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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 Coins¹, 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

¹ 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 monarchy¹, 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 studiés, 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

¹ 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 *Aumari*, 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 (مقامد), which the latter author imagined might possibly be read as "Roustam."

made by Professor Fræhn, of St. Petersburg¹, 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 these systems of writing. It was thus determined that the celebrated Hejáj bin Yusaf, 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 invented², but now recognised religious alphabet of Mohammedanism. The publication of the Arabic text and translation of Makrísí's History of the Arab Coinage³, 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 since⁴ 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

¹ Journal Asiatique, Paris, tom. iv., 1824, and elsewhere.

² 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.

³ Al Makrizi, Historia Monetæ Arabicæ, ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostok, 1797.

⁴ 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 Bombay¹. 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 origin². 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 Darius³, and near the formerly proud metropolis of the Khusrûs, rose but at a brief interval the future centre of the Moslim world⁴.

¹ 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.

² A single quotation such as the following speaks sufficiently to this:—

در عهد عبدالملك جرايد ديواني از صورت فارسي باعربي نقل
کردند و رقوم بنياد نهادند

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

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

⁴ 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 showing¹ how highly they estimated the value of their once unhopedor 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 issue², and their place of mintage, they are

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

² 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 medallie 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 72¹ 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 acts² 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 medallie 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-

¹ Ockley, 474. 479. (Bohn's edit.)

² Ockley, 141. 271. 287. 346.

³ 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 emperor¹, 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 king².

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

¹ Makrizi, p. 84.

² Fræhn's Recensio, 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 Parsís 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 Sassanian kings¹.

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

¹ 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

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 Ardeshr̄ Bábegán and his son, Sapor I.¹ The several forms here given are reduced fac-similes of the original letters selected from the legends of Sapor's double inscription at Hájí Abád, of which the Royal Asiatic Society possesses actual impressions, in the shape of a reproduction of the plaster casts² taken from the rock itself by Colonel Sir E. Stannus, and now in

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

ARTAXERXES I. *Ardeshr̄ Bábegán*. 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 *cydaris* 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 Ardeshr̄*. 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 Hájí Abád, near Naksh-i-Rustam (the record of which is yet to be translated), referring to Sapor, the son of Ardeshr̄, (Ker Porter, pl. xv. p. 513).

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

a. Sassanian Pehlvi Inscription near Kermánsháh, (Ker Porter, *Tackt-i-Bostán*, vol. ii. pl. lxviii, p. 188. Malcolm's *Persia*, *Ták-i-Boostán*, 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. Boré, *Journal Asiatique*, June, 1841; and M. Louis Dubeux, *ibidem*, an 1843.

² 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 *𐎠*, 2 *𐎡*, 3 *𐎢*, 4 *𐎣*, 5 *𐎤*, 6 *𐎥*, 7 *𐎦*, 8 *𐎧*, 9 *𐎨*, 10 *𐎩*, 11 *𐎪*, 12 *𐎫*] 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 *𐎬*, 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 place¹. 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 𐎧. As I have already had occasion elsewhere² 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 inscription³; in each case the form occurs as the fifth letter in the word read by De Sacy as 𐎧𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎡𐎥⁴; 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

¹ Num. Chron., London, 1849. Oriental Legends on Parthian Coins.

² Ibid.

³ 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.

⁴ De Sacy, p. 108.

word in the associate Chaldaeo-Pehlvi text as כורסן, which now, however, in our indubitable copy, proves to be כורסין; the question has therefore arisen, Is it not possible that the Sassanian 𐭪 of De Sacy may also be a 𐭪, or some compound holding a 𐭪 in combination, instead of the hitherto received 𐭪? The linear configuration of the character has much of the appearance of 𐭪; and there are some further arguments in favour of such an assignment¹; but, on the other hand, I am aware that the more modern form of 𐭪 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 𐭪, which offers a singular and somewhat unexpected modification of the lapidary figure to which

¹ The 𐭪 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 Chaldaeo-Pehlvi at Hájí Abád, connected by an additional cross-bar with the 𐭪 in this very word 𐭪𐭪𐭪𐭪; and in the Sassanian Inscriptions at Kermánsháh, the 𐭪 is invariably joined on to the succeeding 𐭪 in 𐭪𐭪𐭪𐭪 [or 𐭪𐭪𐭪𐭪] 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 *ach* on the coins, its distinct identity is usually preserved, and its shape is but seldom confounded, as in modern practice, with the *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 Neskhi 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 Neskhi 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 might be extended beyond the three forms appended in the concluding column of the Plate, so as to embrace an optional employment of or ; but the I have adopted looks more appropriate, as giving the nearest approximate sound, considering that there existed an express sign for the ( ). 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

¹ 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 م = x and و = w—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 م = x alone sufficed for all that the alphabet possessed of the power since inherent in the Kufic خ: hence the simple Parsí م = kh, which modern practice distinguishes from the normal م = h by the addition of the dot.

The modification which the original Sassanian د 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 3. 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 ي, 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 ر, and equally serving as an د, was used in the lapidary alphabets of Persepolis to represent an د only; in our progress onward, we find the letter د employed in the unilingual inscription at Kermánsháh in the word ایران Airán—a name elsewhere invariably written with the true r—in the presence of the undoubted use of the character د as l in Malka, and the simultaneous acceptance of the old 2 as both ر and و [شهبوهري 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 *ع* = *ع* *س* *ع* *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 *α*, &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 palæographer. 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 form¹. 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 Fârsî*. 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 *ك* probably came from the forms immediately under review.

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

¹ I do not coincide with Major Rawlinson in his notion of the community between the *ك* and *و*. 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 **ل**, 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 **ز** = *w* is found duly to hold its place, as does the form **ل** 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 it¹. 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 supersession of, its own proper sound, I would notice that in certain cases the **و**, when rudely formed, is often fashioned after a deceptive similitude of the *n* or debased *u*, being rendered by two direct lines placed a given angle to each other (thus **و**), which combination, did it not occur in an unquestionable case of the initial of **و** *بنج* 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 **ه**, which in effect, in its own literal development is a mere figure of two *e*'s conjoined. We know that the Zend **ه** *e* when doubled, represents *ye*, *y*, and the Pehlvi **ه** is found in many instances where it cannot but be read as *y* or *iy*, as in **ه** *زیات* Ziyát, **ه** *میان* Miyán, &c., though the practice of modern Pehlvi authorities would give the reading

¹ The *u* 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 *u* presents the simple perpendicular line.—See Coin 25, *infra*.

مالن زالت, &c. The position the Pehlvi *e* is found to occupy as an adjunct to the *a*, forming *ae*, also favours the supposition of the optional divisibility of the component parts of the *ae* 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 hand¹, 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

¹ 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-four¹, and the alphabet lithographed at Bombay signalises no less than thirty-three distinct forms², 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 $\text{ڤ} = \text{آ}$ or آه . Mullah Firúz also adopts thirty-two different signs as necessary to form a Fehlví 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	ا	A	12	ک	ك	K
5	ب	ب	B	13	گ	گ	G
3	ت	ت	T	14	ل	ل	L
4	ج	ج	J	15	م	م	M
5	خ	خ or گ	KH	16	ن	ن	N
6	د	د	D	17	و	و	W
7	ر	ر	R	18	ه	ه	H
8	ز	ز	Z	19	ي	ي	Y
9	س	س or د	S	20	چ	چ	CH
10	ش	ش	SH	21	پ	پ	P
11	غ	غ	GH	and	آي	آي	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

¹ I reject two of his *three* $\text{ا} = \text{و}$, 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.

² Taking $\text{ا} = \text{و}$ and $\text{ا} = \text{ن}$ 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 غ, which I have not as yet met with either on coins, gems, or inscriptions.

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

COMPOUNDS.								
1	۵	۱۱	8	۴	ات	15	۴	رت
2	۴	۱۱	9	۵	یپ	16	۴	رت
3	۴	۱۱	10	۴	یا	17	۴	من
4	۴	ای	11	۴	یم	(18	۴	سن)
5	۴	۱۱ and آپ	12	۴	ین	19	۴	نن
6	۴	ام	13	۴	یت			
7	۴	ان	14	۴	ج			

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 Khusrui coins have been published in so many accessible works¹ 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 شوسروپ or خسروپ², a constant characteristic of

¹ Ker Porter, Pl. lviii. fig. 8. Ouseley, Observations on some Medals and Gems, Plate No. 6, *Rám* (*Rám 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.

² It has remained up to this time somewhat of an open question whether the final letter of this name should be accepted as an ی or 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 بیست و دو twenty and two, the combination was effected by دو و بیست two *above* twenty, in the same way as we at present say, دو و اندر ده, &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 חושריה (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, (سخری) seems to set the matter definitively at rest. Ouseley, Medals, &c., p. 25, and Longperier, Essai, p. 78, adopt the ی. Müller, Jour. Asiatique, vii., pp. 335, 342, Olshausen, 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. Olshausen'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 Pehlwie 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 ۱۰۰۰
2	تیرین ۳۰	21	یانروست ۱۰۰۰۰۰
3	تلتا ۳۰۰۰	22	دوانروست ۲۰۰۰۰۰
4	ارپا ۱۰۰۰	23	سینروست ۳۰۰۰۰۰
5	خمشا ۵۰۰۰	24	چهارویست ۴۰۰۰۰۰
6	شتا ۶۰۰۰	25	پنجویست ۵۰۰۰۰۰
7	شبا ۷۰۰۰	26	ششویست ۶۰۰۰۰۰
8	ثومنا ۸۰۰۰	27	هفتویست ۷۰۰۰۰۰
9	تشا ۹۰۰۰	28	هشتویست ۸۰۰۰۰۰
10	اسرا ۱۰۰۰۰	29	
11	یانزده ۱۰۰۰۰		
12	دوانزده ۱۲۰۰۰	30 ⁵	سیه ۳۰۰۰
13	سینزده ۱۳۰۰۰	31	یانر سیه ۳۰۰۰۰۰
14	چهرده ۱۴۰۰۰	32	دوانر سیه ۳۲۰۰۰۰
15		33 ⁶	سینر سیه ۳۳۰۰۰۰
16	شانزده ۱۶۰۰۰	34	&c., as in the twenties.
17	هفتده ۱۷۰۰۰	40	چهل ۴۰۰۰
18		44	45, 46, 47, as in the thirties, &c.
19	نوزده ۱۹۰۰۰	49 ⁷	نوه چهل ۴۹۰۰۰

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

¹ The **ه** in these cases answers to **ع**. I have retained the most simple form in my Neskhî transcripts.

² And **خشي سه و د** at times.

³ 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 **س** (س)" :) though I acknowledge only one original Pehlvi standard **ع** = **ج**, which in modern Persian transcriptions is frequently replaced by **ج**, **ژ**, and occasionally by **ن**, notwithstanding that there is the express letter **س** 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 Neskhî transcript look less strange to modern associations.

⁴ 14 is also written **چهار ده صد و د** and **چهار ده صد و د** on a coin from the **دل** mint.

⁵ The **و** **ی** in thirty is often omitted.

⁶ I find 33 written **سسیه دود و د** on a coin, with the mint mark **د و د** **دینان** ? or **دیوان**.

⁷ This might perhaps be read as **نواں سه**; but the above is preferable, as it coincides with the Bismillah coin A.H. 49, Beiza; and the **د و د** 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 **سبیه**.

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 grains¹, 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 grains². For the early Arab period, I am inclined to avoid any attempt at generalization, and to follow the assertion of the *Tárikh-i-Guzídah*, 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 laws³; 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

¹ "Le système monétaire des Perses sous les Sassanides était, pour l'or, l'emprunt de l'*auréus* 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.

² Average of 26 coins in the British Museum, Hormusdaz, Varahrán, &c., and 9 Khusrus bearing low dates ($1520 \div 26 = 58\cdot46$.)

³ بغرمان عبدالمملك در سال هفتاد و ششم زر و نقره
کم عیار ده هفت مسكوك كردند قل هو الله نقش سكه بود
بيشتر از و در عرب زر و نقره مسكوك نكرده بودند اهل عجم را
سكه بغارسي و بهلوي بود و اهل روم و مغرب را برومي و عيار هر
شهر بنوعي ديكر بودي عبدالمملك با يك عيار آورد

Tárikh-i-Guzídah, 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 Flight¹. 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 Makrisi² to have

¹ Price, vol. I., p. 126.

² Makrizi, Ed. O. G. Tychsen, Rostochii, 1797.

"Quam modo allatam de pecunia Arabum gentilium respectu eleemosynæ, et de ejus in Islamismo confirmato usu, legatus divinus legem fecerat, *Abubeker Alzaddik* (justus) fel. mem. ejus successor intemeratam servavit. Cui succedens *Abu Hafes Omar b. Alchettab* f. m. Ægypto Syria et Iraka expugnatis, de pecunia nihil constituit, sed eam statu suo usque ad annum Hegiræ XVIII, chalfatus 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 Methkalia constitueret. *Osman f. Afan* f. m. in principem fidelium electus, numos cum epigraphe: *Deus est maximus*, durante chalfatu suo edidit."—pp. 77, 79, 80.¹

"Tria eduntur judicia, quis primus numos percusserit. Judex quidem *Abulhassan f. Muhammed Almarwardi* auctor est, *Omarem f. Alchettab* f. m. perspecta drachmarum diversitate, quarum aliæ scil. Baglienses VIII: aliæ sc. Tiberienses IV; Magrebbinæ (Mauretanicæ) III Danekis; Iemenenses I Daneko constabant, dixisse: *attende ad usualium drachmarum vel meliorem vel viliorum 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 *بسم الله* [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-Khusrui type.

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

Obv. Left.	<i>دزد</i>	افزود for افزوت
Right.	<i>دزد</i>	بزرگوت or بزرگرت (in the older form of Sassanian characters. See fig. 21, Pl. II.)
Marg.	<i>بسم الله</i>	(Pl. II., fig. 22.)
Rev. Left.	<i>دزد</i>	وست = 20 (A.H.)
Right.	<i>دزد</i>	یزد

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

pondere, dimidium ejus, scil. sex danecorum 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 ۛ; but we have already seen in the history of the intertransition of these letters that the و, u, and ۛ 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 ۛ. The concluding letter ۛ 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 ۛ = 20, is to be taken to imply the year *twenty* of the Hijrah, and the mint monogram is rightly read as Yezd¹, there is an additional difficulty started in the fact, that the Mohammedans were not in possession of Yezd in A.H. 20². 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.

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

² Tabarî—Isfahán surrendered, A.H. 20—21. Ockley—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 مودار		هشت و بیست	سده ۱۴۰۰ و ۱۵۰۰	یزد دژ
32	Id.	Id.	دوازده	سده ۱۲۰۰ و ۱۳۰۰	یزد
35	Id.	Id.	پنج	سده ۱۰۰۰ و ۱۱۰۰	بیضا دژ
Id.	Id.	Id.	Id.	Id.	یزد
Id.	Id.	Id.	Id.	Id.	یزد
37		Id.	هفده	سده ۱۲۰۰ (sic)	یزد دژ
48	Id.	Id.	هشت	سده ۱۳۰۰ و ۱۴۰۰	یزد دژ
49	Id.	Id.	نوه	سده ۱۱۰۰ و ۱۲۰۰	بیضا دژ
50	Id.	Id.	پنج	سده ۱۰۰۰ و ۱۱۰۰	بیضا دژ

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 Mohammedan Khusruï coinage—imagining that **یود** 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 **یود**, 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 Islamic 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 عبد .

A.H.	Date.	Mints.	A.H.	Date.	Mints.
14	٢٤٠	دو سر	28		دو سر
17	٢٤٠	دو سر	31	٢٤٠	دو سر
23	٢٤٠	دو سر	32		دو سر
24		دو سر	35		دو سر
25		دو سر	37		دو سر
26		دو سر			

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

- (a). Masson, weight 58·5 gr., mint ٢٤٠ A.H. 35. Obverse area as usual. Margin, in imperfect Kufic, ولي الله. Pl. II, fig. 20.
- (b). Mr. Stokes, weight 34 gr., A.H. 45 ٢٤٠? which in the place of the usual ٢٤٠ 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 𐭮𐭲𐭩.

It might be supposed from this that the Kufic الله was merely an imperfect rendering of the Pehlvi 𐭮𐭲𐭩; 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 بْنُ 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 paternity¹. 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

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

و معاوية و نزارت و كاه و تدبير خویش همد بدو داد و نسبت
 او بپذیرفت و بفرمود تا او را زِيَادُ بْنُ أَبِي سَفْيَانَ خواندند
 و بیش از آن او را زِيَادُ بْنُ سَمِيْعِ خواندند و مادرش را سَمِيْعَه
 نام بود و بنده هندی بود پس ابو سَفْيَانَ با سَمِيْعَه جمع شد و
 سَمِيْعَه از و بار گرفت ابو سَفْيَانَ از هندی برتسید و سَمِيْعَه را
 بفروخت و آن خرنده سَمِيْعَه را آزاد کرد و زِيَادُ بْنُ أَبِي سَفْيَانَ
 بسده ماه بیامد و سَمِيْعَه گفت که از ابو سَفْيَانَست و هم به
 ابو سَفْيَانَ بماند [مانست "Al"] ابو سَفْيَانَ منکر شد که از
 من نیست بش زِيَادُ بْنُ أَبِي سَفْيَانَ شد و معاوية دانست که آن
 چگونه است

The statement of the *Rauzat al Safá* 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. 380. 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 Ziad'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-stick¹". 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 Busrah². 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 Just³. Zíád continued to administer the supreme power in this kingdom until the accession of Moaviah⁴, 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 Moaviah's part, of his right—hitherto gravely questioned—to style Abu Sofíán their common father⁵. In A.H. 45 Zíád was deputed to correct the irregularities prevailing in the district of Busrah⁶, which, under too mild a governor, had become somewhat flagrant. Here his well-timed, though startling, severity soon reduced his new subjects to implicit obedience⁷, and restored order and good government throughout the entire department⁸. Besides the lieutenantancy of Bus-

¹ Ockley, 385; Price, I. 380.

² Ockley (quoting D'Herbelot), p. 324.

³ نریاد نامه کرد بعلي بابین حال علي ولايت بارس بدو

داد نریاد ببارس شد و هه بارس فرمان بردار او شدند Tabarí

⁴ Ockley (quoting Abú Fedá), pp. 324, 325.

⁵ پس معاویه بشام شد و کار بروي راست بایستاد و اثر نریاد هه

ترسیذ که باصطخر بارس اندر قلعه شذه بوذ و خواسته بسیار

داشت و ترسیذ که با کسی اثر اهل بیت بیخبر * بیعت کند

⁶ Ockley, 358.

⁷ Ockley, 360.

⁸ Tabarí, A.H. 46; Price, I. 381; Elmacin, p. 55.

rah, "Moavia^h 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. 50²), 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 metropolis³. 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"⁴.

Zíád was carried off by the plague in Ramzán A.H. 53⁵, having fully merited the title of the greatest man of his age⁶. 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.

¹ Ockley, 360.

² Price, I. 383; Ockley, pp. 366, 369.

³ Tabarí, &c.

⁴ Tabarí, &c.

⁵ Ockley, 368; Price, I. 384.

⁶ Ockley, 359.

Makrizi notices Zíád's share in the advancement of the Arab coinage to the following effect:—"Delato ad *Moavia^h f. Sofian f. m. imperio, Zeiadum filium patris sui Cufæ et Basræ præfecit, dicentem: o princeps fidelium, quum Abdalsaleh Omar f. Alchettab 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 *Moavia^h 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 pronunciavit. *Moavia^h* quoque denarios imagine sua gladio cincta insignitos percussit."—pp. 80, 81.**

ZIAD I ABU SOFIAN.

No. 1. Silver. Weight, 42·0 gr.

Left Monogram¹. and

Obv. { نریسات
ابوسوفیان

Marg. Kufic. بسم الله ولي

Rev. Left. یا ابن نجبا A.H. 51.Right. بیضا (sic) for

It may be necessary to justify this reading of the unit word, which at first sight looks like ناو "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.

¹ 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

سپنجا ۵۳ ا.ه.

No. 3. Silver. Weight, 58·0 gr. British Museum.

As above, with the date چهرینجا ۵۳ ا.ه.

No. 4. Silver. Weight, 31·0 gr. *Stokes*. (This coin is but little worn, though it may have been clipt.)

Obv. As above.

Rev. Date, A.H. 53. Mint city ل?

No. 5. Silver. Weight, 43·6 gr. British Museum.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Date, A.H. 54. Mint city سجیش ۵۴ ا.ه.?

No. 6. Silver. Weight, 35·0 gr. Pl. II. fig. I.

Obv. As above; but more accurately engraved than usual, having the complete سجیش with the final و distinctly expressed.

Rev. Left. سجیش ۵۵ ا.ه.

Right. سجیش Busrah.

ADDITIONAL PUBLISHED COINS.—M. Soret (Lettre, Genève) gives a coin identical with No. 2; and a piece of Zíád'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 Zíád¹, 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

¹ Ibn Kotaibah enumerates twenty-three. See passage quoted by Olshausen, p. 52, "Die Pehlie 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 Mohammedan 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”¹.

During the year succeeding that which witnessed the death of his father, he was appointed by the Khalif Moavia^h to the government of Khorásán², whence he ably led his troops beyond the Oxus, as far as Samarkand³. In A.H. 55⁴, Obeidullah was nominated Amír of Busrah, apparently retaining his previous charge by deputy until A.H. 56⁵, when Khorásán was bestowed upon Saïd 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 Irák⁶, to enable him more effectually to carry out the Khalif’s designs. It is not necessary to follow the prolix relation of the Persian 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 Obeidullah⁷, is reported to have displayed his triumph by smiting the then for ever silent lips⁸.

On Yezid’s death, in A.H. 64, Obeidullah hastened to secure himself in his position of Amir of Busrah, by persuading the people to elect him their protector⁹; 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 hastily¹⁰, 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 Khalifs¹¹, and was himself invested with the title and honours of Generalissimo

¹ ملعون Tabarí, &c.

² Price, I. 384.

³ Ockley, 373; Price, I. 384; Tabarí.

⁴ Ockley, 373; Price.

⁵ Ockley, 374; Tabarí MS. Royal Asiatic Society.

⁶ Price, I. 412; Tabarí (he enters Kufah Z’ul Hajjah, A.H. 60).

⁷ Ockley, 410; Price, I. 396.

⁸ Tabarí.

⁹ Ockley (quoting MS. Laud, 161 A), p. 431.

¹⁰ Tabarí جون سك كركين

¹¹ Tabarí.

of the Syrian forces. In A.H. 65¹, Obeidullah—in the celebrated combat of Ainalwerd—routed and cut to pieces Solímán's army of Penitents². 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.³

OBEIDULLAH I ZAID.

Arabico عبید الله بن زیاد

No. 7. Silver. Weight, 60·5. Steuart. British Museum. Unique.

Obv. Head as usual.

Right.		اوبیتالا
		ی نریتاتان
Marg.	بسم الله	
Rev. Left.		پوچهل or پُن چهل A.H. 45.
Right.	د	د for Dárábgard.
Marg.	A monogram,	

No. 8. Silver. Weight, 58·0 gr. Masson.

Has the same legends, with the date ششویست
as it reads, but which I imagine to be intended for
for شش شست A.H. 66.

No. 9. Silver. Weight, 64·0 gr. (Three specimens:—1 Masson, 2 General Fox.)

Obv. As above.

Marg. Contremarque

Rev. Left.		شش پنجا A.H. 56,
Right.	د	ی یزد Yezd.

¹ Ockley, 451; Price, I. 296.

² Such was the name applied to "all those who confederated under him to revenge the death of Husein." Ockley, 447.

³ Ockley, 459; Price, I. 437.

No. 10. Silver. Weight, 50·5 gr. Masson. Pl. II. fig. II.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left. (imperfect) شش پنجا or possibly

هشت (پ)نجا

Right, بیضا for پیش

No. 11. Silver, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left. هشت پنجا A.H. 58,

Right. بصره 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. دوشست A.H. 62.

Right, ؟

No. 13. Silver. Masson.

Obv. As usual.

Rev. Left, شست A.H. 60.

Right. کرمانهفت ؟

No. 14. Silver. Weight, 45·5 gr. Unique. General Fox. Pl. II. fig. II/2.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left. سی شست A.H. 63.

Right. کشان or یشکان

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 manhood¹. 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 Irák² (A.H. 50). In A.H. 61, Selim was nominated by the Khalif Yezid to the superintendence of the important province of Khorásán, Seistán either remaining to him or being conferred anew³. 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 invaders⁴.

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. ¹ که من از 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.

² و چون وقت معاويه بود معاويه زياد بن ابي سفيانرا
ب عراق فرستاد و پسرش سلم بن زيادرا بسجستان فرستاد و
آن زمينهاي سند و هند كه بسجستان پيوسته است بدو داد
و آن هم بوقت معاويه كشاده شد و هم بطاعت سلم بن

زياد آمدند MS. 34, Royal Asiatic Society.

³ Ockley (MS. Laud, 161 A), p. 420.

⁴ Price, I. 412; Ockley, 420.

و بمرود شد و انرجيكون بكذست و با ترکان حرب کرد
و سند سمرقند بکشاد و بدرخواستنم شد و يك سال آنجا بماند

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

Moavia II., the people of Khorásán¹ 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 Busrah² at a period not very far removed from the date of these events³, 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 land⁴.

SELIM I ZIAD.

Arabic سلم بن زياد

No. 15. Silver. Weight, 58·5 gr. Very rare. Pl. II. fig. III. (Two specimens—Masson and General Fox.)

Obv. Left.

سليم

Right.

{ داندو سلم ي
زياتان

Marg. بسم الله

Rev. Left.

داندو داندو

شش پنجا A.H. 56.

Right.

داندو

ييزد Yezd.

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

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left.

داندو داندو

ششست A.H. 63.

Right.

داندو

مرو Merv.

¹ Ockley, p. 436.

² Ibn Kotaibah (Paris MS.) has only the following brief notice of Selim:—

سلم بن زياد فكنيته ابو حرب و كان اجود بني زياد و
ولي خراسان لينيد و فيه يقول بن عراده ، عتبت علي فلما
هجتة ، و خالطت اقواما بكيت علي سلم ، و مات
بالبصرة وله بهاعقب

³ Tabari. See note quoted under Abdallah Házim, p. 298.

⁴ Ockley, 437; Tabari, &c.

A similar coin in the Masson collection has the date written A.H. 63. Contremarque ? ٦٣

Additional dates on coins of the same ruler struck at Merv are—(a), A.H. 64 — پنج شست (b), A.H. 65 چهار شست (c), A.H. 66, unique, Masson—(d/2), A.H. 67, common, Masson—(d), A.H. 69 نود شست rare, Masson.

These Merv coins are frequently found with the Mervalrūd contremarque.

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

Obv. As above. Contremarque as No. 9.

Rav. Left. Date, A.H. 63.

Right.

مervalrūd.

Additional dates:—(a), A.H. 64, rare, General Fox چ شست (b), A.H. 67 ٦٧; it also occurs as ٦٧ or ٦٧; and a doubtful date is found on one specimen (Masson) written ٦٧ which may be intended either for شست or taking the initial as ه for هفت شست or هشت شست; I noticed also a doubtful date ٧٠, or more probably an imperfect 67?

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

Obv. As usual.

Rav. Left. ٦٦ corrupt rendering for 66.

Right.

٦٦

No. 19. Silver. Weight (average of 10 specimens), 61.8 gr. British Museum¹.

Obv. As in the previous examples.

Rav. Left. ٦٦ corrupt date for 66.

Right.

هرات old form for هرات Herat.

¹ A nearly similar coin in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, has the annual date expressed thus, ٦١ or شست 61

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

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

R_{EV.} 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.

R_{EV.} 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.

R_{EV.} Left, (No. 2, A.H. 64.

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

IV. ABDALLAH BIN ZOBEIR.

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 Khálif accordingly¹, his authority being for the time limited to Arabia, Yezíd 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 Yezíd (Rabi al Awal,

¹ Ockley, 421, 434; D'Herbelot.

A.H. 64)¹, 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] world². 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 Khiláfat of Syria and Palestine, after a brief interval, fell to the share of Merwán, 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 Hejá bin Yusaf, the General of Abdalmalik, in A.H. 73³.

ABDALLAH I ZOBEIR⁴. (Inedited.)

Arabic *عبد الله بن زبير*. Armenian *APTĒLA*.

No. 23. Silver. Weight, 51·0 gr. Very Scarce. Pl. II. fig. XIV.

Obv. Left. As usual.

Right.	{	عبد الله	اپدولا
		ذکر دوله	ی زوفیران
Marg.		عبد الله	بسم الله
Contremarque.		عبد الله	چولان

Rzv. Left. *سشت* *عبد الله*

Right. *[؟ واکس دوله]* *کرمانهفت واکس دوله*

¹ Ockley, 427.

² *بیایا هج جهان ترا دهم عبد الله بن زبير گفت من انر*

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

³ Ockley, 434; Price, I. 450.

⁴ Makrizi. "*Abdallah f. Zobair princeps fidelium Meccæ constitutus, omnium primus drachmas rotundas (titulis in orbem ductis præditas), quæ vero deformes, crasse et resectæ fuerunt, percussit, quod nemo ante eum fecerat. In circuitu unius lateris insculpi curaverat: Muhammed est legatus Dei; et alterius: præcipit Deus observationem (foederis) et justitiam.*"—p. 82.

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

Obv. Area as above.

Marg. and only. Contremarque

Rzv. 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 insurgents¹. For this service Abdallah was rewarded by a post of some importance² 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 city³; 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

¹ Price, I. 165.

² 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.

³ Abúl Faraj, 123:—"Ipse (Moavia) Damascus reversus, præfecit (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. 64¹, 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)² 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. 72³, 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 life⁴; the victor receiving the

¹ Price, I. 446.

² 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 هزيمت شدند * * و سياستي اندر
خراسان افتاد كه ندیده بودند و هائي سال بود كه خوارج بكوفه
آمدند و دعوي شيعة كردند و سپاه بر گرفتند و بشام شدند
حنانكه اندر عراق كس نماند

Tabarí, MS. 34, Royal Asiatic Society.

³ Price, I. 447; or A.H. 73, Ockley, p. 475.

⁴ 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 يزيدي بسلام بن زياد * * * بود
* * * خبر آمد كه يزيدي بن معاوية بمرو * * * پس سلام
اهنك شام كرد و مهلب بن ابي صفرة را بر خراسان امير كرد
* * * و چون يزيدي بمرو قتنه در خراسان افتاد و سه امير
اهنك خراسان كردند سلیمان بن يزيدي و عمرو بن حازم و عبد 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 حون نزدیک مرو رسید سلم پیش
 وی باز آمد و گفت یا سلیمان کجا میروی گفت نزد تو تا
 مرا بولایتهی فرستی سلم گفت مروالروند و طالقان و کوزکان
 [MS. 34. کوزکان] و آن ناحیت ترا باد پس سلیمان مروالروند
 بنشست * * چون سلم بنشایور 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 انگیزان 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 تجارت کرد و نامه کرد بهر شهری که
 خطبه بنام من کنید و همه بکردند 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 این عبد الله از مصر
 بود و سپاه او همه عرب بود و خراسان بغلبه 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 عجمی و کان اشجع الناس ولی خراسان عشر سنین
 و افتتح اللبیین ثم ثار به اهل خراسان فقاتلوه

ABDULLAH I HAZIM. (*Inedited.*)عبد الله بن حاتم *Arabico*

No. 25. Silver. Weight (average of 29 specimens), 59·5 gr. Common.

Obv. Left. افزوت
 Right. { یوملد اپدولا
 ودرکس ی هزمان
 Rev. Left. دد-ددم سشست A.H. 63.
 Right. ۱۶۴ مerv.

Other specimens of the money of this Governor, minted at Merv, bear severally the following dates:—(a), A.H. 64 (دلد), 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 ۱۱۳-۱۱۴ سشست نو—common [one example of this coinage gives us a new Pehlvi reading of the name of Házim, thus ۴۵۷]; (g), A.H. 70, rare; (h), A.H. 72 (ددم-ددم), rare; (i), A.H. 73, unique (General Fox).

No. 26. Silver. Weight, 62·5 gr. Very rare.

Obv. As above.
 Rev. Left. ۱۱۳-۱۱۴ سشست
 Right. ۱۶۴ مervalrúd

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

Obv. As above.
 Rev. Left. ددم-ددم ۱۱۳-۱۱۴ سشست A.H. 63.
 Right. ۱۶۴ خبوس 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. ددم-ددم ۱۱۳-۱۱۴ سشست and ددم-ددم ۱۱۳-۱۱۴ سشست A.H. 67.
 Right. ۱۱۳-۱۱۴ سشست or ۱۱۳-۱۱۴ سشست
 Hazarasp? See fac-similes, Pl. II. figs. 11, &c.

Other specimens of this class of coins bear date—(a), unique (General Fox), هشتاد و هشت for A.H. 68; in this instance, as in one of the preceding examples, the 's, in both the annual date and the name of the city, are formed by the juxta-position of an and an , thus—
 ٨٨٨ هـ ثمان مائة وثمانون (b), rare (Masson), - .

No. 29. Silver. Weight (average of 8 specimens), 60·7 gr.

Obv. As in the preceding coins.

Rav. Left. هفت و هشت for A.H. 67.

Right. or ?

Other similar coins have the date A.H. 68; and one specimen is stamped with the contremarque for *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-Obeidarán* on a considerable number of the available specimens 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 Zíád, who possessed such extensive power as Governor of Busrah, Kufah, and their dependencies, immediately 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 Zíád died (A.H. 67) without issue¹. In remarking upon the dates and places of mintages of the remaining coins of this suite, it will be observed that the officer whose name is recorded on their surfaces remained in uninterrupted charge of the cities represented by the monograms [Beiza, بیضا] , and

¹ فقتل عبيد الله ولا عقب له و كان يوم قتل يوم عاشورا

سنة سبع و ستين. Ibn Kotaibah. X

in all likelihood **دوم**, during the years 68, 69, and 70 A.H. In A.H. 67, Mosáb bin Zobeir took Kufah¹, 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 viceroyalty, 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 Proper²—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 designations³.

AUMAR I OBEIDALLAH.

Arabice عامر بن عبید الله

No. 30. Silver. British Museum. Unique.

Obv. Left.	افزوت	
Right.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> { مهادو سوسلار سوسلار } </div>	اومر اوبیتالان
Marg.	الله الحمد	
Rev. Left.	دوم-دوم	پنج شست A.H. 65.
Right.	دوم	کرممان Kermán.

¹ Ockley, p. 426.

² Ockley, p. 468.

³ Olshausen notices two instances of the occurrence of names nearly similar, *i.e.*

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

No. 31. Silver. Weight (average of 7 specimens), 62·8 gr. Common.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left. هشت شست A.H. 68.

Right.

One of these coins bears the contremarque , and a second is stamped جاتر

Additional dates on Coins of the same Governor and the same mint city:—
(a), A.H. 69, unique (Masson), : نوز شست (b), A.H. 70, common, هفتات

The only two gold coins I have met with, of the early Arab Khusru'i type, bear the name of Aumar i Obeidálá; both were coined at بیضا, and both are dated A.H. 70 (Prinsep, British Museum, weight 59 gr.; Steuart, British Museum, weight 67 gr.)¹.

No. 32. Silver. Weight (average of 4 specimens), 60·7 gr. Common.

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left. A.H. 68.

Right.

Additional dates:—(a), A.H. 69 ناوز شست rare: (b), A.H. 70, common.

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

Obv. As above.

Rev. Left. = 69.

Right. ?

Additional date:—A.H. 70, weight 61·5 gr. Obv. marg. رن *
A nearly similar coin is described by M. Soret, p. 12.

¹ "D'après une tradition, *Hercham ben (Mohammed) Kelby* (a. 204) avait dit: que *Mos'ad* n'avait pas seulement fait frapper de la monnaie d'argent, mais encore de la monnaie d'or." Fræhn (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.)

Arabic عبد العزيز بن عبد الله عامر

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

Obv. Left. As usual.

Right. { ابدولعزيز ي
ابدولا ي اميران

Marg. بسم الله العدي

Contremarque. جائز

Rev. Left. 66 A.H. شش شست

Right. دزد يـــــــزد

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 يـــــــزد

¹ دولي عبد العزيز بن عبد الله بن عامر سحستان
Paris MS., p. 47.

VIII. MUṢAB BIN ZOBEIR.

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)¹.

In A.H. 67², we find Musáb deputed to the government of Busrah, where, being joined by that able commander, Mohalleb bin Abu Safrah, he proceeded to attack the celebrated separatist chieftain Mokhtár, at that time in independent possession of very extensive power³, and succeeded in putting his forces to the rout near Kufah; Mokhtár himself, with six⁴ 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

¹ Ockley, p. 436.

² Ockley, 460; Tabarí.

³ Price, I. 435:—"Kufah, Hejaj, Persian Irak, Egypt [?], and Diarbekir,"

⁴ 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 ZOBEIR¹. (Inedited.)

Arabice مصعب بن زبيير

No. 36. Silver. British Museum. Unique.

Obv. Left. As usual.

Right. {

Marg.

Rzv. Left. = 70 odd.

Right. Kermansir?

¹ Oockley, pp. 468-9; Abûl Faraj, Hist. Dyn., 127; Tabarî, MS.

² 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 cudendos curaverit, fuisse dicitur *Massab f. Zobair*, qui fratris sui *Abdallah f. Zobair* juseu, anno LXX Chr. 639. in uno latere: *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 Tabarî to have occurred in A.H. 75¹ and 77

¹ و در سال هفتاد و پنج عبدالملك و كيلدرا اثر خراسان باز كرد
و اميه بن خالدرا بفرستاد
Tabarî, Royal Asiatic Society, MSS. 33, 34, and 99.

respectively¹. 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 Safráh.

AUMEAH I ABDALLAH. (Inedited.)

Arabic امية بن عبد الله

No. 37. Silver. Weight, 64·0 gr.

Obv. Left. انزوت نوكرودم

Right. { اوميا
ي ابدولان

Marg. الله بسم

Rev. Left. دودوموم سفتات A.H. 73.

Right. دودوموم سيزاجتان^o or دودوموم سيزاجتان^o Sejestán.

No. 38. Silver. Weight, 66·0 gr. General Fox.

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

سيهستن دودوموم or سيزستن دودوموم. Con-
tremaque

¹ چون سال هفتاد و هفت (هشت 33) (شش 34) اندر
آمد عبدالملك امية 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 Wokeil) 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.

¹ 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. { }
 Right. { }
 Right. { }
 Right. { }

Marg. Contremarque. As on No. 9.

Rev. Left. A.H. 74.

Right. Khorásán.

No. 40. Silver. General Fox.

Obv. As in the last coin.

Rev. Left. ? 74 A.H.

Right. Mervárd.

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
اپدولان

Marg. بسم الله * محمد رسول الله

Rzv. Left. چهرهفتات A.H. 74.
بيضا pro روى

M. Soret's coin is dated *Busrāh*, 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 خ in the older Pehlvi alphabets; we have seen 𐭪𐭥𐭥𐭥 &c., generally using the هو where modern practice employs the خ , but this is the first numismatic instance of the independent development of 𐭥 = H (now ند) as serving for the Arabic خ , without the succeeding و = 𐭥 , which was once supposed to form a necessary element of the Pehlvi 𐭥𐭥 = خ . There is a difficulty as to whence the 𐭥 = خ was derived¹, (a group which likewise represents the 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 خ , should also make use of a precisely similar figure for the ا . (See Pehlvi Alphabets, lithographed at Bombay.)

I may note incidentally that the name now rendered Khaled in Neshkî would be equally convertible from the original Pehlvi as حاريت , Hareth.

¹ Müller, 302.

XI. MOHALLIB BIN ABI SAFRAH.

The name of Mohallib i Abi Safrāh 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 Islām, 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 captain¹ 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-Proper for the maintenance of his troops while employed against the Azarakites². Of Mohallib's subsequent elevation to the government of Khorāsān 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 Khorāsān in A.H. 82³.

¹ 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."

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

بایذ که خوارج کومها فارس بمهلب دست بانر داری
 که سباء را روزی میدهد و شهر بسا و دارا کرد و اصطخر بدو رها
 کنی حجاج جنان کرد مهلب انر قبل خویش کارداران فرستاد

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

³ Price (quoting Tabarī), I. 460.

MOHALLIB I ABI SAFRAH. (Inedited.)

مهلب بن ابو صفرة *Arabia*

No. 42. Silver. Weight, 56·5 gr. British Museum.

Obv. Left. افـرـات
 Right. مهـلـب بن اـبـو صـفـرـة
 Marg. بـسـم اللـه Contre-marque.

Rev. Left. سـنـة 75 A.H. 75.
 Right. بـيـضـا

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.

Obv. As in the last coin,

Contre-marque.

Rev. Left. سـنـة 76 A.H. 76.
 Right. بـيـضـا

No. 44. Weight, 56·0 gr. British Museum.

Obv. As in the last coin.

Contre-marque.

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

Right. دارا بـكـرـد for و د

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 Spain¹, on the one hand, and into idolatrous India, in the reduction of Sindh and Multán², 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 engagements³—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)⁴; Ahwáz, Fárs, and Kermán (A.H. 72)⁵; Khorásán and Arabia (A.H. 73)⁶. 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.)

Arabice *عبدالمك بن مروان*⁷

No. 45. Silver. Weight, 59.0 gr. Masson. Unique⁸.

Obv.	{	عبدالمك بن مروان	ابدوملك بن مروان
		١٣٣٦	مروان
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev. Left.		١٣٣٦	بنج هفتات A.H. 75.
Right.		١٣٣٦	مروان Merv.

¹ Gibbon, vol. VI.; M. de Sauley's *Résumé*, Jour. Asiatique, 1839 (*Mousa*, 91, 92 A.H.).

² Beladorí, *Reinaud's* Fragments, pp. xx and 190.

³ Tabarí MS.; Ockley, p. 436; Price, I. 427.

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

⁵ Ockley, 472, 474.

⁶ Ockley, 475, 479; Price, I. 450.

⁷ The Armenian orthography of the name is expressed in Roman letters Aptēlmēšēk. (See Jour. As., vol. XIII. (1849), p. 339.)

⁸ Makrizi. "Quum autem post cædem 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 grapo in Syriaco (pondere); pondus drachmæ vero XXV Keratia æqualia con-

XIII. HEJAJ BIN YUSAF.

The biography of the celebrated Hejáj bin Yusuf has found a place in too many popular and easily accessible works¹ 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 Seistán². These, and added honours, he may be said

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

"*Abdalmalec f. Merwan* drachmas titulis præditas primus conflasce dicitur. Duo vero numorum genera, alterum titulo persico instructum, Bagliense s. Alsauda VIII Danecorum, alterum græce inscriptum, Tiberiense IV Danecorum dabantur, quæ eruditi istius ætatis 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 cuderet, cui mandato anno LXXIV, aut ut tradit Almadâni, anno sequenti LXXV morem gessit. Deinde earum percussuram in reliquis tractibus anno LXXV imperavit. *Hedsjadsj* autem eis inscripsisse 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 الدينانير يرد) رومية و الدراهم كسروية و حيمية). 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 adornanda per annos LXXIV et LXXV periclitati erant prius, quam anno LXXVI omnia in hac arte erant assecuti."

¹ Ockley's Hist. Sar., 474 et seq.; Price, Hist. Moham., I. 448 et seq.; D'Herbelot, in voce Hegiage; Abûl Fedâ (Reiske), I. 421, &c.; Abûl Faraj; Elmacin, p. 77.

² 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. (اف—زوت)

Right. Kufic. الحجاج بن يوسف

Marg. بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله

Rev. Left. 78 A.H. هشت هفتات

Right. خت or هوت

No. 47. Weight, 57.0 gr. British Museum.

Obv. Area as in the last coin.

Marg. بسم الله

Rev. Left. 79 A.H. ناوهفتات

Right. بیضا

No. 48. Weight, 55.8 gr. British Museum.

Obv. Area and Margin as in the last coin.

Rev. Left. 81 A.H. یهستات²

Right. بیضا

¹ Tabarí, quoted by Price, I. 477.

² 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 سیشتات or سیهستات 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 **الله الحمد**.

A Pehlvi Kufic coin of Hejāj, of a slightly varying type, is given by Fräehn, Jour. Asiat. IV. 336, with the marginal legend **الله الحمد**.

INDETERMINATE READINGS.

XIV. ZIAD.

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

Obv.	{	سید	زیادت	
		س	ان	
Marg.		الله	بسم	
Rrv. Left.		سید	سید	A.H. 43.
Right.		د	د	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 **س** is represented by an **س** and a following **د**, thus, **سد**: but as this laxity of definition has frequently been found to occur in similar instances where the value of the combination is undoubtedly **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 Sofian 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 medallic recognition of the patronymic that Zíád was permitted to cite, prior to Moavia'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.

نمک

Right.

{ نمک و سپردا read by him as معاویه
الادن-ادوسا ?

Marg.

بسم الله

Rzv. Left.

دودجدا

سیچهل

A.H. 43.

Right.

ود

Possibly "Mááwía Amír úl rúeshúekán" or "úl húrāshuekán" (*Koraish*?).

XV. *Abdallah Amer.* عبدالله عامر

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

Obv. Head as usual.

{ اپدولا امیر نمک و سپردا
ولرویشویکان الادن-ادوسا

Marg.

بسم الله

Rzv. Left.

دولنجا

چهر پنجا

A.H. 54.

Right.

د — د

پ

دا Dárābgerd.

XV. *Abdallah Zobeir*?

No. 54. Silver. Weight, 52.0 gr. General Fox. Pl. III. fig. XV₂.

Obv. Head as usual.

{ اپدولي امیر نمک و سپردا
ي ورویشویکان دکن-ادوسا

Marg.

بسم الله

Rzv. Left.

دودجدا

سیچست

A.H. 63.

Right.

دود

ست ?

No. 55. Silver. Weight, 63.5 gr. General Fox. Pl. III. fig. XV₄.

Obv.

{ اپدولي امیر نمک و سپردا
ي ورویشویکان دکن-ادوسا
ي ورویشویکان or

Contremarque. As on No. 9.

Rzv. As last coin.

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

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

Obv.	{	يذو لمان	اپدرمان
		ذو دمان	ي نيتان
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev.	{	ذو لمان	دوينجا 52 A.H.
		ذو	ب ————— Busrah ?

XVII. ABDULLAH ZOBEIR?

No. 56. Silver. Weight, 61·0 gr. Masson. Pl. III. fig. XVII.

Obv.	{	يذو لمان	اپدولا
		ذو لمان	ي و زو بران possibly بن زو بران
Marg.		بسم الله	Contremarque. As No. 9.
Rev.	{	ذو لمان	دوش شست A.H. 62.
		ذو لمان	كرمان ?

imperfect ?

XVIII. ABDULLAH.

No. 57. Silver. Weight, 41·0 gr. Pl. III. fig. XVIII.

Obv.	{	يذو لمان	اپدولا ي
		ذو لمان	ار ————— ان
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev.	{	ذو لمان	شش شست A.H. 66.
		ذو	ي ————— ند

XIX.

No. 58. Silver. Weight, 43·0 gr. Masson. Pl. III. fig. XIX.

Obv.	{	يذو لمان	انرا م ي
		ذو لمان	سوفنهان
Rev.	{	يذو لمان	هفت شست A.H. 67.
		ذو	رد

XX.

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

Obv.	{	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	كهتان
		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	انتاي
Marg.		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	بسم الله
Rev.	{	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	67?
		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	هـرارة

XXI.

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

Obv.	{	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	اوميران
		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	ي ابيدوان
Marg.		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	بسم الله
Rev.	{	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	دوهفتات A.H. 72.
		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	

XXII.

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

Obv.	{	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	اتهبا
		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	ي ابيدولان
Marg.		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	بسم الله ولي الامر
Contremarque.		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	الله
Rev. Left.		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	دوهفتات A.H. 72.
Right.		𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	كرمانان Kermánán.

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

Obv. As above.

Marg. 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥 𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥

Rev. Left.	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	پنج هفتات A.H. 75.
Right.	𐭠𐭣𐭥𐭥𐭥𐭥	كرمان Kermán.

No. 63. Silver. British Museum. Pl. III. fig. XXII $\frac{1}{2}$.

Obv. As before.

Marg. بسم الله [only.]

Rev. Left. A.H. 75.

Right. كرم انسر وادى

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 Omiha-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.]	{	المغربا ي مسلمان	
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev.	{	سيهفتات سهجش	A.H. 73.

1
ال = دن pro ال ?

XXIV.

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

Obv.	{	ادلمليك امير ي ورويشويكان	
Marg.		بسم الله	
Rev.	{	هفتات س	[سي ? or سه ?]

XXV.

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

OBY. Right.	{	عول	ابدل
		دومل	ي ايدولان
Marg.		بسم الله	
REV. Left.		دومل	سه هفتات A.H. 73.
Right.		دومل	?

XXVI.

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

OBY. {	{	دومل	نرويتواتوس ?
		دومل	سدات
			اشت
Marg.		بسم الله	
REV. Left.		دومل	پنج هفتاد A.H. 75.
Right.		دومل	

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 **دومل**. To the left is seen a small monogram.

REV. Device, a single figure.

Left.	دومل	پنج شست	A.H. 65.
Right.	دومل	دا	

No. 69. Copper. British Museum.

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

Rev. Device, a single figure.

Left. **سنة ٦٨ هـ** **هشت شست** A.H. 68.

Right. **د** **د**

Marg. **سنة ٦٨ هـ * د**

A second similar coin, British Museum, has the contremarque **هـ**
or **هـ**

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.

TABLE OF MINT CITIES AND DATES

A. H.	بوسرا Busrah.	بوزا Beiza.	دارابگرد Darabgerd.	سمرقند ?	نهم ?	یزد Yezd.
43	...	...	{ Zîád. ? { No. XIV.			
45	...	...	Obeidullah.			
51	...	Zîád				
52	No. XVI. ?					
53	...	Zîád.				
54	...	Zîád	{ Abdallah Amer, { No. XV.			
55	Zîád.					
56	...	...	...	...	...	{ Obeidullah, { Selim.
57						
58	Obeidullah.	Obeidullah.				
59	Idem.					
60	Idem.					
61						
62						
63	...	...	...	...	{ Abdallah Amer, { No. XV. }	...
64	Obeidullah.	...	...	...	...	...
65	...	...	...	...	...	...
66	...	...	Obeidullah	Selim ?	...	{ Abdal Aziz, and { No. XVIII. }
67	...	...	...	...	...	...
68	Obeidullah.	Aumar-l-Obeidullah	...	Aumar-l-Obeidullah	...	...
69	...	Idem	...	Idem	Aumar-l-Obeidullah	...
70	...	Idem	...	Idem	Idem	...
71						
72	...	...	...	No. XXI. Amraú.		
73	...	...	...	No. XXIV. ?	...	...
74	...	Kháled	...	...	...	...
75	Kháled	Mohallib	...	No. XXVI.	...	...
76	...	Idem	Mohallib.			
77						
78	...	...	...	Hejaj bin Yusaf.		
79	...	Hejaj bin Yusaf.				
80						
81	...	Hejaj.				

ON COINS OF THE ARAB GOVERNORS.

كردمان Kermán.	سیدستان Seistán.	مرو Merv.	مروارد Mervávrúd.	هرات Herát.	خوارزم Hazarasp. ?	ارد ?	A. H.
							43
							45
							51
							52
							53
							54
							55
							56
							57
							58
							59
							60
							61
							62
...	...	...	{ Abdallah Hazim } and Selim ...	Selim.			63
...	...	...	The same ...	Selim ...	...	Selim.	64
Aumar-i-Obeidullah	...	...	The same.				65
...	...	...	The same ...	...	Selim.		66
...	...	...	The same ...	Selim ...	{ Selim and } { No. XX. }	Abdallah... { Selim and } Abdallah Hazim.	67
...	...	...	Abdallah alone...	... ?	...	Abdallah...	68
...	...	...	...	Abdallah ...	...	Abdallah.	69
...	...	...	Abdallah.				70
							71
							72
...	...	...	Omiáh-i-Abdallah.	Omiáh-i-Abdallah, Khorásán.			73
...	...	...	...	Omiáh-i-Abdallah.			74
No. XXII.	...	...	Abdalmalik.				75
							76
							77
							78
							79
							80
							81

ADDITIONAL CITIES.

د or دد Obeidullah Zíád, A.H. 62. Aslem i Sofian? (No. XIX.)
A.H. 67.

ل Zíád, A.H. 53.

د Zíád, A.H. 54, and different from د Moghaira,
A.H. 73? (No. XXIII).

Kermán haft (Kermánshah?) Abdallah Zobeir, A.H. 62? (No. XVII),
and A.H. 63. Kermaunsr (Kermánsir?) Abdallah Amer, A.H. 63.
Musáb, A.H. 71. Ateah i Abdallah? (No. XXII.) A.H. 72, 75.

ج (short for Busrah?). Abdallah or Abdalrahman i Zeid? A.H. 52.

د (Khubus). Abdallah Házim, A.H. 63. Scythic coins, 63, 68, 69 A.H.?

IDENTIFICATION OF THE MINT CITIES.

1. Busrah, Pehlvi, د 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 Kotaibah, 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, د بيزا, written بيش for بيضا. "Beiza is one of the largest towns in the Koureh 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)¹; 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 Dárábgird, famous as the first capital of Ardeshér Bábegán, the founder of the Sassanian Dynasty of Persia. Dárábgird was the metropolis

¹ "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. Dárábgerd, 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 (دریجرد A. H. 91, see Müller, *De Numis. Orient.*). Tabarí MS., Ouseley, 89 et seq., Aboulféda, 330.

4. **س.م.** 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 هونت¹ خت هوت.

5. **ست دم**. Unidentified.

6. **یزد دزد** 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 A. H. 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 **دزد** = یزد, as it most frequently appears in the coins of the Arab Governors, as **سد** = سد: 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 †; also Longperier, under the same letter, *Introductory Plate*.

7. **کیرمان** 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.; Abulfeda Text, 336.)

8. **سیستان** or **سیستان** Seistán; does not occur as a mint name till the 73rd year of the Hijrah, and it then seems to have been

¹ **اود** 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 مerv. 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. (و مروارود) 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 هری Harí. On the coins written هَرَه Hărăh, or هَرَا Hará, as in Tabarí. See Ouseley, 217, &c.

12. مَرَو-سَاز. I have some reserve in proposing a decisive identification for the city represented by this mint word, but the combination reads so naturally Hazarasp (هَجَرَسْت), 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 Sammanides 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 Níshápúr, 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. **سہجیش مدع دہ** Shash? written also **سہجیش مدع دہ**? doubtful. See Ouseley, 233, vii., &c.; Aboulfida, 494.

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

18. **کرمانسیر ولہ مسورہ** 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 سورہ** Khubus, in the desert of Kermán. See Ouseley, p. 199; Aboulféda, **خبيص** 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

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 بسم الله

To the right of the profile

Rev. Fire altar and supporters.

Pehlvi { Left ششت 63 A.H.
Right خبوس Khubus. Pl. III., fig. 2.

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

Lower compartments. Left, Monogram,

Right, Pehlvi, انزو

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 ρ , 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 ρ 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 *bonâ fide* literal sign, it must answer, like the Pehlvi , to many and various articulations. (I may remark, among other things, upon the identity of the form with the Nestorian O = ʾ, W, and the Sindhi , 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 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 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 افتاق افتاق See Pl. III., fig. 22.

Marg. Pl. III., fig. 23.

Rsv. Fire altar as usual.

Left.

Right. ?

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

Obv.

Rsv. 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, *Ariana Antiqua*.)

4. Its association with the Sanskrit and Pehlvi on the Indo-Sassanian money. (Nos. 8, Pl. xvii, and 22 Supp. 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 Kanerkí medals, Nos. 1, &c. &c., Pl. xiv, Ar. Ant.¹

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.²

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

¹ 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 Kanerkí 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.

² 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, Kúndúz; 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 noticed¹. 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 negative², notwithstanding that many of the

¹ I instance especially *ofo*.

² A subordinate argument tending to show the want of any current alphabet among the Kanerki (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.¹, 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.²; 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 subject³.

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 leaning towards local models capable of citation⁴, 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.

¹ 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.*

² Klaproth, *Aperçu*, p. 27, &c.

³ See examination of coins of Khubus, p. 329.

⁴ 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.,¹ 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 insignia² of Hormuzdas II., A.D. 303—310³. Whether this device, originating among the imperial Sassanidæ, 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

¹ Longperier, Pl. iv, figs. 5, &c.

² *Idem*, Pl. v, figs. 4, 5, p. 34.

³ 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 model¹.

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 coins², 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 association³ 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

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

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

³ 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 Kanerkí 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-Scythians¹, 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 Khorásán, on a class of

¹ See especially the monogram on No. 16, Pl. xiv, *Ariana Antiqua*.

coins (B)¹ 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 Deva².

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 coins³, inscribed with the singular characters more especially under investigation, were struck at Khubus⁴, in the Kermán desert, in the year 63, *et seq.* of a cycle, which the adjunct of the Kufic Bismillah بِسْمِ اللَّهِ 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 “contremarques⁵,” 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

¹ Class B; *vide infra*.

² Class A, described below, p. 342.

³ *Ariana Antiqua*, Pl. xvii, Fig. 4, p. 402; Olshausen, *Die Pehlwie Legend.*

⁴ خُبُص. See Ouseley, *Orient. Geog.*, p. 199.

⁵ Ex. gr., see Coins Nos. 9 and 38.

dominant power, the state in which the Arabico-Khusruí 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, = 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

————— 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

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:—

Sri Tate(ch)¹.

Shahī Sri.

¹ See also Obverse margin of Class B—Tchoch? Takash?

Margin.

{ In modern Pehlvi.
{ In modern Persian.

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

REV. 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 : Śrī 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 Khusrú 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.

¹ In nomine Justi judicis. Anquetil, Zend-Avesta, ii., 341.

CLASS B.

INDO-SASSANIAN¹.

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-cap², 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.

¹ 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.

² Artaxerxes IV. (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 शिरखरलावदरदेविर श्री षहिनिण तदेचनरित

Variants

विरचे

शीर

Sri Shahitina तदेवनारित

च

Pl. III., fig. 20.

R_{ev.} 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 haftúd*", 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

¹ 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 word 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; Ariana Antiqua, 133; Reinaud, Mémoire sur l'Inde.) The following passage from Tabarí determines that this also is a mere generic designation of Indian kings.

و ملك سندرا بزبان ايشان رپيل خوانند جنانكه ملك عجمرا

كسرى خوانند و انرا ن رومرا قيصر خوانند

ذكر خبر كشادن مكران MS. Tabarí, 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 examining¹, 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 **تکھور**; but only in the third letter, which is curiously shaped, and may possibly be a **د** = **د**^d; **ي** = **ي**^e, or a **خ** joined to the succeeding **و** = **و**.

¹ Amounting to 70 or 80 at the least. Masson alone has 40 or 50.

CLASS C.

VAKHU DEVA.

No. 81. Copper¹.

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
Śrī Vahāra.

To the left वखु देवः
Vakhu Deva².

Pl. III., fig. 5.

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

¹ 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).

² Professor Wilson reads this श्री बत्मान - वसु देव *Śrī Batmana - Vasu Deva*. The second word is given as doubtful; but the *Vasu Deva* is stated to be “unequivocal” (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 Śrī 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 palaeographers, the late illustrious Secretary of the Asiatic Society, Bengal.

Rev. Area.—Fire altar and supporters.

Left. In badly-formed Pehlvi letters for

Or in Persian characters . Pl. III., fig. 6.

Right. Also in imperfect Pehlvi for

= for

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

for *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.

LEGENDS ON THE COINS OF ARAB GOVERNORS.

Name	Date	City	Miscellaneous	Legends
I	١٠١١ هـ	البحرين	a b
II	١٠١٢ هـ	البحرين	c d
id	١٠١٣ هـ	البحرين	e f
III	١٠١٤ هـ	البحرين	g h
IV	١٠١٥ هـ	البحرين	i j
V	١٠١٦ هـ	البحرين	k l
VI	١٠١٧ هـ	البحرين	m n
VII	١٠١٨ هـ	البحرين	o p
id	١٠١٩ هـ	البحرين	q r
VIII	١٠٢٠ هـ	البحرين	s t
IX	١٠٢١ هـ	البحرين	u v
id	١٠٢٢ هـ	البحرين	w x
X	١٠٢٣ هـ	البحرين	y z
XI	١٠٢٤ هـ	البحرين	aa ab
XII	١٠٢٥ هـ	البحرين	ac ad
XIII	١٠٢٦ هـ	البحرين	ae af
XIV	١٠٢٧ هـ	البحرين	ag ah

Name	Date	City	Miscellaneous Legends
XIV			1 2 3
XV			4 5
id			6 7
id			8
XVI			9
XVII			10
XVIII			11
XIX			12
XX			13
XXI			14
XXII			15
id			16
XXIII			17
XXIV			18
XXV			19
XXVI			20
			21
			22
			23

No.	Reference to Possessor.	Name on the Coin.	On Margin.	DATE.	
1	B.M. S. 17 .	سليم بن عبد الله	عبد	چهارشست ³ ٤٥٥	64
2	E.I.C., Masson	Id.	Id.	نود و شستات ١١٥٥	89
3	Idem . . .	Id.	Id.	هفت و نود ١١٥٥	97
4	Idem . . .	Id.	Id.	نود و نود ١١٥٥	99
5	Idem . . .	Id.	Id.	دو و ست ١١٥٥	102
AUMAR.					
6	{B.M. 1 . . . } {Stokes 1 . . . }	سليم	عبد	ويست و ست ١١٥٥	120
7	{B.M. 2 . . . } {Paris 1 . . . }	Id.	Id. ⁴	چهار و يست و ست ١١٥٥	124
SAYID (Kufic).					
8	{E.I.C., Willock . . . }	سعید	عبد ⁵	پنج و يست و ست ١١٥٥	125
9	{B.M. S. 17, Marsden dxiii, Bland, Stokes, Paris, &c. }	Id.	Id. ⁵	شش و يست و ست ١١٥٥	126
10	{B.M. S. 17, Stokes . . . }	Id.	Id. ⁵	هفت و يست و ست ١١٥٥	127
OMAR (Kufic).					
11	{2, B.M. S. 17, Willock . . . }	عمر	عبد ⁵	هفت و يست و ست ١١٥٥	127
12	{Marsden dxii, B.M. 2, Paris 1 . . . }	Id.	Id. ⁵	هشت و يست و ست ١١٥٥	128
13	{B.M., Stokes 2, Bland . . . }	Id.	Id. ⁵	نود و يست و ست ١١٥٥	129
14	{B.M. 1, Bland 1 . . . }	Id.	Id. ⁵	ويست و ست ١١٥٥	129
MUKATIL (Kufic).					
15	{B.M. 3, Willock, Bland }	مقاتل	عبد ⁵	نار و ست ١١٥٥	139
HANI.					
	{B.M., Bland 3, Stokes . . . }	هاني	عبد ⁵	هفت و سي و ست ١١٥٥	137
	B.M. 2 . . .	Id.	Id.	هشت و سي و ست ١١٥٥	138

¹ خورشيد.² عبد . ?

³ Olshausen says 114 (see Num. Chron., p. 90). M. Soret gives a Khurshid (Lettre, p. 13), which he doubtfully reads 110 or 103; it may be 63.

⁴ margin.⁵ ١١٥١ margin.⁶ Olshausen reads this 220.