic Alphabetical signs, the joint symbol, which, in the commencement, served to express both R and L, is, in process of time, entirely got rid of, and a totally different character is assigned to this double duty. In the second case of the contemporaneous Lapidary Alphabet, we start in the possession of two independent letters, representing the different phonetic powers of R and L. After the lapse of a little more than a century and a half, the evidence of inscriptions fails us; but, singular to say, a lapidary character is adopted into the numismatic literal series, and becomes in time the sole repository of the two sounds, one only of which it was originally competent to emblemize.

I am not prepared to theorise upon the causes of these changes; but as the early Sassanian coins, which I have lately examined in detail for other objects, contribute several new items illustrative of the gradual transfers, I propose to sum up in one brief view all the data that bear upon the question.

No. 1.—Naksh-i-Rustam.

$\text{𐭪}$  =  $\text{𐭪}$  *Chald.*, in *Artahshatr*, *Arián*, *Minúchatri*, *Bari*, &c.

$\text{𐭫}$  =  $\text{𐭫}$  *Chald.*, in *Mañká*.

No. 2.—Naksh-i-Rujab.

$\text{𐭪}$  =  $\text{𐭪}$  *Chald.*, and *P Greek*, in *Shahpúhari*, *Artahshatr*, *Arián*; and  $\text{𐭪}$  *Chald. only*, in *Bari*, *Minúchatri*.

$\text{𐭫}$  =  $\text{𐭫}$  *Chald.*, in *Mañká*.

No. 3.—Háji-ábád.

$\text{𐭪}$  =  $\text{𐭪}$  }  
 $\text{𐭫}$  =  $\text{𐭫}$  } *Chald.*, as in No. 2.

No. 4.—Kirmánsháh.

2 = R in Shahrúhur, Narsehí, Aúharmazdí, Bari.

𐬒 = L in Małká.

𐬒 = R(?) in Aírán, Minuchatri.<sup>1</sup>

Next in order, let us trace the use of these letters on the Imperial Sassanian coins.

At the commencement of the series a character shaped like the lapidary 2 did duty for both R and L.<sup>2</sup> The first clearly-defined 𐬒<sup>3</sup> that we meet with, occurs on the reverse of a coin of Varahrán II. (277, 294 A.D.),<sup>4</sup> but the obverse legend uses the 2 throughout, in accordance with previous custom; and the money of succeeding monarchs equally adheres to the standard numismatic form of this symbol of many sounds.

The next appearance of the 𐬒 is on a most interesting medal of Hormuzdas II.<sup>5</sup> (303—310 A.D.), lately brought to this country by

<sup>1</sup> De Saey, Mem. sur div. Ant.; Ker Porter, Travels; Malcolm's Persia; Boré, Jour. Asiat. XI.; Duboux, ditto, 1843; Rich's Babylon, &c.

<sup>2</sup> And also for 𐬑, &c.; but I keep these out of sight to simplify the main argument.

<sup>3</sup> Having given introductory facsimiles, I shall now use the type Pehlvi 𐬒 for L, and 2 for R.

<sup>4</sup> See note to mint No. 24.

<sup>5</sup> For facility of reference, I annex a list of the Sassanian monarchs—

	A. D.		A. D.
1. Ardeshr Bábígán ... ..	226	17. Fíróz ... ..	450
2. Shapúr I. ... ..	240	18. Vologeses .. ..	484
3. Hormuzdas I. ... ..	273	19. Kobád ... ..	488
4. Varahrán I. ... ..	274	20. Jamasp ... ..	498
5. „ II. ... ..	277	— Kobád (again) ... ..	502
6. „ III. ( <i>Segán Sháh</i> ) ...	294	21. Khusrú I. ( <i>Noshírván</i> ) ...	531
7. Narses ... ..	294	22. Hormuzdas IV. ... ..	579
8. Hormuzdas II. ... ..	303	23. Varahrán VI. ... ..	590
9. Shapúr II. ( <i>Zu'laktaf</i> ) ...	310	24. Khusrú II. ( <i>Parvís</i> ) ...	591
10. Ardeshr ... ..	381	25. Siroes ... ..	628
11. Shapúr III. ... ..	385	26. Ardeshr ... ..	
12. Varahrán IV. ( <i>Kermán Sháh</i> )	390	27. Purán-dokht ... ..	
13. Yezdegird I. ... ..	404	28. Azermi-dokht ... ..	
14. Varahrán V. ( <i>Gour</i> ) ... ..	420	30. Kesra ... ..	
15. Yezdegird II. ... ..	448	31. Ferokhzád ... ..	
16. Hormuzdas III. ... ..	458	32. Yezdegird III. ... killed in	651

SMITH'S Dictionary.

Colonel Rawlinson, and now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Here we see the 2 = R in Aúharmazdi, in company with the 𐬵 = L in Malká, and the article L in 𐬀a Bákúshán, while on other types of coins bearing nearly similar legends we may remark the 2 in the king's name exchanged for a clearly-defined 𐬵.

We have nothing very decisive to note between this epoch and the reign of Varahrán IV. (390—404 A.D.), when the 𐬵 has obviously become *both* R and L, as is proved by its indiscriminate use in Varahrán, Malka, Ker[mán].

Under Firoz its value as R is amply manifested in the name of Firoz and the date Arba; and its double value is again displayed in the Aramaic numerals on Khusru I.'s coins in 𐬎𐬌𐬎 trín, and 𐬎𐬎𐬎 toltá, and the Persian 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 = چهارچهار; so also as R in 𐬎𐬎𐬎 Asra, and 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 Anbarmazi, on the coins of the king, fourth of that name. And, to conclude the joint history, under the Arabs the two consonants possess but the one modified alphabetical sign 𐬵, which may be said to have come down to us in its almost integrity of outline.

I am desirous of noticing briefly a modification the letter 𐬵 = 𐬵 undergoes in becoming final. I need scarcely trace the process upwards through the 𐬵 Persian, — final of modern Pehlvi, the isolated — of the Arab coins (Nos. I., II., III., and IV., Pl. I.), all

<sup>1</sup> Gold. Weight, gr.

Obv. King's bust, facing to the right; the head is covered with a skin of a lion, after the manner of Alexander the Great's coin portraits; and the whole is surmounted by what may possibly be intended for flames of fire, below which again, appear the Sassaninn fillets.

Legend.

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎  
 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎

Rev. Fire-altar, with ministering Mobeds.

Legend.

𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎 𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬎

Above the flame of the altar.

𐬎𐬎𐬎 | 𐬎𐬎𐬎

of which are distinguished from the initial or medial form of the letter in their respective series.

The contrast is not so uniformly marked in the ancient Pehlvi, but we have ample evidence to show that the system was fully recognised, and extensively taken advantage of; indeed, it may be said that one of the great imperfections of the early Semitic schemes of writing, in which the Pehlvi participates, was the inability to mark the division of words, the necessity of which is shown by the methods subsequently adopted to attain this end, by means of discriminating forms of the same character. The Pehlvi itself seems indirectly to have effected this object, but to a limited extent, by supplementing one of its own letters; which, however satisfactory to the practised eyes of those who familiarly employed the language, offers a very serious obstruction to the progress of modern students.

The indication of the final  $\text{و}$ , as I have observed it, consists merely in what might be called a forward movement in writing *over* the fixed line of characters; whereas, the  $\text{و}$  initial and medial was formed by a semicircular stroke downwards in the ordinary run of the onward course of the other letters. This is unquestionably the case in the most reliable monument we have to quote from—the plaster cast of the Hâjji-âbâd Sassanian Pehlvi, for which we are indebted to Sir E. Stannus, wherein the words are intentionally separated,<sup>1</sup> so that the final declares itself in each instance without reference to any modern reading or interpretation. On the gems a similar system is adhered to, though not in such obvious uniformity; but I may quote a seemingly striking example in the opening word of No. 19.

In the Coin Alphabets, again, we are altogether thrown out of consecutive reasoning by the discrepancy of the early numismatic writing; but in the very commencement, strange to say, some of the final  $\text{و}$ 's partake of the outline of modern days<sup>2</sup>; while others exemplify the over-hand style we are now remarking upon.<sup>3</sup> Again, when lapidary letters begin to appear on the coinage of the country, we once more recognise the influence of the system, which continues with more or less absolutism, and always liable to provincial variations, until after the reign of Fîrôz, subsequent to which we merge easily into the modern practice.

<sup>1</sup> As examples, I cite the finals in Shahpuhurî, Bagî, Pâpeltî; the initials and medials in Mazdîsn, Iran, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Coins of Ardeshir. Longpérier, I. 3. *Rev.* in  $\text{و}$ سوی.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* I. 2.



As the comparative alphabet of this Pehlvi fount has been inserted in a different volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society to that in which the present paper is about to appear, I reprint the entire list of characters, for facility of reference; taking the opportunity of amending any errors or omissions discovered since the first impression.

MODERN PEHLVI.

1	ا	ا	A	12	و	ك	K
2	ب	ب	B	13	گ	گ	G
3	ت	ت	T	14	ل	ل	L
4	ج	ج	J	15	م	م	M
5	ند or سم	خ	KH	16	ا	ن	N
6	و	د	D	17	ا	و	W
7	ر	ر	R	18	ه	ه	H
8	ز	ز	Z	19	ي	ي	Y
9	د or د	س	S	20	چ	چ	CH
10	ش	ش	SH	21	پ	پ	P
11	غ	غ	GH	22	اي	اي	AI

COMMUTABLE SOUNDS IN MODERN PERSIAN.

1	ا ه ا ع	خ ح	{A, H, H, KH, Ain	9	و	ك	K
2	ب	ب	B	10	م	م	M
3	ت	ذ ث ت	T, TH, Z	11	ا	و ن or و	N or W
4	ر	ر	R or L	12	و	{when pointed, answers to ا ي, د, گ, or ج	
5	ز	ز	Z	13	چ	{CH, convertible as ج, ص, ز, and ژ	
6	س	س	S	14	پ	ف or ف, P or F	
7	ش	ش	SH				
8	غ	غ	GH				

COMPOUNDS.

1	اا	5	ايم	9	لا	ن
2	اپ and اچ	6	ان	10	لاچ	ات
3	اچ	7	ايم	11	لاچ	يتا
4	ام	8	ايم	12	لاچ	رت

## NUMERALS.

The table of numbers, given at p. 276, (vol. XII.) of my previous paper, has been tested and verified as far as the means within my reach have admitted. The readings of the Aramaic unit numbers are fully confirmed, as are those of the various Persian numbers already quoted. I have, however, some variants to notice.

The unit prefixes to the tens, twenties, &c., are pretty constant in the following:—

ⲁⲓⲉ	=	ياز	=	1
ⲁⲓⲉⲛ	=	دواز	=	2
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	سیز	=	3
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉ	=	چهر	}	= 4
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛ	=	چار		
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	پنج	=	5
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉ	=	هفت	=	7
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	هشت	=	8

But these are all liable to abbreviation, by the rejection of one or more of their concluding letters, in their conjunction with the decimal term. So that we have

ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	ی هشتات	=	81
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	دو پنجاه	=	52
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	س هفتات	=	73
{ We have also an Eastern provincial variant in the form of				
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	ثلث شست	=	63
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	چ شست	=	64
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	پن چهل	=	45
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	هفده	=	17
ⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁⲓⲉⲛⲁ	=	هشده	=	18

The number *sixteen* I find expressed by  $\text{شزده} = \text{شزده}$ , as well as by  $\text{شازده} = \text{شازده}$ . This so far differs from the Sassanian

$$\text{شش و بیست} = \text{شش و بیست} = 26$$

$$\text{شش و سیست} = \text{شش و سیست} = 36$$

and the uniform  $\text{شش}$  prefix, under Arab treatment.

The unit *nine*, in combination, presents itself under many forms, varying from  $\text{نوز} = \text{نوز}$ ,  $\text{ند} = \text{ند}$ ,  $\text{نو} = \text{نو}$ ,  $\text{نوه} = \text{نوه}$  to the  $\text{نار} = \text{نار}$  of the later Arab governors.

I have already remarked that it was the occasional practice to introduce a  $\text{و} = \text{و}$  to connect the unit and the decimal, as  $\text{چهار و ده} = \text{چهار و ده} = 14$ .

The abbreviation of the entire date is again often effected by the omission of the commencement of the word expressing the decimal number. This should not, under ordinary circumstances, create much difficulty; but the combinations at times are sufficiently perplexing, when the introductory unit happens to be imperfectly defined.

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#### SASSANIAN MINTS.

In introducing the following list of the Sassanian mint-monograms, which in effect amounts to little more than a bare alphabetical enumeration of their component letters, I have a few remarks to offer in further explanation of the limited results I have confined myself to.

I have elsewhere stated some of the obstacles attending any endeavour satisfactorily to appropriate these mint-marks, and effectively to solve the enigma presented in the abbreviation of the full name into the syllable which formed its commencement; but it would seem as if the deeper we advanced in the study, the less assured we felt of our most elaborate demonstrations.

We have in effect to combat step by step the difficulties inherent in an unascertained nomenclature; an indeterminate and often inter-

changeable orthography; the imperfection of the alphabet employed; and, lastly, the abbreviation, which adds so materially to the existing uncertainty in leaving the given letters applicable to many different places whose names had an initial sound in common.

I am aware that I might have suggested many identifications that might have borne the light, and stood the test of present criticism, merely because there was nothing to be said against them; but I should myself be but little satisfied with this mere conjectural appropriation; and therefore prefer putting forth my materials almost uncommented upon, rather than waste time—where I had nothing more to show—in the mere mechanical process of assigning to each monogram parallel initial letters from the geographical lists of Oriental authors.

An examination of the series of the coins of the Sassanian dynasty, shows us that the kings of that race did not commence to distinguish their local coinages by the inscription of the names of the different mints, until the reign of Hormuzdas II. (303-310 A.D.)

At this time, the practice seems to have been but partially followed; and it is only with Varuhrán IV. (390-404 A.D.) that the custom became general, and, with his successor Yezdogird I., fell into the routine, subsequently followed throughout in the kingdom up to the date of the Arab supercession of the fire-worship coinage, in A.H. 76.

With the last-named monarch only, did these records settle themselves into the particular position on the coin, to the right of the device, which subsequently became their recognised receptacle. For some time after the establishment of this modification, the corresponding space to the extreme left of the field continued to be appropriated generally to the repetition of the name of the king; and it is only with Firóz that a new improvement is introduced by assigning this corner to the exhibition of the date of the year of issue. As these dates, however, have reference merely to the year of the reign of the monarch on whose money they are impressed, they but little advantage the historian, though they offer us certain minor points of interest, which I need not here enlarge upon.

GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES.—PEHLVI MINTS.

No. 1.  $\text{سـه} = \text{هـا-ا}$ ? *Unique*.—This mint-mark<sup>1</sup> occurs on a single coin, similar to that figured as No. 4, Pl. IX. in M. de Longperier's "Essai sur les Médailles des Rois Perses."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In order to avoid repetition in future references, I cite in full in this place the editions of the various geographical works I am likely to quote in the course of my examination of the Sassanian mints.

1. Liber Climatium, auctore Scheicho Abu-Ishako el-Faresi, vulgo El-Isslhachri. *Facsimile Arabic text*. J. H. Moeller. Gothæ, 1830.

2. Géographie d'Edrisi, par P. Amédée Jaubert. Paris, 1836.

3. YAKUTI'S Lexicon Geographicum, cui titulus est  $\text{مراصد الاطلاع}$ , e duobus Codicibus MSS. Arabice editum. Ed. T. G. J. Juynboll, Lugduni Batavorum. 1852. (In course of publication).

4. EL-CAZVINI'S *Kosmographie*  $\text{كتاب عجائب المخلوقات}$ . Ferdinand Wüstenfeld. Göttingen, 1847-9.

5. Géographie d'Aboulféda. Texte Arabe. Par MM. Reinaud et De Slane. Paris, 1840.

<sup>2</sup> I am not disposed to concur in M. de L.'s assignment of this medal to Feroz. I dissent both on simple numismatic typical grounds, and on the still more decisive argument of interpretation of legends. The former question need not detain us here; but as regards the latter, I may observe that the supposed name on the reverse is not susceptible, even from the specimen described, of transcription as Feroz: it might possibly be made into  $\text{ملوك}$  or  $\text{تروك}$ ; but these would be scarcely satisfactory readings.

We have four specimens of this type of coin in the British Museum: the obverse trilateral legend is seemingly uniform in all, and may be represented in modern character by  $\text{دب}$ . The Reverses are as follows—

<p>A <math>\frac{\text{سـه م}}{\text{سـه}} = \frac{2.}{\text{Mint No. 40.}}</math></p>	<p>C <math>\frac{\text{سـه م}}{\text{سـه}} = \frac{?}{\text{Mint No. 8.}}</math></p>
<p>B <math>\frac{\text{سـه م}}{\text{سـه}} = \frac{3.}{\text{Mint No. 1.}}</math></p>	<p>D <math>\frac{\text{سـه م}}{\text{سـه}} = \frac{\text{سـه م}}{\text{Mint No. 10.}}</math></p>

The two latter examples probably give the correct orthography of the Paris medal, though the outline given in the Plate might answer for  $\text{سـه م}$ . I myself should be disposed to render the doubtful word as

$$\text{سـه م} = \text{عشرة} \text{ for } \text{اسري} = 10;$$

but that I am aware I have no justification for taking any such liberty with my materials, as in this case the French engraving, and what remains of the penultimate letter on the third specimen now quoted, equally confirm the value of that character as  $\text{ق} = \text{ك}$ .

No. 2.  $\text{سب} = \text{سب}$ , possibly  $\text{سب} = \text{سب}$ . *Common.*

No. 3.  $\text{هر} = \text{هر}$ , &c.—I have met with only two examples of this monogram: one is to be found on a coin of Hormuzdas IV., in the possession of N. Bland, Esq.; the other on a Khusrú II., dated An 4, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. See Arab Mints *p, q, r*, *infra*.

No. 4.  $\text{س} = \text{س}$  or  $\text{س}$ .—I distinguish this monogram from the  $\text{س} = \text{س}$  of No. 27, in virtue of the two very clear examples I have transcribed in the plate. They occur, the one on a coin of Firoz, in Mr. Bland's cabinet; the other on a coin of Kobád, in the same collection; and they offer the sole instances I am able to quote of these letters being found inscribed in the space on the reverse, at this period uniformly assigned to mint records. The combined letters appear constantly on the earlier coins of Varahrán IV. and Yezdegird I., as abbreviation of the word  $\text{سوزو}$ ,<sup>1</sup> which itself, as well as its trilateral representative  $\text{سوز}$  and still more curtailed form  $\text{سز}$ , frequently occupies a place to the left of the area, subsequently formally appropriated to the reception of the name of the mint city.

There are, however, decided objections to admitting that the word  $\text{سوزو}$  itself was used on these occasions to indicate any site of coinage, as it takes the place held by the word  $\text{سوزو} = \text{سوزو}$  [Ar.  $\text{سوزو}$  Per.  $\text{سوزو}$ ],<sup>2</sup> on the earliest fire-worship coins, and replaces the word  $\text{سوزو} = \text{سوزو}$ <sup>3</sup> in the same position, above the altar, on that type of Varahrán IVth coins which revert to the original reverse design of Ardeshír Bábek's medals,<sup>4</sup> where the fire-altar stands alone, unsupported by the usual ministering Mobeds. Add to this, on the common coins of Yezdegird II. *Aturi* is inscribed on the extreme left of the reverse, behind the figure of the

<sup>1</sup>  $\text{سوزو}$  or  $\text{سوزو}$  *Fira.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ferhang-i-Jehangiri*,  $\text{سوزو}$   $\text{سوزو}$  باشد

<sup>3</sup> Mordtmann wishes to read this word as  $\text{سوزو}$  (p. 88.)

<sup>4</sup> Longpérier, Plates I. and II. Mordtmann, *loco cit.* p. 88.

Mobed, in the space hitherto invariably devoted to the exhibition of the name of the king; here again it alternates with the term  $\text{وړوړ}$  (نړوړ) or  $\text{وړوړ}$  (نړوړ), and the proper name  $\text{وړوړ} = \text{يزدکرت}$ ; while the peculiar mint space in the two former instances encloses the letters  $\text{وړ}$ , or the mint-mark numbered 8 in the Plate. And, lastly, on the ordinary coins of Varabrán IV., where the abbreviations  $\text{وړ}$  or  $\text{وړوړ}$  are placed to the right of the altar and of the supporting figure; or as the legends *read* in the last line, on the reverse, we find the mint monograms  $\text{وړوړ}$  No. 5,<sup>1</sup> and  $\text{وړ}$  No. 32, inserted in other parts of the field.

No. 5.  $\text{وړوړ} = \text{اس}$ .

No. 6.  $\text{وړ} = \text{اغ}$ .—This monogram is unique on a coin of Hormuzdas IV., dated Ann. 12. If the single specimen has given us the correct form of the concluding character, we have here the solitary instance yet discovered of the use of the letter  $\text{وړ} = \text{غ}$  in the old Pehlvi of coins, gems, or inscriptions.

No. 7.  $\text{وړ} = \text{ام}$ .—This example also stands alone, and has been met with only on a coin of Khusrú I., Ann 37, of the Masson collection.

No. 8.  $\text{وړ} = \text{او}$ .—I discriminate this mint from that classed under No. 9, with which it might possibly be associated as an abbreviation, because I have, on the one part, undoubted evidence of the value of the initial as a Sassanian  $\text{وړ} = \text{N}$ ,  $\text{وړ}$ , as it occurs under its normal form in the mint monogram on coins of Yezdegird II., in the presence of several Pehlvi  $\text{وړ}$ 's =  $\text{ن}$ ,  $\text{وړ}$ , which exhibit the usual distinguishing outline of that character, in other parts of the legends on the same piece. On the other hand, I have corresponding data to prove that the initial in No. 9 is an  $\text{وړ} = \text{ن}$ ,  $\text{وړ}$ , in opposition to  $\text{وړ} = \text{N}$ ,  $\text{وړ}$ , as may be seen from the facsimile of this mint-mark engraved in Pl. II. fig. 16, Vol. XII. J. R. A. S.

<sup>1</sup> Wilson, Ar. Ant., Pl. xiv. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Longprier, Pl. VIII. fig. I.

I observe on one of Yezdegird the First's coins, in the East India House Museum, an example of the mint-mark  $\text{𐭮}$ , with the additional letter  $\text{𐭮} = \text{ه}$ , which succeeds the  $\text{𐭮}$  in a consecutive line to the left of the flame on the altar. The third facsimile, figured under No. 8, had already led me to expect to discover a more complete expression of the name than was afforded by the first or second outlines given under the same heading; and now, rejecting the reading afforded by the imperfectly-preserved final of the first-named monogram, I am prepared to adopt the transcription of the three characters as  $\text{𐭮𐭮𐭮} = \text{وه}$ —the exact orthography of the commencement of the frequent royal name of Hormuzdas  $\text{𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮} = \text{𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮𐭮}$ , and the representative, we may suppose, of some of the towns re-edified by, and named after, their kingly patron.

No. 9.  $\text{𐭮𐭮} = \text{هوت}$ . From the very first inquiry on the subject, I was inclined to identify this mint monogram as *the mark* of the capital of Khuzistan. At the time of the publication of my first Essay on Pehlvi Coins, I had but little evidence to offer in support of my theory; and being anxious to avoid needless conjecture, I omitted all hint of the possible appropriation of the name. I am now in a better position to illustrate the question, and still more confirmed in my first impression. To state the case broadly, I now read  $\text{𐭮𐭮}$  as  $\text{هوت}$ , *Arabic* Hōth, *Persian* Hōs, for  $\text{هوز}$ , *hodiè* خوز, the capital of  $\text{خوزستان}$ .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hyde de Relig. Vet. Pers., cap 35, p. 415.—“At quoad Elami ipsius sedem, ea apud Bar Bahlûl statuitur in regione Ahwâz, quae est Elymais:  $\text{بلدالاهواز}$ ;  $\text{حکمک}$ , *Elam est regio Ahwâz*, quae in Persarum libris est  $\text{خوز}$ , Stephano *Kaasia*, Herodoto *Kaasioti* seu *Klasioti*. Ideoque, vel *Elam*, vel aliquis alius habuit filium aut nepotem a quo ista regio sic denominata fuit. Gen. xxii. 21 memoratur  $\text{𐎧𐎠𐎫}$  Nachoris (Abrahami fratris) filius, qui videtur postea fixisse sedem in Elymaide, ibi reliquens sui nominis urbem *Châz*, quae nunc extat: unde tota regio hodiè in libris nominatur  $\text{خوزستان}$ , *Chuzistan*, seu *Cossaeorum* regio. Iste *Châz* fuit ex Arpaeshadi prosapia, seu seris nepotibus, in succedente generatione 3<sup>ta</sup>. Is autem aliàs, tam à suis, quàm à vicinis gentibus, dictus est  $\text{𐎧𐎠𐎫}$  Hâz (sc.  $\text{هوز}$ ), unde supradicta urbs ad hodiernum diem in plurali formâ appellatur  $\text{اهواز}$ . Nam Assyriis isti populi vocantur  $\text{𐎧𐎠𐎫}$  Huzoye, Huzaei,



The interchange of the Pehlvi  $\text{س} = \text{هو}$  and the Sanscrit  $\text{सु}$  or  $\text{सु}$ , has been sufficiently proved by Rawlinson, x. 90, &c., which will itself account for the Greek  $\text{σοσσο} \text{ϩϩϩϩ} \text{σος}^1$  (R. xi. 88), and gives us in our Pehlvi *mint*-mark the correct initial of the local orthography of the capital of Susiana. It remains to decide upon the applicability of  $\text{س}$  to represent the true phonetic value of the concluding consonant of the old name. That there was much uncertainty in the method of *writing* this final, as well perhaps as in *pronouncing* it, among the proximate tribes, is proved by the variants still extant, as "Uraj" (Cuneiform  $\text{𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎢𐏁} = \text{J-R. xi. 87}$ ), "Huz" (R., *ibid.* note 3), "هوز",  $\text{هيوجستان}$ .

I have then to justify the reading of  $\text{س} = \text{ث}$ , strictly  $\text{ت}$ , as a sound approximate to  $\text{ز}$ ,  $\text{ج}$  or  $\text{س}$ . As an example peculiarly applicable, I cite the word  $\text{برث}$  *Arabic*, "Mons consistens arena molli" (Freytag), which gives the true orthography of *Birs* in Birs-i-Nimrúd (Borsippa).<sup>2</sup> Here we have the *Arabic th*. distinctly enunciated and passed into use with the proper *Persian* mode of pronunciation, as S; may we not therefore, justly assume a similar vulgar use of the  $\text{س} = \text{ث}$  in the instance under review?

Since the above was actually in type, the illustrative plate duly transferred, and all presently available evidence collated, a handful of Sassanian coins,—rejected duplicates from the collection of Colonel Rawlinson,—has been sent to me for examination. Singular to say, among the number I find one, which, if I mistake not, bears a modified form of the identical *mint*-monogram we are now occupied upon. The discovery is important, as, assuming the new monogram to represent the place of coinage, elsewhere expressed by  $\text{هوش}$ , we have a variant

et regio ipsa (quæ Chuzistan) est  $\text{ܠܗܘܙܝܐ}$  Beth-Huzôye, locus Huzæorum."  
 .....et hodiè dicuntur Chuzæi, seu, ut Assyrii scribunt, Huzæi. Ista est urbs  
 quæ in SS. Bibliis vocatur  $\text{ܠܗܘܙܝܐ}$ , *Gozan*, minus rectè, pro Persico  $\text{خوزان}$ .

Abulfeda, 311. Ouseley, 2, 72. Rawlinson, pp. 87, xi. J. R. A. S.

<sup>1</sup> Ouseley, pp. 73, 76.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson, xii. 436.

in the orthography, proving the applicability of the very articulation I was contending for. Certain it is that the facsimile I now give [سوز] reads most distinctly *شوچ*, *شوچ*, or *هوز*, otherwise *خوز*: whether it shall eventually be classed as a variant of the leading mint-sign under consideration, or whether it may claim an independent identity, is a matter I leave for future determination; but for the present I advocate the former opinion.

Nos. 10 and 11. *س* = *اه*; *س* = *اه*.—I am inclined to class these two monograms under one and the same head, looking upon No. 10 as the older sign, which I find only on the coins of Firoz and Kobád: whereas No. 11 appears first on the money of Khusrú I., and is thereafter constant under its trilateral form.

Nos. 12 and 13, *س* = *اي*; *س* = *اير*; and *س* = *ايران*, may, I think, likewise be associated under one heading; the two latter being apparently optional elongations of the original *س*, which is first seen on the money of Varahrán V.

No. 14. *س* = *ببا*.—This monogram represents a mint whose locale I am specially anxious to identify. As yet I am by no means satisfied with my attempts in that direction; but such information as I have, I put forth with all its imperfection. It has been attempted to fix this monogram as the index of the city of Babylon—the obvious reading naturally tempted the notion; but we have a corrective to hasty guessing in the records on the coins of our Arab governors, which, taken in connexion with the historical data indicating the circle of government held by each, properly circumscribe the geographical limits beyond which we must not stray in search of a fitting local correspondent for our coin-endorsed mints.

The combination *س*, in its more modern form, occurs on the coins of two governors only in the entire Arabico-Pehlvi series—those of Selim bin Zíád and Abdallah bin Házim: the former, it is true, seems to have possessed at times certain westerly provinces. Abdallah bin Házim's association, as an independent ruler, was simply with the eastern division of the empire of the Khalifs, and it is on this side alone, therefore, that we must look for any mint he inscribes on his coins. The first facsimile given under No. 14 represents the outline the mint-mark displays on its first appearance in its

present form on a coin of Feroz. The sketch of the second example is taken from the money of Selim bin Zíád; and the third figure, which I doubtingly place in the same category, obtains on the earlier medals of Varahrán IV. and Yazdegird I.

I was at one time inclined to look upon the monogram as representing the Pehlvi word *بیا*,<sup>1</sup> and, as such, to connect it with the Arabic *باب*, and to expect to find that it referred to some frontier "city of a pass;" such a system of nomenclature being common enough at no great distance to the westward. I then tested the question as to whether the combination should be read as *ببند*; and previous to my discovery of the undoubted *ب* *final* on the earlier medals of the Sassanians, I was disposed to adopt the city of *بون* otherwise *ببنته*,<sup>2</sup> as the town indicated by this perplexing mint-mark. I have for the present, however, arrived at a much less interesting conclusion, namely, that the monogram expresses the name of a mere suburb or quarter of the city of Merv, of whose own

*بیا با اول مقتوح در خاندرا کویند*

*Ferhang-i-Jehangiri, Pehlvi Vocabulary.*

من اللباب قال و بادغیس بلیدات و قری كثيرة و مزارع  
بنواجی هراة و قصبتها بامیین و قیل انها كانت دارملكة  
الهیاطلة و قیل فی بالحجیة باد خیز لكثرة الریاح بها فعرب  
و قیل بادغیس و من بلاد بادغیس بون قال فی اللباب بفتح  
الباء الموحدة و سکون الواو و فی آخرها نون قال و یقال  
لیون ببنته ایضاً بباین موحدين الاولی مفتوحة و  
الثانیة ساكنة قال و فی مدینه ببادغیس عبد بامیین المذكورة

Abulfeda, ۲۰۲

" \* \* \* Boun is one of the towns of Bazghees. \* \* \* The author of this work says further: for Boun they write Bubnut likewise, with two single *ba*'s, the first with a *futtah*, and the second *sakin*; and he adds, this is a city in Bazghees, near the said Bameayun."

See also *Merásid-ul-Itelá, in voce بون*; and *Istakhri, p. 112*:

ومن هراة الی ببند مرحلتان و من ببنته الی كنف مرحله

proper mint-produce we have already so abundant a supply. I base my conclusion to this effect upon the following passage from the *Murásid-ul-Ittilá*:—

ببارة تثنية<sup>1</sup> باب باي ببارة محله بافسل مرو

I must not close this note without adding, that if the first and second examples given among the facsimiles under No. 14 are to be disconnected from the third form, now doubtfully classed with them, it will be necessary to seek for an independent site for the city represented by the monogram last in order.

In this case, the letters composing this mint index must be examined under their own separate configurations, and we must inquire whether they may not bear a different interpretation to that obviously pertaining to the better defined characters of the more modern زید. A reference to the earlier Sassanian coins of Varahrán V. and Yezdegird I., whereon the third outline chiefly occurs, discloses the fact that the opening letters of the word زید = زید = زید, which is constant in the principal legend on the obverse, are identical, under their imperfect expression, with the two characters which commence the mint-monogram. I notice more prominently this palpable degradation of the old Pehlvi letter ز, as it is a literal sign that is subsequently lost sight of,—so completely indeed, that its very existence has been questioned.

If the incomplete fashioning of the one letter of ascertained value in a word on a given piece, is to be taken as a test of the functions pertaining to a similarly designed character in another part of the medal, the mint-mark in question might possibly be rendered زید = زید; but I must confess myself unprepared to adopt this orthography.

No. 15 exhibits under one number three apparent varieties of the same monogram, though we may possibly find reason to separate the concluding form from its two associates. The sign placed third in the present order I judged to stand as an abbreviation of the name of Busrah<sup>2</sup>; but if I am to recognise the identity of the three mint-marks now quoted, I must abandon this position indefinitely, inasmuch as the two leading outlines occur severally on monies of Khusru I.

باباي بايار<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XII. 327.

and Hormuzdas IV., both of whom, as we know, died many years before even the foundations of the Arab city were laid. Supposing these two leading signs, however, to represent a different mint, let us examine the claims of the third and similar figures to symbolize the mint of Busrah. The example in question is found upon a piece which has not hitherto been described, and which presents us with certain peculiarities in the affiliating name which reads *Yeskerd*  $\text{دیسکرت} = \text{دیسکرت}$  as distinguished from the old style of  $\text{دیسکرت} = \text{دیسکرت}$ , or the orthography in use elsewhere during the Arab period, of  $\text{دیسکرت} = \text{دیسکرت}$ . The coin purports to have been minted in the year 19 (نوزده =  $\text{دس} = \text{دس}$ ), and is totally deficient in the usual  $\text{بسم الله}$  or any sign of Moslem intervention; but this need not deter us from accepting it as an issue under Arab auspices. If there is nothing positive, there is equally nothing negative, upon the point; and if other arguments should hereafter lead us to admit that the two characters which compose the doubtful monogram were designed to express the initial letters of the name of Busrah, we may very reasonably adjudge this piece to have been coined in the mint of the southern metropolis, under the government of Abu-Mousa-al-Ashgari. The next occasion upon which this mint-mark is met with is on the coins of Abdulrahman, A.H. 52, whose legends are figured under No. XVI. Pl. III., Vol. XII, p. 346, Jour. Rl. As. Soc., and fig. I. Pl. I. accompanying. In this position it leads us very naturally to the more fully developed name that obtains uniformly in and after the year 55 A.H.,<sup>2</sup> from which date  $\text{دس}$  is engraved in all legible completeness.

No. 16.  $\text{دس} = \text{دس}$ .—We do not meet with this monogram previous to the reign of Khusrú I. I am not altogether satisfied that the initial letter is a  $\text{د}$ ; but judging from the best outlines I am able to refer to, this letter represents the preferable reading, though in the parallel case of No. 24, whose early formation proves its later alphabetical value, the most modern examples of the initial R assimilate closely to the expression given to many specimens of the opening character of the mint under notice.

Supposing the value of the B to be admitted, the city indicated

<sup>1</sup> Journal Royal Asiatic Society, XII. p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Coin of Zútd, No. 6, p. 280, Vol. XII., *at seq.*

might possibly be associated with the Sassanian<sup>1</sup> بسا (بسا), only that we do not well know when the town lost its ancient name of Rameshasan (رامشاسان); otherwise, the interchange of the second consonant would matter but little.

No. 17.  $\text{و} = \text{بو}$ .—I have seen but one specimen of the monogram copied under No. 17, and that occurs on a rudely-fashioned, deeply-impressed coin of Varahrán V., with a reverse similar to those figured by M. de Longpérier as VIII. 5, IX. 5.

The letters which compose the other legends of the coin, though coarse, are sufficiently intelligible. On the obverse may be read

ورهران ملكا = الملك و فرورد

On the reverse  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{و} = \text{ور} \\ \text{و} = \text{بو} \end{array} \right. \text{Varahrán.}$

I may remark, with a view to settle definitively the value of the second letter of the mint-mark, that it corresponds in form with the opening character of the king's name on the obverse: the reverse  $\text{و} = \text{و}$  is not so perfectly preserved.

No. 18.  $\text{و} = \text{بیش}$  for Beiza. I have had no reason to modify my first interpretation of this mint-mark.

No. 19.  $\text{و} = \text{پر}, \text{فر}, \text{\&c.}$ —It has been proposed to read these letters as conveying the commencement of the word Para (Persia Proper). There is, however, a fatal objection to this conclusion, in the fact that, whatever irregularities in orthographical expression may have obtained in Pehlvi, in the interchange of approximately homophonous consonants, it was not the custom to omit the vowels, which performed far too important a function to be dispensed with at will. Now Persia is uniformly written in its own languages with a long A,<sup>2</sup> as (Cuneiform) *Pársa*,<sup>3</sup> (Pehlvi)  $\text{و} = \text{پارس}$ , (Persian)  $\text{و} = \text{پارس}$ ; and in no case of abbreviation of names or mint-indices have I

<sup>1</sup> Abulfeda, p. ۳۳۰. Mohl, *Mojmel Al Tawárikh*, Jour. Asiat. XI. 333.

<sup>2</sup> The Pehlvi  $\text{و}$  is really  $\bar{a}$ , as the Zend  $\text{و}$  is  $\bar{a}$  in the former alphabet.

<sup>3</sup> Rawlinson, X. 119.

observed any process other than what might be called a rejection upwards of an indeterminate number of letters, the commencement of the word in each case being scrupulously preserved in all its original integrity.

No. 20.  $\text{د} = \text{دا}$  (Darabgerd).—I adhere most unreservedly to my first identification of this mint city: it appears as early as the reign of Feroz among the list of Sassanian mints, and, to judge by the specimens extant, must have contributed freely to the currency of the kingdom.

No. 21.  $\text{د} = \text{دل}$  or  $\text{در}$ .—This mint must not be confounded with the  $\text{د} = \text{در}$  of No. 32. It occurs too often, and with too great distinctness of outline, to leave a doubt about the correct decipherment: its application to any fixed locality is a question for the future.

No. 22.  $\text{د} = \text{دینان}$  or  $\text{دیوان}$ .—This word occurs but twice in the entire Sassanian series. It occupies the section of the coin at this time permanently devoted to the reception of the mint-monogram, and is to be seen only on two coins of Kobad, now in the British Museum.

No. 23.  $\text{د} = \text{رام}$ .—This is a very rare monogram. I have observed only two instances of its use, on the coins of Hormuzdas IV. and Khusru II. respectively.

I have already (XII. 328) suggested its applicability to Rám Hormuz, or any of the "Rests" of olden days. I may add that  $\text{رامهرمزداردشیر}$  was specially abbreviated into  $\text{رامز}$ <sup>1</sup>.

No. 24.  $\text{د} = \text{د}$ .—The true form and intent of the initial in this monogram are fortunately proved for us by the early specimens of its outline still extant, which, as has been already remarked (XII. 278), in their more exact adherence to the recognised literal forms of the Rock Alphabets, afford us very valuable tests of the correctness of the interpretations proposed for the later examples of the same sign expressed in modified and less accurately defined characters. I imagine I am able to detect still earlier examples of the associate

<sup>1</sup> Mojmel Al Tawárikh, Jour. Asint. VII. 274.

characters of this mint-mark than those I have copied in the plate, which, if their identity be sustained, will contribute enlarged means for the verification of the name of the mint-city, by supplying us with an additional or third letter.

On a coin of Varahrán V. I observe the letters  $\text{لدي} = \text{ل د و}$  inscribed on that portion of the reverse field, to the left of the altar-flame, where we have already seen so many monograms of other cities inserted, previous to the special appropriation of the space on the extreme right to the reception of these records.

Ascending still higher in the scale of dates, we find on the reverse of a new medal of Varahrán II., of the type figured by M. de Longpérier as IV. 4, the following legend—

$\text{אתור זי לדי ורהראן}$   
 $\text{עמל די לוד ולדלם}$

I isolate the word or name of  $\text{لدي}$  in this legend, not only because it agrees with the same trilateral word on Varahrán V.'s coin, but for a reason I am much prepared to rely on in certain cases, though I confess to its being an argument as yet unconceded, viz., that the  $\text{و}$  preceding and the  $\text{د}$  concluding the word are both shaped as finals.<sup>1</sup>

I have called attention in another place to the peculiarity displayed by this coin in offering the first known instance of the numismatic use of the heretofore strictly lapidary character  $\text{ل}$ , to which, in this case, I assign, as the preferable rendering, the sound of L.

No. 25.  $\text{لم} = \text{ليو}$  or  $\text{ليو}$  represents one of the most prolific mints of the Sassano-Persian empire: from the reign of Fíróz to the extinction of the dynasty its forms recur with sufficient frequency, and are marked in their onward progress by the alphabetical modifications indicated in the order of the four examples reproduced in the plate.

No. 26.  $\text{كم} = \text{زوي, زني, زوب}$ ?—I have but one original from which to quote this mint-mark—an undated coin of Khusrú Parvís.

<sup>1</sup> See also Gem 56, *infra*, and note on Alphabets, p. 379.



No. 27.  $\text{سنت} = \text{سنت}$ .—The mint indicated by the initial letters *Sat* claims our interest under the double aspect of the uniform succession of its issues from the days of Fīrōz to the Arab conquest, and its retention as a place of coinage by the Mohammadans after their acquisition of the country.

Its produce bears record of the Khilāfat of "the servant of God" (*Yezūd*), in A.H. 63; and subsequently, under the mintages of the years 69 and 70, intimates to us that Aumar-i-Obeidullah presided over its administration.<sup>1</sup>

No. 28.  $\text{سم} = \text{سم}$ .—The single specimen of this monogram, which I have copied under No. 28, is in scarcely a sufficient state of preservation to authorize me to separate it definitively from the original of the facsimile of No. 7; but the inclination of the lines of the leading letter, still visible, give it a decided appearance of an  $\text{س}$ .

No. 29.  $\text{سو} = \text{سو}$ .—I refrain from making any extended remarks upon this mint, as I am not quite satisfied with the reading; still I feel bound to affirm the correctness of my own copies from the originals; but, as has been repeatedly noticed, the similitude of the forms of  $\text{س}$  and  $\text{س}$  is one of the real difficulties of the later numismatic Pehlvi, when it is necessary to discriminate, not the actual semblance, but the original intent, for the due expression of which the imperfect knowledge or careless execution of the die-sinker has proved insufficient.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As purely conjectural readings, a choice of Sad Hormuz, Sad Behmen—both names of revenue divisions under the Arabs—might be suggested (see Asiatic Journal, 1838).

<sup>2</sup> Should  $\text{س}$  (S) prove the correct letter, it might be a question whether the monogram could not claim to represent  $\text{سوسن}$ . Tabari distinguishes this city very plainly in the following passages—

و هرمزان بشهري شد از اهواز که آنرا سوق الاهواز  
خواندندي و شهري اصلي ميانه بادشاهيست \* \* \*  
و از اهواز چهار شهر بدست او مانده بود يکي رام هرمز  
که او در وي نشستنه بود و ديگر تستر و سيوم سوسن و چهارم  
جندشاپور و اين شهرها که بدست مسلمانان بود سوق

الاهواز بزرگترين بود MS., Royal Asiatic Society, 99.

Abulfeda, ۴۱۳. Istakhrī, Tab. VIII. No. 55.

No. 30.  $\text{شې} = \text{وہو}$ .—I have little hesitation in attributing this mint-mark to the ancient "Shíz," the Atropatenian Ecbatann (Canzaca), the Sassanian capital of Azerbiján, and now Takht-i-Soleïman. Major Rawlinson, in his admirable paper on the identification of this city,<sup>1</sup> has entered so elaborately into the geographical question, and so thoroughly exhausted all that Oriental authors have contributed towards our knowledge, that nothing remains to be said on these points. I have merely to trace the numismatic progress of the monetary sign of the once great capital of Media.

The earliest appearance of this mint-mark is on a coin of Varahrán IV., whose money, as I have previously remarked, first introduces us to the practice of inscribing on the piece a record of its place of mintage. On this occasion we find the name of the mint-city expressed in its full integrity. The two letters  $\text{شې} = \text{وہو}$ , which subsequently become the standard mint-monogram, are placed to the left of the flame which surmounts the altar; and to the right of the fire, or in what would constitute a lower and succeeding line in the order of reading, are figured the concluding letters  $\text{زی} = \text{زې}$ . I should have hesitated somewhat in joining together these separate portions of the name, had I not a most apposite instance on the coinage of the king next on the list, which seems fully to authorize the association. The engraving of the coin of Yezdegird I., in M. de Longpérier's Plate VII. fig. 2, exhibits a precisely similar division of the monogram I have classed as the third outline of No. 14, in the detail of Sassanian mints: here we find the two B's [ $\text{بب}$ ] to the left of the flame, and the succeeding A [ $\text{ا}$ ] to the right of that object.

The monogram  $\text{وہو}$  is first seen occupying its proper position—in the portion of the reverse field permanently appropriated to the reception of the name of the mint—on a medal of Feroz: henceforth it becomes sufficiently common on Sassanian money; and, finally, it is met with on coins apparently of the Arab period, or those bearing the name of  $\text{سومندلار}$  and having the word  $\text{عبد} = \text{وہو}$  inscribed on the margin, of which mintage we have specimens bearing the several dates of 18—25, 26, 27—31, 32, &c.

No. 31.  $\text{ك} = \text{وہ}$  (From a coin of Kobád—*N. Bland, Esq.*).—I should have had some reserve in quoting this unique initial-syllable,

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. X. 1840.

as distinguished from the common form of  $\text{ود} = \text{و}$ , had I not met with two instances of its use, at the commencement of a name<sup>(1)</sup>, which reads in full  $\text{ودلزو} = \text{كالزي}$ . On the first occasion, the word is found on a coin of Varáhrán IV. (*Kirmán Sháh*), and it is arranged within the field of the piece after the same manner as the  $\text{شيزي}$  in No. 30, just noticed; the  $\text{ودل}$  being to the left of the altar-flame, and the  $\text{زو}$  appearing to the right of that object. The word recurs on a medal<sup>1</sup> of the succeeding monarch (Yezdegird I.),

<sup>1</sup> As this coin is of considerable interest, both for the superiority of the execution of its dies and for the novelty and unusual fulness of its legends, I transcribe the latter in modern Pehlvi.

OBVERSE.

$\text{موزديسن} \mid \text{بني} \mid \text{لاامشتری} \mid \text{يودكرتي} \mid \text{مربان} \mid \text{مربان} \mid \text{كلاوند} \mid \text{سوط}$   
 $\text{موزديسن} \mid \text{بني} \mid \text{لاامشتری} \mid \text{يودكرتي} \mid \text{مربان} \mid \text{مربان} \mid \text{كلاوند} \mid \text{سوط}$

REVERSE.

$\text{يودكرتي} \mid \text{امشوی} \mid \text{كلاوند}$   
 $\text{يودكرتي} \mid \text{امشوی} \mid \text{كلاوند}$   
 $\text{كلاوند} \mid \text{امشوی} \mid \text{يودكرتي}$   
 $\text{كلاوند} \mid \text{امشوی} \mid \text{يودكرتي}$

The name of Yezdegird commences the circular intra-marginal scroll, which continues, as above arranged, around the field; the word *Atishi* occupying the space immediately at the top of the piece, above the flame of the fire-altar. I have been careful in distinguishing in my mere servile transcript the R's and L's, the former of which are represented in the original by 2, which sign, it must be remembered, answers equally for the modern letter  $\text{و}$ . The letter L  $\text{ل}$  I use as the equivalent of the Sassanian 2. It will be seen that I adopt a different letter for the initial of the term (title?) *Lámashitari*, as found on the reverse. I do so strictly in accordance with the outlines employed in my medallic text; but the letter in question may fairly be taken for an  $\text{ل}$ . Of the other examples of this word I may note the following:

British Museum Coin.

$\text{كلاوند}$   
 $\text{لاامشتری}$

One of Colonel Rawlinson's duplicates.

$\text{كلاوند}$   
 $\text{لاامشتری}$

Generally 2 may be accepted as the favourite reading, as the word is by no means of uncommon occurrence, though it is seldom perfectly expressed. It will be seen from this that I do not coincide in Mordtmann's interpretation of *Rastachi*. In the same manner I must explain that I have rendered the third letter of the *Atishi*  $\text{ش} = \text{ش}$ , in accordance with the form employed on the piece I am

being similarly placed; and, to complete the circle of evidence, I may note the inscription of the two isolated letters  $\text{و}$  and  $\text{د}$  in the same position, but unaccompanied by the concluding characters, on a smaller coin of the same sovereign.<sup>1</sup>

No. 32.  $\text{و} = \text{کر}$ .—I associate this mint-mark with the ancient abbreviation of *Kermán*; the characters which compose it duly correspond with the opening letters of the name of the province as expressed on the gem of Varáhrán Kermán Sháh

$\text{ورهران كرمآن} = \text{و د ل م و}$

given by Ouseley as No. 3 of his "Medals and Gems."<sup>2</sup>

We meet with numerous introductory examples of the monogram on the coins of this king, whose title, as we know, was derived from

describing, though I am by no means satisfied that the word is anything else than the common  $\text{ورمورد}$ , with its third and fourth letters joined, which, in effect, would make them into the single character which stands for  $\text{و}$ ; however, the lower limbs of the characters  $\text{ور}$ , if such they are, have been unduly elongated; and *Atishi* must for the present be taken as the preferable reading.

<sup>1</sup> I observe a further peculiarity in this last coin, which I may as well take this opportunity of noticing. A practice obtained in the mintages of the Sassanian monarchs, from Sapor Zu'laktaf to Yezdegird II., of inscribing the word  $\text{طردمور}$  in the parallelogram which forms the column of the altar. The word, however, varies considerably, both in completeness and accuracy of expression, on the different coinages, and on some of the better executed samples the inscribed letters seem to necessitate a variation in the reading. The coin in question offers us a case in point, as the letters run  $\text{طردمور}$ , رچیدی, رچیدی. On M. de Longpérier's coin, depicted as No. 2, Pl. VII., the characters engraved form the word  $\text{رکد}$ .

<sup>2</sup> I would draw attention to the uniform use of  $\text{ط}$  both as R and L in the legends on this gem; the same alphabetical sign doing duty for R in *Páhrá*, and for L in *Málka*, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Quarto. London, 1801. I venture to differ from Ouseley in the transcription he adopts for the legend of this gem: I would suggest the following—

و د ل م و	و د ل م و	و د ل م و	و د ل م و	و د ل م و	و د ل م و
ورهران	ورهران	ورهران	ورهران	ورهران	ورهران
$\text{و}$		$\text{د}$		$\text{و}$	
[و]		[د]		[و]	

the principality itself. In these cases the mint-mark occupies the position originally assigned to these records—the space to the left of the altar-flame. Under Varahrán V. the sign appears in the now fixed mint location, at the back of the figure standing on the right of the altar. Henceforth, this monogram is of common occurrence, until it merges into the more comprehensive expression of the full name on the coins of the Arabs, given under *e*, Plate I.

No. 33.  $\text{م} = \text{م}$ .—It has been attempted to fix this mint-mark as applying to the town of Madain, the capital of the Khusrús; but here again I must object to the orthography, as the name of this city is invariably written in Tabari, &c.  $\text{مَدَائِن}$ , with the short vowel *ä*, and not with the long one, as would be necessary to make it accord with the monogram now before us.

The monogram itself is of rare occurrence, being seen only on the coins of Firóz.

No. 34.  $\text{م} = \text{م}$ .—I do not think I can well err in assigning this most common monogram to the city of *Merv*. From the time of Kobád the sign appears with regular uniformity, modified slightly in the outlines of its component letters, until we find it amplified into the complete form it assumes under the Arabs. (See *m*, Plate I.)

No. 35.  $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$  or  $\text{ن}$ .—I give the preference to the modern transcription first in order, because I have not met with any example of this monogram that assures me positively that the second letter is designed for an *h*. The mint-mark is not of very ancient date, as far as the extant coins show us, inasmuch as its earliest appearance is on a medal of Hormuzdas IV. It subsequently becomes common enough.

No. 36.  $\text{ن} = \text{ن}$ .—This also is a monogram of later date, and is introduced to us only by the coins of Khusrú II. It seems to have continued in currency during the early part of the Arab rule.

Dr. Mordtmann has proposed as one of the readings for a monogram he reads as  $\text{ن}$  the name of the city of Néhawend  $\text{نِهَآوَنَد}$ ,<sup>1</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> Abulfeda, ۴۱۶.

scene of the great Arab victory over the Persian hosts. I do not see any obvious objection to the identification as applied to the mint now before us, an assignment which is, to a certain extent, supported by the numismatic evidence, and is clearly preferable to the alternative suggested by the same author of *Nachtshivan*.

No. 37.  $\text{س} = \text{ن}$  or  $\text{س}$  is unique on a coin of Khusrú II., of the year 30.

No. 38.  $\text{و} = \text{ن}$ .—The monogram  $\text{و}$  is met with as early as the reign of Firóz; is frequent on the coins of Khusrú I., Hormuzdas IV., and Khusrú II., extending well into the Arab period; and is finally used on the money of Zíád bin Abú Sofián, under the dates 52 and 53 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

No. 39.  $\text{و} = \text{ن}$ .—This mint-mark dates only from Khusrú I.: it is of common occurrence, and the reading, so far as it goes, seems pretty well assured. I have not met with the sign on any proved Arab coin.

No. 40.  $\text{و} = \text{و}$ .<sup>2</sup>—This is one of the earlier mint indices of the series, being introduced on a coin of Yezdegird I. It is common up to the time of Khusrú I., after which it is entirely lost sight of. There is a degree of suspicion in this fact, taken in connexion with the initiatory appearance of the similar, and possibly identical, sign, No. 36, on the coins of later date, when we call to mind that in many instances the old  $2 = \text{و}$  became the  $1 = \text{و}$  in the more modern writing which preceded the Arab conquest.<sup>3</sup> In this case, we must abandon the identification of Nahavend, suggested for No. 36, which, under the amended reading, would stand for  $\text{و}$  instead of  $\text{ن}$ .

<sup>1</sup> Vol. XII. p. 288, and fig. 8 of Pl. II. See also "Le Genie de l'Orient." *Bruxelles*, 1849.

<sup>2</sup> See also, Longpérier, VIII. 5. Wilson, *Ar. Ant.* XVI. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. XII. 270. I am bound, however, to state that my best evidence of the use of  $1$  for  $\text{و}$  is in its employment as the initial in  $\text{وېست}$ . If it be allowable to read this initial as  $\text{و}$ , and transcribe the date in modern letters as  $\text{وېست}$ , the argument above will be considerably shaken.

No. 41.  $\text{دلور} = \text{هرني}$ .—The monogram figured under No. 41 is incomplete in its outline, and I have no second example whereby to supply its imperfections. The original now cited occurs on a coin of Kobád, in the British Museum.

No. 42.  $\text{درو} = \text{يزد}$  Yezd.—I am not thoroughly satisfied with this interpretation, though I have but little to urge against it, and certainly have no better reading to propose. My difficulties on this head have been already stated at large (Vol. XII. pp 281, 325).<sup>1</sup> I have placed the facsimiles now cited among the Imperial Sassanian Mints, because they occur on coins bearing the name of Yezdegird II.; but, properly speaking, they should—in virtue of the  $\text{بسم الله}$  which is emblazoned on the margin of the pieces—be classed in the list of the Arab mints, as I have discovered no distinct instance of their employment on the money of the earlier Sassanian monarchs.

No. 43.  $\text{م} = \text{دو}$ , &c.—This sign first makes its appearance, in the form given under No. 43, on a coin of Khusrú I. Two examples under this reign, and one from a *B'ism'illah* coin, of the year 35,<sup>2</sup> are all I am able to quote of this monogram.

No. 44.—The monogram which concludes the list of Sassanian mints is met with only on a class of Imperial fire-worship coins, whose nominal legends are couched either in a very unusual form of Pehlvi or some kindred modification of the alphabet, to which we have not as yet acquired the key; and the mint-record is expressed apparently in a similar form of characters.

The Pehlvi word  $\text{درو}$ , though curiously fashioned, is legible enough; and an analogous marginal inscription on the obverse may be represented in modern characters by  $\text{دلور}$  or, as other coins give it,  $\text{دلور}$ .

<sup>1</sup> These doubts do not now extend to the accuracy of the transcription of the fourth letter of the name of Yezdegird II. as  $\text{د} = \text{R}$ , which is satisfactorily confirmed both by new examples and variants in the alphabetical style.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XII. p. 282.

## ARAB MINTS.

Numbers.	Plate.		
45	a	بصره	Busrah
46	b	?	?
47	c	كhubus	Khubus
48	d	خوراسان	Khorásán
49	e	كرمان	Kermán
50	f	كرمانان	?
51, 52	g, h	كرمان سر	?
53, 54	i, j	كرمانهفت	?
55	k	?	?
56	l	?	?
57	m	مرور	Merv
58	n	مروروت	Mervulrúd
59	o	هرزان	?
60	p	هرزشت	Balkh
61	q	اذرشپ	
62	r	اذرشپ	
63	s	سيزاجتان	Sejistán
64	t	هرات	Herát
65	u	كشكان	?
66	v	يشت	?

This last is a new mint, which I have only lately met with on a coin of Obeidullah bin Zíád, dated apparently 58 A.H.

I have previously (XII. 326) ventured, somewhat in defiance of obvious readings, to suggest that the mint names classed under



Nos. 60, 61, and 62, in the above detail, were referable to the city of Balkh; the subjoined extracts tend so much to confirm my first impression, that I have now definitively adopted the identification,<sup>1</sup> at which Hyde had already arrived, by a different process of induction.<sup>2</sup>

آورده اند که عجمان را هفت آتشکده بوده بدین موجب  
 اول اذرمهر دوم اذرنوش سیوم اذرهرام چهارم اذرایین  
 پنجم اذرخین [or اذرخرداد] ششم اذبرزین هفتم اذرزردشپ  
 \* \* اذرشپ \* \* واذرشپ \* \* و اذرگشپ  
 و اذرگشپ \* این چهار لغت متراد مانند بسه معنی \* \*  
 دوم نام آتشکده باشد که کشتاسپ در بلخ بنا نهاده و  
 کتجهای خود را در آن پتهان ساخته بود \* \*

اذراباد \* \* این چهار لغت متراد مانند بدو معنی اول  
 نام آتشکده بوده که در شهر تبریز بنا کرده بودند و معنی  
 ترکیبی آن محوره آتشت چه آذر آتش است و آباد محوره را  
 خوانند دوم شهر تبریز را نامند چون آتشکده در آن شهر بود  
 آن شهر را بنام آن آتشکده موسوم ساختند و معرب آن  
 اذریپچانست MS. Ferhang-i-Jehāngīrī.

<sup>1</sup> It may be objected, that I have elsewhere (Mint, No. 4) proposed the ancient  $\text{𐭪}$  as the equivalent of the second letter in the modern transcription of  $\text{اذر}$ , and that I now adopt the Pehlvi  $\text{𐭪}$  as the representative of that character; but I should claim the option on the ground of provincial variations, had I not already medallie authority for the absolute commutability of the two Pehlvi letters. See Colonel Rawlinson's coin, quoted under Mint 9.

<sup>2</sup> Relig. Vet. Pers., p. 524 (Edit. 1760).

The first number of the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft" of 1850 publishes a series of letters from Dr. Mordtmann, addressed to Professor Olshausen of Kiel, on the subject of Sassanian Coins. As the major part of Dr. Mordtmann's investigations refer to the Sassanian *proper*, or Imperial, series, I do not propose to enter, in this place, into any general examination of the points touched upon by him; but I feel myself bound to notice his laudable endeavours to illustrate the very difficult question of the identification of certain Sassanian mints.

I avoid reproducing Dr. M.'s facsimiles, which in many cases are decidedly faulty, and content myself with quoting his entire list, by attaching the numbers corresponding with similar outlines figured in the accompanying Plate (No. I.) to a reprint of his detail of interpretations.

DR. MORDTMANN'S LIST (p. 93, *loco cit.*).

No. 19. <i>Pars.</i>	No. 39. <i>Nishach</i> pur.
„ 29. <i>Si stan.</i>	„ 40. <i>Nach tshivan</i> oder <i>Neh avend.</i>
[not met with] <i>Ad erbeigan.</i>	„ 27. <i>St achr.</i>
No. 33. <i>Ma da</i> (Medien).	„ 20. <i>Karkisia</i> oder <i>Kadesia.</i>
„ 34. <i>Max enderdan.</i>	„ 14. <i>Babylon?</i>
„ 8. <i>Su sa.</i>	𐎠𐎡𐎢 <i>Ninivo?</i>
„ 9. <i>Sind.</i>	„ 29. <i>Kabul.</i>
„ 21. <i>Ker man.</i>	⊖ ? ?
[not met with] <i>Zab lestan.</i>	„ 11. <i>Achm ntana</i> = <i>Ecbatana.</i>
No. 16. <i>Zer endah.</i>	„ 38. <i>Jasd.</i>
„ 24. <i>Zad riaspa.</i>	

As I have already given my own tentative readings in detail, I will not here recapitulate my differences with Dr. Mordtmann, but simply confess, with but little satisfaction to myself, to the validity of the following summary, which sets forth the state of the case between us.

1. I disagree altogether in the interpretation proposed for Nos. 14, 29, 38, and 𐎠𐎡𐎢.

2. I do not object to the reading, but am not convinced of the applicability of the identification suggested for Nos. 19, 33, 27, and 11.

3. I do not read the given letters in the same manner as Dr. M. in Nos. 34, 8, 9, 16, 24, 39, 40, 20. In 21, the facsimile inserted in the text is apparently an error for 32, which last unquestionably represents the letters  $\text{کر} = \text{کر}$ .

As I have pointed out, without reserve, my objections to many of Dr. Mordtmann's interpretations of mint monograms, I am glad to have it in my power to quote, with general acquiescence in its tenor, the passage wherein my fellow-labourer rectifies M. de Longpérier's erroneous attribution of several medals of the Sassanian Monarchs.

Though this, like much I have avoided referring to, does not directly concern my present purpose, yet a just correction of so much faulty Pehlvi reading cannot fail to be valuable to all who would study the earlier suite of Persian medals as introductory to a knowledge of the later series, inscribed with but little modified legends in a similar tongue.

“Ferner kann ich Ihnen bei Longpérier folgende Irrthümer, bez. Zusätze, nachweisen :

“Pl. VII. Nr. 2 ist nicht Artaxerxes II., sondern Jezdigird I. Die Umschrift auf dem Avers ist :

*Mazdaian bay Rastachi Jezdkerti Malkan Malka.*

Das Wort Rastachi ist mir unbekannt, wie ich bereits oben erwähnt habe. Dagegen freut es mich, aus dem Text (Vorrede S. II. Anm. 3) zu erfahren, dass Hr. Tychsen den Namen *Jezdkerti* schon ganz so gefunden hat, wie ich : ein Zusammenreffen, welches die Richtigkeit unserer Ansicht gegen Longpérier wohl sicher stellt.

“Pl. VII. Nr. 3 ist ebenfalls ein Jezdigird I.

“Pl. VIII. Nr. 3 u. 4 sind nicht Jezdigird I., sondern Jezdigird II.

“Pl. X. Nr. 1 ist ein Kubad vom J. 12.

“Pl. X. Nr. 3 ist kein Dshamasp, sondern ein Kubad. Die Aufschrift auf der Vorderseite ist *Kawat af[zud]*. Die Münze ist aus Ispahan, vom J. 18.

“Pl. X. Nr. 4. Die Umschrift auf der Kehrseite heisst vollständig: links *Chusrub. Tshetar si. Chosroes 34.* rechts *Iran. Afzud direfsh.* Persien. Es lebe das Reichspanier.

“Pl. X. Nr. 5 ist ein Chosroes I. vom J. 26, aus Susa.

“Pl. XI. Nr. 2 enthält ganz deutlich die aramäische Zahl *eins* 𐭪𐭫 mit dem Finalstrich. [This is 𐭪𐭫 ten.]

“Hinsichtlich Pl. XI. Nr. 3 behalte ich mir vor, in Wien, wo sich das Original befindet, die vollständige Deutung der Legendens zu versuchen.

## COINS.

Among some duplicate Sassanian coins that have been left in this country by Colonel Rawlinson, I notice one bearing the name of Ziád bin Abú Sofián, which purports to have been minted at Beiza, in the year 56 A.H. Historical evidence incontestably proves that Ziád died in Ramzan, A.H. 53; so that the piece in question must have been struck, and in like manner the reverse die, used in its coinage<sup>1</sup>, must have been prepared, some three years subsequent to his decease. This is not by any means the first posthumous coin of this governor I have had to quote; indeed, Nos. 5 and 6 (p. 228, XII.) commence an independent series (A.H. 64 and 65), of which the present medal furnishes, for the time being, the completion.

I do not look upon the appearance of posthumous coins as constituting any real difficulty in these inquiries, though I warned my readers from the very first (p. 257, XII.) not to rely too much upon any *later* dates that were at all opposed to other testimony. The practice of putting forth these continuations of an established coinage undoubtedly detracts materially from the complete value of coins as evidences to dates; but when known, and regarded with due caution, it should be but little liable to mislead.

No. I. Pl. I. (No. 56, Pl. III. fig. XVI. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 317 Journal Royal Asiatic Society). Silver. Mr. Bardo Elliot.

Obv. Left.	{ ۱۴۲ ۳۴۳ ۳۴۳	۲ افزوت ایدرمان ی نریستان	
Left.			
Marg.	بسم الله		
Rev. Left.	۲۳۴۳	دوینجا	A.H. 52.
Right.	۳	ب	Busrab?

<sup>1</sup> It would be a curious subject of inquiry to ascertain whether the obverse die was renewed on these occasions.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested that this monogram should be interpreted as  $\text{دوینجا} = \text{سبیم}$ , *Silver*. Apart from the deficiency of the requisite letters in the original, I note the serious objection to the rendering proposed, in the fact that the monogram in question is used on the copper coinage.

I quote this coin as affording in its well-preserved legend a satisfactory confirmation of the reading formerly proposed for the only fellow-example of the money of this governor yet published. I am, however, still unable to offer any further historical information calculated to throw light upon the identity of the person here named as Abdalrahman-i-Zoid.

No. II. Pl. I. (variant of No. 53, Pl. III. fig. XV. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 316). Silver. Weight, 43 gr. My Cabinet.

Ouv.	}	یوم ولد سگول	اپدولا امیر	
		الاروی اووتام	ولرویشویکان	
Marg.		بسم الله		
Rev. Left.		دودک ایچ	سی پنجاہ	53 A.H.
Right.		وی	دا	Dárábgord.

No. II. a. A second unpublished specimen of this mintage, lately purchased for the British Museum, bears date

Dárábgord  $\text{۷۷۱۰۷۷} = \text{هف پنجاہ} = 57 \text{ A.H.}$

No. 2 (variant of No. 30, Pl. II. fig. VI. previous series, Vol. XII. p. 302). Silver. The Asiatic Society of Bengal. Unique.

Ouv.	}	سگول و	اومری	
		سرسریدلار	اوبیتالان	
Marg.		بسم الله		
Rev. Left.		کایچ-۷۷	پنج شست	65 A.H.
Right.		ایک	بصرہ	Busrah.

I have previously given a coin of Aumar-i-Obeidallah, struck in this same year in Kermán.

The class of coins of which No. II. is a specimen have hitherto been but imperfectly described, as, when I published the notice of the four pieces grouped under No. XV. Plate III. Vol. XII. of this Journal, I felt some hesitation in pronouncing them, what in effect

they prove to be, anonymous coins, impressed with the ordinary titular designations appertaining to the dignity, but wanting in the identificatory name of the ruling Khalif. The previously made known examples, together with those I am now able to cite, furnish the following list:—

- |   |                          |                        |
|---|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. No. II., above described ... ..                            | Darabgerd, A.H. 53       | } Moaviahi.            |
| 2. No. XV. (previous series)... ..                            | „ A.H. 54                |                        |
| 3. Second specimen above quoted ... ..                        | „ A.H. 57                |                        |
| 4. Nos. XV <sub>2</sub> , XV <sub>4</sub> , p. 316, Vol. XII. | دوسم A.H. 63             | Yezid.                 |
| 5. No. XV <sub>3</sub> .                                      | ditto Kermansir, A.H. 66 | { Abdallah-bin-Zobeir. |

To complete the series, and bring under one view all coins bearing collateral legends, as well as to prove the legitimacy of the interpretation proposed, I would also cite the introductory coin of Moaviahi, No. 52, p. 316, Vol. XII.; and refer to the concluding specimen of this mixed series entered below under No. IV. These two coins will be seen to vary from the anonymous pieces, only so far as in exhibiting the proper name of the Khalif at the commencement of the legend, in lieu of the general term *Abdallah*, which was elsewhere much used as a leading prefix,<sup>1</sup> and was common to all as assumed “servants of God.”

The legends of these medals afford further subject for remark, in the expression of the title of the Khalif, which is seen to be Amir of the Koreish, and not Amir-ul-Muomunin, or “Commander of the Faithful,” as is affirmed by written history to have been the form officially adopted by Omar.<sup>2</sup> The term أمير المؤمنين does not occur on the coinage of the Khalifs until the age of Al Mansur, A.H. 136—158.

Having now assembled under a separate heading all the medals of this class, I would take this opportunity of adverting to a philological question that arises out of a comparison of the tenor of their legends. It will be observed that Nos. 52, 53 (old series), Nos. II. and II. a

<sup>1</sup> Ockley, I. pp. 174, 321, &c. : “From the servant of God, Omar,” &c.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله يزيد الي فلان بن  
 فلان Tabari, MS.

\* \* من عبد الله ابن عبد الله ابن جعفر الامام  
 القائم بامر الله Behaiqi, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Ockley, I. p. 121: “Omar being the first that ever was called by that title.” See also D’Herbelot, *in voce* Omar.

(now quoted), as well as a coin published by Mordtmann (p. 91, *l. c.*), all of which are the produce of the Dárábgerd mint, express the connecting particle forming the genitive, which follows the word *Amir*, and precedes the name of the tribe, by the Pehlvi letters  $\text{و} = \text{و}$  which combination I suppose to be identical in use with the same particle as it occurs in the *Apestan-ul-Yezdan* of the gems. Whereas in the coins numbered 54, 55, XV/3, and XXIV., old series (the latter of which is reproduced as No. IV. of the present list), which issued from the various mints designated by the monograms 27, *g, h*, and 9, Pl. I., we find the ordinary sign of the genitive  $\text{و} = \text{و}$  prefixed to the term *Koreish*, which is itself so far modified from its orthography in the other examples as to require a separate initial

$\text{و} = \text{و}$ .

The contrast then stands as follows:

Dárábgerd	... ..	المودون-امير
Other mints	... ..	والمودون-امير

Whether the indications now noticed evidence any dialectic difference as existing on the sites whence the variations emanated, is a point which may fairly arise, supposing my deductions from the materials available are just. I must, however, admit to myself that the position I have suggested is sufficiently hazardous, inasmuch as the *U* I assume to be a separate particle may possibly prove to be a mere inapt effort of the Persian artizans to express, in their own imperfect alphabet, the Arab articulation of *ق* in *قریش*. And equally the local use of the *و*, especially if it be an addition as opposed to a substitution, may merely indicate a system of omission, intentional or otherwise, on the part of the moneyers of Dárábgerd—an omission, I must add, I find not infrequent in the money of *Ziád bin Abú Sofián*.

No. III. Pl. I. Unpublished. Silver. Mr. Bardoe Elliot. Unique.

Obv.	}	مکت	
		ي اپدول	
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev. Left.		هفتشت	A.H. 67.
Right.		هرات	Herát.

I identify the Governor, whose name is impressed upon the above coin, as *Mohammad*,<sup>1</sup> the son of *Abdallah bin Házim*, of whose appointment Tabari affords us the following confirmatory details:—

و عبدالله از پس نماز پیشین بتشست و امیران را هی  
آوردند و هی کشت پس پسر خویش را انجا امیر کرد محمد  
نام و او یار مرو شد و هه خراسن بشمشیر بگرفت و این  
بسال شصت و پنج بود و هم درین سال بود که خوارج بکوفه  
آمدند &c.

Extracted from an Indian MS. Tabari, in the possession of Sir H. M. Elliot.

In the Royal Asiatic Society's MS., No. 99, the passage varies, as follows:—

و عبدالله بن حازم بسر خود را که موسی بود بمر و خلیفه  
کرد \* \* عاقبت سپاه هری بهزیمت شدند \* \*  
و سهمی و سیاستی در خراسان افتاد و بسر خود را انجا  
[؟ هراة] امیر کرد و هان سال بود که خوارج بکوفه آمدند &c.

No. IV. Pl. I. (No. 65, Pl. III. fig. xxiv., previous series). Silver. Weight, 74.5 gr. British Museum. Unique.

Onv.	} $\text{م و ل ک ل و س و ر}$ $\text{د ا ل و ن و د و م}$	اپدمللیک امیر	
		ی و ریشویکان	
Marg.	$\text{— اسم الله}$		
Rrv. Left.	$\text{[؟ دو] م م م م}$	سی هفتات	A. H. 73.
Right.	$\text{— م م}$	ه ه ه ه ه	Mint, No. 9.

<sup>1</sup> This coin possesses an additional interest in the fact of its being the only one in the entire series of Arabico-Pehlvi money that presents us with the name of Mohammad; indeed, it affords, probably, the single extant monument of the expression of the designation of the Arabian Prophet in the Pehlvi character, as well as offering one of the earliest instances of its then infrequent use as a commemorative appellation.



In describing this coin on a previous occasion (p. 319, Vol. XII.), I transcribed the legends precisely as I propose to do at present. I was not, however, at that moment so confident in my decipherment as to venture to place it among my other proven readings. My cause of doubt arose chiefly from the fact of the existence of one unquestionable coin of Abdalmalik, which displayed not only a varying orthography in the leading name, but whose affiliating legend continued in a totally different style from that observable on the piece under review. In the one case (No. 45, p. 312, XII.), the nominal formulæ ran

Abdalmalik-i-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{عبدالمالك د} \\ \text{مروانان} \end{array} \right.$
Merwánán.	

while in the other instance it was necessary to reconcile the appropriation, to the same ownership, of the following strikingly contrasted legend:

Abdalmalik Amír-	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{عبدالمالك امير} \\ \text{د اوردن-اوردن} \end{array} \right.$
i-Urúshúkán.	

My late investigations into the history of the coinage of this period have, as I have before remarked, led me to expect a much lower degree of either orthographical exactitude or general uniformity of style in the adaptation of Arab names and titles than I was at one time prepared to demand; and as the determination of one portion of the subject naturally contributes to the elucidation of the remainder, the definite appropriation of this coin to the ruling Khalif is almost necessitated in itself by the assignment lately made of the class of money detailed under No. II.

Among subsequent contributions to the general series, I must not omit to quote a coin of Hejáj bin Yúsaf, now in the British Museum, dated Beiza, A.H. 78. The annual date is slightly imperfect in the concluding portion, but is otherwise quite satisfactory in its import, retaining in full legibility the letters  $\text{سنة مائة وخمس وعشرون}$

The obverse die differs in its details from the original used in the coinage of No. 47 (p. 314, XII.), which piece was issued from the same mint in the succeeding year, inasmuch as it reproduces the entire Arabic legend which occurs on the margins of the coins of  $\text{سنة مائة وخمس وعشرون}$  instead of the shorter invocation of  $\text{بسم الله}$ .

## SASSANIAN GEMS.

I have but few observations wherewith to preface my catalogue of gems.

In detailing the brief descriptions of the devices peculiar to each, in their serial order, I have thought it might be useful to append a modern Pehlvi transcript<sup>1</sup> of the legends, whose facsimiles appear in Plate II.

Although I pretend to a very limited knowledge of the language itself, I trust that even a mere mechanical reproduction of the ancient writing, in a defined and uniform type, may aid those whose eyes are less accustomed to the vagaries of Sassanian seal-engravers, than mine have necessarily become.

My second, or printed list of legends, has been taken *de novo* from the original monuments, which have served in some cases to correct errors and omissions in the previously completed anastatic copy.

The majority of the gems or seals,—for to the latter class do they more correctly pertain,—seem to belong to the Sassanian period of Persian history. Some of those, whose devices are distinguished by the use of the Parthian cap, and an old style of writing, I should be disposed to refer to a very early epoch in the domination of the race of Adeshír Bábek, if not to a date even prior to the empire founded by that individual; but, generally speaking, the form of the characters of the legend will afford the safest basis for a determination of the relative era, due regard being always had for what must be considered local or provincial peculiarities in the fashion of the letters, &c.

The more modern specimens, such as Nos. 63, 74, 75, 76, 77, 83, &c.,

<sup>1</sup> I have generally distinguished the  $\hat{\text{d}}$  =  $\text{d}$  and  $\text{d}$  =  $\text{y}$  by their modern Pehlvi diacritical points, as the repetition of the unmarked  $\text{d}$ , which in its normal form answered for  $\text{d}$ ,  $\text{c}$ , and  $\text{z}$ , &c., tended to complicate rather than simplify the reading.

I have also taken a liberty with my type of making use of  $\text{d}$ , properly  $\text{d}$ , to mark the  $\text{d}$  =  $\text{d}$  as discriminated from  $\text{d}$  =  $\text{y}$ , for had I followed the modern Parsi practice of employing one character to represent the two diverse sounds, I should have left my transcript less legible than the originals, for whose elucidation it was intended.

For the distinction between the  $\text{y}$  =  $\text{y}$ , and  $\text{y}$  =  $\text{u}$ , I have been obliged to rely upon the Persian type, and the obvious difference in the facsimiles.

may, I think, be adjudged to a much more recent period, and one considerably subsequent to the date of the Arab conquest.

In regard to the arrangement adopted in the classification of these objects, as I did not venture to rely conclusively on any epochal distribution founded on the form of the character, and had still less reason to trust my own most imperfect efforts at linguistic interpretation, I was forced to adopt the only remaining resource, and to group these relics after the devices they chanced to hold in common.

No. 1.—Large lapis-lazuli gem. Stuart Collection, British Museum, No. 6  $\frac{1}{8}$  23.<sup>1</sup>

*Device*.—Bust of a man, facing to the right; head surmounted by the Parthian tiara, behind which are seen the regal fillets: the hair is arranged in formally-twisted plaits; the beard also seems to have been curled after the ancient manner, though it is short in comparison to those of Achæmenian's: a large globular ear-ring depends from the ear.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐎧𐎼𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹}$  𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹  
 اثور پرك بگي يهرك زي اتور پتياچن

<sup>1</sup> Where not otherwise specified, the gems in this list are to be understood as belonging to our national Museum.

I append a notice of the three interesting gems published by Ouseley, in 1803.

A.—Bust of prince to the right; head-dress and general appearance very similar to the figure described under No. 1 above.

*Legend*—Already quoted, under Mint No. 32, *suprà*.

B.—Bust, with profile to the right; the hair is arranged in close curls over the entire skull, but depends behind in plaited twists; the whisker is also plaited, while the beard itself is uncurled; an ear-ring and necklace adorn the figure.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐎧𐎼𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹}$  𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹. See also gem 70.

C.—Bust to the right, bearded; the hair smooth, and in short curls round the temples and back of the head.

$\text{𐎧𐎼𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹 𐎠𐎹𐎡𐎹}$ .

<sup>2</sup> I am doubtful whether the 12th letter above should not be rendered  $\text{𐎠}$  instead of  $\text{𐎡}$ .

- No. 2. *Device*.—Coarsely-executed bust and profile, to the right, with Parthian cap; the hair is in straight plaits; the beard is short and uncurled.

*Legend*.—لددود و سددو  
راستي هوتي (؟ هيتي)

- No. 3. *Device*.—Bust to the right, face in profile, with Parthian tiara and fillets; the beard is short, and the hair slightly curled at the back of the neck; below the breast and around the shoulders appear objects that elsewhere are seen to be wings.

*Legend*.—لودود و سددو  
يكتنچايتف

- No. 4. *Device*.—Bust of a male, to the right; the head is uncovered, but the hair is arranged in close short curls around the forehead and back of the neck; the beard is moderately long and pointed; the ear-ring and a close-fitting plain dress complete the picture.

*Legend*.—سددود و سددو  
اوتھشتر کمان

- No. 5. *Device*.—Nearly similar to No. 4, with the exception of the beard and ear-ring, which are wanting.

*Legend*.—دود و دود و دود  
ياکو ني يومسچي (؟ سستي)

- No. 6. *Device*.—Bust, with close cap and fillets; the hair is curled in ringlets at the back; the beard is short; ear-rings, &c. Three stars are seen on the front of the breast.

*Legend*.—سددو و سددو و سددو

- No. 7. *Device*.—Head similar to the last, with the exception of the back-hair,—which is in close circular curls,—and the three stars,—which are replaced by a single star and a crescent in the field, located respectively on different sides of the figure.

*Legend*.—سددو و سددو و سددو<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I question whether the final and penultimate letters in this legend, as well as those to be seen in a similar position in an analogous word on No. 66,

No. 8. *Device*.—A female bust, nearly identical with that engraved under No. 12, Pl. III., with the exception of the hands and arms, which are here altogether omitted; a flower is seen above the front of the head, attached, as it were, to the circlet of the fillet.

*Legend*.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥  
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

No. 9. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥  
 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

No. 10. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

No. 11. *Device*.—Coarsely-executed bust, similar to No. 6.

*Legend* (imperfect).—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥

ought not to be rendered as the single vowel 𐭠. I have met with several apparent instances of what I should term the duplication of two final 𐭠 = e's supplying the place of an 𐭠, and, as in the case of the 𐭠, we have found the optional modification of the normal form of the letter into a character nearly similarly outlined to that now under notice (Khubus, Pl. I. e, and Vol. XII. pp. 329, 342, 343, Pl. III. 9, 10).

So we may fairly admit the applicability of a parallel system to a letter possessing so many analogous details as the 𐭠 evinces in common with the 𐭠.

I imagine I detect an occasional difference between the open forms of the two letters, such as would accord directly with the originals of each, in the lower corners of the 𐭠 being kept at a more direct angle than was requisite to form the more inclined lines of 𐭠; but, as we have seen in the case of the prototypes themselves, it will not do to rely upon these apparent indications.

In gems Nos. 6 and 40 I have adopted the 𐭠 in my transcription of a nearly identical character, and I should propose a like reading for the doubtful letters in Nos. 31 and 38.

<sup>1</sup> See Gem 35.

No. 12. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—ولوم اكلو عاا وع اكل اودو  
كريتس مورك پون شم منور نناي<sup>1</sup>

*Inner Circle*.—وعا ووك و  
اخم يديمك

No. 13. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—اودنوند<sup>2</sup>

نوسه شه

No. 14. *Device*.—Bust, to the right; the hair is arranged in small close curls over the whole of the upper part of the head, and formed into a large knot at the back; thin beard, ear-ring, and supporting wings, as described under No. 3: to the right of the gem is seen the Triquetra—a symbol which forms the leading device on the reverses of certain Sub-Parthian coins.

*Legend*.—يكدد

No. 15. *Device*.—Imperfectly-designed bust; the hair is in close curls; no perceptible beard.

*Legend*.—عراا و اكاراا

No. 16. *Device*.—Bust, coarsely executed; the hair is arranged like a close skull-cap; the beard is long, and apparently pointed.

*Legend*.—اوي وودوم ا ووك

No. 17. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—اودوم

<sup>1</sup> Nanaia of the Indo-Scythian coins, (Artemis, Aphrodite,) the tutelary goddess of Armenia; Bibi Nani of the Indian Moslems, &c. See Jour. As. Soc. Beng., III. 449, V. 266; Ariana Antiqua, 362; II. Maccabees, i. 13.

<sup>2</sup> شاه *Sháh*, is written واند = شه on Ouseley's gem, No. 3.

No. 18. *Device*.—A well-designed beardless head; the hair is closely smoothed down over the upper part of the head, and is encircled by a band, below which are arranged a row of close curls, which are doubled at the back of the neck; the ear-ring and the upper portion of a close-fitting tunic complete the figure, which is supported by half-extended wings.

*Legend*.—𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲  
𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲

No. 19. *Device*.—A gryphon.<sup>1</sup> See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲  
𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲

No. 20. *Device*.—A gryphon. See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲

No. 21. *Device*.—The Assyrian bull. See Engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲  
𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲 𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲

No. 21 A.—I am anxious to call attention to the degraded type of the Assyrian bull, and the Arabic (Kufic) legend that encircles it, delineated in Plate III. as No. 21 A. It is difficult to say in what precise light we ought to view the indications afforded by the association of the emblem of that most ancient form of worship with the sacred alphabet of the Korán—whether the mythological symbol is to be accepted as indicating the continuance of popular reverence for its rites and ceremonies, or whether our Arab owner is merely to be supposed to have adopted for his signet-device a picture pleasing to his fancy, without reference to its intent and meaning. Of the two, the former interpretation seems to claim most favour. However, be this as it may, our

<sup>1</sup> See Layard, II., p. 459.

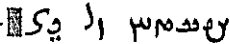
<sup>2</sup> The 8th and 15th letters in this legend are doubtful; the original may possibly stand for 𐭮 = 𐭮 or 𐭮 𐭮.

gem proves most clearly that the remembrance and pictorial use of the sacred emblem of Assyrian faith survived in the land till after the propagation of the creed of Mohammad, for it was with his self-assumed mission only that the invention of the Kufic character originated.

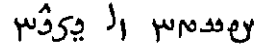
The *Legend* itself seems to have been fairly defined in the first instance, and probably would have been legible in its entire length, had not the gem received extensive injury on the edges whereon the inscription is engraved. I read, however, subject to correction, the following portion of the scroll:—

عبدہ اسمعیل بن احمد .....

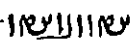
No. 22. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—

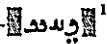
No. 23. *Device*.—A winged horse.

*Legend*.—

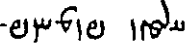
No. 24. *Device*.—A winged horse.

*Legend*.—

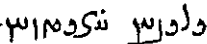
No. 25. *Device*.—A winged horse.

*Legend*.—


No. 26. *Device*.—A man on horseback. See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—

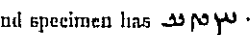
No. 27. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—

No. 28. *Device*.—A rude figure of a bear.

*Legend*.—

راس

<sup>1</sup> A second specimen has .



No. 29. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$   
 $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

No. 30. *Device*.—A buffalo, &c. See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$   
 $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

No. 31. *Device*.—A humped bull. See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.<sup>2</sup>— $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

No. 32. *Device*.—A humped bull.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

No. 33. *Device*.—A lion, *marchant*.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

No. 34. *Device*.—A lion, *couchant*.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

A second gem, bearing the same device, has the legend  
*Apastán-ul-Yazdán*.

No. 35. *Device*.—The winged fore-quarters and head of a tiger. See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$   
 $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$

<sup>1</sup> See also coin legends noticed p. *ante*; Wilson, *Ar. Ant.*, Pl. fig.

<sup>2</sup> A portion of this legend is inserted in the plate after No. 73.

<sup>3</sup> I have transcribed this as  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ , instead of  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$ , as I find that the Pehlvi word for *men* is  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  [ *مردان* ]; Müller, *Jour. Asiatique*, tom VIII. p. 332. At the same time, I am aware that  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  must have been in very ancient use, as it is noted among the favourite Sassanian names in the *Mojmel-al-tawárikh*, *Merdán Sháh*, &c.

I would take this opportunity of referring to the occurrence of  $\text{𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭲}$  on the coins of Vásu Léva, No. 75, previous series.

No. 36. *Device*.—A full front tiger's head, below which appears a bullock's head of the same size: the foot of the device and lower scroll of the legend is filled in with an object similar to that figured under No. 70, Pl. II. and No. 70 A. Pl. III.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ

No. 37. *Device*.—A full front tiger's head, coarsely executed.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ  
[ ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ ]

No. 38. *Device*.—An ibex, similar to No. 40.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ

No. 39. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ

No. 40. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ

No. 41. *Device*.—An ibex, couchant.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ

No. 42. *Device*.—A tiger's head, full front.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ  
آونشنگیل

No. 43. *Device*.—A stag. See engraving, Pl. III.

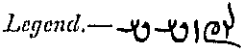
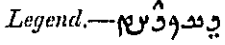
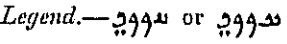
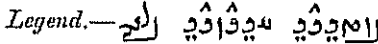
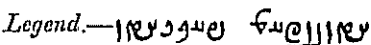
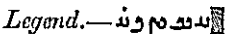
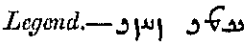
*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ

No. 44. *Device*.—Two scorpions.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ

No. 45. *Device*.—A scorpion.

*Legend*.—سندھ پٹنڈو ۱۱۱۱ لکھنؤ

- No. 46. *Device*.—A tiger, *couchant*.  
*Legend*.—
- No. 47. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.
- No. 48. *Device*.—Two birds.
- No. 49. *Device*.—A bird on the wing.  
*Legend*.—
- No. 50. *Device*.—An exceedingly rude figure of a man standing erect, holding in the one hand a chaplet upraised, and in the other an object not intelligibly defined.  
*Legend*.—
- No. 51. *Device*.—An erect figure of a man, with both arms upraised.  
*Legend*.—
- No. 52. *Device*.—An erect figure, apparently in the act of dancing; the left arm is elevated, and presents a flower, while the right hand is depressed, and holds a circular object which may be designed for a chaplet.  
*Legend*.—
- No. 53. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III. The *Legend* is expressed in a new variety of Pehlvi.
- No. 54.—*Device*.—Nearly similar to No. 53.  
*Legend*.—
- No. 55. *Device*.—A female figure, standing to the right, holding a flower.  
*Legend*.—  
سبي ناني  
A second gem, with a similar figure, has *Apestán-ul-Yazdán*.

No. 56. *Device*.—A female figure, holding a flower.

*Legend*.—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩

No. 57. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯

No. 58. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩

No. 59. *Device*.—A male figure, seated and half reclining upon cushions; to whom a female, seated on a low stool or cushion, offers a chaplet.

*Legend*.—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯  
متوشاهکي ناکدخه ني بزدان

No. 60. *Device*.—A single male figure, reclining; the left arm rests upon cushions, while the right hand holds up a circlet, from which depend the broad [Sassanian] fillet-ends.

*Legend*.—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯

No. 61. *Device*.—A hand. See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯

No. 62. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯

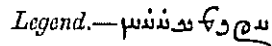
No. 63. *Device*.—A six-pointed star and a crescent.<sup>1</sup>

*Legend*.—𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯

<sup>1</sup> These symbols formed a very common device on the reverses of certain sub-Parthian or early Persian coins. The obverse bears the *crowned* head of the king, whose hair and beard are elaborately plaited in close rows. The legends are expressed in a debased style of Chaldaeo-Pehlvi writing.

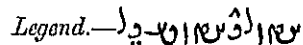
A second variety presents us with a man's figure on the reverse, in addition to the star and crescent. See Num. Chron. Vol. XII.; Wilson's Ar. Ant., Pl. XV.

No. 64. *Device*.—Star and crescent.

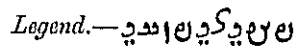
*Legend*.—

There are several examples of modifications of these devices, bearing the common legend *Apastán-ul-Yazdán*. Of these I may note—An eight-rayed star and crescent, with a well-designed outline of a bee inserted in the inner circle of the latter.

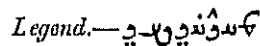
No. 65. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

*Legend*.—

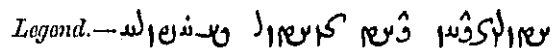
No. 66. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

*Legend*.—

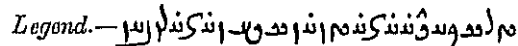
No. 67. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

*Legend*.—

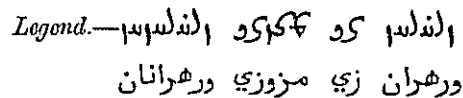
No. 68. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.

*Legend*.—

No. 69. *Device*.—As outline in Pl. II.

*Legend*.—

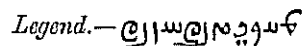
No. 70. *Device*.—As outlined in Pl. II.<sup>1</sup>

*Legend*.—

No. 70 A. *Device*.—See engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—*Apastán-ul-Yazdán*.

No. 71. *Device*.—A cross. See outline, Pl. II.; and engraving, Pl. III.

*Legend*.—

<sup>1</sup> There are a great variety of types of this device, as also numerous subordinate modifications of No. 68, exhibiting the whole or portions of the standard Legend *Apastán-ul-Yazdán*.

No. 72. *Device*.—A peacock.

*Legend*.— $\text{עס קייט}$

No. 73. *Device*.—A singular, long-necked animal, possibly a panther.

*Legend*.— $\text{עס קייט}$

Another specimen with an analogous legend bears the device of a stag; a third has an ibex; while a fourth example displays a rudely executed winged horse, with objects similar to those seen in the lower portions of the fields of Nos. 74, 75, respectively—placed above and below the animal.

No. 74. *Device*.—See outline, Pl. II.

*Legend*.— $\text{עס קייט}$

No. 75. *Device*.—See outline, Pl. II.

*Legend*.— $\text{עס קייט}$

No. 76. See outline, Pl. II.

*Legend*.— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{עס קייט} \\ \text{עס קייט} \\ \text{עס קייט} \\ \text{עס קייט} \end{array} \right.$

No. 77. See outline, Pl. II.

*Legend*.— $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{עס קייט} \\ \text{עס קייט} \\ \text{עס קייט} \end{array} \right.$

No. 78.<sup>1</sup> (B.) *Device*.—A bust.

*Legend*.— $\text{עס קייט}$

<sup>1</sup> The gem from whence the above legend is taken, was sent me for inspection by a friend, some years ago. My note-book gives me the writing, but I find I have omitted to keep a record of the device.

No. 79. (B.) *Device*.—As figured, Pl. II.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥}$   
 اتور پون بيمزك

No. 80. (B.) *Device*.—A singular object, seemingly designed for a  
 a flower.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥}$   
 شه پوه ري لات

No. 81.<sup>1</sup>

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥}$

No. 82. (B.) *Device*.—Coarsely-executed bust of the king, to the  
 right, wearing a modified form of the Parthian tiara.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥}$   
 كوات مكلان مكلان پير اوش

No. 83. (B.) *Device*.—A lion.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥}$

No. 84. *Device*.—A female figure reclining; the left arm rests on  
 cushions, while the right supports a child, who holds out a  
 a chaplet ornamented with three large flowers, and from  
 which depend the ends of the Sassanian fillets. The hair  
 of the head of the chief figure is arranged after the manner  
 exhibited in No. 12, pl. III.; the hair of the child is plaited  
 in a single tail, and is wanting in the bow or fillets which  
 decorate the head of the larger figure.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥}$

No 85. Gem in the possession of Lady Sale.

*Device*.—Female figure standing to the left; the right hand is  
 elevated, and the left arm supports an infant.

*Legend*.— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥}$

<sup>1</sup> The gems marked B are the property of W. B. Barker, Esq.

<sup>2</sup> My copy of this legend in Pl. II. has been imperfectly drawn, having been  
 taken from an incomplete outline in my note-book. A re-examination of the  
 original determines the initial letter to be  $\text{𐭠} = \text{𐭠}$ , and supplies what has been  
 omitted in the Plate transcript.

## MISCELLANEOUS GEMS.

No. 86. See Device and Legend (retrograde), Plate III.

No. 87. *Devica*.—A bull. See engraving, Plate III.

𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

No. 88. *Devica*.—A well-engraved figure of a cock, with a leaf in his beak.

*Legend* (imperfect).—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

No. 89. *Devica*.—A bird, with extended wings.

*Legend*.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

No. 90. *Devica*.—A finely-engraved figure of a camel.

*Legend*.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥 { In comparatively modern characters. }

No. 91. *Devica*.—A pea-hen. (!)

*Legend*.—𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥

No. 92. A seal.

*Legend* (in recent Pehlvi):—

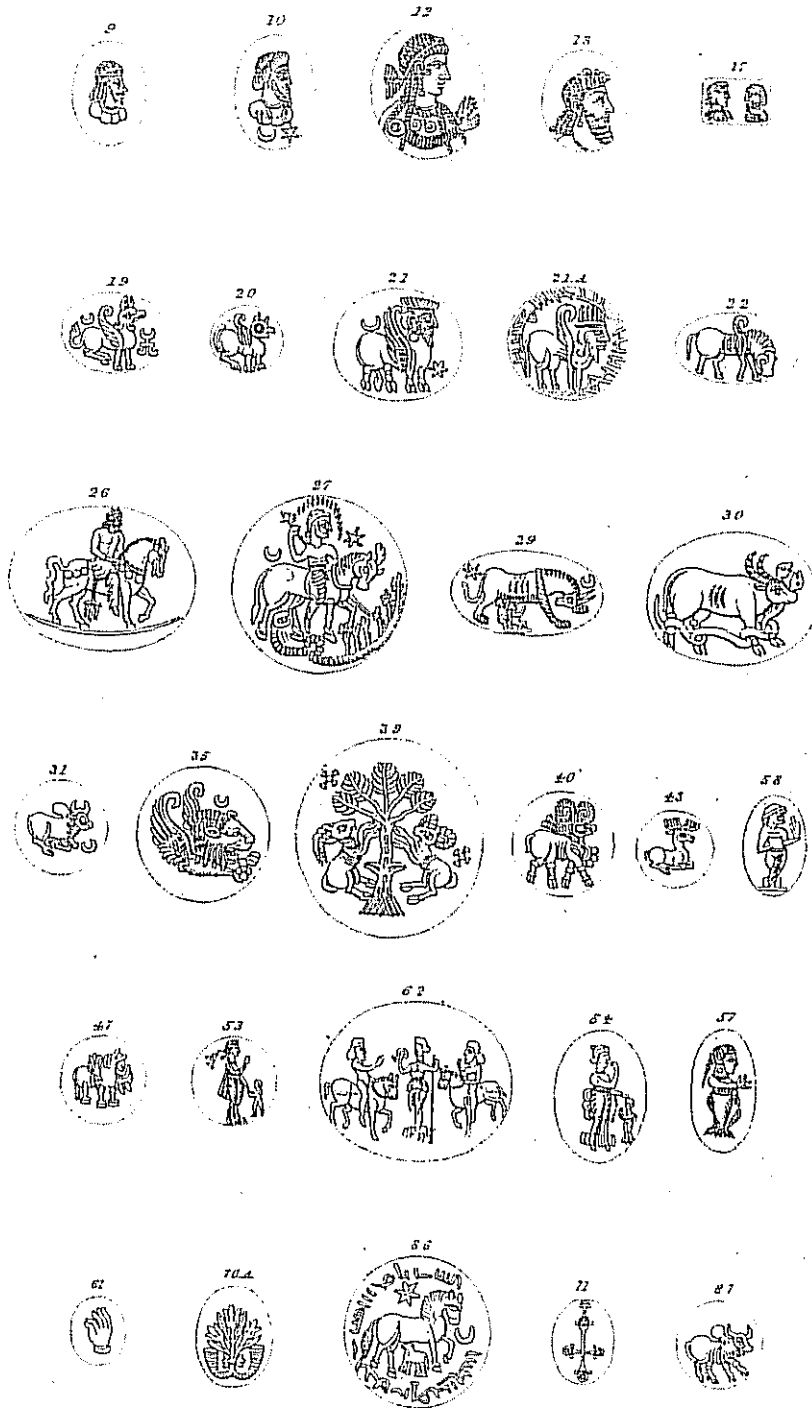
+  
[𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥]    𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥  
                  𐭠𐭣𐭥  
                  +

<sup>1</sup> I must remind the reader that 𐭠𐭣, strictly *sh*, may be read at discretion 𐭠𐭣<sup>h</sup>, &c.









J. Bastre del. et sc.

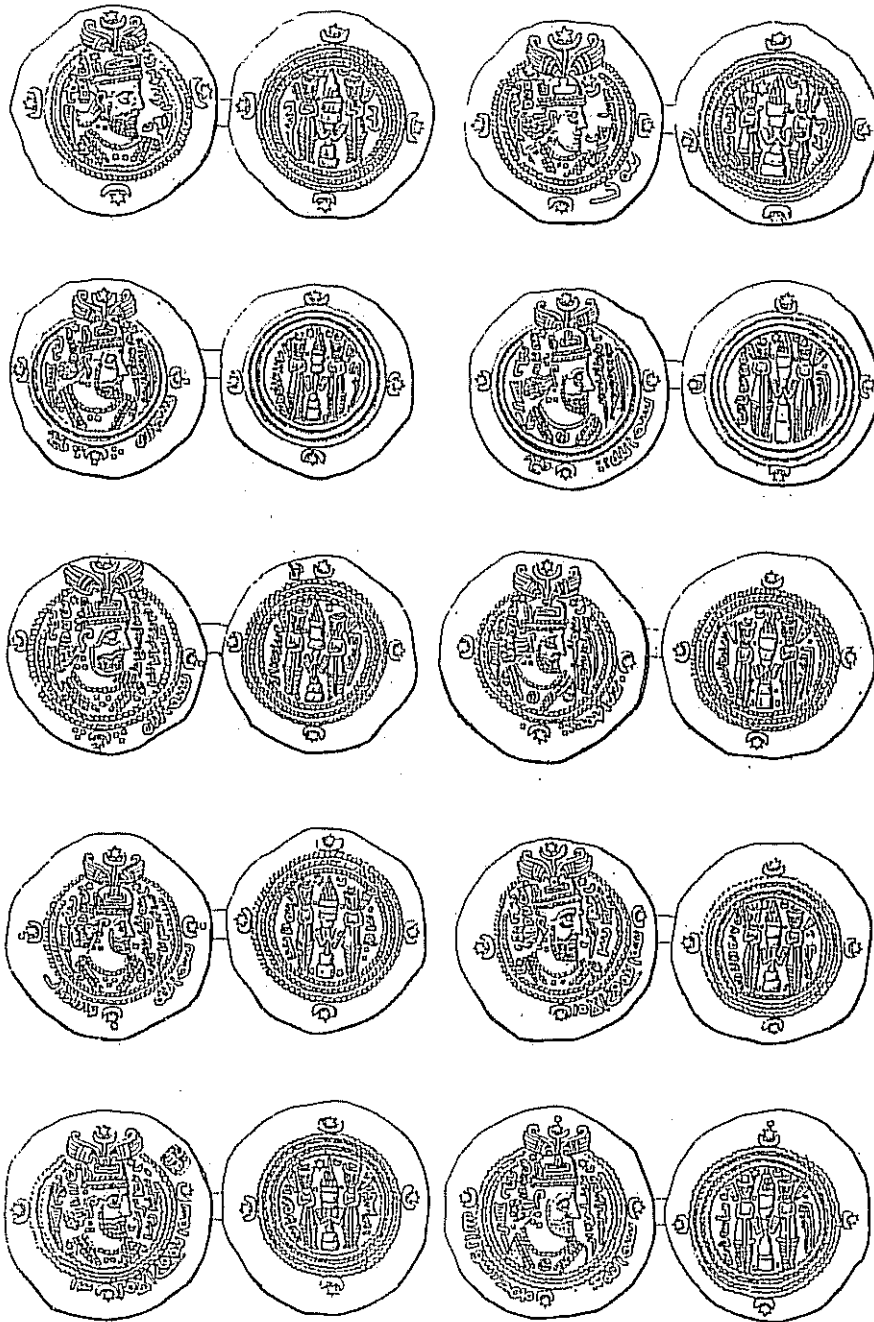
ART. XX.—*Comments on Recent Pehlvi Decipherments. With an Incidental Sketch of the Derivation of Aryan Alphabets. And Contributions to the Early History and Geography of Tabaristán. Illustrated by Coins.* By E. THOMAS, F.R.S.

The plates which accompany this article have only recently been rescued from an obscure corner, where they had lain for years unappreciated.<sup>1</sup> They originally constituted one division of a comprehensive medallie series, illustrative of the annals of the Sassanian Kings of Persia, which were prepared under the supervision of the late J. R. Steuart, from specimens in his own cabinets, and executed by the same conscientious Italian artist who engraved the copper-plates of the Sauráshtran coins inserted in one of the earliest numbers of our Journal (vol. iv. p. 273, o.s.).

The two engravings, which now appear for the first time, embrace the concluding section of the series of *ten* 4to. plates devoted to the coins of "the Sassanian dynasty," and represent the specially transitional period immediately succeeding the Arab conquest. They furnish choice and consecutive examples of the introductory Muslim mintages, ranging from the crude imitative reproductions of Sassanian money by the first Muhammadans in Persia, and mark, in their gradations, the progressive stages of the Pehlvi mintages of the more settled rulers, up to the final adoption of the Kufic of the *Qurán* as the official alphabet of the expanded dominions of the Khalifs.

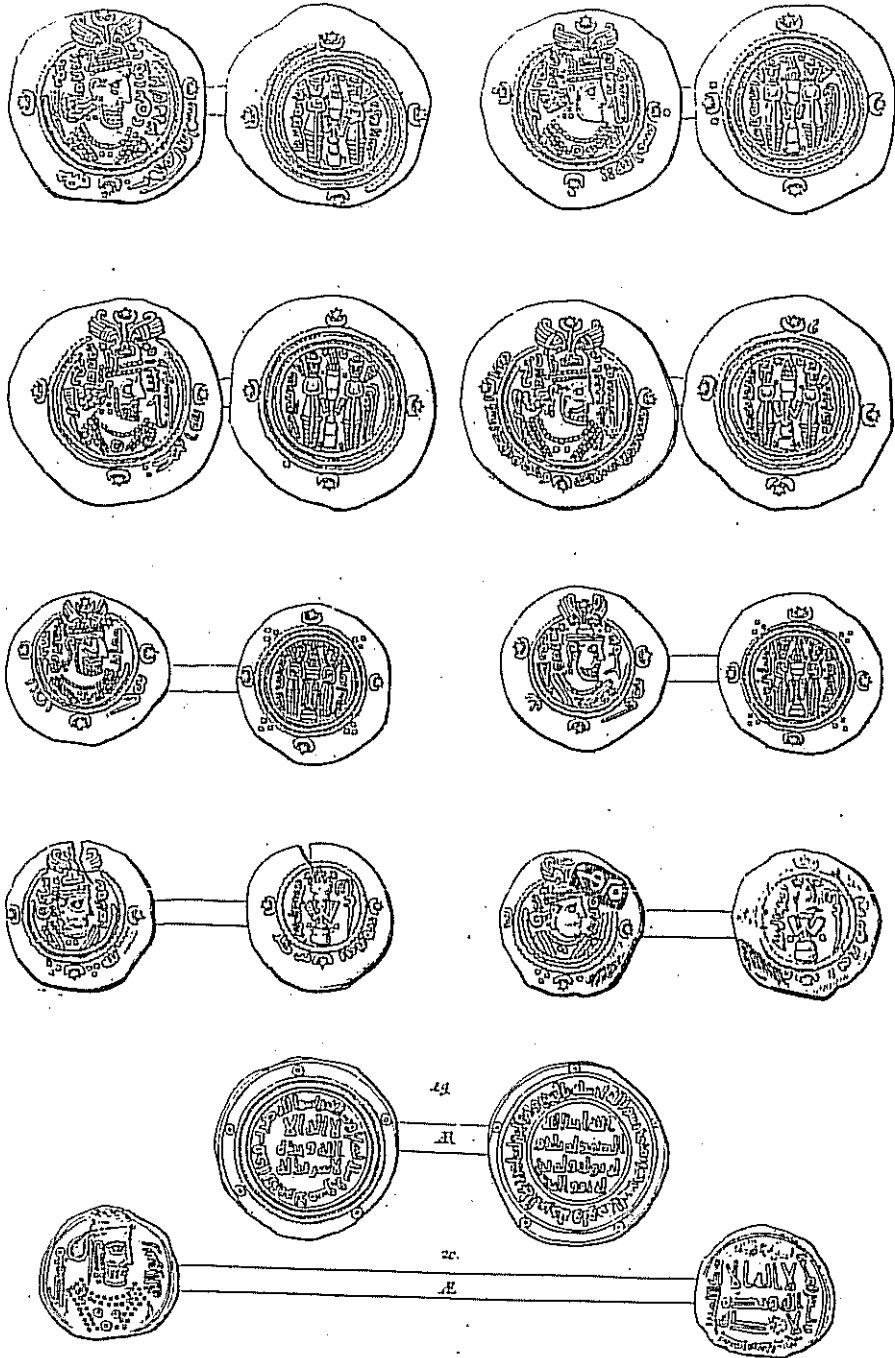
The majority of these pieces have already been described in our pages (vols. xii. p. 253, xiii. p. 373); but as I hesitated to burden the Society with such costly and elaborate designs, these engravings may, even at this distant date, fitly contribute to the elucidation of the general subject, and serve to

<sup>1</sup> These plates are now the property of that enterprising collector of Oriental antiquities, Col. S. C. Guthrie, who has freely permitted them to be used, *in transfer*, on stone, by the Royal Asiatic Society. The reduction from the original 4to. form on copper to the 8vo. reproduction now presented, signalizes an epoch in the history of the lithographer's art, and exemplifies a process which, under scientific treatment, even improves upon the effect of the metal engravings.



*Ande. Brown die c. 1800*

Vincent Brooks Day & Son



*Studo: Puroo illi. e. inc.*

Vincent Brooks, Day & Son

keep alive the interest in an obscure branch of research, the attendant difficulties of which necessarily limit the number of investigators. I propose to restrict the present notice of the coins to little more than a mere recital and explanation of their legends, with occasional references to the general progress of the study of the Pehlvi language that has marked the interval since the publication of my later papers on these subjects. As regards the purely numismatic aspect of the question, I am the more anxious to reserve any extended remarks, as our Society will be glad to learn that the illustration of this period of the history of the East is likely to receive considerable accessions, in the description of the magnificent collection of the late M. de Bartholomai, which is already in an advanced stage towards publication under the practised treatment of our learned Foreign Associate, Dr. Dorn, of St. Petersburg.

As preliminary and introductory to my special subject, I have to advert prominently to the discovery of the day, the "Moabite Stone," and the bearings of its typical alphabet upon the later developments of cognate Semitic characters on coins and other contemporary records; and somewhat unwillingly to reply, as briefly as possible, to certain criticisms which have appeared of late upon the Palæographic definitions and deductions put forth in my previous essays in this Journal.

The proclamation of Meshah, engraved on the now unhappily defaced monolith of Diban, which has created so great a sensation in the Biblical world,<sup>1</sup> presents but little of novelty to advanced students of initiatory Greek Numismatics, or

<sup>1</sup> La Stèle de Dhiban, M. Clément-Ganneau, *Révue Archéologique*, March, 1870, p. 184. Derenbourg, *Journal Asiatique*, Jan. and Feb. 1870. Schlotmann, March 15. *Times*, May 5. *Zeitschrift*, i. and ii. Heft. 1870.

Notices more readily available to English readers may be found in Professor Rawlinson's article in the *Contemporary Review*, vol. xv. (August and November) 1870, p. 96, *et seq.*; and in Dr. Wright's learned and exhaustive paper in the unhappily concluding number of the *North British Review*. From the latter I extract the following close summary:—

"An alphabet common to all the Shemitic populations of Syria—an alphabet from which were derived the Greek letters on the one side, and all the later alphabets of the East on the other. . . . ."

"This alphabet is, doubtless, almost, if not absolutely identical with that employed by the poets, prophets, and historians of the kingdom of Judah and Israel, when they committed their works to writing; and it may be well for scholars to bear this in mind when attempting conjectural emendations upon the Biblical texts."—*North British Review*, October, 1870.

Paleographers who are able to trace the offshoots of the Phœnician alphabet from the Pillars of Hercules to the banks of the Jumna.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, its contributions are varied and valuable, presenting us with a complete alphabet of an ascertained date, some century and a half earlier than any other parallel document,<sup>2</sup> a singularly close association in the configuration of some of its letters with the most authentic forms of Archaic Greek, and a new geographical site of dominant Semitism on the frontiers of Cuneiform strongholds.

Beyond the ordinary identities with the early Greek characters already freely recognized, the forms of the letters  $\Gamma$ ,  $\Delta$ , and  $\Sigma$ , are specially marked; we have new outlines of the digamma  $\Upsilon$  and the  $\Xi$ , a modification of the  $\Lambda$ , and a varied definition of the  $\Theta$ , many of which peculiarities connect this most authoritative exemplar of the normal alphabet with the more clearly defined Aramæan and Persian types of Semitic writing.<sup>3</sup>

More than twenty years ago<sup>4</sup> I ventured to dissent from De Sacy's identification of the Sassanian letter  $\text{𐭪}$  as *m n*; an interpretation which he had adopted on the faith of Anquetil du Perron, who had derived his knowledge of Pehlvi from the imperfect teachings of the Pársis of Bombay.<sup>5</sup> Although I was in a position to determine that De Sacy was in error,

<sup>1</sup> Num. Chron. iii. n.s. p. 280.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Wright fixes the date of the inscription as "approximately in the 2nd year of Ahaziah's reign, or the beginning of that of his brother Jehoram" (n.c. 896, 894). The seals and tablets from Sargon's treasure chamber are supposed to belong to the time of Assur bani pal (about 667 n.c.). The Assyrian Lion weights are understood to be earlier (Mr. Norris, J.R.A.S. xvi. p. 215); and Sir H. Rawlinson places some of his Ninevite tablets in the eighth century b.c. J.R.A.S. 1870, p. xxx. See also vol. i. n.s. p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Gesenius, *passim*. M. de Luynes, in Prinsep's *Essays*, ii. p. 166. Dr. Levy's "Contributions to Aramæan Numismatics," 1867. M. de Vogüé, "Mélanges," p. 145. The outlines given in the text were copied from the paper impressions of the original stone in the Palestine Exploration Collection; they have, however, suffered greatly in the reduction into type.

<sup>4</sup> J.R.A.S. vol. xii. o.s. (1850), p. 265. See also Num. Chron. xii. p. 77.

<sup>5</sup> Anquetil himself, in speaking of the learning of his own instructors at an anterior period, or in the middle of the eighteenth century, uses the words, "L'ignorance étoit le vice dominant des Parses de l'Inde." (Zend Avesta, p. cccxxvi.; Burnouf, *Yaçna*, p. x.) Dr. Haug gives us an amusing pendant to this statement in saying, "The European reader will not be a little astonished to learn that Anquetil's work was regarded afterwards as a kind of authority by the Destúrs themselves." ("Sacred Language of the Pársis," Bombay, 1862, p. 21.) See also Westergaard, J.R.A.S. viii. p. 350; and Max Müller, "Chips from a German Workshop," i. pp. 122, 167, 172, etc.



I was not, at the time, equally advanced in the power of saying what the real purport of the character might be, though I subsequently discovered that its true value was nothing more than the *long* or double *i* of the Sassanian alphabet, having an equally well-ascertained counterpart in the Chaldaeo-Pehlvi, in the form of  $\text{𐭪}$ . In support of these binary identifications, I re-examined the question under its various aspects, somewhat at large, in a late number of this journal,<sup>1</sup> as I was aware that there was a disposition to adhere to the old reading among many who had compromised themselves by accepting the original definition, even to the extent of its reception and incorporation into modern grammars and glossaries.<sup>2</sup> The question has lately been revived by the direct negation of my justification for this correction by Dr. Martin Haug,<sup>3</sup> with a reiteration of the claims of the Pársi rendering of *m n* (*man*):

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. n.s. p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> I conclude it is to some such feeling of hostility at my venturing to differ, not only from certain Continental professors, but more expressly from their masters in Bombay, that I owe an amusingly rabid attack in the "Révue Critique" (27th March, 1860), by M. Justi. The tone of this article would alone prevent my conceding to it any serious notice; but it is clear that no object could be attained by my entering upon a discussion with the author, or those who accept his interpretations upon texts the very alphabet of which is still in dispute. So that, although M. Justi's eccentric lucubration has received the commendation of M. Renan (Rapport, Journal Asiatique), I am content to surrender the writer to the more congenial conflict with his countryman, Dr. Haug, who has already sounded the note of defiance, about the "grave errors" of my "vicious" critic, whom he contemptuously designates as "a mere follower of Spiegel." (Pahlavi-Zand Glossary, pp. 26, 32.)

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Haug is scarcely candid in affirming that "the phonetic value of the character  $\text{𐭪}$  has been thought to be *i*, chiefly on account of its resemblance in form to the Zend letter  $\text{𐬀}$ " (An Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary, 1870, p. 44). There is far more varied testimony towards the identification than this abrupt utterance would imply, as I have, in effect, repeated above. My first acceptance of the letter as *i* dates from 1852 (Journal Royal Asiatic Society, xiii. p. 375); and I find Dr. Haug confessing in 1862 (Essays on the Sacred Language of the Parsees, Bombay, p. 45) that  $\text{𐭪}$  *Barj* is the Chaldee *bar*, "son," (*ben* in Hebrew and Arabic); the *j* at the end is another pronunciation of the relative *i* (or *i:dfat*) above mentioned [in  $\text{𐭪}$  *Bagi*]. It is curious that the Professor should at this period have so accurately realized and defined the mission of the letter and its direct association with the short *i*, and yet have failed to detect its positive import. It was reserved, however, for his later baptism in the fire-worship of the Gujuráti Destúrs to convert him from his hard-earned European knowledge to their atmosphere of placid ignorance, and the restoration of the contested symbol

I have held from the first that the idea of combining consonants, for the purpose of eliding the inherent short *a* of the conventional Aryan speech, was altogether undeveloped in the Semitic alphabet of the Sassanians, though the system had already been elaborated in the more critical Bactrian adaptation of the old Phœnician characters in its parallel contact with the contrasted *Ldt* or *Páli* character of the Indian provinces. This tendency is readily exemplified in the practical transcription of Greek names on the local coinage, where we find the Bactrian "Eukratides" and the Indian Páli "Agathokles" coalescing the consonant succeeding to the *k*, in either case to denote emphatically the absence of the soft *a*. Here the object of compounding and connecting letters is obvious enough;<sup>1</sup> but the most singular fact which the advocates of the rendering of the Sassanian 𐭎 as 𐭎 = *m n* are altogether unable to explain is, if, as they confess, the two simple letters 𐭎 *m* and 𐭎 *n* were written separately in the parallel text, with an optional value of *man* or *min*, why, or for what possible object, an arbitrary compound should have been introduced to convey the self-same sounds, a resulting alphabetical combination, moreover, which, according to their own showing, did *not* necessarily elide the short vowel. If this particular sign 𐭎 had been a composite character for *m n*, matured during the progressive manipulation of the normal alphabet, it ought to show some traces of the parent letters, whereas the simple 𐭎, in its various gradations, flows easily

to Anquetil du Perron's faulty version of *man*, contributed of old by the less degraded representatives of the Pársi faith in 1759.

Mr. E. W. West, C.E., whose good service to the cause of Indian palæography in his facsimiles and decipherments of the inscriptions on the walls of the Western Cave Temples, I can freely bear testimony to, has lately undertaken the study of Pehlvi, in concert with Dr. Haug, of Munich, and has argued the question of the value of the character under discussion with much patience and ingenuity in opposition to my interpretation. I am unable to discover that he has at all shaken my position, and I regret to find that he ignores, or unduly subordinates, the very important evidence in favour of the *i*, to be drawn from the previous identities of the Phœnician and other derivative forms of 𐭎. (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1870, p. 364.)

<sup>1</sup> A large assortment of these compounds is given in my plate of the Bactrian alphabet (Num. Chron. iii. n.s. plate vi.), and the particular instances above cited may be consulted in Gen. Cunningham's plate v. vol. viii. of the same journal; and the facsimiles illustrating Professor Dowson's article on Bactrian Inscriptions, J.R.A.S. xx. o.s. p. 221. See also Professor Wilson's Kapurdigiri Inscription, J.R.A.S. xii. p. 153.

from the archaic model on the Moabite stone to the crystallized forms of the Pehlvi and Zend *type* letters  $\text{𐬀} \text{𐬁}$  (in some founts more distinctly  $\text{𐬀} = \text{𐬀}$ ), which were based on MS. writing, and engraved by independent parties on the Continent, altogether prior to any suggestion of this unpremeditated controversy. In addition to this difficulty about the *m n*, Mr. West has introduced a new element of discord in summarily attempting to convert the very palpable  $\text{𐬀} = \text{𐬀}$  of the Chaldæo-Pehlvi into a  $\text{𐬀}$ ; and, finally, Dr. Haug desires to elevate a badly defined  $\text{𐬀} = k$  in the Sassanian text of the inscription into a new and extraneous letter, representing the sound of "*kat*." It may be said that this does not present a very long list of variants, after all; but the determination of the value of the most important of these characters as *m n*, or *t*, constitutes a positively vital question, as its decision in a measure carries with it the determination of the structure of the language itself.

Up to this time the Inscription Palæography maintains its archaic features in the absolute isolation of letter from letter. The tendency to continuous MS. writing, due to the consecutive flow of the pen upon a smooth surface, has already been adverted to (J.R.A.S. iii. n.s. p. 252). Its effect was speedily to reduce the Sassanian Pehlvi into the irrepressible conjunction of consonants and general reticulation of letters, which has added an adventitious obstacle to the free decipherment of the ancient writings in their modern garb. This tendency may be traced, in its progressive action, in the accompanying plates, and in its more ample development in the limited table of compounds prefixed to the description of the coins, in my previous article (vol. xii. p. 274). But the later Pársí complications may be exemplified by the demand of Dr. Haug upon his European printers for several hundred different forms to secure sufficient ambiguity for his client's interpretations.

Had the Bombay Pársís really understood the language they pretended to interpret, they might have printed every text in their possession, and at the same time have secured far

greater legibility, with the detached letters of their limited alphabet, instead of complicating the decipherment by the use of imitative MS. interlaced forms, for the partial definition of which no less than sixteen pages of modern type were required.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, to reduce me to definite extinction, under the Pehlvi aspect, MM. Haug and West have put forth a trial piece, or competitive essay, in the form of a new and improved version of the bilingual inscriptions of Sapor engraved on the smoothed inner surface of the cavern at Hájjiábád. My own tentative reading of this confessedly obscure text,—a text, be it remembered, that had set European linguists at defiance for half a century,<sup>2</sup>—was given with sufficient reserve,<sup>3</sup> a feeling which does not seem to be shared by later interpreters. All I can say is, that if this translation, revised by Dr. Haug in 1870, after a preliminary ventilation by Mr. West in our pages in 1869, really and truly represents the purport of the original inscription, the “divine” King Sapor must have arrived at a very advanced stage of dotage before he could have consented to put his hand to such a document.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary devotes sixteen pages (25-41) to “the various phonetic powers of the letters and their compounds occurring in the glossaries,” etc., and its Editors confess that the list of needless obscurities is far from exhausted.

<sup>2</sup> In 1868, I said in my edition of “Prinsep’s Essays,” ii. p. 108, “Of all those who are learned in Zend and its cognate languages—of the various professors who edit Pehlvi texts, or who put together grammars of that tongue—no single individual has to this day been able to add one line of translation to the bilingual inscriptions of Hájjiábád, beyond what De Sacy had already taught us in 1793. In brief, our power of interpretation fails us exactly where the Sassanians have omitted to supply us with the Greek translations they appended to some of the parallel texts.”

<sup>3</sup> J.R.A.S. iii. n.s. p. 339.

<sup>4</sup> Lest my readers should suppose that I am exaggerating in this matter, I append M. Haug’s revised version in his own original words:—After titles, etc., “the king. As we shot this arrow, then we shot it in the presence of the satraps, the grandees, peers and noblemen; we put the foot in this cave; we threw the arrow outside that it should reach the target; the arrow (was) flying beyond that (target); whither the arrow had been thrown, there was no place (to hit), where if a target had been constructed, then it (the arrow) would have been manifest (?). Afterwards it was ordered by us: an invisible target is constructed for the future (?); an invisible hand has written, ‘do not put the foot in this cave, and do not shoot an arrow at this target after an invisible arrow has been thrown at this target;’ such wrote the hand.”—Haug, Pahlvi General Glossary, p. 64. This reads like a very chaotic version of the ancient fable of Minuchehar, whose arrow from the peak of Damavand was to settle new boundaries, but whose progress through the air the incredulous reduced from the pretended Divine

One of the most curious points in this controversy is that Dr. Haug, whose accepted local oracle denounces in unmeasured terms<sup>1</sup> the ignorance of his fellow Pársis of Bombay—proposes, like myself, to rectify their orthographical errors by an appeal to the unpolluted sources of “Sassanian Inscriptions.”<sup>2</sup> It is clear that, under these conditions, the typical alphabetical scheme ought to be subjected to the most rigorous and thoroughly *independent* criticism; otherwise, if it be allowed in any way to lend itself to the needs of preconceived Pársi interpretations, it not only fails in its appointed mission, but perpetuates the very faults it is invoked to correct.

I have shown (p. 411, note 3) that Dr. Haug was very nearly fathoming the real import of the ancient character 𐬀; but what shall we say of his elected antagonist,<sup>3</sup> M. Spiegel, who, after unconsciously admitting the mechanical configuration, and recognizing the true value of the sign in question, still theoretically hugged the ancient delusion of Anquetil in an opposite sense, despite of a second proof, amid his new materials, of its patent fallacy, in the obvious existence of a fourth vowel in his own Pehlvi MSS., to which he was obliged to concede an independent value amounting to something more than the force and effect of a short *z*, thereby confessing, in the very fact, that the normal language he was dealing with required some such additional letter, which he clearly did not

interposition to the mechanical aid of a wounded eagle.—Chronicles of Tabari, i. p. 280.

<sup>1</sup> For the last 500 or 600 years, the knowledge of *Pāzand*, or pure Persian, has gradually declined amongst Persian scholars in general, and especially amongst Pársi priests; so much so, that very few of the *Destúra* can now either write or understand it correctly, as can readily be seen from their imperfect notes in Páhlavi books, and incorrect modes of expression in other writings. This ignorance has prevailed to such an extent that though the priests learn this glossary, parrot-like, off by heart, yet they cannot critically make out the exact meanings of many words, but are satisfied with mere guesses, etc.—*Destúr Hoshang Jamasp*, in his *Old Páhlavi-Pāzand Glossary*, p. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. vii.

<sup>3</sup> There has been a good deal of needless acerbity introduced into these discussions, and Dr. Haug seems to exist only in a permanent state of warfare with the rest of his countrymen. Spiegel, however, is more distinctly singled out for condemnation in such amiabilities as the following: “As regards his views of the character of the language, and his explanations of the non-Iranian element, linguists are not likely to feel satisfied.” “The title of (a later) work, ‘The Traditional Literature of the Pársis,’ in its connexion with the contemporaneous literature, is therefore more pretensions than appropriate,” etc. etc. (*An Old Páhlavi-Pāzand Glossary*, pp. 16, 20.)

know how to provide for in his vague alphabetical reconstructions.

In his first publication, the *Pársi Grammar* (1851), M. Spiegel expressly declared that the identical character 𐬨 was the *Yá'i m'arif*, or known *yá*, as opposed to the *Yá'i majhúl*, or unknown *yá*, represented by the Zend 𐬥.<sup>1</sup> In his subsequent work on the "Huzváresch-sprache" (1856), he servilely adheres to Anquetil's *Boman* 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 for 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀 (pp. 169, 172); but simultaneously enters in his Pehlvi alphabets the letter above referred to outlined as 𐬨, to which he assigns the value of *é* (pp. 27, 48, 53).<sup>2</sup> This letter, as I have attempted to prove in my previous article, is, however, nothing more than *i* final, or the *izáfát*<sup>3</sup> which plays so important a part in old and new Persian vernaculars, and which may be traced in the accompanying plates from the final 𐬥 in *Khusrui*, figs. 1, 2, to the positive conjunctive but instructively isolated *izáfát* in figs. 3, 4, etc. I must, however, do M. Spiegel the justice to say that he has discarded the obnoxious *Boman* from his latest Pehlvi vocabularies.<sup>4</sup>

The Editors of the *Old Pahlavi-Pazand Glossary*, though they do not admit the letter 𐬨 to a place in their table of alphabets, are constrained to recognize its true import amid the list of compound characters, where 𐬨𐬀 is acknowledged to represent the sounds of "*ai, hi, or khí.*" Why then, by parity of reasoning, should not 𐬨 be equal to the *ii*, or, in

<sup>1</sup> *Grammatik der Pársisprache* (Leipzig, 1851), p. 22.

(a) *i*, oder 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀 ist der Zend vocal 10, z. B. 𐬨𐬀 = 𐬨𐬀 etc.

(b) *e*, oder 𐬨𐬀 𐬨𐬀 wird im Pársi durch 𐬥 ausgedrückt, in 𐬨𐬀𐬨𐬀, 𐬨𐬀, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Grammatik der Huzváresch-sprache*. (Wien, 1856.)










<sup>3</sup> *J.R.A.S. n.s. iii. p. 262*. The name *Khusrui* on the coins was for a long time supposed to be *Khusrub*. *J. Müller, Journal Asiatique* (1839), vii. pp. 335, 342; *Olshausen, Num. Chron.* xi. 135; *Rawlinson, J.R.A.S. x.* I myself at one time shared this impression, which received much force from the parallel Armenian *Khosrov* (*St.-Martin, Arménie*, i. 412). The contrast, however, between the forms of the letter in question and that of the true 𐬨 in the accompanying plates must be held conclusively to settle the point.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen* (Wien, 1860), p. 424; *J.R.A.S. xii. p. 275*.

effect, furnish a modified form of the ancient letter whose purport as *ü* or *z* I have been contending for?<sup>1</sup>

The question raised by Mr. West, in his late article in this Journal, seems primarily to limit the discussion between us, as to what course we should pursue to establish our independent positions: he desires to try the language of the Sassanian inscriptions by the upward test of the Pársí fragments extant in Bombay, and the local interpretations accepted in that last refuge of Zoroastrianism. I, on the other hand, aim at the more comprehensive criticism afforded by the dialects of immediately proximate lands, and the inductive teaching of the earlier alphabets, preserved on medals, seals, and other antiquarian remains, which come down to the confessed starting-point of the attempted neo-Persian reconstruction of the ancient rituals, under Ardashir Bábak and his immediate successors. The representatives of the archaic creed to whom this duty was entrusted are most candid in their admissions of the difficulties they had to encounter consequent upon the pretended destruction of the scriptures of the old Fire-Worshippers by Alexander the Great,<sup>2</sup> and the unavowed but more important influence of 557 years of discouragement and obscuration of the religion itself, which succeeded, under the Seleucidæ and Arsacidæ, up to the date of the attempted revival of their ancestral faith.

Nor did the ancient tongue itself fare better than the lost books which embodied the primitive rites. So long as the original Pehlvi maintained its position as the ruling verna-

<sup>1</sup> By some strange want of perception, the Editors of this Glossary have confounded the  *i* and the very differently formed  *b*, so that they describe the identical  as  +  =  *ab* (sic) and  or  +  = *ai* with charming indifference (p. 30).

<sup>2</sup> There is no possible pretence for saying that Alexander destroyed the ancient literature of the land; the single Palace and the Royal Archives at Persepolis were burnt; but so far from the Macedonian conqueror having proposed to himself any mission of eradicating old creeds, he rather took to them under their pleasant aspects. The real destroyers of the primitive lore were the Muslims, who nevertheless revered, and for a time preserved, and finally translated all that was worth having in the accessible Pehlvi MSS. It would rather seem that the *new* Zoroastrianism ought to take its date from the latter period of depression; for there clearly were plenty of Pehlvi MSS. still extant in A.H. 318 = A.D. 930.—See Reinoud, *Abulfeda*, p. Lxv. note 2.

cular utterance, current among all classes of the nation, the limited seventeen letters of the coeval alphabet fully sufficed to convey any required sense to the comprehensions of those who thought and spoke in the common language. We have a nearly parallel illustration of this faculty of using short-hand notation in the colloquial Hindi of the present day, which resolutely refuses to avail itself of the intricacies of the more elaborated Sanskrit characters, and adheres consistently to the simple detached consonants of antiquity, with all the associate uncertainty of intonation. But the typical Persian language clearly became degraded on its own soil, under the action of successive waves of conquest, irregular hostile occupation and the introduction of foreign speech into the official documents of court and camp, as alien rulers chanced to dominate. Such influences, apart from the general depression of the religious communities, who alone had an interest in the preservation of the sacred texts, must have rendered any satisfactory reconstruction of the earlier rituals a task far beyond the powers of the degenerate *Mobeds* of the scattered Fire-temples, even if the old letters of the alphabet had not been then, as now, altogether insufficient to define obsolete grammatical inflexions, and still less competent to restore the purport of a lost tongue.

The language of the inscriptions, under these conditions, may be held to have primarily followed the mixed speech of the head-quarters, which consisted of a sort of Eastern *Lingua Franca* or Mesopotamian *Urdú*, abounding in Aramaisms, and in the selected epigraphs under review, freely interspersed with independent religious texts, which were by no means necessarily Zoroastrian.

The language of the books, on the other hand, if they truly reproduced the ancient texts, should have presented a modified form either of primitive Pehlvi, archaic Zend, or, at the lowest, a dialect but little removed from the Persian Cuneiform. But, to judge by its composite character, it would seem as if the dry bones and *dissecta membra* of the old Iranian rituals had been galvanized into a specious vitality by the introduction of Semitic verbs with Persian terminations, added to which the practice of writing one word and



pronouncing another savours strongly of priestcraft, whose revision in this case was neither competent nor honest. If to construct grammars and dictionaries out of such materials be a labour of high ingenuity, I can concede that much credit to our modern authorities; but I must be excused if I remain incredulous as to the value on finality of the results thus obtained.

If I have had to suggest anything derogatory to the attainments of the modern Pársi teachers in the Western Presidency, I am glad to have the opportunity of quoting, with renewed hope, our own Royal Asiatic Society's motto, "Ex Oriente lux," as, by a singular chance, I have this day (11th Jan., 1872) received from Bombay a comprehensive series of the publications of the later earnest revivers of the old lore, in their adopted home under the British flag—in the shape of even more difficult reading than the Pehlvi itself, as explained and illustrated by Guzráti commentaries; but I recognize with satisfaction the conscientious endeavours of the present representatives of the archaic faith in Bombay to encounter, and I trust overcome, many of the difficulties inherent in their ethnic language—in this I am the more encouraged by the tone of mixed frankness and confidence disclosed in Destúr Behrámjî Sunjana's preface to his new Pehlvi Grammar,<sup>1</sup> which augurs well for the future, in a seeming aspiration of the local Pársis to free themselves from European dogmatism, and to rehabilitate their national speech by their intuitive hereditary perceptions, from independent

<sup>1</sup> A Grammar of the Pahlavi Language, by Peshotun Dustoor Behramjee Sunjana. (Bombay, 1871.) Preface, p. iii.: "The pronunciations of the Semitic terms as used by the Dustoors of Irán and of India are founded on the well-known authority of *Malik Namah Assooree*, which, as will be mentioned hereafter, is now more than 1200 years old, and at the time when this work was written the Pahlavi language was in its pristine use amongst the Zoroastrians of Irán. The modern Orientalists of Europe, however, have modified such pronunciations, but such modifications I do not feel justified in recommending to my Zoroastrian brethren." Of course, I am not likely to endorse all our new grammarian's notions, many of which are clearly crude, and require for their correction that foreign travel and outside ventilation which I have advised above; but not the less may I welcome an effort at free thought, and a seeking after the truth, which I admire above all things. One word of warning, too, I must add to those who may be disposed to over-estimate the advantages of Iranian descent, in the revival and reconstruction of their ancient tongue, as they must bear in mind that for generations past they have been domiciled and educated in a foreign land, and learnt from their cradles to frame their idens in an alien idiom; so that their ancestral language, or even its modern representative, has to be acquired anew.

sources and the extant documents of their creed. I am sanguine that these records may be largely augmented when the less passive members of the community undertake to scrutinize their own Indian depositaries, or boldly seek to penetrate into other closed receptacles of the obscure literature of the past,—in lands to which they have preferential access.

In concluding this branch of a single alphabetical controversy, I may be permitted to reproduce a more comprehensive view of the general question, which I submitted *vivâ voce*, but with scant preparation, to the Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 9th April, 1866.

As this merely suggestive outline has never been formally incorporated in our *Transactions*, I make no apology for quoting in full the semi-official report of the proceedings of the meeting of that date from the *Athenæum* newspaper.

The Right. Hon. Viscount Strangford in the chair.—Mr. Thomas, adverting to recent controversies respecting the parentage of the various modes of writing in use in ancient India, spoke "On the Adapted Alphabets of the Aryan Races." These were the results of his palæographical investigations: The Aryans invented no alphabet of their own for their special form of human speech, but were, in all their migrations, indebted to the nationality amid whom they settled for their instruction in the science of writing: (1) The *Persian Cuneiform* owed its origin to the Assyrian, and the Assyrian Cuneiform emanated from an antecedent Turanian symbolic character; (2) the *Greek* and *Latin* alphabets were manifestly derived from the Phœnician; (3) the *Bactrian* was adapted to its more precise functions by a reconstruction and amplification of Phœnician models; (4) the *Devanagari* was appropriated to the expression of the Sanskrit language from the pre-existing Indian Pâli or *Idi* alphabet, which was obviously originated to meet the requirements of Turanian (Drâvidian) dialects; (5) the *Pehlvi* was the offspring of later and already modified Phœnician letters; and (6) the *Zend* was elaborated out of the limited elements of the Pehlvi writing, but by a totally different method to that followed in the adaptation of the Semitic Bactrian. Mr. Thomas then proceeded to advert to the single point open to discussion involved under the 4th head, tracing the progress of the successive waves of Aryan immigration from the Oxus into the provinces of Ariania and the Hindu Kush, and the downward course of the pastoral races from their first entry into the Panjab and the associate crude chants of the Vedic hymns to the establishment of the cultivated Brahmanic institutions on the banks of the Sarasvati, and the elaboration of Sanskrit grammar at Taxila, connecting the advance of their literature with the simplified but extended alphabet they constructed in the Arianian provinces out of a very archaic type of Phœnician, and whose graphic efficiency was so singularly aided by the free use of birch bark. This alphabet continued in use as the official writing under the Greek and Indo-Scythian rulers

of Northern India, until it was superseded by the superior fitness and capabilities of the local Pāli, which is proved by Asoka's scattered inscriptions on rocks and monoliths (Lāts) to have constituted the current writing of the continent of India in a.c. 250, while a similar, if not identical, character is seen to have furnished the prototype of all the varying systems of writing employed by the different nationalities of India at large, from Sind to Ceylon, and spreading over Burmah, till the Indian Pāli meets Chinese alphabets on their own soil in Annam. In conclusion, Mr. Thomas pointed out the importance of the discoveries of Norris and Caldwell, derived from completely independent sources, regarding the Scythic origin of the introductory Indian alphabets.

No substantive article was ever prepared or published in further development of the somewhat comprehensive theory thus enunciated; but its purport has been quoted with seeming approval, and, as far as I am aware, without hostile comment in France and Germany. The subject has likewise been discussed at two several meetings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.<sup>1</sup> With the general tenor of these *quasi* conversational proceedings I have no possible cause of dissatisfaction. Naturally, the living representatives of the Indian Aryans resented any notion of their ancestors having borrowed, even more convenient mechanical vehicles for the expression of thought, from the ignorant Dravidians of the south;<sup>2</sup> but the facts are cumulatively against them, especially

<sup>1</sup> Journal Asiatic Society, Bengal, and Meeting, 6th Feb., 1867, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> The subjoined quotation is in so far a virtual reproduction of my letter, inviting the discussion, *in situ*, of the comparative priority of Indian alphabets, which was read at the Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, on the 5th February, 1867. I have taken thus much of liberty with the printed report, as to rectify the singular error of the local press, which contrived to arrange my *data* in the directly opposite sense to the concurrent argument; and as chance would have it, by a casual transposition of the descriptive headings of the alphabets, to obscure completely the whole question, either to Eastern or Western comprehensions. I have, perhaps, been over-confident of the strength of my position, in abstaining, until this moment, from any protest against an editorial blunder, which, in mild terms, left me in a complete minority. But I am quite content to revive this corrected version as a basis for future discussion.

"I am glad to find that my notice of the derivation of Arian alphabets attracted attention, and I am most curious to learn the course the discussion took at the Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; more especially as I am now following out the Indian section of the inquiry, and have arrived already at some unexpected results, tending to confirm the original *Dravidian* derivation of the *Sanskrit* alphabet. The readers of our Journal will not fail to call to mind that Prinsep, in his early comments upon the Lāt alphabet, pointed out that, in many instances, the *aspirate* letters were formed by a duplication of the lines of their corresponding *simple* letters. The question was not raised as to *when* these aspirates had been designed, but the inference was, that they had been formed simultaneously with the simple letters, and out of the same elements. I have a different theory to propose, which I submit for the examination and comments of your members: it is to assume that all the simple letters were Dravidian, and constituted a complete and sufficient alphabet for that class of languages, while the aspirates were later additions required for the due expression of *Māgadhī* and other northern dialects, as the Sanskrit in after-times added its own sibilants to the latter alphabet.

as they have now an opportunity of selecting new adversaries

A glance at the subjoined comparative alphabets will show the twenty consonants (out of the full twenty-one) of the Dravidian system, as opposed to the thirty-one consonants of the Prakrit of Asoka's edicts. Of the additional aspirates of the latter scheme, two only can in any way claim to be ordinary duplications, the *chh* and *ṭh*; while a more simple origin might be sought for the latter in a common circle: *ḍh*, *dh*, and *ṣh* may fairly be taken as intentional modifications of their corresponding normal letters; but *kh* and *gh*, like *ṭh* and *ṭh*, have more in common as fellow aspirates than association with their own leading consonants; and, finally, *jh* and *bh* seem to have been unfettered adaptations. The *s* (𑀓) again differs from the *y* (𑀛) only in the reversal of the leading lower limb. As the alphabetical data, upon which alone we have now to rely, are derived from inscriptions embodying a different language, and dating so late as a.c. 250, we can scarcely expect to recover the missing Dravidian consonants; but one, at least, of the vowel tests is significant in the extreme. The Dravidian vowels, as contrasted with the Sanskrit series by Caldwell, arrange themselves as follows:—

Sanskrit, *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, ṛī, ṛī, ṛī, —, ē, ai, —, ē, ai, ū, 2, ah.*  
Tamil, *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, —, —, —, e, ē, ai, o, ō, —, —.*

"The value of the simple *e*, in the Lāt character, admits of no doubt, the outline of the letter takes the form of 𑀓, while the elongated vowel is constructed by a duplication of the sound, effected by the addition of a medial *e*, thus 𑀓 = *ee*, apparently the original Dravidian *ē* (or possibly *eī*), but which, in Asoka's inscriptions, is made to do duty for *ai*. In the more distinctly Sanskrit adaptations of the Devanāgarī Bactrian alphabet, the initial *a* (𑀓) formed the basis of all the other vowels, whose varying values were discriminated by their several vowel marks.

"I am unwilling to enlarge upon an avowedly speculative suggestion, but I think few will fail to detect the contrast between the archaic crudeness of the simple letters and the more complicated and cursive forms of the aspirates in the Lāt alphabet. Had the latter class of characters uniformly followed the typical design of their corresponding simple letters, there would have been more reason to have assumed a simultaneous and congruous initiation; but the introduction of anomalous signs among the *gutturals*, the remarkable cursive development assigned to the aspirates, as opposed to the stiff outlines of their simple prototypes (an advance equal in degree, but less obviously marked in the *ḍh* and *dh*), and the inconsistent development of the *bh*, upon the basis of the old *ḍ*, all seem to indicate a later and independent elaboration of the aspirates.

## THE NORMAL DRAVIDIAN ALPHABET.

Consonants.			
𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖
𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚
𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞
𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢
𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦
𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮
𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲
𑀳	𑀴	𑀵	𑀶

## Vowels.

𑀓 *a* : *i* 𑀛 *u* 𑀓 *e*

## Medial Vowels.

𑀓 *kā*, 𑀓 *ka*, 𑀓 *ki*, 𑀓 *ki*, 𑀓 *ku*.

## THE PRAKRIT OR LĀT ALPHABET.

Consonants.			
𑀓	𑀔	𑀕	𑀖
𑀗	𑀘	𑀙	𑀚
𑀛	𑀜	𑀝	𑀞
𑀟	𑀠	𑀡	𑀢
𑀣	𑀤	𑀥	𑀦
𑀧	𑀨	𑀩	𑀪
𑀫	𑀬	𑀭	𑀮
𑀯	𑀰	𑀱	𑀲
𑀳	𑀴	𑀵	𑀶

## Vowels.

𑀓 : 𑀛 𑀓

## Medial Vowels.

𑀓 *kā*, 𑀓 *ka*, 𑀓 *ki*, 𑀓 *ki*, 𑀓 *ku*.

Sanskrit additions to the Lāt alphabet, 𑀓 = 𑀓, 𑀓 = 𑀓.

in the more advanced "Scythians" as their possibly later teachers,<sup>1</sup> who would equally, and more definitively sustain the argument of priority in the art of writing in India, against the intrusive Vedic Aryans, whose education, by their own admission, had been greatly neglected up to the period of their entry into the land of the seven rivers.<sup>2</sup>

But to revert to the old data upon which I based my conclusions on this branch of the subject, nothing could have been more graphic, in the whole history of literary events, than the unpremeditated concert of evidence, gleaned in different lands, from hopelessly severed starting-points; presented, on the one part, by Mr. Norris's decipherment of the Scythian Tablets of Darius, at Bihistún, and the almost simultaneous production of the results of Dr. Caldwell's patient researches *in situ* into the languages of the South of India, which, on examination, developed such strange identities of verbal and grammatical formations, as to authorize the representatives of the old and the new to say, essentially, we are at *one*.<sup>3</sup>

Nor could anything be more striking as a second and subdued parallel, in the same direction, than Dr. Caldwell's detection of the Drávidian element in the Brahui form of Belúch speech with the associate testimony of our coins as to the sustained and persistent use of the Páli, or *Lát* alphabet, which descended in the ordinary course to the Greeks, with their outlying possessions in Arachosia, and which held its local dominancy, even to the competitive triumph over the elsewhere universally-adopted Bactrian writing of proximate lands.

<sup>1</sup> Muir, vol. ii., edit. 1871, pp. 423, 438, 487, 488. The succession of occupants, now conditionally accepted, runs: 1. The Forest tribes; 2. The Drávidians; 3. "A race of Scythian or non-Aryan immigrants from the N.W.;" 4. The Aryan invaders.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep's Essays, London, 1858, ii. p. 43; Numismatic Chronicle, 1863, p. 226, and 1864, p. 43; J.A.S. Bengal, 1864, p. 255; Wilson, Rig Veda, London, 1857, iii. pp. xviii. xix.

<sup>3</sup> See Norris, Jour. R.A.S. xv. p. 19; Caldwell's Drávidian Grammar (1856), pp. 23, 43, 95, 100, 102, 104, 105, etc.; Hunter's Rural Bengal, pp. 112, 126, 169, 176, 180, etc.; Dr. Stevenson, Bombay Branch J.R.A.S. 1847, p. 328; B. St.-Hilaire, Jour. des Sav. 1857, p. 42, and 1862, p. 241; Prinsep's Essays, ii. pp. 43, 151; J.R.A.S. i. n.s. p. 466; ii. n.s. p. 46; Burnouf, Yaçna cxlv., August Schleicher, Compendium, pp. 11-14. V. St.-Martin, Étude sur la Géographie . . . d'après les Hymnes Védiques, Paris, 1859, p. 82. [Results definitively concurred in by Mr. Muir, ii. p. xxiv.]

Having, I hope, shown some slight justification for my previous interpretations, I pass on to the examination of the new materials more amply illustrating the developments of the Semitic alphabet. Its expanse has already been traced from the western basin of the Mediterranean to the *Doab* of the Ganges; from the Persian Gulf, fitfully, to the Lower Indus,<sup>1</sup> where it touches the legitimate Bactrian of the Indo-Scythian and Sálh kings.<sup>2</sup> It is seen to have been indigenous in Armenia and Median Atropatène,<sup>3</sup> and now our coins<sup>4</sup> enable us to

<sup>1</sup> J.R.A.S. iv. n.s. p. 505; Num. Chron. (1870); x. p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> J.R.A.S. iv. p. 500. Journ. Bombay Branch R.A.S. 1869, plate iv. fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> "Early Sassanian Inscriptions" (Trübner, 1863), 133. Num. Chron. xii. Pl. 4 (page 68), figs. 5, 6, 7. Lindsay, Pl. x. 27. Dr. Levy, "Zeitschrift," xxi. Pl. ii. 2-5.

<sup>4</sup> Silver. Size, 4½. Weight, 58 grains. British Museum. *Unique*.

*Obverse*—Head of king to the left, thinly but not closely bearded, with a low Parthian tiara surmounted by two rows of studs. Monogram in Chaldæo-Pehlvi, 𐭪𐭥.

*Reverse*—The usual Parthian type of the king seated on his throne holding out a bow. Monogram, 𐭪 (Tambrax, the capital of Hyrcania). Legend in imperfect Greek, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡΟΥΣ.

Date in the field 𐭪𐭥 (313 of the Seleucid era=A.D. 2).

*Associate Bactrian Coin of Sanabares.*

Copper. Weight, 111.5 grains. British Museum. *Unique*.

*Obverse*—Head of king to the left, lightly or meagrely bearded, wearing the Parthian cap studded with jewels. Close fitting vest, with jewelled collar, and a boldly ornamented border to the outer garment. Legend, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ.

*Reverse*—Winged figure of Victory, to the right, holding out chaplet, as on the Bactrian coins of Mauns, Azas, &c. Legend, ΣΑΝΑΒΑΡΟΥΣ.

Prinsep's Essays, ii., p. 215. Engravings of both pieces are to be found in the Numismatic Chronicle for 1871, pl. vii.

This king's name is supposed to be identical with that of *Sanabassar*, "the ruler."—(Esdras, i. ii. 12, 15; iv. 18, 20. Ezra, i. 8, 11; v. 14, 16.) The derivation of the term has hitherto been considered uncertain; the dictionaries give one of its variants as "Ignis cultor"; but the simple version here seems to be سنا "light," with the conjunction of زبر from بردن "to bear," or بآزر "with fire," in the Biblical form. Though the سنا as a Semitic word might seem out of place in combination with an Aryan termination, I should feel no difficulty in this respect, as the languages were conterminous and interchangeable in many quarters. *Sand* was latterly so established a titular term that we find سنا and سنای on monograms, and *Sand ul Millat*, "light of the faith," on the coins of the Ghaznavides.—J.R.A.S. ix. 367. The Armenians speak of "Sanassor," son of Sennescherim. (Moses of Khorene, i. cap. 23, p. 103, French edition, and cap. iii. p. 145. St.-Martin, *Armenie*, i. 411, mentions *Sanadroug*, "the Izates of Josephus.")

carry it into Hyrcania, or so much further on its way towards those essentially ancient seats of Aryan civilization on the Oxus, the archaic existence of which has lately been confirmed by fresh and independent evidence, in amplification of Sir H. Rawlinson's discoveries in 1866,<sup>1</sup> prominently

<sup>1</sup> "The belief in a very early empire in Central Asia, coeval with the institution of the Assyrian monarchy, was common among the Greeks long anterior to Alexander's expedition to the East, and could only have been derived from the traditions current at the court of the Achaemenian kings. This belief, again, is connected through the names of Oxyartes and Zoroaster with the Iranian division of the Aryan race, and receives confirmation from the earliest memorials of that people. . . . It is with the Eastern Iranians, however, that we are principally concerned, as the founders of Central Asian civilization. This people, on the authority of the Vendidad, may be supposed to have achieved their first stage of development in Sughd. Their language was probably Zend, as distinguished from the Achaemenian Persian, and somewhat more removed than that dialect from the mother tongue of the Aryans of the south. A more important evidence, however, of the very high state of power and civilization to which they attained is to be found in the information regarding them preserved by the celebrated Abu Rihan Al Biruni, himself a native of the country, and the only Arab writer who investigated the antiquities of the East in a true spirit of historical criticism. This writer supplies us with an extensive specimen of the old dialects of Sughd and Kharism. He gives us in those dialects the names of the twelve months, the names of the thirty days of the month, and the five Epagomenae, together with the names of the signs of the Zodiac and of the seven planets, and lastly of the mansions of the moon. A portion of his nomenclature is original, and offers a most curious subject for investigation; but the majority of the names can be compared, as was to be expected, with the Zend correspondents, and, indeed, are much nearer to the primitive forms than are the better known Parsee equivalents. According to Abu Rihan, again, the solar calendar of Kharism was the most perfect scheme for measuring time with which he was acquainted; and it was maintained by the astronomers of that country that both the solar and lunar Zodiacs had originated with them, the divisions of the signs in their system being far more regular than those adopted by the Greeks or Arabs. . . . Abu Rihan asserts that the Kharismians dated originally from an epoch anterior by 980 years to the era of Seleucidae, a date which agrees pretty accurately with the period assigned by our best scholars to the invention of the Jyotisha or Indian calendar." — *Quarterly Review*, October, 1866, p. 488, etc.

This last is, perhaps, the most interesting item we gain from Al Biruni's revelations. That there should have existed, in Kharism, a serial system of dating, commencing from 980 years anterior to the official epoch of the Seleucidae (312–311 n.c.) = 1304 n.c., was startling enough; but it is seldom that a given arithmetical problem obtains such definite results as to establish, beyond its own mission, so distinct an identity between scattered and severed branches of one and the same section of the human family; and it is something more than a curious coincidence to associate with this independent method of reckoning the fact that the Oriental world has been wearying itself, for a long time past, to explain whence, how, and why, a fixed sacrificial date, variously calculated by modern astronomers, and possibly, but imperfectly, sustained in the transmuted versions of the old texts, should have developed so close an identity, in its latest and most matured average, with the original numbers of 1304 n.c.; but such would seem to be the result of the independent tests applied to the Jyotisha observation of the Colures, still in use in the Vedic rituals of India under the confession of the later Brahmanical exponents of the ancient creed.

See also Num. Chron. n.s. iv. pp. 46, 126; Colebrooke, Asiatic Researches, viii.; Archdeacon Pratt, Journal Asiatic Soc. Bengal, 1862, p. 49; Max Müller,

noticed in my essay on Sassanian Inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sachau, to whom the Oriental Translation Fund has lately confided the preparation of a critical edition of the leading MSS. upon which Sir H. Rawlinson based his researches, has already made vigorous progress beyond the fettered range of a single work, and will doubtless, in due time, give the world a very comprehensive account of our *proper* Aryan cradle.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, we welcome a contribution from the improved text of the Arab geographer, Al Istakhri,<sup>3</sup> which affirms independently the early traditions of Aryanism of speech in those distant lands, and brings me face to face with an identification, which may chance to prove of considerable importance in the general inquiry: that is, the association of the ancient name of the kingdom of *Khárisim* itself,<sup>4</sup> with the misinterpreted modern

Sanskrit Literature (1859), p. 521; Text of Rig Veda, vol. iv., *preface*, p. lxxiv.; Journal Royal Asiatic Society, Dr. Whitney, vol. i. n.s. p. 316; Sir Edward Colebrooke, "Note on the preceding article," p. 332; Strabo, ii. c. i. 15, xi. c. vi. 1, c. vii. 3, c. xi. 5; Pliny, vi. 18, 19; Arrian, iii. c. 20, vii. c. 16; Chronique de Tabari, i. 119; Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, 144; Rawlinson's Herodotus, i. 564; Journal Royal Geographical Society, xix. (1849), p. lxiv., and Sir R. Murchison's Address, 1867, p. 38.

<sup>1</sup> Trübner & Co., London, 1868, p. 120. See also Num. Chron. vii. n.s. p. 143. Since the above text and associate notes were set up in type, Sir H. Rawlinson has continued the publication of his expositions of the ancient Geography of the Oxus, in a paper contributed to the current number of the *Edinburgh Review* (Jan., 1872), from which I extract the subjoined notice; but, in explanation of a somewhat dubious expression in the context, I am given to understand that the emplacement of the *original* "Oromasdan" *Hapta Hindu* on the Upper Oxus, is not in any way to be understood to conflict with the *later* Vedic designation of the *Sapta Sindhu* of the Panjáb.—"As these identifications are all new and contravene the criticism of the last hundred years, it may be necessary to cite some authority in their support. First, then, for the application of the name of *Hapta Hindu*, or 'the seven rivers,' to the Upper Oxus, there is the direct authority of Abu Rihán." See Elliot's *Historians*, i., p. 49. "India, or the Panjáb, had been previously understood by the critics." (p. 13.)

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Sachau says:—"The most valuable part of Al akbár el Bakíya seems to me that which refers to the Central Asiatic Mesopotamia, the country between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and its southern and northern centres of civilization, *i.e.* Sughdiana and Khivárizm. Birání's information on this subject is alike new and important, for these countries were the homestead of Zoroastrianism and the focus of Central Asian civilization, which, shortly before it was trodden down by the Mughals and Tatars, struck a traveller, like Yáskút, with admiration. By the help of Birání we shall be able to trace the outlines of the dialects of Sughdiana and Khivárizm, and to bring back the history of these countries."—*Academy*, Nov. 1, 1871.

<sup>3</sup> "Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum," M. J. de Goeje (Lugd. Bat. 1870). See also Prof. Nöldeke's review of this work in the *Academy*, Oct. 1, 1871, p. 461.

<sup>4</sup> "In the *Scythia* version of the Behistun cuneiform inscription of Darius, the name of the province of *Khárisim* is expressed by 'Varasniya,' admitting a free and optional interchange of the consonants *m* and *v* or *w*; the parallel *Persian*



term of "*Huzvârish*," ordinarily applied to one of the divisions of Pehlvi writing.<sup>1</sup> If the archaic Oriental names, which I have subdued into a foot-note, confess to an identical derivation and primary purport, we may have to bring the written language, the cognate alphabet embodied on the banks of the Euphrates,<sup>2</sup> into closer relations with the undetermined palæography of the Eastern nidus.

For a long time past a vague impression has prevailed that the sister dialect, expressed in the kindred Pehlvi character, might likewise be connected with the geographical limits of the less disturbed settlements of the Aryan Fire-worshippers.<sup>3</sup> A curious confirmation of this supposition has lately been contributed by the publication of the Arabic text of *Ibn Khor-dâdbah*, a man in a manner born in the faith, as his name implies, who classes the sanctuaries of Zoroastrianism under the emphatic topographical designation of the "land of the Pehlvis." I reproduce the passage from the excellent French translation of the *unique* Oxford MS. by M. Barbier de

cuneiform text reproduces the name more closely as *Uvarazmia* or *Uvarazmish*."  
—(Mr. Norris, J.R.A.S. xv. pp. 28, 97, 191.)

Mr. Norris and myself have since discussed this question, and I find that he was under the impression that he himself had already conceived such a solution. However, as we have both sought for any published declaration to that effect, we are quite content to concur in the probable coincidence now put forth.

<sup>1</sup> Destâr Hoshangji Jamsâji, in his *Olmydk*, Bombay, 1867, proface, p. iii., asserts, that "*Huzvâresh* means nothing, and can neither be explained from the Persian nor from a Semitic language." The latest Pârsî attempt at the explanation of the term is that of Destâr Sanjâna, who transforms it into *Huzvekhaldea*, i.e. the Chaldaea language.—(Dr. Haug, in *Trübner's Record*, Nov. 30, 1871, p. 75.)

<sup>2</sup> "It is to be written in the writing of the Avesta, or in that of Sevat (Chaldaea), which is *uzvdrsh*."—(Haug, p. 42, quoting J. Müller.)

<sup>3</sup> "Dilem was the Media inferior, Mazanderân and the countries between the Caspian and the Tigris, one of the original seats of the Pehlvi (*Heeren*, Act. Soc. Göt. xiii.). Dilem was also a retreat of that language. In the breaking up of a great empire, the institutions of the conquered race always linger in the extremities. The Caucasus, the country of Derbend, Segestân, and Kermân, thus sheltered the ancient language and religion of Persia, and thus the mountains of Dilem retained till the tenth century the worship of fire, and perhaps, therefore, the Pehlvi, with which that worship had been connected."—James Morier, *Persia*, etc. (1812), pp. 288, 406. See also Malcolm's *History of Persia* (1815), i. p. 203; Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, pp. 141, 146, 195; and passim, on the subject of languages, pp. 76, 114, 143, 152, 159, 174, 251; Rawlinson, J.R.A.S., x., note, p. 143; Haug, *Glossary*, p. 34.

Meynard (*Journal Asiatique*, 1865, p. 278). "Pays des Pehlevîs—Hamadân, Dinavar, Nêhavend, Mihrdjânkadak, Maçabadân, Kasvîn. Cette ville, qui est à 27 *farasangs* de Rey, forme la frontière du Deilem; elle comprend la ville de Mouça et la ville de Mubarek. Zendjân, selon les uns, est à 15 *fars.*, selon les autres à 12 *fars.* d'Ahbar; Essinn, Jailasân et le Deilem."<sup>1</sup> (See also p. 254, *ibid.*)

But this is far too large a subject to be treated incidentally, or in subordination to our present inquiry. I therefore revert to the special subject of this paper, and proceed to describe the coins figured in the illustrative plates; as introductory, however, to which, I prefix comparative Tables of the Pehlvi Alphabet, exhibiting (I.) the limited number of simple signs in use upon the currency of the Arabs, and (II.) the amplified and discriminated characters employed by the Pársis at the present day.

I. COMMUTABLE SOUNDS OF THE NORMAL LETTERS ON THE COINS,  
INCLUDING THE LATER PERSIAN DEVELOPMENTS.

1	د ا ه خ ع	{ a, h, k, kh, ain.	8	ك	k.
2	ب	b.	9	م	m.
3	ت ث د ذ or ط	{ t, th, d, z, or f.	10	ا و ن	n or w.
4	ر	r or l.	11	د ي گ	or چ.
5	ز	z.	12	ل	final, or detached <i>izâfat</i> .
6	س	s.	13	چ	oh چ.
7	ش	sh.	14	پ ف	p or f.

<sup>1</sup> پهلوی nomen regionis, a qua lingua pehlevica (زبان پهلوی) nomen duxit B. et alio loco پهل دیاتا, qua voce provincia urbium ری, اصفهان, et دینور significantur B.—Vullers' Lexicon.

The original passages from Hamza Isfahâni and Ibn Muḳaffâ are quoted at large by J. Müller, *Bull. der K. Bayer. Akad. der Wissensch.*, Sept. 1842, p. 106.

Dr. A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (1864), p. 53, "Gibâl (das Gebirgsland)," p. 54, "Das Land der Pehlewier."

II. MODERN PEHLVI.

1	د	ا	A.	12	و	ك	K.
2	ل	ب	B.	13	ذ	گ	G.
3	م	ت	T.	14	ل	ل	L.
4	پ	ج	J.	15	ه	م	M.
5	ن	خ	KH.	16	ا	ن	N.
6	و or د	د	D.	17	ا	و	W.
7	ر	ر	R.	18	د	ه	H.
8	ز	ز	Z.	19	پ	ي	I.
9	س or د	س	S.	20	ل	ي	I final.
10	ش	ش	SH.	21	چ	چ	CH.
11	غ	غ	GH.	22	پ	پ	P.

PLATE I.

No. 1. OBTVERSE.

To the left—*a.* the Monogram  $\text{د م}$  = *Am*.

„ *b.*  $\text{س زود}$  = *Afsúd*. Increase.<sup>1</sup>

To the right, facing the profile of the king,

*c.*  $\text{س هوسروى}$  = *Khusrúsi*, (coin) "of Khusrú."

REVERSE.

To the left—*a.* *Date*  $\text{د د د}$  = *سيه* 30th (year).

To the right—*b.* *Mint*  $\text{س ه}$  = *هو* or *ان*.

<sup>1</sup> Olshausen was under the impression that this word might be taken to correspond, in general terms, with the Arabic *دام ملكه* (*Num. Chron.* p. 48). Cf. also in the mixed dialects *زود zúd*, *زياد ziyád*, *زاد الله* "May God increase," etc. But I should prefer to associate it with the extensive class of Mint marks which so abound in the subsequent division of the Kufic coinages, and which refer more

## No. 2. OBTVERSE.

To the left of the field—*a.* the Monogram  $\text{س ه}$ .

„ „ *b.*  $\text{س ه س}$  =  $\text{افزود}$  *Afsūd*.

To the right . . . . *a.*  $\text{س ه س}$  =  $\text{خوسروی}$  *Khusrūi*.

Margin— $\text{س ه}$  =  $\text{عبد}$  “Servitor.” (Cf.  $\text{عبد الله}$ , etc.)

## REVERSE.

To the left—*a.* *Dato.*  $\text{س ه س}$  =  $\text{س چهل}$  43 A.H.

To the right—*b.* *Mint.*  $\text{س ه}$  =  $\text{ل د و}$  or  $\text{ل د و}$ , etc.

## No. 3. OBTVERSE.

To the left of the field—*a, b.* Monogram, with *Afsūd*, etc.

To the right—*a.*  $\text{س ه س}$  =  $\text{مروهاالف}$  *Muhalīb-i*

$\text{س ه س}$  =  $\text{ابوسفراان}$  *Abū Safarān*.

Margin— $\text{س ه}$  =  $\text{بسم الله}$  “in the name of God,” in Kufic characters.

With  $\text{س ه}$  =  $\text{مک}$  or  $\text{مر}$  in Pehlvi.

## REVERSE.

To the left—*a.* *Dato.*  $\text{س ه س}$  =  $\text{شش هفتاد}$  A.H. 76.

To the right—*b.* *Mint.*  $\text{س ه}$  =  $\text{د ا}$ ; the initial letters of the name  
of the city of  $\text{دارابگرد}$  *Dārābgird*.

or less to the fullness and sufficiency of the money itself, such as  $\text{عدل}$ ,  $\text{رائج}$ ,  $\text{جائز}$ ,  $\text{طیب}$ ,  $\text{حق}$ ,  $\text{بئخ}$ ,  $\text{برکة}$ ,  $\text{کفی}$ , etc. This attribution extends itself naturally into the inquiry as to whether the concurrent introductory monogram does not follow some such similar law, as we find the Mint-mark  $\text{ام}$  amid the Kufic issues, where it is supposed to stand for  $\text{امان}$  or  $\text{امن}$ , “rectitudo, integritas,” or the exact parallel of  $\text{عدل}$ , etc. (See Stickel, *Zeitschrift*, 1864, p. 773.) Though we need not limit the range of interpretation to Semitic identities, when we have the ever-recurring Persian  $\text{هم}$ ,  $\text{سم}$ , the Huzvārish  $\text{هم}$ ; even if the leading term might not be extended in its ejaculatory sense to  $\text{هم}$ ,  $\text{Om}$ , etc.

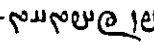
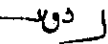
## No. 4. OBTVERSE.

Left—The usual Monogram and Afzúd.

Right—The same Pehlvi legend as in No. 3.

Margin as in No. 3.

## REVERSE.

Left— = نینج هفتاد = 75 A.H.Right— = بیش . Baiza.

There is some doubt about the correct attribution of this Mint. I have satisfied myself that بیش is the preferable transcription; but the question still remains, as to what locality the designation applies. I had suggested, as the nearest sound, *Baiza*, but Dr. Mordtmann contends for *Fasa* or *فسا*.<sup>1</sup> There need be little difficulty in reconciling these two readings, taken by themselves, as Ibn Khordádbah tells us that *Fasa* was also called البیتسا (Journal

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Mordtmann has hitherto enjoyed the exclusive privilege of describing the Constantinople collections. I am glad to see that the Turks are beginning to appreciate Numismatics in their higher sense, and Western Orientalists may compliment them on the original work of Djevet E'fendi, which the French epitomist designates by the title of "Coup d'œil sur les Monnaies Musulmanes." This publication enumerates the following novelties from the cabinets of Subhi Bey, who has since been nominated to the Government of Damascus, where we may wish him every success, on such promising ground, in the further acquisition of new aids to history. 1st. Une monnaie coufique, frappée à Hertek (هرتك) chef-lieu d'un district du Tabaristán, dans l'année 28 de l'hégire (648-649), dont la légende circulaire portait بسم الله ربی. *Au nom de Dieu, mon maître.* 2nd. Une monnaie coufique de l'an 27 (657-658), sous le Khalife 'Ali, dont la légende circulaire était ولی الله, *l'ami de Dieu.* 3rd. Deux monnaies coufiques de l'an 38 et 39 (658-660), ornées de la légende circulaire du No. 1: *Au nom de Dieu, mon maître.* In addition to these pieces, Djevet E'fendi quotes two coins of Abd' Allah Zobeir, of *Ddrábgird*, A.H. 60, and *Yezd*, A.H. 61. As the author acknowledges his inability to read the Pehlvi legends, I need not stop to contest his reproduction of عبد الله ابن زبير امير المؤمنين, the concluding title of which legend I have adverted to under Coin No. 5.—*Journal Asiatique*, Août, 1862, p. 185. See also a notice in the *Zeitschrift*, 1863, p. 39, on Subhi Bey's Coins.

Asiatique, 1865, p. 274). But the definite emplacement of the site requires further examination. Hamza asserts that the Arabic name is a mere translation of the old Persian name of *دراسفید*, "white gate," the true Persian name having been *یسایکت* (Yákút, p. 127).

## No. 5. OBVERSE.

Left as above.

Right— *عبدولا امیر* = *Abdulá Amír-*  
*دردن دودوس* = *دردن دودوس* or *دردن دودوس* *i. Koreishán.*  
 Margin— *بسم الله* in Kufic.

## REVERSE.

Left— *چهر پنجا* = *ا.ن. 54.*Right— *ب* and *دا* *i. s. Dárábگرد.*

It must be confessed that the Pehlvi version of the Arabian tribal name very imperfectly reproduces the original sound of *قريش* *Koreish*, and hence most of our Numismatists prefer to render the associate title by the conventional *أمير المؤمنين* "Commander of the Faithful," or by some equally strained interpretation. I have consistently adhered to my first suggestion, in support of which I may refer to Hamza Isfaháni's list, "De ordine chronologico regum Coreischitarum" (*في سياقة تواريخ ملوك قريش*), at the head of which he places Abu Bakr, with Omar, Usmán, Ali, and Moavia, in succeeding order (Hamza Ispahanensis, ed. Gottwaldt, St. Petersburg, 1844).

## No. 6. OBVERSE.

Left as usual.

Right— *اومر* = *Aumar-i-*  
*اوبيتالان* = *Ubaidullah.*  
 Margin— *الله الحمد.*

## REVERSE.

Left— *هشت شست* = *ا.ن. 68.*Right— *بیش* = *Baiza.*

No. 7. OBVERSE.

Left as usual.

Right—The same as No. 5.

The margin has in addition the usual Kufic **بسم الله**  
and the Pehlvi word **دژوددمژد**

REVERSE.

Left—**سومدم** = هفتاد A.H. 70.

Right—**سوم** = هوت Khuzistán (Ahwáz).

No. 8. OBVERSE.

Left as usual.

Right—**ددمكد** = اتزا } Doubtful reading.  
**دسوندم** = هشران }

Margin—**بسم الله ولي الامر**.

REVERSE.

Left—**سومدممژد** = پنچ هفتاد A.H. 75.

Right—**ولهدم** = کرمان Kermán.

No. 9. OBVERSE.

Left as usual.

Right—The same names as No. 8, in Pehlvi.

Margin—Similar legend in Kufic, with the addition of the  
Pehlvi **سوم** = ان.

REVERSE.

Left—**سومدمدم** = دوهفتاد A.H. 72.

Right—**ولهدمدم** = کرمانان The province of Kermán.

No. 10. OBVERSE.

Left as usual.

Right—**دمدمدمژد** = حارث *Hārith bin*

**سومدمدم** = عبدولان *Abdullah.*

Margin—**بسم الله محمد رسول الله**.

## REVERSE.

Left— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = چهر هفتاد A.H. 74.

Right—  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = بیش Baiza.

## No. 11. OVERSE.

Left as usual.

Right—  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = مچاف *Musdh-*

$\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = زونیران *i-Zobair.*

Margin— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  [بغدوی؟]

## REVERSE.

To the left—  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = دو هفتاد A.H. 72.

$\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = . . . کرمانسی *Kirmánsi . . .*

## No. 12. OVERSE.

To the left—Monogram  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = ام .

$\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = انرود .

To the right, in *Kufic*— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = الحجاج بن *Hijáj bin*

$\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = یوسف *Yúsaf.*

Margin— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = بسم الله .

## REVERSE.

Left— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = ناو هفتاد A.H. 79.

Right—  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = بیش Baiza.

## No. 13. Similar Coin.

## OVERSE.

Margin, in *Kufic*, لله الحمد .

## REVERSE.

Left— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭣}$  = سی هفتاد A.H. 73.

Right— Baiza.



No. 14. Similar Coin.

OBVERSE.

Margin, in Kufic—بسم الله لا اله الا الله .  
محمد رسول الله .

REVERSE.

Left—هشت هفتاد = ۸۰ = ۷۰ = ۸۰ = ۷۰ = ۸۰ = ۷۰ = ۸۰ = ۷۰ A.H. 78.

Right—هوت = هوت *Ahwáz*.

No. 17. Copper Coin.

OBVERSE.

Left—Traces of the Monogram ام = ام

Right—افزودن = افزون *Afsúd*.

Margin, in Kufic—بسم الله .

REVERSE.

Right—Date, هشت شست = ۸۰ = ۷۰ = ۸۰ = ۷۰ = ۸۰ = ۷۰ = ۸۰ = ۷۰ A.H. 68.

Left—Mint, دارابگرد = د = داد *Dárábgird*.

Margin—افزودن = افزون .

No. 18. Copper Coin.

OBVERSE.

Left—اف = اف .

Right—افزودن = افزون .

Contre-marque, or hall mark, in Kufic—حیره .

REVERSE.

Left—Date, illegible (68?).

Right—Mint, *Dárábgird*.

Margin—افزودن = افزون .

Other dates on similar coins—Mr. Bland, A.H. 65 ;  
British Museum, A.H. 67.

No. 19. Damascus, A.H. 79.

OBTVERSE.	REVERSE.	
لا اله الا	الله احد الله	<i>Deus est unus, Deus est eterous, non genera- vit neque generatus fuit, neque ullus ipsi similis uno. — Kurán, Surah cxii.</i>
الله وحده	الصمد لم يلدو	
لا شريك له	لم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد	
ضرب هذا الدرهم بدمشق في سنة تسع وسبعين	Margin— محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظره على الدين كله ولو كره المشرك Kurán, Surah ix. etc.—كون	

No. 20. Copper Coin. Unique. A.H. 13\* = 130 odd.

Sassanian. Head.	رسول الله	
محمد	لا اله الا	
	الله وحده	
	لا شريك له	
	Margin— هذا الفس (فلوس)	
	بسم ؟ — وثلاثين ومية	

In appropriate conclusion to this specifically Kufic transition from the imitative Pehlvi series of the Sassanian Monarchs, I annex an outline of the leading Mint cities, whose title to coin money was recognized under the more settled occupancy of the Arabian administrators in Persia. This table is not only instructive in itself, in defining the geographical distribution of the recent conquests, but may prove of considerable value in testing, retrospectively, the ancient monetary centres, whose designations are so imperfectly preserved in the curtailed and transmutable forms of the old Pehlvi characters.

The subjoined list has been compiled by Col. Guthrie, and embraces the latest acquisitions of his own collection, those of the British Museum, and of Mr. Rogers, H.M. Consul at Cairo. The identification of the Mint cities has been revised by Senhor C. Camerino, a brother collector of coins, and an experienced decipherer of Arabic legends.

ابرشهر	Abrshahar, "cloud city" (Nishápúr)	92 to 93.
اذريجان	Azerbaiján (Tabríz)	105.
افريقية	Afríkiah (Africa)	103 „ 118.
الباب	Al Báb (Derbend)	118 „ 123.
المباركة	Al Mabáraka (Africa)	108 „ 119.
الاندلس	Al Andalus (Spain)	93 „ 113.
اردشير خرة	Ardešhír Khurra (Khuzistán)	90 „ 98.
ارمينية	Arminia	100 „ 107.
بلخ	Balkh	128.
بلخ البيضاء	Balkh al Baiẓa (Daghestán)	111.
البصرة	Al Basrah	80 „ 128.
بعلبك	B'albec (Syria).	
دبيل	Dabíl (Armenia)	84.
درجگرد	Darabgird (Fársa)	92 „ 97.
دستوا	Destúá (Khuzistán)	96.
دمشق	Dimishk (Damascus)	79 „ 132.
جى	Jay (Irak Ajami)	90 „ 129.
جندی شاپور	Jandi Shápúr (Khuzistán)	80 „ 97.
فرات	Farát (Forát Maissan, the Persian Bahmanshír)	95.
همدان	Hamadán	90 „ 98.
حران	Hurán (Ispahán?).	
هراة	Hirát	90 „ 99.
حمص	Himṣṣ (Emesa)	116.
اصطخر	Iṣṭakhar (Persepolis)	90 „ 98.

جزيرة	Jezírah (Mesopotamia)	. . . . .	128 to 129.
كرمان	Kermán	. . . . .	90 ,, 103.
الكوفة	Kúfah	. . . . .	79 ,, 132.
ماهي	Máhi (Hamađán?)	. . . . .	70 ,, 96.
مدينة السلام	Madínat es salám (Bághdád)	. . . . .	23.
ميسان	Maisán (Irák Arabi)	. . . . .	95 ,, 96.
منادر	Manáder (Khuzistán)	. . . . .	90 ,, 94.
مرو	Merv (Khorásán)	. . . . .	91 ,, 110.
نهر تيري	Nahr Tíra' (Khuzistán)	. . . . .	90 ,, 97.
راه هرمز	Rámhormuz (Khuzistán)	. . . . .	80.
الري	Al Rai (later name, <small>الحمدية</small> )	. . . . .	84 ,, 98.
ساپور	Sápúr (Fárs)	. . . . .	84 ,, 98.
السامية	Alsámiat	. . . . .	131.
سرخس	Surakhs (Khorasán)	. . . . .	90 ,, 99.
سرق	Sorraḵ (Khuzistán)	. . . . .	93 ,, 99.
سوق الاهواز	Súḵ al Ahwáz (Khuzistán)	. . . . .	80 ,, 98.
السوس	Al Sús (Khuzistán)	. . . . .	90 ,, 94.
سيستان	Seistán	. . . . .	92 ,, 97.
طبرية	Ṭaberia (Tiberias).		
التيمره	Al Tiemarra (Ispahán)	. . . . .	90 ,, 97.
واسط	Wásat (Irák)	. . . . .	85 ,, 131.

## TABARISTÁN COINS.

I have purposely reserved for separate notice two coins (Nos. 15 and 16) of Mr. Steuart's plates, which symbolize an independent series, whose types retain their provincial individuality in obvious contrast to the leading characteristics of the ordinary Arabico-Khusrúí mintages, and which, in their monetary isolation, revive the ancient traditions and historic romances of the later Aryan conflicts with the ever-advancing Turanians, in their enforced refuge on the southern shores of the Caspian,—a locality singularly favoured by na-

ture, whether in regard to aspect, climate, soil, commercial facilities, or ultimate means of defence,—an oasis in Eastern lands, which in its many obvious gifts impressed alike the Macedonian conqueror, the classic historians, and the Arabs, who styled it the "White India." In more modern times, its luxuriant forests obstructed the progress of the great Tímúr, who had to revert to the ethnic axes<sup>1</sup> for the passage of his hordes; and in later days, our own adventurous travellers recognized and rejoiced in the unaccustomed notes of its birds, and the sight of its richly variegated foliage backed by the open view of a northern sea.<sup>2</sup>

Having lately had occasion to examine the ancient geography of Hyrcania, with a view to determine the site of the capital of the Parthians at the outset of their national career,

<sup>1</sup> "I contrived to delineate the head of one (peasant), at the same time representing the manner in which many carry the *tabr* (تبر) or axe for cutting wood, and the form of this instrument. It is headed with iron, the wooden handle being generally about three feet long. Here I may take an opportunity of remarking, that throughout most parts of this province nearly all the men, several women, and even little children, carried *tabrs* of this kind, either in their hands, like walking sticks, or resting by the curve on their shoulders."—Ouseley, iii. 269.

Pictet, "Les Origines Indo-Européennes" (1859), positively reveals in the multitude of Aryan terms for this aboriginal implement, from which the province of Tabaristán took its name, and which he pushes up to the dubious sounds of *tak-tok*, "the voice of the axe"; and though in no wise repudiating the heavy stone period, which might have produced a less definite sound, yet still insisting upon the root *tak*, *taksh*, but admitting very broad latitudes when he comes to the Persian *tabar*, *tawar*, *teper*, *topor*, *dabar*, and *Tabidan*, *Tapak*, *Taprah*, *Tapanchah*, down to *talavári*, *talátr*, and some further undeveloped coincidences that may suggest themselves to the English reader.

<sup>2</sup> Sir T. Herbert, "Some Yeares Travails in Africa and Asia," Lond., 1634-1677; Jonas Hanway, 2 vols., London, 1764; Forster's Journey to the Caspian (1798), 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1808; Sir W. Ouseley (1812), Travels in Persia, 3 vols. 4to., London, 1823; Baillie Fraser (1821), Travels in Khorasán and on the Shores of the Caspian, 2 vols. 4to., 1825-6 (see also his paper on Northern Khorasán, Journ. Royal Geog. Society, viii. p. 308, London); Capt. Arthur Conolly, Journey to the North of India, 2 vols. 8vo., London, 1834; Major D'Arcy Todd (1836), Journ. Royal Geog. Society, viii. p. 101; Mr. W. T. Thomson (1838), Account of the Pass from Amol to the Westward, under Mount Damavend, to Rudehan (with a map), Journ. Royal Geog. Society, viii. p. 109. See also, incidentally, Chardin, Voyages, Amst. 1725, iii. p. 7, etc.; J. Morier, "Journey through Persia" (1808), London, 1812, p. 287; J. M. Kinneir, "Geographical Memoir on the Persian Empire," London, 1813; Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia, London, 1816; Viaggi di Pietro della Valle, Lettera IV. Da Ferhabad e da Cazuin, 1618 A.D.; "Master Anthony Jenkinson" (1561 A.D.), Hakluyt's Voyages, i. pp. 386, 395; M. N. de Khanikoff's most conscientious recognition of other men's labours and exact definition of his own observations on the passes and later geography of this locality, in his "Asie Centrale," Paris, 1861. Finally, M. N. de Khanikoff has given a *résumé* of the results of M. Dorn's mission to Mazanderán in 1860 in the Journal Asiatique, 1862, p. 214.

I have incidentally met with some curious information bearing upon the general topography of the provinces of Gurgán and Tabaristán, which I may advantageously recapitulate on this occasion. The leading classical evidence, which is reproduced where needful, has for long past been embodied in print or otherwise fully accessible and open to modern criticism, with the single exception of Ptolemy's comprehensive geography of these Eastern lands, which has hitherto been strangely neglected.<sup>1</sup> But, as a general rule, the statements of the Greek and Latin authorities have been tested by European commentators under the single issue of the internal limited and often conflicting testimony of the fragments which have come down to us. In these later days, we have for some time been in possession of very material aid in the more exact definitions and illustrations of the earlier Arabian geographers, whose published texts have recently been largely augmented and improved by our able and indefatigable continental coadjutors; and, finally, the travels of our own countrymen in these unfrequented regions, extending over more than two centuries, have furnished in anticipation a collection of data for the elucidation of much that was previously obscure and unintelligible in the primitive condition of the people who lived upon one of the most important pathways between the old and the new divisions of the Aryan families.

In entering upon the provincial definitions, we must start from the central point of the earliest capital noticed by the Greek writers. I am disposed to revert, in defiance of all new ideas and combinations, to D'Anville's natural identification of Arrian's *Zadracarta*<sup>2</sup> with the town of *Sári*, which for so many ages irregularly contested with Amol the distinction of the title of the metropolitan city. The *Zadrá* sufficiently accords with a probably faulty transcription of the imperfectly

<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been a very prevalent idea that Hudson had reproduced the whole of Ptolemy's work. He has done so in regard to the text of certain localities, but for the bulk of the original he avowedly confines himself to very meagre extracts.

<sup>2</sup> Ταῦτα δὲ διαπραξόμενος ἤγεν ὡς ἐπὶ Ζαδράκκαρτα, τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν τῆς Ἑρκανίας, ἢ καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τοῖς Ἑρκανίοις ἦν.—Arrian, *Exp. Alex.* iii. c. xxv.

traced native name; and the import and application of *Κάρτα* is more distinctly affirmed in Strabo's use of that section of the old name in its isolated form,<sup>1</sup>—a conventional term, the meaning of which so peculiarly associated itself with the class of fortification existing at Sári at the period of the siege by Antiochus the Great (*circa* B.C. 212), when Polybius describes the defences, with but slight modifications, as essential counterparts of the triple enceinte, which may still be recognized and reconstructed amid the ruins of the Persian *Dárábgird*.<sup>2</sup> But the latter author's transcription of the introductory name as *Σύριγγξ*, brings us back naturally to the test of the ancient Aryan derivation of the term, which almost forces itself to the front in *सरङ्ग*, "*Sáringa*," a word of extended application,<sup>3</sup> but which, in the present instance, may be allowed to divide its claims between a Peacock, or the more probable Herons, who may have been supposed to rejoice in the rice grounds of the open country, or to have affected the shallows of the three ditches of the walled city.

Availing ourselves of the materials exhibited in consecutive order in the following pages, we can now follow the victorious advance of the first Arsaces, with his extruded *Parni Dahæ*,<sup>4</sup> from his rude stronghold, called after his own name, in the gorges of the mountains east of Gurgán, to his occupation of

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ δ' Ἰρκανία σφῆδρα εὐδαίμων καὶ πολλή καὶ τὸ πλέον πεδιάς πόλει τε ἀξιολόγους διειλημμένη, ὧν ἔστι Ταλαβρόχη καὶ Σαμαριανή καὶ Κάρτα καὶ τὸ βασιλεῖον Γάπη, ὅ φασι μικρὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἰδρυμένον διέχειν τῶν Κασπίων πύλων σταδίου χιλίου τετρακοσίου.—Strabo, xi. c. vii. § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Flaudin, *La Perse*, plate 31, furnishes a plan and elevation of this ancient fortress, and traces—A. The central rock around which the defences were formed. B. Première enceinte. D. Restes d'un mur circulaire, formant la deuxième enceinte. E. Troisième enceinte. G. Fossé. The place had eight gates at equidistant points.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson gives a very extended range of meanings to the combined word, but the preferable interpretation in this case would certainly seem to belong of right to the Herons, who reckon among their families a special class of "*Ardea Sarunga*."—Caroy.

<sup>4</sup> Τοὺς δ' οὖν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰσπλέοντι τὸ Κασπίον πέλαγος παροικούντας νομάδας Δάας οἱ νῦν προσαγορεύουσι τοὺς ἐπωνομαζομένους Πάρρους· εἰτ' ἔρημος πρόκειται μεταξὺ, καὶ ἐφεξῆς ἡ Ἰρκανία.—Strabo, xi. c. vii. 1.

See also xi. c. viii. 2; c. ix. 2. ἔπειτ' Ἀρσάκης ἀνήρ Σικύθης τῶν Δαῶν τινας ἔχων τοὺς Πάρρους καλουμένους νομάδας παροικούντας τὸν Ὀρχον, ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Παρθυάαν καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτῆς; and xi. c. ix. 3.


"Parthi, penes quos velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta nunc orientis imperium est, Scytharum exules fuere. Hoc etiam ipsorum vocabulo manifestatur: nam Scythico sermone exules parthi dicuntur."—Justin, xli. i.

the fertile slopes of Tabaristán;<sup>1</sup> from whence he was to go forth, through the sheltering passes of the Pylæ Caspii, to his onward raids upon the dominions of the Seleucidæ, and the eventual foundation of an empire which should contest supremacy with the successors of the Cæsars. We need not trace in detail the minor stages of this initiative march, the localities themselves remain unchanged, in some cases under other denominations, as occupiers of conflicting nationalities superimposed their own special nomenclatures.

One instructive lesson we gain, by the way, in following the action of the immutable law of pressure downwards and westwards, and the enforced migration of tribes incident thereto, is the discovery that the ethnic capital of *Hyrcania*, which gave its "wolf's" name<sup>2</sup> to the old kingdom itself, should have been left so far behind, in the redistribution of boundaries, that its primitive site was not even included in the new Hyrcania of Ptolemy's period, but remained with its archaic designation under a slightly modified form to constitute anew the nucleus, and rehabilitate on its own proper ground the veritable province of *Jurjân*, under the Arabs and their successors.

If I am right in supposing that the subjoined extracts sufficiently explain themselves in the geographical sense, it remains for me only to encounter a hitherto confessed difficulty, in fixing the site of the Parthian *Táμβραξ* or *Ταλαβρόκη*. This task, under fairly limited concessions, presents but few difficulties. We find the army of Antiochus the Great entering Hyrcania from a vague direction towards the south, marching in irregular detachments, and, finally, appearing before an extensive open town designated by the name of Tambrax, where there was a royal palace. Antiochus then learnt that the bulk of the troops of Arsaces and many of the

<sup>1</sup> "Erat eo tempore Arsaces, vir sicut incertæ originis, ita virtutis expertus. Hic solitus latrocinii et rapto vivere accepta opinione Seleucum a Gallis in Asia victum, solutus regis metu, cum prædonum manu Parthos ingressus præfectum eorum Andragoran oppressit sublatoque eo imperium gentis invasit. Non magno deinde post tempore Hyrcanorum quoque regnum occupavit, atque ita duarum civitatum imperio præditus grandem exercitum parat metu Seleuci et Theodoti, Bactrianorum regis."—Justin, xli. 4.

<sup>2</sup> . Zend, *vehrka*. S. वृक्ष.



people of the country had taken refuge in Sári ("Syrinx"), a fortified city situated but a short distance off, and in a manner regarded as the capital of Hyrcania. There are no positive indications as to whether we ought to seek for the site of this position to the eastward or to the westward of the proximate asylum; but I should, *primâ facie*, infer the latter, as the advance of the Seleucidan army, though starting from Hecatompylos, seems to have penetrated Hyrcania by the pass of Fírúzkoh, and to have found itself in the ordinary course impinging upon a wealthy city somewhere between Amol and Sári, at a point not far removed from the modern Barfarosh. A locality which must always have presented natural advantages, calculated to recommend it for the seat of a commercial capital,<sup>1</sup> a title it fully regained in later days by its own unaided merits, altogether in default of royal patronage; as we find Jonas Hanway, in 1743, designating it as "the capital of the province"; and Forster, in 1784, equally recognizing it without question as "the capital." We must remember that between the time of Alexander's appearance in these parts and the Parthian occupation there had been a change in the manners and customs of the dominant race; and whereas the Iranian dwellers in cities had established their regal domicile within the entrenchments of a strong place, the nomads of the north, on the other hand, kept their camps in the open. City walls would have ill suited a race who were wont, in the fullest sense of the term, to live on horseback.<sup>2</sup>

They possibly built a palace for their king, and distributed

<sup>1</sup> The commercial centre of Hyrcania, on the proximate modern site, is thus described by B. Fraser:—"The rich and extensive plain in which Barfarosh is placed, affording very considerable supplies of those articles produced in Mazandéran, constitutes this spot a mart for those commodities; besides which, it is centrally placed in regard to Kasvín, Tehrán, Sháhrood, and the interior of Persia (being near two principal passes through the Elburz), as well as to Resht, the capital of Ghilán, also a place of very extensive trade. . . The whole town is built in and surrounded by a forest of high trees; and none of the streets being straight, there is no one spot from whence a spectator can see to any distance. The buildings are indeed so screened and separated by foliage, that except when passing through the Bazaars a stranger would never suspect that he was in the midst of a populous city."—B. Fraser, *Caspian*, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Equis omni tempore vestantur: illis bella, illis convivia, illis publica ac privati officia obeunt; super illos ire, consistere, mercari, colloqui.*—Justin, xli. 3.

their model light horse amid suitable pastures, more or less closely around the fixed rallying point. In such a state of society their dwelling places necessarily left but little sign or record behind them beyond the ashes of the camp fires or the impress of the horses' hoofs, and we might seek in vain for any permanent testimony of their passage through far more settled lands. I am, however, content to leave the exact position of Tambrax only approximately determined, because I am under the impression that the name itself simply expresses the Royal head-quarters, or the capital for the time being, in Hyrcania. The word, in effect, seems to constitute a quaintly-devised Greek form of the abbreviated name of the province of *Tabaristán*, consistently corresponding with the undefined *Ἰρκανία μητρόπολις* of Ptolemy, the Hyrcania of Ammianus Marcellinus,<sup>1</sup> and thus explaining the retention of the previous designation of *Ταλαβρόκη* (a variant of Tambrax), in Strabo's text, where the easily-moved capital is stated to have been established [temporarily] at *Τάπη*. The custom of indicating the province at large, in general terms, without necessarily confining the seat of the ruling power to any given city within its boundaries, is seen to have survived and descended to the later coinage, where we meet with nothing in the entire Pehlvi series but the generic expression of *Tabaristán*.

It is pleasant, however, amid the coarse savagery of these northern hordes, to find them perpetuating, *ex voto*, the name of their founder, *Arsaces*, so that it became a more enduring title than many others of higher and more established pretensions.<sup>2</sup> Singular to say, under apparently identical motives, they retained the typical monogram of *Tambrax*  $\bar{\Lambda}$ ,—which has suggested the present inquiry—as one of their

<sup>1</sup> "Hic amnes duo pervulgati sunt nominis, Oxus et Maxera, quos urgente inedia superantes natatu aliquoties tigres, improvisæ finitima populantur. Habent etiam civitates inter minora municipia validas, duas quidem maritimas, Socunda et Saramanna: mediterraneas alias, Azmornam (var. Amorna) et Solen, et his nobiliorem Hyrcanam."—Ammian Marcell., Ed. Wagner, xxiii. 6, § 52.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, xli. 5. Sic Arsaces quæsito simul constitutoque regno non minus memorabilis Parthis quam Persis Cyrus, Macedonibus Alexander, Romanis Romulus, matura senectute decedit, cujus memoriæ hunc honorem Parthi tribuerunt, ut omnes exinde reges suos Arsacis nomine nuncupent.

dynastic symbols. It appears and re-appears in the later coinages, as a nearly immutable constituent of the national heraldic device; wherever the rough camp coining machinery penetrated with the oft-times ephemeral hold of the conquerors, this ancient memorial of the second abiding place of the Arsacidæ, the territorial emblem of the first stage between Caters and Kings, held its position: and, in the end, only fades out of Numismatic ken, when the more definite strung Bow, the pride of the ancient Parthians, is merged amid the chaotic lines of die-engravers, who servilely copied a device whose import they did not seek to comprehend.

I have now to present in detail the data adverted to in previous pages regarding the geographical mutations of the primeval Tabaristán, the classic Hyrcania, which in modern times is known by the name of "Mázanderán." These contributions to the previous history of the land range themselves under the following heads:—

- I. The outline itinerary of Isidore of Charax.
- II. The theoretical geographical definitions of Ptolemy.
- III. The practical tests of the Arabian post distances.
- IV. The illustrative observations of modern travellers.

EXTRACT I. ISIDORE OF CHARAX'S UPWARD ROUTE.

After "Κομισσηνή."

10. 'Εντεῦθεν Ἐρκανία, σχοῖνοι ξ', ἐν ἧ κῶμαι ια', ἐν αἷς σταθμοί.

11. 'Εντεῦθεν Ἀστανηνῆ (ναγ. Ἀύσταβηνη), σχοῖνοι ξ', ἐν ἧ κῶμαι ιβ', ἐν αἷς σταθμοί· πόλις δὲ Ἀσαὰκ, ἐν ἧ Ἀρσάκης πρῶτος βασιλεὺς ἀπεδέχθη καὶ φυλάττεται ἐνταῦθα πῦρ ἀθάνατον.

12. 'Εντεῦθεν Παρθυνη, σχοῖνοι κέ, ἧς αὐλων· Παρθαύμισα ἡ πόλις ἀπὸ σχοίωνων ς'· ἔνθα βασιλικαὶ ταφαί· "Ἕλληνες δὲ Νίσαιαν λέγουσιν.—Isidore of Charax. Geog. Gr. Minores, Paris, edit. Dr. C. Muller, p. 251. See also Hudson.

This itinerary, of course, has no concern with the geographical definitions of the later Hyrcania; but omitting the progressive stages eastward, from Rai, along the southern open ground upwards and through the passes of Asterabad,

it illustrates the onward section of the route into the hitherto obscure home of Arsaces in the passes of the mountains, so guarded from the south, but so freely open to the inroads of the northern hordes, and in continuation completes the distance to Nishapur.

EXTRACT II. CLAUDIUS PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHICAL LIST OF THE TOWNS OF HYRCANIA.

1. Βαράγγη . . . . .	99° 0'—42° 0'.
2. Ἀδραγα . . . . .	98° 30'—41° 30'.
3. Κασάπη . . . . .	99° 30'—40° 30'.
4. Ἀβαρβίνα . . . . .	97° 0'—40° 10'.
5. Σόρβα . . . . .	98° 0'—40° 30'.
6. Σινάκα . . . . .	100° 0'—39° 40'.
7. Ἀμαροῦσα . . . . .	96° 0'—39° 55'.
8. Ὑρκανία μητρόπολις . . . . .	98° 50'—40° 0'.
9. Σάκη (ἢ Σάλη) . . . . .	94° 15'—39° 30'.
10. Ἀσμουρνα . . . . .	97° 30'—39° 30'.
11. Μαίσοκα ἢ Μαύσοκα . . . . .	99° 0'—39° 30'.
12. καὶ νῆσος κατ' αὐτὴν πελαγία καλουμένη Τάλκα . . . . .	95° 0'—42° 0'.

13. Together with the more important sea-board town of Σαραμάννη, whose position is defined twice over in the Greek text as 94° 15'—40° 30'; the repetition seemingly aiming at the exact establishment of a fixed basis for other coast measurements, whose localities were less clearly marked.<sup>1</sup>

The rivers of Hyrcania are specified as the Μαξήρα (*source*, 98° 0'—38° 20'; *mouth*, 97° 20'—41° 30'); the Σωκάνδα (Νωκάνδα) (*mouth*, 97° 20'—42° 0'); and the Ουίς ("Ὠξου ποταμοῦ ἐκβολαί), (*mouth*, 100° 0'—43° 5').<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To show the licence permitted in the transcription into Greek of local Persian names, I annex a later reproduction of the native nomenclature. Excerpta ex Georgii Medici Chrysocoeca (about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.). ΤΑΜΠΑΡΙΣΤΑΝ. Αμοῦδ, 77° 10'—36° 35'; Σαρία, 73° 0'—36° 15'; Γαρτζά, 89° 0'—36° 40'; Γόρ (στ Σερ), 89° 0'—33° 0'.—ΚΟΡΚΑΝ. Ισταρβὰ, 79° 20'—37° 5'; Κοργαν, 82° 10'—38° 10'. Then Ντελάμ, i.e. Delam.—Hudson's Geog. iii. p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny's list is as follows:—A Caspiis ad orientem versus regio est, Apavortene dicta, et in ea fortilitatis inclytus locus Darcium. Mox gentes Tapyri, Anariacae, Stauri, Hyrcanii, a quorum litteribus idem mare Hyrcanium vocari incipit, a flumine Sideri. Citra id amnes Maxeras, Stratos, omnia ex Caucaso. Sequitur regio Margiane, etc.—Pliny, vi. xviii.

I have reproduced in the above abstract Ptolemy's list of towns, with the equivalents of *his* latitudes and longitudes reduced into English figures—almost without comment—as I am not about to enter into a disquisition on his system of geography, or otherwise called upon to reconcile the conflicting results of his chaotic first attempt at the scientific reduction of map projections. His longitudes are, of course, utterly worthless, and his latitudes to be received with extreme caution.<sup>1</sup> Still, there is in the Greek text a curious vitality and rehabilitation, under due allowance for transposition of speech, of the Eastern world as existing in his day. Nothing could be more striking than the number of Aryan names of places that we can recognize and restore amid the seemingly unintelligible lists of the Western compiler. But these are temptations which I may safely abandon to M. Pictet, and confine myself to the narrow limits of the Royal cities. The once established capital *Tambraw* I have already sufficiently adverted to, but those who are indisposed to see so violent a transformation from the generic designation of the "land of Axes" must take into account the facility of the Pehlvi transmutation of پ *p*, ب *b*, and و *v*. The recognized Greek representation of *b* by  $\mu$   $\pi$ , and the Scytho-Hellenic and other local versions of *m b*, illustrated in the vague pro-

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Yule has a curious note upon what he conceives to be Ptolemy's system of map-making. "It is evident that he first drew his maps embodying all the information that he had procured, however vague and rough it might be. From these maps he then deduced his tables of latitudes and longitudes, and his systematic topography. The result is that everything assumes an appearance of exact definition; and indications on the map which meant no more than 'somewhere hereabouts is said to be such and such a country,' become translated into a precision fit for an Act of Parliament."—*Cathay and the Way Thither*. Hakluyt Soc. Publication, p. cli. On the other hand, we must hear what one of the most precise geographers of the present day has to say in favour of the rough system:—"Nous profitons de cette occasion pour faire observer que, tout extraordinaire que puisse paraître l'assertion que les longitudes fournies par une simple opération topographique puissent surpasser en exactitude celles qu'on obtient par des méthodes astronomiques, cette assertion n'en est pas moins vraie si l'observateur n'est pas un astronome consommé, et s'il n'a pas à sa disposition tous les instruments de précision indispensables pour obtenir des résultats d'une grande exactitude."—M. de Khanikoff, *Mem.*, p. 30.

nunciation of Dambavend, as well as the elsewhere fatal defect of the total absence from the adapted Greek alphabet of any signs competent to reproduce the archaic sounds of *ch* and *j*. The terminal *k* need not any more disturb this attribution, as the final Pehlvi  $\text{𐬀}$  *k* is admitted to have had the force of a mere *s* *h*: even if more daring identifications might not point to the interchange of the final, as in Irák اراق and Irán اران (J. Müller, Journ. Asiatique, p. 15), which would reduce the ethnic term into a mere plural of *Axes* تیران, in consistent concert with the *Wolves* گرگان of Hyrcania, or other simple names of places derived from nature's teaching. It remains for me merely to say that I concur in Ouseley's somewhat hesitating identification of Kara Tapah with Ptolemy's *Τάλκα*,<sup>1</sup> which is satisfactorily corrected in Strabo's *Ταπη. Αμαροῦσα*, as *Amol*, can scarcely be contested; and without

<sup>1</sup> "He escorted us to his own village, called from its situation on a tumular piece of ground, *Kard-Tapeh* or *Tepah* (قرابه), the 'Black hillock,' distant from Ashraf about seven miles, and in the midst of an extensive level tract, of which the surface was now covered with water and moist clay to the depth of ten or twelve inches, but in summer formed a rich and very fertile plain. Rising above this, the *Tepah* or 'mount' appeared like an island barely large enough to contain the houses that stood upon it; all light structures of wood, reeds and straw, except one *emdrat*, a mason-work edifice (of brick), which had been erected for the king's accommodation. . . . I had entertained some hopes of being able, in this *Tapah*, to ascertain the position of *Tapè*, which Strabo describes as the principal or royal city of Hyrcania, advantageously situate within a little distance of the sea."—iii. 275.

Two difficulties presented themselves, however, to the traveller's mind: "the Turkish name," which he did not regard as an insuperable objection, and the absence of ruins, which he rightly met by the remark that "in the time of Strabo, the houses of this country were most probably constructed of very perishable materials, as in the tenth century after, when Ibn Haukal travelled, and as they are now in the nineteenth."

We have seen how great a latitude is to be allowed in the transcription of native names; but the *Kala Tapah* is not necessarily Turkish or Scythian: the interchange of *l* and *r* was never more free than in Ptolemy's list, where we find *λ* used in *Siri* and *ρ* in *Amol*. काल is very good Aryan for black, and تپه is freely admitted into Persian Dictionaries. The Hindustani equivalents are تپه and تپري. And as regards the possible Palace on the hillock, we must remember that among these nomad tribes the rising ground, or small mounds, as the case might be, were always selected as the natural head-quarters of the chief.

laying any undue emphasis upon the possible *Ἀσμουρνα* and the resulting Ashraf, we may safely rectify the *Μαλσοκα* by the Persian *مارسک*, which brings us back to *the snakes*, whom ancients and moderns alike associated with the locality.

The rivers in their erratic courses, it must be confessed, present greater difficulties of identification; but there is one impression that forces itself to the front, that the *Σωκάνδα* can only have been some stream more or less associated with the site of the modern designation of *Nokandah*; the denomination *نوکندہ* implies a variation of the course of a river, either by a convulsion of nature or a diversion by human efforts from an old channel; the name<sup>1</sup> could scarcely apply in these lands of timber towns to new foundations; and one of the most curious points in Ptolemy's version is that the *Σωκάνδα* river itself must clearly have joined the *Μαξίηρα* before the latter reached the sea.<sup>2</sup> Indeed it would "almost seem as if Ptolemy's informants, whatever names they applied to the two streams, referred merely to *the two* most important rivers of the country, which seem to have preserved their flow to later days in the modern *Ain* and *Sári*, forming a natural junction below the town of the latter name."<sup>3</sup> This, at least, is what we should be justified in assuming on the authority of the prominently marked courses of these rivers in M. Kinneir's map.

<sup>1</sup> Some might claim to read the name as *نوکندہ*, but I prefer to follow the Greek, in making it one combined word. More especially, as there is authority for the term *کندہ*, which must necessarily refer to ancient usage, in the typical "trench" of King Fírúz, who is reputed to have founded Amol, and whose "big cutting" still retains the name of *فیروز کندہ*.—Ouseley, iii. p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> I am quite aware that Sir H. Rawlinson advocates the identity of the Sokanda with the "Ab-oskún of the Arabs." (*آبِ سَكُونِ*) *agua tranquila*.—Vullers, p. 3.)

<sup>3</sup> Quintus Curtius also makes his two strangely-designated rivers of Hyrcania join each other (vi. iv. 7), and the almost fabled Zioberus, with its underground current, may have something in common with the newly excavated "Nokandah."

EXTRACT III. ROUTE FROM TABARISTÁN TO JÚRJÁN. From Istakhri, Goeje's edit., p. 216 (improved from other sources).

		ANOTHER ROUTE.
1.	آمل Amol.	1. Amol.
2.	ميلة Milah	} = 1 Marḥalat. <sup>1</sup>
3.	برجي Burji	
4.	سارية Sáriah	2. مامطير Mámátír.
5.	مارسك Mârasak	3. Sáriah.
6.	آبادان Abádán	
7.	طبيسة Ṭamísah	
8.	أستراباذ Astarábád	
9.	رباط حفص Ribát i Ḥafṣ	
10.	جرجان Júrján . . .	1
11.	دينارزاري Dínárzári . . .	1
12.	ارموتلي Armútali . . .	1
13.	اشك Ashak . . .	1
14.	سمنقان Samankán	1
15.	أسفرائين Asfaraúin (old name مهرجان)	1 Marḥalat.

The other cities of Tabaristán off the main route are given as—1. ناتل; 2. سالوس; 3. گلار; 4. الرويان; 5. عين الهم.

Dr. A. Sprenger's exhaustive work, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, gives the route from the Atwál, and Albirúni in the same order, as "Ámol, Mámaty, Sáriya."—Plate vi.

Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, which follows irregularly the real Istakhri, reproduces in general terms the above routes. I have accepted his correction (pp. 175, 182) for No. 5, which has been greatly disfigured by other copyists. See list of variants quoted by M. De Goeje, p. 216, and Sprenger, pp. 52-3.

The excellent edition of Yakút's *Persian Geography* by M. Barbier de Meynard, aided by B. Fraser's personal narrative,

<sup>1</sup> Marḥalat (day's journey).



enables me to fill in satisfactorily the locality No. 14, which is grievously distorted in all the leading authorities. On the same principle, I should not have dared to correct Istakhri's اجر, اجن, etc., No. 13, into Isidore's 'Ασακ (*Arsak*), had not Fraser given us the true form in *Ribat-i-Aishk*, p. 453; and to the same inquisitive observer I owe the rehabilitation of the lost orthography of No. 12, which seems to have puzzled alike the Arabico-Persian Geographers and their modern annotators.

No. 7. The site of the wall against the Túrks, described by B. Fraser (*infra*, p. 47), is prominently noticed by Albírúni, under a disfigured name, but in the correct locality, as the well-known old boundary between "Tabaristán and Júrján." (Sprenger's Map, No. 6.)

The preceding Arabic list of the names of places supplies a far safer basis for the identification of obsolete native designations than the crudely transmuted and foreign Greek version. 1. Amol may be doubtfully associated with the meaning of असल "clean, pure."<sup>1</sup> 2. میله is given in the Dictionaries as "campus," and the ground around the site still consistently remains open to this day. 3. برجی seems to refer to some *bastioned* or fortified site, of which there were many after their degrees in these localities, even if the name might not claim to represent a small offshoot of the grand البرج Elburj itself, which the Alexandrian geographer accepted as Βαρύργη. 4. *Sáriah* I have already attempted to associate with its domestic Herons. 5. مارک obviously suggests a development of مار, *Már*, the ancient and *locally* cherished name for the classic Iránian Serpent. 6. *Abádán*, "abodes," in the plural form, is said to have an intensive sense, as prosperity, or flourishing, in the agricultural or resident understanding of the term. 7. The Tamisah of the Sháh Námah, which the Persians call نمیشه opens a wider range

<sup>1</sup> Ouseley, who delighted in ancient identifications, and who had so many opportunities of tracing the old names *in situ*, quotes from the *Tárikh-i Tabaristán* a passage to the effect that "A'mul (or Amal) originally signified in the Dilami dialect the same as the Pehlvi *hush* "death, destruction," واهوش وامل

iii. p. 310. مرک را کویند

of conjecture. 8. *Astarábád*, which was supposed to derive its name from the "stars," has had of late to come down to a much more mundane designation, in the form of the "abode of mules." *Yakút* is distinct in his assertion of *أستر اسم رجل*, and the Sanskrit correspondent readily declares itself in *अश्वतर* "mulus," while all natural probabilities point to the advantages of the locality for such stud purposes, more especially in the choice of Nisean horses, to improve the home-breed of that indispensable cross of the patient and sure-footed donkey, for mountain traffic. 9. *Ribát i Hafz*, the Arabic designation of the next station, probably merely reproduces the native name for the "hyaena," who may well have disputed the gorges of the mountains with the "wolves" who gave their name to (10) *Gurgán* itself. 11. The *Dinársári* of the next stage seems to be a modern combination. 12. *Armútali*, the orthography preserved by B. Fraser, is given with so much hesitation by that author, that it will be wise to avoid speculation upon its derivation. 13. *Ashak* is fixed alike by the Greek itinerary, and the testimony of our modern travellers, as the fountain-head of the greatness of Arsaces. 14. The name of *Samanhán* is of doubtful origin, but the old designation of (15) *Asfaraáin* is good Aryan in the form of *Mihr-i-ján*, "sun of life," while the new name is asserted, on the authority of Baihaki, to have been derived from the compound "shield-bearers." *Asfar* (اسفر) "a buckler," *Ain*, "law, usage."<sup>1</sup> (*Πελασγός*.)

#### EXTRACT IV. *Résumé* OF B. FRASER'S ROUTÉ.

Starting from the extreme point eastward, with which we are at present concerned, *i.e.* "*Boojnoord* (36° 12' 20"), the itinerary proceeds, "fifteen miles to *Sarewán*, *Killah Khán* (*Semulghán*)."<sup>2</sup> The dangerous part of the journey commences immediately on quitting this place: there is a tract

<sup>1</sup> Barbier de Meynard, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> "I believe this is the place of *Semulghán*, which gives its name to the valley. The Fort receives its appellation from being the residence of the *Khán*."—B. Fraser, p. 591.

of more than ninety miles totally desert, through which various passes lead, by which the Tookománs ascend from their plains below, and carry their depredations into the northern provinces of Persia." *Dehneh Derkesh* (a narrow and rugged pass in the hills that divide the great Elburg range from the smaller mountains and valleys on the north), *Chummun-i-Bansh Killah*, (a plain of considerable extent, which is entirely desert, and sloping towards the west, opens into a still larger one, called, I think, the plain of *Armootullee*. Desert as it now is, there are scattered throughout it many burying-grounds, whose tombstones vouched in a dreary way for the existence of men long since passed away), *Ribat-i-Aishk* ("a ruined caravanserai situated on the slope of the right hand hills, a dismal and dangerous place"), *Gurgán* river, *Gurgán* (camp), *Pisseruc*<sup>1</sup> (near which is a large square inclosure, which had once been the stronghold of a tribe of Eels, called Gereilee, with numerous *Tuppehs* of former villages. The ancient city of *Gurgán* (2 farasangs distant; *Gumbuj-i-Khús* described p. 613). *Finderisk*, *Pecchuck-Muhuleh* (chief centre of a baluk). *A'k Killah*, "the white fortress, numerous hillocks and mounds, certainly the remains of former forts and villages. *A'k Killah* itself appeared to have been an extensive square stronghold. *Asterabad*,<sup>2</sup> to *Khurdmuhuleh* (23 miles), to *Nokunde*<sup>3</sup> (14 miles), to *Ashruff*

<sup>1</sup> This interesting specimen of a true forest town is thus further described. "Instead of dull mud walls and flat mud roofs corresponding exactly with the colour of the ground, to which we had been so long accustomed, we found here everything made of wood. . . . The houses were constructed of posts, wattled and plastered with mud. . . . Instead of a wall to protect the place, a deep ditch had been dug . . . a hedge of reeds and creeping thorns, etc. . . . on the inside served to render the defence more perfect, and it was indeed impenetrable to cavalry. The gates and portals were all constructed of wood; a wooden bridge was thrown across the ditch; the very domestic implements, instead of earthenware or metal, were here made of wood."—B. Fraser, p. 610.

<sup>2</sup> "The appearance of Astrabad differs from that of cities in the southern and more elevated provinces of Persia, as much as that of the respective surrounding countries from each other. The forest or thicket approach on every side to the very ditch; the houses are constructed chiefly of wood. There are no buildings, public or private, deserving of particular notice at Astrabad. The revenue derived from this little province does not exceed 12,000 tománs, or about £7000 sterling."

<sup>3</sup> A scattered village in the forest. The houses, built "of frames of rudely squared wood, with uprights and beams, raised upon blocks 3 feet above the ground, with a straw thatch."

(26 miles). At six miles from *Nokundeh* is seen "the ruined wall formerly of considerable strength, and which once extended from the face of the hills to the sea, the boundary between Astrabad and Mazanderan."

(Near *Ashruff*, the ruins of Sufeeábád and the large reservoir in the hills.) Kara-tappah, 7 miles N., also described.

From *Ashruff* to Sar-i-púl-i-Nica (17 miles), open country, fine full stream, etc.

To *Sári*, 18 miles; one mile east the river *Tedjen*, stream broad and strong (*Furrahabad*, noticed) to *Barfarosh*, 30 miles, and onwards to AMOL (22).<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the description of the two coins of Tabaristán figured in the accompanying plates, I have endeavoured to complete the Pehlvi and Pehlvi-Kufic series of the *Ispehbeds* from all available sources.<sup>2</sup> The time at my disposal does not admit of my entering upon the difficult questions of conflicting renderings of the Pehlvi legends, or the complications incident to the use of a double system of dating—the one following the ordinary era of the Hijrah, the other depending

<sup>1</sup> Sir A. Burnes's route was over much of the same ground. After Boojnoord he mentions *Kila Khán*, in the district of Simulgán; *Shahbáz* village (38 miles), the source of the *Gurgán* river, the Atruck river, the Gumbuj-i-Kaus at Gurgán, *Asterabad*, *Nokandah*, etc. He further notices the recession of the southern waters of the Caspian (ii. 121), and adds, "during these twelve years they have retired about 300 yards, of which I had ocular proof." (See also M. de Khanikoff *Mémoire*, p. 30). *Sári* was avoided on account of the plague, but *Barfarosh* and its port on the Caspian are described (123), as well as the pass of Gudook and *Fírúz Koh*, the real Pylæ Caspiæ ("Alexander's route"), the greatest of the passes into Mazanderán, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> The distribution of the political power in this division of the Persian empire on the eve of the Muhammadan conquest is thus described by the local historian: "Sowaïd occupa Dâmeghân sans coup férir. Les Perses s'étaient retirés vers Gorgân et dans le Tabaristán, Sowaïd quitta immédiatement Dâmeghân et marcha à leur poursuite. Il arriva à Bastâm, ville du territoire de Qoumes du côté de Gorgân, et y établit son camp. Il y avait à Gorgân un prince daïlamite, professant la religion perse, appelé *merzebân*, qui régnaît sur Gorgân et Dihistân; et chaque ville du Tabaristán avait un prince que, dans la langue du pays, on appelait *ispehbed*. (بد + سپهبد). Tous ces princes dépendaient du merzebân de Gorgân. . . . Or le prince de Gorgân étoit Daïlamite, et les *ispehbeds* du Tabaristán étoient du Guilân. . . . [After the submission of the prince of Gurgân the narrative continues:] Lorsque les *ispehbeds* du Tabaristán eurent connaissance de ces faits, ils vinrent trouver leur suzerain, dont ils dépendaient tous, et qui résidoit à Amol, au centre de la province. C'étoit un homme puissant, un Guilânien, du nom de Feroukhân, et que l'on appelait *l'ispehbed des ispehbeds*. . . . Il portait aussi le nom de *Guil* de tous les Guilân."—Chronique de Tabari, iii. p. 492.

upon the local reckoning by the era of Yazdegird, commencing A.H. 32 or A.D. 651-2. I will therefore reserve any further remarks until after the appearance of Dr. Dorn's promised contributions to the study of the subject already adverted to.

COINS OF TABARISTAN.<sup>1</sup>

## No. 1. KHURSHĪD.

## OBVERSE.

Monogram  $\text{س} \text{ا} \text{م}$  = ام and  $\text{س} \text{ا} \text{م}$  = افزود.

To the right— $\text{س} \text{ا} \text{م}$  = خورشید for خورشید *Khurshid*.

Margin— $\text{س}$  = عبد *Servitor*.

## REVERSE.

$\text{س} \text{ا} \text{م}$  = چهارشست 64. [B. M. coin.]

Right— $\text{س} \text{ا} \text{م}$  = تپورستان *Tabaristan*.

Other dates—89, 94, 96, Mordtmann, 97, 99, 100, M., 102, 104, M., 105, M., 113, Tornberg, 114.

## No. 2. FERHĀN.

## OBVERSE.

Right— $\text{س} \text{ا} \text{م}$  = ام and  $\text{س} \text{ا} \text{م}$  = افزود.

Left— $\text{س} \text{ا} \text{م}$  = فرهان *Ferhān*.

Margin— $\text{س}$

<sup>1</sup> GENERAL REFERENCES.—O. G. Tychsen, *Addimentum ad Introd. in rem Num. I. Mihr* and T. G. Tychsen, *Comm. I. de Numis. vet. Persarum* in *Comm. Soc. Goett.*; Frøhn, *Transactions of the Academy of St. Petersburg*; Justus Olshausen, *Die Pehlewi-Legenden*, Kopenhagen, 1843, translated and published in the *London Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xi. p. 68. My Article in the *Journ. R.A.S.* vol. xii. (1849), p. 346; Mordtmann, *Zeitschrift*, 1854, p. 173; M. Dorn, *Papers in the St. Petersburg Academy Transactions*; M. Soret, *Letters to the Révue Numismatique*, Belge; C. J. Tornberg, *Symbolæ ad rem Num. Muhammad*, 1856, p. 25; J. G. Stickel, *Handbuch*, 1870, p. 104.

## REVERSE.

Right— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = سه هفتاد = 73.

Left— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = تپورستان.

Mordtmann, Zeitschrift, 1854, p. 173.

M. Tornberg gives an imperfect coin of this governor, dated in 76. He likewise transcribes the original name as  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$ .

No. 3.  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$ .

## OVERSE.

Monogram, etc.

To the right— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = حاریت for  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  *Hārith*.

Margin— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = عبد.

## REVERSE.

$\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = نواچ شست = 69. A.H.

To the right— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = تپورستان *Tabaristān*.

Dr. Mordtmann reads the leading name as *Khalid*. I have already adopted the preferential designation of *Hārith*, as extant upon an independent series of Pehlvi coins (p. 26 *supra*).

No. 4.  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$ .

## Figure 16. Plate II.

## OVERSE.

Monogram and *Afzūd*.

To the right— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = اومر or اومر *Aumar*.

Margin— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = عبد and  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = ار *Ar*.

On better specimens  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  *Arin* or  $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  *Arkan*.

## REVERSE.

$\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = چهارویستست = 124.

To the right— $\text{𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠𐭥𐭠}$  = تپورستان *Tabaristān*.

Other dates—120, 122, 123 M., 124, 125 M., 126 Tornberg, 127, 128, 129, (220?).

No. 4a. Variant.

سره لار دندلد = الاميرين االا = اميرين علا or اميرين االا = *Aumar bin 'Add.*

Tabaristán. Date, 125.

Olahausen, p. 70; Mordtmann, xix. No. 89; Stickele, No. 65.

No. 5. S'ayid.

OBVERSE.

Monogram, etc., as usual.

To the right, in Kufic—سعيد *S'ayid.*

Margin—س = عبد and ا = 11

REVERSE.

دندلد = ويست ست = 125.

To the right—تپورستان = س = 11

Other dates observed—126, 127, and 128.

No. 6. OMAR.

OBVERSE.

Monogram, etc., as usual.

To the right, in Kufic, عمر *Omar.*

Margin—س and ا = 11

REVERSE.

دندلد = ويست دوست = 122.

Right—تپورستان = س = 11 *Tabaristán.*

Col. Guthrie has a variety with the date دندلد = ويست دوست, *i.e.* 2 + 20 in the curtailed form. Margin—دندلد.

Other dates—124,<sup>1</sup> 127, 128, 129.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Subhi Bey's Cabinet, *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> No. 6a. M. Tornberg (*suprà cit.*) gives a new name from a coin which he describes as follows:—

“Adv. dextr. يحيى Jahja (ben Mikhnâq).

“Reverse.—Sinistr. دندلد = 129 (a 780, p. Chr.)”

## No. 7. JARIR.

Obverse as usual, in Kufic. جریر *Jarir*,

Reverse.—*Tabaristán*, variously dated 135, 137.

Olshausen, Num. Chron., pp. 72, 75, 84.

## No. 8. HANI.

Obverse.

Monogram, etc.

To the right, in Kufic, هانی *Hani*.

Reverse.

To the right—*Tabaristán*.

Dated 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 A.H. 137, 138.

## No. 9. SULAIMÁN.

Obverse.

Monogram, etc.

To the right, in Kufic, سليمان *Sulaimán*.

Dated 𐭪𐭫𐭮𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 A.H. 137.

I quote this piece on the authority of Djevet Éfendi (*Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 185), No. 903.

Dr. Mordtmann has a similar coin (*Zeitschrift*, 1854, p. 177).

## No. 10. MUKÁTIL.

Figure 15. Plate II.

Obverse.

Monogram 𐭪𐭫 and 𐭪𐭫

To the right, in Kufic, مقاتل *Mukátíl*.

Margin—𐭪𐭫 = عبد and 𐭪𐭫



## REVERSE.

نه و بست ست = نه و بست ست 129.

To the right —  $\text{ن ه و بست ست} = \text{تپورستان} = \text{Tabaristân.}$

New date, 138. My coin, and 139, J.R.A.S. p. 347.

## No. 11. ABDULLAH.

عبدالله *Abdullah.* An 140.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie et de Numismatique de St. Petersburg, vol. iii., 1849, p. 272. Quoted by Mordtmann, p. 177.



ON SOME BILINGUAL COINS OF BOKHĀRĀ, STRUCK IN THE II<sup>ND</sup> CENTURY OF THE HIJRAH—

CONTINUATIVE OF SASSANIAN TYPES AND DEVICES.

BY EDWARD THOMAS, F.R.S., CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE.

I PROVED my devotion to the cause of Indian Antiquities in undertaking to bring out a collected edition of Prinsep's *Essays* in 1858. In tracing the sequence of his discoveries, I had very early to admit, that however original, and relatively independent Indian progress might have been in its primitive stages, the one hundred and odd nations adverted to by the Greek writers represented a considerable advance upon any such delusion as universal Indian *homogeneity*. As new discoveries of the condition of the "old world" in the valley of the Euphrates and elsewhere grows upon us, so we become more and more prepared to admit interchanges of ideas and relative obligations, in matters which have hitherto been claimed as the exclusive property of the dark land of the Hindûs.

The present paper will, I trust, interest our Parsi friends and ethnical fellow Aryans in recalling the legends of Bahrām Gor, whose reputed visit to Indian soil may, perhaps, after all, prove to have been something more than an ancient myth: as well as in placing before them fresh numismatic records of the revolt of Bahrām Chobîn, minted on the northern slopes of the Hindû Klûsh,—whose name has secured as prominent a place in the annals of the West in Gibbon's eloquent words as has been accorded to it in the national traditions of the East.

Our Muslim fellow subjects in India will equally appreciate the numismatic evidence of a now closely determined date, bearing upon the schisms and contests of their leading sects in Khorasân during the second century of the Hijrah, as well as the secondary testimony to the progress of the arms of the Faithful in Central Asia.

I need scarcely appeal to English antiquarians to listen with patience to the discussion of questions of high palaeographic importance, or to follow me in tracing the historical and geographical developments these coins suggest as preliminary to more extended investigation.


The first duty of a Numismatist is to endeavour to trace the prototype of the coins he has

to interpret. In the present case this task is easy, and the result assuring. The practice obtaining among the Sassanian kings which led them to select, on their accession, the typical form of Crown and its accessories by which their conventional portraits and the impress on their money might be distinctly recognised, enables us to pronounce, at once, and without reference to the formal legend, from whose mints any given specimen was issued. The leading original from which the Bokhârâ coins, now under review, were copied, reveals itself obviously in the mintages of Varahrâv., an example of which may be described as follows:

*Coin of Varahrâv. Gor. (A. D. 417—438.)*

*No. 1.—Silver. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.*

*Obverse.*—Head of the king, to the right, with his conventional *castellated* Crown, the central one

of the usual  three points having been removed in order to admit of the compact insertion of a dot, or small ball, above which is placed the distinguishing half-moon, surmounted by the dynastic globe, or balloon of other?<sup>1</sup>

*Pehlvi legend.*—𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀

*Transcript* }  
in modern } 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀  
Persian. } 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀

*Reverse.*—The national fire-altar with attendant supporters, armed with spears and wearing crowns similar to that of the king, figured on the *obverse*, but the surmounting globe is omitted. The altar presents this peculiarity that the Ormazd's head, usually represented as *rising out of the flames*, is, in this case, superseded by the head of the king himself with his identical crown; while the head itself is placed in a new position in the body of the upper part of the altar, *below the flames*, and the legend on the margin in like manner seems to indicate a personal connexion with the monarch in its terms—  
"Varahrâv's Fire."

*Pehlvi* 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀

*Persian* 𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀

These altars were made portable, and are so

<sup>1</sup> See under No. 3.

represented on the coins, often with the distinct adjunct of handles. The "argenteis altaribus" of Q. Curtius (iii. 3) testify to ancient custom, and the "pyræes ambulants" of Sépæos exemplify the continuity of the practice. Yazdegerd is likewise represented in his flight as "ayant toujours avec lui le feu (sacré)."<sup>2</sup>

As for the insertion of the king's head on the side of the altar, this may be taken merely to confirm the purport of the legend. The king's crest figured on its side of itself made the sacred emblem personal property.

Our next step in the descending identification of types supplies us with a link in the consecutive order of time and place, in the form of a lately identified coin of Varahrân Chobin, five of whose pieces of a like character, but from different dies, were found by Major Hay in a hoard at Kâlâ, in company with the bulk of the Bokhrâ coins about to be noticed.

*Coin of Bahrâm Chobin (before A.D. 578).*

No. 2.—Silver. Size 9 Mionnet's scale.

*Obverse.*—Head of Varahrân Chobin, similar in its typical details to the portrait of Varahrân the Vth above described. The execution of the die is, however, very inferior, and the ornamentation of the dress, &c. far less rich than that appertaining to his royal namesake.

Legend, in very imperfect letters, *reversed*, and reading from the outside, commencing from the front of the crown.

*Pehlvi* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

*Persian* 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

"Varahrân of the mace."

*Reverse.*—Device closely following the design of Varahrân the Vth's *Reverse*, but of coarser execution. The head below the fire on the side of the altar is unusually prominent, and closely follows the outline of the profile on the obverse.

Legend to the right 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 — *An Irân ?* To the left 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 *China ?*<sup>3</sup>

The proposed transliteration of these two subordinate records on the reverse, is, I need not say, purely speculative. The *Ani* may perchance only stand for the very frequent 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 =

<sup>2</sup> Tabari, tom. III., p. 508. Gibbon observes that the "Altar chief who was converted by the Nestorians," was indulged in the use of a portable altar." Cap. xvii.; *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, p. 113. See also *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I., p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Plate VII. fig. 10. *My Sassanians in Persia—Numismatic Chronicle XIII. N.S. page 280.*

*Airân*, and the dot, the Sanskrit *anuswâra*, is certainly somewhat out of place, and an anomalous addition to a Pehlvi word, but the dot looks so definite and purpose-like on the surface of the coin, that it would not do to ignore it altogether. The *Sin* for China is more probable, in respect to the coincident scene of Bahrâm's conquests, but like all brief and unconnected Pehlvi records it is fully open to criticism.

A curious illustration has been preserved by Persian annalists\* of the importance attached among Oriental nations to the "right to coin money," and the incidental effect upon public opinion of its unauthorized exercise. It is related that Bahrâm Chobin, in his distant command in the East, sought to sow dissonance between the reigning king Hormazd IV. and his submissive heir-apparent, Khusrû Parviz, by striking money in the name of the latter, which was forwarded ostentatiously and in fabulous amounts to the capital where father and son were then residing in domestic amity. We have no means of determining that such an unusual and indirect course was *not* adopted and pursued to its end; as the extant numismatic types do not enable us to discriminate the contrasted examples of this informal coinage, among the multifarious mintages, Persian and adoptive Arabian, bearing the name of Khusrû II. But the accepted legend savours of extreme Orientalism, and it seems more probable that Bahrâm Chobin's treason took the more subdued though not less effective form testified to in the pieces now under review; and that he utilized the plunder of Siâbah's treasury,<sup>4</sup> by converting its metallic constituents into camp issues crudely emblazoned with his own name.

I now come to the special object of this communication. Our Indian numismatists have, for long past, been acquainted with a coinage reaching us from the north of the Himalayan range, and of which specimens cropped up occasionally in Russian and other Continental collections. These coins are bilingual; the Kufic legends though of rude execution, and involved in the ornamentation of the device, were readily discovered to represent variously the names of

\* *Shâh Nâmâh*. Mohl's edition, tom. V., p. 699; Mianauti tom. II., p. 214. Tabari, tom. II., p. 268. Malcolm's *Persia* vol. I., p. 164. De Tacy, p. 394. Gibbon, writing from western documents, does not admit this incident, chapter xlvi.

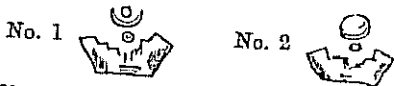
<sup>4</sup> Mianauti, tom. II., p. 213. This "loot" was said to have embraced the earliest ancestral hoards of the ancient Persian patriarchs.

محمد Muhammad and the authorized title of the son of the Khalif A l M a n a ſ ſ r, viz. الهادي Al Mahdi. The third alternating word I have only lately been able to decipher, and it proves to be سنتي "orthodox" (tradition), which, it will be seen, accords well with the position of M u h a m m ā d A l M a h d i in Khorasān.

The unknown characters forming the combined legend, but reading in the opposite direction—which had hitherto defied interpretation—were deciphered and explained at the St. Petersburg Congress of Orientalists by Dr. Lersch. His own account of this discovery is reproduced in the Note below,<sup>6</sup> and though many modern scholars still withhold their adhesion to this reading, I am myself quite prepared to accept it, as the genuine rendering of the original words. Dr. Lersch has not yet published anything further than this note, and the Report of the St. Petersburg Congress is still in the printers' hands, so that I am not able to say how far he may have progressed in the assignment of these pieces—or how far he may have anticipated many of the points I now put forth as independent discoveries.

*Bokhārā Coins.*

No. 3.—Impure silver, varying from 44 to 50 grains. Size 6 of Mionnet's scale.<sup>7</sup>



*Obverse*—King's head, in outline, following the old forms on the coins of Varahrān V.

<sup>6</sup> Writing to the Academy, he says:—  
 "In Nos. 237—239 of the Academy you have printed three notices of the Petersburg Congress of Orientalists, in the last of which, at p. 816, the author of those notices, Mr. Brandroth, gives a kind account of my statement regarding the coins of the rulers of Bokhārā, struck before the Arabian invasion, and imitated, with some modifications, by the magistrates of the city under the government of the Khalifas, Samanides and Kharlukh Turks. Besides a fragment of the Pahlavi inscription which was in use on the obverse of the Sassanian coins of the first half of the fifth century, the early section of the nail coins of Bokhārā, being an imitation of the former coins, bears on the obverse an inscription consisting of eleven characters which I assigned to the Soghdian alphabet mentioned by the Arab en-Nedim, author of the Fihrist. These eleven letters were deciphered by me, and represent the words *Bukhār-Khuddāh*, or, 'Lord of Bokhārā.' These words, and not 'Kudaa, Bukhar,' as given by my friend Mr. Brandroth, are the title of the princes of Bokhārā before the Arabian conquests in Transoxiana. Mr. Brandroth also ascribes to me a statement that a similar title is applied by contemporary Chinese authors to the princes in question. I fear I must have been misunderstood by my honourable colleague at the meeting, since I do not remember having said anything of the kind; on the contrary I have stated that the title of 'Lord of Bokhārā' is often quoted, besides *Narshakhi* (not 'Narshaki'), my principal authority in this

and Varahrān Chobin—(Nos. 1, 2 *supra*). The execution of the die is coarse, but the outline is free and bold. There are two varieties of the crown as shown in the accompanying cuts. No. 1 is usually associated with the coins of Muhammad and Al-Mahdi, while No. 2 is more frequently, but not exclusively, combined with the سنتي Sunni variety.

Legend ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) reading

downwards from the top of the crown.

*Transcript* } بخارا خدا  
*in modern* } for بهوار هودد ار  
*Persian.*

*Legend, in Kufic*, reading to the left, from the other side of the top of the crown. Various 1st محمد, 2nd الهادي, 3rd سنتي.

*Reverse*.—Fire-altar in outline, with the king's head below the flame, filling in the upper part of the Altar, as in the prototypes (Nos. 1, 2). The supporters hold the conventional spears! No legends.

The reverse devices of this triple series or group of coins vary both in artistic execution and the degrees of successful imitation of the originals, to a far greater extent than is the case with the obverse design—which seems to indicate either a very extended fabrication of these pieces, or perhaps a prolonged adherence to a popular device, which was supposed to carry with it a commercial value.<sup>8</sup>

Those who remember that the ancient kings of Persia were entitled خداهان *Khudāhān*,<sup>9</sup> will

matter, by other Arabian historians and geographers, as Ibn-al-Athir, Khordadbeh, Istakhri, Ibn-Hauqal, Mokaddasi, who render this title *Bukhār-Khuddāh* or *Bukhār-Khuddāh*. The History of the Chinese T'ang dynasty gives to the ruler of Bokhārā the title 'Maovu,' the same which other Chinese sources give also to other princes of Transoxiana, and does not know the title cited by the Arabian authors. P. Lenon.

<sup>7</sup> *St. Petersburg; Nov. 1, 1870.*  
<sup>8</sup> References.—*Erskin Die Munzen*. Pl. xvi. figs. 4 and 5; Major Hny, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IX. (1840) p. 540, figs. 6, 7, Plate iii; Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II. p. 117; Stickel, *Orientalische Münzschabinet zu Jena* (1870) p. 131 and Plate No. 60.

<sup>9</sup> I prefer the P. to B. both for derivation reasons and for the Chinese pronunciation of the name, see Hionen Thuang, *Mém. sur les Cant. Occid.* tom. II. p. 232. Balkh, in like manner in *Po-ho* or *Po-ho-lo*, p. 29. D'Ohsson, tom. I. p. 6.

<sup>10</sup> The maintenance of the current value and incidental forms of the local money constituted a very important item, not only to the populace, but in the estimate of revenues due from each province. See my *Sassanian Coins*, p. 90. *Num. Chronicle*, vol. XIII. p. 247. Onaslay's *Oriental Geography*, p. 258; Istakhri, *text*, 1870, pp. 314, 323; *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 179; and 1865 p. 243.

<sup>11</sup> Mohl *Shāh Nāmāh*, Preface p. x., Hamza Isfahāni pp. 11, 16, 47; Masudi, tom. II. 77, 228, 237. Ibn Khordādhbeh, *Journal Asiatique*, 1865 p. 40. Tabari, tom. IV., p. 161.

be fully prepared to trace the survival of this designation among the later sovereigns of the far East. The earliest counterpart of the title appears in the Sassanian Series, under the form of *Kadi* in connexion with the name of Varahrân II.<sup>11</sup> It occurs frequently on the coins of Yazdegird I. and is constant on those of Firuz; and Khusrû Parvîz had a special Royal seal for the province of Khorâsân engraved with the words *خراسان خدای* *Khorâsân Khudâh*.<sup>12</sup> So that, whether ethnologically or geographically, we arrive naturally at the continued use of the term on the local money of Bokhârâ under the Khâlif Mansûr.

One of the most interesting questions connected with these coins, is the palæographic associations of their legends which may be formulated thus, do these strange characters, which embody the sounds of *Bokhâra Khudâdo*, represent the original letters of the ancient Soghdian alphabet, or are they the outcome of a hybrid collection of symbols from current and more recent systems of writing? My own impressions are still in favour of the latter theory. On my first examination of this class of coin in 1858, I remarked that their "alphabetical devices" seemed "to pertain to more westerly nations, though the sites of discovery connect (the coins) with the Central Asian types," enumerated in the conjoint classification,<sup>13</sup> and I further remarked upon the fact, that "the forms of the letters" gave "it (the alphabet) a decidedly Phœnician aspect." This verdict must remain unimpaired with regard to the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 11th letters of the legend, consisting of eleven letters in all, the two compound letters doing duty for *ه* the Pehlvi equivalent of *خ* *ku* have the second conjunct letter identical in form with the other *و*'s or *Waw*'s. So that we have virtually only two characters remaining to account for, *i.e.* the triangular letter which constitutes the *ا* in *ه* and the reversed form of *و* *w* which represents the *ا* = *d*. Whatever may have been the derivation of this letter

<sup>11</sup> "Varâh Khodâh" roi de Bokhârâ 535, and Albirûnî *Ashe-ul-Bihya*, Sachau's text, p. 102. *شیربامیان گوزگان خدای*  
*بشارا خدای خوارزم شاه* and *ملوک سرو ماهویه*  
*J. R. Asiatic Society N. S.* vol. III. p. 234.  
<sup>12</sup> Num. Chron. vol. XII, p. 110, coin No. 29; see also pp. 263, 267.

*ا*? its combination with *و* to form the equivalent of the later Arabic *خ* points to Pehlvi teaching and acknowledged conventional practice; and its appearance on these pieces indicates the mere imitation of the system of Pehlvi orthography in use upon their prototypes.

There is a letter very similar to this triangular *ا* = *h*, which stands for an Hebrew, = *i* in Aramæan in Gesenius' *Table* No. IV.<sup>14</sup> and a nearly similar form is given to the same letter in the Duc de Luynes' *Alphabets* Pl. xi. *a*; Prinsep's *Essays*. The *خ* *kh* may, after all, have been represented, in the anomalous conversion of sounds, by an initial *ix* or *eu*. It will be remembered that the *خ* has always been a Turkish difficulty, which survives to this day in *Tophana* and *Hiva*. The peculiar shape of the *u*, in its backward curve, reminds us of the Syriac definition of that letter, but the earliest type of that character on the *stèle* of Meshâ (*the Moabite Stone*) with the omission of its downstroke might well have formed the model upon which many early varieties were designed and improved upon. There are other coincidences to be detected in this system of writing, which seem to connect it with Syriac (Nestorian) teachings,<sup>15</sup> the fuller examination of which may be reserved for a future opportunity.

Albirûnî tells us, that the whole stock of the primitive literature of Khârizm was utterly destroyed, root and branch, by Kottâibâh bin Muslim—even as the Khâlif O'mar, on the other extremity of the Arab conquests, sanctioned the conflagration of the Library of Alexandria.<sup>16</sup> If this eradication of all ancient records, and the coincident extermination of the living exponents of traditional lore, was practically carried out, to the extent the Khârizmian author would imply—we can well understand and account for the necessity of a reconstruction of alphabets—partaking alike of what had been preserved and recovered from local sources, readjusted to the advanced spread of independent forms of writing and intermixture of speech. Albirûnî's invaluable

<sup>13</sup> Masudi, tom. II. p. 228-9. *J. R. A. S. N. S.* vol. III. p. 343. <sup>14</sup> Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II. p. 118.

<sup>15</sup> *Carpentras Insc. Int. Cont. A. D. 800* also F. Lenormant (Paris, 1873). *Alphabet Aramæan des Papyrus*, tom. I. Plate xi. and Pls. xii. to xiii, xv., xvi.; as well as Dr. J. Euting's *Tables*, Strasbourg, 1877.

<sup>16</sup> Gibbon, Cap. xvii. vol. V. p. 250, edition of 1807.

<sup>17</sup> Ockley, *History of the Saracens*, A. D. 21 = A. D. 641, under O'mar. Gibbon.

records of local traditions, with his personal confirmation of their credibility and virtual authenticity, are here reproduced from the new English version of the Arabic text.

"K̄utaiba bin Muslim had extinguished and ruined in every possible way all those who know how to write and to read the Khwārizmī writing," who know the history of the country, and who had studied their sciences. In consequence these things are involved in so much obscurity, that it is impossible to obtain an accurate knowledge of the history of the country since the time of Islām (not to speak of pre-Muhammadan times)." Albrūnī Sachau's *Translation* p. 42. And again at p. 58 we are told—"For after K̄utaiba bin Muslim Albāhili had killed their learned men and priests, and had burned their books and writings, they became entirely illiterate (forgot writing and reading), and relied in every knowledge or science which they required solely upon memory."

The determination of the circumstances under which the several names of Muhammad, Al Mahdi and the word سني or "orthodox" appear in the order stated on these coins, is sufficiently illustrated and explained in the following extracts from the Chronicle of the historian Tabari:—

"Après l'affaire des Rāwendīens, Mançour (envoya dans le Khorāsān) son fils Mo'hammed, à qui il donna le surnom de Mahdī, en le désignant comme son successeur au trône . . . .

"Mo'hammed, fils d' 'Abdallah, avait pris le surnom de Mahdī; il disait à ses adhérents qu'il était le *Mahdī de la famille de Mo'hammed*, et que son frère Ibrāhīm était le *Hādī*. Or, lorsque Mançour fit reconnaître son fils comme son successeur au trône, il lui donna

également le surnom de Mahdī, disant: C'est mon fils et non le fils d' 'Abdallah bin Hassan, [fils d' 'Alī, fils d'Abu Tālib], qui est le *Mahdī de la famille de Mo'hammed*. Tabari, *Orient. Transl. Fund Zotenberg IV. 378*. Depuis que Mançour était monté sur le trône, il cherchait à découvrir le séjour de Mo'hammed et d'Ibrāhīm fils d' 'Abdallah, fils de 'Hassan." . . . .

"Or ceux-ci se cachèrent tantôt à la Mecque, tantôt en Égypte ou dans l' 'Irāq, en faisant de la propagande en vue des droits de leur famille, et ils avaient des missionnaires dans le Khorāsān". . . . p. 382.

"Abū-'Aoun, gouverneur du Khorāsān, annonça à Mançour que les partisans de Mo'hammed fils d' 'Abdallah, devenaient de plus en plus nombreux dans sa province et qu'un soulèvement était à craindre," p. 392. [Muhammad was killed in 145 A.H., and Ibrahim fell in action shortly afterwards.]

See also Masaudi (French Edition vi., 209 and viii. 295.)

I conclude the references to Mahdī's Bokhārā coins by appending a specimen of his earliest Kufic coins, struck in that locality, on which will be found a full enumeration of his names and titles.

No. 4. Coin of Muhammad, Al Mahdi. Struck at Bokhārā A.H. 143 (A.D. 760—1).

Obverse. Area. لا اله الا الله وحده  
بسم الله ضرب ببخارا سنة ثلث واربعمائة ومية

Reverse. Area. محمد رسول الله  
محمد بن امير المؤمنين ولية المهدي الامير

(Frāhn. *Recensio* p. 21, No. 22; Tiesenhäusen, *Monnaies des Khalifs Orient.* (in Russian), St. Peterburgh, 1873, p. 71, No. 724.)

<sup>11</sup> At p. 57 Albrūnī describes the Khwārizmians as "a branch of the great tree of the Persian nation."

XI.

BILINGUAL COINS OF BUKHÁRÁ.

At the Third Congress of Orientalists, which assembled in St. Pétersbourg, in 1876, M. Pierre Lerch announced that he had succeeded in deciphering the enigmatical letters, embodying the title of *Bukhára Khuddát*, found on certain coins of that locality.

This discovery was reported, in brief terms, by Mr. Brandreth, in the (London) "Academy" (No. 229, page 315), and was followed by a more amply explanatory letter from the author in a subsequent number of that periodical.

As my attention had been directed to these obscure legends so long ago as 1858,<sup>1</sup> and as I had endeavoured to keep myself well-up to the knowledge of the day, I thought it right to put upon record the substance of my independent investigations,<sup>2</sup> without awaiting the possibly delayed publication of the full report of the Proceedings of the Congress.

These latter documents were made available to the public some time after April, 1879: and I am now anxious to reduce into a combined form the leading results of our separate studies.

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<sup>1</sup> Prinsep's *Essays on "Indian Antiquities,"* edited by Edward Thomas, London (Murray), 1868, vol. ii. p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, edited by James Burgess, Bombay, 1879, page 269.



M. Lerch had the advantage of discovering among the Oriental MSS. within his reach a notice of the origin of this class of money—though the information contributed bears more upon the fiscal aspect of the question, than on the historical details, which would have proved of greater general interest.<sup>1</sup> The coins themselves, however, as illustrated by prior and subsequent issues, do much to tell their own tale, and the legends, as now interpreted, open out a large and unexplored field of ethnographical and palæographical inquiry.

The first duty of a Numismatist is to endeavour to trace the prototype of the coins he has to describe. In the present case this task is easy, and the result assuring. The practice obtaining among the Sassanian kings which led them to select, on their accession, the typical form of Crown and its accessories by which their conventional portraits and the impress on their money might be distinctly recognized, enables us to pronounce, at once, and without reference to the formal associate legend, from whose mints any given specimen was issued. The lead-

<sup>1</sup> "Il nous dit, que le premier prince qui introduisit le monnayage d'argent à Boukhara fut le *Boukhár Khoudát Kána*, [نام او كانا بخارخداات], qui régna 30 ans. De son temps le commerce de la toile et du froment fut très-animé à Boukhara. On lui soumit, que dans d'autres pays on frappait de la monnaie d'argent. Alors il donna l'ordre de frapper de la monnaie d'argent aussi à Boukhara [از نقره خالص و بران صورت خویش فرمود باناج و این]. Co fut du temps du Khaliphe Abou-Bekr" (A.H. 11, A.D. 632). The Persian text goes on to say, that this coinage was continued unaltered up to the time of Hárún al Rashíd (A.H. 170, A.D. 786), when the inhabitants applied to his newly-appointed Governor of Khorasán, by name *Ghitrif* (غطريف), for a reduction of the high standard of these coins, in order to meet the debased money current in the proximate provinces of Khwárism (*Khiva*). This new issue, which retained all the old numismatic forms and devices, is said to have been composed of a curious mixture of six different metals, which combination, however, had the unpopular property of speedily losing its pristine brightness. These new pieces received the name of the presiding Governor and were estimated, in the local markets, to be of the value of *six* to the pure silver dirhams previously current.

ing original from which the Bukhára coins, now under review, were copied, reveals itself manifestly in the mintages of Varahrán V. In this obvious assignment, I find that M. Lerch has no more hesitation than myself. There is, however, this difference in our views, that he assumes that the imitative type described by me in the *Num. Chron.* for 1873, p. 240, No. 77a—which we both accept as the direct prototype of the Bukhára coins<sup>1</sup>—formed one of the ordinary, though degraded, series of the coins of Varahrán V.; whereas, I am disposed to consider them as mintages improved upon the first crude camp-issues of Varahrán Chobín, as he grew in power.

No. 1.—Plate VI. Fig. 1. *Coin of Varahrán Chobín before A.D. 578.*<sup>2</sup>

*Obverse.*—Head of Varahrán Chobín, similar in its typical details to the technical bust of Varahrán V. The execution of the die is, however, very inferior to that of the earlier regal models, and the ornamentation of the dress, etc., is far less rich than that appertaining to his royal namesake, and the profile itself seems to point to an independent set of features.

Legend, in very imperfect letters, *reversed*, and reading from the outside, from the front point of the crown.

السلسله  
ورهران چوب "Varahrán of the mace."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Planché* xii. No. 16 de la collection . . . de M. de Bartholomnei publiée par M. Dorn, sec. éd. St. Pétersbourg, 1875; Third Oriental Congress, 1876, vol. ii. p. 422.

<sup>2</sup> The autotype reproduction in Plate VI. is taken from a sulphur cast of Mr. Steuart's original coin *engraved* by his Italian artist, and reproduced in *Plate IX. Fig. 10, Vol. XIII. Num. Chron.*

<sup>3</sup> The mace was the special weapon of the heroes of the *Sháh Námah*, and formed part of the ordinary equipment of the heavy cavalry of the Parthians and Persians. It was calculated to prove peculiarly effective against the chain armour of the period. Mahmúd of Ghazni was celebrated for the use of the mace, and its ceremonial employment survives to this day in the "*Chobddrs*" of Indian native courts.

*Reverse.*—Device closely following the design of Varahrán V. *Reverses*, but of coarser execution. The head below the fire on the side of the altar is very prominent, and properly coincides with the outline of the leading profile on the obverse.

Legend to the right, *اي*, *ai*, or possibly *اني* *ani*,  
An-Irán (*i.e.* Turán).

to the left, *سین*, *sin*, China. Samarkand, before the time of Shamar, was called *Chin* (Tabari, ii. 158).

In my previous notice of this strange mintage, I ventured upon some speculations as to the motives which possibly prompted its production, and I preferred to suppose, that Varahrán Chobín, "on his return march with the plunder of Balkh, etc., at his disposal, utilized the available silver in the form of crude camp-issues" (Num. Chron. Vol. XIII. p. 237).

The simple narrative of the events attending his revolt, given by the Armenian author, Sépêos,<sup>1</sup> seems to confirm this view, with this addition, that we must conclude that the pieces in question were coined after his army had, so to say, compelled him to throw off his allegiance to Hormazd, but before he took upon himself regal titles.

No. 2.—*Coin of Varahrán Chobín*, advanced period, M. Bartholomæi's Plates xii. 16. Silver. Size 9 of Mionnet's scale.

*Obverse.*—Head of the king to the right, with the con-

<sup>1</sup> "Vahram Mérvéandak dirigea contre les Thétals une guerre victorieuse, s'empara de Balkh et de tout le pays des Kouschans, et poussa au delà du grand fleuve *Vah-Rhot* (Oxus), jusqu'au lieu appelé *Karbion*. A la suite d'une victoire éclatante remportée sur le roi des *Mazkoutks*, il le tua et fit sur ses terres un butin immense. La guerre terminée, il envoya à la Porte une petite portion des trésors provenant du pillage, avec un rapport sur la victoire. Blessé de la mesquinerie du présent, le roi donna l'ordre . . . d'exiger le butin entier. A cette nouvelle, l'armée se révolta contre Ormizd, proclama roi Vahram et" . . . —Sépêos, quoted in *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, p. 187.

ventional *castellated* crown, surmounted by the usual half-moon and globe.

*Pehlvi legend*.—𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀

*Transcript in modern Persian.* } ورهران مرکان سرکا بگی رامشتری

*Varahrán, Malkán-malká Bagi Rám-shatri.*

*Reverse.*—The national fire-altar and supporters armed with spears and wearing crowns similar to that of the king on the *obverse*, the half-moon is retained, but the surmounting globe is omitted. The altar presents this peculiarity, that the Ormazd's head, usually represented as rising out of the flames, is in these cases superseded by the head of the king in his proper person with his distinctive crown; while the head itself is placed in the body of the upper part of the altar, immediately *below* the flames, and the legend on the margin seems to indicate a personal connexion with the monarch in the terms—“*Varahrán's Fire.*”<sup>1</sup>

*Pehlvi* 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬎𐬀𐬎𐬀𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀

*Persian* ورهران اتوری

No. 3.—Plate VI. Fig. 2 is a coin of Varahrán Chobín issued after his accession in 578 A.D., in the first year of his reign—it is inserted in this place to show the contrast of the style of the imperial head-dress (Num. Chron. Vol. XIII. p. 240, No. 78) finally adopted by him.

I now come to the special object of this communication. Oriental numismatists have, for long past, been acquainted with a coinage reaching India from the north of the Himaláyan range, and of which specimens cropped up

<sup>1</sup> See Num. Chron. Vol. V. n.s. p. 50n. Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 271, vol. iv. p. 332. “The Sacred Fire of the Pársis, at Udwardá,” Indian Antiquary, July, 1872, p. 213. Gibbon notices that the Tatar chief, who was converted by the Nestorians, “was indulged in the use of a portable altar.”—Cap. xlvii.

occasionally in Russian and other Continental collections.<sup>1</sup> These coins are bilingual; the Kufic legends, though of rude execution, and involved in the ornamentation of the device, were found to represent variously the names of محمد *Muhammad* and the authorized title of this son of the Khalif Al Mansúr, viz. المهدي *Al Mahdi*, "The Directed."<sup>2</sup> The third alternating word I have only lately been able to decipher, and it proves to be سنتي *sanniy*, "orthodox" (tradition), which, it will be seen, accords well with the position of Muhammad, Al Mahdi, in Khorasán, and presents us with a curiously contemporaneous illustration of the great schism of the Moslem faith of *Shi'ah* and *Sunni*. See Plate VI. Figs. 4, 5, 6.

The unknown characters forming the combined legend, but reading in the opposite direction—which had hitherto defied interpretation—were, as I have said, first read and explained by M. Lerch.

No. 4.—The coin represented in the Plate, under Fig. 3, is inserted for the purpose of showing the link between the older specimens bearing exclusively Pehlvi legends and the first stage of the mixed or bilingual writing in Pehlvi and Bukhárá letters—introductory to the supercession of the former by the Kufic characters in Figs. 4, 5, and 6. Traces of a portion of the Sassanian legend 𐭥𐭧𐭥𐭦𐭥𐭧𐭥𐭦𐭥𐭧𐭥𐭦 *Masdesan bagi*, may be seen at the back of the crown.

<sup>1</sup> M. Lerch's experience as to the localities of discovery of specimens of this class of coin is instructive. He says: "Autant que je sache elles se rencontrent principalement dans des trouvailles faites dans les environs de Boukhara; en second lieu aux environs de Samarkand. Enfin on en a rapporté des exemplaires de Khojend et du Khiva. Les marchands boukhares les apportent souvent chez nous avec d'autres monnaies antiques trouvées dans le sol de leur pays. Mais jamais elles n'ont été trouvées ni en Russie ni en d'autres pays ordinairement si riches en monnaies orientales."—Report of Oriental Congress at St. Pétersbourg, p. 423.

<sup>2</sup> The Kufic coins of Bokhárá dated in A.H. 143 (A.D. 760-1) give both the name and title of this Khalif, thus في ولية المهدي الامير محمد بن امير المومنين.—Fréhu's Recensio, p. 21, No. 22; Tiesenhhausen, p. 71, No. 724.

*Bukhârâ Coins.*

No. 5.—Impure silver, varying from 44 to 50 grains.<sup>1</sup>

*Obverse.*—King's head, in outline, following the old forms on the coins of Varahrân Chobîn—(No. 1 supra). The execution of the die is coarse, but the outline is free and bold. There are two varieties of the crown, the one, with the half-moon and ball, is usually associated with the coins of Muhammad and Al-Mahdi, while the simple orb or globe is more frequently, but not exclusively, combined with the سنّی Sunnî variety.

Legend ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) ( ) reading downwards from the top of the crown. Transcript in Hebrew פֹּהוּאָר הוּוּדָאָד, in Persian letters پوهوار هوودداو.<sup>2</sup> Some of the better examples continue the lower curve of the final *z*, and embody the outlying dot with that letter—thus fully authorizing the reading of *Khuddâd*.

*Legend, in Kufic*, reading to the left, from the other side of the top of the crown. Various, 1st محمد, 2nd المهدي, 3rd سنّی.

*Reverse.*—Fire-altar in outline, with the king's head *below* the flame, filling-in the upper part of the altar, as in the prototypes (Nos. 1, 3). The supporters hold the conventional spears. No legends.

The *reverse* devices of this triple series or group of coins vary both in artistic execution and the degrees of successful imitation of the originals, to a far greater extent than is the case with the *obverse* design—which seems to indicate either a very extended fabrication of these pieces, or per-

<sup>1</sup> References:—Fræhn, *Die Münzen*, Pl. xvi. figs. N and O; Major Hay, *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. ix. (1840), p. 539; figs. 6, 7, Plate iii.; Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 117; Stickel, *Orientalische Münzcabinet zu Jena* (1870), p. 121 and Plate No. 90. M. Tiesenhäusen, Collection of M. le Comte S. Stroganoff, St. Pétersbourg, 1880, pl. i. figs. 5, 6.

<sup>2</sup> I prefer the *p* to *b* both for palaeographic derivation reasons and for the coincidence of the Chinese pronunciation of the name, see Hiuen Tshang, iii. 282. Balkh, in like manner is *Poho* or *Poholo*, p. 20; D'Ohsson, i. 5.

haps a prolonged adherence to a popular device, which is now seen to have carried with it a recognized commercial value.<sup>1</sup>

The original legend, now restored to its primary meaning, is highly suggestive, in reproducing in its elements a very archaic form of the old Aryan (Tájik)<sup>2</sup> title of God and King—which is composed of two Persian words خُد khud or خود khúd, “self,” and داد dad, from the verb دادن dádan “to give,” *i.e.* “self-given,” “self-created,” which has its counterparts in the Zend 𐬰𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 Qa-dáta, “créé par soi même,”<sup>3</sup> and in the Sanskrit स्व स्वा, दत्त datta, “self-given.”<sup>4</sup> The latter portion of the term comes home to us, in the names of Mithradates, Tiridates and other parallel compounds; while the primitive Persian title, in its subdued sense of “Prince,” has lately made itself known to the European world, as the prefix to the personal designation of the *Khedive* (خدیو).<sup>5</sup> The local transcription seems to have retained the final *t* in خُدا khuda, and M. Vambéry informs me that the current speech of the day equally gives expression to the concluding sound.

One of the most interesting questions connected with these coins is the palæographic associations of their

<sup>1</sup> The maintenance of the current values and incidental forms of the local money constituted a very important item, not only to the populace, but in the estimate of Revenues due from each province. See my *Sassanian Coins*, p. 90; *Num. Chron.* Vol. XIII. p. 247; Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 258; Istakhrî, *text*, 1870, pp. 314, 323; *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 179, and 1865, p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Major Wood, “*Oxus*,” 1872, p. 141, says, “Tájik, a Caucasian race whom I believe to be the indigenous inhabitants of Persia.” Mr. Shaw, in the *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, 1870, p. 139, remarks that, “the Tájiks form the substratum of the population all over Western Turkistán, where, as well as in Persia, the Iranians are intermixed with and dominated over by Turkish tribes. To us the Tájiks represent the earliest inhabitants of the regions occupied by them.”

<sup>3</sup> Bopp, French edition, vol. i. p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> So also, *Svayan-bhū* and *Ātma-bhū*, “self-existent.”

<sup>5</sup> This title was frequently employed at Dehli in speaking of the reigning sovereign. Budaoni, vol. i. p. 313, in noticing the death of Bahlol Lodi, has

خدیو ملکستان جهان کشا بھلول.

legends which may be formulated—thus, do these strange characters, which embody the sounds of *Bukhāra Khud-dāo*, represent the original letters of the ancient Soghdian alphabet, as M. Lerch is inclined to suppose,<sup>1</sup> or are they the outcome of a hybrid collection of symbols from concurrent and more recent systems of writing? My own impressions are still in favour of the latter theory. On my first examination of this class of coin in 1858, I remarked that their “alphabetical devices” seemed “to pertain to more westerly nations, though the sites of discovery connect them with the Central Asian types,” enumerated in the conjoint classification,<sup>2</sup> and I further remarked upon the fact, “that the forms of the letters” gave “it (the alphabet) a decidedly Phœnician aspect.” This verdict must remain unimpaired with regard to the 1st, 2nd, 5th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 11th letters of the legend, consisting of eleven letters in all; the two compound letters doing duty for  $\text{ه} hu$  or  $\text{ح} hu$  have the second conjunct letter identical in form with the other  $\text{ه} u$ 's. So that we have virtually only two characters remaining to account for, *i.e.* the triangular letter which constitutes the  $\text{ه}$  in  $\text{ه} hu$  and the reversed form of  $\text{ه} u$  which represents the  $\text{ه} = u$ . Whatever may have been the derivation of this letter  $\text{ه}$ , its combination with  $\text{ه}$  to form the equivalent of the later Arabic  $\text{ح}$  points to Pehlvi teaching and acknowledged conventional practice; and its appearance on these pieces indicates a certain amount of imitation of the system of Pehlvi orthography in use upon their prototypes.

There is a letter very similar to this triangular  $\text{ه} h$ , which stands for an  $\text{ه} = i$  in Aramæan—in Gesenius' Table

<sup>1</sup> “Quant aux caractères inconnus de l'inscription je pense qu'il sera le meilleur de les nommer 'soghdians'” (p. 429).

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 116.



No. IV.,<sup>1</sup> and a nearly similar form is given to the same letter in the Duc de Luynes' *Alphabets*, Pl. xi. *a*. Prinsep's *Essays*. The  $\text{ح}$  *kh* may after all have been represented in the anomalous conversion of sounds by *iu* or *eu*. It will be seen from the Aryan titles, quoted above, that the definition of the equivalent of  $\text{ح}$  was altogether indeterminate; and a like difficulty, in regard to the *kh*, still exists among the Turks in their pronunciation of such names as *Tophana* and *Hiva*. The peculiar shape of the *a*, in its backward curve, reminds us of the Syriac definition of that letter, and the earliest type of that character on the *stèle* of Mesha (*the Moabite Stone*), with the omission of its down-stroke, might well have formed the model upon which many early varieties were designed and improved upon. There are other coincidences to be detected in this system of writing, which seem to connect it with Syrian (pre-Nestorian<sup>2</sup>) teachings,<sup>3</sup> the fuller examination of which may be reserved for a future opportunity.

<sup>1</sup> Carpentras *Insc.* 1st cent. A.D. See also F. Lenormant (Paris, 1872), vol. i. pl. xi. *Alphabet Araméen des Papyrus*, and plates xii. to xiii., xv., xvi., as well as Dr. J. Euting's *Tables*, Strasbourg, 1877.

<sup>2</sup> "Our attention is naturally drawn, in the first place, to the contemporary Syriac literature, but the reports of the Nestorian missionaries, who went forth preaching Christianity throughout the Sassanian empire and beyond its northern and eastern boundaries, are lost, with the exception of a single one (Elias, Bishop of Mákkán). Besides, the same Nestorians, and before them the orthodox Eastern Church, established the Christian communities scattered through nearly the whole of Persia, the head of which was the Játhelik (Catholicus) of Seleucia, and founded a literature for their Persian converts, a literature of translations, a few leaves of which, if extant, would afford us quite unlooked-for elucidations, because they were probably written in Syriac characters, if we consider the testimony of Epiphanius, *Adv. Hæres.* 66. . . . As this literature has not been noticed anywhere, I shall here produce my proofs, specifying no less than three authors who translated Syriac works into Persian for the Christians of the Sassanian empire. (1) Ma'ná Játhelik of Seleucia A.D. 420. (2) Acacius, appointed Játhelik in A.D. 486, officiated as ambassador of Féróz to the court of Zeno. (3) Job, who flourished about A.D. 550, a Nestorian monk from Hardashir. . . . A great many of the writers and chief authorities for the Eastern Church were native Persians, several of them converts from the Zoroastrian creed."—Dr. E. Sachau, *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv. p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> Gibbon, cap. xlvii. vol. v. p. 259, edition of 1867.

Albírúní tells us that the whole stock of the primitive literature of Khárizm was utterly destroyed, root and branch, by K̄otaibah bin Muslim—even as the Khalif O'mar, on the other extremity of the Arab conquests, sanctioned the conflagration of the Library of Alexandria.<sup>1</sup> If this eradication of all ancient records, and the coincident extermination of the living exponents of traditional lore, was practically carried out, to the extent the Khárizmian author would imply—we can well understand and account for the necessity of a reconstruction of alphabets—partaking alike of what had been preserved and recovered from local sources, re-adjusted to the advanced spread of independent forms of writing and intermixture of speech. Albírúní's invaluable notices of local traditions, with his personal confirmation of their credibility and virtual authenticity, are here reproduced from the new English version of the Arabic text, which latter was reduced to writing so long ago as A.H. 390=A.D. 1000.

“K̄utaiba bin Muslim had extinguished and ruined in every possible way all those who knew how to write and to read the Khwárizmí writing,<sup>2</sup> who knew the history of the country, and who studied their sciences. In consequence these things are involved in so much obscurity, that it is impossible to obtain an accurate knowledge of the history of the country since the time of Islám (not to speak of pre-Muhammadan times).” And again: “For after K̄utaiba bin Muslim Albáhilí had killed their learned men and priests, and had burned their books and writings,

<sup>1</sup> Oekley, “History of the Saracens,” A.H. 21=A.D. 641, under “Omar.” Abu'l Faraje, Pocock, 114. Gibbon, cap. li.

<sup>2</sup> Albírúní describes the Khwárizmiens as “a branch of the great tree of the Persian nation” (p. 57). Professor Sachau incidentally remarks (p. vi) that “the author had learned the subject from hearsay among a population which was then on the eve of dying out.”

they became entirely illiterate (forgot writing and reading), and relied in every knowledge or science which they required solely upon memory.”<sup>1</sup>

The determination of the circumstances under which the several names of Muhammad, al Mahdi and the سَنِّي or “orthodox” substitution appear on these coins, is sufficiently illustrated and explained in the following extracts from the Persian version of the Chronicle of the historian Tabari:—

“Après l’affaire des Ráwendiens, Mançour (envoya dans le Khorásán) son fils Mo’ammed, à qui il donna le surnom de Mahdí, en le désignant comme son successeur au trône. \* \* \* \*

“Mo’ammed, fils d’Abdallah, avait pris le surnom de Mahdí; il disait à ses adhérents qu’il était le *Mahdí de la famille de Mohammed*, et que son frère Ibráhim était le *Háadí*. Or, lorsque Mançour fit reconnaître son fils comme son successeur au trône, il lui donna également le surnom de Mahdí, disant: C’est mon fils et non le fils d’Abdallah bin Hassan [fils d’ ’Alí, fils d’Abú Tálíb], qui est le Mahdí, *de la famille de Mo’ammed*.”<sup>2</sup> “Depuis que Mançour était monté sur le trône, il cherchait à découvrir le séjour de Mo’ammed et d’Ibráhim fils d’ ’Abdallah, fils de ’Hasan.” \* \* “Or ceux-ci se cachaient tantôt à la Mecque, tantôt en Egypte ou dans l’ ’Irâq, en faisant de la propagande en vue des droits de leur famille, et ils avaient des missionnaires dans le Khorásán.” \* \* “Abú-’Aoun, gouverneur du Khorásán, annonça à Mançour que les partisans de Mo’ammed fils d’ ’Abdallah devenaient

<sup>1</sup> *Albiráni*, “Chronology of Ancient Nations,” translated from the original Arabic, by Dr. E. Sachau, for the “Oriental Translation Fund” (London, 1879, W. H. Allen and Co.), pp. 42-58.

<sup>2</sup> Tabari, Oriental Translation Fund, Zotenberg, vol. iv. pp. 375, 382, 392, See also Masuadi (French edition, vol. vi. p. 209, and vol. viii. p. 293).

de plus en plus nombreux dans sa province et qu'un soulèvement était à craindre," [Muhammad was killed in 145 A.H., and Ibrahim fell in action shortly afterwards.]

No. 6.—Plate VI. Fig. 7. Coin of 'Alí Sulaiman.

*Obverse.* Sassanian head, in outline.

Kufic legend, *لله بسم الله محمد رسول الله محمد له مما امره*  
الامير على سليمان

*Reverse.* Sassanian Fire-altar and supporters, with the head below the flames.

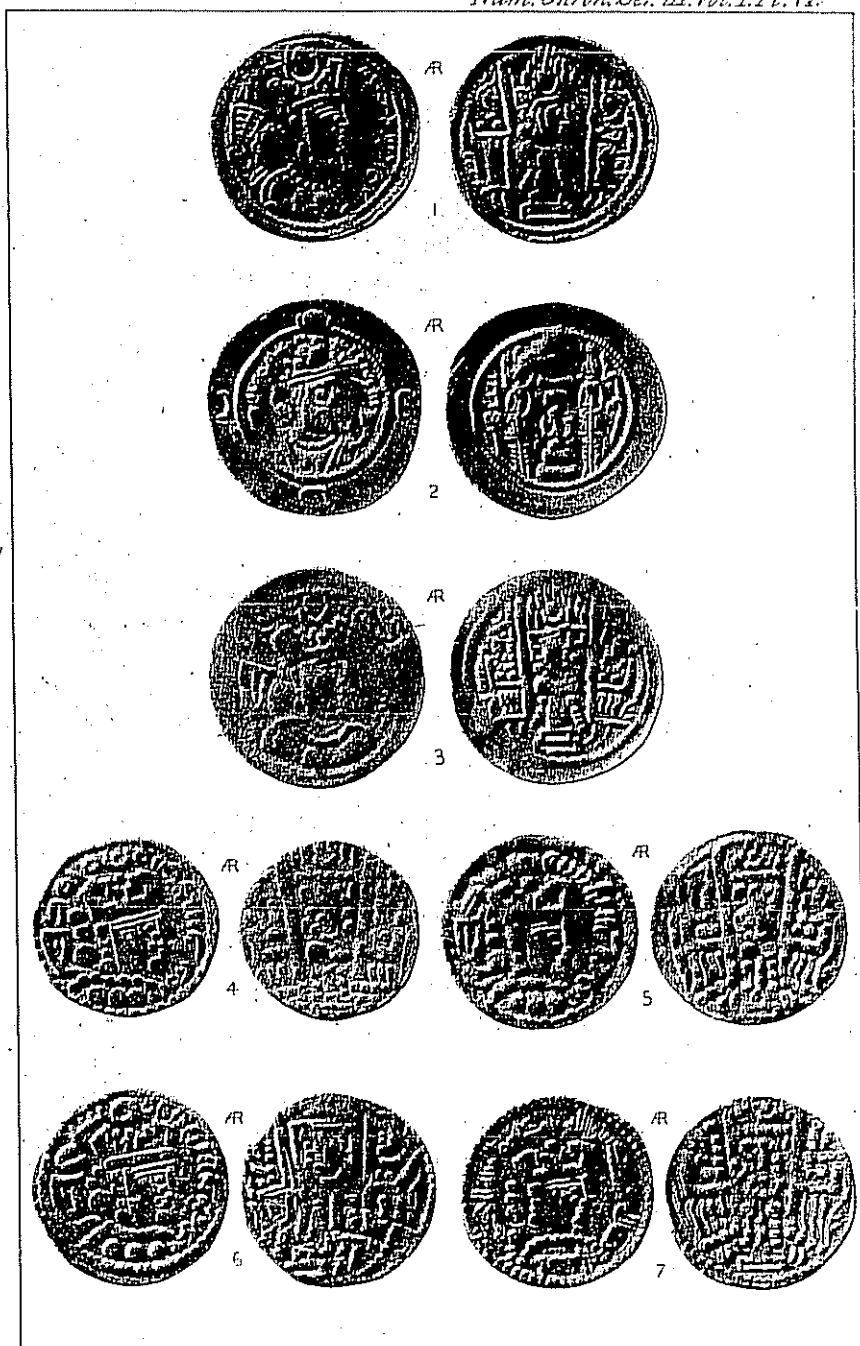
The coins of the proximate province of Tabaristán, A.H. 136-7, give the same version of the name of سليمان *Sulaimán*, without the usual penultimate *á*.<sup>1</sup>

I am disposed to attribute the pieces (vi. 7) to the kingdom of *Soghd*, the title of *الخاقان* *Al-khakan* (طرخان *Turkhan*) identify them with *Turki* races.<sup>2</sup> While the goodness of the silver seems to remove them from the category of the "mauvaise monnaie" of Khárisim.

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Roy. As. Soc. N.S. vol. v. p. 458; Journal Asiatique, 1862, p. 185; Zeitschrift, 1854, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Frohn, Nov.-Symb. 1819, p. 45, fig. 14.; Prinsep's Essays, vol. ii. p. 118; Tabari vol. iv. p. 166; Albiráni, p. 109.

E. THOMAS.



BUKHARA COINS.



ART. IX.—*On the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni.* By EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., *Bengal Civil Service.*

[*Read 6th March, 1847.*]

THE coins to which the following notice refers form part of the extensive collection made in Afghanistan by Mr. Masson, now deposited in the Museum at the India House. Amid the more important relics of the Bactrian successors of Alexander the Great, which constituted the bulk of this acquisition, slight attention was attracted by the medals of a subsequent Mohammedan dynasty, the events of whose rule were comparatively well known, and whose history in itself possessed none of the classic interest attaching to the survival of the Greek monarchies in Central Asia. From this and other causes, Professor Wilson, in his description of the antiquities of Ariana, which the labours of Mr. Masson had placed at his command, but briefly referred to the numismatic monuments of the race of Sabaktagin. Such being the case, and adverting both to the numerical amount of these coins now available, and to the very limited number of medals of the Ghaznavi princes yet noticed, either by English or continental writers, it seemed probable that an attempt at a classification of these minor antiquities might not be altogether devoid of interest.

In addition to the assistance derived from the free use of the treasures of the East India Company's Cabinet, advantage has been taken of the equally liberal access afforded to various public and private numismatic collections, to fill in some of the lacunæ in the serial order of the moneys of Zabulistan; the aid thus obtained will be found duly acknowledged in the detail of the coins themselves.

The eventful period of Mohammedan history comprised in the early rule of the Ghaznavis; the brilliant successes of the arms of Islam under Mahmud; as well as the material encouragement given to literature by the potentates of the day, have rendered the rise of this dynasty the theme of so many Eastern authors, that in the fulness of their narrations but little remains to be elucidated by collateral means; and though in the present instance scanty room is left for speculation founded on medals, these effectively fulfil their more legitimate archaeological use of verifying authentic history, and thus testing the comparative accuracy of the various writers on the subjects they illustrate, whose works are now extant.

If the coins of the present series, unlike the medals of Greece and Rome, offer no rare devices, no effigies or imitations of animal life,

which, in their boldness and truth of execution, claim homage for the perfection of ancient art; or if they fail in affording classic allegories, and indirect references to customs and superstitions, suitable for the display of antiquarian ingenuity, they record what is of greater importance,—a proportionately far more ample circle of facts. If they supply a more limited field for the exercise of the imagination, and therefore furnish a less fascinating subject of study, they at the same time narrow the possible departure from truth. In so doing they may fairly claim excuse for want of symbolical or sculptural characteristics, as well as a lenient criticism on the artistic demerits, with which, it must be conceded, the later portion of the series especially abounds.

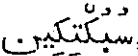
Some few specimens of the early mintages will indeed stand comparison with the best works of art of their class, both in respect to the fineness of the lines, and the elegance and accuracy of the Kufic legends; and, taken as a suite, even allowing for the great deterioration in execution observable under the less powerful sultans of the dynasty, the produce of the Ghazní mint must be admitted to have attained a high degree of excellence in the order of Asiatic coinages of its age.

Before proceeding to a detail of the inscriptions to be found on the coins, a few points may be alluded to as offering subjects of more general interest than the simple historical illustration afforded by the major part of the medals of this collection.

The opinion advanced by many Mohammedan authors<sup>1</sup> that Sabaktagín<sup>2</sup> should be looked upon as the first monarch of the Ghaznaví race, is not borne out by the record on his money: on the contrary, however powerful and virtually independent they may have been, Sabaktagín, Ismail, and Mahmúd himself in the early days of his rise, all acknowledged the supremacy of the Sámání emperors, and duly inscribed on the currency struck by themselves as local governors, the name of the Lord Paramount, under whom they held dominion. It was not until the year 389 A.H. that the House of Ghazní assumed independence as sovereign princes, which event is duly marked on Mahmúd's medals of the period, in the rejection of the name of the Suzerain Sámání, and the addition of the prefix Amír to his own titles. (See Coins, Nos. 9, 10, 23, &c.)

The numerous coins of Mahmúd, in their varied titular superscrip-

<sup>1</sup> Mirchond, *Hist. Gaz.* ed. Willken, p. 5; *Khalásat al Akhbár* (Price), ii. 277; *Ferishtah* (Dow), i. 21 and 22; (Briggs), i. 13 and 14.

<sup>2</sup> Or Subuktikin, , as it is written in a carefully engrossed MS. of Utbí in the British Museum.



tions, mark most distinctly the progressive epochs of his eventful career, commencing with the comparatively humble prænomen of Scif al daulah, bestowed on him by Nûh bin Mansûr in 384 A.H., proceeding onwards to the then usual Sâmânî titles of sovereignty, Al Amîr, Al Syîd, conjoined with the epithets of Yamîn al daulah, and Amin al Millat, conferred on him by the Khalîf Al Kâdir billah, advancing next to the appellation of Nizâm al dîn, and the occasional prefix of the pompous designations of Malik al Memâlik and Malik al Mulûk, and finally ending in the disuse of all titular adjuncts, and the simple inscription of the now truly celebrated name he had received at his birth. (Ex gr., vide Coins, Nos. 8, 9, 43, 44, 49, 53.)

The absence of any numismatic record of the title of Ghâzî, said to have been adopted by Mahmûd on his return from some of his early expeditions into India, leads to an inference, not altogether unsupported by other negative evidence, that the term in question was not introduced into current use, in the full sense of its more modern acceptation, till a somewhat later period.

The unique bilingual coin of Mahmûd, No. 42, claims a more than passing notice, though in the uncertainty regarding the date, and the erasure of the place of coinage, no satisfactory inference can be deduced as to the possible circumstances under which it was struck. Hence, viewing it on the one hand as a coin minted in reference to some particular occasion, it avails but little to speculate on the precise section of Mahmûd's Indian conquests, which was judged of such importance by the victor, as to be dignified by a commemorative medal; or, on the other hand, recognizing this piece as the existing representative of a local currency, it is equally unprofitable to hazard an opinion as to the identical people upon whom it may have been thought desirable to impress an exalted idea of the greatness of their new master, by thus communicating the sound of his titles through the medium of the characters of the language in vulgar use. The letters on the reverse assimilate in a measure to the form of the Sanskrit alphabet denominated "Kutîla," which is proved by the date on the Rohilkund inscription to have been in local use in the tenth century: at the same time the Kutîla alphabet by no means suffices for their full identification, many of the characters employed approaching the style of writing attributed to a period, antecedent by many centuries to the precise epoch at which these letters were fashioned; some characters agreeing accurately with the corresponding letters in the Tibetan alphabet, and not a few being readily identifiable with their equivalents in the Allahabad inscription of the fifth century. Of course, it was naturally to be anticipated, that the letters should

exhibit the local modifications incident to the dialect of the country to which they referred, and amid the many Hindú kingdoms subdued by Mahmúd's prowess, it was scarcely to be hoped, that the legend in question should be fully explicable by means of any given form of the still limited number of recognized systems of Devanagari Palæography; but the present difficulty extends beyond this, inasmuch as the expression of the characters is in itself undecided, and by no means uniform. For the rest, making allowance for a considerable degree of malformation, these letters may be looked upon as generally identical with those employed by the Brahmanical kings of Kábul, and subsequently by the Hindú princes of Northern India. In as far as the legend has yet been deciphered, it would appear to be nothing more than a partial transcript of the Kufic inscription on the opposite surface of the coin. From the imperfection of the form of many of the Sanskrit characters, it would seem that the die engraver must have been somewhat unskilled in the language, the symbols of which he was called upon to imitate. This deduction, if not justified by the crude shape of several of the letters themselves, and the unsuccessful attempt at a representation of the due sound of the corresponding words of the Arabic legend, evidenced in the whole tenor of the transcript, is conclusively proved by the want of uniformity in what must be taken to stand for one and the same letter, in different parts of the inscription itself. The result arrived at from this fact, as well as from the superiority of the execution of the Kufic side of the coin, is simply, that the piece in question was not the work of native moneyers, but rather the production of an artist whose aptitude had been derived from Mohammedan mints; and hence, that this medal should be viewed, not as a new adaptation of the coinage of a subdued country, but as a specimen of money fabricated in reference to some peculiar occasion, to mark some particular victory, or perpetuate some notable conquest.

Mahmúd is related to have assumed the title of "Sultán," and to have been the first Oriental potentate who appropriated this term<sup>1</sup>. A reference to the coins of this prince, however, leads to some doubt on the subject, and although their testimony in no wise militates against the generally received account of the origin of the designation, yet it inferentially controverts the assertion of its immediate adoption and use by Mahmúd himself. D'Herbelot avers that Mahmúd was first designated by this epithet in 393, by Khalaf, Governor of Seistán, on the occasion of his surrendering himself to Mahmúd's mercy after a futile attempt at rebellion. Il "luy apporta les clefs de sa forteresse, et le reconnut pour son Sultan. Ce titre de Sultan, qui n'étoit pas

<sup>1</sup> Khalásat al Akhbár (Price), ii. 282; Elphinstone's India, i. 530.

encore en usage, plut si fort à Mahmúd, qu'il le prit toujours depuis ce temps-là, et pardonna, non seulement à Khalaf sa révolte, mais le rétablit encore dans son gouvernement<sup>1</sup>." De Guignes, accepting the same narrative of the first enunciation of the word in its new sense, adds a more probable and less express assertion of the degree of Mahmúd's self-application of the term in question—"Et ce titre jusqu'alors inconnu, devint en usage parmi les Princes Mahometans, il plut Mahmoud qui le porta le premier. Auparavant les Princes prenoient celui de 'Malek' ou de 'Roi.' Dans la suite celui-ci s'avilit et ne fut plus donné qu'à des princes tributaires et soumis aux Sulthans<sup>2</sup>." From the numismatic evidence available, it would appear that, although it may reasonably have pleased Mahmúd to be called by this novel denomination, he does not seem directly to have caused himself to be thus officially designated. Had Mahmúd either himself assumed this prænomen, or had he received it from any competent authority, he would most probably have inscribed the appellation on his coins, whereon it will be seen he at one time much rejoiced to record his greatness. Moreover, had this title been adopted and employed by Mahmúd in the sense in which it was subsequently used, it is but reasonable to infer that it would have been continued by his immediate successors, and, as such, would have appeared on their money; whereas, the first Ghaznaví sovereign who stamps his coinage with the term, is Ibrahim<sup>3</sup>, 451 A.H. (See Coins, Nos. 117, 119, &c.) During the interval, the designation had already been appropriated by another dynasty, the Seljúk Toghrál Beg having entitled himself Sultán so early as 437 A.H., if not before that date, after having in the first instance, on his conquest of Khorásán from Masaúd, contented himself with the usual style of Amír. (See note to Coin 59.)

The coins of Mahmúd, in addition to the illustration afforded of the various phases of his immediate reign, offer evidence on two points of contemporaneous history, one of which at least, under ordinary circumstances, should not have been dependent for elucidation upon the medals of a separate dynasty. The first of these refers to the non-recognition of the Khalíf Al Kádir billah, in the province of Khorásán, until about eight years subsequent to his virtual accession. It is necessary to premise, that in the year 381 A.H. the Khalíf Al Táfi'h lillah was dethroned by the Búiah Bahá al daulah, the then Amír al Amará of the court of Baghdád, and his place supplied by

<sup>1</sup> D'Herbelot, Bib. Orient., p. 533. Paris, 1697.      <sup>2</sup> De Guignes, ii. 162.

<sup>3</sup> It still, however, remains a question whether this title may not have been used by Masaúd on some of his *provincial* Coins. (See p. 343.) Al Bihekí uses the Amír and Sultán indifferently.

Ahmed bin Ishak, who was elevated to the Khiláfat under the denomination of Al Kádir billah. The author of the *Tárikh Guzídah* relates that "the people of the province of Khorásán objecting to this supercession, which was justified by no offence on the part of the late pontiff, continued to recite the public prayers in his name; and it was not until Mahmúd of Ghazní, in disavowing his allegiance to the Sámánís, became supreme in that country, that any alteration in this practice was effected, when Mahmúd, between whom and the new Imám there existed a friendly understanding, directed the Khutbah to be read in the name of Al Kádir<sup>1</sup>."

The accuracy of this relation is fully borne out by the archæological evidence furnished by the collection under notice, Mahmúd's coins invariably bearing the designation of the superseded Khalíf, Al-Táí'h, in conjunction with his own early title of Seif al daulah, up to the year 387 (Nos. 8 and 22<sup>2</sup>); while his money of a closely subsequent period is marked by the simultaneous appearance of the name of Al Kádir, in association with his own newly-received titles of Yamín al daulah and Amín al Millat. (See Coins Nos. 9, 10, 23, and 24.) The second medal just cited bears unusually explicit testimony to this self-imposed submission, in the addition made to Mahmúd's detailed honorary denominations which are here seen to conclude with the novel designation of Wali<sup>3</sup> Amír al Mómínín (*Servant of the Commander of the Faithful*).

<sup>1</sup> Extract *Tárikh Guzídah*, East India Company's Persian MS. Copy, No. 649.

اما در خراسان مدتی خطبه بنام طایع بود و میگفتند امام بیگناهی که لایق خلع نباشد چرا مخلوع شود تا چون سلطان محمود سبکتگین بران ملک مستولی شد و او را با تاد ر خلیفه مصادقت بود خطبه بنام قادر کرد

A somewhat similar passage is to be found in the *Rauzat al Safá*.

<sup>2</sup> A coin similar to No. 22 has formed the subject of an able essay from the pen of M. De Sauley, Conservateur du Musée d'Artillerie, Paris. It is satisfactory to find the general accuracy of M. De Sauley's inferences regarding the non-recognition of Al Kádir in the province of Khorásán, confirmed by the additional historical evidence above quoted, as well as by the copious numismatic examples supplied by the present collection. See *Journal Asiatique*, 1842.

<sup>3</sup> D'Herbelot quotes the following anecdote from the *Tárikh al Khofata*, in advertence to the said title of Wali, and the objections to its use supposed to have existed in the case of the Ghaznaví Sultán:—

"Il est rapporté dans le *Tarikh al Khofata*, ou *Histoire des Khalifes*, que le Sultan Mahmoud, s'étant rendu maître absolu du pays de Gaznin, et de tant d'autres, par sa valeur, souhaita que le Khalife luy donnast un titre digne de sa

The second circumstance referred to, which has now to be noticed, also regards the dynasty of the Khalifs of Baghdád. The Nishápúrcois, Nos. 12, 19, 20, and 26, display the title of Al Ghálib billah, indicated as "designated successor" to Al Kádir. Who the individual thus nominated may have been, is not recorded in any of the histories of the time usually accessible to English readers, but a manuscript copy of the Táríkh Guzídah, in the Library of the East India House, fortunately supplies the omission in the following passage, which readily leads to an identification of the person in question, and at the same time accounts for the disappearance of his name from the money of subsequent years, and the eventual accession of a son of Al Kádir, other than the one thus appointed.

puissance, et pour l'obtenir il luy envoya un Ambassade extraordinaire. L'Imam Abou Mansor ayant demeuré un an ou environ à Bagdet sans rien avancer dans l'affaire qu'il poursuivoit, présenta enfin un memoire dans lequel il exposoit au Khalife les grandes conquestes de son maître, sa puissance, et son zèle pour la foy Musulmane, la conversion de plusieurs milliers d'Idolâtres à la religion Mahometane, le changement de leurs temples en mosquées, et qu'enfin il étoit tout à fait indigne que l'on ne reconnut pas le merite d'un si grand Prince par un titre qui coûtait si peu de chose au Khalife de luy accorder. Ce memoire fit son effet auprès du Khalife, lequel craignant qu'un si puissant Monarque ne tournast enfin ses armes contre luy, assembla son conseil, et mit en délibération quel titre on pouvoit luy accorder, désirant, à cause que ce Prince étoit fils d'un esclave, qu'on luy en donnast un qui fut équivoque. On trouva donc que celui de Veli luy conviendroit bien, parce que ce mot qui signifie Amy et Seigneur, signifie aussi Serviteur et Valet. Mahmoud connut bien la pensée du Khalife, et il luy envoya un present de cent mille écus, afin qu'il ajoutast seulement une lettre au nom, à sçavoir, un Elif. On luy accorda cette grace, et on luy envoya les Patentes avec le titre de Veli, qui signifie absolument Maître et Commandant. *Doulet Schah.*" (Bib. Orient., D'Herbelot, p. 536.)

This story bears an appearance of much improbability when considered in reference to the many early instances of mutual good will evinced on the part of Mahmúd and of his spiritual superior; as well as to the fact, that, later in life, Mahmúd is proved to have received or appropriated titles numerous and laudatory enough to have satisfied the most craving ambition for such empty honours; and finally, Ferishtah notices the receipt at the Court of Ghazni, so late as 417 A.H., of a diploma conferring certain highly complimentary denominations both upon Mahmúd and his three sons (كهف الدوله &c., Briggs's Ferishtah, i. 81), apparently the unsolicited offering of the identical Khalif who is reported to have designed the cutting reproach above described. It is true, it is not stated to what particular period of his reign the occurrence of this episode should be assigned; but Mahmúd's prompt and seemingly voluntary display of the word ولي in immediate connexion with his own name does not look as if he had any scruples regarding its employment, or any dread of consequent imputations on his parentage, even though the *Wali* was wanting in the so-asserted *coveted* *Alif*.

تادر خلیفہ را در سال ہشتاد و سیوم پسر آید اورا ابو الفضل  
محمد نام کرد و چون بحد بلوغ رسید ولی عہد کردانید اما  
پیش از تادر درگذشت و ہم سال ہشتاد و سیوم تادر خلیفہ با  
دختر بہا والدولہ دیلم سکینہ نام وصلت کرد<sup>1</sup>

"In the year (3)83, a son was born to Al Kádir, who was named Abú Fazl Mohammed, and when he arrived at years of puberty he was created Walí Ah'd; he, however, died during the life-time of Al Kádir, who, in this same year, 83, married Sukinah, the daughter of Bahá al daulah Dílemí."

The Tabakát Násirí furnishes the following additional information regarding the titular designations of Al Kádir's sons, and conclusively fixes the identity of the first successor elect:—

و در تمامت عہد محمود خلیفہ القادر باللہ بود و او پسر  
خود را در روزگار خود ولی کرد و اورا الغالب باللہ لقب داد غالب  
پیش از پدر برجست حق پیوست پس دیگر پسر را ولی عہد کرد  
القائم بامر اللہ لقب داد<sup>2</sup>

The distinct information afforded by the money of Mahmúd on this head, simply amounts to the fact that Al Ghálib billah was recognized heir to the Khiláfat from 399 to 409 A.H. It would also seem probable, from the occurrence of this title on a coin of Mumehid al daulah Merwání, dated 392, that the nomination of Al Ghálib as "Walí Ah'd," must have taken place prior to this last epoch. The piece here referred to has been described by Fræhn and Lindberg<sup>3</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> MS., No. 180, p. 129. East India House Library.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Tabakát Násirí. East India House Library.

<sup>3</sup> Silver. Struck at Mífárfíkín. A.H. (3)92.

Arens.	للہ
لا اله الا الله	محمد رسول الله
وحده لا شريك له	صلى الله عليه و آله
الغالب بالله	القادر بالله
محمد الدولة	الملك بهاء الدولة
ابو منصور	قطب الملة

Fræhn, Num. Kuf. p. 77; Lindberg, Mém. de la Soc. des Antiq. du Nord, 1844, p. 261.

the title of Al Ghálíb billah was imagined by these authors to appertain to the Merwán Amír himself; but the more explanatory legends on the Ghaznaví coins indicate clearly the personage to whom the epithet belonged. In 416 A.H. Abdallah, the son of Al Kádír, then in the twenty-seventh year of his age, entitled Al Káim beamerillah, was nominated successor, and acceded to the throne of his father in the last month of 422 A.H.

The ample materials supplied by Mr. Masson's collection, in leading to the identification of previously unattributed medals, shew that the appropriation by the Ghaznaví monarchs of the device of Naudí (Bull of Siva), superscribed by the words *Srí Samanta dév*, as first used on the coins of the Brahmanical kings of Kábul, took place somewhat earlier than has hitherto been supposed; and that, whereas Ibrahim was imagined to have been the first king who associated himself thus far with his Indian possessions, it now appears that the conjunction of Mohammedan titles with the Hindú Bull of Siva on one and the same piece, took place in the reign of Modúd (432 A.H. = 1041 A.D.), if not at a still earlier period. (See Coins, Nos. 91, 92.)

Several conjectures have been advanced to account for the seeming anomaly of a sect, usually so prejudiced on such subjects as the followers of Islám, accepting as a device for their money, a symbol (adverting to the source whence it was derived) so purely idolatrous as the one in question. In this instance a reference to the other coins of the collection assists in elucidating this apparent difficulty. It is to be remarked, that, throughout all the conquests and consequent acquisitions of new territory effected by the House of Ghazní, there is to be seen a general indisposition to disturb the existing currency of the kingdoms subdued. Financial motives may probably have first prompted this conservatism; but from whatever cause arising, the effects are manifest throughout the period of the more extended domination of this dynasty. What description of currency Alptegín may have found in use, or may himself have introduced at Ghazní, there are no means of knowing, as the only coin now extant, which bears his distinct name, is a piece struck at Anderábeh in 347 A.H. (see Coin No. 1); but Sabaktagín's coins, minted in the province of Bámíán, vary considerably from the currency of his masters, the Sámánís, and approximate in weight and size to the local coinage of Kábul, under the Hindú kings of that city. Mahmúd's Ghazní coins come in the same category; while the money of his Níshápúr mint differs materially from these last, both in form and value. The like may be said of the produce of the mints of Balkh and Sejistán, the former of which obviously, and the latter inferentially, may be taken to disclose their

respective provincial peculiarities. The same remarks also apply generally to the coins of Masáúd. The conclusion deducible from these facts is, that there existed on the part of the Moslem potentates of Central Asia at this period a desire to retain, as little changed as need be, the local currency of the various provinces of their dominions<sup>1</sup>. Thus, if it be admitted, that it was not the custom to alter the coinage of a newly-conquered country, the Ghaznaví monarchs, in stamping the coins of the Hindús with their own names and titles, must be considered, not as having placed the figure of a Bull upon their own money, but as having "caused the coin of these provinces to be struck in their own names." The feeling of vanity incident to Oriental Princes, which so uniformly led to this ceremony on the first acquisition of new territory, need not be enlarged upon, further than to notice that, under this plan of retaining for the obverse, the device of the existing currency, in conjunction with the proof of their own supremacy, evidenced by the legend on the reverse, a more explicit record of the conquest itself was attained, than would have resulted even from a radical change of the entire coinage.

The identification of the name of the city of Lahór on the imperfect margins of coins Nos. 92 and 129, points out distinctly the province to which these bilingual coins refer; and a proof is thus furnished of the accuracy of the previous attribution of an intermediate class of medals, bearing the device of the Bull with the Horseman reverse, which have been assigned to the Hindú Sovereigns of the Punjáb<sup>2</sup>, and which are now seen to form the connecting link between the original coins of the Brahmanical Kings of Kábul and the Mohammedan adaptation of this species of money now under review.

<sup>1</sup> If it were necessary to cite foreign and earlier examples of an analogous absence of more modern Moslem scruples in similar cases, it might be advantageous to point, among others, to the remarkable departure from the supposed absolute rule on the subject, instanced in the retention by the Arabs, for the first twenty years after their conquest of the country, of the Byzantine types of the money of Mauritania, extending not only to the use of the general device of the prototype, and the expression of Arabic names by means of Latin letters, but even to an acceptance of a but slightly modified form of the cross itself. It is to be observed, moreover, that this enduring instance of freedom from the prejudice above referred to, occurred at a period closely subsequent to the difference between the Khalif Abdal Malik and the Greek Emperor, which, in A.H. 76, led to the first fabrication of pure Arabic money, when, if there had been the most remote feeling of objection to the use of symbols on the part of the then followers of Islam, it must have been expected to have shown itself with peculiar force. An interesting paper on this subject may be referred to in letter No. 5 of M. de Saulcy à M. Reinaud, *Journal Asiatique*, A.D. 1840.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, No. XVII., p. 184.



There is considerable discrepancy observable in the statements of the various authors' of the history of the family of Ghazni in the recognition of the exact date of Abdal Rashid's succession; though the coins of the series under notice are insufficient to fix with precision when the event occurred, yet as they suffice to prove when it actually had taken place, they assist in dissipating errors which it might

To obviate the confusion incident to detached notices, and to present at one view a detail of the various historical writers to whom reference is made in the present paper, the following summary of the several authorities quoted is here subjoined:—

1. The Biography of Masa'ud, the son of Mahmád of Ghazni, catalogued in the Royal Library, *Paris*, as the *Tárikh Masa'udí*, by Abú Fazl Mohammed bin Al Husén Al Bihékí. The work contains a full and voluminous account of the reign of Masa'ud, interspersed with occasional digressions upon the occurrences of the day: it was chiefly written and finally completed after the accession of Ibrahim, 451 A.H. The writer also refers to his own *Tárikh Yamíni*. Hají Khalfa has a notice of this author's compositions, to the following effect:—"Tárikh Al Subektagin, Historia magna Ghaznavidarum pluribus voluminibus comprehensa, Auctore Abu'Isádl Al Beihacki." The Paris MS. is of modern transcription (A.H. 1019), and, as far as the contents of European Public Libraries are known, it is believed to be unique. The existence of this MS. only became known to the author of the present notice after the major part of these sheets had been prepared for the press; and even then the time disposable for its examination only admitted of a partial perusal.
2. *Tabakát Násiri*, by Minháj bin Suráj Jurjání, dedicated to Násir al dín Mahmád of Delhi. A.H. 658.
3. *Tárikh Moktasar al Daul*, by the Armenian Abú Faraj. Latest date, 693 A.H.
4. *Jámi al Tawárikh*, by Rashíd al dín, Vizír of Gázán Khán, and subsequently of Oijátú Khán. A.H. 710.
5. *Tárikh Binákití*, otherwise entitled *Rauzat lí al Albáb*, an Abridgment of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, by Abú Solímán Fakhr al dín Dáúd (vulg. Binákití). A.H. 717.
6. The original of the *Annales Muslemici* of Abú Fedá of Hamát was written between 715 and 732 A.H.
7. *Tárikh Guzídah*, by Ahmed bin Abú Bekr Al Kaswíni. 730 A.H.
8. *Rauzat al Safá*, by Mír Kháwánd Sháh (otherwise Mirkhond), dedicated to Alí Shír, Vizír of Sultán Husén. The author died in Khorásán, in 903 A.H.
9. *Khalásat al Akhbár*, an Abridgment of the *Rauzat al Safá*, 905 A.H.;
10. *Habib al Saír*, about 927 A.H., dedicated to Habíb Ullah, Vizír of Isma'íl Shah Sufaví, King of Persia; both by Ghíáth al dín bin Hamid al dín, Khondemír.
11. *Jemál al dín Abú Mahásan Yúsaf bin Taghrí Bardí* (Egypt). Middle of ninth century A.H.
12. *Tárikh Nigáristan*, by Ahmed bin Mohammed, Al Kaswíni. Middle of tenth century A.H.
13. *Tabakát Akberí*, by Nizám al dín Ahmed bin Mohammed Mokim, of Herát, written at Agrah, in the time of Akber (about) 991 A.H.
14. *Tárikh al Jenábi*, by Abú Mohammed Mustafá (vulg. Al Jenábi). Latest date 997. The author died in 999 A.H.
15. *Mírát al A'lem*, by Bukhtáwur Khán. Time of Aurungzib.
16. *Tárikh Ferishtah*, (Bijápúr). A.H. 1018 = A.D. 1609.

otherwise have been somewhat difficult to rectify. Minháj al Suráj (the author of the *Tabakát Násiri*), Abúl Faraj, Abúl Fedá, and Rashíd al dín, unite in affirming that both Mórdúd's death and Abdal Rashíd's accession took place in the year 441 A.H. The three latter authorities, indeed, assume a direct succession, but the probably more accurately informed Minháj al Suráj allows an interval of two months for the joint reigns of Masaúd II. and Abúl Hasan Alí<sup>1</sup>. The *Tárikh Guzídah* gives the year 441 A.H. (Rajab) as the date of the death of Mórdúd, and 443 for the accession of Abdal Rashíd, and these periods have been accepted with little variation by the authors of the *Rauzat al Safá*, *Habíb al Sair*, the *Khalásat al Akhbár*, and the *Tárikh Ferishtah*. The evidence derivable from coins would indicate that these historians are one and all, to a certain extent, incorrect in their determination of the epochs in question, inasmuch as the medal of Abdal Rashíd (No. 93) clearly displays the *written* numbers 440, thereby proving incontestably, that the prince, under whose auspices it was struck, had obtained full possession of regal honours some time in the year recorded. In thus approximately fixing the time of the accession of Abdal Rashíd, and in so doing ante-dating the period usually assigned for Mórdúd's death by at least *seven* months, some assistance might have been anticipated therefrom in the solution of another doubtful point, viz., the duration of the reign of this last-named prince. The averments of different historians on this head vary to the amount of no less than two years and ten months<sup>2</sup>. Of course this discrepancy implies to a certain extent a corresponding difference of opinion as to the date of accession. There is, however, less variation in the assignment of this æra than might have been expected from the contradictions adverted to; the period of the decease of this monarch being now in a manner fixed, demands an acceptance of the testimony of those authors whose relation assimilates most nearly with the probabilities resulting from the facts available. The year above assigned as having witnessed Mórdúd's death, 440 A.H., placed in reference to even the earliest date proposed by any one of the writers whose conflicting assertions it is desirable to reconcile, does not admit of the possibility of his having reigned nine years. It becomes, therefore, necessary to ascertain how far the shorter period of seven years will meet the exigencies of the case. Here again, a weighty objection presents itself, inasmuch as the corroborative detail of contemporaneous events, and the means

<sup>1</sup> Or *بها الدولة على* Bahá al *daulah* Alí, as he is called by the *Guzídah* and *Habíb al Sair*.

<sup>2</sup> Násiri, Abúl Faraj, Jenábi, *Tabakát Akberí*, and *Ferishtah*, nine years; Abúl Fedá, nine years and ten months; *Rauzat al Safá*, nine years and eleven months; *Tárikh Guzídah*, *Habíb al Sair*, and *Khalásat al Akhbár*, seven years.

of accurate knowledge possessed by the author of the *Tárikh Masaúdí*, scarcely admit a question as to the correctness of his statement, and this is to the effect that Mórdúd captured and killed his uncle Mohammed in Shabán, 432 A.H.<sup>1</sup> If this is to be taken as the actual date of accession, it leaves an interval to be filled up of eight years, more or less; the exact duration of the asserted seven years' sway, is thus manifestly unsupported by the evidence cited; it is true that, by antedating still more the epoch of the decease of Mórdúd, the use of the term seven years, or less than eight, might possibly be justified; but it must at the same time be admitted that there is no direct testimony to support any such solution of the matter at issue\*.

Whatever may be the correct estimate of the length of the reign of this Prince, the origin of the differences to be detected in the assertions of the historians above noted seems to be clearly explained by a casual observation to be found in the *Mirát al A'lem*; viz., that "Mórdúd reigned for seven years subsequent to the death of his uncle Mohammed, and in all nine years". Hence it would appear that it was the practice among some writers to compute the commencement of Mórdúd's reign at an epoch much prior to his full accession, that is to say, from the time when he was first placed in charge of Balkh, &c., on his father's departure for Ghazní, in 431<sup>4</sup>, or

و امیر مودود درین شعبان که شاه ملک خطبه بگردانید  
 [۴۳۲] بدینور آمد و جنگ کرد و عمر را بگرفت با پسرانش و  
 کسانی که با آن پادشاه یار بودند بکشان را بکشت

*Tárikh Masaúdí*, Bibl. du Roi, Paris.

\* M. De Guignes (ii. 177), in quoting from various authors at one and the same time, has placed himself in a difficulty in respect to this question. He takes Abúl Faraj's statement, which he cites as A.H. 433, for the date of Mohammed's second accession; then mentioning Mórdúd's death and quoting from Abúl Fedá, he states that this monarch died in 440, after a reign of nine years and ten months. The seven years actually adopted from date to date, as the duration of Mórdúd's reign, in which also must be included the brief sway of Mohammed, is thus, in the confusion of authorities, amplified by two years and ten months. Moreover, the quotations themselves are both incorrect; the printed texts of Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá, severally give 432 as the epoch of the revolt against Masaúdí and the elevation of Mohammed [see p. 343 (Pococke, Oxon. 1643), and p. 132, vol. iii. (Reisk), respectively]. In like manner, the period of 440 will be seen in the printed text of the original to be 441 (see Abúl Fedá, iii. 132).

سلطان مودود بن مسعود بعد از هلاک عم خویش مدت  
 هفت سال و بقولیه نه سال بسلطنت قیام نموده \* \*  
*Mirát al A'lem*, No. 7657, Rich Collection, British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> Shawál, 431. Abúl Fedá.

possibly from a period still earlier, as Ferishtah asserts that Módúd was invested with the "ensigns of royalty" some time previous to this occasion.

The next circumstance which is capable of elucidation from the coins of this series, although a matter of no particular weight, is a fit subject of remark, as showing the possible value of numismatic studies in historical investigations of greater importance. A single medal of Ferokhzád is adequate at this distance of time, and in the hands of a strange people, to decide with certainty what the authors of the *Guzidah* and the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, writing with all the advantages incident to their positions, were unable to pronounce a correct opinion upon, viz., the parentage of the prince in question, who is here distinctly announced as "the son of Masaúd." (No. 97, &c.)

Another inquiry which has attracted much notice from the various authors whose evidence is extant, is the duration of the rule of Ibrahim. This difficulty, even in the absence of any direct medallie dates, is capable of solution from the collateral record borne by coins. Fortunately for the facility of present proof, the discussion of the question is much simplified by the circumstance of the debated point being, not up to what time the reign extended, but as to which of the two periods of thirty or forty-two years<sup>1</sup>, is the correct representative of its total duration. All writers concede that one of these two given quantities is the true one: hence a settlement of the matter is reduced to the simple acceptance of one or the other. There seems to be little ground for hesitation in the admission that either the year 450 or 451 A.H., (probably the latter,) witnessed the accession of this Sultán. If thirty years be taken as the limit of his reign, Ibrahim should have ceased to rule in 480-481 A.H.; but as the coin, No. 125, exhibits the name of the Khalíf Al Mostazher billah, as contemporary with Ibrahim, whose money it purports to be, and as this Khalíf did not ascend his own pontifical throne till 487, it is clear that Ibrahim of Ghazní lived and ruled subsequent to this last epoch. The inference that he reigned his full forty-two years is, under the circumstances, sufficiently legitimate.

It remains to notice one more fact, illustrated by the money of the period,—that Bahrám Sháh held his kingdom under Sanjar, governor of Khorásáu. Abúl Fedá refers<sup>2</sup> distinctly to this point, and even goes somewhat beyond what the coins of Bahrám (Nos. 142, 144, &c.)

<sup>1</sup> Date of Ibrahim's death, according to different authors: Násirí, 492; *Tárikh Guzidah*, idem; *Tárikh Binákiti*, idem; Abúl Fedá, Mirkhond, and Jenábi, 481; Abúl Mahásan, 492; Ferishtah, doubtful!! De Guignes, 481.

<sup>2</sup> ودخل ستجر غزنة واستولى عليها واخذ منها اموال عظيمة

altogether support, in respect to the mention of the recital in the Khutbah, and consequent inscription on the coinage, of the name of Sanjar's brother, Mohammed, the Seljúk emperor. The *Jámi al Tawárikh*, more accurately, confines its assertion to the now affirmed recognition of Sanjar's supremacy alone<sup>1</sup>. Mirkhond gives no information on the subject of this vassalage; and Ferishtah only alludes to it indirectly in noticing the original grant of the kingdom of Ghazní to Bahrám by Sanjar on the occasion of the latter's defeat of Arslán Sháh. The medals of Khusrú Sháh (Nos. 148, 149) indicate that this feudal subjection extended to the early part at least of the reign of this, the succeeding king.

Adverting to the numerical amount of the Ghaznaví coins in the East India House Cabinet, some explanation is due, regarding the apparently limited result obtained in actual dates. But this deficiency is readily to be accounted for. It will be seen that in the silver money of the kingdom of Ghazní it was the custom to record both the date and place of coinage on margins forming the extreme edge of the piece. Two causes have combined in the present instance to render the inscriptions on these margins generally illegible. First, to judge from the specimens extant, the insufficient breadth of the planchet in itself could have afforded but little probability of securing a complete marginal legend on any given piece, the dies being usually larger than the surface of the metal to be impressed<sup>2</sup>. Second, the coins of Mr.

وَقَرَّرَ السُّلْطَانَةُ لِبَهْرَامِشَاهِ بْنِ مَسْعُودِ وَأَنَّ بِحَطَبِ فِي مَمْلَكَتِهِ  
لِلسُّلْطَانِ مُحَمَّدِ بْنِ الْمَلِكِ سَنَجَرِ ثُمَّ لِلسُّلْطَانِ بَهْرَامِشَاهِ الْمَذْكُورِ

Abul Fedá, Ann. Mos., iii. 384.

<sup>1</sup> و دیکر خطبہ بنام سلطان سنجر کردند

Persian *Jámi al Tawárikh*, British Museum, No. 7628.

<sup>2</sup> The following description of the process of coining, as in use at Delhi at a somewhat later period, probably represents pretty accurately the mode employed in the fabrication of the coins of the present series:—

“The Melter melts the refined plates of gold [silver, &c.], and casts them into round ingots.

“The Zerráb [ضراب] cuts from round ingots, pieces of gold, silver, and copper of the size of the coin. \* \* \* It is surprising, that in Iran and Turan they cannot cut these round pieces without an anvil [سندان] made on purpose; and in Hindoostan, the workman, without any such machine, performs this business with such exactness, that there is not the difference of a single hair.

“The Seal-engraver engraves the dies of coins on steel and such like metals.

“The Sickchy places the round piece of metal between two dies [سکه], and, by the strength of the Hammerer, both sides are stamped at one stroke.” Gladwin's *Ayin í Akberi*, i. 15.

Masson's collection were gathered on the locale of their original issue and subsequent more immediate circulation, and unlike the reserved store of less-freely current foreign coin, or the choice specimens of a miser's hoard, they have, in the majority of instances, been inhumed in detail, apparently, after having been subject to an extensive series of successive transfers in the ordinary commerce of their day. The coins have suffered accordingly; and much of what was probably originally clear, is now often wholly obliterated.

The same causes have offered obstacles to the full examination of the geographical questions involved in a comprehensive decipherment of the names of the mint cities. There, however, seems to be less ground to regret this circumstance, as, judging from the names already identified, there is reason to suppose that, dating from the reign of Mórdúd, with the single exception of the produce of the city of Lahór, the monetary circulation of the empire was supplied solely from the mint of the capital. It is not proposed to enter into a lengthened examination of the positions and relative importance of the different cities recorded on these coins. They are sufficiently in accordance with accepted history to require but little separate notice; where any difficulty in regard to due identification suggests itself, full geographical references are appended in the notes pertaining to the coin on which the name first occurs.

In the detailed enumeration of these cities, the absence of the name of Kábul, looking to its magnitude and local importance, might be noticed as somewhat singular; but it would seem, from the limited numismatic evidence at present available, as if Ferwán, in the first instance, and subsequently Ghazní, had satisfied the monetary wants of the entire Hill country in which they were situated. The political value of the position of the former, in reference to the Sámání possessions immediately to the northward, together with its advantageous proximity to the silver mines of Punjhír, may probably have first influenced the adoption of Ferwán as a leading mint city, in which respect it would seem to have superseded the functions of Punjhír itself, which was at one time a place of coinage of the Emperors of Bokhárá<sup>1</sup>. By the time Mahmúd had ascended the throne, the regal city of Ghazní may be supposed to have risen to a sufficiently elevated position as a capital to do away with the necessity of the services of a second mint in the circumjacent territory.

Though not strictly within the limits of the prominent subject under review, yet, as a matter intimately connected with the rise of

<sup>1</sup> بنگهیر. See Coins, Nos. \*75 (A.H. 294) and \*133 (A.H. 302), Fræhn's Recensio.

the Moslem power in an integral portion of the Ghaznavi dominions, it may be useful in regard to the closely previous history of Kábul<sup>1</sup> itself, to examine briefly the narrations of the contemporaneous as

<sup>1</sup> In citing the subjoined extracts from different geographical authors, it will be useful to premise the dates at which these writers severally flourished, as without full advertence to this particular, many of their assertions regarding the state of backwardness or advancement of the various localities described may appear inconsistent, and even conflicting.

In judging also of the credibility of the more modern geographers, close attention must be paid to discriminate between the original observations of the author himself and the incorporated transcripts from earlier authorities: these last are often acknowledged, but when not admitted to be quotations, are manifestly liable to mislead.

The earliest production to which it is necessary to refer, is the Arabic original of the Persian MS. translated by Ouseley, and published by him in the year 1800, as "The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal." Ouseley's MS. was at that time supposed to be a Persian version of Ibn Haukul's Arabic *Musálik wa Mumálik*; intermediately, the text in question has been attributed by Uylenbroek to Ibn Khordadbeh, whose original composition was supposed to bear a similar title, viz., *كتاب المسالك والممالك* or *المسالك الى الممالك*. Gildemeister has, however,

determined that "Istakhrí *ابو اسحق الفارسي الاصطخري* auctor libri *alimatum* *كتاب الاقاليم*, qui inter annos 900 et 925 Chr. scripsit. *Sindiam* *invisit ejusque terræ tabulam delineavit. Editus est ejus liber ex versione Persica in Anglicam linguam translatus ab Ouseleyo.*" (*Scriptorum Arabum De Rebus Indicis*, p. 76.) Møller also, the Editor of the lithographed facsimile of the original Arabic text of Istakhrí, testifies that "Idem est opus geographicum, quod vir cel. W. Ouseley in Anglicum sermonem translatum anno 1800 hoc nomine 'The Oriental Geography, &c.,' Londini edidit;" and he adds, regarding the date of the composition itself, "Inde apertum est, Abu Ishakum annum 303 inter et annum 307 vel 309 n. (= 915—921 p. Chr.) opus suum geographicum confecisse." (*Liber Climates, &c.*, J. H. Møller, Gothæ, 1829, p. 22.)

Ibn Haukul began his travels in 331 A.H. "scientiæ cupiditate ductus longis itineribus fere omnes terras Muslimicas invisit, ex quibus redux sub annum 366 (inc. 29 Aug., 976) opus suum geographicum *كتاب المسالك والممالك* inscriptum concinnavit ita, ut id *Içthakhrîi* libro quasi fundamento superstrueret suis observationibus aucto et perfecto." (Gilde., p. 78.)

In like manner, Møller observes—"Diserte igitur Ibn Haukalides unico ad opus Abu Ishaki el faresii se applicasse, ejusque formam et expositionem sequutum esse proficitur, ita ut Ibn Haukalidis opus non nisi altera sit auctior et emendatior Abu Ishaki operis editio. (p. 4.) Ibn Haukalidem opus suum anno demum 366—367 n. (= 976—977 p. Chr.) ex itineribus suis, quæ anno 331 n. (= 942 p. Chr.) ingressus erat reducem composuisse, ejus rei nullam clarissimi Uylenbroekii sagacitas reliquit dubitationem." (Møller, p. 22.)

Albirún's *Kánún* is the next in order of antiquity; the exact epoch of its completion is not known, but an approximate estimate may be formed from the

well as the more modern writers who refer to its conquest by the Mohammedans, as it is by no means clear from their varied assertions

fact of the author's death having occurred shortly subsequent to 430 A.H. = 1038—39 A.D.

Edrisi's work received its finishing stroke in Shawál, 548 A.H. = 1154 A.D.

Kaswíní (Zakaria bin Mohammed bin Mahmúd), the author of the *Athár al belád*, died in 674 A.H. = 1275 A.D.

And, lastly, Abúl Fedá concluded his geographical compilation (*Takwím al Baladán*) in 721 A.H. = 1321 A.D.

وكابل لها قهندز موصوف بالتحصن واليه طريق واحد وفيها  
المسلمون ولها الرض بها الكفار من الهند ويزعمون ان الشاه  
لايستخف الملك الا اذا عقد له الملك بكابل

(*Liber Climatium Auctore El Isstachri*, J. H. Møller, Gothae, p. 110.)

The sentence regarding the inhabitants of Kábul appears in the following form in the *Persian Mesálik wa Memálik*.

كابل قهندزي دارد \* \* \* قهندز مسلمان دارند و  
رض هندوان كافر دارند و گویند كه شاه &c.  
(*Persian MS. East India House.*)

"Kábul is a town with a very strong castle, accessible only by one road: this is in the hands of the Mussulmans; but the town belongs to the infidel Indians. They say," &c. (*Ouseley's Translation*, p. 226.)

Ibn Haukal follows Istakhrí with sufficient precision in the main point of the occupancy of the town and castle; but he seems, intentionally or otherwise, to have made the *الهند من الكفار* into *الكفار واليهود*.

و كابل لها قهندز موصوف بالتحصن واليه طريق واحد وفيها  
المسلمون ولها رض فيد الكفار واليهود ويزعمون &c.  
Ibn Haukal. Bodleian Library, No. 538, Hunt.

Kaswíní does not throw any new light upon this subject, his version of the matter being much to the same purport as the following *mis-quotation* of Ibn Haukal by Abúl Fedá, where it will be seen that the nice distinction of the tenure of the castle by the Mohammedans, while the Hindús still occupied the town, is entirely lost sight of.

Judging from the French translation (*Géographie D'Edrisi*, par M. Amédée Jaubert, pp. 182, 183; see also p. 459), the passage in Edrisi, corresponding with the first part of the above quotation, appears to be somewhat confused, and a simultaneous reference to the city of Kandahar, is strangely mixed up with many local details, which manifestly apply to the town of Kábul.

قال ابن حوقل وكابل من عمل باميان وفيها المسلمون وكفار



at what exact period the city first passed from the hands of its ancient masters. Leaving unnoticed the early attacks of the generals of the first Khalifs, the wars of Hejáj, and even the conquests of Amín<sup>1</sup>, which scarcely affected the permanent independence of the monarchy, the explicit statements of the Tabakát Násirí<sup>2</sup>, and the Rauzat al

الهنود ويزعم الهنود أن الملك وهو الشاه لا يستحق الشهادة دون  
ان يعتقد له الملك في كابل \* \* \* قال في القانون قلعة  
كابل مستقر ملوك الاتراك كانوا ثم البراهمة \* \* \* وكانت  
من تغور المسلمين في وجوه الهند وفي غربيها مدينة غزنة  
(Géographie D'Aboulfeda, Texte Arabe, par MM. Reinaud et De Slane,  
Paris, 1843, p. 449.)

"Ibn Haukul said: Kábul is in the jurisdiction of Bámfán, and in it are Moslems and infidel Hindús. The Hindús are of opinion that the King, who is the Sháh, is not rightly entitled to the dignity of Sháh, unless the sovereignty be covenanted to him in Kábul. It is said in the Kánún (Albfruní), that the Castle of Kábul was the residence of (the) *Princes of the Túrks, then of the Bráhmans* \* \* \* it is one of the frontiers of the Moslems towards India: to the west of it also is the city of Ghazni."

Before taking leave of the geographical authors who illustrate the various subjects connected with the age immediately preceding that to which the present paper refers, it is desirable to attract the attention of the curious in such matters to the valuable but little known MS. of Ibn Khordadbeh, in the Bodleian Library, which contains much miscellaneous information regarding India and Central Asia;

the work is entitled *كتاب المسالك في صفة الارض* by *عبيد الله بن*

*عبيد الله بن خردادبه*. The Oxford MS. was engrossed in 630 A.H. Ibn Khordadbeh died in 300 A.H. (= 912 A.D.); his compositions are largely praised, and were extensively used by Masáúdí, 332 A.H. (Vide Meadows of Gold, &c., Oriental Translation Fund Edition.)

<sup>1</sup> "In the year 107, under the Khalifat of Hesham, the son of Abdulmullick, his Governor of Khorasan, Ameen, the son of Abdallah Casbeery, conquered Ghour, Ghurgistan, and Neemroz of Cabul. From that time, under the Khalifa of the Houses of Ommiah and Abbas, these provinces continued to be dependent upon Khorasan." Gladwin's *Ayin í Akberí*, ii. 209.

<sup>2</sup> *الاول يعقوب الليث \* \* \* و از انجا بجانب طخارستان و  
بلخ آمد و بكرت و از انجا باز كشت بجانب كابل آمد و  
ان فتح در شهر سنه ست و خمسين و مائتين بود*  
MS. Tabakát Násirí. East India House.

Safá', show that Kábul was completely subjugated, in the middle of the third century of the Hijrah, by Yakúb Lith, the first of the Sofárians of Sejistán.

Istakhrí, writing early in the fourth century of the Hijrah (303 to 309), notices the citadel of Kábul as being in the hands of the Mohammedans, the town being still occupied by the Hindús, and he goes on to add that the King is not entitled to the sovereignty unless it be covenanted to him at Kábul; both the one and the other expression implying that the king, to whom the latter sentence refers, did not reside at Kábul, his castle being in the occupancy of people of another race, and the very fact of the necessity of his coming to Kábul for inauguration, evidencing generally that he held his court in some other city. Ibn Haukul, in reproducing almost verbatim the exact expressions of Istakhrí, gives additional authenticity to the original text, which he recognises as the basis of his own work, appending thereto such observations as the progress of time and his own more extended knowledge enabled him to supply<sup>a</sup>.

Albírání's averment, in the Kánún, which has been preserved

ويعتقوب از فارس مراجعت کرده منازل قطع نموده ببلخ  
رسید و اینجا بالشکر کران متوجه کابل شد و کابل را در تحت  
تصرف آورده حاکم آن ولایت اسیر و دستگیر گشت و بعد  
از آن بهرات رفت و بر آن دیار مستولی گشت

M.S. Rauzat al Safá, Royal Asiatic Society, No. 43.

<sup>a</sup> For instance, the passage which should correspond with the text of Istakhrí, p. 110, line 7, Møller, and which is translated from the Persian version by Ouseley, p. 225, last line, and two first lines of 226, runs thus in Ibn Haukal:—

ولیس فی هذه النواحي والمدن التي فی نواحي بلخ كلها  
مال ولا تجارة اكثر من عذنة لانها فرضة الهند وان كانت قد  
تغيرت فی سنة خمس وخمسين وثلاثماية

And among his many additional observations on Kábul, he in one place thus expresses himself:—

والذى شاهدت دون ذلك باسباب جرت من الغتن  
بدخول البتكين والخلف بيته وبين الملوك المجاورين

The few passages cited, in the present paper, from the Oxford MS. of Ibn Haukal have been carefully collated with a copy of the *Layden* MS. of that author in the possession of M. Reinaud.

by Abúl Fedá, is strictly consistent with his assertions in the *Tárikh Hind*; but at open variance with the deposition of Istakhrí; so much so, that it is difficult to reconcile the obvious discrepancies. If Istakhrí be correct, the castle of Kábul was in the possession of the Moslems in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijrah; it had possibly remained so from the time of its capture by Yakúb Líth. Albírání's mention of its being the residence of the Túrks, and subsequently of the Brahman Kings, would appear to indicate, that, however much of continuity there may have been in its occupancy by the royal line of the former race, and whether they were the parties losing and recovering it, or not, one fact is clear, that the Brahmans, as well as the Túrks, once possessed it. Albírání's position in the suite of Mahmúd of Ghazní, and his consequent opportunities of obtaining precise information on the spot, to the closely preceding history of which his observations refer, together with his admitted knowledge of the language of the country itself, render his evidence on this point unassailable. Recognizing this, and at the same time holding deserved confidence in the accuracy of Istakhrí, who, it is to be noted, was also an original observer, the apparently conflicting statements are explicable only by concluding that Kábul having once been subdued by the Moslems, was recovered by the indigenous rulers some time after the visit of Istakhrí. This may have been effected by the Túrks; but it is more probable that the Brahmans recaptured the city, as, on attaining supremacy, and speedily becoming a powerful and conquering dynasty, and having also in view the prestige attaching to the ancient metropolis, which has formed the subject of remark of the Mohammedan authors now cited, their early endeavours would naturally be directed to the re-acquisition of so desirable a possession.

In examining the correspondence of the different epochs, it will be seen that the period which directly succeeds the date of Istakhrí's observations, accords with sufficient exactitude with the conclusions already arrived at from indirect testimony as to the date of the subversion of the Túrks, and the rise of the Brahman dynasty<sup>1</sup>. It may be objected that the wording of the sentence of the Kánún above referred to, might be taken to mean that the Brahman occupation of the Castle of Kábul was direct, as was their supercession of the Túrks Kings; but this can scarcely be said to be the sole and necessary sense of the terms employed.

Before concluding these preliminary observations, it may be requisite to advert concisely to an important element of any numismatic system—the monetary standard. The monuments at command, whence

<sup>1</sup> Journ. Roy. As. Soc., No. XVII., p. 179.

all inferences on this head must be drawn, though numerically ample, are, as has been already remarked, in a generally imperfect state of preservation, arising not so much from any direct injuries incident to their age, as from a necessary detrition consequent upon a prolonged circulation; hence, any attempt at an adjudication of the original mint weights, must be founded less on any extended average, than on a comparatively limited number of selected specimens. It will tend to disembarass the inquiry of much of its apparent complexity, to reject all advertence to provincial coins, and to confine the attention to the produce of the mints more directly dependent on the seat of government, as these will manifestly offer a more accurate criterion of the Imperial standard, than the palpably varying currencies of the several departmental governments.

In the unsatisfactory state of the materials which are to form the more immediate proofs in the present investigation, great aid may be anticipated from an approximate identification of the monetary system upon which the Ghaznaví currency was founded. Two most obvious sources present themselves for selection—the system of the Sámánís, from whose court the newly-made monarchs took their rise; or that of the Brahmans, to whose kingdom they succeeded<sup>1</sup>. The weights of the Bokhárá moneys have not been very accurately ascertained. Marsden, however, after deciding upon the standard of the coins of the Khalífs as averaging severally—gold, 65·6 grains; silver, 45 grains,—goes on to observe, that the Sámání dirhems appear to have been slightly heavier than the corresponding coins of the Khalífs; and his own published specimens of these pieces—thirteen in number—show an average weight of 45·30; the highest weight of any single coin being 49·5 grains. If these last figures are to be taken as the accurate representatives of the standard of the Bokhárá silver coinage, it would seem to have been too light to have stood as an exemplar for the money of Ghazní, as a cursory glance at the weights noted with each coin now described will discover numerous silver pieces of 51, many of 52, and some as high as 55 grains. The most ancient Indian coins known, which consist of “small flattened bits of silver, stamped

<sup>1</sup> As far as can be ascertained from the numismatic records they have left behind them, the currency of the Brahmans would seem to have formed a very large proportion of the circulating medium of the surrounding hills. It is to be noted also, *en passant*, that the precise Dynasty that ruled at Ghazní at the time of its capture by Alptegín has not yet been identified, but judging from Istakhrí's statement (Ouseley's *Orient. Geog.*, p. 208), the future capital of the empire of Mahmúd was a place of but small importance in the early part of the fourth century of the Hijera.

at random with punches," the supposed "marks of successive dynasties authenticating the currency," average in weight 50 grains<sup>1</sup>; the old Varáha, a frequent and widely-spread species of silver coin, also averages 50 grains<sup>2</sup>; and, finally, the Rájput, or what are now known to be Kábul Brahmanical silver pieces, average *over* 50 grains<sup>3</sup>, and appear, from their direct connexion and close approximation in weight, to have served as the true models upon which the Ghaznavi money was based<sup>4</sup>, and this inference receives additional confirmation from the fact of an apparent attempt at an assimilation, observable in the outline, form, and shape of the moneys of the preceding and succeeding dynasties.

All reference to the gold coinage of the House of Ghazni has hitherto been avoided, as there is no known gold piece of the Brahman Kings of Kábul, whereon to found a comparison; indeed, it would seem as if the currency of this metal, if existing at all, in the form of national coins, in the Hill dominion of this race, must have been very closely limited<sup>5</sup>. Moreover, singular to say, among the many gold medals of Mahmúd and his immediate successors, struck in various parts of the extensive empire which owned their sway, there is not a single metropolitan gold coin in Mr. Masson's collection that dates prior to the reign of Módúd. These and the succeeding extant medals of this metal, like the provincial coins of Nishápúr<sup>6</sup>, &c., in their extraordinary variation in weight, offer serious obstacles to any satisfactory identification of the *intentional* standard. The Ghazni gold coins, on a rough estimate, may be inferred to have had a proposed average weight of about 65 or 66 grains<sup>7</sup>, and to have been modelled, in point of form, upon Mahmúd's early Nishápúr Dinárs, which he first issued while still only a Governor for the Sámánis<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Prinsep, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, Vol. IV. p. 627 (50 grains, or the tank of 3 máshas.)

<sup>2</sup> Idem, p. 671.

<sup>3</sup> Idem, 677.

<sup>4</sup> There are some unaccountable exceptions to any possible rule of even partially equivalent weights, as, for instance, No. 65. The silver coin, No. 37, which weighs 75 grains, may possibly have had an original mint value of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  Ghazni Dirhems.

<sup>5</sup> "The Unit of the Hindú system [India] was of gold, and the old specimens found are of 60 or 120 grains in weight." Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 15.

<sup>6</sup> The Nishápúr gold coins of Mahmúd, Nos. 8, 9, 10, and 12, average 68.4 grains. No. 9 differs in weight from No. 10 as much as 20.1 grains. Munsúd's Coin, No. 58, and three other similar Nishápúr pieces, the latter actually the produce of the *same* dies, average 64.85 grains; but vary in different specimens to the extent of 23.2 grains.

<sup>7</sup> Nos. 77, 78, 93, and 98, average 65 grains.

<sup>8</sup> The Cabinets in the British Museum, amid an ample series of Sámání silver

The copper currency would appear, from its general characteristics, and the weights of the better specimens, to have been intended to correspond with the silver currency. It will be seen that brass was occasionally made use of for coinage, though probably only in lieu of the accustomed copper; but the minute silver coins of 5·25 and 5·50 grains (Nos. 74, 103) must have greatly superseded the necessity for an extensive copper currency. The mixed silver and copper, or billon, coinage of the Punjab may be assumed to have been continued, in point of weight and value, on the old Hindú standard.

A few words seem to be required to introduce to the notice of the reader an item of occasional consequence in numismatic investigations, the monograms and mint marks. In the present instance, it may be sufficient to remark that the former present but few notable attributes, and that their range is limited to the following unimportant varieties:—

1. Words expressive of some excellence, such as **عدل** *Justicia* (*Just?*)<sup>1</sup>; **فتح** *Victory*, &c.

coins, contain only five specimens of the gold coinage of the Monarchs of this House, and these are, without exception, the produce of the Nishápúr mint; their weights are as follows:—A.H. 345, 66·4 grains; A.H. 365, 62·0 grains; A.H. 376, 75·0 grains; and A.H. 384, two specimens, 54·5 and 48·0 respectively.

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable, from the frequent and, at times, almost uniform use of the word **عدل** on the dies of Kufic Coins, that its employment was designed to refer to the integral value of the piece to be impressed, and, as such, that it should be read as **عَدَلٌ** *Just*, and not as **عَدْلٌ** *Justicia*. The appearance of other distinct substantives, such as **ظفر**, **فتح**, which occasionally take the place of **عدل**—though these also may be taken to refer, less directly perhaps, to the Coins so inscribed—certainly militates against the entire conclusiveness of this suggestion; but, on the other hand, the early history of Arab money, and the subsequent numismatic employment of the word **عدل** and its derivatives, tend to show that the present may very fairly be admitted to be an open question.

The earliest coinage of copper money under the Arabs (*ante*, A.H. 76), or rather the but slightly-modified adaptation by the followers of Mohammed of the existing currency of the Syrian provinces of the Byzantine Empire, in which are associated Arabic words in conjunction with the old devices and partially retained Greek legends, shows that the probably initiatory application of the Arabic alphabet to these Coins was employed to denote simply the place of issue and the full and fair measure of the value of the piece; the one conveyed by the curt inscription of the name of the mint city, the other in the record of either of the following

2. Abbreviations of titles, as *ناصرى بهمينى* &c.
3. The names of the Arabic months, *محرم رجب* &c., referring possibly to the month in which the piece was struck.
4. The designation of various cities of the empire, such as *قروان اندراب* &c. It does not appear quite clear what may be the intent of these last superscriptions, as they are found on coins fabricated in cities *other* than the town whose name is expressed by the monogram.

words: *جائز current, lawful*; *طيب good*; *واق full (weight)*. Occasionally the Arabic words are used in direct reference to, and correspondence with, the customary Greek word *KAAON*, to be found on the opposite surface of one and the same Coin, evidencing thereby their meaning—long unknown—as well as their use and origin. (M. de Saulcy, *Journal Asiatique*, 1839; see also Maradon, Pl. XVII., Nos. CCCIV., CCCII., and Nos. CCXCVI., CCXCVIII.)

The primary examples of the inscription of *عدل* are noticed in Fraehn's comprehensive *Reconsio Numorum Muhamedanorum*, as discovered on certain Bokhárá copper Coins of the Khalifs—A.H. 185, 190, and 209—which may be supposed, from the tenor of the legend, and the circumstances under which they were struck, to have required some unusual authentication; thence the use of the word may be traced as of constant recurrence on the medals of the Sámáns, whence it must have found its way to the anomalous position it is seen to hold on the Nágari Coins of the Hindú Kings of Kábul (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, No. XVII., p. 187).

Whatever may have been the previously accepted signification of this monogram, its adoption in this case admits of but one explanation, namely, that it was intended to attest the current value of the coinage thus marked. Had it been the object of the Kábul Monarchs in any way to refer to their own justice, or to equity in the abstract, as a virtue to be inculcated in the every-day transactions of those who were to use this money, the monogrammatic word would have been put forward in a form and character intelligible to those who were expected to profit either by one or the other—the subjects of the Sovereign with whose device it was thus identified—and not, as is here seen, in the superscription of an isolated word in a strange language, the very letters of which the native die-engravers were scarce able to imitate; whereas, in adopting the attestation mark of his neighbours, the Ruler of the day may well have proposed to himself to ensure the free circulation of his own money, if not in the adjacent dominions, still, unobstructed by undue depreciation in the marts and bazaars of the conterminal cities.

For the after adaptation of the import of *عدل*, it may be sufficient to refer generally to its frequent appearance on Coins authoritatively passed into circulation in a country for whose express use they were not in the first instance designed. The currency marks in these cases were given by a subsequent *punch* impression, and the adjective meaning of *عدل*, the most common of these stamp words, is indirectly attested by the oft-recurring use of the nearly analogous

The single letters, which are found occupying any convenient corner of the area, are usually held to be mere mint marks, and seem to import little or nothing calling for extended observation<sup>1</sup>.

contre-marque  $\text{فانج}$  *current* (Fræhn, pp. 463, 499); more rarely is to be seen the punch-mark of  $\text{ظفر}$  victory, which, though convertible as  $\text{ظفر}$  victorious, may be accepted as a substantive denoting perchance the acquisitions of *victory*, in the same way that the original die use of this word and its synonyme  $\text{قتح}$  may be supposed to have referred to a similar means of attainment of the component materials, or to have conveyed the less direct allusion, implied in the mere commemorative record of a recent conquest.

The  $\text{عدل}$  is also often conjoined in these second impressions with the name of the Monarch who wishes to stamp the authenticity of the medal. (See Numismatic Chronicle, Coin of Humáyún, Article "Patán Kings of Delhi," 1847.)

And, lastly, the term seems so to have passed into mint *parlance*, that it is to be seen as  $\text{عدلي}$  and  $\text{فلس عدلي}$  (Fræhn's Recensio, pp. 431, 432) on the moneys of the descendants of Timúr; and by Mohammed Tughlak of Delhi the word  $\text{العدلي}$  is applied as the direct name of a novel species of Coin introduced by himself. (Num. Chron., 1847.)

<sup>1</sup> Professor Fræhn at one time advocated the opinion that the isolated Kufic letter or letters  $\text{ح س ك}$  and  $\text{ل}$  occasionally to be seen on ancient Mohammedan Coins, were intended to denote the month in which the pieces thus marked were struck (Fræhn, Prol., i., 15), these being supposed respectively to stand for the initial letters of Jumád al Awal, Shabán, Zi'l Hajah, Rabi al Awal, and  $\text{ل}$  for the final letter and representative of Shawál. Setting aside the admittedly unsatisfactory character of this theory, its application to the present series is clearly shown to be inadmissible, by the fact of the occurrence of one of these supposed initial indices  $\text{س}$  in conjunction with other single consonants, which might also stand for the first letter of the name of a month, as in No. 3; but, in addition to this, the same  $\text{س}$  is seen on three several Coins, Nos. 84, 85, 86, in association with the full names of three distinct and varying Mohammedan months.



TABLE I.—*The Ghaznavi Dynasty, and the cotemporary Khalifs.*

Khalifs of Baghdád.	Accepted Dates of Accession.			Kings of Ghazni.	Notices of various Dates assigned by different Authorities.
	A.H.	A.H.	A.D.		
Al Mu'tah billah ..... Abd., Z'l Kadah, 363	364				
		350	961	Alptegfn .....	Revolt, 350, Raurat al Safá.
Al Tá'ih billah ..... Deposed by Bahá al daulah, (Shabán) 364	363			Ishak .....	Alptegfn's death, doubtful. See note, p. 298. Abú Ishak "Ibrahim," Ibn Haukal.
		366	976	Sabaktagfn	
		367	977		
Al Kádír billah ..... Died, Z'l Hajab, 422	381			Isma'íl .....	Sabaktagfn's death, 386, Násirí, Jenúbi; 397, Abú Faraj; 397 (Shabán), Raurat al Safá, Abú Fedá, Khaftáat al Akhbár.
		389	998	Mahmúd .....	Entitled Saif al dawlah, 394; takes posses- sion of Ghazni, Rabí ul Awwal, 399; becomes independent, 399.—Various authorities.
		421	1030	Mohammed ...	Mahmúd's death, Rabí ul A'khír, 421, Abú Fedá, Khaftáat al Akhbár.—See note to Colo 50, 51, &c.
		421	1030	Masaúd .....	Mohammed's 1st reign, 7 months, Násirí. Masaúd's accession, 422, Násirí; 421 (3rd Shawwál), Raurat al Safá, Khaftáat al Akhbár.
Al Kálm beamerillah ... Died, 13 Shabán, 467	422			Mohammed ...	Rebellion against Masaúd, 432 (Rabí ul A'khír), Abú Fedá; Mohammed's restora- tion, 432, Násirí, Abú Faraj; 432 (Jumád ul Awwal), Akberí; 433, Habíb ul Saír; 433 (Jumád ul Awwal), Guzidat.
		432	1040-1	Mohammed ...	Mohammed's 2nd reign, 4 months, Násirí. Módu'd's accession, 432 (Shabán), Masaúdi; 432, Násirí, Abú Faraj. Entry into Ghazni. 432 (23rd Shabán), Abú Fedá. Accession, 434, Guzidat; 433, Khaftáat ul Akhbár, Ferishtah.
		432	1041	Módu'd .....	Módu'd's death, 441, Násirí, Abú Faraj; 441 (Rajab), Abú Fedá, Guzidat, Raurat ul Safá, Khaftáat ul Akhbár, Habíb ul Saír.
		440	1048	Masaúd II .....	Masaúd II, and Abú Hasan Ali, length of reign, jointly, 2 months, Násirí.
		440	1048	Abú Hasan Ali <i>Bahá al dawlah</i>	Masaúd II., 1 month, Guzidat, Habíb ul Saír; 5 days, Tabakát Akberí; 5 days, Ferishtah. Abú Hasan Ali, length of reign, 2 years, Gu- zidat, Khaftáat ul Akhbár; nearly 1 year, Habíb ul Saír; 1 month, Tabakát Akberí.
		440	1048	Abdal Rashíd ...	Accession, 440, fixed from Colo; 441, Násirí, Abú Faraj, Abú Fedá; 443, Guzidat, Kha- ftáat ul Akhbár.
		444	1052	Toghral .....	444, Abú Fedá.
		444	1052	Ferokhzád .....	Length of Toghrál's rule, 40 days, Násirí, Khaftáat ul Akhbár, &c. Ferokhzád's ac- cession, 443, Z'l Kadah, Násirí.
		461	1059	Ibrahim .....	Accession, 451, Tárikh Masaúdi, Násirí, Abú Fedá, Jenúbi; 460, Guzidat, &c.
Al Muktáfi beamerillah Died, 15 Muharrim, 467	467				
Al Mostasher billah ... Died, 16 Rabí Akhír, 512	467				
		492	1099	Masaúd III. ....	Ibrahim's death, 492, fixed from Colo, Ná- sirí, Guzidat, Abú Máláas; 481, Abú Fedá, Raurat al Safá. See p. 280.
		508	1114	Shirzád .....	Guzidat, Jenúbi, &c.
		509	1115	Arslán .....	Accession, 509, Násirí, Guzidat, &c.
Al Mostarshid billah ... Killed, 17 Z'l Kadah, 529	512	512	1118	Bahrám .....	Capture and sack of Ghazni by Alá ul dín Jehánsáz, 547.
Al Ráshid billah .....	529				
Al Muktáfi beamerillah Inaug., 12 Z'l Hajab, 530	530				
		547	1152	Khusrú .....	Accession, 552, Násirí; 544, Guzidat; 548, or 550, Abú Fedá; 547, Akberí.
Al Mostanjed billah ...	555	555	1160	Khusrú Malik ...	Khusrú Malik finally dispossessed of Ghazni by the Ghorians, 567, Ferishtah; forced to surrender at Lahór, 565, Raurat al Safá; 563, Akberí; 562, Ferishtah.
<i>The monthly dates in this column are taken from Abú Faraj.</i>					

It has been usual to consider as the Obverse of pure Moham-  
medan Coins that surface of the medal which bears the formulæ of  
الله أكبر &c.; this rule will be seen to have been adhered to,  
where circumstances would permit, in the following description of the  
Coins of Ghazni; but it is necessary to notice that, although the  
European custom of placing the Obverse or its representative on the  
left hand has been complied with generally in the engravings, it has  
been found necessary to reverse the usual practice in the printed  
transcript of the legends of the medals, as the nature of the language  
employed—being written from right to left—and the parallel juxta-  
position of the contents of the Obverse and Reverse—which in many  
instances are intended to be run one into the other—rendered this  
arrangement almost imperative. It will be seen, however, that this  
has not in all cases sufficed to accomplish the end in view, as the die-  
cutters seem at times to have disregarded all attempts at uniformity,  
and to have considered their task fulfilled in the mere insertion of a  
given number of words, without much regard to the order in which  
they were required to be placed.

The type lines, which are occasionally to be found above the  
Arabic legends, are intended to mark that part of the word or sen-  
tence that is clearly legible, in contradistinction to what may be either  
doubtful or, in some cases, actually illegible. They have been adopted  
as less unsightly in their association with the type, and more conso-  
nant with Oriental practice than the brackets in use among Western  
nations to indicate restored passages.

It is to be observed that Roman numerals have been attached to  
those Coins of which engravings are to be found in the plates.

Table I. has been placed in its present position as being properly  
introductory in showing the order of succession of the Kings of the  
Dynasty and the several contemporary Khalifs. Tables II. and III.,  
giving the summary of the dates and mint cities, are inserted at the  
conclusion of the description of the Coins which have furnished the  
results indicated.

DETAIL OF THE COINS.

ALPTEGIN.

No. 1.

Silver. Anderáboh? 347 A.H. Fræhn, Nov. Symb., p. 15.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>الله</p> <p>محمد رسول الله</p> <p>عبد الملك</p> <p>البتكين</p> <p>وفتح قريب</p>	<p>لا اله الا</p> <p>الله وحده</p> <p>لا شريك له</p> <p>نصر من الله</p>
<p>Marg. محمد رسول الله ارسله</p> <p>بالحدي ودين الحق ليظهره</p> <p>علي الدين كله ولو كره</p> <p>المشركون</p>	<p>Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم</p> <p>باندرابه سنة سبع واربعين</p> <p>وثلاثماية مائة</p>

THE following coins are noticed in this place as probably deriving their origin from a mint under the control of Alptegin; there are many arguments in favour of this classification, though it is not definitively adopted, as the pieces are wanting in the distinctive name of the chief in question, and the assignment now proposed is perhaps at variance with the requirements resulting from the acceptance of the reading of a medal, presenting many identical peculiarities given by Professor Fræhn, whose description of the coin is reproduced below.

It will be seen that the St. Petersburg Professor discerns the name of Bokhárá, as the place of mintage of the coin referred to, which identification, if correct, is slightly adverse to the attribution at present suggested: however, without directly impugning the decipherment

adopted by Professor Fræhn, the presumptions in support of the proposition above advanced may be briefly enumerated.

The first coin of the class now cited (letter A) has been assigned to Abdal Malik, the sixth Sámání<sup>1</sup>; that it was struck during his reign, and under his acknowledged auspices, there can be little doubt, but, as will appear from other specimens of analogous mintages, probably either in honour, or under the immediate influence, of an exalted officer of the State, if not actually *in* one of the chief cities of a provincial governor.

It is to be premised in entering on this discussion, that the quotation of نصر من الله وفتح قريب<sup>2</sup>, which occupies the prominent portion of the area of one face of the coin, and will be seen to form the distinctive mark of the present series, is found on *none* of the other coins of any of the three several Emperors, whose names are recorded on the opposite surface of the medals now described. This peculiarity would in itself imply that the coins thus emblazoned, were separated from the other monies of these Princes, on account of some local or political cause hitherto unexplained, and were there no other unusual facts observable in regard to these pieces, this alone would induce an inquiry as to the possible design which originated this want of uniformity.

The first step in the present examination is, to fix with as much

<sup>1</sup> With a view to avoid textual recapitulation, and future references to the original authorities, a detail list of the Sámání Monarchs is here annexed:—

		Accession.	
		A.H.	
1.	Nasr bin Ahmed - - - -	261	
2.	Ismail bin Ahmed - - - -	279	
3.	Ahmed bin Ismail - - - -	295	<i>Safar</i> , <i>Khalásat al Akhbár</i> .
4.	Nasr bin Ahmed - - - -	301	<i>Jumád al A'khir</i> , <i>idem</i> .
5.	Núh bin Nasr - - - -	331	<i>Rajab</i> , <i>idem</i> .
6.	Abdal Malik bin Núh - - - -	343	<i>Rabí al A'khir</i> , Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá.
7.	Mansúr bin Núh I. - - - -	350	<i>Shawál</i> .
8.	Núh bin Mansúr - - - -	366	Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá; 365 <i>Rajab</i> , <i>Khalásat al Akhbár</i> .
9.	Mansúr bin Núh II. - - - -	387	<i>Rajab</i> , Abúl Fedá and <i>Khalásat al Akhbár</i> .
10.	Abdal Malik bin Núh - - - -	389	<i>Safar</i> , <i>Khalásat al Akhbár</i> .
	Eilek Khan enters Bokhárá - - - -	389	10 <i>Zí'l Kadah</i> , <i>Násirí</i> , &c.
11.	Ismail bin Núh (Múntaser), killed in Rabí al Awal 395, <i>Khalásat al Akhbár</i> .		

The months given generally indicate the date of the death of the preceding monarch, and do not always so accurately represent the time of the inauguration of the successor.

<sup>2</sup> "Assistance from God, and speedy victory." Korán, surah lxi. ver. 13.

precision as the materials will admit of, the period of time embraced in the issue of the various extant medals bearing the motto above referred to. This will be seen to extend from the sixth year of the reign of Abdal Malik, through that of Mansúr bin Núh I., to the early part at least of the domination of Núh bin Mansúr, or during the period included between the years 348 A.H., as proved by the St. Petersburg coin, and 366 A.H., the first year of the reign of the third of these monarchs.

The second condition in this investigation is to decide the locality in which the pieces in dispute received their stamp. The coin (A) has been asserted to have been struck at Bokhárá; all the others, which retain either the entire record or partial trace of the name of their mint city, disclose the whole or portions of the word Ferwán<sup>1</sup>.

The last point to be determined is the identification of the individual who, on any other species of medal, may be found to have used the

<sup>1</sup> **فروان** Vido Istakhrí (Moeller,) pp. 109, 112 Text, and Map **صورة خراسان** No. XVIII, p. 111. See also Persian MS. *Mesálik wa Memálik*, East India House Library, p. 91.

"The river of Penjhir runs through the town, (**جاریانه**), and passes from Jarianeh till it comes to **فروان** Ferouan, and so proceeds into Hindoostan." Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 225.

"La ville de Carwan **قروان** est peu considérable, mais jolie; ses environs sont agréables, ses bazars fréquentés, ses habitants riches; les maisons y sont construites en argile et en briques. Située sur les bords de la rivière qui vient de Bendjehir **بنجهير** cette ville est l'un des principaux marchés de l'Inde." *Géographie d'Edrisi*, p. 476. Paris Edit. 1836.

Abulfedá, quoting Ibn Haukal and Abúl Majd Ismaíl al-Mósalí, also mentions **قروان** (Feráwan) as a considerable town in the province of Bámíán; vide p. 464 and 467, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Texte Arabe. Paris, 1840.

"Barwan," Ibn Batuta (Dr. Lee's Translation, pp. 97 and 98).

"Another route [from Balkh to Kábul] is that of Perwán. Between Perwán and the high mountain, there are seven minor passes, which they call the Heft-becheh (the seven younglings). As you come from the Anderáb side, two roads unite below the main pass, and lead down on Perwán by way of the Seven Younglings. This is a very difficult road." Erskine's *Báber*, p. 139.

"On the skirts of the hills [of Ghárbend] there are some districts; in the upper part are Mitch, Kacheh, and Perwán." *Idem*, p. 146.

"A city of magnitude must have existed at Perwán, about eight miles, bearing north nineteen west from Bégrám. \* \* \* Coins are discovered there in large quantities. \* \* \* The site in Perwán is called by Máhomedans Merwán, and by Hindús Milwán." Masson, vol. III., p. 166.

motto of نصر من الله وقتل قريبي. The only other reference to the numismatic employment of this quotation in Professor Fræhn's own voluminous works, points to the coin of Alptegín, No. 1 of this series.

These data having been disposed of, it becomes necessary to consider how far the direct historical, as well as the numismatically inferential testimony accords with the conclusion, which the last coincidence renders obvious, that the medals under review are in some way connected with Alptegín himself.

The undisputed coin of this Chief, No. 1, received its stamp in 347 A.H. The earliest coin of the present doubtful class was struck in the year following; the later pieces, (B) and (C), in 365; and the latest, (D), may, for the present, be inferred to have been coined in 366, or the first year of the rule of the Sovereign whose name it bears. The period, therefore, embraced in the issue of the various coins under notice, corresponds almost exactly with the time intervening between the prominent portion of the rise and the decease of Alptegín, which last event is variously placed in 365 and 366 A.H.<sup>1</sup>

Regarding the geographical question involved in this inquiry, all written testimony unites in affirming, that the hill country encompassing Alptegín's new capital of Ghazní defied the attempts of the Sámánís towards its resubjection<sup>2</sup>, and that Alptegín continued in effect absolute master of all the high ground south of the province of Balkh<sup>3</sup>, from the time when his position at the Court of Bokhárá first became equivocal, on the accession of Mansúr bin Núh in 350 A.H., up to the

<sup>1</sup> The *Guzidah* does not notice the exact epoch of Alptegín's decease, though, in affirming that he held dominion in Ghazní for sixteen years, it in effect accepts the year 366. The *Chronicle of Ibn Haidar* (quoted by Wilken, "*Mirchond Hist. Gaz.*") also adopts sixteen years as the duration of this Chieftain's independent sway. The *Rauzat al Safá* does not give the date of the death of Alptegín with any precision, merely reporting that event as taking place shortly after the accession of Núh bin Mansúr, in Rajab 365 A.H. It will be seen, however, that there is reason to question this last date, as Abúl Faraj and Abúl Fedá assign the decease of Mansúr bin Núh I. to the year 366, instead of to 365, though Mirkhond's statement as regards the survival of Alptegín, and his consequent contemporaneous existence with Núh bin Mansúr, which is at present the real point at issue, tallies well with the other evidence. Jenábi most erroneously places even the first assumption of independent power by Alptegín so late as 366 (*Dorn, Hist. Afgháns, Notes, p. 79*). And *Ferishtah*, though he boldly affirms that this Chieftain died in 365, yet, in the very context of his narrative (351 Revolt + 15 years' reign = 366, and not 365; *Briggs, vol. I. p. 13*), he conveys a palpable doubt as to the accuracy of his own definite assertion.

<sup>2</sup> *Rauzat al Safá, History of Sámánís; Elphinstone, vol. I., p. 525.*

<sup>3</sup> Alptegín would appear to have been unable to retain Anderábeh. See coins, No. 315, Fræhn *Recensio*; No. 39, *Nov. Symb.*; and No. 44, *Num. Kuf.*

date of his own death. Accepting the above statements as to the territorial possessions of Alptegín, they necessitate a conclusion, that in the year 365 A.H., when coins (B) and (C) were fabricated, Ferwán was in the hands of that chief. Such being the case, and adverting both to the mint customs in like cases, and the avowed attitude of defensive hostility assumed by Alptegín towards his quondam masters, it would be highly improbable, that the produce of the Ferwán Mint should be put forth unmarked by some record of the successful general, who then swayed the destinies of the rising empire of Ghazní.

In this point of view therefore, the appearance of the superscription of *نصر من الله وفتح قريب*, as denoting a reference to Alptegín, merely tallies with what is demanded by the probabilities of the case<sup>1</sup>.

Having thus far brought under one view the earlier and the later coins bearing the motto of *نصر من الله وفتح قريب*, it is requisite to discriminate the alteration in Alptegín's position at the different epochs when these numismatic monuments were fabricated. At the time of the issue of the coin (A), Alptegín was the honoured and obedient vassal of his Sámání lord; as such, any mention of, or reference to, him on the money of the day must have been due to the sanction of his Suzerain, and the money disclosing such allusion would be expected to partake of the general characteristics of the current mintages; hence it is seen that these coins, though offering a most novel device in the reverse area, preserve on that side the usual marginal legend of *الله الامر* &c<sup>2</sup>. At the period of the coinage of

<sup>1</sup> It is pertinent to the matter in hand to observe, with reference to the peculiarly local characteristics of Mr. Masson's collection, already referred to, that in an accumulation of medals, numbering thousands, there are not ten *proper* coins of the Sámání Emperors—a race, occupying territory, the boundaries of which were immediately proximate to the country whence the present monuments were culled, and whose money is in other places so plentiful that the *published* notices alone of the partial contents of different European cabinets, admit of the possibility of the citation of a coin corresponding with nearly every single year of the domination of the family. This fact, though remarkable, is strictly in accordance with the inductions which should result from the testimony of *written* history, viz., that the pure Bokhárá Imperial money obtained but little currency in the hill country of Zábulistán prior to the conquest by Alptegín, and that after the fall of Ghazní to the arms of that Commander, the circulating medium was supplied from sources other than the mints of the Sámání dominions.

<sup>2</sup> Assuming that Professor Fräuhn has not fallen into the very facile error of reading from a possibly worn coin the legend *الله الامر* &c., (Korán, surah xxx. ver. 4, 5,) in place of *الله امر*, &c., of Coins (B), (C), and (D).

the later examples of this money, Alptegín was in the anomalous condition of a revolted Governor, who had actually conquered a new kingdom for himself, simultaneously retaining part of the territories of his late masters; and while he showed himself able and prepared to defend his appropriations, still rendered a nominal homage to the race of his ancient benefactors. Whether the altered record on the reverse margin of coins (B), (C), and (D), about to be noticed, is any indication of such a state of things, is perhaps not altogether beyond a doubt; but there appears on these later coins, a curiously dubious marginal legend<sup>1</sup>, which might well be expected to emanate from a semi-recusant governor, who, although he acknowledges, in a way, the feudal supremacy of the successors of Abdal Malik, either cannot claim the permission of his legal Suzerain *to coin*, or will not compromise the dignity of his partially-perfected independence, by admitting that, the money bearing his own mark, and struck in one of his capital cities, was fabricated by order of the reigning Emperor; but who reverts to Nasr bin Ahmed for his authority to issue money; alluding probably to the first of the name, the prominent founder of the family to which his own allegiance was due, or, possibly referring to the fourth of the line of the same designation, the Nasr bin Ahmed under whose early patronage he himself must have been advanced the first step on the road to power<sup>2</sup>.

If the proposed explanation of the meaning of the *Toghrá*, which forms the central ornament in the reverse area of these curious coins, is correct, the name of نوح Núh, may also be understood as expressive of a design to refer to another member of the Sámání family, the Núh bin Nasr, from whom Alptegín received the distinguished honour of the nomination to the command of the army.

<sup>1</sup> It is right to notice, though it is difficult to explain, the appearance of a seemingly similar *incomplete* marginal legend on a coin of Mansúr bin Núh, struck at Bokhára 358 A.H. The inscription reads—

عما امرية الامير \* \* \* بن احمد صولى امير المؤمنين

Fræhn, Die Münzen, &c., p. 51, pl. xiv., fig. 22.

<sup>2</sup> The notices of Alptegín's early history are naturally somewhat scanty; it seems to be admitted, however, that in his youth he was the slave of Ahmed bin Ismaíl, the third Sámání monarch. It is stated in the *Tárikh Guzídah* that, during the reign of Núh bin Nasr, he was promoted to the command of the Imperial Army:

(البتكين در زمان او راه امارت لشكر يافت)

Under Abdal Malik, he rose to be Governor of Khorásán, and on the elevation of Mansúr bin Núh I. to the throne of Bokhára, in 350 A.H. he revolted, and erected a quasi-independent chieftainship at Ghazní.



## ABD-UL-MELIK I. FILIUS NU'H I.

[A.] No. \*269. N. ær. rariss. et notabilissim. cus. ibidem [Bocharæ] anno

eodem [348] **ان واربعين وثلاثماية**In supr. A. I. ☉ infra autem **مكس**A. II<sup>o</sup> inscriptio artificiosius disposita. In medio denuo occurrit **مكس**cinctum a **لو** (seu **بو** fort. **ابو**) quater repetito, extra quod**نصر من الله وفتح قريب***Auxilium a Deo (venit) et victoria instans, in orbem disposita sunt.*Marg. **الله الامر** &c.

[B.] Copper. Weight, gr. Ferwán. 365 A.H.



The name of Nûh **نوح** four times repeated, radiating from the centre of the area, and forming a circle by a curious distribution of the final **ح** together with the motto

**نصر من الله وفتح قريب** disposed in the shape of a square in the four compartments.

Marg. **ما امر به الامير نصر**  
**بن احمد مولى امير**  
**المومنين<sup>1</sup>**

الله

مكس

رسول الله

منصور بن نوح

فتح

Marg. **بسم الله ضر الغلس**  
**بغروان سنة خمس وستين**  
**وثلاثماية**

A second coin, weight 38 gr., apparently the produce of the same dies, exhibits the words **بغروان** quite distinctly.

<sup>1</sup> This reading is confirmed by the marginal legends of *four* specimens of coins similar to the above.

[C.] Copper. Weight, 46·7 gr. Ferwán. 365 A.H. British Museum.

Area as above [B.]	Area as above [B.] But without the word قنح
Marg. <u>مما امر به الامير نصر</u>	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
<u>بن احمد مولى امير</u>	الفلس بقران <sup>1</sup> سنة خمس
<u>المومنين</u>	وستين وثلاثماية

<sup>1</sup> The name of the mint city is nearly obliterated.

[D.] Copper. Weight, 36 gr. Unique.

Area. As above [B.]	Area.
Marg. <u>يد الامير نصر بن</u>	—    محمد    رسول الله
<u>احمد مولى</u>	نوح بن منصور
	Marg. Illegible.

## SABAKTAGIN\*.

No. II.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Ferwán. 380 A.H. C.

Rev.	Obv.
• لله	• لله
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله نوح بن	الله وحده
منصور	لا شريك له
سبكتكين	الطايح لله
* ٢٠٢	• ٢
Marg. محمد رسول الله	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق	الدرهم بغروان ستة ثمانين
ليظهره على الد [ين]	وثلاثية

\* The subjoined account of the succession to Alptegin's Chieftainship is given entire from the *Tabakát Násirí*, as offering a version of the question to which it refers, widely differing from that to be found in the writings of the more generally known Authors; and although there are many objections to the unqualified admission of its verity, yet the *Násirí's* undoubted antiquity and usual accuracy entitle the statement to full consideration.

چون ایالت خراسان بالبتکین حواله شد امیر سبکتکین  
بخدمت او بود چون البتکین بعد از حوادث ایام بغزنین افتاد  
و ممالک زوالستان فتح کرد و غزنین از دست انوک بیرون  
کردند و امیر البتکین بعد از هشت سال برجعت حق پیوست  
پسر او اسحاق بجای پدر بتشست و بانوک مصاف کرد و هزیمت  
افتاد و ببخارا رفت بخدمت امیر منصور نوح ایشانرا مدد

فرمود تا باز آمد و غزنین بگرفت و بعد از یکسال اسحاق در  
گذشت ملکاتکین را<sup>۳</sup> مهتر ترکان بود بامارت بنشانند و او  
مرد عادل و متقی بود از مبارزان جهان ده<sup>۴</sup> سال در امارت  
بود و درگذشت و امیر سیکنکین بخدمت او بود و بعد از  
ملکاتکین<sup>۵</sup> امیر بری<sup>۶</sup> بامارت بنشست و او مرد مغسد عظیم  
بود چاعتی از غزنین نزدیک ابو علی انوک چیزی نبشتند<sup>۷</sup> اورا  
استدعا کردند ابو علی انوک پسر شاه کابلرا بمدد آورد چون  
در حد جرخ<sup>۸</sup> رسیدند امیر سیکتکین با پانصد ترک برایشان  
زد و ایشانرا بشکست و خلع بسیاررا بسیاررا بگشت و اسیر  
کرد و دو<sup>۹</sup> پیل بگرفت و غزنین آورد و چون چنین فتحي  
بر دست او برآمد همکنان از فساد پری<sup>۶</sup> سیر آمده بودند  
باتفاق امیر سیکتکین را بامارت غزنین بنشانند در هفتم<sup>۱۰</sup>  
شعبان سنه ست و ستین و ثلاثمائه

Persian MS. Tabakát Násirí, E. I. House Library, No. 1952.

This MS. is "said to have been copied by the Author." Vide Stewart's Catalogue. A second more modern copy of this work, in the possession of the Rev. W. Cureton, has the following deviations from the above reading:—No. 1

No. 2	بالویک جنگ کردند	No. 3	بکلابکین را
No. 4	دو	No. 6	پیری
No. 9	جرح	No. 7	لویک چیزی نوشتند
		No. 10	بست هفتم

No. 3.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. 382 A.H.

Legends in Arens similar to No. II. Mint marks, Obv. س and Rev. س ر .  
Obv. Marg.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم . . . سنة اثنى وثمانين وثلثمائة

A nearly analogous Coin has on the Obv. Marg.

— هذا الدرهم بغروان سنة اثنى وثمانين or اثناو —

No. 4.

Silver. Weight, 43.5 gr. Ferwán. 383 A.H. British Museum.

Arens similar to No. II. Mint marks س ر .

Obv. Marg. — بغروان سنة ثلث وثمانين وثلثمائة —

No. 5.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. (3)84 A.H.

Arens similar to No. II. Mint marks at the foot of the legends س ر .

Obv. Marg. — سنة اربع وثمانين و —

A corresponding Coin has — رهم بغروان سنة اربع و —

In Coins of the three last classes the Rev. Marginal legend usually ends with ليظهره .

No. 6.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Rev.  
الله  
محمد رسول  
الله نوح بن  
منصور  
الطابع لله  
س ر

Obv.  
ن  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
سبكتكين  
س ر

Margins illegible.

## ISMAIL.

No. VII.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. V. R.

REV.	OVR.
. لله .	. لله .
مكيد رسول	لا اله الا
الله منصور	الله وحده
بن نوح	لا شريك له
اسماعيل	الطايح لله
ف . ر . ر	ف . ر . ر
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. Worn, illegible.

On the Rev. Marg. of one of Ismail's Coins is to be seen the commencement of the usual symbol الله مكيد رسول &c.

## MAHMUD.

No. VIII.

Gold. Weight, 76·8 gr. Nishápúr. 305 A.H. British Museum.

Rev.	Obv.
الله محمد رسول الله الطابع لله الملك المنصور نوح بن منصور	عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابولجا سيف الدولة محمود
<p>Marg. الله محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون</p> <p>Mohammed, the Apostle of God, whom he sent with instruction and the true faith, that he might exalt it above all other creeds, even though Unbelievers be adverse thereto.—Korán, surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.</p>	<p>Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بتيسابور سنة خمس وثمانين وثلثمائة</p> <p>Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر الله</p> <p>Dominion, both past and future, is of God, and in <i>that</i> day the Faithful shall rejoice in the aid of the Lord.—Korán, surah xxx. 4, 5.</p>

لجا<sup>1</sup> - an Aylum.

## No. IX.

Gold. Weight, 57·3 gr. Nishápár. 390 A.H. British Museum.

REV.	OBS.
لله محمد رسول الله الامير السيد بيمين الدولة و امين ا ملته ابو القاسم ولي امير المؤمنين	عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القادر بالله ع
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بتمينا بوز ستة تسعين و ثلثمائة
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

## No. 10.

There is a second Gold Coin in the British Museum, in weight 77·4 grains, similar in every respect to the above, with the exception of the ع on the Obverse, which is placed on the right of the field, instead of being at the foot of the legend, as in the specimen just described.



## No. 11.

Gold. Nishápúr. 400 A.H. Fræhn's Recensio, p. 142.

REV.	OBV.
<p>الله</p> <p>محمد</p> <p>رسول الله</p> <p>بميين الدولة</p> <p>و اميين الملة</p>	<p>لا اله الا</p> <p>الله وحده</p> <p>لا شريك له</p> <p>القادر بالله</p>
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. As No. IX., with سنة اربع مائة
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

## No. XII.

Gold. Weight, 62.3 gr. Nishápúr. 401 A.H. British Museum.

REV.	OBV.
<p>الله</p> <p>محمد</p> <p>رسول الله</p> <p>القادر بالله</p> <p>ولى عهده</p> <p>الغالب بالله</p>	<p>عدل</p> <p>لا اله الا الله</p> <p>وحده لا شريك له</p> <p>ابو القاسم</p>
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة احدى واربعماية
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

## No. 13.

A second Gold Coin, of the like date and place of mintage, varies in the disposition of the inscription: the usual short symbol occupying the whole of the Obverse area, the Reverse area containing the acknowledgment of the mission of Mohammed, the designation of the Khalif and his successor elect (excluding the words *ولى عهده*), as well as the three titles of Mahmúd himself, the *بميين* *الدولة* and the *الملتة اميين* being placed one on each side of the rest of the legend. The word *مايةة* is wanting in the record of the date.

## No. 14.

Gold. Weight, 60 gr. Herát. 395 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>∴ لله ∴</p> <p>مكمد رسول الله</p> <p>بميين الدولة</p> <p>واميين الملة</p> <p>ابو القاسم</p>	<p>عدل</p> <p>لا اله الا</p> <p>الله وحده</p> <p>لا شريك له</p> <p>القادر بالله</p>
<p>Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.</p>	<p>Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بهراة سنة خمس وتسعين وثلثمائة</p> <p>Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.</p>

## No. 15.

Gold. Weight, 65 gr. Herát. 401 A.H. Masson.

Gold. Weight, 50 gr. Herát. 401 A.H. British Museum.

Similar to Coin No. 14, but imperfect in the exterior Margin of Obverse, the word *المومئو* wanting the final *ن*.

## No. 16.

Gold. Weight, 50 gr. Herát. 411 A.H. *Lady Maonughten.*

Differs slightly from No. 14, in the absence of **عدل** in the Obverse, and in the initial **مك** in the Reverse standing in a line by itself; the concluding **أبو القاسم** being reduced in size to meet the thus increased demand for space.

## No. 17.

Gold. Weight, 65 gr. Herát. 413 A.H.

As No. 14; but the exterior Margin of the Obverse is perfect.

## No. 18.

Gold. Weight, 63 gr. Herát. 414 A.H.

Ornamental Kufic; otherwise similar to No. 14.

## No. 19.

Gold. Weight, 77 gr. Nishápúr. 407 A.H.

Rrv.	Obv.
الله	عدل
مك محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القادى بالله	الله وحده
ولي عهده	لا شريك له
الغالب بالله	أبو القاسم
بيمين الدولة	
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بتيسابور سنة سبع واربعماية
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

## No. 20.

Gold. Weight, 57 gr. Nishápúr. 409 A.H. Dr. Swiney.

Similar to No. 19, except that in the Obverse **ابو القاسم** and **وسلم** are wanting.

## No. XXI.

Gold. Weight, 59 gr. 4<sup>00</sup> A.H. British Museum.

Rrv.	Obv.
الله	عدل
مكـمـد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله بيمين الدو
القادر بالله	لة وامين الملة
مسعود	ابو القاسم
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا
	الدينار ستة
	اربعماية
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

A Coin apparently struck by Masaúd, while acting as a local Sovereign, during the lifetime of his Father, Mahmúd.

A.H. 407. "Returning to Bulkh, Mahmood gave the government of Hirat to his son, the Prince Ameer Musood."

A.H. 418. "He conferred the Government of Rye and Isfahan on his son, the Prince Musood."

Briggs's Ferishtah, Vol. I.

No. XXII.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Rrv.	Obv.
. لله .	ن ن ن
محمد رسول	لا اله الا
الله منصر	الله وحده
بن نوح	لا شريك له
سيف الدولة	الطابع لله
محمود	ف

Margins. Worn, illegible.

On one specimen is seen محمد رسول الله

This Coin must be inferred to have been struck in or after the year 387 A.H.,  
or the year in which Munsúr bin Núh II. ascended the throne of Bokhárá.

No. 23.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Rrv.	Obv.
الله	ن ن ن
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
الامير السيد	لا شريك له
بمين الدولة	القادر بالله
محمود	

Margins. Illegible.

No. 24.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Rev.  
 محمد رسول الله  
 بيمين الدولة و  
 امين الملة محمود  
 بن سبكتكين

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

بعد و يومئذ يفرح

Obv.

عدل  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 التقادر بالله

Marg. Imperfect.

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم

No. 25.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. (3)95 A.H. C.

Rev.  
 \* لله \*  
 محمد رسول  
 الله بيمين الدو  
 لة و امين الملة  
 محمود  
 "

Marg. Illegible.

Obv.

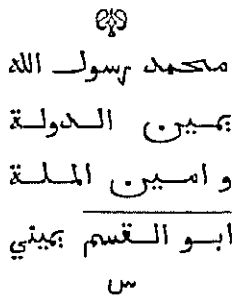
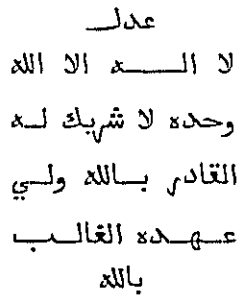
عدل  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 التقادر بالله  
 بيميني

Marg. سنة خمس  
 وتسعين و

The Obverse Margins of two similar Coins exhibit the words الدرهم بغرزة سنة. Different specimens have respectively the letters ع ك س below the عدل on Obverse.

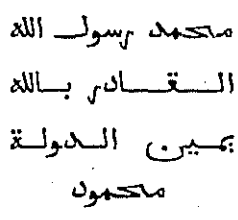
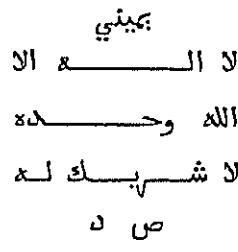
## No. XXVI.

Silver. Weight, 76 gr. Nishápúr? 399 A.H. Large Coin.

Rrv.	Ov.
	
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5. Legible.	Marg.
لله الامر من ح المؤمنون ينصر الله	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بتيسابور سنة تسع وتسعين وثلثمائة

## No. XXVII.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. C.

Rrv.	Ov.
* o * 	
Marg. لله الامر من قبل ويوميذ يفرح المؤمنون بنصر (الله)	Marg. سنة تسع وتسعين وثلاثة

Another Coin discloses on its Obverse Margin the words

ضرب هذا الدرهم بغزنة سنة خمس

No. 28.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Similar legends to No. XXVII., with monogram **اندراب** at the top ;  
and **بمبئي** at the bottom of Obverse ; and

Monogram  $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{عدل} \\ \text{الله} \end{array} \right\}$  at the top of the Reverse Area.

No. 29.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr.

REV.  
 ٠ ٠ ٠ ٠  
 محمد رسول الله  
 القادر بالله  
 بمبئي الدولة  
 محمود

Marg. Composed of thin straggling  
 letters, utterly illegible.

Obv.  
 عدل  
 قروان  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 بمبئي

Marg. والين سنة \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_ و \_\_\_\_\_

والين مسافات

مسافات مدن بلخ || من بلخ الى خلم يومان ثم الى  
 والين يومان  
 Istakhrī (Møller), p. 112.

See also Map (Idem) No. XVIII. صورة خراسان.

مسافات شهر بلخ || اتر بلخ تا خلم دو روزة و اتر خلم تا  
 والين دو روزة  
 Persian Memalik wa Mesalik, p. ٩٢. See also Map, p. ٩٣.

"From Balkh to Khulum, two days' journey; from Khulum to  
 Valein والين, two days' journey." Ouseley's Orient. Geog., p. 230.



“On compte au nombre des dépendances de cette dernière province (le Badakchan بدخشان) les villes de زروالین <sup>حلم</sup>, &c. De Balkh à Warwalin, ville agréable et commerçante, dont dépendent divers villages, 2 journées. De Warwalin à Talecan (طالقان), 2 journées. De Balkh à Houlm, ville située à 2 journées à l'ouest de Warwalin, on a 2 journées de chemin à faire.” Edrisi (Jaubert), pp. 474, 475.

The above identification is proposed without any great amount of confidence, as the orthography of the name of the city whose position is here indicated, varies to a more than usual degree of uncertainty, inasmuch as the facsimile MS. of Istakhrî, in four repeated references to the town in question, gives no less than the same number of discordant readings, viz., p. 109, زروالین; idem, زوروالین; p. 112, زوالین; and Map No. XVIII. مالیان, or possibly والیان.

The East India House Persian MS. *Mesâlik wa Memâlik* also exhibits discrepancies in the mode in which the name is written, having in one place زروالین and on two subsequent occasions والین. The same may be said of Ouseley's translation, which is made from *other* MSS. of the same work, and which affords the several examples of زروالین, p. 223 and 224; and والین, p. 230. Ibn Haukal<sup>1</sup> openly avows a difficulty as to the correct mode of expressing the name, writing زروالین <sup>درف</sup> or زوروالین <sup>سزف</sup>. And finally, as will be seen from the above extract, the French Translation of Edrisi gives the word as زروالین. Abûl Fedâ has no notice of the place.

A more serious objection, however, presents itself to the admission of the correctness of the locality suggested, in the fact of the dissimilarity observable between the form and fabric of the Coin itself, and the general characteristics displayed by the Balkh money, which last is seen to be uniformly a thin broad piece, whereas the two Coins, Nos. 29 and 64, upon which the whole, or the major portion, of the doubtful name is found, partake of the character of the more common types of the narrow Ghazni currency, and if any faith is to be placed in such indications, would necessitate a search for their place of coinage somewhat nearer the capital, or, at all events, in a province whose monetary types assimilated more closely to the produce of the

<sup>1</sup> MS. Bibl. Bodl., No. 530. Hunt.

metropolitan mint. As such, the name of Málín <sup>1</sup>مالين might claim consideration, as corresponding in its component letters with what remains of the Kufic word on the margin of No. 29. There are, however, no recognized Herát silver coins, whence a judgment might be formed as to the identity of style; so that no valid argument could be raised on that ground. Moreover, the orthography of Málín, like that of Wálín, is open to much question, as, in addition to the two different modes of pronunciation to which the name is liable, as noticed by Abúl Fedá, it is written by both Istakhrí and Eðrisí <sup>2</sup>مالن. However, whatever might be said regarding the admissibility of the adoption of Málín as the place of fabrication of the one Coin, No. 29, the same can by no means be extended to the piece No. 64, the initial letter of the monetary city of which, can never be read as a *Mim* م, or other than one of the three letters ف or و.

An identification which seems to meet more satisfactorily the various numismatic requirements, though it is opposed by the demands of absolute exactitude of *literal* uniformity, is suggested by some casual references made by more modern writers, which tend to show that there must have been a town, or certainly a fort, of a very similar denomination to that to be found on the Coins, either in or near the Hills, somewhere proximately northward of Ferwán. An indication of this locality is furnished by Mirkhond, who mentions the siege of the fortress of Wálíán <sup>3</sup>واليان by the generals of Jengiz Khán, which castle appears from the context to be identifiable with the place alluded to by Báber in the following sentence:—"There are besides three roads in Ghúrbend; that which is nearest to Perwán is the pass of the Yangi-yuli (the new road), which descends by Walián and Khinjan." This last position is marked in many of the later maps; and one of the neighbouring passes to this day retains its name of Wálíán, though in the hands of modern geographers it would seem to have been corrupted into Gwalian.

<sup>1</sup>مالين من امل هراة — واهل هراة يقولون مالان  
Abúl Fedá, p. 456.

<sup>2</sup> See Rauzat al Safá, History of Jellál al din Khwárizmí; also Price, from Khalásat al Akhbár, Vol. II. p. 410.

<sup>3</sup> Erskine's Báber, p. 139.

No. 30\*.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Area as No. XXVII., with at the top.	Area as in No. XXVII. Monograms عدل ع بهمني
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Margins. Illegible.

No. 31\*.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٠ ٠ ٠ محمد رسول الله التقادير بالله بهمين الدولة محمود	عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له بهمني

Margins. Illegible.

No. 32\*.

A similar Coin, with the monogram **قروان** inserted between the **عدل** and **الله** at the top of the Obverse, as in No. 29.

No. 33.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Legend as in Reverse, No. 31; but the <b>امين الملة</b> is to the left of the rest of the inscription. Monogram, <i>supra</i> , الله; <i>infra</i> , ك.	Legend as in Obverse, No. 31, with the addition of the word <b>نقر</b> , possibly <b>نقد</b> , on the right of the field.
--	---

No. 34.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

Reverse, three lines, as in No. 31; but the second title is placed thus—

Obverse as No. 31.

دامين  
مكحول  
الله

Monograms, *supra*, الله ن الله

No. 35\*.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Reverse. The same inscription as in No. XXVII.; but with the *مكحول* at the top of the field, and *امين* at the bottom.

Obverse. The same as No. 31.

No. XXXVI.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Ghazni. 401 A.H.

Rev.

الله  
مكحول  
رسول الله  
القادر بالله  
مكحول

Obv.

عدل  
لا اله الا  
الله وحده  
لا شريك له  
بيني

Marg. Composed of Bosses and *الله* alternating.Marg. *بسم الله ضرب بقرنة سنة احدى واربعمائة*

\* Many of these several classes of small silver Coins have mere careless imitations of the usual marginal inscriptions, such as obviously could never have been intended to be legible, the scroll between the parallel circles being at times made up solely by the repetition of certain characters that may be taken to represent the word *سنة*, and in other instances filled in with a confused jumble of consecutive masses of the common form of  $\perp$  interspersed with an occasional  $\times$  or  $\mu$ .

No. 37.

Silver. Weight, 75 gr.

Reverse. Broad Area, with the legend  
 محمد رسول الله القادر بالله  
 بمين الدولة وامين الملة

Obverse. Small Area, legend as in No. XXXVI.

Marg. Narrow; inscription illegible.

Marg. As the *Reverse* Margin of No. XXXVI.

No. 38.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

A Coin similar to No. XXXVI., having *both* Margins composed of bosses and  
 alternating.

No. 39.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

In this Coin the accustomed marginal legends are disposed around the field, and are not separated from the body of the inscription by the usual lines.

Rev.

الله لله الا  
 محمد رسول الله  
 بمين الدولة  
 وامين الملة  
 ابو القاسم

Obv.

بسم الله ضاهي  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القادر بالله

No. 40.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Balkh. 411 A.H. Broad Coin (ornamental Kufic).

Rev.	Obv.
الله	عدل
محمّد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
القادر بالله	لا شريك له
بمّين الدولة	
ابو القاسم	
Marg. لله الامر من قبل	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح	الدرهم ببلخ سنة احد عشر
المؤمنون بتصر الله	واربع مائة


No. 41.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Nishápúr. 414 A.H. Broad Coin. Dr. Swiney.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	
محمّد رسول الله	
القادر بالله	
بمّين الدولة	
وامّين الملة	
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	The usual Symbol in three lines.
	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
	الدرهم بنيسابور سنة اربع عشر
	واربع مائة

## No. XLII.

Silver. Weight, 45.4 gr. Unique.

Rev.		Obv.
بِاللَّهِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ بِمِيقَاتِ الدَّوْلَةِ مُحَمَّدُ وَأَمِينُ الْمَلَّةِ		श्री वृकुसेन SRI VIRIKUSEN महमूद अ MRĀHĀMHID Ā महर नृव MĀHĀRĀNRIVĀ महमूद MĀHĀMŪD
Marg. بِسْمِ اللَّهِ ضَرْبُ هَذَا الدَّرْهِمِ وَأَرْبَعِيَّةٌ		Marg. संवत् ४१२ अयटन महमूद SĀMVĀT 412 AYATĀN MĀHĀMŪD

## ANALYSIS OF THE SANSKRIT LETTERS.

No. 1, श्री *Srī*; possibly अ *a*. 2, वृ *Vri* of the seventh century; or पृ *pri* of the ninth. 3, कु *ku* of the fifth century (Allahabad Inscription); the Kashmirī *ku* of the present day differs but little from this form. 4, से *se* of the fifth century; or मे *me* of the seventh. 5, न *n* of the ninth century (see Kutila Inscription); possibly either भ *bh* or क *k* of the same century. 6, अ *Mr*. 7, ह *h* of the fifth century; possibly ढ *d* of the ninth. 8, मृ *mri*; or मु *mu*: in this latter the उ *u* might be objected to, but it is the form in use on the Gupta Coins, and there is no saying how long it may have remained in partial use (see Plate XIX., Vol. VII., Journ. As. Soc., Bengal). 9, द *d*. 10, अ *a*. 11, म *m*? 12, ह *h*; or ण *ṇ*, fifth century: the letter corresponding to the modern palatal ञ has not been identified in the Kutila Inscription. 13, र *r*. 14, नृ *nri*; or नृ *nū*. 15, व *v*. 16, म *M*? 17, ह *h*. 18, मू *mū*. 19, द *d*.

Margin. No. 20, स *S*; or म *M*. 21, व *v*. 22, उ *u*, ninth century: a letter of the same shape answers at the present day for a त *t* in the Punjābī alphabet (*vide* Carey's Grammar); accepting this last rendering, the first three marginal letters might be taken as intended to represent the word संवत् *Samvat*. 23, ४ 4. 24, १ 1: the character to be seen on the Coin assimilates closely to the form of an ancient Kashmirī 1, given in Plate XX., Vol. VII., Journ. As. Soc., Bengal; and the modern form of the numeral varies only from these in the junc-

tion of the ends of the figure. 25, २ 2; the Devanagari 2 of the tenth century is but little dissimilar to the unit figure on the Coin, which latter might, however, be read as an २ r, but that it differs so much from the r in the body of the Inscription. 26, अ a; or श्री sri. 27, य y. 28, ट t of fifth century. 29, न n; or क k. 30, म M. 31, ह h. 32, मू mū. 33, द d.

## No. XLIII.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Ghazni. 411 A.H.

REV.	Obv.
الله	عدل
مكيد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلى الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
التقادر بالله	نظام الدين
بمبيني	س محمود و
Marg. بمين الدولة	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا
وامين الملة	الدرهم بغزنة سنة احدى عشر
	واربع مائة

A Coin, in the possession of Lady Macnaghten, exhibiting generally similar characteristics to the above, has the Obverse Margin occupied by the words *الدرهم بغزنة سنة* (expressed in most accurately formed letters) five times repeated. The Reverse Margin is filled up with a like reiteration of the words *مما امر به*

## No. XLIV.

Silver. Weight, 38 gr. Ghazni. 411 A.H. *Lady Macnaghten.*

Similar in shape and legend to No. XLIII., with the exception of the name of Mahmūd, the letters of which are curiously impressed in intaglio, instead of being raised like the rest of the inscription.

The Reverse Monogram *بمبيني* is correctly formed on this specimen; but the Mint marks on the Obverse are altogether omitted.

Much of the Obverse marginal legend, given at length under No. 35, is traceable, and the Reverse Margin displays the outline of the following words—

مما امر به الملك امالك بمين الدولة و



No. 45.

Silver. Weight, gr. Balkh. 412 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	عدل
محمّد رسول الله	ع
بمّين الدولة نظام	لا اله الا الله وحده
الدين ابو القاسم	لا شريك له
محمود	القادر بالله
Marg. لله الامر من قبل	Marg. رهم ببلخ سنة
ومن بعد و يومئذ يفرح	اثني عشر و اربع مائة
المؤمنون	

No. XLVI.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. 414 A.H.

Legends in both Areas as in No. 45.

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Marg.

اربع عشر و اربع مائة

No. 47.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. 419 A.H. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	القادر
محمّد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
القادر بالله	محمّد رسول الله
بمّين الدولة	نظام الدين
محمود	ابو القاسم
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. بسم ا
	تسع عشر و اربع مائة

No. XLVIII.

Silver. Weight, 63 gr. Sejistán<sup>1</sup>. Broad Coin.

REV.	Obv.
الله	عدل
مكهد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
بميين الدولة	وحده لا شريك له
واميين الملة نظام	القادر بالله
الدين ابو القاسم	بمييني
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بسجستان سنة واربع مائة

<sup>1</sup> Zaranj; called also Sejistán, as capital of the province of that name; the Dooshak or Jellalabad of the modern maps.—See Edrisi, p. 431 and 432. Abū Foda has the following:—

نهرنج قصبه سجستان قال ابن حوقل ونهرنج مدينة  
كبيرة من سجستان قال وقد يطلق علي نهرنج نفسها  
سجستان

Texte Arabe, p. ١٤٤٣.

“Zaranj, Capital of Sejistán. Ibn Haukul said Zaranj is a large city of Sejistán; and it is further said that (the name of) Sejistán is applied to Zaranj itself.”

For examples of the numismatic use of the name in this sense see Coins of Harūn al Rashīd, Nos. 136\*, 136\*, p. 11\*, and 145\*, p. 13\*, Fraehn's Recensio.

The Tārīkh Masūdī quotes the following authorized detail of Mahmūd's titles in a copy of a Missive from the Khalīf Al Kāfīm bo amerillah to Masūdī, in which the *recognised* designations of the latter's father are thus given at full length—

نظام الدين كهف الاسلام والمسلمين بميين الدولة  
واميين الملة ابي القاسم ولي امير المؤمنين

With the single exception of the كهف الاسلام والمسلمين, all these several titles are to be found on the Coins above described.

No. 49.

Silver. Weight, 26 gr. Small Coin.

Rrv.	Ouv.
مـلـكـ	الله
المـلـوكـ	مـحـمـد
بـمـيـنـيـ	رـسـولـ الله
بـمـيـنـ الدـولـة	بـمـيـنـ الدـولـة
Marg. int. ————— ملك بمين الدولة —————	Marg. ————— الملك الممالك —————
Marg. ext. Illegible.	

No. 50.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. (Apparently of the Balkh fabric.) 421 A.H. Broad Coin.

Rrv.	Ouv.
الله	عدل
مـحـمـد	لا اله الا
رـسـولـ الله	الله وحده
عـلـيـه السـلام	لا شريك له
مـحـمـد	القادر بالله
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. ————— الله ضرب هذا ————— الدرهم ————— في ربيع الاول ————— سنة احد و عشرين واربعمائة

Rabi al Awal ربيع الاول

No. 51.

Silver. Weight, 53·5 gr. Balkh. 421 A.H. Large Coin. British Museum.

Areas as in No. 50.

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

— ضرب هذا الدرهم  
ببلخ في جمادى الأولى سنة  
أحدي وعشرين وأربعمائة

Dirhem, at Balkh, in Jumád al Awal, the year

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

ببلخ في جمادى الأولى سنة

No. 52.

Silver. Weight, 60 gr. Small Coin.

Rrv.

لله

محمود

رسول الله

عليه السلام

محمود

Onv.

عدل

لا اله الا الله

وحده لا شريك

له القائم بالله

— الأول

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

بسم الله — أحدي  
وعشرين وأربعمائة

No. 53.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Small Coin.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>الله</p> <p>محمد</p> <p>رسول الله</p> <p>عليه السلام</p> <p>* محمود *</p>	<p>مع الاول</p> <p>لا اله الا</p> <p>الله وحده</p> <p>لا شريك له</p> <p>ب</p>
<p>Marg. int. _____</p> <p>_____ لله الامر من قبل</p>	<p>Marg. _____</p> <p>_____ بغرزة سنة ا _____</p>
<p>Marg. ext. Dots?</p>	

The above Coins present too many novel peculiarities to admit of their being passed over in silence, though the mutilated state of the more important portions of each, as well as a corresponding deficiency of unquestioned historical data, may render any deductions on the subjects embraced somewhat inconclusive. Still, whatever may be the correct reading of the abraded parts of the several legends, two points at least evidence a departure from the uniform practice prevailing in previous mintages:—Firstly, the inscription of Mahmúd's sole *untitled* name; and, secondly, the insertion of an unusual additional detail, intimating what would seem to be the name of the *month*, as well as the accustomed record of the *year* of issue.

These two remarkable indications are found in concurrence (in the three most legible Coins) with a notification, purporting that the medals themselves were struck in the year 421 A.H., the early part of which witnessed the decease of the Monarch whose name they bear. There are but two of the four specimens (Nos. 50, 51) that retain a sufficiently clear impression of those portions of the legends it is sought to decipher, to permit an approach to a satisfactory conjecture as to their original intent and purport; and these severally disclose the worn and imperfect outline of the characters which represent the names of the Arabic months of Rabí al Awal and Jumád al

Awal<sup>1</sup>, or the third and fifth months of the Mohammedan year, located on the margins of the Coins immediately preceding the annual date.

The two smaller Coins (Nos. 52, 53) display on their Obverse surfaces, in the spaces generally devoted to the reception of monograms, the same concluding and distinguishing word **الاول**, together with traces of what probably once stood for **ربيع**.

Whatever may have become the custom in after times among Mohammedan nations in regard to the inscription of the months of the year in which Coins were fabricated, their unprecedented appearance on the pieces under notice, as well as their immediate subsequent disuse, taken as isolated facts, can only be supposed to point to an intention of fixing, with more than usual precision, the moment of the issue of the Coins thus marked, and, as such, to advert to some prominent epoch in the history of the race by whom they were put forth. Now, as the periods inscribed closely coincide with the supposed date of Mahmúd's death, the question naturally suggests itself, Were not these moneys in some way connected with this event?

In addition to the default of sufficient numismatic data, the difficulty of arriving at any correct estimate of the design attending the production of these medals, is much enhanced by a co-existent doubt as to the precise month in which Mahmúd died; and, consequently, as to whether these pieces are to be recognised as the latest record of his life, commemorative medals struck in his honour after his decease, or the mere mechanical continuance of the use of his name by the mint officials.

This last suggestion seems to be at once negatived by the appearance of purpose to be detected in the singular changes already noticed; the question is therefore narrowed to the consideration of the two remaining possible explanations.

<sup>1</sup> In concluding that the doubtful letters on the Margin of Coin No. 51 represent the name of a month—and looking to their position immediately following the record of the mint city, and preceding the year of the date, they cannot well be taken to import anything else—it is to be conceded that, setting aside the worn state of the writing, the expression of the words is by no means perfect, the **في** being abbreviated to **ف** (which, however, is not unusual in MS.), and the **ي** of **جاء** in its present shape would more accurately perform the function of an **ي**, or any other of the convertible letters for which the Kufic medial **ـ** stands sponsor, rather than the **ي**, which the context seems to require.

The balance of written testimony greatly preponderates in favour of the assignment of the 23rd of Rabí al A'khír<sup>1</sup> as the date of the death of Mahmúd; at the same time, the event is variously reported by different authors as having taken place on one of the three following dates—11th Safar<sup>2</sup>, 13th Rabí al A'wal<sup>3</sup>, or even so late as Jumád al A'wal<sup>4</sup>.

The second and third of these four epochs are the only periods that are not at variance with the idea of a posthumous character attaching to the Coins under review; and there is clearly too little reliance to be placed upon the authorities citing these dates, to justify a rejection in their favour of the statements of more esteemed writers, to meet the wants of a theory so incomplete in numismatic proofs as the one now discussed. Indeed, if the apparently conclusive testimony

<sup>1</sup> و در آن هفته بخواست رفت روز شنبه ده روز مانده بود  
از جهادي الاولی سنة احدى و عشرين و اربعایه ناکاه خبر رسید  
که پدرش امیر محمود رضي الله عنه گذشته شد و حاجب بزرگ  
علي قریب در پیش کارست و در وقت سواران مسرع رفتند  
پس کتابت مطلقه خود بمن انداخت گفت بخوان باز کردم  
خط عتش بود حرّه ختلي نبشته بود که خداوند ما سلطان  
محمود نماز دیگر روز پنجشنبه هفت روز مانده بود از ربیع الآخر  
گذشته شد

MS. تاریخ مسعودی Bib. du Roi, Paris.

The following authorities also cite Rabí al A'khír as the period of Mahmúd's decease:—Abúl Fedá, *Annales Muslemici* (Reisk), Vol. III. p. 76; *Rauzat al Safá* (Wilken), p. 231; *Habsh al Sair*, MS., No. 17, East India House; Akberí, MS., East India House; *Ferishtah* (Briggs), Vol. I. p. 84.

\* Ibn Haidar, quoted by Wilken, *Hist. Gaz.*, p. 227.

<sup>2</sup> واقعه مذکوره در روز پنجشنبه سیزدهم ربیع الاول سنة احدى

و عشرين و اربعایه روی نمود  
تاریخ نکارستان. Lithographed at Bombay, in 1829.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by De Guignes, Vol. I. p. 240, and Vol. II. p. 170.

The Násirí, Abúl Faraj, and the Guzídah fail in mentioning the month in which Mahmúd died.

of the *Tárikh Masáúdí* is entitled to the credit its circumstantial detail and high antiquity seem to demand, this class of Coins can only be taken to have originated with Mahmúd himself, though, in all likelihood, only late in his career; and that having been thus introduced into use, the Balkh mint continued to fabricate the like species of money—with altered monthly dates to meet the progress of time—up to the period of the receipt of the intelligence of the decease of Mahmúd at Ghazní, or possibly until the full inauguration of his successor<sup>1</sup>. In arriving at this conclusion, it is necessary to consider the causes of the subsequent discontinuance of the insertion of monthly dates. This may be explained by the supposition—fully justified by their respective medals—that Mahmúd interested himself in the mint arrangements of his dominions, thereby insuring an advanced state of excellence in the details of his coinage, whereas Masaúd<sup>2</sup>, to judge by the results, paid but little attention to the fashion of his money, and disregarded the omission of the more exact record of the date introduced by his father.

It is less easy to account satisfactorily for the motives which led to the first monetary change already described. That Mahmúd may at the last moment have affected humility, and refrained from the employment of all titular distinctions, is just possible, but by no means probable, considering his admitted and proved partiality to the use of titles of honour, and the fact that the closing acts of his life—the contemplation of his boundless treasures, and the review of the splendid equipments of his powerful army—savour strongly of still-surviving vanity. It may be doubted whether the seeming humility implied in the disuse of honorary titles, may not have been in reality the result of an increased degree of pride, which imagined, and with fair reason, that so great a name as that of the Conqueror of India required no titular adjuncts.

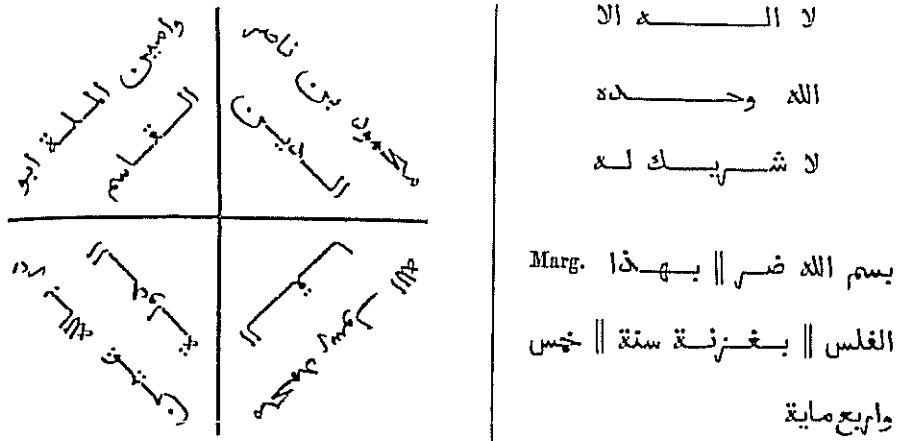
<sup>1</sup> It may assist in the due determination of the value of the above suggestion to note that, at Mahmúd's death, there was not only a disputed succession, but that at the moment, both Mohammed and his brother Masaúd were absent from the capital—and equally so from Balkh, the mint city wherein the Coin No. 50, if not 51, was struck—the one brother being in Jurján, the other near Hamadán; and that it was not until a certain interval after the decease of Mahmúd that Mohammed was elevated to the throne at Ghazní: the exact duration of this interval is not stated. Vide *Ferishtah* (Briggs), Vol. I. p. 93.

<sup>2</sup> It would be useless to speculate on the almost unique Coin of Mohammed (No. LVII.)



No. LIV.

Brass. Weight, 59 gr. Ghazni. 405 A.H.



The above arrangement of the legend of the Reverse is merely intended to show the contents of each compartment. It does not in any way carry out the intricate cross-reading to be seen on the Coin itself.

No. 55.

Copper. Weight, 40 gr.

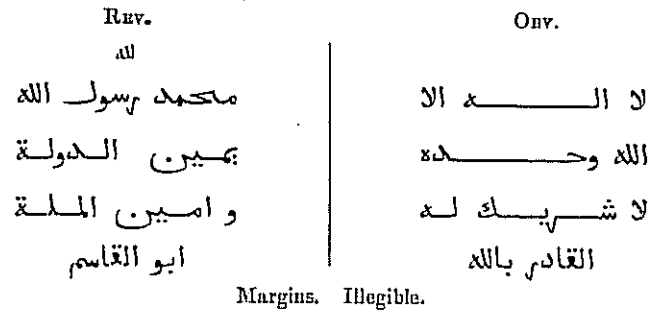
Arens. Legends as in No. 27, Silver Coin.

Monograms. Obverse, *infra* بهمني. Reverse, *supra* الله.

Margins. Illegible.

No. 56.


Brass. Weight, 39 gr.



## MOHAMMED.

No. LVII.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
? اواحد	
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
جلال الدولة	الله وحده
وجلال الملة	لا شريك له
محمد بن محمود	القادر بالله

Margins. Illegible.

The issue of this Coin is to be referred to the first reign of Mohammed, as Al Kâdir, whose name is here inscribed, died ten or eleven years before this Ghaznavi Monarch's second accession.

## MASA'ÚD.

No. LVIII.

Gold. Weight, 75·7 gr<sup>1</sup>. Nishápúr. 422 A.H. British Museum.

REV.	OBS.
الله	لا اله الا
محمد رسول الله	الله وحده
القادري بالله	لا شريك له
ولي عهده	مسعود
القادري بامر الله	
ناصر لدين الله	
Marg. <i>int.</i> محمد رسول الله ارسله	Marg. <i>int.</i> بسم الله ضرب هذا
بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره	الدينار بنيسابور سنة اثني
علي الدين كله ولو كره	وعشرين واربعماية
المشركون	Marg. <i>ext.</i> لله الامر من قبل
	ومن بعد وبوميذ يفرح
	المؤمنون بتصر الله

<sup>1</sup> Weights of other analogous specimens—73·6 gr., 57·6 gr., 52·5 gr.

<sup>2</sup> عشر in original. The عشر (10) is assumed to be a mistake for عشرين (20), for various reasons, notwithstanding that Masa'úd is known to have been Governor (on the part of his father) of the province of Herát, and possibly Nishápúr itself, so early as 407. In the first place, it is highly improbable that the use of Mahmúd's name should have been discontinued on the provincial Coins during his lifetime; indeed, the binominal medal, No. XXI., seems to prove a contrary practice to have prevailed. In the second place, it is known that Al Kásim be amerillah, whose titles are to be seen on the Coin immediately in question, was not appointed Walí Ah'd till 416. (Mirkhond.) And, lastly, the very existence of the *wau* after the *athni* would in itself evidence an error, taking the sentence as it now stands, as this conjunction is not usually employed to join the two Arabic words forming any given number between 10 and 20!

No. 59.

Gold. Weight, 56.4 gr. Nishápúr. 431 A.H. British Museum.

REV.

لا  
 محمد رسول الله  
 القائم بامر الله  
 ناصر دين الله  
 حافظ غيار<sup>1</sup> الله  
 د

OVR.

ظفر  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 مسعود

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا  
 الدينار بنيسابور سنة احدى  
 وثلثين واربعمائة

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

<sup>1</sup> غيار a mark or symbol used to distinguish the votaries of any particular creed.

The legends of the two following Coins of Toghrul Beg have been inserted, both in advertence to what has already been stated regarding the first adoption of the title of Sultán (p. 271), as also with a view of showing, by the earliest available numismatic evidence, the actual loss by the Ghaznavis of the city of Nishápúr, which was finally taken from Masnúd by the Seljúks in 431 A.H.

Gold. Weight, 62.5 gr. Nishápúr. 433 A.H. British Museum.

REV.

محمد رسول الله  
 القائم بامر الله  
 الامير الاجل  
 ظفر بك

OVR.

فتح  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له

Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9; which is, however, incomplete, ending thus—  
 المشرة

Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا  
 الدينار بنيسابور سنة ثلث  
 وثلثين واربعمائة

Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. LX

Silver. Weight, 54 gr. 422 A.H. Broad Coin.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>الله  مكمد رسول الله  ناصر دين الله  حافظ غير الله  مسعود</p>	<p>لا اله الا  الله وحده  لا شريك له  القادر بالله</p>
<p>Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.  مكمد رسول  كفر المشركون</p>	<p>Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا  ور سنة اثني وعشرين  واربعائة</p>
	<p>Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.</p>

Gold. Weight, 60 gr. Nishapur. 430 A.H. My Cabinet.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>الله  مكمد رسول الله  السلطان المعظم  شاهان شاه  طغرل بك ابوطا  لب</p>	<p>القائم  لا اله الا  الله وحده  لا شريك له  بامر الله</p>
<p>Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.</p>	<p>Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا  الدينار بنيسابور سنة تسع  وثلاثين واربعائة</p>
	<p>Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.</p>

## No. 61.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Broad Coin. British Museum.

Rev.	Onv.
الله	عدل
محمّد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
عليه السلام	لا شريك له
مسعود	القادر بالله
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا واربعاية

## No. 62.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. 425 A.H. Broad Coin. *My Cabinet.*

Rev.	Onv.
الله	عدل
محمّد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
القائم بامر الله	لا شريك له
مسعود	
Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدر سنة خمس وعشرين واربعاية

## No. 62a.

A fragment of an analogous Coin bears on its Obverse Margin the words

(4)27. سنة سبع وعشرين

No. 63.

Silver. Weight, 45 gr. Balkh. (42)8 A.H. Broad Coin.

Similar in legends to No. 62; but the characters are coarsely executed.

Obverse Margin. — ضرب هذا الدرهم ببلخ سنة ثم —

No. 64.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Wálfu. Small size. Very scarce.

Legends on Areas the same as No. 61.

<p>Marg.</p> <p>— لله الامر من بعد و بو —</p>	<p>Marg.</p> <p>— ضرب هذا الم —</p> <p>— بوالين سنة —</p>
<p>Wálfu <u>م</u> بوالين سنة <u>م</u></p>	

No. 65.

Silver. Weight, 66 gr.

<p>Rev.</p> <p>له</p> <p>م</p> <p>رسول الله</p> <p>عليه السلام</p> <p>مسعود</p>	<p>Obv.</p> <p>القائم بامر</p> <p>الله</p> <p>لا اله الا</p> <p>الله وحده</p> <p>لا شريك له</p> <p><u>حسبكم</u></p>
---	---

Margins. Illegible.

A second Coin has the Obverse monogram formed thus حسبكم .

No. 66.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Small size.

Same as No. 65, with القائم at the top, and بامر الله at the bottom of Obverse Area.

No. 67.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرة	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القائم بامر الله	الله وحده
ناصر دين الله	لا شريك له
مسعود	س

Margins. Illegible.

Some specimens of this class of Coins have their Margins quite plain, the parallel lines being separated by four small circles.

No. LXVIII.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Areas as in No. 67, with the monogram **اندراب** at the top of Obverse, and **لا** at the top of the Reverse legend.

No. 69.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهيرة	لا اله الا
محمد رسول الله	الله وحده
ناصر دين الله	لا شريك له
مسعود	

Margins composed of circular lines:—Obverse, quite plain; Reverse, lines separated by bosses.



## No. LXX.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
٠ ٠ ٠ محمد رسول الله ناصر دين الله ابو سعيد مسعود	عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له س
Marg. _____ بسم الله ضر _____ واربعماية	Marg. Illegible.

## No. 71.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

The same as No. LXX., but with **القائم** at the top and **بامر الله** at the bottom of the Obverse legend, in the place of **عدل** and **س**; and **محمد** occupying an entire line, in lieu of the **٠ ٠ ٠** on the Reverse.

## No. 72.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهوره محمد رسول الله القائم بامر الله ناصر دين الله ٠	عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له س
Margins. Illegible.	

No. 73.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.		Obv.
ظهره		عدل
محمد رسول الله		لا اله الا
القيام بامر الله		الله وحده
ناصر دين الله		لا شريك له
ابو سعيد		س

Margins. Illegible.

No. LXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 5.5 gr.

Rev.		Obv.
بن محمود ح		س
		مسعود

No. 75.

Brass. Weight, 42 gr.

Same as Silver Coin No. 67. Margins without legends.

No. 76.

Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.		Obv.
Same legend as No. 61.		o
		Usual symbol in three lines.

Margins. Illegible.

The subjoined Coin is inserted in this place, instead of being located in its due position in the series of the moneys of Masaúd, as there are some doubts regarding its correct identification consequent upon the worn state of the name of the Khalif, and the obliteration of the Obverse marginal legend, which would have served to fix the date and place of coinage. The piece is remarkable if it be from any of the mints of Masaúd of Ghazni, inasmuch as the word Sultán appears for the first time on the medals of this dynasty. Supposing that it really belongs to Masaúd, the son of Mahmúd, it will be necessary to conclude that it was struck in some of the provincial governments of his extensive dominions, as the type and the style of the legend equally differ from those of any of the recognized Coins of Ghazni.

The following is an enumeration of the various territorial possessions of Masaúd—

وكان ملكه عظمها فسبجا ملك اصغهان والري وطبرستان

وجرجان وخراسان وخوازهم وبلاد الران وكرمان وسجستان  
والسند والرخج وغزنة وبلاد الغور واطاعه اهل البر والبحر  
Abū Fedā, Ann. Musl. (ed. Reisk), Vol. III, p. 114.

This summary does not appear to require any lengthened comment, the majority of the places indicated being sufficiently well known to modern geographers. It may be necessary, however, to notice that the word **الران** is frequently used by Ibn Haukul for **اران** (see *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, note at foot of page 367); and to explain that **الرخج**, or **الرحج**, is the name of a district of the province of Sejistán, situated up the River Helmund (see *Istakhrí*, p. 101; *Ouseley's Orient. Geography*, p. 207; *Edrisi*, p. 444; *Aboulféda*, *Géographie*, p. 342). Reisk, in his *translation* of the above passage, adds the name of Melkrán, which, though not to be found in his Arabic printed text, may possibly have had its place in the original MS.

Brass. Weight, 60 gr. Unique. Mr. Massou's own collection.

REV.

ORV.



سلطان المعظم ملك العالم  
مسعود

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

لا اله الا الله

محمد رسول الله

عاهد بالله

Marg. Illegible.

The annexed curious passage, relating certain unaccountable posthumous honours paid to Mas'ud in the public prayers, is extracted from the *Tārīkh Mnasáúdí*, as it is by no means improbable that a similar commemorative record may have been extended to the coinage of the day.

شاه ملك \* \* \* روز ادينه ديكر روز مسجد جامع آمد با بسيار  
سوار و پياده ساخته و كوكله بزرگ و بنام امير المومنين و سلطان  
مسعود پس بنام وي خطبه كردند عجيب اين بايد سنود آن روز  
كه بنام امير مسعود آنجا خطبه كردند پيش از آن بهدتي وي  
بقلعت كيري بگشته بودند

## M Ō D Ū D.

No. 77.

Gold. Weight, 52 gr. Ghazni. 433 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>الله فتح لله          محمد رسول الله          شهاب الدولة          وقطب الملة          مودود</p>	<p>عدل          لا اله الا          الله وحده          لا شريك له          القائم بامر الله</p>
<p>Marg. <u>محمد رسول الله ارسله</u>  <u>بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره</u>  <u>على الدين كله ولو كره</u>  <u>المشركون</u></p>	<p>Marg. int. <u>بسم الله ضرب هذا</u>  <u>الدينار بغزنة سنة ثلث</u>  <u>وثلاثين واربعمائة</u></p>
	<p>Marg. ext. <u>لله الامر من قبل</u>  <u>ومن بعد يومئذ بفرح</u>  <u>المؤمنون ينصر الله</u></p>

## No. LXXVIII.

Gold. Weight, 62 gr. Ghazni. 435 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>الله فتح الله            محمد رسول الله            شهاب الدولة            قطب الملة            مودون</p>	<p>عدل            لا اله الا            الله وحده            لا شريك له            القائم بامر الله            س</p>
<p>Marg. مودون رسول الله ارسله            بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره            علي الدين كله ولو كره            المشركون</p>	<p>Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا            الدينار بغرنة ستة وخمسة وثلاثين            واربعماية</p>
	<p>Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل            ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح            المؤمنون بنصر الله</p>

## No. 79.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>فتح            محمد رسول الله            القائم بامر الله            شهاب الدولة            مودون</p>	<p>رمضان            عدل            لا اله الا            الله وحده            لا شريك له            س</p>

Margins. Illegible.

No. 80.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr.

Similar legends on both Areas, with the monogram **رمضان** at the top,  
and **س** at the foot of the Obverse, in place of **س**.

Obverse Margin. **الدرهم بغزنة**.

No. 81.

Silver. Weight, 41 gr. 433 A.H.

Rzv.  
**ق ق ق**  
**محمد رسول الله**  
**علي الله عليه**  
**شهاب الدولة**  
**مودود**

Marg. Illegible.

Obv.  
**ع عدك**  
**لا اله الا الله**  
**وحده لا شريك له**  
**القائم بامر الله**  
**خ**

Marg. **بسم الله ضرب هذا**  
**الدرهم سنة ثلث**  
**وثلاثين واربعماية**

No. LXXXII.

Silver. Weight, 51 gr. Ghazni. 434 A.H. Common.

Rzv.  
**ق ق ق**  
**محمد رسول الله**  
**شهاب الدولة**  
**ابوالفتح**  
**مودود**

Marg. **بسم الله ضرب هذا**

**الدرهم بغزنة سنة اربع**  
**وثلاثين و**

Obv.  
**ع عدك**  
**س**  
**لا اله الا**  
**الله وحده**  
**لا شريك له**  
**القائم بامر الله**

Marg. **بسم بغزنة**

**سنة اربع وثلاثين**  
**واربعماية**

There are two thick specimens of this type of Coin, each of which weighs 63 gr.

## No. 83.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr. Ghazni. 4?? A.H.

Rev.  
 لله قنبح لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 شهاب الدولة  
 وقطب الملة  
 مودود

Obv.  
 عدل  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله  
 س

Marg. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا  
 الدرهم بغزنة سنة  
 واربع مائة

## No. LXXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word <sup>محرّم</sup> Muharrim over the عدل  
 in Obverse. Mint mark س .

## No. 85.

Silver (impure). Weight, 40 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word <sup>رجب</sup> Rajab over the عدل  
 in Obverse. Mint marks س ع .

## No. 86.

Silver. Weight, 36 gr.

Similar to No. 83, with the word <sup>شوال</sup> Shawāl over the عدل  
 in Obverse. Mint marks س ع .

No. 87.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.

Rev.

\* فتح \*  
 محمد رسول الله  
 شهاب الدولة  
 وفخر الاملة  
 مودود

Obv.

عدل  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله  
 س

Marg. Illegible.

Marg. Worn. الدرهم بغزنة

س.و.  
 املة Hope (faith).  
 ع

No. 88.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

Rev.

شهاب الدولة  
 وفخر الاملة  
 ابو الفتح  
 مودود

Obv.

لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 القائم بامر الله  
 س

Broad Margins, with bosses and all alternating.

No. 89.

Brass. Weight, 30 gr.

Legends in Arens as in No. 87, Silver Coin. The Obverse is wanting in the usual عدل, and has the mint mark س on the left of the legend.

Marg. As usual. الله الامر من | Marg. اسم ارجاية

No. 90.

Brass. Weight, 33 gr.

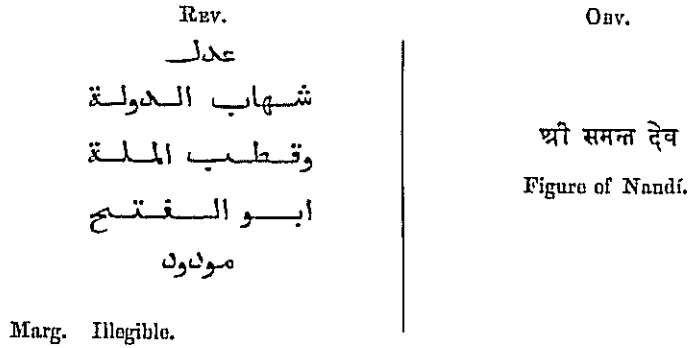
Arens as in No. LXXXII., Silver Coin.

Marg. Illegible.

Marg. ضرب هذا



No. XCI.

Copper and Silver, mixed. Weight, 44 gr. *My Cabinet.*

No. 92.

Copper and Silver. Weight, 45.5 gr. *My Cabinet.*

Similar to No. XCI.

Reverse Margin. — ضرب بهذا الدرهم بلوهور —

The earliest Mohammedan notice of Lahór is to be found in Albírúni; it is to the following effect:—

ثم فيها بين المغرب والشمال الى اديت هور تسعة والى جنين  
ستة والى ميدهوكور قصبة لوهاور على شرق نهر ايراده ثمانية

"Si de là [Canoge] on se porte vers le nord-ouest, on rencontre Adathaur, à la distance de neuf parasanges; ensuite Hadjannyr, à la distance de six parasanges; puis Maydahoukour, capitale du Lauhâour (Lahor), sur la rive orientale du Irâdha (le Ravi), à la distance de huit parasanges."

Fragmentis Arabes, &c., Reinaud, pp. 88, 114.

قال في اللباب<sup>1</sup> ولوهور مدينة كبيرة من بلاد الهند  
كثيرة الخير ويقال لها ايضا لهاور

Géographie d'Aboulféda, p. 359.

"It is stated in the Lubab, *Lóhór* is a great city of the cities of India, possessing many advantages. It is called also *Luháwur*."

<sup>1</sup> The Lubáb of Ibn Alatír is not extant. Reinaud et MacGuckin de Slane, Préface. Idem, p. 37.

## ABDAL RASHĪD.

No. XCIII.

Gold. Weight, 74 gr. Ghazni. 440 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	عَدْلٌ
مكلم رسول الله	س
عن الدولة	لا اله الا
ونرين الملة	الله وحده
شرف الله	لا شريك له
عبد الرشيد	القائم بامر الله
Marg. <u>مكلم رسول الله</u>	Marg. int. <u>بسم الله ضرب هذا</u>
<u>ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق</u>	<u>الدينار بغزنة سنة اربعين</u>
<u>ليظهره علي الدين كله</u>	<u>واربعماية</u>
<u>ولو كره المشركون</u>	Marg. ext. <u>لله الامر من قبل</u>
	<u>ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح</u>
	<u>المؤمنون بنصر الله</u>

## No. XCIV.

Gold. Ghazni. 441 A.H. M. B. Allard.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	س
مكلم رسول الله	لا اله الا
عن الدولة	الله وحده
وزير الملة	لا شريك له
شرق الله	الغالب بامر الله
عبد الرشيد	
Marg. محمد رسول الله	Marg. int. بسم الله ضرب هذا
ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق	الدينار بغزنة سنة احدى
ليظهره علي الدين كله	واربعين واربعماية
ولو كره المشركون	Marg. ext. لله الامر من قبل
	ومن بعد ويومئذ يفرح
	المؤمنون بنصر الله

## No. XCV.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr. Ghazni. (4)42 A.H. Rare.

Rev.	Obv.
شرق الله	فتح
مكلم رسول الله	لا اله الا
عن الدولة	الله وحده
وزير الملة	لا شريك له
عبد الرشيد	الغالب بامر الله
Marg. —————	Marg. —————
بغزنة سنة اثني واربع	الدرهم بغزنة سنة اثني

A second specimen of this description of Coin has the words "At Ghazni,  
VOL. IX. 2 E

year (4)42" clearly developed on the Obverse Margin; and a third similar piece discloses on both Margins the more important confirmative unit of سنة احدى و امر (44)1.

## No. 96.

Other Coins, of a nearly analogous character, have the word ترمين written in a manner differing from the form observable in the Engraving of Coin XCV., the Kufic ن being projected above the line of the word, as is usual in the old style of the letter. They also vary from No. XCV. in the Obverse monograms, which are occasionally seen to be

عدل س and عدل ك .

On the Obverse of one specimen is likewise to be detected the imperfect marginal date of 441 سنة احدى و امر —

The examination of the mutilated marginal legends of the concluding examples of the Coins of Abdal Rashid has been followed out in more than usual detail, with a view to determine, by satisfactory corroborative evidence, the credibility of the date of 440 A.H., to be seen on medal No. XCIII. This has been undertaken, not so much on account of the existence of any doubt as to the correct decipherment of the inscription on the Coin itself, as to meet any objection arising from the possibility of an omission—on the part of the die-engraver—of the word which should express the unit number in the date. Had the remaining Coins of Abdal Rashid indicated no dates but such as would maintain the statement of those writers who assign this Monarch's accession to the year 443, and thereby negatively have justified the inference of an error in the preparation of the die of No. XCIII., some difficulty might have been experienced in accepting the *historically* unsupported testimony of an isolated Coin; but, the specimens now cited, though they unquestionably do not directly affirm the doubtful date, uphold it so sufficiently with immediately consecutive annual dates, that the value of the initial numismatic record may fairly be relieved from all suspicion.

## FEROKHZÁD.

No. XCVII.

Gold. Bibliotheque du Roi, Paris. Kufic letters.

REV.	OBY.
*	*
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
جمال الدولة	الله وحده
وكمال الملة	لا شريك له
فرخزاد بن	القائم بامر الله
مسعود	
Marg. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Marg. int. <u>بسم الله ضرب هذا</u> الديناري
	Marg. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

## No. XCVIII.

Gold. Weight, 72 gr. Persian letters—single Margins. Unique.

REV.	OBY.
الله	
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
القائم بامر الله	وحده لا شريك له
جمال الدولة	فرخزاد بن مسعود
ابو شجاع	
Marg. <u>محمد رسول الله</u>	Marg. <u>بسم الله ضرب هذا</u>
ارسله بالهدي ودين الحق	الدينار
ليظهرة علي الدين كله	واربعاية
ولو كره المشركون	

This Coin is noticeable, as offering the only instance in the present series of the use of Persian letters, in lieu of the accustomed Kufic. It is known that Mahmúd's Vizir, Abú Abbás Fazíl, introduced for the first time, at the Court of Ghazni, the practice of writing public papers in the Persian language; and that

Khawajah Ahmad, the son of Hasan Meimendi, who subsequently became Minister, reverted to the Arabic for all permanent official documents (Ferishtah, Briggs, i, 88). It is possible that the altered style of the legend of the above medal may indicate a similar attempt at the re-introduction of the Persian language, as shown in the adoption of its characters on the coinage of the day. A more probable explanation of the origin of the change in the form of the letters is, however, to be found in the supposition that it may have been designed to convey an allusion to the temporary success of Ferokhzád over the armies of the Seljúks in Khorásán; or, indeed, it is by no means unlikely that the medal itself may actually have been struck in some of the Persian cities during their brief occupation by the troops of the Ghaznaví Monarch.

No. 99.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>ماحمد رسول الله            ابو شجاع            فرخ نراد بن            مسعود</p>	<p>عدل            لا اله الا            الله وحده            لا شريك له            القائم بامر الله</p>
Marg. <u>الدرهم بغزنة سنة ١</u>	Marg. Illegible.

No. 100.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr. (4)47 A.H. Broad Margins.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>الله            ماحمد رسول الله            صلي الله عليه            جمال الدولة            فرخ نراد</p>	<p>عدل            لا اله الا الله            وحده لا شريك له            القائم بامر الله            عدل</p>
Marg. Illegible.	<p>Marg. <u>بسم الله ضرب هذا</u>  <u>الدرهم</u> ————— <u>اربعين</u>            واربع مائة</p>

No. 101.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. 450 A.H. Broad Margins.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	جمال
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلي الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
جمال الدولة	القائم بامر الله
فرخزاد	عدد
Marg. ————— سنة ٤٥٠ بغرنة سنة	Marg. ————— الدرهم بغر
————— خسبين وا	————— خسبين واربعماية

No. CII.

Silver. Weight, 46 gr.

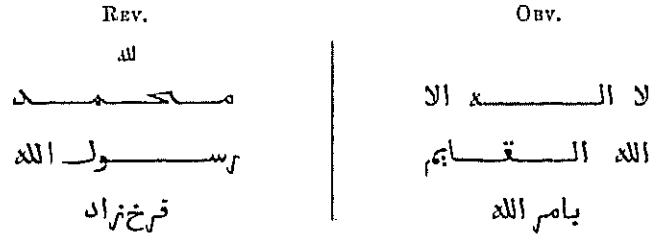
Rev.	Obv.
o	قنح
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
جمال الدولة	الله وحده ن
وكمال الملة	لا شريك له
فرخزاد	القائم بامر الله

No Margins.

Others have monograms الله and عدل. Weights, up to 47 gr.

## No. CIII.

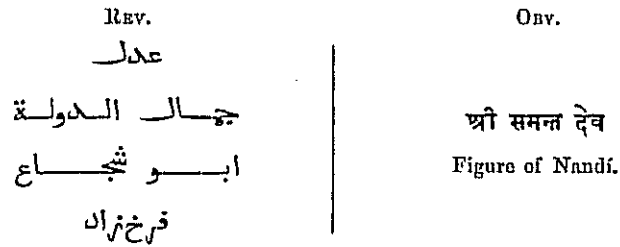
Silver. Weight, 5.5 gr.



Average weight of four other specimens, 5.25 gr.

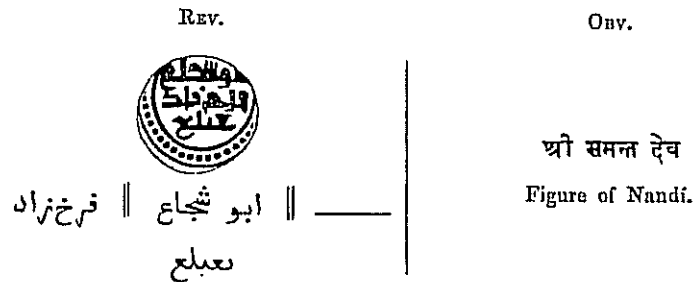
## No. CIV.

Mixed Silver and Copper. Weight, 50 gr.



## No. 105.

Mixed Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. Unique.





No. 106.

Copper. Weight, 30 gr.

REV.	OBY.
ن ﷺ ن محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه جاك الدولة قرخزاق	عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القائم بامر الله بن مسعود

Margins. Illegible.

No. 107.

Copper. Weight, 30 gr.

Same as No. CII., Silver Coin.

## IBRAHĪM.

No. CVIII.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr. Rare.

Rrv.	Obv.
ن ملك ن م ك م د ر س و ل الل الق ا ب م ر الل ا ب ر ه ب م	ظ ه ب ر لا الل الل الل و ح د لا ش ر ي ك ل الل د و ل ة

Broad Margins. Bosses and لا alternating.

No. CIX.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr. Unique.

Rrv.	Obv.
ن الل ن م ك م د ر س و ل الل ظ ه ب ر الل د و ل ة الم لك ا ب ر ه ب م ن ص ب ر ي	ن الل ن لا الل الل الل و ح د لا ش ر ي ك ل الق ا ب م ر الل ع

Margins. Illegible.

No. 110.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	ملك
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلي الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
ظهيرا للدولة	القايم بامر الله
ابرهيم	الاسلام

Margins. Illegible.

Judging from the outline of what still remains of the nearly obliterated Reverse marginal legend, the inscription seems to have been composed of a mere repetition of the words الله الملك \_\_\_\_\_

No. 111.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
عدل	المظفر
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
صلي الله عليه	وحده لا شريك له
ابو المظفر	القايم بامر الله
ابرهيم	عدد

Marg. Illegible. Marg. \_\_\_\_\_  
ضرب هذا الدرهم بـ

A similar Coin has the monogram عدل in the place of المظفر,  
the former being replaced by the word الله

Obverse Margin. بسم الله \_\_\_\_\_ واربعاية

No. 112.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

REV.	OBY.
محمد	القائم
رسول الله	لا اله الا
نصير الدولة	الله وحده
وظهير الملة	لا شريك له
أبرهيم	بأمر الله
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. الملك لله

No. 113.

Silver. Weight, 33 gr.

A Coin similar to No. 112, having the Khalif's name in the third line of the Obverse, the two first lines being lengthened accordingly to contain the usual legend. Monograms  $\frac{\text{عدل}}{\text{عدن}}$ .

Reverse legend as in No. 112. Monogram قران.

No. 114.

Silver. Weight, 33 gr.

REV.	OBY.
قران	
محمد رسول الله	
نصير	Similar to No. 113.
الدولة	
أبرهيم	

Silver. Weight, 31 gr.

No. 115.

Rev. (Circular Area.)

لله ن لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 نصير الدولة  
 وظهير الملة  
 ابرهيم

Obv.

القايم  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 الملك

Marg. Illegible.

The title الملك at the foot of the Obverse surface is occasionally replaced by the word عدد .

No. 116.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.

محمد  
 رسول الله  
 ظهير الدولة  
 ونصير الملة  
 ابرهيم

Obv.

القايم  
 لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 بامر الله

لا اله الا  
 الله وحده  
 لا شريك له  
 بامر الله  
 راحت

No. CXVII.

Silver. Weight, 42 gr.

Rev.

لله لله لله  
 محمد رسول الله  
 السلطان الاعظم  
 قاهر الملوك  
 سيد السلاطين  
 ابرهيم

Obv.

لله لله  
 لا اله الا الله  
 وحده لا شريك له  
 القايم بامر الله  
 ملك الاسلام  
 نصيري

Margins. Illegible.

No. 118.

Other Coins of this type bear the name of the Khalif Al Muktadi  
be amerillah. Monogram on Obverse قران.

No. CXIX.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
عادي	* ن * ن
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
قاهر الملوك	محمد رسول الله
سيد السلاطين	المقتدي بامر الله
ابو المظفر	ملك الاسلام
ابرهيم	ح ه ك

Margins. Illegible.

A second specimen has                      وارهيمية باسم الله ضرب هذا  
legible on the Obverse Margin.

No. 120.

Silver. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان	قران
الاعظم قاهر	لا اله الا الله
الملوك	وحده لا شريك له
سيد السلاطين	المقتدي بامر الله
ابرهيم	ملك الاسلام
	ك ه ك

Margins composed of minute triangular points.

## No. 121.

Silver. Weight, 40 gr.

Obverse. As No. 120; but the Khalif's name is at the top and bottom of

Obverse, thus  $\frac{\text{المقتدي}}{\text{بامر الله}}$ .

Reverse. Monogram  $\text{قران}$ , and a legend similar to No. 120; but the whole is comprised in four lines, instead of five.

## No. 122.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

REV.

الله \* لله  
السلطان الاعظم  
قاهر الملوك  
سيد السلاطين  
ابرهيم

Ouv.

المقتدي  
السلطان الاعظم  
قاهر الملوك  
سيد السلاطين  
بامر الله

## No. 123.

Silver. Weight, 44 gr.

REV.

الله لله لله  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان الاعظم  
قاهر الملوك  
سيد السلاطين  
ابرهيم

Ouv.

لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
ملك الاسلام  
المقتدي بامر  
الله

Another specimen of this class of Coin has the monogram  $\text{قاهر}$   
at the top of the Obverse.

No. 124.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
حافظ	المقتدي
السلطان	لا اله الا
الاعظم	الله محمد
ابراهيم	رسول الله
	بامر الله

Another Coin of this type has on the Reverse Margin

ك لله الملك لله الملك لله

No. CXXXV.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
حافظ	المستظهر
السلطان	لا اله الا
الاعظم	الله محمد
ابراهيم	رسول الله
	بالله
Marg. Illegible.	Marg. ك لله الملك لله الملك لله

No. CXXXVI.

Silver. Weight, 5.5 gr.

Rev.	Centre.	Obv.
بن مسعود		ابراهيم



No. CXXVII.

Silver. Weight, 4.5 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
محمّد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله القابم
ابرهيم	بامر الله

No. 128.

Silver and Copper, mixed. Weight, 27 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
محمّد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
ابو المظفر	وحده لا شريك له
ابرهيم بن	القابم بامر الله
مسعود	عدد

No. CXXIX.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 46 gr. Lahór.

Rev.	Obv.
عدل	
السلطان	
المعظم	
ابو المظفر	श्री समन्त देव
ابرهيم	Figure of Nandí.
Marg. ضرب هذا الدرهم	
بلوهور	

A second similar specimen has also the words — **ري هذا الدرهم بلوهور** — clearly legible on its Margin.

No. 130.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 47 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
Legend commences with السلطان الاعظم instead of السلطان المعظم	As in No. CXXIX.

Some Coins have the monogram سيف in lieu of عدل; and many have the Margins filled with dots in the place of legends.

No. 131.

Brass. Weight, 28 gr.

Areas as in No. 112, Silver Coin.

No. 132.

Brass. Weight, 34 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
As in No. 121.	As in No. CXIX.

## MASA'UD III.

No. CXXXIII.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Unique.

Rev.	Obv.
ابو سعد السلطان الاعظم الكادم بامر الله القايم بربح الله مسعود	لله * لله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستظهر بالله بميني
Marg. _____	Marg. _____
_____ الملك المويد علا الدولة و _____	_____ نة ستة خمس و _____

No. CXXXIV.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. 494 A.H.

Rev.	Obv.
ظهير <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">             السلطان              الاعظم              مسعود           </div> ع	المستظهر لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله بالله
Marg. _____	Marg. _____
_____ الملك المويد علا الدولة وسنا <sup>1</sup> الملة ظهير الامام <sup>1</sup>	_____ اربع وتسعين اربع مائة

<sup>1</sup> This marginal legend has been restored from the collation of different specimens.<sup>2</sup> سنا Light.

No. CXXXV.

Silver. Weight, 55 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
سنای	
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
علا الدولة	محمد رسول الله
وسنا الملة	المستظهر بالله
ظهیر الامام	ملك الاسلام
مسعود	ابو سعد

No Margins.

A second Coin has the monogram  $\times$  سنای  $\times$  at the top of Reverse.

No. 136.

Silver. Weight, 38 gr. Common.

Rev.	Obv.
ابو سعد	عدل
السلطان العادل	لا اله الا الله
مولى السلاطين	محمد رسول الله
نظام الدين	المستظهر بالله
مسعود	قاهري
Marg. ————— يغترنة سنة خمس و	Marg. Illegible.

No. CXXXVII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 51 gr. Major Simpson.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان	
علا الدولة	श्री समन्त देव
مسعود	Figure of Nandi.

No. 138.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 51 gr. Major Simpson.

REV.	OBY.
السلطان العادل أبو سعد مسعود	श्री समन्त देव Figure of Nandi.

No. 139.

Copper. Weight, 47 gr.

Similar legends, &amp;c., to Silver Coin, No. 136.

## ARSLAN.

No. 140.

Silver. Weight, 49 gr. Very scarce.

REV.	OBY.
ملك محمد رسول الله سلطان الدولة ملك ارسلان بن مسعود	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له المستظهر بالله ٢
Marg. الملك لله الملك لله الملك لله	Marg. Illegible

No. CXLI.

Copper. Weight, 42 gr. Common.

REV.	OBY.
ملك ارسلان	سلطان الدولة

\*

## BAHRÁM SHÁH.

No. CXLII.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Very common.

Rev.	Obv.
سلطان	لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله	المسترشد بالله
السلطان الاعظم	عضد الدولة
بمين الدولة	سنجر
بهرامشاه	
ع	

Margins. Illegible.

A second Coin has \_\_\_\_\_ الدرهم بقرنة س \_\_\_\_\_ on its Obverse, and  
 \_\_\_\_\_ ضرب هذا الدرهم بغ \_\_\_\_\_ on its Reverse Margin.

No. 143.

Silver. Weight, 30 gr. Small Coin.

Areas as in No. CXLII. No Margins.

No. CXLIV.

Silver. Weight, 56 gr. Very scarce.

Rev.	Obv.
ناصرى	لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله	المقتنى لامر الله <sup>1</sup>
السلطان الاعظم	عضد الدولة
بمين الدولة	سنجر
بهرامشاه	

Margins. Illegible.

<sup>1</sup> Sic in orig.

No. CXLV.

Silver. Weight, 8 gr.

Rev. Margin.	Onv. Margin.
الدولة	لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله
Centre. بهرام شاه	Centre. بهرام شاه

No. 146.

Silver. Weight, 10 gr.

Rev.	Onv.
ن بن ن	شاه
مسعود	بهرام شاه
ن ن	ع

This type of Coin has no *written* Margins, the space being filled in with simple dots.

No. CXLVII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 48 gr. *My Cabinet.*

Rev.	Onv.
عدل	श्री समन्त देव
السلطان	Figure of Nandi.
الاعظم	
بهرام شاه	

## KHUSRŪ SHĀH.

No. CXLVIII.

Gold. Weight, 59 gr. Unique.

Rev.  
معتر  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان الاعظم  
معتر الدولة  
خسرو شاه

Ouv.

...  
لا اله الا الله  
وحده لا شريك له  
المقتني لامر الله  
عضد الدولة  
سانجر

Marg. Eligible.

Marg. ارسله بالهدى  
علي الدين

No. 149.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Unique.

Rev.  
ناصر  
محمد رسول الله  
السلطان الاعظم  
معتر الدولة  
خسرو شاه

Ouv.

الله  
لا اله الا الله  
المقتني لامر الله  
عضد الدولة  
سانجر

Marg. Composed of dots.

Marg. ضرب هذا ا

No. CL.

Silver. Weight, 63 gr. Scarce.

This type varies from No. 149, in the rejection of the name of Sanjar, the two last lines of the Obverse Area being superseded by the words

امير المومنين

Both Margins are composed of dots.



## KHUSRŪ MALIK.

No. CLI.

Silver. Weight, 50 gr. Unique.

REV.	OBY.
?	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	وحده لا شريك له
تاج الدولة	المقتفي لامر الله
خسرو ملك	امير المؤمنين

Margins filled up with dots.

No. CLII.

Silver. Weight, 66 gr. Common.

REV.	OBY.
محمد رسول الله	عدل
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
تاج الدولة	المستجد بامر الله
خسرو ملك	امير المؤمنين

Dotted Margins.

Some have marginal inscriptions; but the purport is unintelligible. Occasionally are to be seen the Obverse monogram, *infra*, ع ع ع, and Reverse, *supra*, تاج.

<sup>1</sup> Sic in orig.

No. CLIII.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
السلطان الاعظم تاج الدولة خسرو ملك	The Bull Nandi in Toghrá, and traces of श्री समन्त देव

No. 154.

Copper. Weight, 48 gr. *My Cabinet.* (See also Plate XX., fig. 16, *Ariana Antiqua.*)

Rev.	Obv.
In a circle ب خسرو ملك	السلطان الاعظم سراج الدولة

No. 155.

Copper. Weight, 50 gr.

Rev.	Obv.
تاج الدولة خسرو ملك	السلطان الاعظم #

TABLE II.—*Abstract of Dates legible on the Coins.*

A.H.	Mint City.	King's Name.	Reference to Coins.	Remarks.
347	(Anderābeh)	Alptegīn	1	Frāhn.
380	Ferwān	Sabaktagīn	2	2 specimens.
382	?	idem	3	
383	Ferwān	idem	4	
(3)84	?	idem	5	
385	Nīshāpūr	Mahmūd	8	
390	idem	idem	9 and 10	
395	Herāt	idem	14	{ See also No. 25, (Ghaznī).
399	(Nīshāpūr)	idem	26	
399	(Ghaznī)	idem	27	
400	Nīshāpūr	idem	11	Frāhn.
401	idem	idem	12 and 13	
401	Herāt	idem	15	2 specimens.
401	Ghaznī	idem	36	
405	idem	idem	54	
407	Nīshāpūr	idem	19	
409	idem	idem	20	
411	Herāt	idem	16	
411	Balkh	idem	40	
411	Ghaznī	idem	43 and 44	
412	Balkh	idem	45	See also No. 42.
413	Herāt	idem	17	
414	Nīshāpūr	idem	41	
414	Herāt	idem	18	
414	?	idem	46	
419	?	idem	47	
421	?	idem	50 and 52	
421	Balkh	idem	51	4 specimens.
422	Nīshāpūr	Masūd	58	
422	?	idem	60	
425	?	idem	62	
(4)27	?	idem	62 <sup>a</sup>	
(42)8	Balkh	idem	63	
431	Nīshāpūr	idem	59	
433	Ghaznī	Módūd	77	
433	?	idem	81	
434	Ghaznī	idem	82	
435	idem	idem	78	
440	idem	Abdal Rashīd	93	
441	idem	idem	94	{ See also No. 96 and Note to No. 95. 2 specimens.
(4)42	idem	idem	95	
(4)4?	?	Ferokhzād	100	
450	Ghaznī	idem	101	
494	?	Masūd II.	134	

Mons. F. Soret, in his "Lettre sur quelques Monnaies inédites trouvées à Bokhara" (Genève, 1843), describes a copper Coin similar in historic characteristics to No. 8, bearing the conjoint names of Al Tā'ī' h lillah, Nāh bin Mansūr, and Seif al Daulah (Mahmūd), struck at Nīshāpūr in 386 A.H. M. Soret also cites from Frāhn's works, gold Coins of Mahmūd, Nīshāpūr, 413, and Ghaznī, 406. The means of verification of these last quotations are not immediately available.

TABLE III.—*Mint Cities.*

1	Balkh	بلخ	Nos. 40, 45, 51, &c.
2	Ferwán	فروان	„ 2, 4. See also Coins B and C, pp. 35, 36.
3	Ghazní	غزنیة	„ 36, 43, 49, 53, &c., &c.
4	Herdt	هراة	„ 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, &c.
5	Lahór	لوهور	„ 92, 129.
6	Nishápúr	نيسابور	„ 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, &c.
7	Sejistán	سجستان	„ 48.
8	Wálín	والين	„ 29, 64.
9	Anderábeh? .. .. .		Frühn, <i>Novæ Symbolæ</i> , p. 15.
10	Bokhárá, 412 A.H. }		} Are quoted by Møller ( <i>De Numis. Orientalibus</i> , p. 134), as given by Frühn ( <i>2ter Ber.</i> , p. 36).
11	Kerminía, 389 A.H. }		

Since the major portion of the preceding pages have passed through the press, an opportunity has occurred of inspecting a *second* copy of the rare work of Al Biheki, containing the life and history of Mas'úd of Ghazni, in the possession of W. H. Morley, Esq. Any lengthened notice of this MS. might be deemed out of place at the present moment, but it is necessary to state that a more extended, though still imperfect, examination of this MS. in no way shakes the authenticity of any previous quotation; and, though much might have been added, there is nothing to alter in any of the deductions heretofore drawn from its pages, with the single exception of a remark which suggests itself from a discovery that Mas'úd bore among his other titles that of *حافظ لعباد الله*, and that possibly this may be the designation intended to be recorded in the inscription which occupies the last line of the Reverse Areas of Coins Nos. 59, 60. This was in truth, the most obvious and satisfactory reading, and that which presented itself at the first sight of the Coins; but it was rejected, and is still questioned, on account of the shape of the final letter of the second word differing so materially from the other *dals* د to be found on other parts of the self-same Coins.

## SUPPLEMENT.

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In bringing to a conclusion the foregoing description of the Coins of the Ghaznavi Kings of the race of Sabaktagin, it may be appropriate to take this opportunity of referring cursorily to any of the more rare or remarkable medals connected with the locality, whence this dynasty derived its name, which have found a place in the collection of Mr. Masson.

With this single object in view, and avoiding any effort at serial classification, the following detached notices of a few of the numismatic records of some of the early successors of the more strictly so-called Ghaznavi Monarchs are here subjoined. In the express desire also of limiting the present observations, the reproduction of any previously fully-deciphered Coin has been carefully avoided, and the necessary introductory remarks have been confined to little more than mere references to readily accessible historical authorities.

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### GHĪĀTH AL DĪN MOHAMMED BIN SĀM.

Ghīāth al dīn Mohammed bin Sām was the Suzerain of, and eventually the associate Sovereign with, his brother, Muaz al dīn (otherwise Shahab al dīn) Mohammed bin Sām, better known as Mohammed Ghōri, the conqueror of Hindūstān, and founder of the powerful dynasty of the Patān Monarchs of Delhi<sup>1</sup>.

The Coins of these brother Kings are not uncommon, and may be referred to in the Journ. As. Soc., Bengal, May, 1838; *Ariana Antiqua*, pp. 435, 437, and 438, Nos. 29, 35, Pl. XX., and Nos. 24, 25, 26, 35, 36, Pl. XIX.; and also *Numismatic Chronicle*, October, 1846.

No. 1.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 46 gr.

Obv. Rude figure of a Cavalier, facing to the left, with his lance at the charge.

REV. سَيْفُ الْمَلِكِ الْأَعْظَمِ أَبُو الْمُنْفَرِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ سَامٍ

The above Coin is remarkable as illustrating the authenticity of an assertion in

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah (Dow), i., 127; Briggs, i., 169; Price, ii., 313; Price, quoting the *Khalāsat al Akhbār*, ii., 455. Dorn's *Hist. Afghans*, Annotations. Elphinstone, i., 603.

Abūl Fedá, to the effect that, after Alá al dīn Husséin *Jehánsáz*' death, Ghiáth al dīn Mohammed bin Sám reigned over Ghór and Ghazní as *Malik*, that is to say, without at first adopting the higher style of *Sultán*.

وخطب لنفسه في الغور وغزنة بالملك

Abūl Fedá, Ann. Mosl.

### BAHÁ AL DĪN SÁM BIN MOHAMMED.

The Dynasty of the Ghóríans of Bámián.

*Dominions*.—Tokháristán, Balkh, Boklán, and Badakhshan, &c.

1. Fakhr al dīn Masáúd, son of Eiz al dīn Hussén, *Amír Hájjib* of Sultán Ibrahím.
2. Shems al dīn Mohammed bin Masáúd.
3. Bahá al dīn Sám bin Mohammed. Fourteen years' reign. Died in 602 A.H.
4. Jellál al dīn Alí. Seven years' reign. Conquered and put to death by the Khwárizmís<sup>1</sup>.

Silver. Weight, 52 gr.	No. 2.	Obv.
Rev.		Rev.
السلطان ال		لا اله الا
عظم بها الد		الله محمد
نيا والدين		رسول الله
سام بن محمد		الناصر لدين
o o o		الله

Margins. Illegible.

Silver. Weight, 12 gr.	No. 3.
Obv. The usual symbol in three lines, as in No. 2, but without the addition of the Khalif's name.	
Rev. السلطان الاعظم بها الدنيا والدين سام بن محمد	

<sup>1</sup> *Rauzat al Safá*, quoted by Dorn, ii., 91; see also *original MS.*, No. 43, Roy. As. Soc.; and *MS. Khalásat al Akhbár*, Idem.

No. 4.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 52 gr.

Obv. Rude figure of a Horseman, facing to the right, holding a lance at the charge.

Rev. As No. 2.

## TĀJ AL DĪN ĪLDUZ.

Tāj al dīn Īlduz, one of the slaves of Mohammed Ghórí, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his appointment to the government of Kirmán. He was subsequently elevated to the charge of Ghazní itself, in which position he revolted on Mohammed Ghórí's defeat by the Allies of the King of Khwárizm; but finding his master at the gates of the capital, with sufficient force to insure success, he submitted, and was pardoned, being allowed to retain his former charge. On Muaz al dīn's death, Īlduz became independent Monarch of Ghazní, and held possession until its capture by Mohammed Khwárizmí, after which he returned to Kirmán, and eventually in endeavouring to conquer Hindústán, he was taken prisoner by Shems al dīn Altamsh<sup>1</sup>.

No. 5.

Gold. Weight, 46 gr. Unique.

Obv. Area. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله  
امير المؤمنين

Marg. \* \* \* شهور سنة ثمان وسـ \* \* \*

Rev. Area. السلطان (ا) لاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو  
المظفر محمد بن سام

Marg. \* \* \* نظم تاج الدنيا والدين

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah [Dow, i., 138; Briggs, i., 200]; D'Herbelot, Article "Īldiz;" Elphinstone, i., 616.

No. 6.

Gold. Weight, 61 gr. Unique.

Obv. Aren. السلطان الشهيد محمد بن سام

Marg. \* \* هذا ببلده غز \* \* شهور سنة \* \*

Rev. الملك المعظم سلطان الشرق تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

No. 7.

Silver. Weight, 94 gr. Unique.

Obv. Square Aren. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
التاصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين

Marg. هـ ذ ا ل د || هـ و ر سنة || ع ش ر

Rev. Small square Aren. السلطان المعظم

Marg. السلطاني عبْد ومولا تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

No. 8.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 39 gr.

Obv. Rude figure of a Cavalier, facing to the left, with his spear at the charge.

Rev. Aren. الملك المعظم تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

Marg. Filled in with dots.

No. 9.

Silver and Copper.

Obv. The *Kirmán* style of the figure of the Bull (Nandí?)

Rev. معز الدنيا والدين عبْد يلدز

A Coin of Táj al dín Ilduz is depicted in fig. 18, Pl. XX., *Ariana Antiqua*.



## ALĀ AL DĪN MOHAMMED KHWĀRIZMĪ.

*(Sekander al Thānī.)*

Alā al dīn Mohammed, son of Tukush, the sixth of the Khwārizm Shāhīs, ascended the throne of his father in 596 A.H. After the defeat of the Kāra Khitans, in 605<sup>1</sup>, he was entitled Sekander al Thānī<sup>2</sup>. Subsequently he subdued Bāmiān; and in 612<sup>3</sup> he reduced Ghaznī. He died in 617.

The gold coins of this Prince have been sufficiently noticed by Professor Wilson, in his *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 437 (see also Fraehn's *Recensio*, pp. 146 and 595). One class of Alā al dīn's *broad* silver coins partakes of the general characteristics of his gold coinage: the two specimens of this description in Mr. Masson's collection weigh severally 97 and 102 grains. In addition also to the common *narrow* silver coins, in make and weight similar to those of his son (No. 17), there are examples of thin *broad* silver pieces, likewise weighing about 47 grains, which are curiously ornamented with a scalloped Margin, in the interstices of which are inscribed the usual marginal legends. These coins have the monogram قروان at the top of each Area; the place of mintage is not legible.

No. 10.

Copper. Weight, 67 gr.

Obv. Horseman in outline (*Toghrā*)<sup>4</sup> face to the left

السلطان ————— دنيا و —————

Rev. Bull in outline. ابو الفتح محمد بن

السلطان



This Coin and No. 15 are noticeable as evincing how completely it was the custom with Eastern conquerors, in Central Asia at least, to adopt the types of the money of the countries subdued. It has been shown (*Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, xvii., 190) that the Khwārizmīs, in imitation of their immediate predecessors, the Ghóris, made use of the device of the Horseman, first introduced by the Brahman Kings of Kābul; but the present examples prove that they also appropriated, subject to but slight modification, the Reverse die—the Bull of the Hindú prototype.

<sup>1</sup> De Guignes: see also D'Herbelot, Article "Mohammed Koth beddin."

<sup>2</sup> Or according to the *Khalāsat al Akhbār*, in 607 A.H.; Price, ii., 399.

<sup>3</sup> Anno duodecimo, mense Shabano, potitus est Soltan Mohammed urbe Ghazna; cum antea maximam Chorasani partem et regnum Bamianna possedisset. Abūl Faraj [Pocock], p. 287.

<sup>4</sup> See a somewhat similar figure on a coin of this Monarch, Plate, p. 177, fig. 23, *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, No. XVII.; and *Journ. As. Soc.*, Bengal, fig. 2, Pl. XIV., Vol. VI.

No. 11.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

Ouv. *Square Area.* السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدينRrv. Horseman, *face to the left* محمد بن السلطان || تكس

No. 12.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 53 gr. Bámán.

Ouv. As No. 11.

Rrv. Horseman, *face to the right.*

محمد بن السلطان  
 and in a line with the spear, below the horse,  
 ياميان.



No. 13.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 42 gr.

Ouv. لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

Rrv. Marg. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين محمد

Centre. بن سلطان

No. 14.

Copper. Weight, 51 gr.

Ouv. As No. 13.

Rrv. Marg. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين

Centre. محمد

## No. 15.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

Obv. السلطان الاعظم سكندر الثاني

Rev. Bull Nandí, and the imperfectly formed letters मस.

For an engraving of this Coin see *Ariana Antiqua*, Plate XX., fig. 4; figs. 8 and 15, of the same Plate, also represent Coins of Alá al dín bin Mohammed.

## No. 16.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 40 gr.

Obv. السلطان علا الدنيا و الدين سكندر الثاني

Rev. Horseman in *Toghrá*, face to the right, and श्री हमीरः

## JELLÁL AL DÍN MANKBURÍN.

On the death of Alá al dín, his son, Jellál al dín Mankburín, retired to Ghazní, and not long afterwards (618) retreated before Chengiz Khán towards Hindústán, by whom he was overtaken and totally defeated on the banks of the Indus. After this, he held temporary dominion in India for two years, and in 620<sup>1</sup> proceeded to Irak, and having experienced various remarkable turns of fortune, he was finally routed by the Tatars in 628 A.H., from which time he is entirely lost sight of<sup>2</sup>.

## No. 17.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Unique. (*Small Coin, with dotted Margins.*)

Obv. الناصر لدين الله أمير المؤمنين

Rev. جلال الدنيا و الدين منكبرين بن السلطان

<sup>1</sup> Ferishtah [Briggs], iv. 415.

<sup>2</sup> Price, from *Khalásat al Akhbár*, ii. 410; D'Herbelot, Article "Gellaleddin."

No. 18.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. Rare. (*Persian letters.*)

Obv. السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين

Rev. Horseman in *Toghrá*.

No. 19.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 45 gr. Rare.

Similar to No. 18; but with *square* Kufic letters.

## CHENGIZ KHÁN.

Declared Emperor of the Moghuls 602 A.H. = 1206<sup>1</sup>.

Died, Ramzán, 624 A.H.

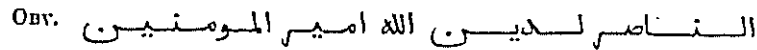
The extensive conquests achieved by the Moghuls under Chengiz Khán, and the sanguinary character of their inroads into the countries of the different nations of Asia, are too prominent in the general history of the world to require any extended recapitulation in this place; it may, however, be necessary to mark the various points of this Monarch's connexion with the land to which it is probable the Coins below quoted more immediately refer. The detail of this portion of Chengiz Khán's career is almost wholly confined to his contests with Jellál al dín, the last of the Khwárizmís. The progressive advance of the conqueror may be traced in the sieges of Balkh, Tálikán, and Bámián, each rendered memorable in the record of the atrocities which were enacted on their capture. While engaged in reducing the last named city, the forces of the Moghuls received a check in the defeat of two several detachments by their intrepid opponent, who at this time held his Court at Ghazní. Dissensions, however, arising in the camp of Jellál al dín, followed by the defection of one of his most powerful supporters, induced Chengiz Khán to take advantage of the opportunity, and advance in person upon Ghazní, whence, as has already been stated, Jellál al dín retreated, and was brought to action on the Indus, where he nobly defended himself to the last extremity; and, in his equally bold passage of the river itself, when all was lost, he elicited the involuntary admiration of his barbarian adversary.

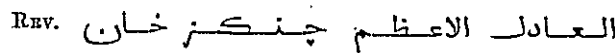
<sup>1</sup> Price (*Habíb al Sair*), ii. 486, 518, 520, &c.; D'Herbelot, Article "Genghiz Khan."

Beyond this spot Chengiz Khán's Indian conquests can scarcely be said to have extended, as he seems to have satisfied himself with the dispatch of one of his Generals to ravage the country, which was effected in the full measure of Moghul ferocity as far as Multán and Lahór<sup>1</sup>.

## No. 20.

Silver. Weight, 47 gr. Very scarce. (*Small thick Coin, with dotted Margins.*)

OBV. 

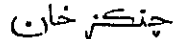
REV. 



## No. 21.

Silver. Weight, 48 gr.

A Coin similar to the above, but having the name and title written in the more modern form of Kufic characters as two distinct words



## No. 22.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 63 gr. (Coin of a similar character and form of letters to No. 20.)

OBV. As above, No. 20.

REV. 

A Coin of Chengiz Khán (Bokhárá) is described by Frøhn. *Die Münzen*, p. 67.

<sup>1</sup> Price, ii. 520; De Guignes, ii. 278, *et seq.*; Abul Faraj, p. 293, &c.

INCERTI.

No. 23.

Silver and Copper. Weight, 44 gr. (Three specimens in the Masson collection.)

Obv. A rudely-formed figure of a Bull, facing to the left, apparently in a rising posture, with the tail erect: above the back of the animal, expressed in *Persian* letters, is the word *فروان* Ferwán.

Rev. Area (in ill-formed *Kufic* characters).

عدل السلطان الاعظم مسعود

Marg. Illegible.

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No. 24.

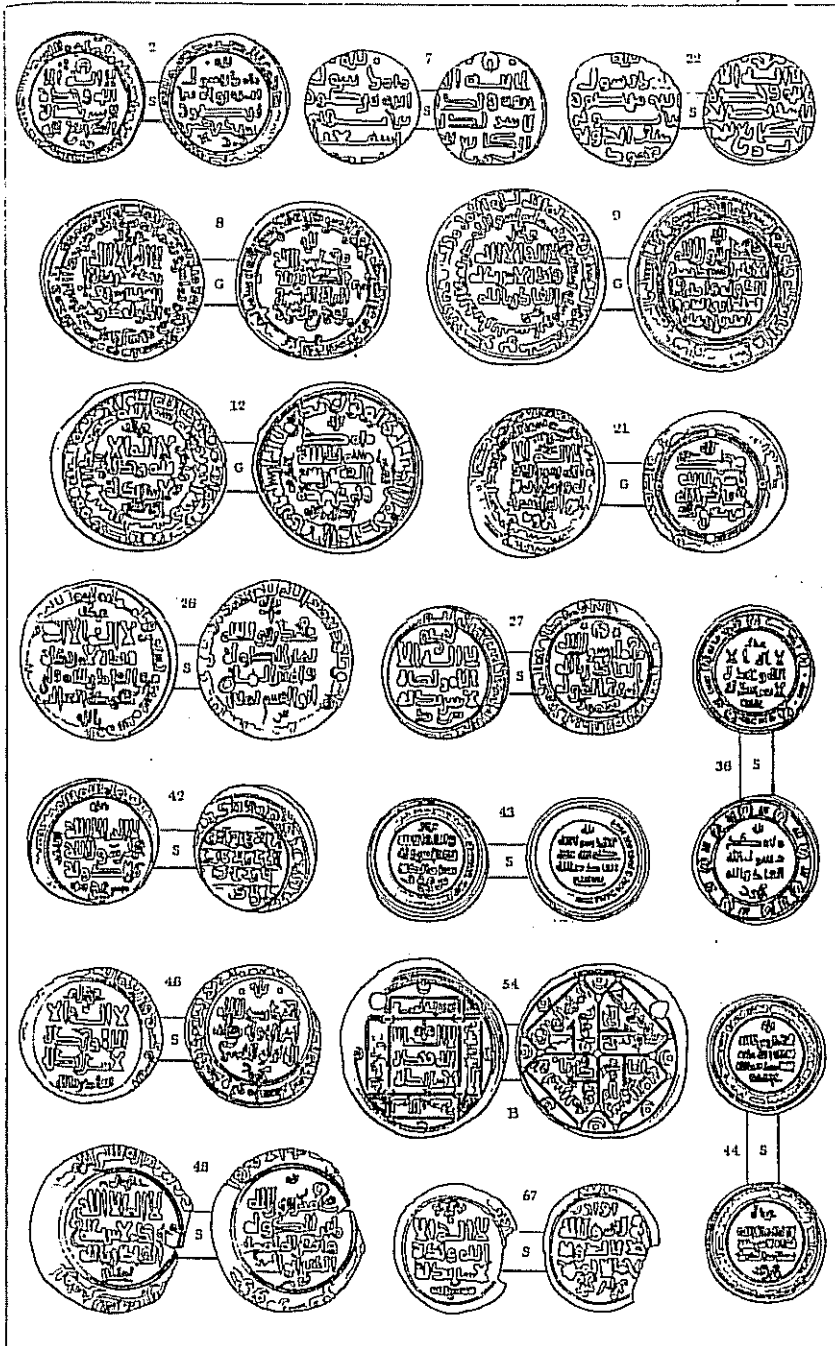
Silver and Copper. Weight, 49 gr.

Obv. Horseman in *Toghrát*, facing to the left, and श्री हरीरः imperfectly formed, the म being completely reversed.

Rev. *Persian* characters.

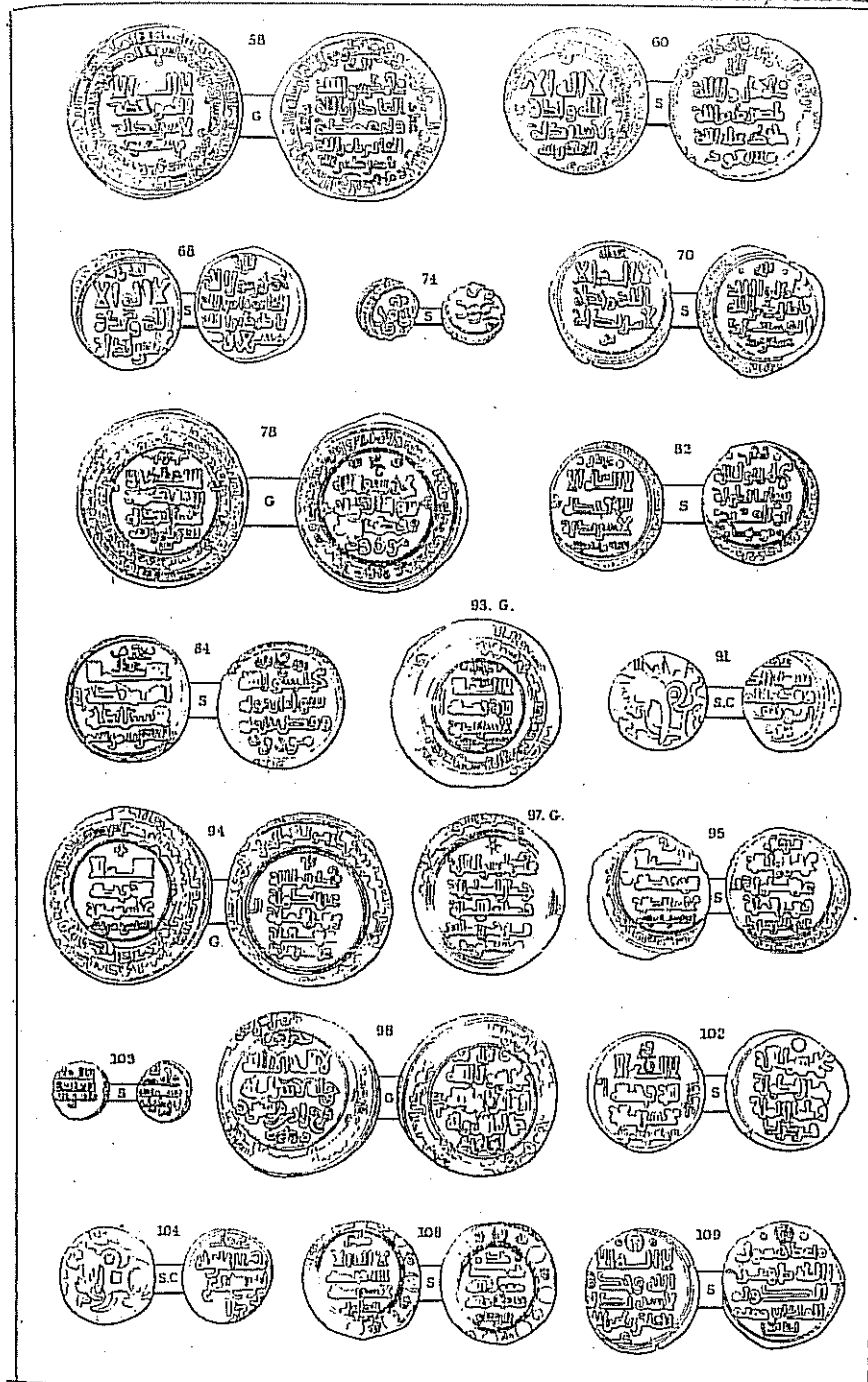
نفا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر الخ بن محمد

سيف?



J. Basire sc.

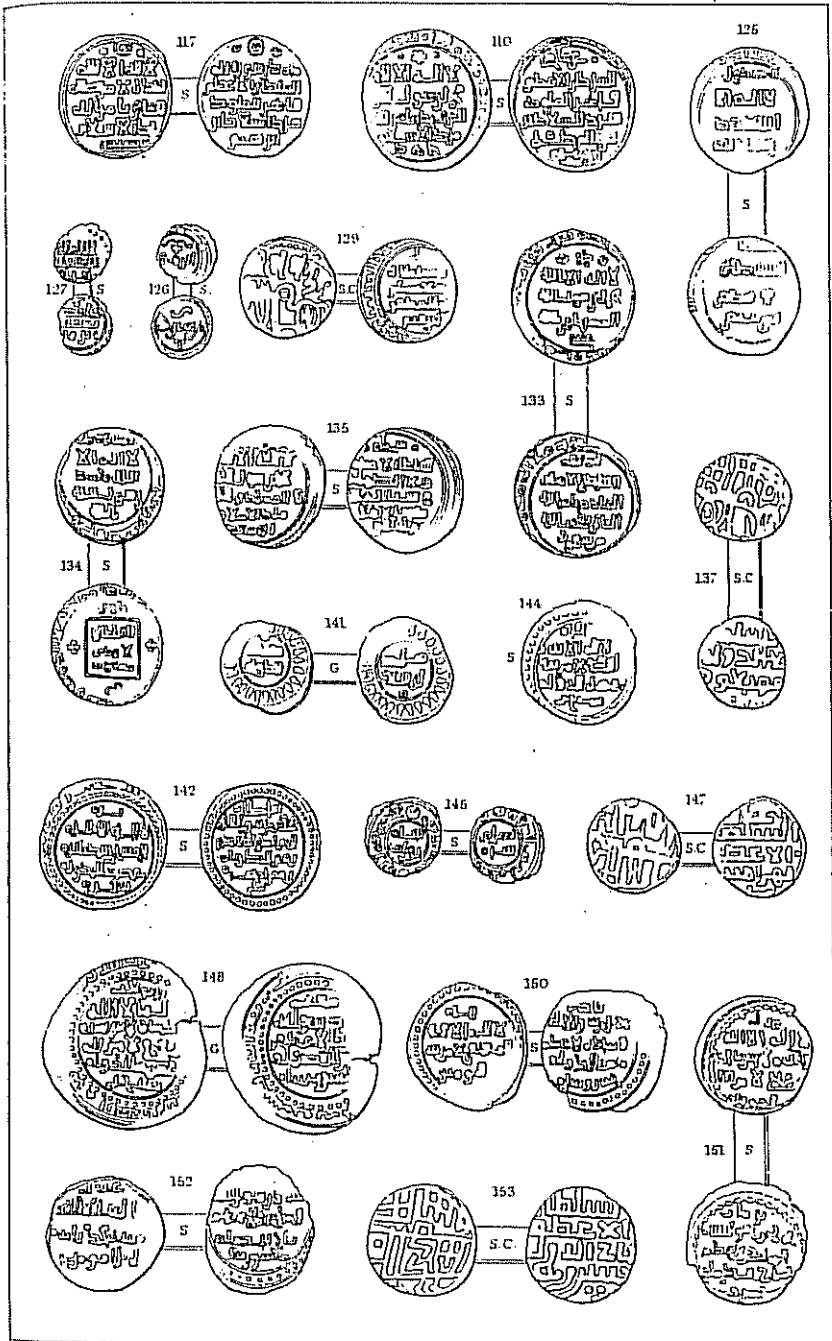
COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNI.



J. Barrow del. et sc.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNI.





J. Basire. del. et sc.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF CHAZHI.



*Note on Col. Stacey's Ghazni Coins, by E. THOMAS, Esq. C. S.*

In the year 1848 the Royal Asiatic Society of London, did me the honour of publishing in their Journal my Essay on "The Coins of the Kings of Ghazni," which had for its object the exhibition of a classified Catalogue of this particular section of Mr. Masson's most successful Numismatic gleanings in Afghánistán. Col. Stacey's collection\* of Ghaznaví money, about to be described, will be found to furnish several supplementary dates and many unique and interesting additions to the general series, and as I have endeavoured to make this notice

\* In lately passing through Cawnpore I had an opportunity of cursorily examining the late Col. Stacey's extensive collection of Coins, and by the kind permission of the present owner, Captain Wroughton, I was enabled to secure this series for publication.

Apart from the historical interest and typical novelty of many of the specimens thus entrusted to me, I am anxious to make known the contents of this division of Col. Stacey's Cabinet as a fair sample of the entire collection, as I am desirous of seeing these Numismatic Treasures promoted into some locality more accessible to Oriental Antiquaries, than they at present occupy in a private Cabinet in an out of the way station in the N. W. Provinces.

An opportunity of effecting this occurs at the present moment, as the whole collection is now for sale, and it is offered on the very equitable terms that the price shall be determined by any third party, being a competent judge of these antiquities, who may be elected by the intending purchaser and approved of by the seller!

A general idea of the extent and character of the collection may be formed from the following classified outline of its contents.

	Gold.	Silver.	Copper.
Greek and Bactrian,.....	..	137	251
Indo-Scythian, .....	11	10	445
Arsakian, .....	..	27	54
Sassanian, .....	..	50	84
Old Hindu, .....	..	375	487
Gupta and Saurashtran, .....	18	29	4
Rahitors of Kanouj, .....	15	2	2
Kabul and Kashmir, .....	2	55	875
Khalifat, Ghazni, &c.,.....	57	677	1399
Grand Total,...	103	1362	3601

Q 2

so far complete in itself, by inserting full transcripts of the legends and engravings of specimens of the leading classes, I trust it will prove an acceptable contribution to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, whose pages, I may remark, as yet bear no record of the coinage of the first Moslem Dynasty of Zábulistán.

I prefix a Table shewing the order of succession of the Ghaznavi Sultáns, together with a summary of the dates of accession of those contemporaneous Potentates whose names find a place on their medals.

*A Table of the Ghaznavi Dynasty, &c.*

Khalífs of Baghdád.	Dates of accession.			Kings of Ghazni.	Accessions.	Sámání Emperors.
	A.H.	A.H.	A.D.			
Al Mut'ih billah, . . . . .	334					
		350	961	Alptegin, . . .	350	Mansúr bin Nôh I.
Al Tá'ih billah, . . . . .	363					
		366	976	Ishak, . . . .	366	Nôh bin Mansúr.
		367	977	Subuktigin.		
Al Káder billah, . . . . .	381					
		387	997	Ismá'il, . . . .	387	Mansúr bin Nôh II.
		388	998	Máhmúd, . . .	389	Abdal Malik bin Nôh.
		421	1030	Muhammad.		
		421	1030	Masú'd.		
Al Ká'ím beamerillah, . .	422					
		432	1040-1	Muhammad.		
		432	1041	Módú'd.		
		440	1048	Masú'd II.		
		440	1048	Abú Hasan Alf.		
		440	1048	Abdal Rashíd.		
		444	1052	Toghral.		
		444	1052	Ferokhzád.		
		451	1059	Ibrahim.		
Al Moktá'd beamerillah, .	467					
Al Mostazher billah, . .	487					
		492	1099	Masú'd III.		
		508	1114	Shírzád.		
		509	1115	Arslán.		
Al Mostarshid billah, . .	512	512	1118	Bahrám Sháh.	} Sanjar, the Seljúk Governor of Khorásán.	
Al Rashid billah, . . . .	529					
Al Moktá'fi leamerillah, .	530					
		547	1152	Khusrú Sháh.		
Al Mostanjid billah, . .	555	555	1160	Khusrú Malik.		

The second or reference number in the subjoined list of Coins indicates the heading, in the original Masson Catalogue,\* under which each piece should be classed.

\* I would take this, my earliest, opportunity of referring to a Review of my Essay by M. DeFremery, which appeared in the Revue Numismatique of Paris in

## SUBUKTIGIN.

No. 1. [ii.] Silver, highest wt. 46 gr. Perwan, Six Coins.

<i>Reverse.</i>		<i>Obverse.</i>
الله		لا اله الا
محمد رسول		الله وحده
الله نوح بن		لا شريك له
منصور		الطابع لله
سبكتكين		ر
ررة		
Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.	Margin.	هذا الدرهم بقروان سنة ؟

Average weight 43.6 gr.

NOTE.—I have not any books of reference at hand to enable me to determine whether the two Coins, whose legends are transcribed below, have been published in any of the numerous continental works on Sâmání money; but their association in date and in proximity of place of issue with certain of the earlier Coins of the present series, as well as the illustration they afford of the distribution of the territorial tenures of the day, will, under any circumstances, render their insertion in this place appropriate.

Extrâ No. A. Gold, Wts. 57 and 61 gr. Herât A. H. 360 and 361.

<i>Reverse.</i>		<i>Obverse.</i>
الله		الولي
محمد		لا اله الا
رسول الله		الله وحده
المطيع لله		لا شريك له
منصور بن		محمد
نوح		بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار
محمد رسول الله &c. له المومنون	Mar. Int.	بهرآة سنة ستين و ثلثمائة [alt. سنة احد و.]
	Mar. Ext.	له الامر من قبل &c. المومنون بنصر الله

1849. I need not here enter into the several questions raised by my Critic, but I may candidly plead guilty to one of the two, I am proud to say the only two objections taken against me. For the rest the notice is most encouraging for my further efforts! and is altogether written in so kindly a spirit as to demand my warmest acknowledgments.

## ISMA'IL.

No. 2. [vii.] Silver, wt. 43 gr. *Rare.*

<i>Reverse.</i>		<i>Obverse.</i>
لله		لا اله الا
محمد رسول		الله وحده
الله منصور		لا شريك له
بن نوح		الطابع لله
اسماعيل		

Margins illegible.

## MAHMÚD.

No. 3. [to follow xvii.] Gold, wt. 52 gr. Herát A. H. 413. *New Type.*

<i>Reverse.</i>		<i>Obverse.</i>
لله		عدل
محمد رسول الله		لا اله الا
يدين الدولة		الله وحده
وامين الامة		لا شريك له
نظام الدين		القادر بالله
ابوالقاسم		بسم الله ضرب هذا الف بهراة
		سنة ثلث عشرة واربعمائة
Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.		Mar. Int. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 4. [to follow xviii.] Gold, wt. 62 gr. Ghazni A. H. 415. *Unique.*

<i>Reverse.</i>		<i>Obverse.</i>
لله		لا اله الا
محمد		الله وحده
رسول الله		لا شريك له
يدين الدولة		القادر بالله
وامين الامة		بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار
ابوالقاسم		بغزنة سنة خمس عشرة واربعمائة
Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.		Mar. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Mr. Bardoe Elliot possesses a similar Coin of the Ghazni Mintage, dated  
 اربع عشرة واربعمائة i. e., 414, A. H.

No. 5. [xxii.] Silver, wt. 53 gr. *Rare.*

لله محمد رسول الله منصور بن نوح سيف الدولة محمود	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الطابع لله ب ص
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Margins illegible.

No. 6. [xxv.] Silver, highest wt. 64 gr. *average 46.5 gr. Eight Specimens.*

<i>Reverse.</i> * لله * محمد رسول الله يعين الدوله لله ويعين اليلة محمود	<i>Obverse.</i> عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القادر بالله يعيني بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم &c. Mar.
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No. 7. [xxvii.] Silver, wt. 44 gr. Ghazni A. H. 395, four Specimens.

<i>Reverse.</i> ه ن ه محمد رسول الله القا در بالله يعين الدولة محمود	<i>Obverse.</i> يعيني لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ص د بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بغزته سنة خمس وتسعين وثلثمائة
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No. 8. [No. xxx. &c.] There are 18 Coins in Col. Stacey's collection offering various subordinate modifications of the general type of the class just described. The leading trilinear legend of either area remains constant, but the monograms vary in their style and position—at times the word عدل is introduced at the top of the obverse field, and the يعيني figures at the foot of the main inscription, لله also is seen to head the legend on the reverse—and the characters, in which

the name of Mahmúd is expressed, differ considerably in the several specimens, graduating from the formal letters of the old Kufic to the interlaced flourish of more modern writing. In some examples again, the titles *ابوالقاسم* and in others *امين الملة* are engraved in fine lines within the areas, but the position they occupy is indeterminate.

Where decipherable, the obverse marginal legends usually purport that the piece was coined at Ghazni in A. H. 395 *et seq*; but in many of these Coins the marginal spaces are filled in with mere unmeaning repetitions of short perpendicular lines and small circles, which last in imperfectly formed Kufic legends answer for either *و ه م* or *م ه و*

No. 9. [to follow xliii.] Silver, wt. 37 gr. *Unique.*

<i>Reverse.</i>		<i>Obverse.</i>
لله		عدل
محمد رسول الله		لا اله الا
صلى الله عليه وسلم		الله وحده
القادر بالله		لا شريك له
يدين الدولة		ه يميني ه
وامين الملة		
محمد		

Margins illegible.

NOTE.—[No. liv.] While last year at Jhelum, I met with a variant of the elaborately designed copper money of Mahmúd described and figured under No. liv. of my list in the Jour. Royal As. Soc. The Jhelum specimen possesses the peculiarity of having the word *كورة* inserted before the name of the city of Ghazni [thus *بكورة غزنه*] This is the only instance within my knowledge of the use of this prefix in this series.

I am indebted to Sir H. M. Elliot for the reference to the subjoined notice of the impositions practised by certain Hindus, which led to an extensive deterioration in the local standard of Mahmúd's Silver coinage.

The Persian text appears defective, I however give it, as it stands, merely inserting variants from a second copy, without at present entering into any further remarks.



## مناخب از کتاب جامع الحکایات

## ولوامع الروایات

حکایت آورده اند که چون بمین الدولت ببادشاهی نشست و آثار سیاست او در مهالك برسد حکمای هند رانها برانداختند [زدند] و حیلتی پیش آوردند و اول درمی [در] پیش آوردند تمام عیار و قیمتت فراخور بروی نهادند چون یکچندی برنند چون [و] رعیت در سندن صادق دیدند بتدریج عیار باز کم کردند تا [و با] بازرگانان سود نقره می کردند و خلق کم عیاری بدیدند [ندیدند] از اقصای جهان درم نقره بهند می بردند چون این فسار از حد بگذشت و ملاء الدوله ببادشاهی نشست روی بتدارک ان خلک آورد و با بزرگانان رای زد که این را چگونه تدارک باید کرد اشاره کردند که ان نقود را بدل از خزانه باید آورد و بازرگانانرا عوض بدادن [باید داد] علاء الدوله بفرمود تا از خزانه صد بار هزار درم نقره اطلاق کردند و بدار الضرب بردند و بمصالح بندگان خدای تعالی صرف کرد و اثر نیکنامی او در اقطار جهان روشن گشت \*

Dr. A. Fleming in his *Diary of a Trip to Pind Dadun Khan, and the Salt Range*, published in a previous number of the *Journal Asiatic Society* (Vol. 18th p. 661) gives a very complete description of the method of coining in use in the Mint at Pind Dadun Khan in 1848. The process indeed is the essential counterpart of that described by Abul Fazl as obtaining in Akber's time.

If we may also assume that similar mechanical means were resorted to in the earlier days to which the above tale refers, we may satisfy ourselves of how easy it would have been to have had a mint in every house and how difficult it would be to prevent the issue by private individuals of money of an inferior standard.

MASA'UD.

No. B. [To precede No. lviii.] Gold—*Mr. Bardoe Elliot.*

Reverse.	Obverse.
لله	القایم
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
نا صردین الله	بیا وحده لا شریک له
حافظ عباد الله	القادر بالله
ظہیر خلیفہ الله	ولی عہدہ
مسعود	Margin, illegible.
Margin (as usual.)	Margin Ext. (as usual).

R

NOTE.—The above Coin displays with unusual completeness the various honorary titles by which Mas'úd was designated.

As connected with the subject I transcribe from the copy preserved by Bihaki a detail of Mas'úd's recognised titular designations as accepted by the Khalif's Ambassador, in 423 A. H.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله ابن عبد الله ابي جعفر الامام القايم  
 بامر الله امير المؤمنين الى الناصريين الله الحافظ لعباد الله المنتقم من  
 اعداء الله ظهير خليفة الله ابي سعد مولى امير المؤمنين بن نظام الدين

Again in another place (under A. H. 424), our author entitles the Sultán

ناصر الدين الله وحافظ بلاد الله المنتقم اعداء الله ابوسعيد مسعود

Albírúnis' enumeration, as found in the unique copy of his Kánún-i-Mas'údí which has lately come into the possession of Sir H. M. Elliot, varies but slightly, being to the following effect :

الملك الاجل السيد المعظم خليفه الله وناصر دين الله وحافظ عباده الله  
 المنتقم اعداء الله ابي سعيد مسعود

No. 10. [to follow 58.] Gold, wt. 57 gr. Ghazní, A. H. 423. *Unique.*

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
الله	لا اله الا
محمد رسول الله	الله وحده
صلى الله عليه	لا شريك له
الناصر لدين الله	القايم بامر الله
مسعود	بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار
Margin. Surah ix. 33 and lxi. 9.	بغزته سنة ثلث وعشرين واربعماية
	Mar. ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

No. 11. [to follow 58.] Gold, wt. 54 gr. Ghazní, A. H. 423. *Unique.*

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
الله	
محمد	
رسول الله	Area as in the last Coin.
عليه السلام	
مسعود	
Margin. S. ix. &c.	Margins, as in the last Coin.

No. 12. [lviii.] Gold, wt. 69 gr. Ghazni, A. H. 428. *Unique.*

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
القايم بامر الله	وحده لا شريك له
ناصر دين الله	مسعود بن محمد
ابوسعيد	بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
Margin. Surah ix. 33 and lxi. 9.	Margin. ضرب هذا الدينار بغزته سنة ثمان وعشرين واربعماية

Mr. B. Elliot has a Coin of this type dated Ghazni 427, A. H.

I would draw attention to the modification that is seen to occur in the characters in which the legends of this Coin are expressed, as contrasted with those in previous use.

The change from the stiff outlines of the Kufic in Nos. 10 and 11, to the Persian writing in No. 12 is most marked, and illustrates effectively the lost supremacy of the Arabic tongue and the complete recognition of the more intelligible Persian as the Court language. Bihaki indeed shews that so early as A. H. 423 Mas'ud's ministers had some difficulty in corresponding with the Court of Baghdad, and apparently still more in selecting fit speakers for the vivâ voce intercourse of Embassies, &c.

No. 13. [lxi. ] Silver, broken Coin. Balkh A. H. [4] 22.

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
لله	لا اله الا
محمد	الله وحده
رسول الله	لا شريك له
عليه السلام	القادر با لله
مسعود	الدرهم يبلغ
Margin. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	سنة اثني وعشرين

A second specimen bearing similar legends varies in having the Khalif's name engraved in full sized letters. The Coin retains the imperfect date of 420 عشرين واربعماية ?

## No. 14. [lxii.] Silver, broken Coin.

لله محمد رسول الله القائم بامر الله مسعود	عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له بسم الله ————— ين واربعماية
Margin. Surah xxx. 4, 5.	Margin.

Before closing this notice of the Coins of Mas'ūd, I am anxious to make known an important variety of his Silver money, which has lately come into the possession of Mr. E. Bayley. The piece in its general outline and leading types corresponds closely with the common Bull and Horseman Coins of Samanta Deva (Jour. As. Soc. Vol. IV. pl. 36, figs. 3, 4, &c.) but it offers the peculiarity of displaying the name of مسعود engraved in well defined Kufic characters, on the field in front of the Horseman's face, or in the space usually held by the word عدل

A second similar specimen retains traces of the name of محمد occupying the same position.

I consider these pieces to be the produce of the metropolitan mint of the Hindu kingdom of Kabul, the site of which is not as yet satisfactorily determined—and it is in consonance with the usual policy of Mohammedan conquerors to suppose that the local mint was allowed to maintain its old style of issue, modified only by the impress of the name of the ruling Sultán.

This explanation may possibly account for the previously felt difficulty of there being no extant Ghaznáví Kufic Coins inscribed as struck at Kabul.

In my previous paper on the Coins of the Kings of Ghazní (p. 77) I quoted a passage from Abúl Fedá regarding Mas'ūd's territorial possessions—as some of the names are imperfectly determined I annex the following passage from Bihaki in further elucidation of the subject.

وامير الهومنين منشوري تازة فرستد خراسان و خوارزم و نيم روز و  
 زابلستان و جمله هند و سند و جغانيا و ختاك و قباديان و ترمذ و قندهار

وَمَكْرَانَ وَدَانَشْتَانَ وَكِيكَا هَانَ وَرَبِّي وَجِبَالَ وَسَبَاهَانَ جَمَلَهُ تَاعَقِبَهُ حَلَوَانَ  
وَكُرْكَانَ وَطَبْرَسْتَانَ دَرَانَ بَاشَدَ وَبَاخَا قَانَ تُرْكِسْتَانَ مَكَاتَيْبَ نَكْفَنَدَ

## MODÚD.

No. 15. [lxxix.] Silver, wt. 46 gr.

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
محمد رسول الله	عدل
القايم بامر الله	لا اله الا الله وحده
شهاب الدولة	لا شريك له
مودود	س
Mar. illegible.	Mar. بسم الله

No. 16. [lxxxiii.] Silver, wt. 55 gr.

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
* فتح *	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
شهاب الدولة	الله وحده
وقطب الهة	لا شريك له
مودود	القايم بامر الله

Margins illegible.

## IBRAHÍM.

No. 17. [to follow cix.] Silver, weight 48 gr. *Unique.*

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
• ن •	الله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
ظهیر الدولة	وحده لا شريك له
الملك	القايم بامر الله
ابراهيم	نصيري
ع	

Margins illegible.

No. 18. [cxxxiii.] Silver, weight 42 gr. Two specimens.

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
• قاهر •	لا اله الا الله
محمد رسول الله	وحده لا شريك له
السلطان الاعظم	القايم بامر الله
قاهر الملوك	ملك الاسلام
سيد السلاطين	نصيري
ابراهيم	

Margins illegible.

No. 19. [cxlii.] Silver, weight 44 gr. [Ghazni].

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
سلطان	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	المسترشد بالله
يدين الدولة	عضد الدولة
بهرامشاه	سنجر
ع	

Margins illegible.

(Under No. cxl.) Since the publication of the Catalogue of Mr. Masson's Ghazni Coins, I have met with a specimen of Arslan's money of the Lahore Mint Type.\* The Obverse bears the usual Bull of Siva with the legend श्रीसमन्त देव

The Reverse displays the words السلطان الاعظم ملك ارسلان

No. 20. [cxlix.] Silver, weight 46 gr. Two specimens.

<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Obverse.</i>
ناصر	لله
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا الله
السلطان الاعظم	Sic. —————
معز الدولة	المقتفي لا مر الله
خشر وشاه	عضد الدولة
	سنجر

Margins contain no legends, but are filled in with dots.

\* Jour. As. Soc. Beng. Vol. IV. Pl. xxxvi. Fig. 23 and xxxvii. Fig. 46.

Among other specimens of minor value Col. Stacey's cabinet contains :

1st. Two (mixed Silver and Copper) Coins of Khusrú Malik No. cliii.—having the imperfect imitation of the Bull Nandi in Toghra on the Obverse, with the King's name prefaced by the title of تاج الدوله on the Reverse.

2nd. Fourteen Coins of the common Type, No. cliv. (Pl. xx. Fig. 16, Ariana Antiqua).

3rd. One specimen of No. clv.

Col. Stacey's collection is likewise rich in Khwárizim Coins, which have been forwarded to me with the Ghaznaví series. However as I do not propose to take up this class of money at present, I confine my notice to a single Coin, which is remarkable as bearing the name of a new Mint, *Zemíndáwur*. The piece is of mixed Silver and Copper, in weight 48 grains. The Obverse and Reverse read through, but singular to say the marginal legends being completed thus Reverse. ابو الفتح محمد — السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين Obverse.

The inscription, in the Reverse Circular Area, commences the word زمين and the obverse centre gives the completion of the name داور زمين داور —

ART. V.—*Supplementary Contributions to the Series of the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni.* By EDWARD THOMAS, Esq., Bengal Civil Service.

[Presented 19th March, 1858.]

IN the volume of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for the year 1848, is to be found a paper descriptive of such coins of the Sultáns of Ghazni as chanced to form part of the varied numismatic accumulations of Mr. Masson, gleaned, under his personal superintendance, chiefly to the northward of the metropolitan province from which the dynasty takes its name.

Since the date of the publication in question, political events, in placing our Government in possession of the entire Indian section of the dominions of the successors of Mahmúd, have necessarily facilitated the acquisition of specimens of their local currencies by the civil and military officers stationed in those parts. The opportunities thus offered, though but moderately taken advantage of,<sup>1</sup> have been the means of bringing to light several novel and interesting accessions to the general series, a record of which may be appropriately inserted in this Journal, in supplementary continuation of the previous memoir.

In addition to a description of the more prominent recent acquisitions of Mr. E. C. Bayley, Col. T. Bush, and others, there will be found embodied in the following pages full references to the Ghaznaví coins of the late Col. Stacy, a notice of which appeared in the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal for 1852<sup>2</sup>.

The Roman numerals, prefixed to the ordinary consecutive numbers in the subjoined catalogue, serve to indicate the class, in the original series, to which each new specimen belongs. Where the words "to follow or precede" are added, it is to be understood that the coins so marked are novelties, of which extant examples were unavailable at the period of the publication of the earlier memoir. At the conclusion of the Ghaznaví *proper* suite, a list of the various dates and places of mintage referred to in either paper has been incorporated in a tabular form; and, following out the plan adopted on the previous occasion, a brief appendix has been devoted to the illustration of such pieces of the Ghori and other succeeding dynasties as circumstances have intermediately placed within reach.

<sup>1</sup> If Col. J. Abbott's collection—formed on the eminently favourable soil of the Hazárah country—prove as rich in Ghaznaví treasures as the choice specimens of his Bactrian series may lead us to expect, the numismatic history of the house of Subuktagín will be greatly enriched.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. xxi. p. 115.



For facility of reference a reduced Table is prefixed, exhibiting a list of the Ghaznavi Sultáns, associated with their early Sámání Suzerains, and the contemporary Khalifs of Baghdád, to whom they throughout professed spiritual allegiance.

*The Ghaznavi Dynasty, together with their Contemporary Suzerains, Spiritual and Temporal.*

Khalifs of Baghdád.	Dates of Accession.			Kings of Ghazni.	Sámání Suzerains.		
	A.H.	A.H.	A.D.		A.H.	A.D.	
Al Mutf'illah .... abdicates, Zí'l Ka'dah, 363	334				331	943	Núh bin Nasr
					343	954	A'bd-ul-Malik bin Núh
					350	961	Mansúr bin Núh
Al Tái'illah .... deposed by Bahá al dowlah (Sha- bán), 363	363	351	962	Alptagín			
		359	969	Jahak			
Al Kádír billah.... died, Zí'l Hajjah, 422	381	366	976	Subuktagín	365	976	Núh bin Mansúr <sup>1</sup>
		387	997	Isma'il	387	997	Mansúr bin Núh
Al Káfm beamril- lah, died 13 Sha- bán, 467	422	388	998	Mahmúd	389	999	A'bd-ul-Malik bin Núh. (AilekKhán enters Bukhárá on the 10th of Zí'l Ka'dah, A.H. 389, end of the dynasty.)
		421	1030	Muhammad			
		421	1030	Masa'úd			
		432	1040	Muhammad			
		432	1041	Módúd			
		440	1048	Masa'úd II.			
		440	1048	Abúl Hasan A'lf Bahá al dowlah			
		440	1048	A'bd-ul-Rashíd			
Al Muktadí beam- illah, died 15 Muharrim, 487	467	444	1052	Toghral			
		444	1052	Farukhzád			
		451	1059	Ibrahím			
		492	1099	Masa'úd III.			
		508	1114	Shírzád Kanúf al dowlah			
Al Mustarshid bil- lah, killed, 17 Zí'l Ka'dah, 529	512	509	1115	Arslán			
		512	1118	Bahrám Sháh			
Al Ráshid billah	529						
Al Muktafi lea- merillah, inaug., 12 Zí'l Hajjah, 530	530						
Al Mustanjid bil- lah	555	547	1152	Khusrú Sháh			
		555	1160	Khusrú Malik. (Final surrender at Láhár, A.H. 583)			

<sup>1</sup> By some authorities his accession is placed in the month of Rajab, A.H. 366.

The earliest novelty, among the more recent acquisitions, is highly interesting in an historical point of view, as it illustrates an introductory phase of the Ghaznaví independence, regarding which the records of the house of Subuktágin are usually defective; and though it may be difficult to reconcile the circumstances under which the piece purports to have been issued, with the imperfect materials preserved by written testimony, yet the numismatic appearance of the name of the chieftain Bulkátágin, in accord with the circumstantial mention of his elevation to power by so trustworthy an authority as Abú'l Fazl Baihaki<sup>1</sup>, gives weight to a passage previously quoted, and for which I had already claimed mature attention<sup>2</sup>, without at the moment being fully aware of the merits and singularly favourable opportunities of the writer from whose more voluminous works it had been abstracted and incorporated into the pages of the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "Tárikh A'l Subektegin, Historia magna Ghaznavidarum pluribus voluminibus comprehensa, Auctore Abu'l Fadhi Al Beihacki."—Flugel's *Háji Khalfa*. See also notices of this author in my earlier paper, *J.R.A.S.*, ix. pp. 277, 331, 376.

<sup>2</sup> In quoting the Persian text of the original passage in 1847, I remarked:—"The subjoined account of the succession to Alptágin's chieftainship is given entire from the *Tabakát-i-Násirí*, as offering a version of the question to which it refers widely differing from that to be found in the writings of the more generally known authors; and although there are many objections to the unqualified admission of its verity, yet the *Násirí*'s undoubted antiquity and usual accuracy entitle the statement to full consideration." (*J.R.A.S.*, ix. 303.) At the period when this extract was made, I was ignorant of the remarkable facilities and advantages enjoyed by the author from whose works the *Tabakát-i-Násirí* reproduces the statements embodied in the text. We still only know Abú'l Fazl Baihaki by one of his many works; the "*Tárikh-i-Masn'údí*," being the only one of the series which seems to have been preserved to us; but taking that production as a specimen of the whole, we have indeed reason to regret the loss of the remainder. Oriental students will be glad to learn, that the Persian text of the "*Masn'údí*" is already prepared for publication, and is expected to appear under the editorship of Mr. W. H. Morley.

<sup>3</sup> The *Tabakát-i-Násirí* was completed in A.H. 658. The author, Minháj us Suráj Juzání, composed his work at Dehli, dedicating it to Násir ud dín Mahmúd, the reigning Emperor of Hindustán. See *ante*, *Journal*, ix. pp. 377, 304. *Háji Khalfa* (vol. iv. p. 153) has the following note regarding this work:—

طبقات الناصري فارسي لمنهاج بي معروف بسراج ٧٩٢٨

البحر جانی المتوفى سنة الف في غزوات ناصر الدين محمود

شاد بن ایلتمش الدهلوی

"No. 7928. *Tabakát el Násirí* classes *Nasiricæ* Auctore Minháj Jurjání filio ejus, qui vulgo Siráj dictus est anno—mortuo; *Historia Persica*, quam de expeditionibus bellicis Nasir ud dín Mahmud Shah ben *Ietmish* Dehlevi composuit." See also Stewart's *Catalogue*, No. xi. p. 7; and Mr. Morley's *Catalogue of the Roy. As. Soc. MSS.*, No. xii. p. 21.

The Persian text of the passage in question having been inserted in a former number of this Journal, I content myself, on the present occasion, with appending an English translation of the same, adding however the introductory portion of the chapter, explanatory of the primary source of the information secondarily preserved in the work of Minháj us Siráj :—

“ Imám Abú Fazl Baihákí relates, that Nasr Hájí, a merchant in the time of A'bd-ul-Malik bin Núh Sámání, bought Subuktagín and brought him to Bukhárá. Alptagín, who was then Amír Hájíb, observing the signs of intelligence and manliness on his forehead, purchased him. He accompanied Alptagín to Tokhárístán and followed him, when he was promoted to the government of Khorásán. Alptagín, in the course of events, proceeded against Ghazní, conquered Zábulistán, and took Ghazní from (the) *Anúk*<sup>1</sup>. Dying eight years afterwards<sup>2</sup>, his son Ishák succeeded him; and in a battle with (the) *Anúk*, was defeated, when he proceeded to Bukhárá, and, having obtained assistance from the Amír Mansúr bin Núh, recovered Ghazní. And after one year, Ishák died. They then raised to the throne Bulkátagín, who was the chief of the Turks; he was a just man, and eminent for his piety among the warriors of the world; he reigned two<sup>3</sup> years and then died; Amír Subuktagín was in his service, and, after Bulkátagín, Amír Pírí became king; he was a very ill-conditioned man. A party at Ghazní entered into communication with Abú A'lí *Anúk*, and sought assistance from him. Abú A'lí *Anúk* brought, as an ally, the son of the King of Kábul; and when they reached the confines of Charkh<sup>4</sup>, Amír Subuktagín, with five hundred Turks, fell

<sup>1</sup> The word is variously written in the different MSS. as *انوك* and *لويك*. The former is adopted in the East India House MS., the Paris copy, and that of Gen. Brigg's now in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. I propose, with but slight hesitation, a rectification of the orthography to *لنيك* or “Lumghán,” the Lampagæ of classical writers; the *لنيك* (وهولمان) of the Unpublished MS.; Kánún-i-Masá'ádí of Albrúní; and the *اهل لنيك اعني لمعان* of the same author as quoted by M. Reinaud; *Fragments Arabes et Persans*; Paris, 1845, p. 131. See also Erskine's *Memoirs of Báber*, p. 143; and M. St. Martin (p. 298), *Mémoire Analytique sur la Carte de l'Asie Centrale et de l'Inde*, appended to M. Stan. Julien's *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*. Hiouen-Thsang, (Paris, 1858).

<sup>2</sup> “Eight years” is the time given in all the MSS.

<sup>3</sup> Two copies, out of the three I have at this moment the opportunity of consulting, give *دو* *ten* instead of *دو* *two*; the former, however, is a palpable error.

<sup>4</sup> The name of this place varies in the different MSS., appearing in the several copies as *جرج* and *جرج*. Col. W. Anderson, C.B., of the Bengal

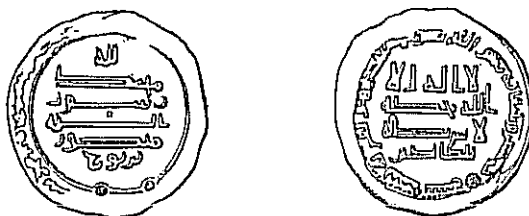
upon them, and routed them, killing a vast number and making many prisoners; he took also two elephants, which he brought to Ghazni. After achieving so great a victory, the entire population being disgusted with the iniquity of Píri, with one consent raised Subuktágin to the throne, on the 7th of Sha'bán, in the year 366."

I now proceed to cite the new piece, which we owe, together with other important medals of this series<sup>1</sup>, to Russian enterprise<sup>2</sup>; and it is further to the credit of the Government of that country, that these occasional discoveries continue to receive explanation and illustration from so sound an Oriental scholar as Prof. Dorn, the worthy successor of M. Fræhn, whose "Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum"<sup>3</sup> to this day forms our most valued text-book in cognate studies.

The following is a translation of M. Dorn's remarks on the coin, together with a fac-simile of the woodcut engraved in the St. Petersburg Journal:—

*No. 1 of this Supplement.*

"No 4<sup>t</sup>. Mansúr bin Núh. Ghazna. A.H. 359 = A.D. 969.  
One of the most valuable of the inedited coins.



"*Obverse.*—Under the symbol : بلكاكين (بلكاكین) 'Balká,' or 'Bulká-Tagín.'

Artillery, who has served in Afghánistán, and given much attention to the geography of the country, identifies the locality with "Cherkh," which is mentioned in the *Ayín-i-Akbarí* as "one of the dependencies of Toomán Lahooker (Lóhgar)." AA. ii. p. 181. Báber had previously furnished this indication, in his *Memoirs*, to the effect, "Lohuger (Lohgar) is another Tumán, the largest town of which is Cherkh. . . . Cherkh has numerous gardens, but there are none in any of the other villages of Lohuger. The men are *Aughán-Shál*.—Erskine's *Memoirs*, p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> See important coin of Alptágin, J.R.A.S., ix. p. 295, &c.

<sup>2</sup> The descriptive article is headed, "Vierzehn unedirte Samaniden-Münzen; von P. Saweljew (Lu le 10 Mars, 1854)."

<sup>3</sup> St. Petersburg, 1826. Prof. Dorn has lately published the first portion of M. Fræhn's *Posthumous Works* (St. Petersburg 1855).

<sup>4</sup> *Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de Saint-Petersbourg*, tome xii. (A.D. 1855) p. 90.

“*Margin.* — *عمره سنة تسع وخمسين وثلاثماية* The name of the mint *عمره* can stand for nothing but ‘Ghazna.’ This city appears here for the first time in the Numismatic Series of the Sámánis. It is known that at the accession of the young Mansúr [350 A.H.], Alptagín rose against him in Ghazna, defeated his army twice, and declared himself independent. History mentions only the conquest of Alptagín, but is silent in regard to the rule of the Sámánis in Ghazna.

“We see from our coin that Balká, or Bulká-Tagín, in the year A.H. 359 was chief of the Sámání party in this city. His name appears already on the Bulkh coins of A.H. 324 (v. *Recensio*, p. 569, No. 229, *d.*)<sup>1</sup>. Subsequently he passed over to Alptegín’s cause, became Chamberlain under Abú Ishák, and is said to have ascended the throne after the death of the latter in A.H. 365. (Fræhn, *Bull. Hist. Philol.*, iv. 15<sup>2</sup>.)

“*Reverse.*—On the reverse the name of the Khalif is wanting :

|| لله || محمد || رسول || الله || منصور || بن نوح ||

“(Dug up by me in the year 1853 at the village of Kabanskoi, in Wladimir.)”

Having exhibited the data, both historical and numismatic, bearing upon the chieftainship of Bulkatagín, I have now to advert to the difficulties which present themselves to any very conclusive reconciliation of the indications derived from these diverse sources. The

<sup>1</sup> The following is Prof. Fræhn’s description of this coin :—

“No. 229, d. *Rariss. Notabilissim. cus.*

ببلغ سنة اربع (و) عشرين وثلاثماية  
in Balch a. eod. 324

A. ii. p.p. نوح بن نصر || يوسف Nuh fil. Nasri || Jusuf.

A. ii. p.p. الراضي بالله || نصر بن احمد Er. Raszi-billah || Nasr. filius Ahmedis.

Inf. est nomen, quod *لكلكن* . . . *tegin* refertur videtur.—*Recensio*, p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to discover the authority for this statement under the reference indicated ; but, assuming that Fræhn’s *Neue Sammlung* (Leipzig, 1844, p. 124) contains the full reprint of his original paper, I must conclude that the date of A.H. 365, here given, is an interpolation of M. Dorn’s, for which Prof. Fræhn is not responsible. The latter author does not specify from what source he derives his historical information, hence further means of comparison in this direction are denied me.

abstract of Baihaki's narrative, given by Minháj us Siráj, will be seen to be meagre and unsatisfactory in the extreme; and although we gain references to events, of which we had previously no knowledge, yet they are so imperfectly described, that we are but little advanced in exact history by the information thus contributed. The extreme period to be filled in with the details furnished by our author, may be taken broadly as the fifteen or sixteen years, from 350-1 to 366 A.H., often erroneously assigned by later compilers<sup>1</sup> as the duration of the sway of Alptagín. The first point towards the arrangement of the dates of accession of the succeeding potentates that it is necessary to determine is, from what epoch Minháj us Siráj calculates the eight years' reign of the chieftain in question. It can scarcely have been designed that any portion of the period of his submissive government of Khorásán should be included in this term; nor does it seem needful to infer that his quasi-independence should date only from the moment of his gaining possession of the city of Ghazní<sup>2</sup>, which however celebrated in after times as the capital of a powerful empire, could have been of little note or importance on its first capture from the local princes. In the absence of anything positive on this head, it may be assumed that the early portion of the year A.H. 351<sup>3</sup>, witnessed the

<sup>1</sup> See the various authorities quoted at the foot of p. 298, Jour. R. A. S. vol. ix. Also Mirkhond, Histoire des Samanides, edited and translated by M. Defrémery, Paris, 1845, pp. 154, 156, and note, p. 263; likewise Price, quoting the Khalásat al Akhbár, ii. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Haukal, who had every means of knowing the facts connected with the early conquest of this city, would seem to imply that it was not occupied as a capital by the Muhammadans till 355 A.H. See St. Martin, Mémoires sur l'Arménie, ii. 21. Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde, p. 244; and J.R.A.S., ix. p. 286, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Ferishtah definitively places this revolt in A.H. 351; the expressions made use of are—

در سنه احدى و خمسين و ثلثمائة علم طغیان انراشته

See p. 31, Bombay Lithographed Edition.

The Táríkh-i-Guzdáh gives "six years" as the interval that elapsed between Mansúr's accession and Alptagín's revolt; if we correct the years into months we obtain a more probable period. (See MSS. Táríkh-i-Guzdáh, E. I. House Library, Nos. 80 and 649.)

[Since the above note has been set up in type, I have had an opportunity of examining Colonel Sir H. C. Rawlinson's MS. copy of the *كامل التواريخ* of Ibn Athír. Under the miscellaneous heading of the year 351, appears, seemingly, the first mention of Alptagín, as reproduced in the subjoined passage, whence it will be seen that Mansúr did not call upon Alptagín to appear at Bulhárá till the third month of A.H. 351. It is a matter of regret to me that

estrangement of Alptagín from the newly-elevated successor of A'bd-ul-Malik<sup>1</sup>. Under such a scheme of computation, Alptagín's death may be placed early in A.H. 359, or in the very year, a record of which appears on the coin of Bulkátagín<sup>2</sup>. Our text, in the form in which it at present exists, certainly does not support the conclusion that Bulkátagín arrived at regal power so speedily as this; but circumstances stated by other authors—though with far less clearness than might be desired,—seem to suggest a possible solution of the difficulty. Abú Ishak's own position at the moment of the death of his father, is not well ascertained; if, as is stated by some writers, he was then employed in Khorásán<sup>3</sup>, Bulkátagín may well have taken temporary

Colonel Rawlinson's copy of this rare work ends with the annals of A.H. 363, while the published edition of Thornberg (1851-53) commences only with the year 527, (being continued on to A.H. 628).

في هذه السنة [أحدى و خمسين و ثلثمائة] في ربيع الأول أرسل  
الأمير منصور بن نوح صاحب خراسان و مارا النهر الى بعض قواد  
الكبار و اسمه الفتكين ليستدعيه و امتنع فانفذ اليه جيشا فلقبهم  
الفتكين فجزهم و أسر وجوه القواد منهم و فيهم خال منصور

Hájí Khalfá notices the *Kámil ul Tawárikh* to the effect:—'No. 9733. *Kamil ul tawárikh, liber historiarum perfectus. Tredecim volumina, auctore Sheikh Izz-ed-dín A'li ben Mohammed Jezeri, vulgo Ibn-elathir dicto et anno 630 (inc. 18th Oct., 1232) mortuo. Incepit ibi a rerum initio, et ad annum 628 (inc. 9th Nov. 1230) progressus est.*' V. 25.]

<sup>1</sup> A'bd-ul-Malik died in Shawál, or the tenth month of A.H. 350. Abú Fídá, *Annales Muslemici*, Reiske (1790) ii. 470.—"11th Shawál, 350."—*Kitáb Yamín*, p. 270.

<sup>2</sup> In this redistribution of the intervening epoch, it is of course necessary to reject all notion of the Ferwán *Toghrá* coins, Nos. B, C, D (*Jour. ix.* 201-2), of the years 366 and 366, having formed part of the Mint issues of Alptagín; nevertheless they may still be taken to have constituted a portion of a serial coinage, based upon models of earlier introduction, continued under his auspices and retained by his successors after him. Such an amended theory is likewise demanded by the numismatic evidence recently brought to light, which explains satisfactorily the otherwise anomalous reiteration of the name of Nasr bin Ahmad throughout the series. As he is shown by M. Dorn's coins (*Samaniden-Münzen von P. Saweljew, St. Petersbourg, 1855, Nos. 11, 12, 13*) to have been the first to adopt and introduce into Mint use the distinctive motto of نصر من الله وفتح قريب on the occasion of the victory of his army over the Delomites at Muhammadin (Rai) in A.H. 329.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Khaldún, as quoted by M. Defrémery (p. 263) affirms—"Alptéguin était au nombre des affranchis des Samanides et gouverneur de Ghaznah et du Khoráçan. Son fils, Abou-Ishac, était son lieutenant dans cette dernière province, et comptait Sébuctéguin parmi ses serviteurs. Il l'investit du poste de chambellan. Abou-Ishac se rendit à Bokhara sous le règne d'Alsésid-Mançour, fils de Nouh.

possession of the government of Ghazni, and in virtue of his office availed himself for a time of the kingly prerogative to coin money, relinquishing both power and place on Abú Ishak's formal investiture by the court of Bokhárá, to whom, strange to say, his own coin proves the local authorities of Ghazni still continued to profess allegiance<sup>1</sup>. Bulkátagin's status as chief of the Turks, which subsequently availed him on a like occasion, may reasonably have simplified this earlier

Sébuqtéguin remplissait alors les fonctions de chambellan auprès d'Abou-Ishac. Alptéguin mourut à Ghaznah, et son fils Abou-Ishac fut envoyé dans cette ville pour le remplacer. Il mourut peu de temps après son arrivée." U'tbi, in his Kitáb í Yamíni, under the authority of Abú Hasan Kházin, also mentions Abú Ishak as commandant of the forces in Khorásán, from which post, the text would seem to imply that he was promoted direct to the government of Ghazni. See M. de Sacy. Notices and Extracts, iv. 330, and translation of the same work, likewise from the Persian version, by the Rev. J. Reynolda. O. T. F., London, 1858, p. 22.

As there was some discrepancy to be detected between the French and English versions of this important quotation, and as each pretended to be no more than a mere translation of a translation, I thought it worth while to refer to the original Arabic text; and, having collated the excellently written M.S. in the British Museum, with a very elaborately commentated lithographed edition, printed at the Delhi Madrassa, I sought the assistance of Mr. H. T. Prinsep in securing an accurate and independent rendering of the somewhat obscure passage. The result is appended below.

"This account of him [Subuktagin] was related to me by Abú Hasan Ja'far, son of Muhammad the Treasurer,—<sup>1</sup>That he [Subuktagin] came to Bukhárá in the days of the good Amír Mansúr Bin Núh, in the suite of Abú Ishak, son of Alptagin, who was commandant of the armies of Khorásán. Then (literally, when he, Abú Ishak, was that)—he [Subuktagin] was his [Ishak's] Hajib Kabír, or Master of the Ceremonies. And he had a noble countenance, and the burthen of Ishak's affairs was on him, and the management of all his business was in his hands. The nobles of that state (*i.e.* Bukhárá) remarked in him the qualities of high courage and kindness of disposition and generosity, with energy and promptitude, and anticipated for him a career of exaltation because of his high aspirations and acuteness. At the time of Abú Ishak's return to Ghazni, as Váli and chief in his father's place, he [Subuktagin] returned with him in the suite,—that is, in command of his troops, and discharging the duties of the chamberlain's office. But Ishak, very soon after his return, finished his career and lost his life, leaving none of his race or kin fit for his position and place. Then a number of his [Ishak's] servants and of those of his father were in great anxiety and trouble as to the succession to the chiefship and [the choice of] a person in whose good management of all parties they could confide; and they did not cease differing about the chiefship and quarreling about relative fitness, until at last, by the assent of all voices, it was agreed to make him [Subuktagin] the Amír; and all opinions combined to approve his arrangements and to obey his orders for bringing forward or postponing."

<sup>1</sup> As I have already remarked in my first paper, a parallel system of recognition of the Sámání lords of Bukhárá was seemingly maintained on the Ghaznaví currency up to the date of the extinction of the suzerain dynasty. See J.R.A.S. ix. 263, and coins Nos. 9, 10, 22, 23, &c., old series.



step towards sovereign power, some of the functions of which he must already have exercised elsewhere, if the coin above cited and struck at Balkh in A.H. 324, refer to the same individual.

Passing by the special question involved in the superscription on the coin, and following the compiler, for whom, in virtue of the authority cited, credence is claimed, it will be seen that with the exception of the relative date of Abú Ishak's death, a year after his return to Ghazní, there is nothing definite whereby to fix the duration of his rule, either as nominal or effective sovereign of that state; and equally that the two years' *authorized* reign of Bulkátagín, is dependent for its epochal justification upon a definition of the limits of those of his predecessors; or, if more exact information were afforded, upon a determination of the period over which the seemingly short-lived power of Píri extended prior to the fixed date of Subuktágín's formal accession on the 7th day of the 8th month of 366.

The illustrative novelties next in order of date do not properly belong to the Ghaznaví series, but the prince whose name they bear is so closely identified with the early progress of both Subuktágín and Mahmúd, until the time when he finally becomes the vassal of the latter, that his independent coinage in Seistán forms a proper introduction to the mintages of his conquerors in the same province, of which specimens have already been given in the pages of this Journal<sup>1</sup>.

The biography of Khalaf bin Ahmad is largely dwelt upon by contemporary writers, and especially by U'tbí, the author of the *Kitáb-i-Yamíní*, from whose work the following sketch of the life of this remarkable character has been chiefly drawn :—

*Note on the Life of Khalaf bin Ahmad of Seistán.*

Some obscurity exists regarding the precise descent of Khalaf bin Ahmad<sup>2</sup>, but it may be sufficient for our present purpose to recognise a relationship to certain members of the extinct dynasty of the Saffáris, to the possession of whose metropolitan province he succeeded, after its intermediate subjection to the Sámání Empire of Bokhárá.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. A. S., ix. p. 326, No. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Rauzat-us-safá*, vol. iv. c. 14. I quote from the Persian MS. of the R. A. S. No. xxv., as I have not been able to meet with the Vienna translation. "Historia priorum regum Persarum, ex Mohammede Mirchond. Persicè et Latinè, 4to Viennæ, 1782." See also *Habib-us-Siyar*, vol. ii. c. 4. (Bombay lithographed edition, 1857), and Price, quoting *Khulásat-al-Akhhár*, "Mohammedan History, London," 1821, vol. ii. p. 243.

He is first noticed in the *Tárikh Yamíni*<sup>1</sup>, on the occasion of his undertaking a pilgrimage to Mekka in A.H. 354<sup>2</sup>, when he leaves his kinsman Táhir Ibn Hussain in charge of his dominions: The latter plays him false during his absence, and on his return he finds his own kingdom closed against him. On Khalaf's obtaining<sup>3</sup> aid from Mansúr bin Núh, Táhir relinquishes his position; but on the withdrawal of the Suzerain's troops, he again asserts his supremacy. Khalaf, for the second time, seeks succour from Mansúr, and thus reinforced, besieges Hussain bin Táhir<sup>4</sup>—who in the interval had succeeded his father—in the fortress of Ark<sup>5</sup>. Hussain, on an appeal to Mansúr, is allowed a safe conduct, and Khalaf is reinstated in his dominions. Years roll on, and he himself in turn is found failing in allegiance to his Sámání lord, when, strange anomaly, this same Hussain bin Táhir is sent to subdue him, but wastes seven years ineffectually in the siege of the citadel of Ark<sup>6</sup>, till at last Abúl Hussain bin Simjúr, the

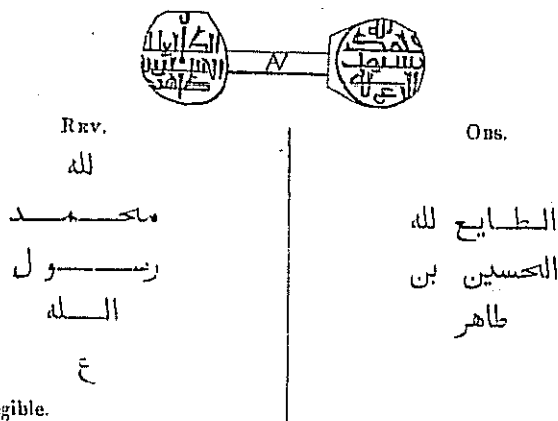
<sup>1</sup> Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale, vol. iv. p. 336. Histoire de Yémineddoula Mahmád (Kitáb Yémini), traduite de Persan, par A. I. Silvestre de Sacy; and also The Kitáb-i-Yamíni, translated from the Persian version of Ul-Uthbi, by the Rev. J. Reynolds (Oriental Translation Fund), 1858, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Athír, A.H. 353; Rauzat-as-safa, A.H. 353; Habiús-Siyar, A.H. 350.

<sup>3</sup> In A.H. 353, according to the Khulásat al Akhbár. Price ii. 43.

<sup>4</sup> The following coin of Hussain-bin-Táhir is to be found in Colonel Rawlinson's collection:—

No. A. Gold. Size 2. Weight 19 gr.—R. M.



Margin illegible.

<sup>5</sup> Reynolds, p. 52. The name is not given by De Sacy.—Not. et Ex. iv. 337.

<sup>6</sup> "Ark," De Sacy, iv. 337-8; and Kitáb i Yamíni, p. 59.—ارك Ibn Athír. See also Histoire des Samanides, par Mirkhond, traduite par M. Defrémery, Paris,

Governor of Khorásán, is directed to interfere<sup>1</sup>, and prevails upon Khalaf to retire, while offering apparent submission, to the castle of Ták (طاق)<sup>2</sup>. The supremacy of the reigning emperor, Náh bin Mansúr, being duly recognised by the usual Moslem formalities of the recitation of his name in the public prayers, and its insertion in the legends of the coin of the realm.

On the resumption of U'tbí's narrative, Khalaf is stated to have remained in quiet possession of his territory up to the period of Subuktágin's expedition against Jaipál in 367 A.H.<sup>3</sup>, when he takes advantage of the opportunity to seize upon Bust and appropriate the treasures of the province; but even this overt act of treachery seems to have been forgiven by Subuktágin on the restitution of the funds thus temporarily alienated<sup>4</sup>. An event regarding which U'tbí remains silent seems to have occurred shortly after 379 A.H.<sup>5</sup>, in Khalaf's mission of his own son A'mrú to take possession of Kermán, where he obtains a momentary success, but is finally defeated by A'bbas bin Ahmad, the general of Samsám ud doulah, the Báiyah ruler of Fárs. On the son's return to Seistán, Khalaf—for no apparent reason but his want of success, puts him to death with the most uncompromising barbarity<sup>6</sup>.

Khalaf next appears on the scene as joining Subuktágin's force with his contingent, on that general's march to oppose Abú A'li at Nishápúr. He himself is left behind, but his troops aid in the cam-

1845, p. 265. Col. Anderson supposes this name of Ark (the Greek *αρχ*) to be used for the citadel of Zaranj, the capital of Seistán. Under the description of that town in the *Ashkál al bilád*, we are told—"Inside the city, between the Kurkoonah and Meeshuk gates, is a grand building called the *Urk*—it was the treasury of Omar." See *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxi., 365, 372.

<sup>1</sup> About A.H. 371. *Price* ii. 245. *Defrémery*, p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Albírání Káúún MS.* حصن الطاق فط ل ل م —For طاق see also *Ouseley's Oriental Geography*, pp. 208, 211, 212. T. H. Möller, *Liber Climatam*, (*Istakhrí*), Göttingen, 1839, p. 103; and Col. Anderson's Translation of the *Ashkál al bilád's Account of Seistán*, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxi. pp. 369, 371, and 373.

<sup>3</sup> *Dow's Translation of Ferishtah*, i. 22. *Brigg's ditto*, i. 16. *Kitáb i Yamíni*, 43. *Reinaud, l'Inde*, 250. *Malcom's Hist. Persia*, i. 316.

<sup>4</sup> *Kitáb i Yamíni*, p. 273.

<sup>5</sup> *R. S.* iv. 15. On Samsám ud doulah Búiyah's accession to power at Shiráz, *i. e.* [about] 379 A.H. *Abú Faraj*, A.H. 379, p. 212. See also *D'Herbelot in voce*; and *Price* ii. 265, A.H. 387-98.

<sup>6</sup> *R. S.* vol. iv. cap. 15. The *Habib us Siyar*, ii. 4, in commenting on his and a second similar murder, says—

که دو پسر خود را بدست خود در ایام حکومت قتل نمود .

paign; and on the final defeat of Abú A'li and Faik at Tús in 385 A.H., Subuktagín sends back the Seistán force with honour and commendation. Khalaf's intriguing disposition again develops itself on Subuktagín's proceeding to the northward against Ailek Khán, though any positive rupture seems to have been averted till after the death of the Ghaznaví monarch, when Khalaf sends his son Táhir to annex certain dependencies of Bagrachak<sup>1</sup>, Mahmúd's uncle, at this time ruler of Herát, &c. In an action which ensued, Bagrachak was killed; and eventually in A.H. 390<sup>2</sup>, Mahmúd himself advanced into Seistán, where, however, he contented himself with receiving Khalaf's somewhat abject submission and a money fine<sup>3</sup>.

About the year A.H. 392 Khalaf abdicated in favour of his son Táhir. Subsequently, thinking better of this act, he treacherously inveigled his son into his power<sup>4</sup>, who thereupon meets a speedy end in his father's prison. The feelings of the nobles of the land at this incident are developed in a rebellion, ending in the deposition of Khalaf and the submission of the conspirators, in A.H. 393, to Mahmúd; while Khalaf, after standing a siege in his last refuge<sup>5</sup>, surrenders to Mahmúd<sup>6</sup> with an ostentatious amount of self-humiliation sufficient to secure him once again the mercy of the conqueror, who provides him with an honourable exile<sup>7</sup>, which, after four years duration and the discovery of intrigues with Ailek Khán, is converted into close confinement, in which "the volume of his life received its last seal" in Rajab A.H. 399<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Dow, l. 51. Bujernc, Not. et Ex. Bagrachak. Arabic text, Tárfikh Yamíni

بغراحتق R.S. بغراحتق

<sup>2</sup> A.H. 390. T. Y. p. 279.

<sup>3</sup> Not. et Ex. p. 739. T. Y. 280.

<sup>4</sup> T. Y. 285. Mirkhond does not adopt this preliminary statement of U'tbi's but he is quite clear as to the treachery, and adds—

و خلف نيز بدست خود كشته

<sup>5</sup> R. S. Ták طاق. So also Price, K. A. 282.

<sup>6</sup> Price dates this expedition of Mahmúd in 394 (p. 282, vol. ii.) D'Herbelot in voce, 393 A.H. p. 533. De Guignes, ii. 155, A.H. 393.

<sup>7</sup> R.S. او بسبب موافقت آ ب و هوا موضع جورجان اختيار كرد

H.S. جرجان De Saey proposes to amend this to *Dhouzdjan*. Not. et Ext. iv. p. 353.

<sup>8</sup> The *Khalásat ul Akhbár* sums up his character thus:—"This Kholif, the son of Ahmad, is represented, at the same time, as equally adorned and distinguished by his acquirements in all the learning of his age and country, by the liberality and benevolence of his mind, and by his unbounded patronage of genius and science, however exhibited." Price, vol. ii. 243.

## KHALAF-BIN-AHMAD.

No. 2.

Gold. Size 1½. Weight 8·5 gr.<sup>1</sup> A.H. 355.—*British Museum (Collection of Sir H. C. Rawlinson).*

REV.	OBY.
محمد رسول الله مد	المطيع لله خلف بن احمد عدل
Margin. Illegible.	Marg. خمس وخمسين وثلث

[NOTE.—The following coins are noticed in this place,—in so much of association with the obvious money of Khalaf-bin-Ahmad forming part of the small collection from the same site, presented to the British Museum by Colonel Sir H. C. Rawlinson—without being definitely classed under the like heading and attribution, as objections may be taken to the absence of the patronymic so uniformly expressed upon the ascertained coins of this prince; an uncertainty exists further as to their places of mintage, and, finally, grave doubts must arise, in the absence of any historic testimony to the fact, as to whether Khalaf-bin-Ahmad could have attained kingly power so early as 351 A.H. It is true that he is represented as dying at a mature old age in 399 A.H.; but it would be, perhaps, claiming too much to infer that he had arrived at manhood and princely rank sixty-eight years previous to that event.

The names of the mint cities on these pieces are only partially legible; that on the coin engraved is seen to consist of a trilateral compound, and, looking to

<sup>1</sup> This coin has been engraved for the forthcoming number of the *Numismatic Chronicle* as No. 5, vol. xx. p. 56, to illustrate a paper on the special subject by Mr. Vaux.

## No. 2 a.

Gold. Size 2½. Weight 18·5 gr. Sajestán.—*British Museum.*

Similar Areas, with the monogram ع at foot of Reverse Area.

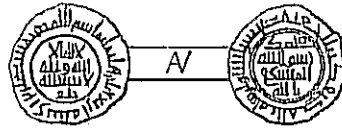
Obverse Margin displays portions of the Kalimah, viz. :—

. . . له وحده لا شريك .

The Reverse Margin retains the words بسم الله ضرب بساجستان

the identities of letters in other portions of the legends, the initial should preferentially be read as ر and the final as ك. The name of the town on the second piece I will not even venture to guess at.]

## No. B.



Gold. Size 3. Weight 15 gr. A. H. 394.—*British Museum.*

Rev.	Obv.
ماحمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
المستكفي	لا شريك له
بالله	خلف

Obv. Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بربك سنة اربع وثلثن وثلثمائة

Reverse Margin. . . . محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق . . .  
Kurán, Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

## No. 3.

Gold. Size 3 (broken coin). Weight 29·5 gr.<sup>1</sup> A.H. 375.—*British Museum*.  
Plate, fig. 1.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	
محمد	لا اله الا
رسول الله	الله وحده
الطابع لله	خلف بن احمد

Reverse Margin. Illegible.

Obv. Marg. سنة خمس وسبعين وثلثمائة . . . . .

There is a second coin in Colonel Rawlinson's parcel in the British Museum of an earlier date, and of seemingly similar fabric, though of varying legends, which may tend to throw light upon the due attribution of the preceding piece (No. B.) The superscriptions are reproduced below.

## No. C.

Size 1½. Weight 8·5. A.H. 331.

Rev.	Obv.
الله	
المتقي	لا اله الا
بالله	الله محمد
خلف	رسول الله

Obv. Marg. بسم الله ضرب هذا . . . . . سنة احدى وثلثين وثلثمائة



Reverse Margin. et cetera. محمد رسول الله

<sup>1</sup> This coin has likewise been engraved for the illustration of Mr. Vaux's paper in the Num. Chron. xx. p. 56.

## MAHMÚD.

No. 4.—(To precede XII. Old Series, Journal, vol. ix. p. 309).

Gold. Weight 68½ gr. Nishápúr. A.H. 399.—*British Museum.*

Rev.	Obv.
	
محمد رسول الله القادر بالله ولي عهده الغالب بالله يمينى	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له يمين الدولة وامين الملة ابو القاسم سم

Obverse Margin. Int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور في سنة تسع  
 وتسعين وثلثمائة

„ Ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Reverse Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

No. 5.—(To follow XII., Old Series, Journal, vol. ix. p. 309.)

Gold. Weight gr. Nishápúr. A.H. 403.—*General Miles.*

Rev.	Obv.
محمد رسول الله القادر بالله ولي عهده الغالب بالله يمين الدولة	لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له ابو القاسم

Obverse Margin. . . . بنيسابور سنة ثلث واربعمائة

Reverse Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.



No. 6.—(To follow XVII., Old Series, p. 311.)

Gold. Weight 52 gr. Herât. A. H. 413. New Type.—Colonel Stacy.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
يمين الدولة	الله وحده
وامين الملة	لا شريك له
نظام الدين	القادر بالله
ابو القاسم	

Obv. Marg. Int. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين... بهراة سنة ثلث عشرة واربعماية

„ Ext. Surah xxx. 4, 5.

Reverse Margin. Surah ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

No. 7.—(To follow XVIII., Old Series, p. 311.)

Gold. Weight 62 gr. Ghazni. A. H. 415. Unique.—Colonel Stacy.

Rev.	Obv.
لله	لا اله الا
محمد	الله وحده
رسول الله	لا شريك له
يمين الدولة	القادر بالله
وامين الملة	
ابو القاسم	

Obv. Marg. Int.—

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بخزنة سنة خمس عشرة واربعماية

„ Ext. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.

Reverse Margin. Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

No. 7 a.

Mr. B. Elliot possesses a somewhat similar coin of the Ghazni mintage, dated—

\* \* \* اربع عشرة واربع \* \* \* i.e. 414 A. H.

## No. 7 b.

Gold. Weight 60·5 gr. Ghazni. A.H. 418.—*British Museum (Rawlinson Collection).*

Coin varying from No. 7, only in the change of date, and the substitution of the name of *محمود* for the *أبو القاسم* on the reverse.

## No. 8.—(To precede No. XIX., Old Series, p. 311.)

Gold. Weight 70 gr. Nishápúr. A. H. 405.—*British Museum.*

Similar legends to No. XIX., Old Series; varying only in the omission of the *عدل*, and the insertion of the title *وأمين الملة* on the sides of the obverse field.

## No. 9.—(To follow No. XX., Old Series, Journal ix., p. 312.)

Aur. cus. in *Nisabur* a 421. A. i. n sin. et dext., Ar. *القادر بالله*

Margin. Int.—

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار بنيسابور سنة احدى وعشرين واربعماية

A. ii. *محمود رسول الله*

*عليه السلام*

*محمود*

Frohn, *Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de St. Petersburg*, tome iv. (1846) p. 45; and *Opusc. Postum.*, editit B. Dorn, p. 261.

## No. 10.—(No. XXVII., Old Series, p. 315.)

Silver. Weight 44 gr. Ghazni. A. H. 395.—*Colonel Stacy.*

REV.

س ر ب

*محمود رسول الله*

*القادر بالله*

*يمين الدولة*

*محمود*

OBV.

*يمينني*

*لا اله الا*

*الله وحده*

*لا شريك له*

*ص د*

Obv. Marg. *بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بغرنة سنة خمس وتسعين وثلاثماية*

Reverse Margin. *Surah, xxx. 4, 5.*

As introductory to the later acquisitions of the same type of coin, I reinsert the original woodcut of the previously sole available example of the bilingual coinage of Mahmūd, which has already appeared at p. 323, vol. ix., Journal R.A.S.

Since the date of the publication in question, European collectors have succeeded in rescuing from the local crucibles no less than three additional specimens of this mintage, which determine conclusively that the issue constituted an ordinary serial coinage of a given locality, as opposed to the alternative supposition, suggested by the solitary piece heretofore known, of an occasional or commemorative purpose being indicated in their exceptional type. A second annual date is furnished by the new accessions, but the more interesting information in regard to the site of their fabrication still remains indeterminate, though the denomination of the mint city may be conjecturally suggested from the partially legible letters preserved in the Kufic on two coins, and the full designation of Mahmūd, so obvious in the Sanskrit marginal records—as a locality honoured, on its conquest, by some titular identification with his own name.

Having completed the mechanical decipherment of the several letters of the central legend nearly as they are now reproduced under the description of Coin No. 11, I submitted the result, together with my original collocated facsimile transcripts of the superscriptions of the several pieces, to the scrutiny of Professor Wilson, and having carefully tested the value of each individual character by the demands of Palæographic consistency and the requisitions of linguistic sense<sup>1</sup>, I adopt, without hesitation, the following matured version of our highest Sanscrit authority :

अव्यक्तमेक मुहम्मद अवत(र) नृपति महमूद

*Abyaktam eka Muhammad avat(ā)ra Nripati Mahmūd.*  
The invisible one, Muhammad incarnation, King Mahmūd.

<sup>1</sup> Professor Wilson was at first inclined to suggest a transcription of श्री प्रभुरेक *Srī prabhureka* for the opening phrase, but upon examining more closely the formation of the original letters and comparing them with repetitions or variations on other portions of the coins, he decided upon the reading given above, representing अव्यक्तमेकम् *Abyaktamekam*, "the indiscrete, the invisible one"—specially used to signify the first cause or supreme universal spirit.

No. 11.—(No. XLII., Old Series, Journal ix. p. 323.)

Silver. Size 4½. Weight 45·4 gr. A.H. 412.—*British Museum.*

Rev.	Obv. (Revised Reading)
<p>بالله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله يمين الدولة وامين الملة ماحمود</p>	<p>अ व्यक्तमेक मुहम्मद अ वतर नृत ति महमूद</p>



Obv. Marg. अय टक महमूद \_\_\_\_\_ सवत ४१२  
This Taka (of) Mahmūd \_\_\_\_\_ Samvat. 412.

Reverse Margin. \_\_\_\_\_  
بسم الله ضربت واربعمائة

No. 12.

Silver. Size 4. Weight 36·6 gr. A.H. 412.—*Colonel T. Bush. Plate, fig. 2.*

Areas as in No. 11.

Obv. Marg. अय टक म \_\_\_\_\_ कीयर सवत ४१२

Reverse Margin. \* \* \* \* \_\_\_\_\_  
الله ضربت الدرهم ماحم

No. 13.

Silver. Size 4½. Weight 41 gr. A.H. 419.—*British Museum, Plate, fig. 3.*

Obverse Area as in No. 11.

Margin. अयं ट \_\_\_\_\_ कीयर संवती ४१९

Reverse Area as above, No. 11, with the exception that the *القادر* is placed at the top, and the *بالله* on the left side of the field.

Margin. بسم الله ضربت هذا \* \* \* \* \_\_\_\_\_  
الله ضربت واربعمائة

## No. 14.

Silver. Size 4½. Weight 46 gr. A.H. 419.—*My Cabinet*. Plate, fig. 4.

Obverse Area as in No. 11.

Margin. अयं टक महमूद कयर संवती ४१९

Reverse Area as in No. 13.

Margin. بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم [بمحمود سنة تسع  
عشرة وأربعمائة

No. 15.—(To precede XLIII., Old Series, p. 324.)

Silver. Weight 46 gr.—*Colonel T. Bush*.

Rev.	Obv.
<p>الله</p> <p>محمّد رسول الله صلّى الله عليه وسلم القادر بالله يمين الدولة محمود</p>	<p>عدل</p> <p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له يميني</p>
Margin illegible.	Margin apparently unengraved.

## No. 15 a.

Colonel Stacy's collection—now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—contains a coin with legends similar to the above, varying only in the insertion of the الله امين in the ordinary alignment, above the name of محمود

<sup>1</sup> See geographical summary at the end of this section of the paper.

No. 16 (Variety of No. LIV, Old Series, Journal ix. p. 333.)

Copper. Ghazni, A.H. 405.

Similar, in the typical arrangement of the intricately interlaced legends, to No. LIV., Old Series; but presenting the novelty of the use of the word كورة (city) as a prefix to the name of the place of mintage. This is the only instance, within my knowledge, of the use of a similar specification in the Ghaznavi series; the synonymous word بلدة will be seen to have been occasionally employed by the succeeding monarchs of the Ghori race.

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Having concluded the description of the coins of Mahmūd, it may be appropriate to complete the archaeological records of his rule by a notice of the extant monumental inscriptions preserved in his ancient capital. These consist, 1st, of the writing that adorns and explains the object of the erection of the Minār, which stands to this day near his burial place<sup>1</sup>; 2nd, of the Kufic and Neskhi scrolls on his marble tombstone; and, 3rd, of the brief inscription on the Deodwār, or Himālayan pine-wood portals of his sepulchre<sup>2</sup>, which tradition has associated, on very insufficient grounds, with the gates of Somnāth<sup>3</sup>. I do not consider that there is any reason to doubt the antiquity of these monuments, or the authenticity of the records they bear, though it is a matter of regret that the minaret should have suffered so much from time, exposure, and possibly violence, as to leave its commemorative legend difficult to decipher or restore.

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<sup>1</sup> An engraving and description of the fellow minār will be found at the end of the coins of Masūd.

<sup>2</sup> This quasi shrine seems to have been respected from the very first; and even the all-destroying A'la-ud-din Jihānsāz withheld his hand from the tomb of Mahmūd.

<sup>3</sup> These gates are now preserved in the fort of Agra. Elaborate drawings of them have been published in the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xii. (1843), and reduced facsimile models are to be seen in the Crystal Palace at Sydenham.

*Inscription No. 1.*

Copy in the Suls character of the Kufic Inscription on the Minaret nearest the village of Rozah<sup>1</sup>:—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم السلطان الاكرم ملك الاسلام  
يمين الدولة و امين الملة ابو المظفر ظهير المسلمين ومعين  
المساكين ابي القاسم محمود انارالله برهانه بن سبكتكين  
غازي الغازي امير المومنين امر بنا هذا العامة العالة العلية  
قد تمت باليمن والبركة

*Translation.*

"In the name of God the Most Merciful. The High and Mighty Sultan, Malik of Islam, the Right Arm of State, Trustee of the Faith, the Victory Crowned, the Patron of Moslems, the Aid of the Destitute, the Munificence Endowed, Mahmud (may God glorify his testimony), son of Subuktigin, the Champion of Champions, the Amir of Moslems,—ordered the construction of this lofty of loftiest of monuments, and of a certainty it has been happily and prosperously completed."

*Inscription No. 2.*

Kufic Scroll on the Sarcophagus of Mahmud, at Ghazni:—

غفران من الله للامير الاجل السيد نظام الدين ابو القاسم  
محمود بن سبكتكين غفرالله له

*Translation.*

"May there be forgiveness from God upon the great Amir, the Lord, Nizam

<sup>1</sup> The above is extracted verbatim from the Jour. As. Soc. Bengal (1843), vol. xii. p. 77. The imperfect state of the monument from whence this inscription has been copied, must necessarily detract from the conclusiveness of portions of the transcription; however, in the absence of authentic facsimiles, it is given on the faith of the officials employed by General Nott, for it is not definitively stated, nor can I otherwise discover, under whose direct supervision the professed reproduction and too obvious restitutions were made.

ud dīn Abūl Kāsim Mahmūd, son of Subuktāgin. May God have mercy upon him!"

MEK.—"On the reverse of the Sarcophagus, there is an inscription in the Neskh character, recording the date of the decease of Sultān Mahmūd, as Thursday, the 7th<sup>2</sup>, remaining day (*i.e.*, the 22nd or 23rd) of the month of Rabi al Akhir, A.H. 421." (H. C. Rawlinson.) Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, xii. 76.

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*Inscription No. 3.*

Inscription in Kufic on the upper portion of the framing of the so-called "Gates of Somnāth," once forming the portals of the Tomb of Mahmūd, at Ghazni:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ غَفْرَانَ مِنَ اللَّهِ لِلْأَمِيرِ الْأَجَلِ السَّيِّدِ  
الْمَلِكِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ يَمِينِ الدَّرَةِ وَأَمِينِ الْمَلَّةِ أَبُو الْقَاسِمِ مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ  
سَبِكْتِكِينَ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَلَوْ رَحِمَهُ لَهُ

*Translation.*

"In the name of the most merciful God—(may there be) forgiveness from God for the Amīr, the most illustrious, the Lord, the Victorious King, Right Hand of the State, and Custodian of the Faith, Abūl Kāsim Mahmūd, son of Subuktāgin, may the mercy of God be upon him . . ." [remaining phrase illegible].

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<sup>1</sup> I have reproduced the Arabic text given above from the Kufic facsimile of Lieut. Studdart. The more minute Kufic legend on the band below the main inscription is too imperfectly rendered in that officer's lithograph to be susceptible of decipherment. It appears, however, to commence with the usual

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that a counterpart definition of the date of Mahmūd's decease is given by Baihaki.—Jour. Royal Asiatic Society, ix. 331.



## MUHAMMAD BIN MAHMUD.

THE three novel accessions to the heretofore unique specimen of the coinage of Muhammad bin Mahmúd, apart from their claims on the ground of numismatic rarity, deserve attention for the several items of historic interest which they exemplify by the tenor of their legends.

The first in order, No. 17, will be seen to be dated in A.H. 414, and presents the peculiarity of an apparent fabrication from one of Mahmúd's own reverse dies, associated with an obverse engraved to bear testimony to Muhammad's local kingship, and to display the mint-impress of Júzjáu, the Government specially assigned to him by his father shortly after A.H. 406<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Masson's collection had previously contributed a somewhat parallel piece, in the joint names of Mahmúd and his son Masaúd, the illustrative value however of which was considerably diminished by the obliteration of both date and place of mintage<sup>2</sup>. The present exemplar, supported as it is by No. 18, definitively shows that these young princes, in addition to the other insignia of royalty somewhat guardedly apportioned to them, were both permitted to exercise, under due restrictions, the privilege so highly prized among Oriental nations, of coining money<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This nomination is deposed to in his brother Masaúds own words:—

و ولايت هرات بما داد و ولايت كوزكانان ببرادر ما MS. *Tárikh-i-Masaúdí*.

I observe that Muhammad was at his seat of government at the moment of his father's death. One copy of the *Masaúdí* inserts the following passage to this purport, after the word رفتند in the extract already given from a less perfect MS., at p. 331, vol. ix. line 4, note 1:—

\* \* بگوزكانان تا امير محمد بزودي بيايد و بر تخت ملك نشيند \*

<sup>2</sup> See *Journal*, vol. ix. p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> The jealousy existing between these twin brothers, as well as the subject of Oriental pomps and ceremonies, is amusingly illustrated in the following speech of Masaúd:—

و برادر خليفه ما باشد چنانكه نخست بر منابر نام ما برند بشپرها  
و خطبه بنام ما كنند آنگاه نام وي و بر سكه درم و دينار و طراز

جامه نخست نام ما نويسند آنگاه نام وي T. *Masaúdí*.

M 2

The second specimen, in seeming order of time, for the date is not fully preserved<sup>1</sup>, in like manner bears the conjoint designations of father and son ; but in this instance, the former's titles of honour are altogether omitted, as was the case in many of his own later currencies of northern fabric<sup>2</sup>, and otherwise the coin has the appearance of the consistent design attending a serial currency, as contrasted with the hasty combination to be detected in the earlier piece. The name of the place of mintage is, in this case, singularly well defined, reading obviously *وَأَبِىن*, Wáwálin, a city regarding which I have elsewhere entered into minute enquiries<sup>3</sup>, but whose exact position it is difficult to fix, owing to intermediate changes of urban sites and attendant modifications of nomenclature ; it will be enough to indicate that it was situated between Khulum and Tálíkán, somewhere near the modern Kundúz.

No. 19, in its own degree, illustrates another section of the annals of its day, in the insertion of the name of Ahmad, under the usual Arab form of surname<sup>4</sup>, where the father's designation is derived back from the son. Here Muhammad is found calling himself *أَبِى أَحْمَد* "the father of Ahmad<sup>5</sup>," the son under whose guidance he had eventually, in the days of his blindness, to rule the kingdom once again restored to him on the deposition of his brother Masaúd.

<sup>1</sup> There are traces only of the commencement of the unit number (*أَحَد*) I adopt 421 A.H. as the more probable date, in preference to 411 A.H.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 50, 53, Old Series, and No. 21. New Series, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> See Journal, ix. p. 316; also geographical notes immediately following the Table of dates, *infra*.

<sup>4</sup> *كُنْيَة* "a patronymic, or a filionymic."

<sup>5</sup> The legible legends on coin No. 19 now enable me to explain the imperfectly formed monogrammatic heading on the reverse of Coin LVII., which proves to be the identical designation of *أَبِى أَحْمَد*

No. 17—(To precede No. LVII., Old Series, Journal, ix. 334).

Silver. Weight 36.0 gr. Júzján, A.H. [4]14. Unique.—*Colonel T. Bush.*  
Plate, No. 6.

REV.		OBN.
لله محمد رسول الله صلي الله عليه وسلم القادر بالله يمين الدولة وامين الملة نظام الدين ابو القسم		عدل لا اله الا * الله وحده * لا شريك له محمد بن محمود

Obverse Margin. — هم بجزجان سنة اربع وعش \* \* —

Reverse Margin. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.

See coin of similar character, with the joint names of Mahmúd and Māsúf,  
No. xxi. p. 312, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. ix.

No. 18.

Silver. Weight 50 gr. Wáwáín.<sup>1</sup> Unique.—*Colonel Bush.* Plate, fig. 7.

REV.		OBN.
لله محمد رسول الله عليه السلام محمود		عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القادر بالله محمد بن

Obverse Margin. . . . بهذا الدرهم بووالين سنة اح — —

Reverse Margin. — — و يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون بن — Surah xxx. 4, 5.

<sup>1</sup> See note on this mint city, Jour. R. A. S. ix. pp. 316 and 339; and also the geographical recapitulation at the end of this article.

No. 19—(To follow No. LVII., Old Series, Journal, ix, 334).

Silver. Weight 60 gr. Unique. Mr. Frere.—*British Museum*. Plate, Fig. 7.

Rev.		Obv.
<p>مكمد رسول الله جلال الدولة وجمال الملة ابو احمد مكمد بن مكمد</p>		<p>لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له القادر بالله</p>
Margin. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.		Margin illegible.

No. 19 a.

Bilingual coin of this Sultan, of the Bull and Horseman type—described and illustrated under No. 26, at page 170 *infra*.

## MASAÚD.

No. 20—(To follow No. LVIII.)

Gold. Weight gr.—*Mr. Bardeur Elliot*, late Bengal Civil Service.

REV.		OBN.
لله		القيام
ساحمد رسول الله		لا اله الا الله
ناصر دين الله	}	وحده لا شريك له
حافظ عباد الله	}	القادر بالله
ظهير خليفه الله		ولي عهده
مسعود		

Obverse Margins. Int. illegible. Ext. usual formula.

Reverse Margin as usual. Surah, ix. 33; and lxi. 9.

## No. 21.

Gold. Weight 57 gr. Ghazni. A. H. 423. Unique.—*Colonel Stacy*.

REV.		OBN.
لله		لا اله الا
ساحمد رسول الله		الله وحده
صلي الله عليه		لا شريك له
الناصر لدين الله		القيام بامر الله
مسعود		

Obverse Margin. Int.—

بسم الله ضربت الدينار بغزنة سنة ثلث و عشرين واربعماية

,, ,, Ext. xxx. 4, 5.

Reverse Margin. Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

## No. 22.

Gold. Weight 54 gr. Ghazni. A.H. 423. Unique.—*Colonel Stacy.*

REV.		OBY.
لله محمد رسول الله عليه السلام مسعود		Same as in No. 21.

Margin. Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

Margins as in No. 21.

## No. 23.

Gold. Weight 69 gr. Ghazni. A.H. 423.—*Colonel Stacy.*

REV.		OBY.
لله محمد رسول الله القائم بأمر الله ناصر دين الله أبو سعيد		عدل لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له مسعود بن محمود

Obverse Margin. بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم ضرب هذا الدينار بغزنه سنة ثمان وعشرين وأربعماية

Reverse Margin. Surah, ix. 33, and lxi. 9.

## No. 23 a.

Mr. Bardees Elliot has a coin of this type, dated Ghazni, A.H. 427.

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There is a marked modification in the forms of the letters constituting the legends of these coins as contrasted with the style of character in ordinary use. The change from the stiff and formal outlines of the Kufic in No. 22, to the more flowing Persian writing in No. 23, is most striking, and possibly illustrates either Masa'ud's own Persian predilections, or mayhap the decline of the supremacy of the Arabic tongue, somewhat irregularly used as the Court language. We learn, indeed, from Baihaki, that in A.H. 422-3, Masa'ud's ministers had some difficulty in corresponding, and still more difficulty in verbal communication, with the Court of Bagdad.<sup>1</sup>

## No. 24—(No. lxi., Old Series, Journal, p. 338).

Silver. Broken Coin. Balkh, A.H. (4)22.—*Colonel Stacy.*

## No. 25—(Variety of No. LXVII., Old Series, Journal, p. 340).

Silver. Weight 53 gr.—*Colonel T. Bush.*

Obverse and Reverse trilinear legends as in the original type, No. 67, Old Series. The word **الله** replaces the **ظهير الله** at the top of the reverse field, and the full name of **مسعود** is contracted into its initial **م**.

## No. 26—(To follow No. LXXIV., Old Series, Journal, p. 342).

In classifying Mr. Masson's ample collection of the coins of the kings of Ghazni, I was necessarily struck with the entire absence of any money of the period purporting to have been minted at the ancient city of Kabul. This, however, seemed to be so far explained by the data afforded by the coins themselves, as to lead me to infer that Ferwan, in the first instance, and Ghazni, at a more advanced stage of the Mohammedan domination, supplied in turn the monetary wants

<sup>1</sup> See also remarks upon the same subject apropos to Coin No. XCVIII., Old Series, ix. p. 353; and note, p. 173, *infra*; also Elliot, *Historians of India*, 117; and *Kitáb i Yamíni* (Reynolds), p. 405.

of the adjacent country.<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, it appeared, during the course of the enquiry regarding the precise locality of the seat of government of the Hindú—or, as the early Moslem writers have designated it, the Brahman—dynasty, that the sovereigns of this race had ceased to reside at the old capital so early as the commencement of the fourth century, A.D.<sup>2</sup> Whether they subsequently returned for a brief space, or merely visited the revered site for the requisite purposes of inauguration (which the canon declared could not rightly be effected elsewhere<sup>3</sup>) we need not now pause to decide. It will be sufficient to conclude that in their migrations eastward, they carried with them the conventional dies of the kingdom, and continued to coin money after the same stamp, if not even in the name of the most prominent monarch of their race<sup>4</sup>, until the growing power of the Mohammedans drove them towards the Sutlege, and even the Láhór coinage yielded to Kufic influences<sup>5</sup>; while the original Bull and Horseman device, with its legends in the local character, took refuge, though but for a brief season, in Delhí and Ajmír.

The novelties I am about to describe, however, form the earliest specimens extant of the adaptation by the Mohammedans of the local money of the Hindús, in the full acceptance of the prevailing idolatrous symbols,—a concession they were seemingly unwilling to make in the first instance, when they adopted only the weights and standard of the currency of Kábul, in the issues from the Ferwán mint<sup>6</sup>. The new pieces will be seen to have been produced from designs but little changed from the earlier style of the money of the Brahman kings, and retain the dynastic<sup>7</sup> title of श्री समन्त देव, “Sri Samanta

<sup>1</sup> Jour., ix. p. 282.

<sup>2</sup> Jour., p. 286.

<sup>3</sup> Jour., ix. p. 284, foot note.

<sup>4</sup> Coins of the Kings of Kábul, Jour. R.A.S., ix. 177.    <sup>5</sup> Journal, ix. 349.

<sup>6</sup> Journal, ix. p. 303. Coins 2, &c. See also general remarks on the subject, p. 288, *ibid*.

<sup>7</sup> As I have lately had occasion to review the dynastic bearing of this name in connection with the employment of another title on one of the numerous offshoots from the standard type of coin, I may as well extract my observations on the subject:—

“I do not know that there are any more exclusively Hindú novelties in this section of numismatics that I can usefully refer to; but, before I leave the subject, I may be permitted to make some observations in reference to an original suggestion

of my own, that the श्री हमीर: on the reverse of the immediately succeeding Moslem coins, was designed to convey the title of the spiritual representative of the Arabian Prophet on earth, embodied for the time being in the Khalif of Baghdád. Sir H. M. Elliot, placing himself under the guidance of Captain Cunningham, has contested this inference. (Elliot's Muhammadan Historians of India, 152.) I am not only prepared to concede the fact that Muhammad-bin-Sám uses this term in connection with his own name on the lower Kanauj coins, but I can supply



Deva" on the obverse, over the figure of the recumbent bull; while on the reverse, in front of the horseman, are introduced, in Kufic letters, the names severally of Muhammad and Masa'ud. I have reserved the more extended notice of the sole exemplar of this mintage pertaining to the former sultan, which is in bad preservation, till I could illustrate it by the more perfect specimen bearing the name of his brother and successor, a wood-cut of the reverse of which I now insert. Both these coins are in the possession of Mr. E. C. Bayley, Bengal Civil Service. The cut as it now appears was engraved for Mr. Austin's edition of Prinsep's *Essays*<sup>1</sup>, and has been obligingly placed at my disposal for use on the present occasion.

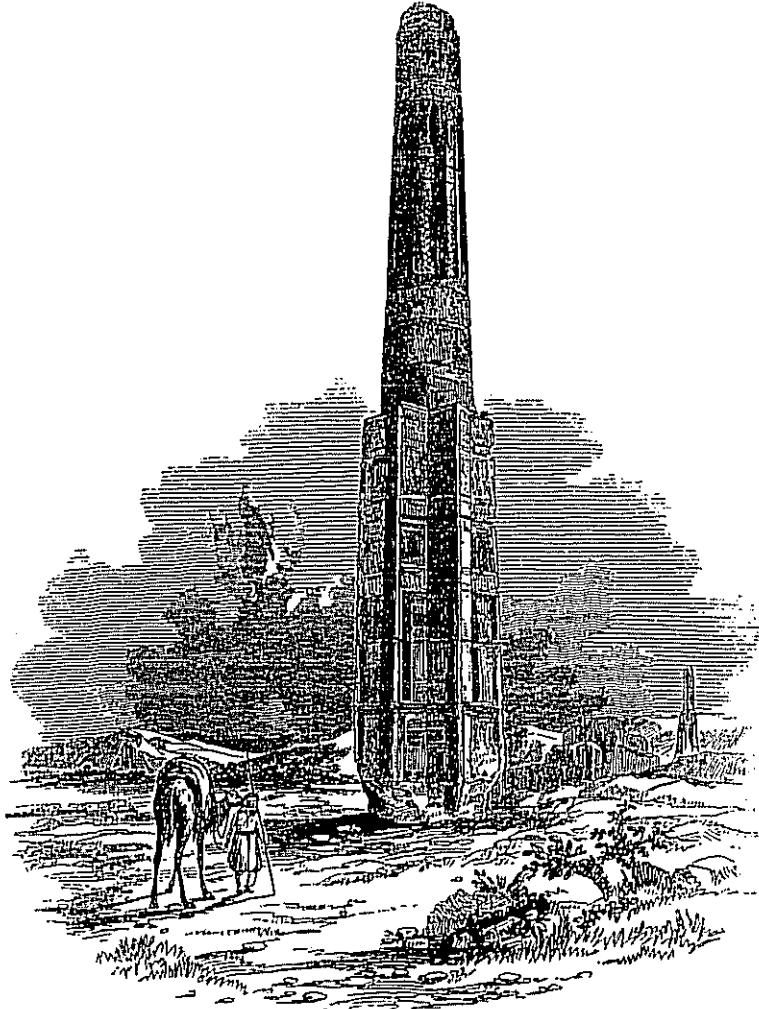


Having exhausted the newly discovered coins of Masa'ud, I follow

further independent evidence, that my opponents could not then cite against me, in the association of this title with the names of the early Sultans of Dihli in the Pálaní Inscription (A. 1333, Vikramáditya); but on the other hand, I can claim a still more definitive support in an item of testimony contributed by the consecutive suite of the selfsame fabric of coins, where the हमीरः is replaced by the word षलीफ—Khalifa. As far as I have yet been able to ascertain, this transition first takes place on the money of 'Alá-ud-dín Masa'ud (639-644 A.H.); and here again I can afford, in all frankness, to cite further data that may eventually bear against myself, in recording that this reverse of श्री षलीफ is combined in other cases with a broken obverse legend of . . . अमीरलिम . . . which, being interpreted to stand for the أمير المؤمنين of the Arabic system, may either be accepted as the Sanscrit counterpart legend of Altamah's anonymous coins in the Persian character, or be converted into a possible argument against my theory, if supposed to represent the independent spiritual supremacy claimed by subsequent Sultans of Dihli; which last assignment, however, will scarcely carry weight in the present state of our knowledge. As regards the difficulty raised respecting the conventional acceptance of the श्री समन्त देव of the coins as an historical, rather than an individually titular, impress, I have always been fully prepared to recognise the linguistic value of the word *Samanta*, and yet claim to retain the Sri Samanta-deva—which comes down to us, in numismatic sequence, in the place of honour on so many mint issues—as an independent name or title, to which some special prestige attached, rather than to look upon it as an ordinary prefix to the designation of each potentate upon whose money it appears. And such a decision, in parallel apposition to the succession of the titles of Sri Hamira and Khalifa just noticed, would seem to be strikingly confirmed by the replacement of this same legend of Sri Samanta-deva, on the local coins of Cháhad-deva, by the style and title of the Moslem suzerain to whom that rája had eventually to concede allegiance."—Prinsep's *Essays*, John Murray, London, 1856, i. 332.

<sup>1</sup> Eventually published under the auspices of Mr. Murray.

the arrangement adopted in the case of Mahmúd, and append, in further illustration of the reign of the former, the incomplete inscription from the solitary metropolitan monument associated with his name, that appears to have escaped the exterminating vengeance of A'lá ud dín Jehánsoz<sup>1</sup>.



The Minarets at Ghazni, from a Sketch by G. J. Vigne, Esq.

*Fergusson's Handbook of Architecture*, p. 415, vol. 1.

On this occasion—thanks to Mr. Fergusson's liberality—I am enabled to introduce an exact sketch of the picturesque minaret upon

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, under the Ghorí dynasty.

whose surface the Kufic legend is raised—an engraving, it may be added, which is further valuable, as being the only satisfactory representation we have of any of the buildings in or around the ancient capital of the family of Subuktagin.

Mr. Fergusson gives the following note on these buildings:—"Two minarets still adorn the plain outside the city, and form, if not the most striking, at least the most prominent of the ruins of that city. Neither of them were ever attached to any mosques; they are, indeed, pillars of victory, or *Jaya Sthambas*, like those in India. \* \* \* The lower part of these towers is of a star-like form, the plan being apparently that of two squares placed diagonally the one over the other; the upper part, rising to the height of about 140 feet from the ground, is circular. Both are of brickwork, crowned with ornaments of terra-cotta of extreme elaboration and beauty, and retaining its sharpness to the present day."—*Handbook*, i. 414.

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*Inscription No. 4.*

"Copy in the Sals character of the Kufic Inscription on the Minaret nearest the town of Ghazni."

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 امر السلطان الاعظم ملك الاسلام اعلام المملكة و الدولة ابو  
 سعيد مسعود بن ظهير الدولة محمود ابو ابراهيم نصير الدين  
 امير المؤمنين يمين المملكة امين الملة مالك رقاب الامم  
 سلطان المكرم اللخاقان مولى ملوك العرب و العجم خلد  
 الله تعلى ملكه و سلطانه و افاض على العلمين برة واحسانه  
 غفر الله لاولادى و لتجميع المسلمين

*Translation.*

"In the name of God, the most merciful, (erected) by order of the Mighty Sultán, the Malik of Islám, the Standard of Dominion and Wealth, the August Masaúd, Son of the Supporter of the State, Mahmúd, Father of Ibráhím, Defender of the Faith, Amír of Moslems, the Right Arm of Dominion, the Trustee of the Faith, the Master of the Necks of Nations, the Noble and Imperial Sultán, Lord of the Countries of Arabia and Persia. May the Great God perpetuate his throne and kingdom; commemorated be his beneficence. May God forgive the sins of himself, his parents, and of all Moslems."—*J.A.S.B.*, xxii. 77, 78.

As next in authenticity to the more enduring record of titles on coins, and as corrective to a certain extent of the imperfectly decipherable inscription on his sole architectural monument, I copy from the official documents preserved in the text of Al Baihaki the following heading of the original Arabic عهد وفا, agreed to by Masa'ud in A.H. 423<sup>1</sup>, which gives a full detail of his recognised titles at that period, as well as a brief recapitulation of those of his deceased father:—

*Commencement of the عهد وفا*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبدالله ابن عبدالله ابى جعفر  
الامام القايم بامر الله امير المومنين الى ناصر دين الله الحافظ  
لعباد الله المنتقم من اعداء الله ظهير خليفه الله ابى سعد مولى  
امير المومنين بن نظام الدين و كهف الاسلام و المسلمين يمين  
الدولة و امين الملة ابى القاسم ولى امير المومنين

In the less formal portions of his narrative, Al Baihiki entitles his sovereign حافظ بلاد الله ابو سعيد &c.

Albiruni, also a contemporary writer<sup>2</sup>, in his preface to his *Kanin*, which bears the very name of "Masa'udi," enumerates his patron's titles as follows:—

الملك الاجل السيد المعظم ظهير خليفه الله و ناصر دين الله  
و حافظ عباد الله المنتقم من اعداء الله ابى سعيد مسعود

—Unpublished MS. (engrossed at Baghdad, in A.H. 570) in the collection of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, p. 1.

<sup>1</sup> A number of incidents curiously illustrative of the manners and customs of the day and the state of civilization of the Ghaznavi court, at this time held at Balkh, are developed in the course of the narration of this bit of diplomacy. The difficulties incident to the absolute necessity of the use of a foreign and very imperfectly known language on this occasion are vividly brought to light. And while detailing the official ceremonies attendant on the public recitation of the counterpart treaties in the two languages, and the signature of the several documents by Masa'ud himself, our author takes the opportunity of enlarging on the accomplishments of that prince as a Persian scholar, in contrast to the general amount of book-learning, which was clearly limited, as one of the chief officers whose counter-signature was required, was obliged to have that duty performed for him by another!

<sup>2</sup> Abu Rihan Muhammad bin Ahmad al Biruni al Khawarizmi was born about A.H. 360, and died in A.H. 430.—Elliot, *Historians of India*, p. 96.

In my first article on the Coins of the Kings of Ghazni, I extracted from the Arabic text of Abúl Fidá, a list of Masaúd's territorial possessions (*Jour.*, ix. p. 342). For the purposes of immediate comparison, I may, perhaps, fitly claim the limited amount of space needed for the introduction of the Latin translation of the original by Reisk, which has not previously been given. The Oriental author, in summarizing the events of the year A.H. 432, concludes his notice of Masaúd's rule to the effect:—

"Erat enim Masud vir excellentium virtutum, egregie beneficus in egenos; . . . maximus etiam eruditorum patronus, qui ad ipsum undecunquo confluebant, eique suos libros inscribebant. Ipse litteras pingebat elegantem, et late regnaverat multaque cum gloria, Isfahane dominus, et Raim, Tabarestane, Gorganne, ceteraque Chorasane, Chovarezmie, Arranne<sup>1</sup>, Mocranne, Kermanne, Segestane, Sendite, Rocchagi, Ghazne, Gori, terra marique imperator."—(Abúl Fidá, iii. 113.)

<sup>1</sup> M. Defrémery proposes to correct the original text of بلاد الران into بلاد الداور, the Zamín dáwar, on the Helmund, of the present day. As the MS. of Ibn Athír and Ibn Khaldún, cited in support of this rectification, seem to be conclusive on the point, otherwise sufficiently reasonable in itself, I readily concur in the substitution.

M. Defrémery, in the same article (a critique on my previous paper on the Kings of Ghazni, in the Paris "*Revue Numismatique*" for 1849, p. 230.), while adding much valuable information from independent sources, takes further occasion to amend certain readings and omissions of mine. I may as well, therefore, advert to them all seriatim in this place.

The first objection taken (at p. 236.), is to my retention of the negative prefix in the word نباشد, in the passage extracted from the *Tárikh Guzidáh*, under note 1, p. 272, *Journal*, vol. ix. M. Defrémery has so much of justification for this somewhat gratuitous emendation, that one copy of the work in question, in the E.I.H. library (No. 160), does omit this initial *nun*, and it is possible that the Paris M.S. he had occasion to consult was equally deficient in the single dot, which constitutes so often an important element in Persian writing! I was fully aware at the time I made my quotation, of the variation between the two MSS., and I deliberately and intentionally selected an inferior and infinitely worse engrossed MS. (E.I.H., No. 649) as my avowed authority, because that copy made sense of the passage and the other did not. If I could have any doubt remaining on this merely critical issue (for I see M. Defrémery coincides with me in the ultimate interpretation) it would have been completely set at rest by the text of the *Rauzat-us-Safá*, which is phrased in a nearly similar manner, and which I alluded to without thinking it necessary, either then or now, to reproduce in confirmation of so obvious a meaning.

The next rectification concerns a more positive error of my own, which I am at a loss to account for, except on the supposition of insufficient reference to the text, whose general purport I was embodying in the current evidence applying to a particular issue. Suffice it to say, that the words "in all nine years," (line 17,

The enumeration must, of course, be held to represent Mas'ūd's dominions only as they stood at the height of his power. In later years his varying fortunes stript him of many of his richest provinces; but it may be useful to quote, as indicative of the spirit of the time, and the tendency of Oriental assumption, the long list of kingdoms, some of which he had avowedly yet to conquer, claimed by him under an expected patent of the Khalif on the elevation of Alkáfim Beamrillah in A.H. 422-3. Baihaki exemplifies these demands in the following terms:—

\* برآن شرط که چون بغداد باز رسد امیرالمومنین منشوری  
تازه فرستد خراسان و خوارزم و نیمروز و زابلستان و جمله  
هند و سند و چغانیان و ختلان و قبادیان و ترمذ و قصدار  
و مکران و کدانشتان و کیکاهان و ری و جبال و سپاهان  
جمله تا عقبه حلوان و کرکان و طبرستان دران باشد \* \*  
\* \* و دستوری دهد تا از جانب سیستان قصد کرمان  
کرده آید و از جانب مکران قصد عمان \* \* \*

p. 279, vol. ix. of this Journal), should be corrected to "according to another statement, nine years."

Finally, M. DeFrémery has pointed out (note, p. 242.), with regard to my remark (at p. 281. ix.) on Mirkhond's taking no notice of the vassalage of Bahram Sháh, under Sanjar—that this statement is only partially correct, as although the author in question does not allude to this feodality in its proper place in the history of the Ghaznavís, he does speak of it under the section of his work devoted to the annals of the Suzerain Seljúks. See Journal Asiatique, October, 1848, p. 335.

## MODUD.

No. 27—(No. LXXIX., Old Series, Journal, p. 345).

Silver. Weight gr. Ghazni, A.H. 434.

REV.	ONV.
فتوح	عدل
محمد رسول الله	لا اله الا
القيام بامر الله	الله وحده
شهاب الدولة	لا شريك له
مودود	

Obverse Margin. \* \* — هم بغزنة سنة اربع وثلثين \* \*

Reverse Margin. Surah, xxx. 4, 5.

## No. 27 a.

A nearly similar coin, in the collection of the late Col. Stacy, has the word رائج  
"current," on the right of the obverse field.

## A'BD-UL-RASHID.

No. 28—(To follow No. XCVI, Old Series, Journal, p. 352).

Silver and Copper. Weight 37 gr. Unique.—*My Cabinet.*

REV.	ONV.
عزالدولة	श्री समन्त देव
وزين الملة	(Sri Samanta Deva.)
عبد الرشيد	Figure of the Bull (Nandi).

VOL. XVII.

N

## IBRAHİM.

No. 29—(To follow No. CIX., Old Series, Journal, p. 358).

Silver. Weight 48 gr.—*Colonel Stacy.*

Rev.		Ovr.
<p>○ ○ ○</p> <p>محمد رسول الله</p> <p>ظهیر الدولة</p> <p>الملك</p> <p>ابراهيم</p> <p>ع</p>		<p>الله</p> <p>لا اله الا الله</p> <p>وحده لا شريك له</p> <p>القايم بامر الله</p> <p>نصيرى</p>

Margins illegible.

No. 30—(Variety of No. CXIV., Old Series, p. 360).

Silver. Weight 29 gr.—*Colonel T. Bush.*

Obverse. رمضان محمد رسول الله نصير الدولة ابراهيم

Reverse. Usual type of No. 116, O. S.

No. 31—(Variety of No. CXX., p. 362).

Silver. Weight 85 gr.—*Colonel T. Bush.*

Obverse. قران لا اله الا بالله محمد رسول الله المقندى بامر الله

Reverse as in No. 120, O. S. ملك الاسلام ع ○ ك

No. 32—(To follow CXXVII., Old Series, Journal, p. 365).

Silver. Size 1½. Weight 9 gr.—*Mason Collection, E.I.H.*

Obverse. The Kalimah, in three lines.

Reverse. السلطان الاعظم ابراهيم



No. 33.

Silver. Size 1. Weight 5 gr.—*Masson (E.I.H.)*

Obverse as No. 32. (No margin.)

Reverse. ملك خلیفہ الدولۃ ابرہیم

Margin illegible.

## MASAUD III.

No. 34—(Variety of No. CXXXIV., Old Series, Journal, p. 367).

Silver and Copper mixed. Weight gr.—*Masson (E.I.H.)*

Rev.		Obv.
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; display: inline-block;">           السلطان            الاعظم            علا الدولۃ         </div>		فتح لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستظهر بالله
مسعود		ن

Obverse Margin filled in with triangular points.

Reverse. No margin.

N.B.—The third line in the Reverse legend is only partially legible.

No. 35—(To follow No. CXXXVI., Old Series, Journal, p. 368).

Silver. Size 1½. Weight 5 gr.—*Masson (E.I.H.)*

Obverse. The Kalimah, in three lines.

Reverse. السلطان الاعظم مسعود

No. 36—(To follow No. CXXXIX., Old Series, p. 369).

Copper. Size 3. Weight 40 gr. Unique.—*Col. T. Bush.* Plate, fig. 8.

Obverse. Central Area. The Seal of Solomon within a circle.  
Margin illegible.

Reverse. Central Area as in obverse, slightly altered.

Margin. السلطان الاعظم ابوسعيد مسعود

No. 37.

Copper. Size 4½. Weight 48 gr.—*Col. T. Bush.*

Rev. Square Area.

علا الدولة  
ابوسعيد  
مسعود

Obv. Square Area.

السلطان  
الاعظم  
ملك الاسلام

Obverse Margin. الامام المستظهر بالله \* \* \*

Reverse Margin. \* \* لا اله الا \* \*

There is a story told in that voluminous collection of Oriental tales, the *Jāmi'ul-Hikāyāt*, which contributes an apposite historiette on the currencies of the Ghaznavis, and furnishes a traditional comment on the depreciation of the monetary standard, so obviously borne out by the extant specimens of the coinage of the monarch under whom the evil is reported to have reached its climax. I am not able to trace the depreciation in equal progression from the mintages of Mahmūd to those of A'lā-ud-dowlah Masūd, nor indeed would the circumstances deposed to necessitate the idea of any such regular and uniform action; but I can testify generally to the extreme debasement of the issues of this last-named prince, and less sweepingly condemn occasional examples of the mintages of his predecessors. I have not thought it necessary to give the Persian text of the anecdote in question; it may be sufficient to say, that the following free translation embodies all the real purport of the original, which varies considerably in the different MSS., and is more or less defective in all the copies<sup>1</sup> I have had an opportunity of consulting.

<sup>1</sup> 1st, A copy of Sir H. M. Elliot's, from which I have given the Persian text in the *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xxi. p. 121.; 2nd, a MS. in my own possession,

*Translation.*

"It is related that when Yamín-ud-dowlah occupied the throne and the vigour of his Government extended over many countries, and the rigour of his administration reached idolaters and their temples; the cunning men of Hind exercised their ingenuity, and devised a scheme (of deception). First, they put forth a dirham of just standard and full (intrinsic) value; when, after some time, this coinage<sup>1</sup> obtained free circulation, merchants came from Muhammadan countries and bought it up, and carried it into Khorásán<sup>2</sup>. When the schemers saw that the currency was firmly established and readily received by all—then, by degrees, they debased the standard; the merchants (still) continued to trade in the silver, without being aware of the (existence or) extent of the depreciation. From all parts they brought gold and silver to Hindustán, and, in return, obtained<sup>3</sup> copper and brass; and in this way a large amount of the wealth of the Muhammadans was drawn to Hindustán. When the evil extended beyond bounds, and A'lá-ud-dowlah sat on the throne, he turned his attention towards its correction, and took counsel with his nobles<sup>4</sup>, as to the means whereby it was to be remedied. They all advised that the debased money should be called in, and the amount replaced by legitimate coin. A'lá-ud-dowlah accordingly ordered that they should issue millions of dirhams<sup>5</sup> from his treasury and take them to the mint, to be expended in the relief of 'the servants of the Lord' (the Moslems), so that his own good name might be diffused over all parts of the world<sup>6</sup>."

(without date), once in the library of Ranjít Sing; and, 3rd, an old large-paper copy, the property of H. T. Prinsep, Esq.

<sup>1</sup> جیتل is the word used in my MS. It does not, however, appear in either Sir H. M. Elliot's copy or that of Mr. H. T. Prinsep. The *Jital* or *Chital* is a measure of value of special currency in the Delhi series, at which capital our author wrote during the reign of Altamsh (A.H. 607—633). See remarks on "Jitals," in my "Supplementary Contributions to the Coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Hindustán," printed at Delhi in 1851, p. 30, and Reprint in the London "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. xv. p. 154.

<sup>2</sup> The text in my copy of "Jámi' al Hikáyat" is:—

بارزكانان از دارالاسلام مي آمدند و انرا مي خريدند و خراسان  
مي بردند  
The passage is not so fully given in Mr. Prinsep's MS.

<sup>3</sup> The exact words used are و مس و روي باز مي خريدند

<sup>4</sup> In my MS., "the merchants" are the authorities stated to have been consulted on this occasion.

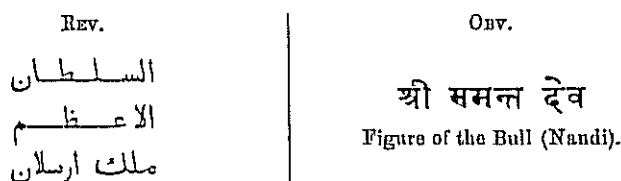
<sup>5</sup> An imaginary sum; the original expression is صدبار هزار هزار

<sup>6</sup> I have already partially illustrated, from the statements of Indian authors,

## ARSLAN.

No. 38—(To follow No. CXL., Old Series, p. 369).

Silver and Copper. Weight 32 gr.—Colonel T. Bush.



the simple and easy process by which the Eastern Mint-masters coined money (Journal, ix. 281). The following account of the means employed for this end in India, almost to the present day, will give a more vivid idea of the facilities enjoyed by the evil disposed, under Native governments, for forgery and the production of debased coin :—

“*March 22, 1848.*—Pind Dadud Khan visited the Mint here, which is under the superintendence of Misser Rula Ram. Silver is collected in all directions in the shape of old rupees, bangles, and silver ornaments, which, after being refined, are converted into the new Lahore rupee. . . . The silver being obtained of sufficient purity to constitute the new rupees, which are said to be *pura silver*, it is cut into bars about the breadth of a rupee, and handed over to an artificer, who cuts these into the necessary weights to constitute the rupees. This being done, the rough bits of silver are heated to redness on hot charcoal, and when hot are beaten on an anvil with a round-headed hammer into the shape and size of the standard rupee. In this state they are handed over to a man who finishes them by impressing the necessary inscription, which is done on a *die* of the most simple description, being an anvil with a round and highly-tempered steel surface, on which the inscription is engraved in reverse. On this the rupee is placed, and on it a punch with a round and highly tempered steel face, on which the inscription to be impressed on the upper side of the rupee is carved. The punch being applied to the rupee, a smart blow from a heavy hammer is given by a man who stands in front of the one in charge of the die, and who holds the punch in his left hand, and a handful of *raw* rupees in his right, the lower die being firmly fixed in a strong case. In this way forty rupees were passed through the die, well engraved, in one minute; and the artificer said, that on an average he could engrave [strike] 1500 per hour.”—Dr. Fleming’s Diary of a Trip to Pind Dadud Khan and the Salt Range in the Punjab. Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, vol. xviii. (1850) p. 667.

BAHRAM SHÁH.<sup>1</sup>

No. 39.—(To follow No. CXLVI., Old Series, Journal, vol. ix. p. 371.)

Silver. Size 1½. Weight 7 gr. (damaged coin).—*Masson (E. I. H.)*

Obverse.   ع   السلطان   الاعظم   . . .  
Reverse.   ع   السلطان   الاعظم   بهرامشاه  
Ornamental Margins.

<sup>1</sup> I do not definitively assign the coin from which the subjoined legends are taken to Bahráh Sháh, for several reasons, without, however, having much doubt of its having issued from his mint. It will be seen that the legends are very imperfect. The first title of *الدولة* *يمين* is most crudely formed; the second, *ابوالفتح*, is not used on his other coins; and, finally, his name is only conjecturally deciphered.

As regards the obverse surface, the designation of the Khalf creates no difficulty, but the absence of the name of Sanjar, while suggesting a grave doubt as to the due attribution of this piece, in itself constitutes its interest in the question it gives rise to, as to whether it may not have been struck during a period when Bahráh had temporarily failed in his allegiance to that potentate.

No. 39 a.

Silver. Weight gr.—*Masson (E.I.H.)*

Rev.		Obv.
ع   د   ع		جلال
السلطان الاعـ		لا اله الا
يمين الدولة		محمد رسو
ابو الفـ		المقتفى لامرالـ
بهرامـ		امير المومنيـ

Margins filled in with dots.

*General Table of Mint Cities and combined Dates deciphered on the  
Coins of the Ghaznavis.*

Kings.	Mint Cities.	Dates.
Alptagín ..	Anderábeh ..	A.H. 347, No. 1 <sup>1</sup> .
Bulkatagín ..	Ghazní ..	A.H. 359, No. 1, N.S.
	Balkh ..	A.H. 324, note, p. 143, N.S.
Subuktagín ..	Ferwán ..	A.H. 380, No. 2; 382, No. 3; 383, No. 4; 384, No. 5.
Mahmúd ..	Balkh ..	A.H. 411, No. 40; 412, No. 45; 421, No. 51.
	Ghazní ..	A.H. 395, No. 25, and No. 10, N.S.; 399, No. 27; 401, No. 36; 405, No. 54, and No. 16, N.S.; 406, Fræhn; 411, Nos. 43, 44; 414, No. 7a, N.S.; 415, No. 7, N.S.
	Hirát ..	A.H. 395, No. 14; 401, No. 15; 411, No. 16; 413, No. 17, and No. 6, N.S.; 414, No. 18.
	Nishápúr ..	A.H. 385, No. 8; 386, M. Soret (p. 379, Journal); 390, Nos. 9, 10; 399, No. 26, and No. 4, N.S.; 400, No. 11; 401, Nos. 12, 13; 403, No. 5, N.S.; 405, No. 8, N.S.; 407, No. 19; 409, No. 20; 413, Fræhn; 414, No. 41; 421, No. 9, N.S.
	Sejestán ..	A.H. ? No. 48 <sup>2</sup> .
	Wáwálin ..	A.H. ? No. 29.
	Bukhára ..	A.H. 412, Fræhn.

<sup>1</sup> The simple numbers refer to the old series in the Journal for 1848; the numbers in this paper are distinguished by the addition of the letters 'N.S.' Simple dates where unaccompanied by mint identifications are omitted from this list—excepting only in certain instances, where even in default of the definite name of the locality, the typical peculiarities of the coin itself authorize its legitimate assignment to a given city.

<sup>2</sup> (Khalaf bin Ahmad, A.H. 355, No. 1, N.S.; 375, No. 3, N.S.)

Kings.	Mint Cities.	Dates.
Mahmúd ..	Karmíná ..	A.H. 389, Fræhn.
	Mahmúdsar ..	A.H. 412, No. 42, and Nos. 11, 12, N.S.; 419, Nos. 13, 14, N.S.
Muhammad ..	Wáwálin ..	A.H. 411, No. 17, N.S.
	Júzján ..	A.H. 414, No. 18, N.S.
Masaúd ..	Balkh ..	A.H. 428, No. 63.
	Ghazní ..	A.H. 423, Nos. 21 and 22, N.S.; 428, No. 23, N.S.
	Níshápúr ..	A.H. 422, No. 58; 431, No. 59.
	Wáwálin (?) ..	A.H. ? No. 64.
Modúd ..	Ghazní ..	A.H. 433, No. 77; 434, No. 82, and No. 27, N.S.; 435, No. 78.
	Láhór ..	A.H. ? No. 92.
Abd ul Rashíd ..	Ghazní ..	A.H. 440, No. 93; 441, No. 94; 442, No. 95.
	Láhór ..	A.H. ? No. 28, N.S.
Farukhzád ..	Ghazní ..	A.H. 450, No. 101.
Ibrahím ..	Láhór ..	A.H. ? No. 129.
Masaúd III. ..	(Ghazní) ..	A.H. 494, No. 134.

With a view to consistency, I have retained in the above Table the old arrangement of the mint-cities, the relative positions of which were determined, in the original classification of the numismatic series, without reference to geographical grouping, being made simply to follow the order in which they chanced to occur in the general sequence of the coins, while the subsequent additions from external sources were necessarily inserted in the summary recapitulation<sup>1</sup> with even less regard to their appropriate places in the list.

The following eleven localities up to that time deciphered were distributed as follows:—A Balkh, B Ferwán, C Ghazní, D Hirát, E Láhór, F Níshápúr, G Sejistan, H Wáwálin, I Auderábah, J Bukhárá, K Karminia.

To these may now be added the dubious reading and unascertained site represented on the Hindí coins of Mahmúd (L), and the more positive decipherment of Júzján (M).

I proceed to notice such new developments of the early geography of the first series as the labours of modern enquirers may have brought to light subsequently to the publication of my previous essay, concluding with a brief survey of the information bearing upon the province represented by the new mint-mark of Júzján.

<sup>1</sup> Journal, ix. p. 376.

## GEOGRAPHICAL SUMMARY.

B *Ferwán*, as it is written, or *Parwán*, as it is indigenously pronounced.—In addition to the copious references by writers of various epochs embodied in the note at p. 297, vol. ix., J.R.A.S., it may be interesting to complete the more ancient notices of this town as traced by M. St. Martin, from the data afforded by Ptolemy.

“ Nous retrouvons ici Kapisa, et Kaboura (appelée aussi Ortospasa) qui nous sont déjà connues. Parmi les autres localités énumérées, il en est encore un certain nombre que nous pouvons identifier d'une manière au moins très-probable, grâce aux détails que les récentes explorations Anglaises nous ont procurés sur la topographie de ce canton. Παρισάνα, au pied même du Paropanisus, et dans la partie la plus haute du pays vers le nord, est indubitablement Parouan, à la tête de la vallée de Pendjehir, non loin de la passe de Khévák, qui débouche au nord sur la vallée d'Andérakh. Au-dessous de Parouan, dans la même vallée, un lieu du nom de Bazárak, où il y a des vestiges d'antiquité, nous indique le site de Barzaura, Βαρζαῦρα. Nous retrouvons également Βαρσάνα dans Parvan, lieu notable du même canton, situé dans le douab que forment les rivières de Pendjehir et de Ghoúrband, et qui donne son nom à une des passes de l'Hindou-koh. Parvan, comme Bazárak, garde les traces d'un site ancien.” Étude sur la Géographie Grecque et Latine de l'Inde, Paris (1858) p. 67.

For later notices of this site, see also Kánún-i-Masúdi بروان اول كابل and Ibn Batoutah, Paris edit., vol. iii. p. 87.

H *Wáwálin*.—In my earlier paper I had assembled under one view a series of extracts illustrative of the nomenclature and true position of this mint. Though in default of any very definite orthography on the then available coins, added to the discrepancies to be detected in the method of expressing the name in the geographical MSS. of the period, I was compelled to leave the determination of the site a somewhat open question, and even to offer for consideration two alternative readings and attributions, which had other data to recommend them.

The writing on coin No. 17, N. S. now enables me to revert with more confidence to the identification first proposed, and in spite of still existing variations in the spelling of the name on the different pieces, to associate it with وروالین—the favourite orthography in the most authentic MSS.<sup>1</sup>—and which may be taken to represent a city of

<sup>1</sup> The Luknow Ashkál-ul-bilád has transformed this name into ورواكير See Col. Anderson's paper, Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, xxii. p. 152.



some importance, not far removed from the position of the modern Kundúz<sup>1</sup>, which, in the process of time and intermediate changes of site, may be assumed to have eventually replaced the older city as the district metropolis.

L *Mahmúdsar*.—The reading of the name of this mint as *محمودسر* is so purely conjectural, that I refrain from speculating at any length upon its correctness, further than pausing a moment to justify the proposed termination, which, though unusual, is not by any means improbable; as instances occur of a somewhat similar combination in the earlier nomenclature of a town not very distantly removed from the possible site here indicated, where the capital of Karmán is defined in the old Pehlvi as *ولفمسر = کرمانسر*. It is true that this form alternates with *ولفم = کرمان*, and *ولفم = کرمانان*, and *ولفم = کرمانیت* (as it is dubiously figured), but I suppose the meaning of the three leading terms to be identical, as referring to the provincial capital, to the first of which the more definite addition of *سر* would scarcely be inappropriate. See Jour. R.A.S., xiii. 404, Pl. i.

M *Júzján*.—The mint which figures under the Arabic form of the name of *جوزجان*, indicates the then capital of the subdivision of the province of Khorásán, known locally as *کوزکان* or *کوزکانان*. The designation is familiar to us from the days of the early Arab conquest<sup>2</sup>, when

<sup>1</sup> See note upon Kundúz. M. St. Martin, Mem. Analytique (Hiouen Tshang), ii. p. 288. Major Cunningham identifies the O-li-ni of Huen Tshang with the Valín of the Arab geographers (J.A.S.B., xvii. 54). M. St. Martin is not satisfied with the conclusiveness of this assignment (Mem. Anal., p. 420).

<sup>2</sup> See Journal R. A. S., xii. p. 299. Tabarí here notices it in association with Mervalrúd and Tálakán. It is indifferently written as *کوزکان* or *کوزکانان*. The government is also prominently mentioned by the same author so early as A.H. 31 (A.D. 651-2.) on A'bdullah bin A'mar's reconquest, when the now distribution of A'mar's lieutenancies on this occasion is detailed as follows:—

عبدالله قیس بن هشیم را برنیشابور خلیفه کرد و احنف را بمر  
تا بلخ و کوزکان و حنیف بن عبیدرا برهری و بادغیس تا حد  
غور و خراسان

Huen Tshang, who visited these countries at a still earlier period (Circa, A.D. 630.) refers to the province of Júzján; though the details and particulars of its then existing government furnished to his biographers have not been preserved to us, the following is M. St. Martin's note on the subject:—

“Pendant son séjour à Balkh, Hiouen Tshang vit arriver plusieurs personnages envoyés par les rois de Jouf-mo-tho et de Heu-chi-kien, pour obtenir de lui qu'il

the dependency seems to have been held in higher consideration than it retained in after times. I now recognise its denomination in the Pehlvi form of  $\text{ون-وس} = \text{كشكان}$ , which occurs on the coins of U'baidullah bin Zíád of the year A.H. 63<sup>1</sup>. The Arab geographers of proximate date to the Ghaznaví dynasty refer only irregularly to the locality, but from their statements we gather the names of the principal towns, which sufficiently determine the general position of the province. Of the leading cities the modern maps still display the representatives of Maimunah and Shibbergán, and the ancient positions of Tálakán and Fáríáb are sufficiently determined; the smaller urban subdivisions are more difficult to define. Albírúní's list embraces the following localities, to which I have appended the latitudes and longitudes as given, under the Arab system, in the text of his Kánún.<sup>2</sup>

1. اسلخ في اسكد (34° 30' — 88° 40').
2. الطالقان (34° 55' — 88° 25').
3. الفارياب (36° 45' — 89° 20').
4. الميمنه و هو يهودان (36° 5' — 89° 50').

vint à leur cour. Il se rendit, quoique à regret, à ces invitations honorables, et ce fut pour lui une occasion de recueillir sur ces pays des renseignements qu'il a consignés dans ses Mémoires (Hoei-li les a supprimés). Jouï-mo-tho était un petit pays . . . situé dans la montagne, vers le sud-ouest de Balkh; Hou-chi-kien, état beaucoup plus important (500 li de l'est à l'ouest, 1000 li du sud au nord), était au sud-ouest de Jouï-mo-tho. . . .

"Hou-chi-kien nous paraît devoir se rapporter au district de Djouzdján (nom que les Persans prononcent aussi Djouzkán), entre Balkh et le district de Mérour-errouïd. On peut voir les éclaircissements instructifs que Silvestre de Sacy a donnés sur le nom et la situation de ce district dans son 'Mémoire sur deux provinces de la Perse orientale.' (Tiré des Mines d'Orient et reproduit dans les Annales des Voyages, 1813). Nous ne trouvons ni dans les auteurs Musulmans, ni dans les sources plus modernes, aucune indication qui nous puisse fournir la synonymie du nom de Jouï-mo-tho."—St. Martin, Mém. Analytique; Hiouen T'sang, ii. 289. See also Histoire de la vie de Hiouen T'sang (Stanislas Julien), Paris, 1853, p. 67.

<sup>1</sup> See Coin No. 14, p. 291, vol. xii. J. R. A. S.; and also mint No. 65, p. 404, and Plate I. No. u, Vol. xiii.

<sup>2</sup> These figures with all their imperfections should be reasonably valid *inter se*. I may note that Mervahrúd is placed in 34° 30'—86° 40'; Bámián in 34° 55'—92° 50'; and Balkh in 36° 41'—91° 5'.

<sup>3</sup> The Mirásid ul Ittilá has the following note on Júzján:—

جوزجانان و جوزجان هما واحد بعد الزای جیم و فی الاولى نونان  
اسم كورة و اسعة من كور بلخ بين مروالروند و بلخ و يقال لقصبتها  
اليهودية

5. السبورقان (36° 45' — 90° 5').  
 6. اندر قصبه الجوزجان [Anbár?] (34° 5' — 90° 55').  
 7. سدكن (35° 45' — 92° 40').

The Ashkál-ul-bilád<sup>1</sup> and Edrisi omit Nos. 2 and 3, which are held to pertain to Khorásán, and add the following in detail :—

8. اندك رستاق  
 9. كندررم  
 10. شان (Edrisi شار)  
 11. مرسان (Edrisi فرسان)<sup>2</sup>

Colonel Anderson's translation of the Askál-ul-bilád supplies a few particulars regarding the several cities :—

"Of these Anbár is the largest, being more extensive than Merval-rúd; it is the residence of the Sultán, and situated among the hills . . . Sán is a place of no extent . . . Yahúdíá [No. 14.] is more extensive than Sán . . . Shubergan [No. 5.] is of greater extent than Kundaram [No. 9.] . . . Murshán [No. 11.?] equals in size Yahúdíá. Sírokh (No. 7.?) is a town, Andkhod (No. 8.), a small one, on the plain, having seven villages attached to it." The itinerary describes the relative distances as follows :—

- From No. 5. to No. 4. (viâ No. 6.), distance not given.  
 " " 8. Two marches to the N.  
 " " 9. Four marches, three to the river and one beyond it.  
 " " 6. One march S. (Edrisi, S.W.)  
 " " 3. Three marches (Ed., 54 miles).  
 " " 2. Six marches.

<sup>1</sup> Anderson, Jour. As. Soc. Beng., xxii. 152.

<sup>2</sup> See also Ouseley's Oriental Geography, p. 221.

## A P P E N D I X.

## GHORÍ DYNASTY.

IN introducing the following detached notices of the coins of the Ghorí and other dynasties, immediately succeeding the Ghaznavís, I have prepared for the better illustration of the extant examples of these more than ordinarily rare local currencies, a full list of the kings and sub-kings of the different branches of the Ghorí race, who ruled severally at Fíróz-kóh, Ghazní, and Bámián.

The series of these names and titles have been extracted from the *Tabakát-i-Násiri*, a work I have previously had occasion to commend, but which, in this section of its history, is far less complete and lucid than I could have desired.<sup>1</sup> The lists of designations have been retained in their original Oriental form, with a view to the more ready identification of the corresponding nomenclature in the legends of the coins.

Notwithstanding that the statement of the family successions and the geographical distribution of the several kingdoms is somewhat complicated and involved, I have considered it best to follow the text of my authority, even in its defective integrity; endeavouring at the same time to connect and systemize, in some measure, the original arrangement—which adheres neither to the order of time nor to the division of kingdoms—by interpolating additional letter references to the names of the monarchs who often figure in two or more of my author's detached lists; adding to the whole a running commentary in the form of foot notes, corresponding to the numbers in the leading series of names.

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the Persian text of two MSS. of this work (No. 1952, E.I.H., and No. 12, R.A.S.), I have availed myself of M. Dorn's translation of this division of Mirchond's *Rausat-as-Safá*, appended to the history of the Afgháns (London, O. T. Fund, 1829), and M. de Frémery's *Histoire des Sultáns Ghourides*, from the Persian text of the same author, illustrated by valuable notes, which appeared in the *Paris Journal Asiatique* for 1843.

TABLE I.—FIRÓZ-KÓH.

No.	Names.	Titles.
No. 1.	فولاد بن شنسب (Interval.)	
2.	بخي نهاران (Interval.)	
3.	امينر سوري	
4.	ماحمد بن سوري	
5.	ابوعلي بن ماحمد	
6.	عباس بن شيش	
7.	ماحمد بن عباس	
8.	قطب الدين - حسن عباس	

*Notes to the Series of Kings.*

1. Contemporary of Abú Moslim, who was Governor of Khorásán from A.H. 129 to 137. (Hamza Isfahání, p. 172.)

2. This name is doubtful. MS. E.I.H. gives it indifferently *پکجي* and *پنجي*. Elliot quoting the *Jahán árá*, makes it *پنجي بن نهاران*. He seems to have been a contemporary of Harún Alrashíd's. (A.H. 170 to 193.)

3. Our author acknowledges difficulties about this portion of his history, and after adverting to the disadvantages of writing at Delhi, at a distance from local sources of information, he concludes —

بضرورت آنچه از تاريخ ناصري و تاريخ ابن هيضم تاي صاحب  
تاريخ ابو الحسن هيضم بن ماحمد تاي و بعض سماعي كه از  
مشايخ غور حاصل شده بود در قلم آمده از ناظران رجا عفومي باشد

4. A contemporary of Mahmúd of Ghazni, imprisoned and killed by the latter. *Rauzat-us-Safá*, De F. p. 17. Dorn's *Hist. Afgháns*, pp. 77, 78, and 81.

5. Under Mahmúd, displaced by No. 6. during Masaúd's reign. Mirkhond omits Nos. 5, 6, 7, and quotes authors who make Hasan, No. 8, succeed directly to Muhammad bin Súri, whose son he is reported to have been. Mirkhond properly points out the suspicion attaching to this statement. Defrémery, p. 18. Dorn, 82.

6. Shish was the son of Muhammad bin Súri, No. 4. A'bbás was eventually deposed by Ibrahim of Ghazni, and his son Muhammad appointed in his stead.

	Names.	Titles.
9.	حسين بن حسن	عز الدين
9. a E.	سوري بن حسين	سيف الدين

9. I have retained the orthography of these names as given by the author from whom I quote, though I am able to set him right in the true designation of the father of A'la-ud-din Jahānsoz. The attempted determination of this point, as well as the doubt existing as to A'la-ud-din's own name, has given rise to much debate and discussion among Oriental writers (Dorn quoting Mirchond, p. 83; De Frémery, citing various authorities, p. 26). The coin of Fakr-ud-din Mas'ūd (No. 51, *infra*) distinctly proves that the father of the seven brothers was called "Hasan," and not "Husain." Minhāj bin Sirāj quotes the following tabular form of the territorial possessions assigned to the seven sons of A'iz-ud-din Hasan:—

	Name.	Rank.	Kingdom.
A 12.	شهاب الدين محمد	ملك	مادين و غور
B.	فخر الدين مسعود	"	باميان و طخارستان
C 13.	شجاع الدين علي	"	حرماس و غور
D 14.	علا الدين حسين	سلطان	غور و غزنين و باميان
E 9a.	سيف الدين سوري	"	غور و غزنين
F 11.	بها الدين سام	"	غور
G 10.	قطب الدين محمد	"	غور و فيروزكوه

Mirchond raises doubts as to the relative positions of Saif-ud-din Sūrī and Alā-ud-din Jehānsoz (De F. 24, 27.; Dorn, 83, 84.) Minhāj's expressions are definite enough as to the former's succession to the supremacy among the brothers, and Ibn Athīr (Def. 24, note) is distinct as to his independent action from the time of his conquest of Ghazni, in Jumād ul Awal, A.H. 543, up to his defeat and destruction by Bahram Shāh in Muharrim, A.H. 544.

9a. Saif-ud-din Sūrī (E.) succeeds his father A'iz-ud-din Hasan (No. 9.), and distributes the local sovereignties among his brothers; Firōz-kōh falls to the share of قطب الدين محمد, who, in Minhāj's general list, is placed tenth in the order of succession, and a special series of accessions at Firōz-kōh is hereupon introduced into the body of the text in the following order:—

10 G. قطب الدين محمد Is killed at Ghazni by Bahram Shāh. T. N.; also De F. p. 18; and the same author (quoting Ibn Athīr) p. 24. Dorn, p. 82.

11 F. بها الدين سام بن الحسن Accession at Firōz-kōh, A.H. 544. T.N.

12 A. شهاب الدين محمد Succeeds to the kingdom of Mādin and a portion of Ghōr.

13 C. شجاع الدين علي Obtains the kingdom of حرماس and part of Ghōr.

	Names.	Titles.
14 D.	حسین جهانسوز بن حسین	علا الدین
15. Interregnum.	حسین محمد مادینی	ناصر الدین
16.	محمد بن حسین جهانسوز	سیف الدین
17.	محمد بن سام	غیاث الدین
	(Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam,—see p. 184.)	
18. (Son of No. 13.)	محمد بن ملک شجاع الدین علی	علا الدین
19. (Son of No. 17.)	محمد بن غیاث الدین	غیاث الدین
20.	سام بن محمود	بہا الدین
21. (Son of No. 14.)	اتسز بن علا الدین	علا الدین
22. (No. 18. Reaccession.)	محمد	علا الدین

14 D. Alá-ud-dín's destructive expedition against Ghazni is preferably dated in A.H. 550. I. A., 106; Dorn, 80; De Guignes, ii. 184. Other authors assign this event to the year 547. De F., p. 25. His death took place in Rabi'ul-Akhir A.H. 556, I. A., 189; De F., 32; Dorn, 86.

15. Interregnum while A'lá-ud-dín is with Sanjar.

16. Succeeds his father A'lá-ud-dín Juhánsóz,—a short reign of little more than one year. He is killed in Rajab A.H. 558. I. A. See also Lubb ul Tawárikh and Jahán-árá, quoted by Elliot, *Historians of India*.

17. Takes Ghazni from the Ghuzz (الغز) in A.H. 569; captures Hirát in 571; dies on 7th of Jumád-ul-Awal, A.H. 599; Tabakát Nasirí also, I. A. p. 117, Jahán-árá, &c. Minháj-us-siráj states that he reigned 43 years, but this seems to be two years too much, unless his accession is dated from A'lá-ud-dín Juhánsóz's death, and before he himself adopted the style and title of Sultán, in illustration of which see Coin No. 1, Supplement, O. S., Jour., p. 377. (Abú fidá, iii. 523.)

18. On Ghíás-ud-dín's death, his brother Muiz-ud-dín distributes the local governments as follows:—

1. Fíroz-kóh and Ghór to A'lá-ud-dín, No. 18.
2. Bust, Furráh, and Isfarár to Mahmúd bin Ghíás-ud-dín.
3. Hirát to Násir-ud-dín Gházi.

This prince (No. 18), who had previously been called Zíá-ud-dín, was entitled Alá-ud-dín on his accession; after reigning four years he was displaced by Mahmúd.

19. Killed 7th Safar, A.H. 607, T. N. and R. S.

20. Reigned about three months. Fíroz-kóh is stated to have been taken by No. 21, in Jumád-ul-awal, A.H. 607.

22. After a second reign of little more than one year, finally surrenders Ghór to the Khwárizmís, in A.H. 612.

TABLE II.—GHAZNI PROPER.

	Names.	Titles.
I. E.	سوري	— سيف الدين
I. D.	جيانسوز	— علا الدين
II.	محمد بن سام	— معز الدين
III.	بن بهالدين الباميانى	— علا الدين
IV.	يلدز	— تاج الدين

I. E. Takes Ghazni from Bahram Shah in the fifth month of A.H. 543, and holds it until its recapture by the latter, in Muharrim, A.H. 544, on which occasion he is put to death by Bahram.

I. D. A'la-ud-din Jehansoz captures and pillages Ghazni in A.H. 550, but does not subsequently occupy or retain the territory.

II. Muiz-ud-din Muhammad bin Sam is inducted into the government of this kingdom by his brother Ghias-ud-din (No. 17. of the Ghoris line), on its conquest in A.H. 569, from whence his expeditions into India commence; in A.H. 571, against Multan; in 572, against Uch and Nahrwalla, where, in A.H. 575, he suffers a defeat. The next conquest is Pershawar, and two seasons are devoted to operations against Lahr. In A.H. 577 Khusru Malik makes terms; A.H. 578 witnesses Muiz-ud-din's expedition against Daibal: and Lahr is occupied by his forces, who are, however, attacked by Khusru Malik; and finally, in A.H. 582, Khusru surrenders.

Muiz-ud-din was killed on the 3rd of Shaban A.H. 602.

III. Ala-ud-din, the son of Bahar-ud-din of the Bamiyan line, obtained temporary possession of Ghazni shortly after the death of Muiz-ud-din. After various alternations of fortune in his repeated contests with Taj-ud-din Ilduz, he was finally dispossessed by the latter in A.H. 603.

IV. Taj-ud-din Ilduz was the slave, and subsequently the trusted general of Muiz-ud-din. He seems to have been invested at an early period with the charge of the important frontier position of Karmán, with which was at times associated the governorship of the metropolis itself. These posts he held, with not unvaried fidelity, till the death of his sovereign, when his own power, and the weakness of the divided sections of the regal line, enabled him to advance pretensions which ended in his ejecting the Bamiyan branch of the Ghoris from Ghazni, and eventually obtaining a full recognition of his own kingship from Ghias-ud-din Mahmud, who had succeeded to the family honours at Firuz-koh. Ghazni was taken by Ala-ud-din Muhammad Khwarizmi in A.H. 612.

The two coins which head the present list are remarkable (independent of the unusual size and weight of No. 39), in their being manifestly posthumous medals of the great conqueror, whose name they bear, struck most probably by his ancient servitor and latterly



trusted general, who, shortly after his master's decease, on two occasions, expelled a scion of the royal house from the imperial metropolis. The anomalous position in which Ilduz found himself at this juncture, may well explain his motive for resorting to a coinage of this description, in preference to continuing the current style avowing himself a slave<sup>1</sup>, committing himself prematurely by an issue in his own independent name, or compromising his future freedom of action by the definite recognition of a living superior whom he designed to supersede.

Ilduz, it must be remembered, was still virtually a slave, as such professing allegiance to his late sovereign's nephew and heir, Ghíás-ud-dín Mahmúd, but taking advantage of this pretended vassalage to wage war against the Bámián branch of the Ghorí family, who contested perseveringly the possession of Ghazní. The time had not yet come when he could safely throw off the mask, and it was not until the final defeat of the sons of Bahá-ud-dín in A.H. 603<sup>2</sup>, that he at length determined upon the overt act of causing his own name to be recited in the public prayers<sup>3</sup>, a proceeding which Mahmúd was at the moment so little able to resent, that he shortly afterwards conceded the desired manumission, and with it the insignia of royalty, conveying the patent of Táj-ud-dín's right to the kingdom of Ghazní.

<sup>1</sup> See Nos. 5 and 7, Old Series; also No. 42, *infra*.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Athir, among the events of A.H. 602, relates that when Ilduz got possession of Ghazní from Alá-ud-dín, he made a display of obedience to Ghíás-ud-dín, except that he did not order the Khutbah to be read in his name, or in any one else's; but he had the Khutbah read for the Khalíf, and prayed for mercy on Shaháb-ud-dín (*i.e.* Muiz-ud-dín) the Martyr—p. 145.

On the subsequent occasion of the capture of Ghazní from Alá-ud-dín, in A.H. 603, Ghíás-ud-dín is stated to have written to Ilduz to claim to have the Khutbah read in his name; on a repetition of this demand, Ilduz directed the Khalíf to read the Khutbah in his *own* name, after the prayer for mercy on Shaháb-ud-dín, p. 163.

Mínháǰ-us-Siráǰ tells us that Muhammad bin Sâm's name was recited in the public prayers in the mosques at Delhi even unto the time when he himself wrote.

<sup>3</sup> No. 6, Old Series, bearing the inscription reproduced below, possibly illustrates the earliest phase of Táj-ud-dín's independent coinage, wherein he alludes to his martyred lord, and styles himself "the great King, Sultán of the East," &c. I am bound, however, to add, that a doubt as to the exact period of the mintage of this piece is suggested by the imperfectly-preserved foot-lines of the date, which would best answer to an original die-definition of A.H. 612.

Obverse Area— السلطان الشهيد محمد بن سام

Reverse—

الملك المعظم سلطان الشرق تاج الدنيا والدين يلدز

Margin— هذا ببلد غز \* \* شهور سنة

O 2

## II. MU'IZ-UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD BIN SĀM.

No. 39.

Gold. Weight 320 gr. Size 10. Ghazni. A.H. 603. Unique.—*My Cabinet.*

Rev. Square Area.	Obv. Square Area.
السلطان الاعظم	لا اله الا الله
معز الدنيا	محمد رسول الله
الدين ابو المظفر	الناصر لدين الله
محمد بن سام	امير المؤمنين

Obverse Margin. In four compartments—

هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره علي الدين كله

Reverse Margin. In compartments—

ضرب هذا الدينار ببلدة غزة في شهر سنة ثلث وست مائة

No. 40.

Gold. Weight 96 gr. Size 7. Ghazni. A.H. 603.—*My Cabinet.*

Similar types and legends to No. 39.

No. 41.

Lead. Weight 46 gr. Size 3.—*Lady Sale's Collection.*<sup>1</sup>

(Legends engraved in fine lines and admirably executed.)

Obverse Area. The Kalimah.

Margin. في شهر \* \* خمس مائة

Reverse surface—

عدل السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

<sup>1</sup> Lady Sale's valuable collection, chiefly formed in Afghánistán, at a considerable outlay, has, I regret to say, been plundered and dispersed during the late disturbances in India. See Jour. As. Soc. Bengal, "Coin Collections lost during the late Rebellion," by G. H. Freeling, Esq., B.C.S., No. ii. of 1858, p. 169.

## IV. TAJ-UD-DÍN ILDUZ.

No. 42—(A variant of No. 7, Old Series, Journal, ix. p. 380).

Silver. Weight 90 gr.<sup>1</sup> Ghazni, A.H. 6\*\*.

Obverse Square Area—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين

Obverse Margin—

\* — ببلدة عزنة في شهر سنة — و ستماية

Reverse Area—

السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

Reverse Margin—

[عبد و مولا تاج الد] نيا و الدين يلدز السلطاني

---

<sup>1</sup> Including a small suspending loop.

## XIX. MAHMÚD BIN MUHAMMED.

The ordinary copper coins of this prince, with the squarely-formed Arabic legends, and the Horseman in Toghra reverse, are not uncommon;<sup>1</sup> the following types are, however, rare, and hitherto unpublished:—

No. 43.

Silver and Copper mixed. Size 2½,—*Lady Sale's Collection.*

Obverse. — السلطان الأعظم  
الدنيا والدين — —

Reverse. A rudely executed figure of an Elephant. Margin filled in with dots.

No. 44.

A similar Coin.—*Lady Sale's Collection.*

Obverse. فتح محمود  
بن محمد

No. 45.

Silver and Copper. Size 3. Fálakán.—*Colonel Stacy.*

Obverse. طالقان السلطان المعظم ابو  
محمود بن —

Reverse. The usual type of the Ghori horseman.

<sup>1</sup> See coins of the Pathán Sultáns of Dehli (London, 1847), p. 11. These pieces bear a legend of

السلطان الأعظم محمود بن محمد بن سام

TABLE III.—BĀMĪAN LINE.

- |                                     |   |               |
|-------------------------------------|---|---------------|
| 1. B. (No 9.                        | فتخر الدين مسعود                                    | (بن عز الدين) |
| 2.                                  | شمس الدين محمد بن مسعود                             |               |
| 3.                                  | بيبالدين سام بن محمد                                |               |
| 4. (Son of No 3.)                   | جلال الدين علي                                      |               |
| Son of No 2.                        | (علا الدين مسعود)                                   |               |
|                                     | Interregnum while No. 4 is in captivity at Ghazni.) |               |
| 4. Reaccession of Jalāl-ud-dīn A'ī. |   |               |

## Notes.

No. 1. is stated to have been established in the kingdom of Bāmīān by A'ī-ud-dīn Jehānsūz after the conquest of Ghazni. On the first rise of Ghūs-ud-dīn, Fakr-ud-dīn aids him under the condition that all conquests in Khorāsān should pertain to the former, while the acquisitions in Ghūr should fall to his own share. The ultimate extent of his dominions is thus summed up by Minhāj-us-Sirāj:—

ممالک جبال سقنال [؟ سقنال in another place] و طخارستان تا  
در بوریلور و اطراف ترکستان تا حد سرخس و بدخشان همه در  
ضبط آمد

— Fakr-ud-dīn seems to have enjoyed a long reign; the date of his death, however, is not mentioned.

2. Assists the Ghōris against Sultān Shāh Khwārizmī at Rūdbār, and is elevated to the rank of Sultān on the occasion, and endowed with the appropriate symbol of a black umbrella. He further extended the boundaries of the kingdom, including the city of Balkh, &c. Neither the length of his reign nor the period of his decease are mentioned, though the date of the latter may be inferred from the history of his successor.

3. Mirkhond affirms that this prince reigned fourteen years. The *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* (in both MS. copies) gives the total as *four* years. The former is probably the more correct period. (See Ibn Athīr, under A.H. 594, 595, &c.) He died in A.H. 602.

4. Reigned in all seven years. Captured and killed by Muhammad Khwārizm Shāh.

## I. B. FAKHR-UD-DÍN MASAUD OF BÁMÍÁN.

No. 46.

Silver. Size 4½. Weight 54 gr. Unpublished.—*Masson*, E.I.H.

Rev.		Obv.
~		o
محمّد رسول		لا اله الا
الله ملك السيد		الله المستنجد
مسعود بن		بالله اميرالم
الحسن		منين
o		

Margins filled in with dots, like the coins of Khusrú Sháh (Nos. 150–152, O. S.)

No. 47.

There is a second coin (size 5, weight 66 gr.) in the E. I. H. Collection, which satisfactorily confirms the above transliteration.

No. 48.

Silver, alloyed with lead. Size 2½. Weight 47 gr. Ferwán—*Masson*.

Obverse. عدل السلطان الاعظم مسعود

Reverse. An elephant, to the left; above which is the name of the mint, فروان Ferwán.

No. 49—(No. 23, Old Series, Journal, p. 386).

Silver and Copper. Weight 44 gr. (Three specimens in the *Masson* collection.)Obverse. A rudely-formed figure of a Bull, facing to the left, apparently in a rising posture, with the tail erect; above the back of the animal, expressed in *Persian* letters, is the mint mark of

فروان Ferwán.

Reverse. Area (in ill-formed *Kufic* characters)—

عدل السلطان الاعظم مسعود

Margin. Illegible.

## 3. BAHÁ-UD-DÍN SÁM.

As the money of these Bámián princes is exceedingly rare, I reproduce, for continuity sake, an abstract of the legends of Bahá-ud-dín's coins previously described in 1847.

No. 50.

Silver. Weight 52 gr.

Obverse. The Kalimah, in three lines; at the foot—  
 Reverse. الناصر لدين  
الله

السلطان الاعظم بيهالد نيا و الدين سام بن محمد

Margins. Illegible.

No. 51.

Silver. Weight 12 gr.

Obverse. As above, omitting the Khalif's name.

Reverse. Words as above, in four lines, but differently distributed.

Margins. Plain and unengraved.

No. 52.

Silver and Copper. Weight 52 gr.

Obverse. Rude figure of a Horseman, facing to the right, holding a lance at the charge. Dotted margin.

Reverse. As in No. 50, with dotted margin.

No. 53 (Unattributed).

Silver and Copper. Weight 50 gr. Unique.—*Colonel T. Bush*. Plate, fig. 9.

Obverse. Kufic legend in three lines, unintelligible.

Reverse. Rude figure of a recumbent bull, above which are traces of the word فروان

Margin filled in with a seemingly unmeaning repetition of the Sanskrit letters वय

A'LA-UD-DÍN MUHAMMAD, BIN TAKASH, KHUÁRZIM  
SHÁH (596 to 617 A.H.)

No. 54.

Gold. Weight 65 gr. Size 6. Badakhshán. Novelty.—*Colonel T. Bush.*

Rev.	Obv.
<p>بدخشا السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ابو الفتح محمد بن السلطان ن ن ن</p>	<p>لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين</p>

Margins illegible.

The gold coins of this prince are sufficiently common, and, as I have previously remarked, have been already described by Fræhn<sup>1</sup> and Wilson.<sup>2</sup> I have carefully examined the ample collection in the museum of the East India House with a view to discover any new dates and places of mintage, but the result of my scrutiny produces only the subjoined disproportionate list.

As I do not reproduce the legends on the areas it may be needful to intimate that they ordinarily add the words *امير المومنين* at the foot of the obverse area above transcribed, while the reverse remains constant, as in Colonel Bush's coin now quoted, with the single exception of the *بدخشان* which constitutes its essential novelty. The obverse margin is filled in with the usual passage of the Korán, Surah ix. 33 and lxi. 9, while the reverse exhibits the legend—

بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينار ببلده غزنة في شهر سنة ثلاث عشرة وستمائة  
Ghazní, A.H. 613.

Other specimens of the same mint date respectively 614, 616, and 617 A.H.

<sup>1</sup> Recensio, pp. 146. 595.

<sup>2</sup> *Arinna Antiqua*. Pl. xx. fig. 28, p. 437. See also the article of M. Soret on the *Sultáns de Kharcsm*, in the *Revue de la Numismatique Belge* (Bruxelles 1854), tome iv., p. 591.



No. 55.

In lately commenting on the Khwárizmi coins in Colonel Stacy's collection,<sup>1</sup> I observed—

“I confine my notice to a single coin, which is remarkable as bearing the name of a new mint, *Zamíndáwar*. The piece is of mixed silver and copper, in weight 48 grains. The Obverse and Reverse read through; but, singular to say, the marginal legends are completed thus—

Reverse. أبو الفتح محمد

Obverse. السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين

The inscription in the reverse circular area commences the word زمين and the obverse centre gives the completion of the name زمين داور — داور

No. 56.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April, 1837 (vol. vi. p. 293, Pl. xiv.), there first appeared a notice, by James Prinsep, of a coin similar to that now about to be described, which was supposed, among its other peculiarities, to bear on its obverse a Pehlvi legend<sup>2</sup>, while it was seen to be connected in a near degree with the conventional “Bull and Horseman” currencies of the earlier dynasties, now definitively traced to have originated with the

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. Bengal, xxi. p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Prinsep's remarks are as follows:—“Fig. 2, a copper coin, also unique: it escaped my detection among a number of old Bukhára Musalmán coins, or it should have appeared along with the Bull and Horseman, or Rájput series, of December, 1835. It seems to link this curious outline group with the full-faced Sassanians of Vasudeva, &c.; for on the border of the obverse are Pehlvi letters. The features of the supposed face are barely admissible as such, even to the lowest estimate of native art. The horse on the reverse is more palpable, but it seems more like a *tughrá*, or flourish of Persian letters, than ever. It is also reversed in position, and has no Nágari legend.”

“The coins of this genus, although we have found them connected with Delhi sovereigns and Málwa rásas at one end of the series, evidently reach at the other to the Bráhmanical rulers of the Punjáb, and probably KÁbul. They are procured much more abundantly at the latter place (and on the site of Taxila, according to M. Court) than in any part of India. Some of them exhibit on their reverse the style of Arabic now known to belong to the Ghaznavi Sultáns, while others agree rather with the Ghorí type, and contain known names of that dynasty.”

Brahmans of Kábul.<sup>1</sup> On a late occasion, while conducting through the press a reprint of James Prinsep's "Numismatic Essays," I avoided expressing any decided opinion as to the language or character of the legend in question, at the same time I was able to satisfy myself that the reverse Toghra, which reproduces in its reticulated flourishes the outline of the quondam Kábul cavalier, covertly emblemized the profession of faith of the Moslems, who had succeeded to the monarchies and coin devices of the more ancient Hindú race.<sup>2</sup>

The nearly identical piece engraved as No. 10. of the Plate which illustrates the present article, conclusively determines that the legends on the surfaces of this class of money are no where expressed in any

<sup>1</sup> See Journal Asiatique, September, 1844: Fragments Arabes et Persans, par M. Reinaud; also the letter addressed to M. Reinaud by M. A. de Longperier, on this subject, annexed to the translation of the former.

<sup>2</sup> My own comments on this piece were to the effect:—"In the absence of the coin itself, it would be rash to speculate upon the true purport of this obverse, or the tenor and language of the partially-visible legend. The reverse figure of the horseman, however, offers tempting material for the exercise of analytical ingenuity.

"That the lines of which the device is composed were originally designed to convey, in more or less intelligible cypher, some Moslem formula, there can be little question. How much latitude in the definite expression of the letters was conceded to the needful artistic assimilation to the normal type, it may be difficult to say. But, though I should hesitate to pretend that my eye could follow the several letters of the full *kalimah* of **الله** **رسول** **محمد**, I have no doubt that those words are covertly embodied in the lines forming portions of the general outline. The Kufic **محمد** is palpable, when reading upwards from the front of the butt-end of the spear; portions of the **رسول** may be traced along the spear itself, and the rest may be imagined under the reasonable latitude already claimed; and, lastly, the **الله** may be conceded in virtue of its very obvious final **له**, which appears over the horse's hind quarters.

"The practice of reticulating words and names into device embellishments for the coinage was in high favour with Sámání mint-masters,\* and we have numerous instances of a similar tendency among the Muhammadan races who succeeded to much of the civilization of the Bukhárá empire, with the modified boundaries or altered seats of government, incident to their progress towards the richer provinces of the south. To confine myself to a single exemplification, however, I may cite the Ghaznaví (Láhór) currency, with the recumbent bull in Tughra on the obverse, and with a Kufic legend on the reverse.† In the lines of this ancient and revered Hindú device may here be read, in all facility and in two several directions, the name of the prophet of the Arabs, **محمد**."

\* Fréhu's Recensio Numorum Muhammedanorum: Emiri Samanidæ. Petropoli, 1826.

† *Ex. gr.*, see Jour. Roy. As. Soc., ix. Pl. iii. fig. 153, O.S.

thing but Arabic letters. The word عدل, in the upper division of the centre of the very Chinese-looking obverse device, is palpable in its modernised Kufic form; while on the lower margin, in a similar style of character, may be doubtfully traced the footlines of the name of Muhammad, which, in addition to its typical identities, sufficiently associates the coin with the A'lá-ud-dín, Muhammad of the present list, to whom, I think, it may safely be assigned.

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No. 57—(To precede No. 10, Supplement, O. S., Journal, p. 381.)

Silver (alloyed with lead?). Size 2½. Weight 40 gr. Hirát.—*My Cabinet.*

Obverse. السلطان الاعظم محمد بن السلطان  
Margin dotted.

Reverse. The Ghori horseman, with both arms upraised. Above the horse's hindquarters the name of هرات

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No. 58—(To follow No. 10, O. S., Journal, p. 383.)

Silver and Copper. Size 3. Karmán.

Obverse. The usual short legend—

السلطان الاعظم ابو الفتح محمد بن سلطان

Reverse.<sup>1</sup> A modified design of the Bull of Siva, ordinarily peculiar to the coins of Ilduz (No. 9, O. S., p. 380), with the word كرمán<sup>2</sup> inscribed on its ornamental housings. Sanskrit inscription above the Bull, imperfect रमन्त

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<sup>1</sup> Owing to a defect in my original note upon the subject, I am unable to say positively whether this particular reverse belongs to Ilduz or Muhammad bin Takash. However, as the sole interest of the piece consists in its geographical record, I have associated it with the coins of the like locality bearing the name of the latter monarch.

<sup>2</sup> This name of Karmán does not refer to the extensive province of that designation, but to a city noticed in Ibn Athir as situated between Ghazni and Lakhôr. I. A., ii. p. 140. كرمان مدينة بين غزنة ولياورور elsewhere (i. p. 108) he adds وسكانها قوم يقال لهم ابغان See also Geographical Index, *infra*.

No. 59.

A second similar coin has the word Karmán introduced beneath the Bull.

No. 60.

Silver and Copper. Size 3.

Similar to Coin No. 58, but the word *عدل* replaces the *كرمان* on the Bull's side.

No. 61.

Coin similar to No. 58, but with a change in the name on the housings of the Bull, which here reads *پرشور* (*Peshāwar*).

No. 62.

Copper. Size 4½. Shibberkán.--Colonel T. Bush.

Obverse Circular Area—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول [الله] النا صر [لدين] الله

Margin filled in with dots.

Reverse Centre. سفورقان

Margin. Int. السلطان الاعظم محمد بن السلطان

„ Ext. Filled in with dots.

*List of Ghori and other Mints.*

1. *Badakhshán.*  
Alá-ud-dín Muhammad bin Takash .. No 54, N.S.
2. *Bámíán.* Lat. 34° 50', Long. 67° 48'.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . No. 12, O.S.  
Fakhr-ud-dín Masaúd .. .. . No. 46, N.S.
3. *B. Ferwán.* Lat. 35° 9', Long. 69° 16'.  
Fakhr-ud-dín .. .. . Nos. 48, 49, N.S.  
(1) .. .. . No. 53.
4. *C. Ghazni.* Lat. 33° 34', Long. 68° 18'.  
Muiz ud-dín Muhammad bin Sâm. .. Nos. 39, 40, N.S.  
Táj-ud-dín Ilduz .. .. . No. 6, O.S., and  
No. 42, N.S.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . *under* No. 54, N.S.
5. *D. Hirát.* Lat. 34° 22', Long. 62° 9'.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . No. 57, N.S.
6. *Karmán.* About Lat. 33° 40', Long. 70° 20'.  
Táj-ud-dín Ilduz .. .. . No. 9, O.S.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . Nos. 58, 59, N.S.
7. *Pesháwar.* Lat. 33° 59', Long. 71° 40'.  
Alá-ud-dín .. .. . No. 61, N.S.

No. 1. The town of Badakhshán of this period is placed, by the early Arab geographers, at seven days' journey, to the northward of east, beyond Tálakán (the Talikhán of the modern maps, lat. 36° 46', long. 69° 30'). Müller *Liber Climatum, Istakhrí*, p. 112. Onseley, *Oriental Geography*, p. 230. See also Wood's "Oxus," p. 251.

No. 6. Karmán seems to have been a place of considerable importance in these days, in virtue of its position on the line of communication between Ghazni and the Indus, on the road connecting that city with the modern site of Kohát and Pesháwar, by the Bungush route and the Kurm river. A village of the name still exists in the locality probably occupied by the early seat of government. See *ante*, note on Coin No. 58. Also Yúskál's *Mushtarik, in voce*. Elphinstone's *Cahool*, i. 420; ii. 421. H. T. Prinsep, *Jour. As. Soc. Bengal*, xi. 553. *Ferishtah*, Persian text, lithographed at Bombay, p. 110; Brigg's translation of ditto, i. 200, 201, &c. Price's *Muhamadan Hist.*, ii. 309. Elliot, *Historians*, p. 23.

No. 7. The name of this city is variously written برساوور - فرشابور and برشور. Reinaud, *l'Inde*, 247. *Ferishtah*, Bombay lithog. text, p. 98.

8. *Shubbergán*. Lat.  $36^{\circ} 40'$ , Long.  $65^{\circ} 30'$ .  
 Alá-ud-dín .. .. . No. 62, N.S.
9. *Tálakán*.  
 Mahmúd bin Muhammad .. .. . No. 45, N.S.
10. *Zamíndáwar*.  
 Alá-ud-dín .. .. . No. 55, N.S.

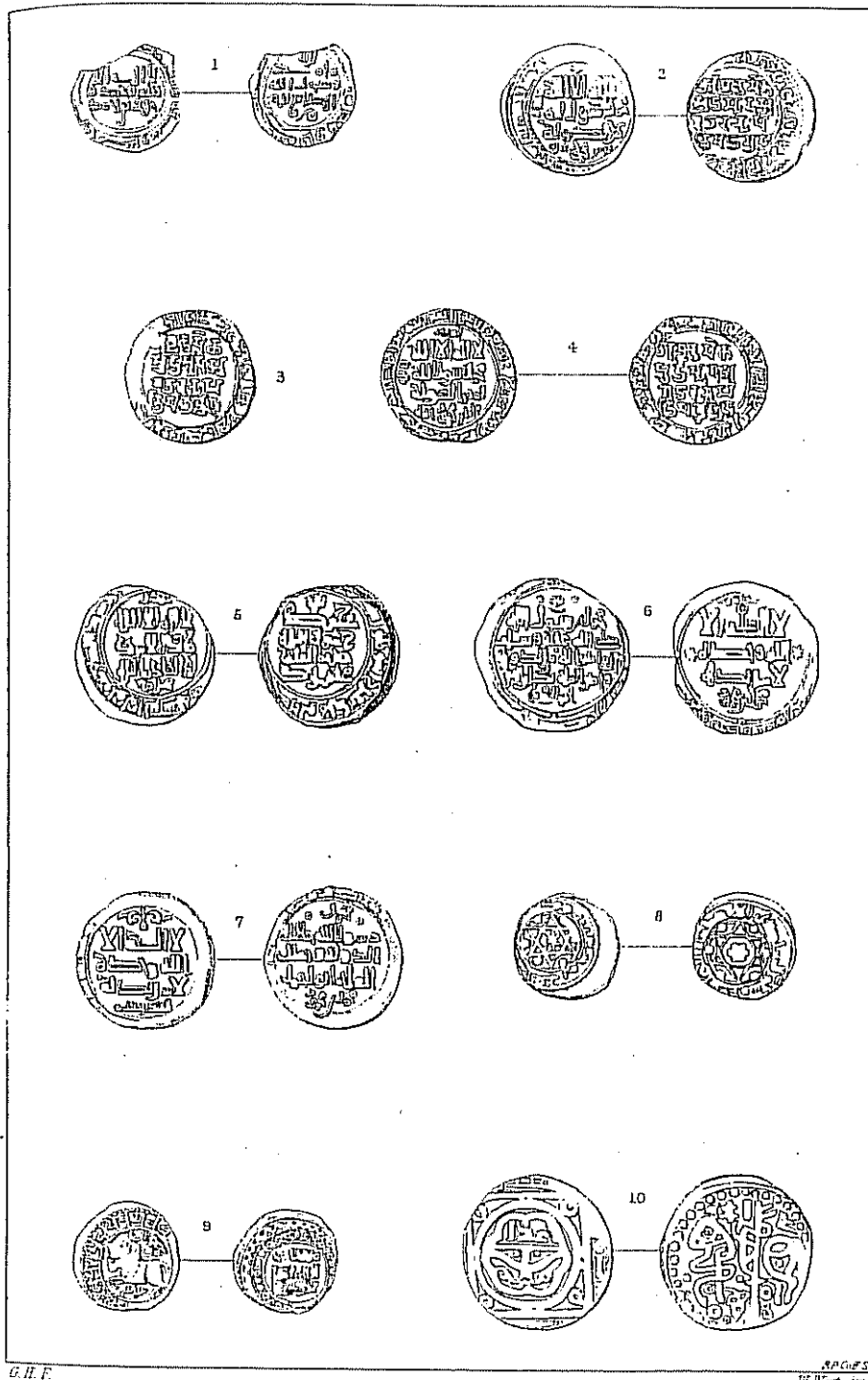
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No. 8. *Shubbergán* is described by Burnes (*Cabool*, p. 227), as "a very ancient place, being supposed to date from the days of the Kaffirs (Greeks), and is still the strongest fort in these parts; the ark or citadel is built of brick and mortar, and surrounded by other walls of mud." See also *ante*, 188; Marco Polo, edit. 1818, p. 121, 123; and Gladwin's *Ayín-i-Akbarí*, &c.

No. 9. This is the *Tálakán* in *Juzján*, which must not be confounded with the city of the same or nearly similar name in *Tokháristán*; situated to the eastward of *Kundúz*. See *ante*, p. 180. The second city is discriminated in many of the early geographical authorities, by the independent orthography of الطایقان *Kánún*. *Ashkál ul bilád*, map, p. 152. Ouseley, 230. *Mirásid ul Ittilá*, *in voce*.

No. 10. Elphinstone defines the boundaries of the ancient *Bilád-al-dáwar*, under its more modern name, in the following passage:—"Still further up the river [than *Girishik*] on its right bank, lies the rich country of *Zemeendawir*, which has the *Paropamisan* mountains on the north, and some hills connected with that range are found within its limits. This fine country extends for forty or fifty miles to the west of the *Helmund*." *Elph.*, *Cabool*, 4to edit., p. 122. Lieut. Macartney's map, which illustrates the work, places the province in about  $32^{\circ} 33' N.$ ,  $64^{\circ} 65' E.$  *Albirúni*, under his *Aráb* system, gives the position of بل قصبه أرض الداور [Tall] as  $38^{\circ} 30'$ ,  $90^{\circ} 10'$ . MS., *Kánún*. See also *Müller's Liber Climatium*, Table xvii. No. 54, p. 104. *Reinaud*, *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 173.

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G. H. F.

SP. C. S. S.  
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## فهرس المحتويات

١	المسكوكات الفارسية البهلوية عند العرب في صدر الإسلام.....
١٠١	مجموعة من ٨ مسكوكات فضية كوفية.....
١١١	مدخل إلى اختصارات دور ضرب السكة والأختام، مع ملاحظة إضافية في المجموعات العربية- البهلوية من المسكوكات الفارسية.....
١٧٠	تعليقات حول قراءة الخط البهلوي. مع عرض موجز حول اشتقاق الأبجديات الآرية. ومساهمات في تاريخ طبرستان المبكر وجغرافيتها. معروضة بالمسكوكات.....
٢٢٥	في بعض المسكوكات مزدوجة اللغة من بخارى، مضروبة في القرن الثاني للهجرة، تواصل الأنواع والآلات الساسانية.....
٢٣٠	مسكوكات مزدوجة اللغة من بخارى،.....
٢٤٥	حول مسكوكات ملوك غزنة.....
٣٦٩	ملاحظة حول مسكوكات غزنة من مجموعة الكولونيل ستاسي.....
٣٨٢	مساهمات إضافية حول مجموعات مسكوكات ملوك غزنة.....



## اسكن تندرہ

طبع في ٥٠ نسخة

نشر بمعهد تاريخ العلوم العربية والإسلامية  
بفرانكفورت - جمهورية ألمانيا الاتحادية  
طبع في مطبعة شتراس، مورلنباخ، ألمانيا الاتحادية

سك النقود والمسكوكات في العالم الإسلامي

٣٣

دراسات

لأدوارد توماس

في المسكوكات في العالم الإسلامي

جمع وإعادة طبع

فؤاد سزكين

بالتعاون مع

كارل إيرج-إيجرت، إكهارد نويباور، مازن عماوي

١٤٢٥هـ - ٢٠٠٤م

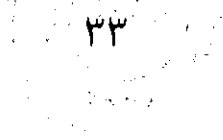
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منشورات  
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يصدرها  
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سك النقود والمسكوكات في العالم الإسلامي



دراسات  
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في المسكوكات في العالم الإسلامي

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سلسلة سك النقود والمسكوكات في العالم الإسلامي  
المجلد ٣٣